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VOLUME 2

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A 'NATIONAL IDENTITY':
A STUDY OF SELECTED SECONDARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS
IN MALAYSIA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM, WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO PENINSULAR MALAYSIA

by

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APPENDIX I

Abu Hassan Othman, Razak Mamat and Mohd Yusof Ahmad (1988), *Pengajian Am I* (General Studies 1), Petaling Jaya: Longman.

This 150-page recommended book is primarily designed to help Form Six students to prepare themselves for their Paper 1 of General Studies examination at the end of their two-year studies in school. This book is divided along the lines of the Form Six curriculum, i.e. into three broad sections: (i) Comprehension (pp.1-65); (ii) Problem Solving (pp.67-82); and (iii) the various aspects of the Malaysian Nation (pp.83-126).

The Analysis

THE CULTURAL

(a) Malay culture

Only two out of five sample extracts in the 'Comprehension' section of this book are relevant to this study. The first sample of extracted writing (pp.6-7) in this section comes from an article originally published in a local Malay newspaper, Utusan Malaysia, which surveys the significance of counselling and guidance in students' life. It argues for the importance of having such counselling services to students, especially the teenagers who are said to be confronted by a world that has grown more complex day by day and also where human relations — including parent-child relationship — have become rather strained. Although the extract discusses guidance and counselling in general, it curiously begins with the following opening paragraph that swiftly imposes, even though

rather briefly, a 'Malay approach' on to a general discussion of guidance and counselling (p.6):

Guidance and counselling have been practised by the Malay race since long time ago, but were not disciplined and systematised. The situation is different with the Westerners who now have disciplined their national education system, and their everyday living. [Trans. Appnd. 1.1]

One is thus left with a nagging question as to why does the writer begin his article by making the above claim without substantiating it. Although the reader could hazard a guess that the writer intends to make a comparison between the kind of counselling that the Malays have with that which is claimed to be more sophisticated in the West, s/he still may not be able to place the significance of beginning the article with these sentences. In other words, what is the underlying purpose of making this claim? Perhaps the reader can try to deduce from this when s/he begins reading the sample of an extracted article below.

Sample extract 2 (pp.8-9) essentially celebrates the existence of an abundant supply of taboos in the Malay culture, many of which are considered to possess some positive values and also to be products borne out of a (Malay) society that has attained a high level of civilisation and code of conduct (p.8). This message is transmitted in the following multiple-choice question number 1 (p.9) whose answer reads: 'The taboos that exist within the Malay society are aimed at educating individuals in the society to be well-mannered and polite [Trans. Appnd. 1.2].' This point is again emphasised in the part where multiple-choice questions are given to test the student's comprehension of the article. For instance, question number 2 on page

9 (with the possible answer [d]):

The use of taboos in the Malay society shows that the Malays

- a. have attained a high level of sophistication and civilisation.
- b. have the ability to think symbolically.
- c. are more diplomatic in educating their society.
- d. do not want to embarrass other people.
- e. do not like to be open about certain matters. [Trans. Appnd. 1.3]

Nonetheless, the extract does caution — towards the end — that such taboos could also have a negative impact on the Malay society if it results in paralysing the intellectual development of the Malay community. Seen in this context, one might want to conclude that, apart from the negative quality, the Malay taboos could be incorporated into the claim about the so-called Malay way of counselling and guiding in the first extract sample. Put together, this is perhaps the book writers' rather brief attempt to demonstrate and promote that the Malays have a rich cultural heritage that is of high socio-cultural value. The emphasis on certain aspects of Malay culture is also found in the 'Problem Solving' section, where only three questions (nos.16-18) out of the 33 are found relevant to the study. All the three questions (pp.74-5) are concerned with traditional Malay custom and Islam involving an extended Malay family.

Questions regarding certain aspects of the Malay culture are also found in the 'Nation' section of this book. Question 44 (p.122) is about certain aspects of a traditional Malay house; Question 48 (p.123) is about the Malay customary way of entering a Malay house; Question 50 (p.124) is focused on some aspects of Malay arts in certain states of Malaysia where Malays are predominant; Question 35 (p.142) in the last section of this book is about the Malay

(matriarchal and matrilineal) customary law, Adat Perpatih, practised in the state of Negeri Sembilan. Question 51 (p.124) is to test the ability of the reader to exclude one 'non-Malay item' from the list of Malay cultural forms. As it is, the first four questions project certain aspects of Malay culture. The last one, Question 51, not only promotes certain Malay cultural forms, it also excludes a non-Malay cultural item, thereby, possibly, giving the impression that the latter is irrelevant to the formation of a Malaysian national culture, and thus relegated to a subordinate position. And the appearance of a few 'Chinese questions', in the following, could hardly — in the eyes of especially the non-Malay reader — soften the heavy 'Malay emphasis' in the preceding questions. Question 45 (p.123) reads, 'According to the Chinese calendar, it has a rotational timetable for (a) 10 years; (b) 12 years; (c) 12 months; (d) six years; and (e) six months.'; while Question 47 (p.123) reads, '"New villages" is the name given to the resettlement area for a particular race in Malaysia. The race that is referred to is (a) Kadazan; (b) Chinese; (c) Malay; (d) Indian; and (e) Dayak'. The possible answer to this is (b). At best, the inclusion of this 'Chinese question' suggests tokenism.

(b) National Culture

The stamp of the Malay culture is felt strongly in the 'Exercise Questions' part of the 'Comprehension' section (pp.19-65) (for the social sciences). Exercise 1 (pp.19-21) is based on an extracted article, 'Falsafah Kebudayaan Kebangsaan' (The Philosophy of a National Culture), originally written in the Malay monthly, Dewan Budaya. As the title suggests, the article argues for the creation of a national culture in Malaysia, one that is based on the culture of the indigenous people of the geographical region, the 'Malay World',

that spans from the southern part of Thailand, to Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and southern region of the Philippines. There is a strong case for the Malay culture to be the basis of this national culture, the writer asserts, because linguistically, for instance, the Malay language has been the lingua franca of this Malay world for the past hundreds of years. Against this cultural backdrop, the writers of the book find it appropriate to begin the extracted article as follows (p.19):

The main principle of the national culture should be based on the culture of the original people of this region. Original people implies those who have inherited the history and culture that thrive in a particular part of a region that is different from other regions in other parts of the world. [Trans. Appnd. 1.4]

As already indicated elsewhere, this notion of 'national culture' is very much in line with that of the Mahathir's as well as, perhaps to a lesser degree, previous governments since independence. It is therefore important to note that the above statement would help the reader understand the implication of the following multiple-choice question number 1 (p.20), which reads:

Which one of the following cannot be considered as the basis of Malaysia's national culture? [Trans. Appnd. 1.5]

- a. Songkok (Malay headgear)
- b. Tarian naga ([Chinese] lion dance)
- c. Zapin (a Malay traditional dance)
- d. Ketupat rendang (a Malay dish)
- e. Baju kurung (a Malay woman's traditional dress).

Given the choices above and the preceding article, the reader is left to interpret that the Chinese lion dance is the one item that has no place in the formation of the national culture. The exclusion of the lion dance is thus purely due to it being a part of a culture that is

considered 'foreign' to the indigenous culture of this (Malay) region.¹

(c) Chinese culture

Nevertheless, Exercise 3 (pp.24-6) provides an opportunity for the reader to learn a certain aspect of Chinese culture in the form of an extract about the Chinese art of preparing tea. The article on the whole discusses the various traditional ways of preparing Chinese tea. The third sentence of the first paragraph of the extract, however, provides a cautionary note (p.24): 'But the art of preparing tea is today not given due attention by the present Chinese generation. [Trans. Appnd. 1.6]]' And in the first sentence of the second paragraph comes a rather dismissive tone: 'In the olden days, the ancient Chinese were rather fastidious. [Trans. Appnd. 1.7]]' In other words, the reader is exposed to a dying aspect, if at all, of Chinese culture, that is, the tea preparation — as opposed to choosing other Chinese cultural elements that would contribute more positively to the endeavour of forging a national culture.

(d) National language and other ethnic languages

The question of language, national language in particular, seems to have partly occupied the minds of the book writers. Exercise 4 (pp.37-9) is based on an extract from a commentary in the Malay Sunday newspaper edition, Mingguan Malaysia, which constitutes a vitriolic attack on those Malaysians who had expressed deep concern over the sliding standards of English language in the country. The extract criticises those who questioned the ability of the Malay language to help develop Malaysians in the realms of science and technology and economic development. To be sure, the tone is sarcastic (p.37): 'And

so the gods of English language declare that our future shall be pitch dark, storm shall come, the earth shall be shaken, the land shall be torn apart, the rivers and oceans shall overflow, Malaysia shall drown. [Trans. Appnd. 1.8])' The commentary notes that such concern about sliding English standards has down-played the poor performance of certain Malaysians in their use of the Malay language, which according to it, is a more legitimate worry. It reiterates that unless certain Malaysians overcome their inferiority complex which they are supposedly suffering, they cannot be proud of being Malaysian. This deep concern for national language emerges again in the extract below, and this time it is intertwined with the question of nationalism.

There is however a 'breathing space' provided for the reader to consider the constitutional position of other languages in the society: Question 7 (p.100) relates to a certain part of the provision in Article 152 of the Malaysian Constitution which reads: 'That the Malay language shall be the national language, but no person shall be prohibited or prevented from teaching or learning any other language. [Trans. Appnd. 1.9]' While the inclusion of this constitutional provision in this book serves a useful reminder to the reader of the legitimate position of other languages in the country, such assertion, however, lacks 'force' when no other extracts in the book address themselves to this matter.

(e) Cultural nationalism

Exercise 5 (pp.40-2) revolves around an extracted article by Razak Mamat, 'Pengertian Merdeka Masih Kabur?' (The Meaning of Independence Is Still Vague?). It essentially observes that an independent nation should not only be politically independent but also

be able to stand on its own feet in areas of economy and culture. In terms of economic independence, the writer suggests that Malaysians should shy away from imported goods, whereas in area of culture Malaysians must be proud of their national language and also should work towards the formation of a national culture. He warns that nationalism should be taken seriously by all Malaysians. He then makes an observation that differentiates one group from another in so far as nationalistic sentiments are concerned (pp.40-1): 'A nationalism that has been stressed to be the basis of unity should not be the concern of only a certain group, while the others cooperate only to balance two needs, that is, help and survival only. [Trans. Appnd. 1.10]'

This statement underlines the seeming frustration and anger of the writer with those whom he considers give only lukewarm support to the notion of nationalism, treating it as a strategy for protecting and promoting their own self-interests. The nationalistic sentiment mentioned earlier is reinforced in the following multiple-choice question number 2 on page 41:

The meaning of independence in terms of language is

- a. free to speak in any language.
 - b. love the local language.
 - c. free from foreign influence.
 - d. there is the love and desire to use the national language.
- [Trans. Appnd. 1.11]

With the exception of (a), the rest seem to have strengthened Razak Mamat's contention that one should be nationalistic, such as in the practice of loving and using one's own national language. And as if this isn't enough, the following question (no.3) should drive the point home effectively (p.41):

Why is the present Malaysian generation, as one component of the Independence generation, still refuses to foster a national

culture?

- a. because the people now are divided into various races.
- b. because the present generation is interested in maintaining its status quo.
- c. because the present generation is influenced by foreign culture.
- d. because the present generation puts its self-interest over that of the entire community.
- e. all of the above. [Trans. Appnd. 1.12]

Answers (a), (c) and (d) have the potentials of answering the above question that seeks a kind of cultural nationalism from the present Malaysian generation.

(f) The Old Malay World

The cultural and also political closeness between Malaysia and neighbour Indonesia, both countries being part of the old Malay world, is explored in Exercise 2 (for humanities) (pp.32-4). The exercise is based on an extract that largely tries to make a comparison and contrast between Malaysia and Indonesia, particularly in terms of religion (Islam). The article states that the similarities that both countries share are: (a) that although both countries have Muslims forming the majority of their population, both countries however consider themselves secular states and not Islamic countries; (b) even though the ruling parties (UMNO, and Golkar) of both countries have some Islamic elements within themselves, they do not necessarily portray themselves as being Islam-oriented; and both countries have created national ideologies whose basic principle is the belief in God. The differences between the two countries are: the increasing interest in Islam has caused ethnic tensions between Malay-Muslims and non-Malay non-Muslims throughout the country; while in Indonesia such tensions are restricted to the island of Java where various ethnic groups are affected. The choice of the two neighbouring countries,

Malaysia and Indonesia, for a comparative study of the impact of religion on their respective societies reflects the ease with which the book writers have with these two countries that can be considered as having cultural affinity with each other, both being part of the old Malay world. Here, the reader is limited to two positions: one, the Malay reader, would feel comfortable with the cultural ties between the two countries, while the other reader, particularly a non-Malay, would feel excluded from this text as s/he is culturally not part of the Malay world.

(g) Islam

As already partly examined in the previous exercise, religion is one aspect of Malaysian life that is further explored by two questions in this book. Question 42 on page 122 asks about the Muslim fasting month in Malaysia; and Question 43, on the same page, finds a similarity between Islam and Bahai as far as the practice of fasting goes. Another form of similarity is also found in Question 46 (p.123) where the Islamic and the Chinese calendars are said to have the same number of days in a month. Question 36 (p.143) in the last section of the book is regarding Islamic regulations governing the marriage between a Muslim woman and a Muslim convert. From this set of questions, one could deduce that there is some attempt at providing information on faiths other than Islam, no matter how trivial a question may seem — as is the case of Question 46 — to the reader. On the other hand, this also means that these other religions are taken into consideration only for compatibility with Islam. As shown above, this neglect of other religions in the country is weakly rectified with the mention of, rather briefly, multiple-choice questions in Questions 43 and 46. Nonetheless, the stress on Islam in

the book can only be interpreted as being parallel with the insistence of the ruling party, Malay nationalists and Islamicists that Islam should be the main component of the national culture that is being proposed. Furthermore, putting Islam in a positive light as in the sample topic 3 (Islam doesn't hinder scientific progress) would contribute in some ways to the government's efforts to infuse Islamic values into its administration.

(h) Race

In a country where ethnicity is of great importance in many areas of Malaysian life, a discussion of race provides an interesting reading and may serve as an eye-opener. The next exercise (5) (pp.28-30) revolves around an extract from Sharifah Alwiah Alsagoff's book, Sosiologi Pendidikan (The Sociology of Education). The extract attempts to establish that (p.28) 'The concept of race refers to the physical features of various groups of human beings who have been generated from the genes. The term ethnic however refers to the different cultures acquired. [Trans. Appnd. 1.13]' These racial and ethnic differences are applied in the following multiple-choice question number 3, which reads (p.29):

Which of the following groups below that belong to the same ethnic group?

- a. Indian and Pakistani.
- b. Chinese and Malay.
- c. Malay and Arab.
- d. Eurasian and Indonesian.
- e. Bruneian and Malay. [Trans. Appnd. 1.14]

Based on the notion of shared cultural experiences amongst many people in the Malay world, it is expected that the groups which would qualify themselves for this cultural affinity are the Malays of Malaysia and

Brunei. And other groups that ethnically come under their respective categories are the Indo-Pakistani group, and the Malay-Arab group. Hence, the answer would be (a), (c) and (e). Hence, the groups that are placed in opposition to each other are the ones in (b) and (d). The next multiple-choice question (no.5) would necessarily reinforce the gap between the Malays and Chinese in Malaysia (p.30):

In Malaysia, the difference between the Malays and the Chinese is in terms of

- a. race.
- b. community/nation.
- c. ethnicity.
- d. religion.
- e. economics. [Trans. Appnd. 1.15]

The likely answer is (a).

Apart from 'ethnicity' and 'race', other categories listed above can also be employed, to a certain extent, by certain readers as factors that separate the Malays from the Chinese. All of the given categories could be utilised as determinants of the differences between the two ethnic groups. What the writers have attempted to establish is to really spell out the so-called differences between the Malays and Chinese in terms of ethnicity or race. In other words, these ethnic differences have the eventual effect of being amplified.

(i) Multiethnicity

Fortunately, not all of the sections in the book are ethnically divisive in effect, or focus on only one particular ethnic group of the society. In the 'Nation' section, there are questions which use characters from all of the major ethnic groups in the country. Questions 1-4 (pp.86-7) revolve around the Malay character Jidin Jilis, a secondary school teacher and also chairman of a teachers'

cooperative, who plans to change job. Question 36 (p.120) involves a Malay character Ahad who is seen to be making an emergency phone call, while Mamat, another Malay character in Question 38 (p.96), is thinking of applying for a bank loan. Questions 9 and 10 (pp.88-9) are concerned with a Chinese character Phua who has to deal with certain administrative problems as regards his plan to build a house. And Ms Lim May Lin, in Question 21 (p.92), has to decide whether to use her maiden name when applying for an international passport. Cynthia in Question 34 (p.120) is a woman, probably Chinese, who has just succeeded in obtaining her Bachelor's degree in Social Science in a local university. Question 18 (p.104) is about an Indian character Palusamy who has the responsibility of paying for his radio and television licences. Multiethnicity also prevails in the following questions: Question 8 on page 112 is about the voting eligibility of Malaysian citizens from various ethnic groups (Ali, Ah Chong, Muthu, Samad, and Swee Eng). Question 1 on page 98 is another example of multiethnicity in characterizations. Here, in the 'Nation' section, it is about regulations that govern the game of football and which would affect players irrespective of their ethnic background: Aru (Indian), Zulkiflee (Malay), Kim Chuan (Chinese), and Pathmanathan (Indian). Such multiethnic composition of the players bears out the present government's belief that sports is one of the arenas where ethnic unity can be fostered.

Like those questions in the 'Nation' section in the book, Questions 8, 1, and 48, Question 19 (p.104) also has multiethnic characters which probably represent something akin to the present socio-economic setting in Malaysia. It reads:

Which of these groups do not have to pay property tax?

- a. Mr Tan who lives in a terrace house.
- b. Mr Vellu who lives on the flat's second floor.
- c. Mr Tong has one lot of remote empty land which is used by the Town Council to burn rubbish.
- d. Mr Samad, a squatter who has erected his house in an area near the railway lines.
- e. Mr Idris, a Cabinet Minister who has built a shophouse for his brother to run a business. [Trans. Appnd. 1.16]

A socio-economic portrayal of Malaysian life such as the above can go a long way towards raising social consciousness about the importance of providing social justice to every Malaysian irrespective of his/her ethnic background. Although the characterization of a Malay, Mr Samad, as someone who is economically worse off compared to the others in this set of answers, and hence still serves to feed on the notion of identifying race with economic function, which the New Economic Policy was set to eradicate, the presence of the Malay Cabinet Minister Idris serves to 'balance' the socio-economic situation. In other words, whilst we do have a poor Malay squatter we also have a Malay cabinet minister in our midst who helps out his brother, regardless of whether he makes use of his political position or not to do it. This inevitably provides a scenario of economic disparity within the Malay society itself, which in itself would go a long way towards at least jolting the impression that almost all Malays are poor. In addition, we also have a case of, for instance, Mr Tong, a Chinese, who probably needs some socio-economic assistance himself in order to improve his living condition, thereby exploding the popular myth that almost all Chinese are materially well-off. At this point, what needs to be said is that whilst it is true that we do get a good number of questions in the book that are quite multiethnic in so far as the characters in them are concerned, these characters are in themselves superficial — given the inherent limitations of

multiple-choice questions — so that the reader cannot really have a good understanding of their cultures, aspirations, etc. This superficiality contrasts with those articles which delve into some aspects of the Malay culture. The article on the Chinese traditional art of preparing tea is the only one that deals with Chinese culture, and even this has already been dismissed by the article as a dying art of the fastidious old Chinese folk.

(j) Malay royalty

The subject of (Malay) royalty is very close to the hearts of many Malays. There are quite a number of questions in the 'general knowledge' part in the book which pertain to the Malay royalty or royalty-related matters. These are questions 1 on page 110 (which asks the reader to identify which of the rulers mentioned became the Malaysian King in a particular time duration); 2 on page 111 (the reader is required to give the name of the King's head-gear); 3 on page 111 (on the powers of the Conference of Rulers to dismiss a brother ruler from the Kingship); 4 on page 111 (the reader is asked to identify a royal dress); and 10 on page 113 (seeks the reader's ability to establish the fact that the King is the head of Islam in states where there are no Malay rulers, as in Penang, Melaka, Sabah and Sarawak). These questions have the effect of conferring great importance on the Malay rulers, either to mystify the reader with the kinds of dress they wear, or to establish the (limited) powers that they have over the people, particularly the Malay-Muslims. What is missing here is the kind of question that would, overtly or otherwise, project the notion of the King as well as his brother Malay rulers as symbols of unity for all Malaysians, as they are indeed so described in official documents and pronouncements.

THE POLITICAL

(a) Nationalism

Exercise 3 (pp.34-7) in the 'Comprehension' section focuses on an extract about Malayan Nationalism which discusses the difficulties faced by the people of Malaya, which include 'immigrants' from Indonesia (i.e. Sumatra and Java), China and India (including Indians as well as Pakistanis and Sri Lankans), in responding to the clarion call of Malayan nationalism. Wang Gungwu, the writer, argues that these difficulties arise from certain centrifugal factors such as nationalistic calls from people of their original homelands, and also international movements such as Pan-Islamism and Communism. A lack of cohesion within each community as expressed in this extract differs with the notion of a united (and monolithic) race that is raised in the earlier discussion of race from the extract of the book, Sosiologi Pendidikan. Wang also talks of the Malays who, before the coming of the British colonial power, did not have the notion of nationalism; their idea of loyalty was restricted to their immediate authority, i.e. their respective district chiefs or the state Malay rulers. This also implies that there is no phenomenon of a greater unity among the Malays. This historical fact is perhaps one of the reasons that compels the book writers to ask the following multiple-choice question number 5 on page 37:

In your opinion, when did the idea of race/nation exist in the thinking of the Malays in Malaya [or literally Malay Land]?

- a. In the year 1896 when the Federated Malay States were set up.
- b. In 1946 when the Malays campaigned against the Malayan Union.
- c. In 1948 when the Federation of Malaya was established.
- d. In 1957 when Malaya achieved its independence.
- e. In 1963 when Malaysia was formed. [Trans. Appnd. 1.17]

The statement that comes closest to answering the question above is (b). The year 1946 was when the anger of the majority of the Malay people was aroused by the controversial British proposal of Malayan Union. In other words, the British who were then perceived as the 'common enemy' of the Malays had become the rallying call for the latter to unite.

Question 15 on page 114 of this book once again reinforces the significance of nationalism in Malaysia:

The following incidents are important to Malaysia's history. Which of the five below that can be most likely to be considered as being responsible for arousing nationalistic sentiments?

- a. 13th May 1969.
- b. Independence of 31st August 1957.
- c. Japanese Occupation of 1942.
- d. Malayan Union 1946.
- e. Portuguese Occupation of 1511. [Trans. Appnd. 1.18]

As mentioned elsewhere, the British proposition of the Malayan Union had incurred the wrath of the Malay nationalists. Thus, the answer to the above question is (d). However, another possible answer is (b) when Malay(sians) from all ethnic groups were filled with nationalistic fervour before Malaya obtained its independence. What the reader needs to differentiate is that the former is basically Malay nationalism, while the latter is the larger Malay(sian) nationalism. It should also be mentioned here that the subject of nationalism has also been broached earlier as regards Exercise 5 (pp.40-2).

(b) Ethnic riots of 13th May 1969: the origin of a powerful State

The 13th May 1969 ethnic riots is a watershed in Malaysian political and socio-economic history. Question 19 on page 116 is about

the creation of the powerful National Operations Council (NOC) in the wake of the 13th May ethnic riots. The question reads:

In 1969, the National Operations Council was set up in Malaysia because

- a. a state of emergency was declared in Malaysia before this.
- b. the Alliance government was unsuccessful in getting two-thirds majority in Parliament.
- c. the government wanted to draw up the New Economic Policy.
- d. the Gerakan party and DAP [Democratic Action Party] cooperated in the general elections.
- e. all of the above. [Trans. Appnd. 1.19]

While the correct answer is (a), answers (b) and (d) could also constitute as part of the reasons for the creation of the NOC, given the political situation at the time. Whether it is the mistake of the book writers to design such a question that could accept the various other answers is not necessarily our concern here. What is important is that the reader is given, perhaps by the writers' default, the opportunity to ponder on the other answers as possible explanations to the creation of the powerful NOC. A reader who is aware, from sources elsewhere, of the socio-political context surrounding the formation of the NOC, i.e. when the Parliament was suspended and a state of emergency was declared for the entire country, would be inclined to consider the other options in the set of answers provided here.

(c) Basic freedoms

Since 1969, basic freedoms of Malaysians have been a cause for concern for many Malaysians. There are multiple choice-questions in the book which are related to matters of freedom of expression, assembly and association, or rather the various curbs on them. Questions 17 (p.91), 3 (p.99) and 21 (p.105) concern themselves with certain regulations (and therefore restrictions) imposed by the

Printing and Publications Act on the printing and publishing rights of Malaysians. Since basic freedoms are inter-linked with democracy and are regarded as one of the requirements in the process of nation-building, curbs on these freedoms can be interpreted by and serve to remind the reader as a step backward in the process of achieving nationhood.

Use of terms, themes and concepts

As can be seen from this book, the recurring theme is the Malays and their culture. What are discussed or mentioned in the book under Malay culture are Malay taboos, customs, house, arts, literary works, language, dress, nationalism, and royalty. These aspects of Malay culture are not only briefly mentioned as in the case of the multiple choice questions, but also substantially discussed in some of the articles published in the book. In fact, in many cases the multiple-choice questions serve as a reinforcement and emphases of what have been said about Malay culture in the articles concerned. In comparison, aspects of other ethnic cultures do not have — given the inherent nature of multiple-choice questions where they normally emerge — the opportunity to be developed and discussed in a substantial manner.

Summary

As far as the cultural aspect of this book is concerned, Malay-Islamic culture and traditions undoubtedly dominate it. Discussions, essay topics and objective and multiple-choice questions revolve around Malay culture, national culture (that is Malay-based), national (Malay) language, Islam, and, rather briefly, Malay royalty. In addition, there is also a discussion of the cultural and political

affinity between Malaysia and Indonesia, both belonging to the old Malay world. In general, objective and multiple-choice questions play an important role in reminding or reinforcing the saliency of Malay culture in the book. For instance, in a multiple-choice question that touches on the subject of national culture, the reader is asked to identify the 'uncommon' factor from a set of Malay cultural elements. This in effect excludes that factor (i.e. Chinese lion dance) from the realm of the proposed national culture. It is significant that many of these extracts or articles revolving around Malay culture and related factors come from Malay newspapers and magazines whose primary audience is Malay, and thus have the propensity to appeal to the 'Malay perception'. This book nevertheless does touch, if rather dispassionately, on a certain aspect of Chinese culture, i.e. Chinese tea preparation that is said to be a dying art. That this is the only item of Chinese culture discussed in detail in the book only fuels the suspicion that its presence is mere tokenism. If this inclusion of Chinese culture may have an alienating effect, the multiple-choice questions sharpen the so-called racial differences between Malay and Chinese — following the article on race where racial groups are each depicted as being monolithic. Finally, there is a superficial attempt in multiethnic treatment. In the multiple-choice questions that aim at seeking one's general knowledge, members from the main ethnic groups are sprinkled all over the place to give a multiethnic impression. Being imprisoned in this type of question, these multiethnic characters are deprived of the opportunity to develop themselves so as to allow the reader to learn more about their respective cultures.

On the political front, the book covers questions of Malay nationalism, ethnic riots of 1969 and rather briefly in a

multiple-choice question format, basic freedoms.

Malay culture and politics are emphasised to the neglect of non-Malay cultural and political factors, thus giving the impression that the book is attempting to mirror the cultural and political reality of Malaysia.

Note

1. Lion dance has become a sensitive issue in Malaysia. A Malay Cabinet minister had criticised the dance as being un-Malaysian. As a result, comments C.B.Tan (1988:145), 'the national culture controversy has made the lion dance an important symbol of Chinese identity and culture in Malaysia.'

Contents of Abu Hassan Othman, Razak Mamat and Mohd Yusof Ahmad's
Pengajian Am I (General Studies 1).

Extracted articles for the 'Comprehension' section are drawn from local newspapers and magazines, books, journals, government reports, a UNESCO publication, and novels in areas of social sciences, humanities, science and technology and creative literature. Each of these extracts is accompanied by sample multiple-choice questions. Five extracts are used for the five samples (provided in this 'Comprehension' section) that serve to guide the reader in understanding a given text. Guide 1 is about guidance and counselling; Guide 2 is on Malay society and its values; Guide 3 focuses on a Malay poem; Guide 4 is about a certain kind of grass that is found in Malaysia; and Guide 5 is about an anthropological investigation of the Kayan community. In the 'practical exercise'

section, the exercises under the social sciences are based on given texts such as the following: Exercise 1 revolves around the issue of national culture in Malaysia; Exercise 2 is based on the discussion of leadership in organisation; Exercise 3 is on the Chinese art of tea preparation; Exercise 4 focuses on a local, wild grass that is found in the state of Trengganu; and Exercise 5 is based on the discussion of 'race'. Under the 'humanities', Exercise 1 is on psycholinguistics; Exercise 2 is based on the discussion of similarities found between Malaysia and Indonesia; Exercise 3 is about Malayan Nationalism; Exercise 4 is about language in Malaysia; and Exercise 5 focuses on the importance of Malaysian independence. Under the 'science and technology', Exercise 1 revolves around the American space programme; Exercise 2 is based on the issue of the dangerous paraquat; Exercise 3 concentrates on the question of AIDS; Exercise 4 is on the importance of solar power; and Exercise 5 is based on the issue of padi and its varieties. Under the 'literary creativity', Exercise 1 focuses itself on the Malay literary figure, Kassim Ahmad; Exercise 2 is about a Malay poem; Exercise 3 is based on a story of a university graduate; Exercise 4 is based on the discussion of the Malay elements in the Filipino; and Exercise 5 is on the Malay language and its role in the Malay Archipelago.

'Problem Solving' is essentially aimed at helping students understand and appreciate the use of graphs, statistics, tables, photographs, and also cartoons. The book writers say that this section seeks out the student's observation, comprehension and critical thinking. Some of the materials referred to by the writers here are local newspapers, Bank Negara (Malaysia's Central Bank) Report; Economic Report of Malaysia's Ministry of Finance; annual reports of

public corporations; and local magazines such as the Malaysian Business. Following the brief explanation of this section are 33 multiple-choice questions.

The 'Malaysian Nation' section is considered the most important in Paper 1 of the General Studies, a section that is meant to assess the student's level of maturity and width of general knowledge from the contemporary and historical perspectives. This section is largely based on the recommended list of reference books for Form Six students. The section consists of three main divisions: 'Malaysian Administrative System', 'Malaysian Legal System', and 'General Knowledge'. Thus, under 'Administration' there are 42 multiple-choice questions; under 'Legal System' 42 multiple-choice questions; and under 'General Knowledge' 52 multiple-choice questions. This last section is then followed by a sample of 60 examination questions (pp.127-150), the details of which will be examined and analysed later. Answers are not given to the objective questions presented in the book.

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Trans. Appnd. 1.1: 'Bimbingan dan kaunseling telah dipraktikkan oleh bangsa Melayu sejak dahulu, tetapi tidak berdisiplin dan bersistematik. Keadaannya berbeza dengan orang-orang Barat yang kini sudah pun mendisiplinkan sistem pendidikan negaranya, dan kehidupan sehari-hari mereka.'

1.2: 'Pantang larang yang wujud di kalangan masyarakat Melayu adalah bertujuan untuk mendidik masyarakat supaya berbudi bahasa.'

1.3: 'Amalan pantang larang di kalangan masyarakat Melayu menggambarkan bahawa orang-orang Melayu

- a. mempunyai peradaban dan tamadun yang tinggi.
- b. berkebolehan berfikir secara simbolik.
- c. lebih berdiplomasi dalam mendidik masyarakatnya.
- d. tidak mahu menjatuhkan air muka orang lain.
- e. tidak mahu berterus terang dalam hal-hal yang tertentu.'

1.4: 'Prinsip utama kebudayaan kebangsaan hendaklah berteraskan kebudayaan rakyat asal rantau ini. Rakyat asal merujuk kepada rakyat yang mewarisi sejarah dan kehidupan budaya yang menduduki suatu wilayah di suatu rantau yang berbeza dengan rantau-rantau lain di bahagian dunia yang lain.'

1.5: 'Yang manakah yang di bawah ini yang dianggap tidak dapat menjadi teras kebudayaan-kebudayaan nasional Malaysia?'

1.6: 'Tetapi seni menyediakan teh pada hari ini tidak lagi diberi perhatian oleh orang-orang Cina sekarang.'

1.7: 'Pada zaman lampau, orang-orang Cina kuno amat cerewet.'

1.8: 'Maka bersabdalah dewa-dewa bahasa Inggeris bahawa masa depan kita gelap-gelita, ribut taufan akan turun, bumi akan digoyang gempa, tanah akan merekah, sungai dan laut akan melimpah, Malaysia akan tenggelam.'

1.9: 'Bahawa bahasa Melayu akan menjadi Bahasa Kebangsaan, tetapi tiada sesiapa yang boleh dihalang atau disekat daripada belajar atau mempelajari bahasa-bahasa lain.'

1.10: 'Nasionalisme yang ditekankan untuk dijadikan teras perpaduan jangan hanya ada pada golongan tertentu, sedangkan pihak yang lain hanya mengamalkan kerjasama demi mengimbangkan dua kehendak, iaitu pertolongan dan survival sahaja.'

1.11: 'Erti kemerdekaan daripada aspek bahasa ialah

- a. bebas bertutur dalam sebarang bahasa.
- b. sayang dan cinta akan bahasa tempatan.
- c. bebas daripada pengaruh asing.
- d. ada semangat cinta dan ingin mengamalkan bahasa kebangsaan.'

1.12: 'Kenapa generasi Malaysia sekarang, sebagai sebuah komponen (sic) generasi yang merdeka masih enggan memupuk suatu bentuk kebudayaan nasional?

- a. kerana penduduk kini terdiri daripada berbilang kaum.
- b. kerana masing-masing mementingkan status quo.
- c. kerana generasi sekarang terpengaruh dengan budaya asing.
- d. kerana generasi sekarang memikirkan kepentingan diri mengatasi kepentingan kelompok.
- e. kesemua di atas.'

1.13: 'Konsep ras merujuk kepada ciri-ciri fizikal berbagai-bagai kumpulan manusia yang telah diturun-temurunkan daripada segi baka. Perkataan etnik pula merujuk kepada perbezaan-perbezaan kebudayaan yang diperolehi.'

1.14: 'Yang manakah di antara kumpulan yang berikut yang dianggap hampir mempunyai kumpulan etnik yang sama?

- a. India dan Pakistan.
- b. Cina dan Melayu.
- c. Melayu dan Arab.
- d. Serani dan Indonesia.

e. Brunei dan Melayu.'

1.15: 'Di Malaysia perbezaan antara orang Melayu dengan orang Cina adalah dari segi

- a. ras.
- b. bangsa.
- c. etnik.
- d. agama.
- e. ekonomi.'

1.16: 'Golongan yang manakah yang tidak payah membayar cukai tanah?

- a. Encik Tan yang tinggal di sebuah rumah teres.
- b. Encik Vellu yang tinggal di tingkat dua rumah pangsa.
- c. Encik Tong yang ada satu lot tanah kosong terpencil, dan digunakan oleh Majlis Perbandaran sebagai tempat membakar sampah.
- d. Encik Samad, seorang setinggan yang mendirikan rumahnya di suatu kawasan berhampiran dengan jalan keretapi.
- e. Encik Idris, seorang Menteri Kabinet yang mendirikan sebuah rumah kedai untuk adiknya menjalankan perniagaan.'

1.17: 'Pada pendapat anda, bilakah idea bangsa mula wujud dalam pemikiran orang Melayu di Tanah Melayu?

- a. Pada tahun 1896, apabila tertubuhnya Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu.
- b. Pada tahun 1946, apabila orang Melayu menentang Malayan Union.
- c. Pada tahun 1948, apabila tertubuhnya Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.
- d. Pada tahun 1957, apabila Tanah Melayu mencapai kemerdekaan.
- e. Pada tahun 1963, apabila tertubuhnya Malaysia.'

1.18: 'Peristiwa-peristiwa yang berikut merupakan catatan sejarah tanahair yang penting. Daripada lima catatan peristiwa di bawah, yang

manakah yang paling layak dianggap sebagai menaikkan semangat nasionalisme?'

- a. 13 Mei 1969.
- b. Kemerdekaan 31 Ogos 1957.
- c. Penaklukan Jepun 1942.
- d. Malayan Union 1946.
- e. Penaklukan Portugis 1511.'

1.19: 'Dalam tahun 1969, Majlis Gerakan Negara ditubuhkan di Malaysia kerana

- a. keadaan darurat diisytiharkan di Malaysia sebelum daripada itu.
- b. kerajaan Perikatan tidak berjaya mendapat dua pertiga suara di Parlimen.
- c. kerajaan ingin menggubal Dasar Ekonomi Baru.
- d. Parti Gerakan dan DAP bekerjasama dalam pilihanraya kebangsaan.
- e. Kesemua di atas.'

APPENDIX II

Abu Hassan Othman, Razak Mamat and Mohd Yusof Ahmad (1988), *Pengajian Am 2* (General Studies 2), Petaling Jaya: Longman Malaysia.

This 172-page book devotes itself to the requirements of the Paper 2 of the General Studies syllabus. Like the syllabus, this book is divided into Parts A and B (pp.1-94) on the one hand and Parts C and D (pp.95-166) on the other. Every student is required by the syllabus to attempt all Parts. `

The Analysis

THE CULTURAL

(a) Liberal approach to culture

In Parts A and B where sample essays for the Arts and Science streams are provided, the writers of the book present an essay (pp.40-41) entitled, 'Peranan Kebudayaan Dalam Mencapai Perpaduan Negara. Bincangkan.' (The Role of Culture in Achieving National Unity. Discuss.) The essay defines culture rather broadly: 'Culture encompasses the fields of science and technology and also of the arts, and both fields have a role in life. [p.40; Trans. Appnd. 2.1)]' Culture, given its broad meaning, can help in forging unity in the country, the essay adds. Furthermore, it asserts that the fact that Malaysia is multiethnic, multicultural, multireligious and multilingual makes more interesting the endeavour to achieve national unity. Cultural elements of people from various ethnic background, it adds, can be made the basis on which the proposed national culture can be formed. It needs to be said here that this seems to be a rather 'liberal' approach towards the formulation of Malaysia's national

culture, unlike the official prescription that the Malay and Islamic culture is made the basis of the national culture, along with the incorporation of certain elements of other ethnic cultures in Malaysia. This liberal handling of cultural matters by the writers is however undermined by their previous book, Pengajian Am 1, that bears a heavy emphasis on and a didactic approach towards Malay culture.

(b) Towards national unity

The following additional information in the same essay (pp.40-41), however, may have made a portion of itself vulnerable to certain criticisms. This part of the essay informs the reader of the steps that have been taken (by the State) to achieve national unity. These are the instituting of the national ideology (Rukunegara), which aims at creating a citizen who is loyal to king and country, believes in God, and upholds the constitution; the implementation of the national language policy; the carrying out of the New Economic Policy (NEP), whose primary objectives are to eradicate poverty and restructure society; and finally, social and welfare activities that are participated by all ethnic groups. Whilst the reader generally may not have much problem with appreciating these measures taken by the government in order to achieve a long-term goal of fostering good ethnic relations, s/he may have certain apprehensions and reservations when it comes to the NEP. This is because of the government's emphasis on creating a group of Malay entrepreneurs and capitalists, a consequence of a stipulation in the policy which not only would neglect the welfare of the Malay poor (Mehmet 1988:123) — as is implied in an extract (pp.179-183) in A. Long's book — but also the non-Malay poor (MCA 1988:37-55). This emphasis is also found in Exercise 11 (pp.119-120) that is based on the data related to the

socio-economic achievements since the NEP was implemented. Here, it is said that what is regarded to be the most important of all considerations related to the NEP is whether the Bumiputeras would be able to acquire 30% of the country's corporate assets. On the other hand, a student reader, especially if s/he is Malay, would feel that such an emphasis is only proper so as to ensure that the Malays as a whole would have an active role in the economic life of the country, and therefore would not be economically lagging behind other ethnic groups.

This concern for national unity is again reflected in an essay topic under the 'Arts' section: 'Polarisation, whether it is a political or social meaning, is indeed dangerous. For this would cluster a race with sentiments and the direction of development that is diverging. If this situation persists, it will only further aggravate things, that is, jeopardises national security. Give your view on the above statement. [p. 91; Trans. Appnd. 2.2]' It could be deduced from here that this topic has taken cognizance of the dangers of ethnic polarisation in multiethnic Malaysia, a concern that was also expressed by the Mahathir government since 1984¹ and similarly shared by some concerned individuals and public interest groups. The reader would be inclined to share such concern about a danger that strikes at the very heart of the nation. Thus s/he is open to two positions: The concern of the reader may well take the form of wanting 'socio-economic justice' through more government assistance to the Malays; or s/he would tend to seek for 'equal treatment' by the government for all, especially the poor of all ethnic groups.

(c) Liberal education in a multiethnic society

The next sample essay on pages 42-3, 'Melebur Buluh Biarlah Pada Ketika Masih Rebung' (a metaphorical title that means in order to educate a person more effectively, it must be done when s/he is still young and impressionable) also possesses a 'liberal' and multicultural approach to education. The essay argues that since it is relatively easier to train and educate an individual when s/he is still young, the child should be exposed to and made aware of the basic rights of other people. 'In this way, children not only can accept the culture, values and norms of their society, but also at the same time, they are trained to respect the values, norms and cultures of other people [p.42; Trans. Appnd. 2.3]' The essay also warns parents against what it terms as 'brainwashing' their children because, it argues, 'Parents should not hide the fact that people are different. These differences derive from religious beliefs, cultures, values and worldviews [p.42; Trans. Appnd. 2.4]' As such, it cautions, parents should 'socialize' their children to learn and respect cultures, religions, political views — either right or otherwise — of other people. This essay not only encourages the reader to be positively receptive to cultural values, beliefs, and worldviews which are different from his/hers, it also celebrates the reality that humans are in many ways different and this multitudinousness of a person or a group should be appreciated by the reader. In a multiethnic society like Malaysia's, such a liberal attitude is healthy to the development of a harmonious multicultural society. The tone and approach of this essay reflect and also support that of the previous essay, which discusses the role of cultures in fostering national unity. As with the culture essay, this one also stands in stark contrast with the writers' earlier book, Pengajian Am 1, that categorically stresses on Malay culture.

(d) Cultural nationalism

(i) Malay poets and poetry

Poets, too, play their role in addressing the importance of nationalism in Malaysia. But in an essay on pages 43-44 entitled, 'Puisi Sebagai Pernyataan Semangat Nasionalisme Bangsa' (Poetry as a Statement of Nationalistic Sentiment), only Malay poets are chosen for discussion. The essay begins by saying that poetry is a political statement of poets, largely depicting the socio-economic and political conditions of the society in which they live. Two Malay poets are examined, one of which is Mahsuri S.N. The fact that Mahsuri was active during the Japanese occupation of Malaya explains his poetry, like many others of his time, being primarily propagandistic, urging Malay youths to be patriotic and to fight and struggle for the love of the (Malay) race and country. Usman Awang, the other poet examined by the essay, is said to be particularly concerned with the effects of colonialism upon the natives — particularly slavish mentality. A similar theme recurs in a section where the reader is asked to attempt to write an essay entitled, 'Nasionalisme Malaysia (p.91)' (Malaysian nationalism.). Nationalism in general may to a large extent be able to unite the people. However, the kind that was pursued by poets such as Mahsuri would possibly attract Malays only to the alienation of the non-Malays, and thus affecting ethnic relations in the country.² Such nationalistic fervour is also found in the writers' previous book, Pengajian Am 1.

(ii) Malay architecture

The book writers' 'liberal attitude' takes a dramatic turn here. The reference to Malay culture is also felt in a topic on local

architecture as discussed in an article on pages 53-44 entitled, 'Seni Bina Bangunan di Malaysia Perlu Mencerminkan Unsur-unsur Budaya Setempat.' (Building Architecture in Malaysia Needs to Reflect Elements of Local Culture.) The writers assert that a building is more than a mere structure to protect oneself from the natural elements such as rain, sun, snow, etc. In these modern times, it adds, a building is a place of protection that gives 'physiological, artistic, aesthetic and psychological satisfaction to its users, consonant with their culture and socio-economic standing [pp.53-54; Trans. Appnd. 2.5]'. Thus, it argues that it is only appropriate that the architecture of local buildings reflect elements of local culture. It then turns its attention to a few cases of traditional Malay houses which it claims have their own unique features: the traditional Kelantanese-Malay house; the Malaccan-Malay house; the Bank Bumiputera headquarters in Kuala Lumpur that takes on the shape of the traditional Malay house; and the Malayan Banking headquarters with its Malay keris (dagger)-shape building. It concludes:

With the samples of building mentioned above, it is clear that elements of local culture can inspire architects who are innovative and creative to create artifacts and shapes of building that reflect elements of local culture and at the same time maintaining the beauty and strength of a building. [p.54; Trans. Appnd. 2.6]

That 'elements of local culture' should be used when constructing a building so as to project a Malaysian architecture can only be construed as an exhortation to local architects to make use of elements of the Malay culture such as can be found in the examples of buildings in the text. This restricted approach to architecture in particular and culture in general certainly runs counter to the rather liberal orientations of the first two essays in this book. The reader

can as a result be placed in two opposing positions: one, s/he may be more receptive to the above approach to architecture because it is consonant with the mainstream notion of the Malay culture being the base of the national culture;³ or two, s/he can be very opposed to this heavily Malay-based idea of Malaysian architecture as it excludes elements from other ethnic cultures. There is no mention in this topic, for instance, of a few buildings on Penang island which are apparently influenced by elements from Chinese culture. Under the 'science' rubric, there is only one sample topic that is relevant to this study: 'Seni bina moden dan keruntuhan nilai-nilai warisan (p.92).' (Modern building architecture and the erosion of the values of heritage.) Perhaps here is an opportunity for the student reader to express his/her preference as regards the above subject-matter, but only with two opposing positions to choose from: The Malay reader generally would tend to highlight those buildings supposedly expressing elements of Malay culture while the non-Malay reader would try to promote aspects of non-Malay culture in building architecture in Malaysia. On the other hand, given the dominant view of the authorities about national culture, the critical reader may just be subdued into acquiescence particularly if s/he suspects that her/his academic success hinges on such dominant perspective.

(e) Malay culture

A facet of the Malay culture also emerges in the 'Facts and Framework' of an 'Essay' section in sample topic 2 (for the 'Arts') entitled (pp.78-79), 'Orang Melayu dan sikap malu.' (The Malay people and their shy attitude.) Some pointers are given as to how to fill in the 'body' of the essay. One of them is 'Kenapa orang Melayu bersikap malu?' (Why are the Malays shy?) The possible explanations are spelled

out as such: (a) a feature of an Eastern society; (b) an inferiority complex because one is poor, etc.; (c) the refusal to be defeated and influenced by jealousy; and (d) a defeatist tendency. This is a promotion, directly or otherwise, of a certain aspect of Malay culture in the book.⁴ In the context of the Malay culture being made the basis of the national culture, such inclusion of a particular aspect of Malay culture is significant. The following are also materials which are relevant to the promotion of Malay culture: Under the 'Arts', an essay topic that the reader is supposed to attempt is: 'Tarian tradisional negara terus dilupakan (p.90).' (The traditional dance of the country is continuously forgotten.) In another set of exercise in the Graphics to Prose section, Exercise 13 (p.157) is a chart entitled, 'Hubungan Alam Persekitaran dengan Masyarakat Melayu yang mewujudkan Tradisi Bercerita' (The relationship of Nature with the Malay Society that Creates the Tradition of Story-Telling.) In the sample Paper 2 of the General Studies examination, Part A (p.168) requires the student to give his/her opinion on the development of (Malay) theatre and drama in contemporary Malaysia, based on the given skeletal information regarding certain Malay theatrical personalities such as Noordin Hassan, Syed Alwi, Hatta Azad Khan and Rahim Razali. Thus, the reader can see that there are a lot more information on aspects of Malay culture in the book compared with those of other ethnic cultures — as is the case with the writers' previous book, Pengajian Am 1. This again contradicts the underlying liberal orientation of the first two essays in this book.

(f) Islam

Islam makes an appearance in sample topic 3 (for the 'Sciences') under the 'Facts and Framework' of an 'Essay' section that reads

(p.84), 'Dapatkah sains dan Islam bersaing?' (Can science and Islam compete with each other?) Suggestions for the content of this essay are: (a) Agreed that Islam can compete with science; (b) Islam has never prevented scientific progress; (c) many of the achievements in the fields of science and technology were made by Islamic scientists from Egypt and other parts of the Middle East; (d) Many of the things related to Islam today are based on scientific progress; (e) there are several things embraced by western scientists that are opposed by Islam (for examples, the theory of Man's origin; the killing of animals for research; the use of human bodies for research, etc.); and finally (f) the importance of rational thinking in science and its infusion into Islam. The inclusion of this sample in the book is essential in so far as this serves as an introduction to the Islamic religion. However, the absence of information on other religious beliefs in this book would not only rob the reader of the opportunity to learn about the various faiths that are available in the country but it is also dissonant with the liberal tone of the first two essays of the book which appreciate the multiethnic and multicultural complexion of the Malaysian society. This kind of bias is also found in their previous book.

THE POLITICAL

(a) Basic freedoms

Like the previous book, basic freedoms are also a cause for concern for this book. On pages 48-50 is displayed a sample essay on 'Wartawan Sebagai Gergaji Dua Mata — Bersifat Membina atau Membinasa. Jelaskan.' (The Journalist as Two-Edged Sword — Constructive or Destructive. Explain.) In their attempt to illustrate that the

Malaysian press is one vehicle with which Malaysians can exercise their democratic right to express their views, the book writers say: 'As a country (Malaysia) that practises a democratic system, its citizens are free to express their opinions, and we have various kinds of newspapers in various languages. For instance, we can read English language dailies such as The New Straits Times, The Star, The Malay Mail, newspapers in Malaysia's national language such as Berita Harian, Utusan Malaysia, Utusan Melayu, newspapers in Chinese language like Nanyang Siang Pau, Sin Jew Jit Pau (sic), and newspapers in Tamil such as Tamil Nesan. [pp. 48-49; Trans. Appnd. 2.7]' This positive view of Malaysia's freedom of expression does not seem to go very far, for the writers of the book warn the reader later in the same essay of the danger of journalists who have a 'destructive' attitude. They hold that, 'Journalists who are irresponsible may write articles and news which arouse the people's anger against the government, which could create tension and fights between the races or which could destroy the administrative system of the government. Clearly, the destructive journalist would create an unstable atmosphere for the individual and society. [p.49; Trans. Appnd. 2.8]' The book writers seem quick to resort to the government rhetoric that 'critical' reporting that would create social consciousness among the people about the way their country is being run can create racial tension and riots and consequently governmental collapse. This notion of danger to the so-called 'national security' due to some critical reporting and public and individual criticisms certainly runs counter to the previous claim that the citizens have their democratic right to express their opinions.⁵

(b) The Monarchy

The reader is also offered a list of essay topics for him/her to attempt. Under the 'Arts', one of the topics that are deemed relevant to the study is: 'Yang di-Pertuan Agong sebagai lambang institusi sosial dan perlembagaan Malaysia (p.91).' (The King as a symbol of social institution and Malaysian constitution.)⁶ This brief mention of the monarchy contrasts with a relatively detailed treatment of the previous book, but nonetheless does sustain, albeit in a small way, the social and political significance of the royal institution.

(c) 'Numbers game': Malay political supremacy

Abu Hassan Othman et al., particularly in Exercise 10 (pp.118-119) of the 'Prose to Graphics' section in Parts C and D, have drifted again into one of those moments when they show their seeming preference towards the interest of the Malay people. This particular exercise involves population statistics (which is divided into racial categories) that is derived from a census conducted in 1980 for the whole of Malaysia. The given information declares, 'It can be said that every one of the 14 states (including the Federal Territory) has a marked racial composition. Only the states of Kelantan and Trengganu which show a different trend [p.118; Trans. Appnd. 2.9].'

The last two states are predominantly Malay. It adds that the situation varies in other states. The states that still have Malay majority include Kedah and Perlis. In Pahang, it notes, the number of Malays has declined while those in Johor and Melaka are only slightly over 50%. The following states have their Malay population at less than 50% of the population of each state: Selangor, Penang, Perak and Negeri Sembilan. In the Federal Territory, the Malays and the other bumiputeras constitute 33.8% of the state's population. In the states

of Sabah and Sarawak, the situation is relatively complex. In Sabah, while there are no Malays, there are bumiputeras (83%) (encompassing the majority Kadazans and the Muruts). In Sarawak, the Malays make up for 19.7% of the state's population. As said earlier, this is a population statistics according to race and the tone suggests an implicit concern for the Malay numerical strength in the country as a whole, for this invariably means Malay political supremacy. The 'Malay concern' of this essay certainly contrasts with the generous appreciation of the country's multiethnic, multicultural and multireligious composition that is found in the first two essays of the book.

THE ECONOMIC

(a) Malay poverty

Exercise 17 (pp.127-128) in Parts C and D focuses on a 1976 statistics that demonstrates the socio-economic disparities between the states on the one hand and between the urban and rural centres in Malaysia on the other. As regards the economic situation between states, it notes that the state of Kelantan has the highest rate of poverty (59.2%), followed by Trengganu (51.4%), Kedah (55.1%), Perlis (48.7%), Perak (38.7%), Sarawak (37.7%), Pahang (32%), Penang (29.5%), Melaka (29.1%), Johor (27.3), Negeri Sembilan (26.7%), Sabah (9.5%), and the least of all, Federal Territory (6.7%). On the whole, the rate of poverty is relatively higher in the rural rather than urban areas. This set of statistics on the socio-economic disparities between the states and between the rural and urban areas of Malaysia would strengthen the contention that the areas affected by poverty are mainly where Malays form a majority, as alluded to by the exercise on Malay demographic pattern. This would form, as we will find later, as

a basis to the call for government economic assistance help to the Malays. The heavy emphasis on Malay/bumiputera poverty here — although in itself a legitimate concern — without mention of non-Malay poverty would imply scant regard for social justice for all, and hence alienate the non-Malay reader.

(b) Malay socio-economic improvement

As in the Exercise 17 above, Malay interests are served in Exercise 11 (pp.119-120), which is based on data related to the socio-economic achievements since the New Economic Policy (NEP) was implemented. The successes mentioned in this information piece are the increase in infrastructural facilities; the overall health conditions of the people have improved; life expectancy rate has increased; and mortality rate declines. However, it cautions that there are still aspects of the national development that have so far failed to meet their targets. For example, electrification and water supply programmes in the rural areas. However, what is considered by this data to be the most important of all considerations related to the NEP is whether the bumiputeras would be able to acquire 30% of the country's corporate assets. Implicit in this exercise is the economic welfare of the Bumiputeras, particularly their activities in the corporate sector — which is an indirect way of illustrating the government's concern for the creation of a small group of Malay capitalists.

Still on the Malay economic problems, a reader, be it a Malay or anyone who sympathises with the economic problems of the Malays, would be concerned with the content of the table presented in Exercise 16 (pp.160-161). The table shows memberships in certain professional

groups (in 1980 and 1983) according to ethnicity. The professions listed are: architect, accountant, engineer, dentist, doctor, veterinarian, surveyor and (private sector) lawyer. Between the two periods of time, the percentage of Malays going into these professions has on the whole doubled (1980:14.9%; 1983:18.9%) compared with those of the Chinese (63.5%; 62.8%), Indians (17.4%; 15.3%), and 'others' (4.2%; 3%). However, as can be seen from the given figures, the number of professional Malays are relatively still less than the rest of the ethnic groups. And this point is indirectly repeated in the following question number 1 (p.161): 'Bincangkan kedudukan kumpulan profesional mengikut kaum dalam tahun 1980 dan peningkatannya dalam tahun 1983.' (Discuss the state of the professions according to race in 1980 and their growth in 1983.) It should be said here that the second objective of the NEP (i.e. to restructure society so that economic function does not coincide with ethnicity) is largely to correct this situation in the professions so that Malays would be fairly represented. Although it is generally understandable to expect that more Malays should be active in the economic sector, an over-stress on ethnic composition in the professions could very well cause anxieties and suspicions between the ethnic groups as a whole. Put another way, a deep concern for the economic welfare of the Malays as implied by the book's treatment may be perceived, real or imagined, as none for the economic well-being of the non-Malays as a whole. The concern for the betterment of the Malay economic standing is evident in the previous Exercises 11 and 17.

Summary

Unlike the previous book, Othman et al. display in this book an appreciation of liberal approach to culture and education in a

multiethnic setting. However this refreshing attempt is short-lived when subsequent essays and discussions gravitate heavily towards aspects of Malay-Islamic culture such as Malay poetry, Malay theatre, Malay story-telling tradition, Malaysian architecture (that is essentially Malay) and Islam and science — thereby marginalizing non-Malay cultures. Nonetheless, such liberal discussions of culture and education do have the potential of being used as an effective measuring rod against the subsequent Malay-bias materials.

Politically, the book also shows a Malay bias as illustrated in the statistics concerning Malay numerical strength. The monarchy is mentioned in brief. As for basic freedoms, the writers caution the reader of what they see as the danger of an uncontrolled investigative press. As in politics, the economic segment of the book focuses heavily on Malay poverty and measures taken to improve the socio-economic situation of the Malays. With the available measuring instrument, one can really sense the lack or absence of concern for the welfare or economic plight of the non-Malay poor on the part of the book writers. In other words, this too sets the book slightly apart from the previous one.

Notes

1. See, for instance, Aliran (1988), particularly pp.2-34, for an overview of ethnic relations situation in the country.

2. The kind of nationalism propounded by people like Mahsuri tends to be reduced to 'Malay nationalism'. It is instructive to quote here what K.J.Ratnam has to say about such nationalism in a footnote in his book, Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya: 'The term "Malay nationalism" is used here in a rather wide sense; in certain cases, "Malay communalism" or "Malay regionalism" may be appropriate. The choice of "nationalism" may be justified on the grounds that there is a common tendency among communalists and regionalists alike to believe that they are

fighting a nationalist cause, because they still feel that Malaya is a Malay country. (1967:23)'

3. For a catalogue of Malay cultural artefacts, folklore, traditional medicine and games, etc. see for instance, Ismail Hamid (1988), especially pp.140-198. This then leads us to one of the Gerakan party's criticisms of the national culture policy in that it tends 'to concentrate more on cultural forms such as dresses, music, dances, fine arts, industrial arts, architecture, etc. rather than on fundamental cultural values, concepts and beliefs' (Gerakan 1983:59).

4. Abdullah Taib and Mohamed Yusoff Ismail (in Osman-Rani and Fisk (eds) 1983:124), for instance, argue that the Malays should always value shyness because it would make them respect themselves so that they would be too 'shy' to oppose their cultural tradition, especially in the face of foreign cultural onslaught.

5. Criticisms against government have tended to be viewed with suspicion by the Mahathir government in particular as the latter see such criticisms — especially if they come from students — as an attempt to weaken 'the faith of the people in the government', and hence these can be construed as jeopardising 'national security'. For example, the government training agency, INTAN, in its book Negara Kita (Our Nation), which also forms one of the General Studies reference books for the Form Six students, categorically states that, for instance, students who are critical of government policies can pose a threat to the country's political and social stability (1983:192). Another example of the government's inclination to treat criticism less generously is the case of two students from the Johor state whose scholarships were withdrawn by the Johor Education Foundation for allegedly being critical of the government. (The Star, 20/6/88.)

6. The recent political developments which saw the King taking side in the UMNO in-fighting and his call for Malay unity could be interpreted as him being more of a symbol of Malay unity than of Malaysian unity. Besides, the fact that the (Malay) King's position as the head of State of modern Malaysia is also a Malay social institution has been taken to demonstrate the validity and appropriateness of the Malay culture being the base of Malaysia's national culture (Ismail Hamid 1988:200).

Contents of Abu Hassan Othman, Razak Mamat and Mohd Yusof Ahmad's
Penqajian Am 2 (General Studies 2).

In Part A, following the syllabus, students are required to write essays whose orientation is towards the Arts while Part B demands

essays of the Science-related nature. In Parts A and B, the writers of the book have provided 16 short sample essays for the Arts. These essays are: 'Filem Sebagai Kritikan Sosial.' (Film as a Social Critique.); 'Perpustakaan dan Arkib dalam Kehidupan Hari Ini.' (Library and Archive in Today's Living.); 'Tangkapan Ikan Sawah Semakin Merosot di Malaysia. Bincangkan.' (Padi Fish Catch Is Declining in Malaysia. Discuss.); 'Peranan Kebudayaan Dalam Mencapai Perpaduan Negara. Bincangkan.' (The Role of Culture in Achieving National Unity. Discuss.); 'Meleptur Buluh Biarlah Pada Ketika Masih Rebung. Jelaskan.' (To Change The Shape of Bamboo, It Is Better To Do It When It Is Still A Shoot. Explain.); 'Puisi Sebagai Pernyataan Semangat Nasionalisme Bangsa.' (Poetry As a Statement of a Nationalistic Sentiment); 'Pengaruh Televisyen Kepada Pendidikan. Bincangkan.' (The Influence of Television on Education. Discuss.); 'Kemasukan Pelaburan Asing ke Negara Ini Mendatangkan Kebaikan Semata-mata. Bincangkan.' (Foreign Investments in This Country Bring Only Positive Results. Discuss.); 'Kerjasama Ekonomi di Antara Negara-negara ASEAN Penting Untuk Menghasilkan Kestabilan di Asia Tenggara.' (Economic Cooperation Between ASEAN Countries Provides Stability in Southeast Asia.); 'Wartawan Sebagai Gergaji Dua Mata — Bersifat Membina Atau Membinasakan. Jelaskan.' (A Journalist As A Two-Edged Sword — Constructive or Destructive. Explain.); 'Iklan-iklan di Media Massa Lebih Merupakan Suatu Alat Untuk Komersial Daripada Berkhidmat Untuk Kepentingan Pengguna. Jelaskan.' (Advertisements in the Mass Media Are More of a Commercial Tool Rather Than Providing Service to the Consumer. Explain.); 'Pendidikan Pengguna Perlu Dijadikan Mata Pelajaran Utama di Institusi Pengajian Tinggi di Malaysia. Beri Pendapat Anda.' (Consumer Education Should Be Made An Important Subject In Institutions of Higher Learning in

Malaysia. Give Your Opinion.); 'Seni Bina Bangunan di Malaysia Perlu Mencerminkan Unsur-unsur Budaya Setempat. Beri Pendapat Anda.' (Building Architecture In Malaysia Needs To Reflect Elements of Local Culture. Give Your Views.); 'Dasar Persyarikatan Malaysia Membawa Kebaikan Kepada Kedudukan Ekonomi dan Sosial Masyarakat. Bincangkan.' (Malaysia Incorporated Policy Brings Goodness To the Social and Economic Standing of the Society. Discuss.); 'Seseorang Yang Menjadi Juara Dalam Permainan Perlu Mempunyai Sikap Pengorbanan, Keazaman dan Asuhan. Jelaskan.' (An Individual Who Is A Champion In Games Must Possess Sacrifice, Determination and Training. Explain.); and 'Peranan Sukan Pada Masa Ini Lebih Banyak Mementingkan Motif Komersial Daripada Motif Untuk Pertumbuhan Mental dan Fizikal. Bincangkan.' (The Role of Sports Nowadays is More Commercially Motivated Rather Than Be Motivated for Mental and Physical Development. Discuss.).

And there are 14 sample essays for the 'Science', of which the primary aim of the book writers is to give the students some sense of the kinds of essay that they (the students) are expected to write in the examination. These essays are: 'Merokok Merupakan Tabiat Yang Tidak Menguntungkan Kesihatan Manusia. Bincangkan.' (Smoking is a Habit That is Detrimental to Human Health. Discuss.); 'Ekologi dan Pembangunan.' (Ecology and Development.); 'Perubatan Doktor-doktor Swasta Lebih Bersifat Komersial.' (Private Doctors' Medical Treatment is More Commercialized.); 'Pencemaran Udara Mengurangkan Nilai Persekitaran dan Merosakkan Kesihatan. Jelaskan.' (Air Pollution Reduces the Environmental Quality and Harms Health. Explain.); 'Bincangkan Kesan-kesan Pengimportan Teknologi Moden oleh Negara-negara Sedang Membangun dari Negara-negara Maju.' (Discuss the Effects of the Importation of Modern Technologies by the Developing

Countries from the Developed Countries.); 'Penorakaan Angkasa Lepas Tidak Mendatangkan Faedah untuk Manusia Sejagat.' (Space Exploration Does Not Benefit the Universal Man.); 'Ubat-ubatan Tradisional Masih Mempunyai Peranan dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Moden. Bincangkan.' (Traditional Medicine Still Has a Role in Modern Social Life. Discuss.); 'Susu Ibu: Penggunaan Serta Kesannya Masa Kini.' (Mother's Milk: Its Use and Its Current Effects.); 'Semakin Maju dan Moden Sesebuah Negara Maka Semakin Banyak Pula Penyakit yang Berbahaya Melanda Kehidupannya. Bincangkan.' (The More Progressive and Modern a Country The More Dangerous Diseases Inflict Itself. Discuss.); 'Bincangkan Kesan-kesan Pembinaan Empangan Hidroelektrik dalam Pembangunan Negara.' (Discuss the Effects of Constructing Hydroelectric Dams in National Development.); 'Pemakaian Sistem Metrik di Negara Ini adalah Kerana Hal Itu Lebih Mudah, Lebih Cekap Daripada Sistem Imperial. Bincangkan.' (The Use of Metric System in This Country is Because It is Easier, More Efficient Than the Imperial System.); 'Teknologi Robot Akan Mengambil Alih Pengurusan Kerja oleh Manusia Pada Masa Hadapan. Bincangkan.' (Robot Technology Will Take Over Man's Work Management in the Future. Discuss.); 'Pengenalan Komputer dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat di Malaysia Lebih Banyak Mendatangkan Kebaikan Daripada Keburukan. Bincangkan.' (Computer Literacy in Malaysian Social Life Brings More Benefits than Harm. Discuss.); and 'Berikan Pendapatan (sic) Anda Tentang Bahaya dalam Makanan.' (Give your view on the Dangers in Food.). There are no questions under this section that are found to be relevant to the study.

In addition, there are sample essays with several 'pointers', 10 each for the 'Arts' and the 'Science'. The 10 essays for the 'Arts'

are: 'Cerpen sebagai genre sastra yang paling popular.' (Short story as a literary genre that is most popular.); 'Orang Melayu dan sikap malu.' (The Malays and their shy attitude.); 'Peranan kaunseling dalam kehidupan masyarakat.' (The role of counselling in social life.); 'Perkhidmatan kesihatan di luar bandar.' (Health service in rural areas.); 'Politik di negara-negara Dunia Ketiga.' (Politics in Third World countries.); 'ASEAN lebih berjaya sebagai pertubuhan sosial daripada pertubuhan politik dan ekonomi.' (ASEAN is more successful as a social organisation rather than political and economic organisation.); 'Ukur baju di badan sendiri.' (Cut your cloth according to your body.); 'Bahasa isyarat di televisyen.'; (Sign language on television.); 'Aspek perancangan dalam pengurusan.' (The planning aspect in management.); and "'Walaupun kita lihat kebanyakan sukan itu memberikan kebaikan, tetapi tanpa disedari banyak yang boleh membahayakan dan merugikan. Jadi, sebelum kita terperangkap oleh sukan yang berkenaan, maka lebih baik jika kita berhati-hati memajukan sukan.'" Berdasarkan kenyataan di atas, tuliskan sebuah esei berjudul "Unsur-unsur negatif dalam sukan.'" ('Even though we see most of the sports are beneficial, there are, however, without us realising it, a lot in sports that are harmful. So before we get trapped in those kinds of sports it is better that we be careful when promoting sports.' Based on this statement, write an essay entitled, 'The negative elements in sports.').

And the 10 essays for the 'Science' are: 'Gas-bio sebagai tenaga alternatif di Malaysia.' (Bio-gas as an alternative energy form in Malaysia.); 'Insomnia.'; 'Dapatkah sains dan Islam bersaing?' (Can science and Islam compete with each other?); 'Penggunaan kimia dalam pertanian.' (The use of chemicals in agriculture.); 'Vitamin C dan

kepentingannya kepada manusia.' (Vitamin C and its importance to human beings.); 'Bahaya dan langkah pencegahan demam denggi.' (The dangers of and prevention against dengue.); 'Air, kepentingan dan bahayanya kepada kehidupan manusia.' (Water, its importance and danger to human life.); 'Penggunaan jentera dan bahan-bahan kimia dalam pertanian di Malaysia mendatangkan faedah semata-mata. Bincangkan.' (The use of machines and chemicals in agriculture in Malaysia brings only benefits. Discuss.); 'Kepentingan institusi-institusi penyelidikan sains dan teknologi dalam pembangunan negara.' (The importance of scientific and technological research institutions in national development.); and 'Pemeliharaan hutan hujan tropika penting dalam pembangunan negara. Jelaskan.' (The protection of tropical rainforest is important in national development. Explain.)

Towards the end of this section of the book, the reader will find 30 sample essay titles/topics for the 'Arts' and another 30 for the 'Science' for him/her to do exercises in writing essays.

Part C of the book requires the students to make graphs, tables, charts and other similar forms of communication from given pieces of prosaic information; while in Part D the students are to do just the reverse — write brief prose from given charts, graphs, etc. In each of these two parts the writers have provided 20 exercises for the students to attempt.

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Trans. Appnd. 2.1: 'Kebudayaan mencakupi bidang ilmu sains dan teknologi dan bidang ilmu sastera dan kesenian juga, dan kedua-dua

bidang tersebut mempunyai peranan dalam kehidupan.'

2.2: 'Polirisasi (sic), tidak kira sama ada merupakan istilah politik atau sosial, amatlah berbahaya. Hal itu mengelompokkan bangsa dengan semangat serta arah perkembangan yang tidak sehaluan. Jika situasi ini berterusan, hal itu dapat memancing situasi yang buruk lagi, iaitu meleburkan ketahanan nasional. Beri pandangan anda tentang kenyataan di atas.'

2.3: 'Dengan cara ini, kanak-kanak itu bukan sahaja dapat menerima budaya, nilai, dan norma masyarakatnya, tetapi pada waktu yang sama, mereka juga dilatih supaya menghormati nilai dan norma serta budaya orang lain.'

2.4: 'Ibubapa tidak harus menyembunyikan hakikat bahawa manusia berbeza. Perbezaan itu wujud daripada segi kepercayaan keagamaan, daripada segi kebudayaan dan daripada segi dan padangan hidup mereka.'

2.5: '.. memberi kepuasan fisiologi, kesenian, estatik, dan psikologi kepada para penggunanya, selaras dengan budaya dan kedudukan sosio-ekonomi mereka.'

2.6: 'Dengan contoh-contoh bangunan yang telah disebutkan di atas tadi, nyatalah bahawa unsur-unsur budaya setempat dapat melahirkan ilham kepada ahli-ahli seni bina yang inovatif dan kreatif untuk merekacipta barang-barang artifels dan merekacipta bentuk bangunan yang mencerminkan unsur-unsur budaya setempat sambil mengekalkan keindahan dan ketahanan sesebuah bangunan itu.'

2.7: 'Sebagai sebuah negara (Malaysia) yang mengamalkan sistem demokrasi, rakyatnya bebas bersuara, kita mempunyai berbagai-bagai jenis penerbitan akhbar dalam berbagai-bagai bahasa. Umpamanya, kita dapat membaca akhbar harian dalam bahasa Inggeris seperti The New Straits Times, The Star, The Malay Mail, akhbar dalam bahasa Malaysia seperti Berita Harian, Utusan Malaysia, Utusan Melayu, akhbar bahasa Cina seperti Nanyang Siang Pau, Sin Jew Jit Pau (sic), dan akhbar bahasa Tamil seperti Tamil Nesan.'

2.8: 'Wartawan yang tidak bertanggungjawab juga mungkin menulis rencana dan berita yang membangkitkan kemarahan rakyat terhadap kerajaan, yang mungkin menimbulkan pergaduhan di antara kaum atau yang boleh meruntuhkan sistem pentadbiran kerajaan. Tegasnya, wartawan pembinasakan akan menimbulkan suasana ketidaktenteraman dalam kehidupan individu dan masyarakat.'

2.9: 'Boleh dikatakan setiap buah negeri daripada 14 buah negeri (termasuk Wilayah Persekutuan dan Labuan) mempunyai komposisi kaum yang menonjol.'

APPENDIX III

Contents of Ranjit Singh Malhi's *Kenegaraan Malaysia* (The Malaysian Nation).

The book is divided into four parts: Part I has the first chapter (pp.2-23) that deals with 'The Nation' in general. This covers topics as follows: The concept of a nation; Malaysia as a state; What is a constitution; Why do we need a constitution; The classification of a constitution; The definition of a nation; The system of government; A democratic government; The doctrine of separation of powers; Public administration; and The concept of organisation and structure.

Part II encompasses the subject of a constitution and the structure of government. The second chapter (pp.26-48) under this part focuses on the topic of 'Federal and state constitutions'. This chapter touches on the following aspects: The history of the Malayan Constitution; Sabah and Sarawak; The formation of Malaysia; The concept of the supremacy of the Malaysian Constitution; Contents of the Federal Constitution in general; Several important factors in the Constitution; and State constitutions. The third chapter (pp.50-72) under this part focuses on 'The Malaysian system of government'. This chapter covers the following: The system of federal government; 'the King; Election of the King; Power of the Executive; the King's relations with the Parliament; the King's relations with the

Judiciary; Other functions of the King; the King's discretionary powers; Restrictions on the King; The Conference of Rulers; the Auditor-General; The system of the state government; the Raja and the Governor; the Malay ruler's acting on advice of state government; The ruler's discretionary powers; The ruler's power and legal immunity; The separation of powers between the federal and state governments; Legal powers; Executive powers; Land matters; Financial powers; and the Malaysian system of administration.

Part III of the book discusses the structure of Malaysia's public administration. Here chapter four (pp.74-99) focuses on 'The administrative structure of the federal government'. This chapter deals with the following aspects: the Cabinet; The organisation of the supreme Executive; the Prime Minister; the Deputy Prime Minister; The formulation of national policies; collective responsibility; Cabinet meetings; Ministries; Major agencies of the government; The structure of a ministry; The role of a ministry; The role of key administrator and staff; the Prime Minister's Department; A department; The role of a department; The senior administrator and staff; Commissions; The types of commissions; The objectives of creating a commission; The appointment of commission members; The administration of a commission; Public bodies; The kinds of public bodies; The objectives of creating public bodies; Federal statutory bodies; Federal non-statutory bodies; The organisational and staffing arrangement; The controls of ministries and federal agencies; Administrative coordination of the federal government; Coordination between ministries; and Coordination within a ministry. Chapter five (pp.100-120) under this part III deals with 'The structure and administration of state and local governments'. Here the chapter examines the following: The executive

council of the government; Department; State department; A branch of a federal department; The federal secretary office and federal financial office; commission; Public enterprises; The state administration in Peninsular Malaysia; District; Mukim (a rural residential area); Kampung (village); Sabah; Sarawak; Local governments; Separate local governments; The aims of creating local governments; Types of local government; The organisational and staffing structure; The functions of a local government; The relations between local and state governments; The relations between local and federal governments; The coordination of state government administration; The administrative coordination between the state and federal governments; The methods of coordination; Councils formed under the powers of the Federal Constitution; The Conference of the Mentris Besar and Chief Ministers; The liaison committee between the federal and state governments; Council and committees formed by the government; and Other committees at the state level. Chapter six (pp.122-135) deals with 'Federal agencies', and this covers the following aspects: The administration; The Public Services Department; The Economic Planning Unit; The formulation of the five-year development plans; the Coordination Implementation Unit; The Socio-Economic Research Unit; and The Malaysian Administrative Modernization Unit.

Part IV covers Legislation. In this part, chapter seven (pp.138-153) deals with the subject of 'The history and sources of Malaysian laws', under which the following are discussed: The definition and the need for laws; Legal developments in Peninsular Malaysia; Laws in traditional Malay society; customary laws; Islamic laws; Chinese and Hindu customary laws; The introduction to English laws; Legal developments in Sabah and Sarawak; Bumiputera customary

laws; An introduction to English laws in Sabah and Sarawak; Legal sources in Malaysia; Customary laws in Sabah and Sarawak; Islamic laws in Sabah and Sarawak; English laws in Sabah and Sarawak; and Court decisions. In chapter eight (pp.154-174), the focus is on 'Legal bodies at the federal and state levels'. And the aspects discussed are: Legislation; Parliament; The King; Dewan Negara (Upper House); Dewan Rakyat (Lower House); Parliamentary meetings; Parliamentary privileges; Legal procedures of making laws; The Royal Assent; State legal bodies; Malay rulers or governors; State assemblies; State assembly meetings; Elections; Elections Commission; Electoral constituencies and candidates; The voters; and The voting register.

Part V deals with the Judiciary. Chapter nine (pp.176-196) is on 'The Judicial system' where the following aspects are studied: The functions of the Judiciary; The judicial system in Malaysia; the appointment of judges; The independence of the Judiciary; Court hierarchy; The Supreme Court; High Court; Sessions Court; Magistrate Court; Penghulu (headman) court; Special courts; Juvenile courts; Shariah (Islamic) courts; Bumiputera courts; and Military courts.

Part VI is on General Knowledge. In chapter 10 (pp.198-220), the focus is on 'National unity' under which the following aspects are discussed: The concept of unity; Problems of unity; Steps taken by the government to foster national unity; The Rukunegara (national ideology); The rationale of the Rukunegara principles; The New Economic Policy; The strategies and programmes of eradicating poverty; The restructuring of society; The programmes of restructuring society; The National Education Policy; How the National Education Policy can foster national unity; The National Culture Policy; The National

Language; The National Unity Department; and Barisan Nasional (the National Front party); and Regional integration. Chapter 11 (pp.222-233) discusses the question of 'National security' under which the following are examined: The Communist threat; Reasons for the Communist threat against national security; Steps taken by the government to combat this Communist threat; Drug abuse; Reasons why drug abuse can threaten national security; steps taken by the government to overcome the drug threat; Tightening up laws related to drugs; The formation of an anti-drug task force; The creation of drug rehabilitation centres; Anti-drug campaigns; The encouragement of social activities; The tightening up of customs checks; and International cooperation in combating drug menace. Chapter 12 (pp.234-263) focuses on 'Malaysia's foreign policy and regional cooperation'. Here the following aspects are discussed: The definition of foreign policy; Malaysia's foreign policy; factors determining Malaysia's foreign policy; The national interest; The United Nations; Geographical location of Malaysia; Islam; A Former British colony; Non-alignment policy; The principle of co-existence; The development of Malaysia's foreign policy from 1957 to 1980s; Malaysia's stand on the Kampuchean problem; Malaysia's relations with Islamic countries; Malaysia's stand on the Antarctica; Malaysia and the Apartheid issue; Malaysia and Exclusive Economic Zone; Malaysia and the Non-Alignment Countries; Regional Cooperation; ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations); ASEAN's objectives; The structure of ASEAN; ZOPFAN (Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality); Mutual stand on political issues in ASEAN; Economic cooperation in ASEAN; ASEAN's industrial projects; ASEAN's industrial joint ventures; ASEAN's Industrial Complimentation Scheme; Preferential Trading Arrangements in ASEAN; ASEAN's mutual stand on international

economic issues; Transport and communications sector in ASEAN; Financial sector in ASEAN; Foods and agricultural sector in ASEAN; ASEAN's dialogue with Third World countries; ASEAN's cooperation in social and cultural areas; Education and health in ASEAN; ASEAN's cooperation drugs control; ASEAN's future; and The Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia language council. Chapter 13 (pp.264-279) is about 'Malaysia and international economic issues'. Here the aspects discussed are: Malaysia's open economy; Contemporary issues on primary commodities; Low and unstable prices of primary commodities; Surplus production; Tariffs and non-tariffs protection; North-South dialogue; New International Economic Order; Foreign debts of Third World countries; Redefinition of terms of trade; Widening of markets for Third World exports; Technology transfer; Participation in the decision-making process of the IMF (International Monetary Fund); Development aid; Results of the North-South dialogue; The South-South dialogue; Results of the South-South dialogue; and The future of the South-South dialogue. The last chapter, chapter 14 (pp.280-295), is on 'Government policies'. The areas covered here are: The definition of public policies; The Look East Policy; Malaysia Incorporated; Privatisation policy; Leadership by Example; The policy of injecting Islamic values in government administration; National Agriculture Policy; Heavy Industries Policy; Industrialisation Master Plan; and Population policy.

A Glossary is allocated on pages 296-309, and on pages 310-311 are found answers to the objective questions that are asked at the end of each chapter in the book.

Each chapter is accompanied by the objectives of the chapter

concerned; a summary of the chapter; objective questions; discursive questions; and 'homework' exercises. Answers are provided at the end of the book to all the objective questions presented throughout the book.

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Trans. Appnd. 3.1: 'Kita perlu mewujudkan satu bangsa yang bersatu padu dan mencurahkan taat setia yang tidak berbelah bagi kepada Malaysia.'

3.2: 'ciri-ciri kenegaraan lain seperti perlembagaan,, agama rasmi (Islam); ideologi kebangsaan (Rukunegara); dan bahasa kebangsaan (bahasa Malaysia).'

3.3: 'Perlembagaan diperlukan untuk mewujudkan suatu rangka politik, ekonomi dan sosial yang dapat memudahkan perpaduan nasional dan pembangunan negara. Perlembagaan juga perlu bagi mengelakkan penyalahgunaan kuasa oleh pihak pemerintah dan melindungi kepentingan semua kaum.'

3.4: 'Perlembagaan merupakan undang-undang tertinggi yang menentukan corak pemerintahan sesebuah negara serta hak-hak asasi rakyatnya. Semua undang-undang yang lain tidak boleh bertentangan dengan perlembagaan.'

3.5: 'Apakah yang dimaksudkan dengan "perlembagaan sebagai undang-undang tertinggi" ?'

3.6: 'Apakah yang dimaksudkan dengan konsep "ketertinggian Perlembagaan Persekutuan" ?'

3.7: 'Setakat manakah Perlembagaan Persekutuan melindungi hak-hak asasi seseorang warganegara?'

3.8: 'Perlembagaan perlu dikaji dari semasa ke semasa untuk menyesuaikannya dengan perkembangan atau keperluan baru.'

3.9: 'Malaysia dan hampir semua negara barat mempunyai kerajaan yang bersifat demokratik.'

3.10: 'mengutarakan kebebasan, persamaan dan hak-hak rakyat.'

3.11: 'Sesebuah negara berdemokrasi mempunyai ciri-ciri berikut: (i) keputusan adalah berasaskan pengundian majoriti; (ii) pengundian pilihanraya dibuat secara sulit; (iii) ketua kerajaan ialah presiden; (iv) semua ahli badan perundangan dilantik oleh presiden; (v) mengutarakan kebebasan, persamaan dan hak asasi rakyat.'

3.12: '... merupakan pelindung hak-hak asasi manusia daripada sebarang pencerobohan oleh pihak individu atau kerajaan. Bagi memastikan badan kehakiman dapat melaksanakan tugas-tugasnya secara adil, ia adalah agas bebas daripada kawalan badan-badan perundangan dan eksekutif.'

3.13: 'bererti bahawa para hakim dapat mentafsirkan undang-undang dan mentadbirkan keadilan mengikut pertimbangan sendiri tanpa rasa takut atau pilih kasih. Ini adalah perlu untuk menjamin kedaulatan

undang-undang (rule of law) dan melindungi hak-hak asasi manusia.'

3.14: 'Apakah yang dimaksudkan dengan kebebasan kehakiman?'

3.15: '... mengawal badan eksekutif melalui kelulusan anggaran belanjawan tahunan dan membolehkan rakyat menyoal tindakan-tindakan kerajaan melalui wakil-wakil mereka.'

3.16: 'Perkara 153 yang membuat peruntukan layanan istimewa bagi orang Melayu dan kaum bumiputera yang lain di Sabah dan Sarawak dalam beberapa lapangan seperti pemegangan jawatan-jawatan dalam perkhidmatan awam, pemberian biasiswa-biasiswa dan pengeluaran permit serta lesen.'

3.17: 'Pemimpin-pemimpin Melayu (yang diwakili oleh Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu - UMNO) telah mempersetujui syarat-syarat kerakyatan yang longgar bagi orang bukan Melayu. Melalui prinsip jus soli, kerakyatan secara automatik diberi kepada semua orang yang dilahirkan di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada atau selepas Hari Merdeka. Sebagai membalas konsesi tersebut, orang Cina dan India yang diwakili oleh Persatuan Cina Malaya (MCA) dan Kongres India Malaya (MIC) telah mengakui kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu yang ketinggalan dalam bidang-bidang ekonomi dan pendidikan (emphases in the original).'

3.18: 'Tanpa jaminan keselamatan, pembangunan negara akan terbantut. Sebaliknya, pembangunan sosioekonomi yang tidak seimbang dari segi penikmatannya oleh sebilangan besar rakyat boleh menjejaskan keselamatan negara.'

3.19: 'Malayan Union mendapat tentangan hebat daripada orang Melayu kerana ia memberikan hak kerakyatan yang sama kepada orang bukan Melayu dan perlaksanaannya akan menghapuskan kedaulatan dan kuasa sultan-sultan.'

3.20: 'tentang beberapa perkara seperti kerakyatan, kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu, agama Islam dan kedaulatan raja-raja Melayu.'

3.21: 'Perkara 153 memperuntukkan hak-hak istimewa orang Melayu dan kaum bumiputera di Sabah dan Sarawak.'

3.22: 'Perkara-perkara yang menjadi tolak ansur antara kaum bagi mencapai kemerdekaan Tanah Melayu ialah: (i) kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu; (ii) jawatan Perdana Menteri; (iii) kerakyatan; (iv) bahasa Melayu (kini bahasa Malaysia; (v) hak mengundi dalam pilihanraya umum.'

3.23: 'Perkara 153 Perlembagaan Malaysia memperuntukkan: (a) bahasa Melayu (bahasa Malaysia) sebagai bahasa rasmi negara; (b) layanan istimewa bagi orang Melayu dan lain-lain kaum bumiputera di Sabah dan Sarawak dalam pemegangan jawatan-jawatan perkhidmatan awan (sic) dan pemberian biasiswa; (c) Islam sebagai agama rasmi negara; (d) kebebasan bercakap, berhimpun secara aman dan menubuhkan persatuan; (e) kesamarataan semua di sisi undang-undang.'

3.24: 'Mengapakah perlembagaan kita dianggap sebagai hasil tolak ansur antara kaum? Sila beri contoh-contoh.'

3.25: 'Buat satu kajian mengenai tolak ansur kaum-kaum Melayu dan

bukan Melayu atas beberapa perkara seperti kerakyatan, kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu, agama Islam dan kedaulatan raja-raja Melayu.'

3.26: 'Mengapakah kita perlu mengkaji sejarah perkembangan perlembagaan negara?'

3.27: 'Mengapakah perlembagaan kita dianggap sebagai hasil tolak ansur antara kaum? Sila beri coantoh-contoh.'

3.28: 'bertanggungjawab memelihara kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu dan kaum bumiputera di Sabah dan Sarawak'.

3.29: '... ahli-ahli Parlimen tidak boleh mempersoalkan kewujudan perkara-perkara sensitif seperti hak istimewa orang Melayu, kerakyatan, bahasa kebangsaan dan kedaulatan raja-raja Melayu.'

3.30: 'Sesiapa yang disyaki mungkin mengancam ketenteraman negara, boleh dipenjarakan tanpa soal bagi tempoh masa tertentu.'

3.31: '... ada terdapat undang-undang yang menyekat penyebaran agama atau kepercayaan di kalangan orang Islam.'

3.32: '... tiada sesiapa pun boleh dilarang atau ditahan daripada menggunakan (selain daripada maksud-maksud rasmi) atau daripada mengajar atau belajar apa-apa bahasa lain.'

3.33: 'Malaysia bukan hakmilik mana-mana satu kaum, tetapi hakmilik bersama semua kaum dan semua warganegara Malaysia.'

3.34: 'Perpaduan nasional merupakan teras pembentukan sebuah negara Malaysia yang teguh, bersatu padu, stabil, adil dan progresif. Perpaduan juga amat penting bagi menjamin keutuhan dan keselamatan negara dalam jangka panjang. Tanpa perpaduan, negara kita akan terdedah kepada ancaman rusuhan kaum seperti yang berlaku pada 13 Mei 1969 dan pencerobohan daripada luar... Kita, sebagai rakyat Malaysia, harus sama-sama membantu serta menyokong usaha-usaha yang diambil oleh Kerajaan untuk memupuk perpaduan.'

3.35: 'Perpaduan boleh diertikan sebagai satu proses yang menyatupadukan seluruh masyarakat dan negara supaya setiap anggota masyarakat dapat membentuk satu identiti dan nilai bersama serta perasaan cinta dan banggakan tanah air.'

3.36: 'Dasar Penerapan Nilai-nilai Islam tidak bertujuan untuk mengislamkan orang bukan Islam. Kerajaan berhasrat supaya semua kaum di Malaysia dapat menghayati dan mengamalkan nilai-nilai murni Islam yang baik dan tidak bercanggah dengan ajaran agama lain... Nilai-nilai Islam yang dapat diserapkan kepada semua kaum ialah amanah, keadilan, disiplin, bersih, kejujuran, semangat kerjasama, semangat kejiranan, ketekunan bekerja, keharmonian antara kaum, bertimbang rasa dan tidak mementingkan diri.'

3.37: 'lambang kedaulatan dan perpaduan negara'.

3.38: 'Rang Undang-undang yang diluluskan oleh Dewan Rakyat dan Dewan Negara perlu mendapatkan persetujuan (kecuali sebagaimana diperuntukkan dalam Perkara 66) Yang di-Pertuan Agong sebelum dijadikan undang-undang.'

3.39: 'bertanggungjawab memelihara kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu dan kaum bumiputera di Sabah dan Sarawak'.

3.40: 'Apakah tugas-tugas Majlis Raja-raja?'

3.41: 'Buat satu kajian mengenai kepentingan dan peranan Majlis Raja-raja dalam Sistem Kerajaan Malaysia.'

3.42: 'Majlis ini boleh membincangkan apa-apa soal mengenai dasar negara. Perkara agama dan adat resam orang Melayu diselesaikan oleh Majlis Raja-raja. Sebarang perubahan dalam Perlembagaan dan sempadan negeri perlu mendapat kelulusan Majlis berkenaan.'

3.43: 'Melalui prinsip jus soli, kerakyatan secara automatik diberi kepada semua orang yang dilahirkan di Persekutuan Tanah Melayu pada atau selepas Hari Merdeka. Sebagai membalas konsesi tersebut, orang Cina dan India yang diwakili oleh Persatuan Cina Malaya (MCA) dan Kongres India Malaya (MIC) telah mengakui kedudukan istimewa orang Melayu yang ketinggalan dalam bidang-bidang ekonomi dan pendidikan.'

3.44: 'Tidak dapat dinafikan bahawa Barisan Nasional telah menyumbang kepada perpaduan politik dan negara. Menerusi Barisan Nasional, masalah-masalah masyarakat dan negara dapat diselesaikan melalui cara rundingan, persefahaman dan tolak ansur.'

APPENDIX IV

Contents of Mimi Kartini Saidi and Rahimah Salim's *Pelengkap Diri: Penqajian Am STPM* (Self-Preparatory: General Studies STPM).

In the 'Introduction' section, the writers of the book have spent pages 3 through 9 to explain to the reader about what is required of him/her when dealing with the 'Comprehension' part of the General Studies paper. An explanation of what essay-writing is all about and techniques of writing essays occupy pages 11-26. And lastly between pages 27 and 43, sample questions of essays and guide to essay-writing are provided to the reader. Here there are 10 essays questions which are accompanied with pointers to serve as a guide on how to approach such questions. They are: Question 1: 'Terangkan dengan terperinci akan pelbagai masalah yang akan timbul jika kesemua lebuh raya yang dibina di negeri ini dikenakan pungutan tol.' (Explain in detail the various problems that could be encountered if all highways which are built in this country are tolled.); Question 2: 'Huraikan masalah kekurangan buku-buku bacaan untuk kanak-kanak terutamanya yang diterbitkan dalam Bahasa Malaysia, dan cadangkan langkah-langkah yang boleh diambil untuk mengatasinya.' (Spell out the problems related to the inadequacy of textbooks, especially those in Bahasa Malaysia, for children and propose measures that can be taken to overcome them.); Question 3: 'Bagaimana caranya wanita-wanita Malaysia dapat menyertai dan menikmati pembangunan negara?' (What are the ways Malaysian women can participate in and gain from national development?); Question 4: 'Kenapakah Kerajaan mewujudkan jawatan Ketua Pembangkang dalam Parlimen? Apakah peranan pembangkang dalam Parlimen?' (Why does the

Government create the post of Opposition leader in Parliament? What is the role of the Opposition in Parliament?); Question 5: '"Sekolah hari ini gagal menyediakan pelajar-pelajar untuk sesuatu pekerjaan tertentu. Mata pelajaran yang diajarkan banyak yang tidak berhubung langsung dengan kehidupan sehari-hari atau dengan pekerjaan yang terbuka kepada pelajar-pelajar apabila meninggalkan bangku sekolah." Bincangkan pendapat ini.' ('Schools today have failed in preparing students to certain kinds of job. Subjects taught are mostly irrelevant to the everyday life or job that is available to students after they leave schools.' Discuss this viewpoint.); Question 6: '"Saya rasa tidak ada bezanya sama ada negara ini mengamalkan dasar 'pandang ke Timur' atau 'pandang ke Barat', yang pentingnya ialah saya mahu melihat kemajuan dan pembangunan yang pesat diperolehi oleh rakyat dan negara ini!" Bincangkan kenyataan di atas.' ('I feel there is no difference whether this country adopts "look East policy" or "look West policy", for the important thing is I want to see progress and development being reaped by the people and this country!' Discuss the above statement.); Question 7: 'Penggunaan Kimia dalam Pertanian.' (The Use of Chemicals in Agriculture.); Question 8: 'Pembangunan dan Perubahan Ekologi.' (Development and Ecological Changes.); Question 9: 'Bincangkan baik buruknya perhubungan menerusi satelit terutama dari segi mengubah corak kehidupan manusia.' (Discuss the pros and cons of communications through satellite in so far as it changes the pattern of human living.); and Question 10: 'Pelaburan dalam Industri Maklumat perlu dijalankan ke arah mempertingkatkan lagi taraf hidup rakyat. Bincangkan.' (An Investment in Information Industry must be made in the direction of uplifting the living standards of the people. Discuss.). This is then followed by four samples of short, written essays: 1. 'Politik di Negara Dunia

Ketiga.' (Politics in Third World Countries); 2. 'Baik buruknya makanan campuran kimia kepada ayam itik dan haiwan ternakan yang lain dan kesannya kepada manusia.' (The pros and cons of mixing chemicals with poultry feeds and their effects to humans.); 3. 'Keperluan pil-pil vitamin dalam kehidupan orang-orang lanjut usia amat diperlukan, akan tetapi kesan sampingnya juga membahayakan.' (The significance of vitamin pills which elderly people require, and also the former's side-effects.); and 'Kepincangan sosial sesebuah masyarakat berpunca daripada kepincangan ekonomi masyarakat tersebut. Bincangkan.' (The social chaos of a society originates from its own economic instability. Discuss.).

The second section on 'Excerpted Articles for Exercises' focuses on comprehension articles that pertain to areas of social sciences, humanities, science and technology and creative literature. Under 'social sciences', there are 10 comprehension extracts with the following titles: 'Fahaman Animisme di Nusantara' (Animism in the Malay Archipelago); 'Pendidikan Prasekolah' (Pre-school Education); 'Konsep Ragam Pengeluaran' (The Concept of the Modes of Production); 'Penjajahan Budaya dan Orde Baru Maklumat Antarabangsa' (Cultural Imperialism and the New International Information Order); 'Sosiologi Politik' (Political Sociology); 'Strategi Pembangunan Pertanian' (The Strategy of Agricultural Development); 'Faham Perkauman Pada Hari Ini' (Racism Today); 'Pewujudan Keperibadian Nasional' (The Creation of a National Identity); 'Menamakan Nama' (To Name Names); and 'Etika Pembelajaran' (The Ethics of Learning). Under the 'humanities', the titles are as follows: 'Perundangan Islam di Alam Melayu' (Islamic Law in the Malay World); 'Bahasa Menunjukkan Bangsa' (Language Reflects Race/Nation); 'Interpretasi dan Bahasa Undang-undang' (Interpretation

and Legal Language); 'Bahasa Slanga' (Slang); 'Takrif Bandar dan Pembangunan' (The Definition of Town and Development); 'Perkembangan Komunikasi dan Maklumat' (The Development of Communication and Information); 'Memelihara Pusaka Budaya' (The Protection of Cultural Heritage); 'Prinsip-prinsip Seni dalam Estetika Melayu' (The Principles of Fine Arts in Malay Aesthetics); 'Teater Tradisional Asia Tenggara - Wayang Kulit' (Southeast Asian Traditional Theatre - The Shadow Play); and 'Kritikan Sastera Islam' (The Critique of Islamic Literature). Under the 'science and technology', the extracts are as follows: 'Euthanasia'; 'Pertumbuhan, Pembesaran and Perkembangan Otak' (The Growth, Enlargement and Development of the Brain); 'Kebudayaan dan Pemindahan Teknologi — Pengalaman Jepun' (Culture and Technology Transfer — the Japanese Experience); 'Kesan Mikrobiologi dalam Pertanian Tropika' (The Effects of Microbiology on Tropical Agriculture); 'Merawat Cirit-Birit' (The Treatment of Diarrhoea); 'Baik Buruknya Fluorida' (The Pros and the Cons of Fluoride); 'Krisis Perhutanan Negara Dunia Ketiga' (The Crisis of Third World Forests); 'Pentingnya Teknologi Polimer' (The Importance of Polimer Technology); 'Matematik Perlu Untuk Masyarakat' (Mathematics Is Necessary for Society); and 'Menjaga Lautan' (The Protection of the Seas). None of the 10 exercises under this 'science and technology' part (pp.127-168) are found relevant to the study. Under 'creative literary works', the extracts are: 'Perang Poster' (Poster War); 'Pak Sako'; 'Keangkuhan Yang Girang' (The Joyful Pride); 'Kedewasaan' (Adulthood); 'Terjebak' (Trapped); 'Sajak adalah Sajak' (A Poem Is A Poem); 'Jiran' (Neighbour); 'Om Pimpah'; 'Pulang' (The Return); and 'Wulan Perkasa' (Gladiator Wulan).

In the third section of 'Change of Communication Form', the

reader is tested on his/her ability to make sense of given graphs, tables, charts, etc. and also to do the opposite, i.e., to make graphs, tables, etc. out of given prose. In the part where given graphics are required to be interpreted in prose, 15 exercises are provided for the reader to attempt: Exercise 1 is made up three graphics on the budget allocations of the United Nations International Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) for 1977 and 1981; Exercise 2 is based on a crime statistics in Malaysia from 1985 to January-October 1986; Exercise 3 is based on a graph of the number of households and the percentage of poverty in certain sectors in Peninsular Malaysia in 1970, 1976 and 1984; Exercise 4 is based on pie charts about the distribution of primary communications equipments by continents and major areas between 1960 and 1979; Exercise 5 is about statistics of Hong Kong's trade with seven Asian countries from 1983 to 1985; Exercise 6 is based on the statistics of the primary export commodities of Asia; Exercise 7 is about figures of foreign debts incurred by certain Third World countries including Malaysia; Exercise 8 is based on a pictograph of the working status of the black mining workers in South Africa; Exercise 9 is on a table of Malaysia's foreign exchange rates between 1972 and 1983; Exercise 10 is based on a graph whereby the reader is required to make a comparative analysis of people above 65 years old between selected countries; Exercise 11 is on a given statistics of Southeast Asian countries as regards their respective geographical size, population and size of the armed forces in 1986; Exercise 12 is based on a graph of the use of radio and television among Commonwealth countries; Exercise 13 is about a graph of cumulative office spaces in Kuala Lumpur from 1981 to 1987; Exercise 14 is based on a graph showing relations of the old Melaka empire with the outside world through the work of the popular Malay

warrior, Hang Tuah; and Exercise 15 is based on a graph showing the payment distribution of the service sector in Malaysia from 1961 to 1983. Out of these exercises, only one (Ex.14) is found relevant to the study.

And in the part where given prose is required to be translated into graphics, 15 exercises are also provided for the reader to attempt to do and at the same time test his/her comprehension ability. In Exercise 1, the prose is generally about education in Malaysia, giving out information such as the country's student population, teacher-student ratio, the number of schools, and literacy rate. Exercise 2 is based on an information regarding a survey of three types of professions found in major cities of the world. Exercise 3 is focused on one of the two objectives of the New Economic Policy, i.e., to restructure society through the creation of a small group of Malay entrepreneurs. Exercise 4 is about the primary problem faced by institutions of higher learning in countries that have changed their media of instruction from foreign languages to the local ones — the lack of books in the native languages. Exercise 5 concerns the balance of trade among ASEAN countries. Exercise 6 looks at the categorisation of Peninsular Malaysians in 1968 into three classes: Upper, Middle, and Lower classes. Exercise 7 revolves around the subject of petroleum production and its contribution to the Malaysian economy. Exercise 8 is based on a comparative study of the efficiency of airports in Asia. Exercise 9 looks at the trade relations between the Soviet Union and some countries in Asia. Exercise 10 focuses on the vexing question of unemployment in Asia in 1984. Exercise 11 looks at the exports earnings of Malaysia from 1975 to 1986. Exercise 12 concentrates on the subject of Malaysia's rubber export earnings.

Exercise 13 is about the creation of the Family Development Centres, a measure taken by the Malaysian government to help facilitate economic development in the rural areas. Exercise 14 concerns Malaysia's cash crop, rubber. Finally, Exercise 15 compares the export earnings with the import expenditures of Malaysia in 1986.

In the final 'Problem Solving' section, 20 exercises, which are based on given statistics, are provided for the reader to attempt to solve or obtain answers. None of the 20 exercises are found relevant to the study.

Answers are provided at the end of the book to all of the objective questions presented throughout the book.

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Appnd. 4.1: 'Huraikan masalah kekurangan buku-buku bacaan untuk kanak-kanak terutamanya yang diterbitkan dalam Bahasa Malaysia, dan cadangkan langkah-langkah yang boleh diambil untuk mengatasinya.'

4.2: 'hanya 54% sahaja yang boleh menguasai Bahasa Malaysia, iaitu Bahasa Kebangsaan Malaysia.'

4.3: 'Jika jumlah penulisan yang amat banyak bagi menyokong faham perkauman hendak dirumuskan, akan didapati bahawa secara kasarnya kandungan tulisan itu terdiri daripada tiga pernyataan - pertama, terdapat bangsa tulen; kedua, bangsa tulen itu bertaraf tinggi dari segi biologi dan akibatnya ialah bangsa itu juga bertaraf tinggi dari segi psikologi dan budaya; dan ketiga, bentuk bertaraf tinggi begini

menerang dan mewajarkan penguasaannya dan keistimewaan sosiosejarahnya.'

4.4: 'Penulis cuba menunjukkan bahawa faham perkauman itu merupakan suatu helah yang bertujuan untuk membolehkan pencerobohan dan keistimewaan. Maksud sebenarnya ialah

- a. ia membolehkan sesuatu kaum mendapat keistimewaan.
- b. ia bertujuan untuk menguasai kaum lain.
- c. ia bertujuan untuk menguasai faedah kebendaan daripada kaum lain.
- d. ia bertujuan untuk keselamatan dan survival.
- e. ia bertujuan untuk keselamatan sesuatu masyarakat.'

4.5: 'Mengikut penulis, untuk hidup manusia melakukan perkara berikut. Yang manakah tidak sesuai dalam konteks petikan ini?

- a. menceroboh.
- b. mempertahankan hak.
- c. bertindak sebagai alat pencerobohan.
- d. bekerjasama.
- e. mengamalkan faham perkauman.'

4.6: 'Di antara ciri-ciri penting keperibadian nasional bangsa Malaysia ialah, memiliki perasaan megah dan menganggap diri sebagai bangsa Malaysia yang ada rasa kepunyaan atau milik bersama terhadap simbol-simbol kemerdekaan, bahasa, kesenian, sejarah dan aspirasi, hidup berpandukan prinsip Rukunegara, mempunyai perasaan kebangsaan sebagai bangsa Malaysia yang hidup bersatupadu di negara yang merdeka

dan berdaulat dan perasaan cinta dan taat setia kepada bangsa, raja dan negara.'

4.7: 'Masih ada amalan sistem perlakuan, nilai budaya, sosial dan organisasi-organisasi kemasyarakatan yang berasingan dan kadang-kadang bercanggah dengan cita-cita kebangsaan oleh segolongan anggota masyarakat kita.'

4.8: 'terutamanya di sekolah yang ramai murid-murid bukan Melayu'.

4.9: 'Dalam hal ini kena pada masanya langkah Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia menubuhkan Majlis Kebudayaan Sekolah-sekolah Malaysia pada 16 Julai 1984, yang dapat memberi panduan kepada guru besar mengenai kegiatan kebudayaan di sekolah-sekolah supaya selaras dengan kebudayaan kebangsaan.'

4.10: 'Kementerian Pelajaran harus mengarah supaya semua sekolah, terutama sekolah-sekolah menengah yang besar dan ramai murid berbilang kaum mengadakan upacara perhimpunan khas di sekolah sempena menyambut Hari Kebangsaan pada tiap-tiap tahun. Dalam perhimpunan itu hendaklah diadakan syarahan bertemakan cinta pada tanahair dan mengenang jasa tokoh-tokoh pejuang kebangsaan, menyanyi lagu patriotik, melafaz ikrar taat setia kepada raja dan negara dan pementasan drama pendek memuja keagungan dan keindahan tanahair. Ini adalah langkah yang berkesan untuk memupuk semangat cintakan negara, semangat nasionalisme dan sifat keperibadian bangsa Malaysia.'

4.11: 'Dalam hal ini RTM dan TV3 dapat memberi sumbangan penting dan berkesan. RTM dan TV3 hendaklah mengadakan lebih banyak rancangan

tempatan yang bermutu bercorak sejarah tanahair, drama yang bertema semangat nasionalisme, lagu-lagu patriotik dan kata-kata hikmat yang berupa seruan kebaikan.'

4.12: 'Keperibadian Nasional dan Kebudayaan Nasional tidak mungkin dapat diwujudkan di kebanyakan negara yang berbilang kaum penduduknya.'

4.13: 'Pada pandangan penulis Keperibadian Nasional Malaysia belum dapat diwujudkan hingga kini kerana

- a. adanya ciri kelainan perlakuan masyarakat Malaysia.
- b. ia masih memerlukan masa kerana ia tidak dapat diwujudkan dalam masa yang singkat.
- c. kebudayaan asing lebih kuat pengaruhnya di kalangan masyarakat Malaysia.
- d. sikap dingin setengah-setengah pemimpin Melayu sendiri terhadap mewujudkan identiti Malaysia.
- e. semua sebab di atas.'

4.14: 'mencerminkan aspirasi masyarakat Melayu Singapura untuk tegak berdiri sendiri memperjuangkan nasib bangsa Melayu, terlepas bebas daripada kongkongan kepimpinan "elitist" Arab-India Muslim.'

4.15: 'Perempuan tua itu senyum dengan baik dan mesra. Kenapa?' Jawapan yang diberi ialah: 'Itu adalah amalan kelaziman bila dua jiran bertemu.'

4.16: 'Tuntutan pelaksanaan undang-undang Islam adalah suatu tuntutan

yang justified dan sah untuk meletakkan semula perundangan Islam di tempatnya yang hak sebagai undang-undang asal negeri-negeri Melayu sebagaimana yang diakui oleh pihak mahkamah selaku pelaksanaan dan penafsir undang-undang menerusi keputusan-keputusan yang dibuatnya dalam kes-kes berkenaan: '

4.17: 'Adakah Malaysia sebuah negara Islam? Apakah ciri-ciri yang boleh dikenalpasti bagi menentukan sesebuah negara itu negara Islam atau tidak?'

4.18: 'Kenapakah penulis mengemukakan tiga kes contoh untuk ditatapi di awal petikan yang diberi? Jawapan yang diberi ialah: Untuk menentukan bahawa hakim mengiktiraf undang-undang Islam sebagai asas kepada undang-undang negara.'

4.19: 'Apakah bukti paling kukuh untuk mengatakan yang Islam adalah 'law of the land' di Malaysia? Jawapannya ialah: Adanya pengaruh Islam dalam pemerintahan negeri-negeri Melayu.'

4.20: 'Apakah saranan utama penulis dalam rencana ini?

- a. Islam hendaklah dijadikan asas perundangan negara.
- b. Fahaman Barat perlu dihindarkan dalam menegak perundangan Islam.
- c. Malaysia perlulah diperintah berdasarkan undang-undang Islam.
- d. Islam hendaklah berterusan diiktirafkan sebagai agama Persekutuan.
- e. Dasar-dasar Kerajaan mesti berlunaskan al-Quran dan as-Sunnah.'

4.21: 'Kenapakah Kerajaan mewujudkan jawatan Ketua Pembangkang dalam Parlimen? Apakah peranan pembangkang dalam Parlimen?'

4.22: 'Sistem demokrasi memerlukan suatu kerajaan yang menjalankan pemerintahan melalui perbincangan. Perbincangan merupakan asas pembentukan dan pertukaran pendapat, walaupun ia dilakukan di kedai kopi ataupun yang lebih penting di peringkat Parlimen. Oleh itu dalam Parlimen yang berfungsi sebagai dewan perbincangan di peringkat paling atas, pendapat pihak Kerajaan perlulah diulas dan dipertikaikan supaya rakyat jelata lebih mengetahui proses pemerintahan. Inilah tugas pembangkang!'

4.23: 'Walaupun daripada kaca mata pemerintah ahli-ahli pembangkang dalam parlimen adalah sebagai kumpulan yang kerap tidak bertanggungjawab, tetapi peranan yang dimainkan oleh mereka amat perlu sekali, terutamanya untuk menjadikan proses demokrasi lebih menarik dan lebih berkesan.'

4.24: 'Kepincangan sosial sesebuah masyarakat berpunca daripada kepincangan ekonomi masyarakat tersebut. Bincangkan.'

4.25: 'Seandainya kedudukan ekonomi dalam sesebuah masyarakat tidak stabil, maka ini secara tidak langsung akan menyebabkan masalah sosial timbul dan seterusnya akan mengancam keselamatan masyarakat tersebut.'

4.26: 'Pada tahun 1985 pula pemilikan modal saham syarikat-syarikat berhad ini meningkat menjadi \$76,000 juta, di mana pemilikan golongan Bumiputera meningkat menjadi 17.8%. Penduduk-penduduk lain Malaysia

memiliki 56.7% dan penduduk asing turun menjadi 25.5%. Sesungguhnya daripada maklumat yang diberikan, pertambahan yang dicapai oleh kaum Bumiputera ini adalah terlalu perlahan iaitu hanya 5.3% saja, sedangkan pertambahan oleh kaum-kaum lain ialah 12.1%.'

4.27: 'Dasar Ekonomi Baru perlu diteruskan walaupun jangka waktunya melepasi tahun 1990 kerana sasaran 30% pemilikan Bumiputera dalam beberapa sektor masih belum mencapai matlamatnya.'

4.28: 'Kemukakan satu carta bagi menunjukkan: (a) agihan suku kaum di antara satu-satu kelas di Malaysia; dan (b) agihan kelas di antara satu-satu kaum di Malaysia seperti yang terdapat dalam petikan di atas.'

APPENDIX V

Atan Long (1987), *Pengajian Am 2* (General Studies 2), Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti.

This 344-page book is made up of five parts: Part 1 (pp.2-73) covers the discussion, guidance and exercises regarding what is termed by the author as the 'anatomy of an essay'; Part 2 (pp.76-155) concerns essay writing that is oriented towards the arts; Part 3 (pp.158-250) encompasses essay writing whose orientation is towards science and technology; Part 4 (pp.252-297) attempts at guiding students in making graphs or charts out of given prose; and Part 5 (pp.300-344) is aimed at providing guidance to students in making interpretation of given graphs or charts. The entire book is dedicated to guiding students in approaching the Paper 2 of the General Studies examination at the end of their two-year upper secondary education.

The Analysis

THE CULTURAL

(a) National language

Sample essay (pp.18-20) for Exercise 3 is written by a student responding to a topic, 'Trace the development of the Malay language since its recognition as the national and official language in Malaysia or as the national language and also as one of the official languages in Singapore. Assess the following two aspects: (a) the language itself, and (b) the status given to it. [Trans. Appnd. 5.1]' The student's essay begins by pointing out the importance of Malay language as a national language that facilitates inter-ethnic

communication in the country, and also as the lingua franca of the Malay Archipelago that spans from Malaysia to Indonesia to the Philippines. The essay also discusses of the Malay language's capacity to absorb certain terms from foreign languages such as Sanskrit, Mandarin, Arab-Persian, Urdu, Tamil and English, and thus enhances its national and international status. The status of the national language is further boosted, adds the student-writer, by the activities of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP, the government's language and literary agency) such as research, publishing and translation of works in the national language. This is, the writer adds, apart from research done on the language in the University of Malaya.

Exercise 11 is based on the extract (pp.119-122), 'Pengajaran di Sebalik Falsafah dalam Peribahasa Melayu' (The Philosophy Behind the Teaching of Malay Proverbs). Here the writer expresses his concern over the poor use of Malay proverbs, which are considered to be socially useful to the people, especially Malay youths. He urges government organisations to play an important role in revitalising the use of Malay proverbs among the people. He asserts (p.121): 'The Malays can become an important and respected race if they aren't tired of utilising the lessons that can be gained from these proverbs. [Trans. Appnd. 5.2]' This article represents a continuing endeavour to push for greater use of not only the Malay language as a national language but also almost everything that the language stands for. In other words, this article reinforces the message of the previous article which talks of the position and role of the Malay language as Malaysia's national language. This particular article however consciously adds an ethnic dimension to this language issue (for e.g.

the expression, 'The Malays can become an important and respected race if they aren't tired of utilising the lessons that can be gained from these proverbs. '), which may only fuel scepticism in some readers about the ability of the Malay language to transform itself into a (national) language of unity and for all Malaysians.

(b) Malay-Islamic culture

(i) Knowledge from Islamic perspective

Exercise 4 (pp.26-30) also carries an essay written by a student in response to a given topic: 'Pendidikan sebagai asas tamadun manusia' (Education as a foundation of human civilisation). As the title suggests, it projects education as an important factor in helping human beings develop themselves to be highly civilised. It holds that science and technology are part of human civilisation, for they are products of the development of Man's mind. It is in this context that the student-writer contends that (p.28) 'In some societies, their cultures paralyse or hinder the process of civilisation. For example, in our Malay society some of its beliefs prevent logical thinking and also obstruct the swift acceptance of today's technological advancement. In this case, education plays an important part in determining whether a culture would be changed or maintained' [Trans. Appnd. 5.3]. Herein lies the implicit acknowledgement of the inevitable transcendence from the ethnic rootedness to the future project of acquiring nationhood. The writer also feels that Islam too confers great importance on education in its Quranic teachings. This essay makes a distinction between what is termed as civilisation in Islam and that in the 'modern world': in the former, civilisation is towards the truth; in the latter, it is for materialism. In conclusion, the Western world is generally viewed as

having its moral values eroded over the years and therefore, the student argues, the kind of education that is to be given to the people in Malaysia '... should be based on the Quran and scientific and technological knowledge so that the civilisation that is aimed for is really one that strives for universal truth. [p.30; Trans. Appnd. 5.4]' The thrust of the whole essay is the certain tension between the particular ('national') and its expression of the universal, thereby pointing towards the inherent contradiction between Islam and the concept of nationalism. According to classical Muslim theology, nationalism, essentially an act of devoting oneself to the group to which one belongs, can be pursued to the extent of deifying the group. This extreme deed is called shirk, or 'associationism, the act of assimilating some other person with God' (Rodinson 1979:161). This could confuse the reader, particularly a Malay individual.

(ii) Towards the 'Modernization' of the Aborigines

Next is a Malay newspaper (Berita Minggu) editorial (pp.40-42) to give the reader a sense of how an essay ought to be written. The editorial, 'Ke arah pemodenan orang Asli' (Towards the Modernization of the Aborigines), states that there are about 600,000 aborigines in Peninsular Malaysia, many of whom live in the interiors of jungle. It adds that a number of development projects have been launched in their own settlements. The editorial expresses its concern for the socio-economic upliftment of this group of people, and suggests two approaches towards developing the aborigines: one, to help them achieve socio-economic progress within their own environment, and two, to take them out of their traditional abodes and resettle them in areas where modern facilities are available, i.e. to absorb them into the 'masyarakat biasa' ('ordinary society'). The editorial prefers

the assimilation of the aborigines into the 'ordinary society', for 'To maintain (their) traditional lifestyle means maintaining their identity as aborigines, something which would continuously prevent the acceptance of them by the "ordinary society"' [pp.41-42; Trans. Appnd. 5.5]. If the maintenance of their traditional lifestyle is opted, the editorial warns, the aborigines will eventually meet the fate of the American Red Indians. Here we can interpret that the editorial perceives the government's effort to help 'develop' the aborigines as one step before assimilating them into Malaysia's mainstream life, thereby eroding their distinct ethnic lifestyle which the editorial deems as an obstacle to their socio-economic progress. The overall emphasis of this book on aspects of Malay culture necessarily suggests that the 'ordinary society' that the editorial is referring to is essentially Malay society. It is then to be expected that many non-Malay readers of the book, particularly in the context of other previous books which also promote the notion of national culture, would experience some anxiety and perhaps fear. As mentioned elsewhere, sections of the non-Malay ethnic groups harbour fears of the Malay-led government being bent on assimilating and subordinating the cultures of these ethnic groups into the Malay culture through the official formation of the national culture.¹ Below is another example of the promotion of Malay culture.

(iii) Malay songs

The next Exercise 6 also uses two Malay newspaper editorials (both of Berita Minggu). The first editorial (pp.47-48), 'Unsur Melayu dalam Lagu' (Malay Elements in Song), applauds the increasing number of Malay songs and also of record albums produced by local music industry. It however raises a note of caution over the quality

of these songs (p.47): 'Our songs have been terribly influenced by Western and Hindustani elements so much so that their Malay elements have been lost and become unknown. [Emphasis added. Trans. Appnd. 5.6]' The editorial asks why this is so, to which it offers two explanations: First, radio and television have been responsible for inculcating the audience's taste for songs that are heavily influenced by Western and Hindustani songs. Second, record companies' practice of transforming certain popular singers and song writers into their musical producers means that only songs liked by these personalities (and which are commercially viable but not necessarily of 'high quality') would be produced and marketed. It is here that the editorial feels that the State-run Radio-Television Malaysia (RTM) has a role to play in maintaining 'quality'.

The second editorial (pp.48-49), 'Rekod Rompak, Eksploitasi Pencipta' (Record Piracy, Exploitation of Song Writers), is somewhat related to the first one. Central to its concern, as the title suggests, is record imitation and the poor treatment that local song writers received from record companies. The editorial expresses concern over the questionable practice of certain legitimate record companies of producing and marketing songs that are written by their original writers but are produced and marketed without the knowledge of these very song writers themselves. The result is that the latter could not claim honorariums or royalties as these unscrupulous record producers would normally make a few changes to the original songs so as to avoid expected copyright complications. Coupled with the problem of getting a low rate of honorariums, these local song writers, the editorial asserts, were then driven to writing songs that are heavily influenced by Hindustani and Western ones. As such, so

goes the argument, this would only 'menyesatkan lagu-lagu Melayu' (mislead Malay songs). Unless this situation is checked, the editorial seems to be saying, 'true' Malay song would be one step closer to its own 'dilution'. Both editorials, as we can see, spring from the general concern to protect and preserve the so-called purity of Malay songs against cultural incursions of foreign elements. Hence, the term 'our' used in the first editorial can imply that the editorial is addressing a specific Malay — as opposed to Malaysian — audience despite the fact that Malay has already been recognised as the national language of all Malaysians. This clamouring for a kind of cultural purity for Malay songs runs against the perception of the multicultural dynamics of the Malay language (and hence culture) in the earlier essay that talks about the language's strength which originates from its capacity to absorb influences from other foreign languages. In other words, this is at best a denial of the capacity of the Malay language as well as its songs to grow and be culturally vibrant and dynamic (and indeed be 'Malaysian'), and at worst a display of a xenophobic tendency. It is expected therefore that the non-Malay reader would tend to question the apparent attempt to confer on Malay songs some kind of cultural exclusivity, thereby marginalizing 'other' songs and their ability and role to integrate the Malaysian cultural scene.

(iv) Traditional education

Essay 2, under the 'Essays with the arts orientation' part (pp.80-83), is about 'Sistem Pondok Uji Ketabahan' (The Traditional Religious Boarding Schools System Tests Determination). It says that the boarding schools system was the first educational institution of the Malays before the advent of western educational system popularised

by the missionaries. In this traditional system, students from all over the country would live in certain schools for years in their quest for (Islamic) knowledge. Kelantan is one of the states in Peninsular Malaysia which pioneer this boarding schools system. Over the years, however, the popularity of this system in Kelantan itself waned, which then prompted the state government to introduce incentives so as to revitalise the boarding schools system. The essay concludes that this in part reflects the state's recognition of the boarding schools system being responsible for producing religious leaders, especially in the wake of the Islamization drive in the country. The orientation of this essay is similar to that of the earlier essay (in Exercise 4) on 'Education as a foundation of human civilisation' which promotes Islam and its role in education and human civilisation. The insertion of this essay reminds us of what Williams (1989:58) had to say about 'selective tradition': 'an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification'. In other words, the selection of this article about the traditional religious boarding schools system of education is implicitly intended to popularise that system of education now. That this selecting of Malay and Islamic traditions necessitates the exclusion or marginalization of those of Chinese and Indians gains greater weight given the fact that there is no material in the book that touches on Chinese and Indian early schooling in the country.

(v) Malay architecture

Exercise 5 is based on an article (pp.90-93) 'Atap Ala Minangkabau Bukan Ciri Tempatan?' (Roof a la Minangkabau Isn't

Local?). The issue of 'Malaysian architecture' is raised by the article in the context of the Malaysian government's attempt to forge a national culture. The article is essentially troubled by the tendency of many local architects, in their desire to create a 'Malaysian architecture', to fall back on to the Minangkabau-type roofs whose origin clearly is foreign (i.e., Sumatra, Indonesia). The writer of the article suggests that local architects should not take the easy way out by resorting to these Minangkabau roofs when designing new buildings. He feels that to have a building design that could be claimed as part of the national culture, 'We should examine aspects of traditional buildings that are found in other regions in the Peninsula, Sabah and Sarawak in order to create the feeling of 'us' and to give a picture of genuine form, and not simply a case of adopting something that will result in today's 'cosmetic' aspects of architecture! [p.91; Trans. Appnd. 5.7]' He also proposes that there are still many more features of a traditional Malay house that can be found in the predominantly Malay states of Peninsular Malaysia. His other concern about the architects' seeming obsession with designing buildings with Minangkabau roofs is that they can be mistaken for a pagoda in Thailand which, incidentally, is un-Islamic. While calling for the integration of Islamic elements (which in part are already present in certain local buildings) into local architecture, the writer makes this suggestion (p.92): '... a particular aspect of architecture that reflects an ethnic community must be reduced, if possible let us create a new form that truly mirrors a Malaysian culture which has taken root in Malaysian soil. [Trans. Appnd. 5.8]' At a glance, the article gives the impression that the writer wants an architecture that can truly be termed as 'Malaysian'. However, as the reader peruses the piece s/he would realise that what the writer is

referring to as being 'Malaysian' is really and essentially 'Malay' — judging from his suggestion that local architects look at examples of Malay houses in certain parts of the country. This has, in other words, an effect of promoting a sense of 'a distinct shared culture' (Smith 1988:26) among the Malays. Moreover, there is no mention at all in the article of elements of Chinese and Indian architecture as part of the writer's call to incorporate all the elements available in the country that would constitute a 'Malaysian architecture'. Once again, the non-Malay reader would have to wonder about the seriousness (if not sincerity) of the writer's exhortation for a truly 'Malaysian architecture'. This should also remind the reader of the call for Malay elements in Malaysian architecture as mentioned in Pengajian Am 2 (Othman et al.).

(vi) Traditional Malay dance

'Tarian Tradisional' (Traditional dance) (Exercise 6) is discussed on pages 95-99 in an article adapted from Siti Zainon Ismail, Getaran Jalur dan Warna. This extract discusses the various forms of Malay dance: (a) Ritual dances that originate from the states of Kelantan, Trengganu and Sarawak. These ritual dances are common in rural Malay society. Many of them are performed as offerings to the gods in anticipation of and hope for better agricultural harvest or handsome fishing returns; (b) Dances with foreign elements that come from Hindu, Arab-Persian, Thai, Chinese, Indonesian and Portuguese sources; and finally (c) Dances performed in traditional theatre in the states of Kedah, Kelantan, and Perlis. Apart from mentioning 'indigenous' Malay dances, the inclusion in this discussion of those that have foreign influences would be welcome by the non-Malay reader. This, it should be noted, contradicts the 'purification' of Malay

songs that the previous article calls for.

(vii) Malay theatre

'Mengapa Teater Melayu Tiada Penonton?' (Why Is Malay Theatre Without an Audience?) is the title of an article on which Exercise 12 (pp.122-129) is based. The writer, Norhayati Hashim, expresses her concern over what she regards as a lukewarm reception of the Malay audience towards Malay theatre as compared with English language theatre in the country which, according to her, is still able to command a respectable following. Several reasons are offered: One, the lack of appreciation of Malay theatre by members of the Malay society, particularly its middle class which is alleged to have more interest in materialistic pursuit than for things aesthetical; two, fundamentalist Islam which is seen as a wedge between the society and the world of theatre; and three, competition from the popular electronic media, video and television. Norhayati Hashim proposes as one of the steps to help popularise Malay theatre the incorporation of theatre training and appreciation into the curricula of schools and institutions of higher learning. She concludes that given the limited budget the ministry responsible for the development of cultural activities has, proponents of local theatre should mount programmes that would enable them to generate their own incomes, and thereby be self-sustaining. The point about fundamentalist Islam and Malay theatre must be taken up as it implies a conflict that could then pose a problem to the formation of national culture acceptable to all Malaysians. As regards the lack of interest in Malay theatre, we could hazard a guess that this is because the Malay theatre — just like the notion of 'pure' Malay songs promoted earlier — is largely regarded by many Malays and non-Malays alike as a Malay theatre, not a

Malaysian theatre, dealing with themes and issues that primarily confront the Malay section of the national life. In addition, one is also inclined to believe that many Malays and non-Malays, particularly the young, are more attracted to Western and other foreign cultural products such as pop music, entertainment video, etc. Here the reader once again would have noticed the bias towards aspects of the Malay culture and arts, and in this case about Malay theatre, a bias which may be construed as being influenced by the government's notion of a Malay-based national culture.

This 'Malay emphasis' is reinforced by a set of essay topics following immediately after the above article (p.129): (a) 'Write an article on the development of Malay theatre before until today. The length of the article to be between 300 and 350 words. [Trans. Appnd. 5.9]'; (b) 'Write an article regarding one of the following topics. The length of the article to be between 300 and 350 words: (i) Shadow play. (ii) Bangsawan (Traditional Malay play). (iii) Makyung (Traditional Malay form of theatre). (iv) Chinese opera. and (v) Sandiwara (Malay drama). [Trans. Appnd. 5.10]'; and (c) 'In you own words, write an article of 300-350 words regarding reasons for the lack of interest in the Malay theatre in Malaysia. [Trans. Appnd. 5.11]' Essay topic (b) is different from the other two in that it provides the reader an opportunity to explore the area of Chinese opera. Having said that, however, the heavy slant towards and elaboration on aspects of Malay culture in this book as a whole could make such insertion of an aspect of Chinese culture (in the form of a part of a question) as mere tokenism since there is no supporting article as there is for Malay theatre. Once again, the non-Malay reader is left with the question: what about non-Malay theatre?

(viii) Islamic art

'Seni Yang Indah Kerana Allah' (The [Beautiful] Art In the Name of Allah) (Exercise 17; pp.144-147) is adapted from an article by Marzuki Nyak Abdullah in the Malay daily, Berita Harian which in essence attempts to differentiate between what is considered Islamic art and what is non-Islamic art. He asserts that an artistic form that conforms to the teachings of Islam would not only help a person to appreciate the beauty of nature and God but also help that person to reinforce his belief in God. In addition, he says that 'real art' possesses morality, for in Islam art and morality are intertwined. This connecting of aspects of Malay culture with Islam is consonant with the inclusion of the previous essays on education as a civilising factor and on traditional religious education in Malaysia. In other words, this insertion into the book of Islamic-related materials can be interpreted by the reader as an apparent effort of the book writer to conform to the official notion of the national culture that is Islamic-based. While there may be some readers who welcome this bias, others, particularly the non-Malays, may feel unhappy as this means the exclusion of elements of their culture in the book.

(ix) Malay sculpture

'Seni Ukir Melayu Tradisi' (The Traditional Art of Malay Sculpture) (Exercise 19; pp.150-152), adapted from Siti Zainon Ismail's book, Getaran Jalur dan Warna, generally discusses the various aspects of traditional Malay sculpture and its artistic products. But more than just being a product of art, 'The art of sculpture in the prosperous days of the Malay kingdom involved the professionalism of its sculptors as well as its patrons. [p.251;

Trans. Appnd. 5.12]' And the patrons were the Malay rulers or sultans. The importance of this royal patronage is again highlighted in one of the questions in the exercises that immediately follow this article (p.153): 'Discuss the role of the Malay rulers in the olden times as patrons to the development of Malay sculpture and handicraft. [Trans. Appnd. 5.13]' This passage not only highlights another aspect of Malay culture, i.e. Malay sculpture, but also has established the fact that this traditional Malay art had gained greater legitimacy with the patronage of Malay rulers. This then has the effect of popularising the traditional Malay art² among the readers.

(x) The social responsibility of Malay(sian) writers

Exercise 20 (pp.153-5), the last of the exercises in the 'Arts' section of the book, is based on an article entitled, 'Berkarya Kerana Tuntutan Wang atau Tanggungjawab Sosial?' (To Be Creative Because of Money or Social Responsibility?) Writer Aziz Abdullah is concerned about the growing influence of pecuniary incentives over local budding novelists and creative writers. He argues that unless this trend is checked, Malaysia might witness an emergence of a new generation of creative writers whose primary motivation to write is solely money. He warns (p.154), 'Creative works of quality such as these are created not out of awareness and responsibility. They (the writers) do not have the awareness to champion the welfare of the sections of society who are in dire straits and need help. [Trans. Appnd. 5.14]' Hence, he cautions potential writers to emulate certain famous Malay writers such as Ishak Haji Muhammad and Shahnnon Ahmad, to name a few, who, according to him, put social concern above self. In other words, he suggests that a new breed of writers should concern themselves with universal social problems like corruption, peasant poverty,

oppression, religious problems, etc. — thus keeping themselves away from the temptation of materialism. While the concern of the writer is genuine, his exclusion of discussion of the Chinese and Indian literary scene may well deprive the reader of the opportunity to get to know the broader situation of Malaysian literature as regards social responsibility. This could compel the reader to deduce that the following essay topic on page 50 is informed by such perspective: 'A national literature is writing done in the national language. Give your view. [Trans. Appnd. 5.15]'³.

(c) Multiethnic cultures

One of the essay topics offered in a set of eight additional exercises on page 64 deserves our attention: 'The development of the country's culture should not be enforced in a certain direction. [Trans. Appnd. 5.16]' and in another set of ten additional exercises on pages 67-8, one essay topic also needs mentioning here: 'Kepercayaan-kepercayaan keagamaan di kalangan rakyat Malaysia. (Religious beliefs among Malaysian people)' Such inclusion of essay topics represents to a certain degree a refreshing change to the previous heavy emphasis on Malay culture, for this at least gives the reader the potential opportunity to explore areas outside the Malay cultural orbit.

THE POLITICAL

(a) The Monarchy

'Takhta Dikekal dengan Kehendak Rakyat' (The Throne Is Maintained by the Wishes of the People) (Exercise 8) on pages 102-110 is extracted from a speech delivered by the then Lord President, Raja Tun Azlan Shah (the present King of Malaysia) at a Convocation

ceremony at the Universiti Sains Malaysia on 28 June 1980. The bulk of this speech is a justification for the existence of monarchy in Malaysia. Monarchy, it asserts, is a symbol of unity for the people of the country. Thus, 'In our country, the throne remains as a symbol of unity, as the source and bulwark of justice, as a place to seek sympathy and forgiveness, and as a provider of honours. [p.104; Trans. Appnd. 5.17]'

Raja Tun Azlan Shah also says that (p.104) the world history has shown that by 1980s only 40 thrones survive — from more than 900 in the beginning of the 19th century — and they are normally moved out from the palace to the museum. This, he observes (p.104), 'is a result of wrong advice given by the court advisers to the people. [Trans. Appnd. 5.18]' The writer further argues that the abhorrence of the people towards the throne is due to the fault of the royal advisers, who were not responsive to the people, just as in the case of the Royal Peacock Throne of Iran's Shah. He claims that these royal advisers were only interested in protecting their interests and not those of the people and the country as a whole. He asserts that these people, including the religious elite, failed to perform their duties to advise royalty. The monarch is also perceived by the speech writer as God's representative on Earth. Hence, the Malay rulers are made protectors of Islam in their respective states. The term he uses to describe this divine role of the rulers is 'Khalifah' (meaning vicegerent) — a role which, incidentally, according to Islamic teachings, is also accorded to every human being including the 'commoner', and not only to the royal rulers as implied. The true meaning of this term therefore suggests that the 'commoner' Muslim has as much responsibility as the rulers in protecting their religion, and

in this sense makes both parties equal in status in the eyes of God.

The high status of the royalty is enhanced when the writer adds that the federal and state constitutions in Malaysia accord legal immunity to the royalty only. He said, 'Others — from the Prime Minister down to the ordinary people — are not immune. Their status is the same, their rights the same, and they are given equal protection under the constitution. [p.105; Trans. Appnd. 5.19]' He concludes that in Malaysia, the parliament and the Judiciary, and the state legislative assemblies will each perform its own role under the gaze of the throne 'which symbolises truth, efficiency and justice' (p.106-7). The importance of the monarchy is reinforced in the immediate exercises (p.107): '"In our country, the throne remains as a symbol of unity, as the source and bulwark of justice, as a place to seek sympathy and forgiveness, and as a provider of honours." Discuss the statement above in the context of Malaysia's system of constitutional monarchy. [p.104; Trans. Appnd. 5.20]'

This long extract of a speech (six pages) reflects the great importance conferred by the book writer on the monarchy as its content clearly provides a justification of the institution of monarchy in Malaysia. Here the speech not only has sketched the Malaysian monarchy as an important symbol of unity for all the ethnic groups but also as an effective protector of the Islamic faith of the Malay-Muslims. The greatness of the monarchy is also seen in it being painted as 'the source and bulwark of justice'. Not only that, in his example of the Shah of Iran, the writer attributes the downfall of the Peacock Throne to the royal advisers' failure to protect the interest of the nation which, as he alludes, is necessarily synonymous with the

monarchy's. Hence, the equation is established: monarchy equals nation. In addition, this extract only adds to the stress already made by Othman et al. (in both their books) and Malhi on the importance of the monarchy.

(b) Malay nationalism

(i) 'Malay unity' against British colonialism

'Peperangan Naning' (The Naning War) (pp.107-112) (Exercise 9) is an adaptation of the original piece written by Ahmad Nazri Abdullah in the Malay daily, Berita Harian. The opening sentence has strong nationalistic and ethnic sentiments (p.107): 'The awakening of the Naning Malays under the leadership of village headman Dol Said, who opposed the interference of the English in Naning district, was the initial opposition that surprised the English colonialists. [Trans. Appnd. 5.21]' The writer traces the origin of the war, which revolved around the controversy whether Naning district is part of Melaka; if it was, Naning was required to pay tax to the British authorities who were then in control of the Straits Settlements that included Melaka. Here the writer maintains that the local Malays, led by the single-minded village chief Dol Said, had managed to demonstrate Malays' ability to fight off British military force before their eventual defeat in the hands of the British. The writer argues (p.112) that '... this defeat taught the Malays a useful lesson of how important [Malay] unity is. [Trans. Appnd. 5.22]' The thrust of this article is the importance of the Malays, as a community, to be united, particularly in the face of outside threat or danger. In short, this only strengthens the Malay community's sense of 'active solidarity, which in time of stress and danger can override class, factional or regional divisions within the community' (Smith 1988:30). This sense

of 'Malay-ness' also prevails in the article below.

(ii) Malay nationalist consciousness

Malay nationalism is also discussed in Exercise 10 between pages 113 and 119 under the heading 'Kemunculan Kesedaran Kebangsaan Melayu' (The Emergence of Malay Nationalist Consciousness), an extract from Md Salleh Gaus, Politik Melayu Pulau Pinang (The Politics of Penang Malay). According to the writer, Malay nationalist consciousness was very much related to the activities of the Islah Islam Movement in West Asia, which was led by Islamic figures such as Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Mohamad Abduh and Rashid Ridha. Malay students, who were then studying in this region, became influenced by these Islamic intellectuals. The writer adds that on completing their studies in the Middle East, these radical Malay students went back home and later published newspapers which were mostly based in Penang so as to avoid the wrath of the established conservative Islamic leaders in the mainland. The traditional religious elite felt threatened so much that they distanced themselves from this group of young people by labelling them as 'Kaum Muda' (Young Generation). The primary objective of these young Malays was to help Malays change, economically and politically. Apart from placing their concern on the welfare of the Malays, the newspapers were also worried about the position of the non-Malays in the Malay states who were economically strong. Just as in the 'Naning War', this article too concerns itself with the welfare of the 'Malay community', a concern that grows further with the perceived threat from groups outside the community. Moreover, here we also see an organised religion (Islam) which, according to Smith, is one of the bases of ethnic formation that reinforce ethnic sentiment (1988:32).

(iii) Malay racism and ethnocentrism

The use of a certain quotation in this extract seems rather inappropriate, if not ill-advised, in the context of a modern multiethnic Malaysia. Writer M.S. Gaus quotes an article from a newspaper Saudara (of Penang's 'Young Generation' Muslims at that time) to demonstrate Malays' apprehension about the perceived 'divided loyalty' of non-Malays towards the country (Malaya) where they were born (pp.116-117): '... Mr Chong Cheong Chan isn't the same; in fact, his heart is completely and forever with China... even though his predecessors were born in Melaka during the reign of Sultan Ahmad, before its colonization by the Portuguese and the Dutch. The same goes for Mr. Phanabalam or Mr. Thambayah Manikam whose heart and custom or skin will not change from his predecessors' custom and practices even if he was born at the top of Mount Bub... [Trans. Appnd. 5.23]' Faced with the presence of the economically advantaged non-Malays and the increasing influence of 'progressive' papers such as the Saudara, Malay consciousness was raised to the point of sharpening their ethnic nationalism. This strong feeling found expression within the Malay educated elite, which was divided into the religious-based group on the one hand, and the secular and British-educated on the other. Hence, the writer concludes (p.119): 'In the context of nationalist and political consciousness, both elite groups played an active role as a motivator and leader of the Malays. [Trans. Appnd. 5.24]' The quotation above has a certain element of racism, as can be seen from '...Mr Thambayah Manikam whose heart and custom or skin will not change from his predecessors' custom and practices...'. If the primary motive of including this quote in the extract is to show to the reader the ugliness of racist remark,

nowhere in it is such an intent indicated. On the contrary, the presentation of the fact that two groups of Malay educated elite had got together to champion the cause of the 'Malay community' in the face of non-Malay economic threat (and 'divided loyalty') may just raise the non-Malay reader's suspicion that the extract is in many ways a crude and bold display of Malay nationalism and ethnocentrism.

(iv) Malayan Union: a threat to 'Malay supremacy'

'Rancangan Malayan Union 1946' (The Malayan Union Plan of 1946) (Exercise 13) was a British¹ political scheme that consequently strengthened the force of Malay nationalism. In this extract on pages 129-132, writer Mohd Aris Haji Osman reminds the reader of what the then Malaya would have gone through had the Malayan Union Plan managed to succeed without fierce opposition of the Malays. For one, the writer observes, the Malay Sultans would have been relegated to the status of mere puppets of the British colonial government, and at the same time the Malay States, which used to be British Protectorates, would now become a colony. The writer notes, 'This was a blow to the Malays. [p.132; Trans. Appnd. 5.25]' Secondly, as citizenship under the Malayan Union would have been granted to anyone who wished to make Malaya his/her homeland, non-Malays would have the same rights as the Malays. This, the writer points out, would mean the erosion of Malay political supremacy⁴ (p.130). This crucial point is then repeated in the last page of the article (p.132): 'The citizenship that was granted under the Malayan Union plan provided equal rights to all races born in Malaya for 10 years out of the past 15 years. This meant that the special political rights of the Malays had been usurped and also it seemed that the British government no longer recognised that this country is a "Malay" country. The Chinese and Indians who

numbered about three million at that time would easily become the majority group. [Trans. Appnd. 5.26]' All that is written about Malay nationalism focuses on the fear of many Malays about the domination of the economic and political life of Malaysia by the non-Malays, particularly the Chinese. This is in many ways related to the issue of 'numbers game' that is approached by Othman et al. in their Pengajian Am 2.

The fact that the Malayan Union proposal received fierce opposition from the Malays is reinforced in the exercises immediately following the above article (p.132): (1) 'The Malayan Union plan received vehement opposition from the Malays. Discuss the reasons for the rejection of the plan. [Trans. Appnd. 5.27]'; and (2) 'Discuss the regional political developments that raised the awareness of the Malays to oppose efforts of the British to occupy their former colony after the Second World War. [Trans. Appnd. 5.28]' The reader would have noticed by now that right from the extract on the 'Naning War', down to 'The Emergence of Malay Nationalist Consciousness' to 'The Malayan Union Plan of 1946', the underlying concern points to Malay political, socio-economic and cultural interests. As mentioned earlier, this concern is particularly reinforced by the 'economic and political threats' from the non-Malay groups in the country. It seems that the existent inter-ethnic suspicion and fear are very much kept alive by extracts such as these, without any overt or covert attempt by the book writer to somehow intervene, express and warn of the danger to the reader of such politically explosive sentiments (perhaps through his multiple-choice questions, discursive questions or essay topics sections). As things stand, the reader, particularly the non-Malay, is to conclude that Malay interests are continually and

overwhelmingly promoted in the book just as in the previous General Studies books analysed.

(c) Fundamental liberties

(i) Fettered freedom for 'national security'

The next extract (pp.136-140) is on 'Kebebasan dan Hak Asasi' (Freedom and Basic Rights) (Exercise 15; pp.136-140) that is adapted from Mohammed Suffian et al. (eds), Perlembagaan Malaysia. Perkembangannya 1957-1977 (The Malaysian Constitution. Its Development 1957-1977). It says that the Malaysian Constitution has nine 'freedoms' or rights which are categorised as basic: individual liberty; freedom from slavery or forced labour; protection from retrospective criminal laws; equality; prohibition on banishment, and freedom of movement; freedom of expression, assembly and association; freedom of religion; rights related to education; and property rights (p.137). These freedoms, the writer cautions, are however qualified and limited. The extract says that Article 9(2), for instance, leaves freedom of movement to the 'discretion' of the Parliament. Similarly, Article 10(2) leaves freedom of expression, association and assembly to the 'discretion' of the Parliament. And, one of the exceptions to the rule of equality under Article 8(5), provision (c), stipulates that (p.138): 'Any provision for the protection, well-being or advancement of the aboriginal peoples of the Malay Peninsula (including the reservation of land) or the reservation to aborigines of a reasonable proportion of suitable positions in the public service. [English version in Malaysia 1979:28; Appnd. 5.29]' This implies that the Malaysian Parliament is empowered to curb certain freedoms (and equality) if and when it sees fit to do so, particularly in the name of 'national security', etc. One of the factors that give

legitimacy to the curbs on basic freedoms is the claim of the 'communist threat', which thus helps to situate the following essay topic on page 68: 'Pergerakan pengganas-pengganas komunis di Malaysia.' (The movement of communist terrorists in Malaysia.). Such caveats on basic freedoms are also found in Pengajian Am 1, Pengajian Am 2 (Othman et al.), and Kenegaraan Malaysia. Basic freedoms which are central to the question of the formation of a national identity are here seen to be curbed. The provision of 'Malay rights' is pointed out again in one of the exercises (p.140) following the above article: 'Make a study of the constitution and the formation of the Federation of Malaya as regards the provision of the "special privileges of Malays". In what area were these rights granted? [Trans. Appnd. 5.30]' In other words, the curbs on these freedoms are made out to be a necessary evil by these books.

Following an essay on the Malay language are a list of 10 essay topics which the reader is required to attempt in writing only the first paragraph of each essay. One that is relevant to the study is (p.21): 'Democracy can be likened to a flower: if well taken care of, it can grow and exudes fragrance, conversely it is soft enough to be destroyed. Discuss. [Trans. Appnd. 5.31]' Given the previous extract on basic freedoms, the reader may be able to use this opportunity to express his/her concern regarding the status of fundamental liberties in the country. In other words, it could serve as a platform for the reader to express his/her frustrations, grievances and anxiety as a concerned Malaysian over the state of democracy in the country. But a conformist reader would have been swayed against such an attempt.

(ii) Press freedom

'Fungsi suratkhobar' (Functions of the press) is an extract on which Exercise 4 (pp.87-89) is based. As the 'fourth estate', the extract argues, the press has a great influence over its audience in a society. The press is so influential, it adds, that the reading public tend to believe almost everything that they read in the newspapers. The extract spells out three main functions of the press: (a) to objectively inform readers about what is going on in their community, country and the world at large; (b) to give comments through editorials so as to bring to the readers' attention certain developments; and (c) to provide opportunity to advertise for those who have goods or/and service to sell. The previous extract on the (curbed) 'Freedom and Basic Rights' may have given some clue to the reader that certain legal restrictions imposed by the State have made it quite difficult for most of the Malaysian newspapers to fulfill the above functions, in particular the first one (a). However, there are other readers (a few Malays), as revealed in the interviews, who do believe that certain newspapers are able to be 'objective' in their coverage of events precisely because these newspapers had presented their viewpoints and interests.

(d) The Judiciary

On pages 70-71, an essay topic of another set of ten additional exercises reads, 'Sistem kehakiman di Malaysia' (The judicial system in Malaysia). The mentioning of the Judiciary only in the form of an essay topic mirrors the book writer's cool attitude towards it. This is in sharp contrast to the relatively detailed discussion of it by Malhi, in view of the widely-held notion of the Judiciary being one of the necessary facets of a modern, progressive nation.

(e) Education for socio-economic justice

'Pembelajaran Berdasarkan Pembangunan' (Education Based on Development) (Exercise 16; pp.140-144) is adapted from an article by Hambali Latif in the Malay daily Berita Harian, which essentially argues that it is through education that a 'Malaysian race' could be created. The writer says that there is a great need to train students in vocational and technical institutions in order to meet the technical needs of industry; for after all, he argues, the objective of education is not only to foster national unity, but also to help people get jobs. He adds that under the New Economic Policy the government had allocated a lot of money to train people in and outside the country. That the Bumiputeras are lagging behind other ethnic groups in education, he asserts, makes it 'just' that they be given extra educational opportunity and preference. Thus, he argues (p.142): 'If we look at the occupational statistics, it is clear that the number of Bumiputera engineers, lawyers, doctors or accountants is still small and this situation can endanger national unity... This imbalance of expertise if left unchecked can pose an injustice to the Bumiputeras. In our search for justice it is of course necessary for us to be unjust to certain groups as injustice today can bring forth justice in the long run. [Trans. Appnd. 5.32]' It should be noted here that this reflects the general concern of the government, but however constitutes a distortion to the underlying spirit and primary objective of the New Economic Policy (NEP), i.e. to help eradicate poverty irrespective of ethnicity, and to restructure society so as to eliminate the identification of occupational function with ethnicity.

Hambali Latif rationalises that non-Malay students also have

access to tertiary education given the ethnic quotas prescribed by the government. Besides, he maintains, non-Bumiputeras shouldn't complain as many of them are found in the coveted faculties of medicine and engineering where, he says, much money has been spent in running them compared with the less expensive, Malay-filled faculties of arts or education. Moreover, he says, scholarships that were given to Bumiputeras were for those Bumiputeras who really cannot afford tertiary education. Besides, he adds, such granting of scholarships has been reduced and is being replaced by loans, as is the practice of the government agency, MARA (People's Trust Council). He concludes that the government is committed to 'meeting the national aspirations' so that Malaysia can live happily without ethnic jealousy and suspicion (p.144).

The whole thrust of the article 'Education Based on Development' is a justification and rationalisation of the existence and use of special privileges by the Malays. The reader may have noticed that the extract is essentially a discussion of a problem of social inequality (i.e. socio-economic backwardness) that has been approached from an ethnic perspective. The writer could have argued along a non-ethnic line that it is only justifiable to help the needy and the disadvantaged in society, irrespective of ethnicity. In other words, a socio-economic strategy that is primarily aimed at 'eradicating poverty irrespective of ethnicity' now seems to have ironically prioritised ethnicity above poverty. Given this approach, a reader would be placed in an oppositional position as regards the government's endeavour to help the poor and the needy in society: 'us' versus 'them'. Which is why it is surprising to have a certain alleged criticism of this 'ethnic approach' mentioned again in one of

the exercises (p.144) following the article above: 'In the above article the writer says: "Accusation by some quarters that the government practises favouritism in the education system by giving priority to Bumiputera students is inaccurate." Give your opinion on this (300-350 words). [Trans. Appnd. 5.33]'

(f) 'Numbers game': Malay political ascendancy

In Guide 3 of the 'Change Graphics to Prose' section (pp.305-310), the reader is presented with tables of population projection (which are subdivided into ethnic groups) for Malaysia from 1970 to 1980, and the reader is then shown how to interpret the given tables. In this guide, the book writer holds that it is rather realistic to expect that of the three major ethnic groups, the Malays are envisaged to maintain its increasing population growth rate, followed by a reduced rate of population growth for the Chinese, and similar reduced growth rate for the Indians. This concern for Malay numerical strength is connected to the notion of Malay political supremacy as indicated in the earlier extract on the Malays' rejection of the British-proposed Malayan Union as well as in Othman et al.'s book, Pengajian Am 2. This population projection has, in terms of the notion of Malay political supremacy, a lot in common with Exercise 2 on page 319 of this book which shows the percentage of the Malaysian population by (ethnic) communities and by states (in the Federation) in 1970. In that year, the Bumiputeras in the whole of the federation stand at 55.5%; the Chinese 34.1%; the Indians 9%; and 'Others' 1.4%. Whilst the extract on 'Education Based on Development' argues for the special privileges of the Malays, the above two sets of statistics present the very foundation of these privileges: the protection of the Malay community derived from the strength of the perceived 'Malay

political supremacy' (which in turn is derived from the Malays' numerical strength). Once again the reader of this book would be encouraged to take up an oppositional position: 'us' versus 'them'.

THE ECONOMIC

(a) Malay economic problems

(i) Malay poverty

Between pages 15 and 17, Atan Long provides eight samples of essay introductions for the reader to have a sense of how the first paragraph of an essay ought to be written. One sample that deserves the attention of this study is the paragraph written in response to the topic (p.16), 'Kemiskinan Penduduk-penduduk di Luar Bandar' (The Poverty of People in the Rural Areas). The paragraph reads:

When I went back to the [Malay] village, I found friends of my age, looking like old people. Their bodies seem weak, with their teeth in disarray. They look much older than their real age. This is the result of sufferings inflicted upon them by poverty. [Trans. Appnd. 5.34]

This portrayal of the socio-economic situation of rural Malays in particular and the Malays in general in a sense strengthens the rationale behind the institution of the NEP, i.e. to help eradicate poverty (irrespective of ethnicity). The display of poverty statistics in this book would strongly help argue for the case of helping out the poor rural Malay folk. Thus, Exercise 4 (p.321) presents two tables that focus on the subject of poverty in Peninsular Malaysia. Table 1 shows the average family income and the rate of poverty according to ethnicity in 1970. Here the Malays are shown to have an average family income of M\$172 per month; the Chinese M\$394; the Indians M\$304; and 'Others' M\$813. Table 2 shows jobs in selected sectors according to the major ethnic groups in 1970. There are more

Malays in agriculture and less in commerce, mining, construction — where the Chinese form the bulk of the working population. In the public service, the Indians come second after the Malays in terms of the proportion of Indian people working (the Chinese come third). The following exercise also suggests the book writer's concern for the socio-economic standing of the Malays in the professions. Exercise 27 (p.343) presents a table about professional staff in the public sector according to ethnic groups. The selected professions under study are architect, accountant, engineer, surveyor and lawyer. On the whole, the Chinese come out first, followed by the Malays, Indians, and 'Others' in terms of the number of people practising in these professions. Once again the 'spectre' of ethnicity is invoked and promoted to the reader. This also mirrors the writer's bigger concern with Malaysia's middle class in general and Malay middle class in particular, one that parallels with similar government's concern.

(ii) Malay agriculture and peasantry

The inclusion of the following extracts suggests the book writer's appreciation of the economic and political significance of agriculture to the majority of the rural Peninsular Malays. Editorial 2 (pp.42-44) entitled, 'Mempelbagaikan hasil pertanian' (Diversification of agricultural produce), calls, as the title suggests, for the diversification of agricultural produce in order to reduce its imports and therefore save on foreign exchange. As a step in this direction, the editorial quotes the exhortation by the Director-General of the Lembaga Pertubuhan Peladang (LPP, the Farmers' Association Board) to the local farmers to grow black pepper and onions in Malaysia. In this respect, the LPP and the Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute (MARDI) are expected

to have carried out experiments in growing onions so as to ascertain their physical suitability to the local climate and soil. Moreover, this measure would also ensure that land which has been under-utilised will be made full use of.

Editorial 3 (pp.44-46) entitled, 'Menyemak penggunaan tanah di kampung-kampung luar bandar (A review of land use in rural villages)', discusses the issue of land use in the rural areas where Malays predominate. It gives support to the suggestion made by the Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia that land use, especially in villages in the rural areas, should be reviewed so as to ensure an economic use of the land as well as making use of the hitherto unused tracts.⁵ Like the Editorial 2, this one also stresses government's efforts to help improve the socio-economic status of the Malays, and it is further reinforced by the extract below.

Under the section on 'Science and Technology', Exercise 2 is on an article, 'Lahirnya Petani Modern' (The Birth of the Modern Farmer), whose opening paragraph is a grim reminder of a rural Malay society that is generally still haunted by poverty. Thus (p.162): 'When we speak of the Malays, whether there has been change or otherwise, we have to accept that their lives are still connected to the rural areas and poverty. [Trans. Appnd. 5.35]' It is therefore to be expected, he argues, that the government would launch — which it has — various socio-economic development projects for the benefit of the rural Malays. He adds, this is all made possible because of the '... political power that is in the hands of the Malays [Trans. Appnd. 5.36].' He says that part of the strategy to develop the rural sector and improve the rate of production in agriculture is the government's

plan to create a new generation of modern Malay farmers through its financial and technical aids and agricultural research. The writer asserts that given the large size of the rural (Malay) population, the government cannot simply ignore the problems of the farmers, who, unless helped, would revolt. Which is why, the writer states (p.162), '... it can be said that rural politics has a big influence in determining the type of national administration [Trans. Appnd. 5.37].' This last point is repeated in the one of the exercises that follow immediately the above article (p.165): 'The writer says, "Rural politics has a big influence in the administration of the country." Is this view right and prove it. [Trans. appnd. 5.38]' Hence, not only is the reader constantly reminded of the poverty of the largely rural Malays and the need to help them out, s/he is also told of the ability of these Malays, given their numerical and electoral strength, to flex their political muscle if their welfare is not taken care of by the government. Given such political and economic background of the country, the reader may then be able to respond to the following essay topic on page 50: 'Kestabilan ekonomi memerlukan kestabilan politik. (Economic stability requires political stability)' That the Malays have a political clout should also remind the reader of the earlier extract about the failure of the Malayan Union because of the concern for Malay political and numerical supremacy. Reading these extracts that underline and reinforce Malay political dominance can be alienating, if not threatening, to the non-Malay reader.

The following extract is also about the socio-economic conditions of a certain group of Malay rural dwellers. However, it does go a step further by questioning the existence of structural problems that still inflict upon the poor Malays despite government's economic

assistance. Exercise 6 on pages 179-183 is on the article, 'Pukat Mengganti Bubu dan Jala, Sampan Pula Berenjin (Trawling net replaces rattan fishing trap and small fishing net, the boat is now engine-powered)' which revolves around the subject of the socio-economic status of Malay fishermen. It argues that whilst there has been some improvement to the fishermen's livelihood as a result of the government's overall development strategy to eradicate poverty, important structural obstacles to the improvement of their living standards still exist. For one, he adds, the credit scheme seems to benefit the richer fishermen who have land, orchards and boats to act as collaterals when applying for such credits. The writer ends with a familiar caution (p.183): 'As long as poverty is not overcome immediately the struggle to make independence more meaningful remains, particularly in the area of helping the unfortunate, and this service and assistance will have to be continuously provided. [Trans. Appnd. 5.39]' The plight of the fishermen is repeated in one of the two exercise presented immediately after the above article (p.183): 'Even though various measures have been taken by the government to take care of the fishermen's welfare, their conditions still haven't changed. How does this happen and give your suggestion to overcome this problem (300-350 words). [Trans. Appnd. 5.40]' A constant reminder of and heavy emphasis (in this book) on the need to help the poor Malays such as this and the previous ones may also be construed as neglecting the economic well-being of the non-Malay groups, especially no mention is made in the book on the non-Malay poor in say, the plantations or towns. Furthermore, this reminder would sound even louder if the structural problems that still maintain the poverty level of the rural Malays are not eradicated by the authorities concerned. In other words, economic aid such as the NEP, with its attendant problems, may

well be — to the anxiety of the non-Malay reader — a permanent feature of Malaysian life. A question on page 73 serves as another example of this constant reminder: 'Various projects have been launched by the government to improve the living standards of the rural people but not all of them have yielded the desired results. Using real examples, analyse why this happens. [Trans. Appnd. 5.41]' This notion of prolongation of economic help (invariably in the form of the NEP) to improve the economic standing of the Malay poor, without addressing fully or effectively to some structural problems, may worry the non-Malay reader. For the existence of Malay poverty would imply that more government funds and all forms of assistance would still be channelled to the Malay community — irrespective of whether the Malay majority benefit from them — to the neglect of the economic welfare of the non-Malay poor.

(iii) Malays in business

In an exercise on logical thinking when writing essay, the following example is used to show illogical reasoning (p.57):

Malays are not good in business.

Ahmad is a Malay.

Hence, Ahmad is not good in business. [Trans. Appnd. 5.42]

The above not only demonstrates a wrong line of reasoning or deduction but also reminds the reader of the somewhat popular stereotype of the Malays, the kind that the second objective of the New Economic Policy (to restructure society so that economic function does not necessarily coincide with ethnicity) aims to eradicate. The above example also informs the reader of the government's concerted effort to not only destroy the myth that Malays do not make good business people but also its desire to create a small group of Malay capitalists (Ozay Mehmet 1988:Preface). And this very desire to create a small community of

Malay capitalists necessitates the government to channel most of its resources towards this goal, thereby neglecting the welfare of the Malay poor as referred to above, let alone that of the non-Malay poor. This then provokes the Malay poor and their Malay politicians (whose political support and base come from these people) to demand the continued institutionalization and implementation of policies such as the NEP — as implied in the previous extract.

Phrasing of sentences and use of terms

Editorial 1 (pp.40-42), on 'Ke arah pemodenan orang Asli' (Towards the Modernization of the Aborigines), expresses primarily its concern about the socio-economic well-being of the aboriginal people. However, what needs to be noted here is the editorial's preference for the assimilation of the aborigines as a way of 'helping' them. Thus, it argues, 'To maintain (their) traditional lifestyle means maintaining their identity as Aborigines, something which would continuously prevent the acceptance of them by the "ordinary society" [pp.41-42; Trans. Appnd. 5.6]'. The implication of this statement is not only the trivialising of the Aborigines' group identity but also, by the use of the phrase 'ordinary society', renders them as a people who are not ordinary, and thus perhaps even weird. Their identity, therefore, must be replaced with something that is 'acceptable' (as opposed to being something 'deviant') to the 'ordinary society'. This suggests the subordination and marginalization of the aboriginal culture. Even if, for one moment, one were to accept the assimilation argument, one would still be confronted with the problem of interpreting what is meant by 'ordinary society'. A clue to this may be found from the editorial's suggestion that the aborigines be absorbed into certain land resettlement schemes organised by the

government, schemes that normally receive predominant participation from the Malays. Thus we could deduce that the 'ordinary society' is meant to be the dominant Malay society.

'Pembelajaran Berdasarkan Pembangunan' (Education Based on Development) (Exercise 16; pp.140-144) is an article that essentially argues for socio-economic assistance to the Malays so as to build a harmonious 'Malaysian nation'. Thus, the article argues (p.142): 'We should recognise the fact that Bumiputeras are still lagging behind in education. If we look at the occupational statistics, it is clear that the number of Bumiputera engineers, lawyers, doctors or accountants is still small and this situation can endanger national unity... This imbalance of expertise if left unchecked can pose an injustice to the Bumiputeras. In our search for justice it is of course necessary for us to be unjust to certain groups as injustice today can bring forth justice in the long run. [Trans. Appnd. 5.33]' The tone of this statement is rather assertive and matter-of-fact. Notice the use of such terms as 'We should recognise...'; '... it is clear that the number...'; and '... it is of course necessary for us to be unjust...'. In the case of the last phrase, the writer is clearly seen to be identifying himself with the 'Malay cause' of improving their economic lot.

Summary

Aspects of Malay culture and Islamic tradition dominate the cultural side of this book. This stretches from knowledge informed by Islamic view to 'modernization' of the Aborigines to 'purification' of Malay songs to traditional Malay-Islamic education to Malay architecture to traditional Malay dance (although there is

acknowledgement of absorption of foreign cultural elements) to Malay theatre to Islamic art to Malay sculpture and, finally, to Malay writers. It is significant that all of these take the form of extracts or articles that originate from Malay newspapers or books essentially meant for Malay audience. The discussion on the national language, seen as a medium of inter-ethnic communication, takes on a liberal approach as it also recognises the language's capacity to absorb elements of foreign languages. Unfortunately, the article on the teaching of Malay proverbs adds an ethnic dimension to a language that is supposed to be for all Malaysians. We also notice that the liberal approach to the national language and the discussion on Malay traditional dance contradict the myopic view on the Malay songs. Liberalism of this nature can be held up as standards against which other discussions or treatment of materials in the book be judged. Having said that, the absence of materials on other ethnic cultures is immense.

If the cultural is overtly and overly heavy on things Malay, so is the economic. All of the book's economic concern is on Malay poverty, agriculture and Malay participation in business. It should be noted here though that the article that points out the structural cause to Malay poverty is quite poignant. Again like the cultural, the silence on non-Malay economic problems here is deafening.

On the political side, the book also shows to a certain extent strong tendency towards promoting various aspects of Malay ethnocentrism, nationalism and political supremacy, and also education as a State apparatus for achieving socio-economic justice for Malays. In addition, there is also a lengthy treatment and justification of

the Malay monarchy (six pages). The monarchy's significance is further reinforced in exercises following it. Fundamental liberties are also raised here. But the main thrust of the argument is 'necessary' curtailment of these freedoms — with 'national security' in mind. The initial optimism surrounding the positive role of the Press seems to have been crushed by the above curbs on freedom.

Finally, as for the phrasing of words and terms used, that the 'modernization' of the Aborigines is deemed as a step towards them being accepted by the 'ordinary society' implies a status of 'deviant' and 'unacceptable' behaviour on the part of the Aborigines should they refuse to be modernised. And the terms used in the article on education for socio-economic justice smacks of compulsion upon the reader to accept its argument without any debate.

Notes

1. See Tang Eng Teik (in Kua Kia Soong (ed) 1987:51-59) for a discussion on national culture, as envisaged by the government, and its impact on ethnic cultures in Malaysia.
2. See for instance the resolution on handicraft that is biased towards the traditional Malay art form. (Malaysia 1973:547-548.)
3. The Chinese-based Gerakan political party for instance states that 'All literary works which reflect Malaysian reality and manifest the feelings and thoughts of Malaysians with characters and background which are distinctively Malaysian — no matter which language is used for writing — should be accepted as Malaysian literature. (Gerakan 1983:65)'
4. See for instance Kadir Abadi (1987) who essentially gives a strong support for Dato' Abdullah Ahmad's speech which called for the perpetuation of 'Malay political dominance'.
5. Such a tendency by the UMNO (of which the Deputy Premier is a senior member) component of the ruling coalition (i.e. to pay more attention on Malay poverty and poverty-related problems) has incurred the anger of partner MCA. MCA member Chua Jui Meng, for instance, expressed concern about the government apparent

obsession with issues of Malay poverty to the exclusion of sympathy for urban (Chinese) poor (in MCA 1988:91-95).

Contents of Atan Long's *Pengajian Am 2* (General Studies 2).

In Part 1 of the book, several sample essays are provided as a practical guide to the reader in the writer's attempt to demonstrate how to write an essay. In Exercise 1, a sample essay of a student is a response to the the following question: 'Ke arah manakah negara kita bergerak di bidang kesenian? Khususkan perbincangan anda kepada salah satu daripada bidang-bidang ini: seni lukis, seni sastera, seni muzik, seni tari dan seni lakon.' (Which direction is our country taking in the area of the arts: Limit your discussion to one of the following areas: painting, literature, music, dance and acting.) Exercise 2 carries a sample essay of a student that is a response to the following topic: 'Peranan syarikat kerjasama dalam pembangunan ekonomi desa.' (The role of cooperatives in rural economic development.) Exercise 3 also carries a sample essay (also written by a student) that responds to the following topic: 'Kesankan perkembangan bahasa Melayu sejak ianya diiktiraf sebagai bahasa kebangsaan dan bahasa rasmi di Malaysia atau sebagai bahasa kebangsaan dan salah satu bahasa rasmi di Singapura. Buatkan penilaian dari segi (a) bahasa itu sendiri, dan (b) kedudukan yang diberikan kepadanya.' (Trace the development of the Malay language since its acknowledgement as the national and official language in Malaysia or as the national language and also as one of the official languages in Singapore. Assess the following two aspects: (a) the language itself, and (b) the status given to it.) Exercise 4 also carries an essay written by a student that forms his/her response to the given topic: 'Pendidikan sebagai asas tamadun manusia.' (Education as a foundation of Man's

civilisation.) The sample essay in Exercise 5 is also one that is written by a student in response to the given topic: 'Apakah pendapat anda tentang cadangan yang hendak menjadikan rantau Asia Tenggara sebagai satu kawasan berkecuali dari segi politik?' (What is your opinion on the suggestion that the Southeast Asian region be made a zone of political neutrality?) Exercise 6 is to test the comprehension ability of the reader of two given newspaper editorials: 'Unsur Melayu dalam Lagu' (The Malay Elements in Songs), and 'Rekod Rompak, Eksploitasi Pencipta.' (Record Pirating, Exploitation of Song Writers) In between these main exercises are also found little samples of essay topics or of short essays which will be examined and analysed later.

In Part 2 of the book, 20 essays (which are extracted from newspapers, magazines, journals and books) are presented from which short essay topics are created for the reader to attempt to do. Essay 1 is on 'Pertambahan Penduduk.' (Population Growth); Essay 2 on 'Sistem Pondok Uji Ketabahan.' (The Traditional Religious Boarding Schools System Tests Determination); Essay 3 on 'Sukan Negara Belum Boleh Dibanggakan' (We Still Can't Be Proud of the National Sports); Essay 4 on 'Fungsi Suratkhabar.' (The Functions of Newspapers); Essay 5 on 'Atap Ala Minangkabau Bukan Ciri Tempatan?' (Roof a la Minangkabau Isn't Local?); Essay 6 on 'Tarian Tradisional.' (Traditional Dance); Essay 7 on 'Sekolah di Desa: Baik dan Buruknya.' (Schools in the Rural Areas: Pros and Cons); Essay 8 on 'Takhta Dikekal dengan Kehendak Rakyat.' (The Throne Is Maintained by the Wishes of the People); Essay 9 on 'Peperangan Naning.' (The Naning War); Essay 10 on 'Kemunculan Kesedaran Kebangsaan Melayu.' (The Emergence of Malay Nationalism); Essay 11 on 'Pengajaran di Sebalik

Falsafah dalam Peribahasa Melayu.' (The Philosophy Behind the Teaching of Malay Proverbs); Essay 12 on 'Mengapa Teater Melayu Tiada Penonton?' (Why Is the Malay Theatre Without Audience?); Essay 13 on 'Rancangan Malayan Union 1946.' (The Malayan Union Plan of 1946); Essay 14 on 'Ekspresionisme.' (Expressionism); Essay 15 on 'Kebebasan dan Hak Asasi.' (Freedom and Basic Rights); Essay 16 on 'Pembelajaran Berdasarkan Pembangunan.' (Learning Based on Development); Essay 17 on 'Seni yang Indah kerana Allah.' (Beautiful Art In the Name of Allah); Essay 18 on 'Antara Sumber Ekonomi dan Keindahan Alam Semula Jadi.' (Between Economic Resources and Natural Beauty); Essay 19 on 'Seni Ukir Melayu Tradisi.' (The Art of Traditional Malay Sculpture); and Essay 20 on 'Berkarya Kerana Tuntuan Wang atau Tanggungjawab Sosial?' (To Be Creative Because of Money or Social Responsibility?)

Part 3 also presents 20 essays, extracted from newspapers, magazines, journals, and books, that are oriented towards science and technology. Essay 1 is on: 'Generasi Komputer.' (Computer Generation); Essay 2 on 'Lahirnya Petani Modern.' (The Birth of the Modern Farmer); Essay 3 on 'Alat Mengesan Bohong.' (A Lie Detector); Essay 4 on 'Kehidupan Liar Sedang Menderita Kepupusan.' (The Wild Life Is Suffering from Extinction); Essay 5 on 'Makanan Boleh Disimpan dalam Radiasi Nuklear.' (Food Can Be Stored in Nuclear Radiation); Essay 6 on 'Pukat Mengganti Bubu dan Jala, Sampan Pula Berenjin.' (The Trawling Net Replaces Rattan Fishing Trap and Small Fishing Net, the Boat Is Now Engine-powered); Essay 7 on 'Aids: Satu Epidemik Pembunuh Yang Baru.' (Aids: A New Killer Epidemic); Essay 8 on 'Elektronik dalam Perubatan.' (Electronics in Medical Treatment); Essay 9 on 'Gas-gas Sarap Pemusnah Manusia yang Ditakuti.' (The Abominable, Destructive Nerve Gases); Essay 10 on 'Hakisan Tanah: Satu Masalah

yang Makin Membimbangkan.' (Soil Erosion: A Worrying Problem); Essay 11 on 'Menyelam Dasar Laut.' (Diving At the Bottom of the Sea); Essay 12 on 'Racun dalam Makanan Modern.' (Poison in Modern Foods); Essay 13 on 'Estet Padi Lebih Menguntungkan.' (Padi Estate Is More Beneficial); Essay 14 on 'Rokok: "Nikmat" yang Mengancam Kesehatan.' (Cigarettes: The 'Pleasure' That Is Affecting Health); Essay 15 on 'Psikologi Modern.' (Modern Psychology); Essay 16 on 'DBS (Direct Broadcasting Satellite) Dijangka Bawa Perubahan Siaran TV.' (DBS Is Expected to Bring Changes in TV Broadcasting); Essay 17 on 'Suhu Permukaan Alam Akan Bertambah Panas.' (Earth's Surface Temperature Will Be Hotter); Essay 18 on 'Iklim Dunia Masih Boleh Dikawal.' (The World's Temperature Can Still Be Controlled); Essay 19 on 'Menghadapi Proses Tua.' (Facing The Process of Ageing); and Essay 20 on 'Arkeologi: Masyarakat Kita Belum Ada Kesedaran.' (Archaeology: Our Society Still Hasn't Got the Awareness).

Part 4 of the book provides a guide as well exercises for the reader to try out in making graphics from given prose. In the guide section, Guide 1 is about a genealogy of a certain Malay family. Guide 2 revolves around an information on palm oil processing. Guide 3 is based on a person's monthly budget. And Guide 4 focuses on road accident cases in Malaysia for the year 1984. The exercises that follow are based on 15 sets of information that are excerpted from newspapers, magazines, journals and books. They are: Exercise 1 is about 'Tembikar Sayong.' (Sayong Ceramics); Exercise 2 on 'Sistem Pendidikan di Malaysia.' (The Education System in Malaysia); Exercise 3 on 'Salasilah Raja-raja Bugis.' (The Genealogy of the Kings of Celebes); Exercise 4 on 'Pelan Rumah' (House Plan); Exercise 5 on 'Gambaran Kecantikan Puteri.' (The Portray of the Beauty of a

Princess); Exercise 6 on 'Pembinaan Pengalaman dan Penggunaannya.' (The Development of Experience and Its Uses); Essay 7 on 'Pengajaran dan Pembelajaran.' (Teaching and Learning); Essay 8 on 'Lebih Dagangan Malaysia Naik 42.8 Peratus.' (Malaysia's Trade Surplus Increases By 42.8 Percent); Essay 9 on 'Pemilihan dan Penempatan Pekerja.' (The Choice and Location of Work); Essay 10 on 'Sejarah Hidup Kuman Demam Kura (Malaria).' (The History of Malarial Virus); Essay 11 on 'Kewangan Malaysia 1986'. (The Malaysian Budget of 1986); Essay 12 on 'Struktur Kerajaan Malaysia.' (The Structure of Malaysian Government); Essay 13 on 'Kota Melaka.' (The Melaka Fort); Essay 14 on 'Strategi Pertanian.' (The Agricultural Strategy); and Essay 15 on 'Peruntukan Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat.' (Budget Allocation for the Social Services Department).

In Part 5, guide is given to the reader as to how to interpret graphics. Five guides are given as follows: Guide 1 is on the financial status of the Federal Government of Malaysia; Guide 2 revolves around a given statistics of the size of the Malaysian population towards the end of 1968; Guide 3 is about the projection of the Malaysian population size by 1990; Guide 4 is based on the separate financial standing of the Malaysian Government in 1977 and 1977; and Guide 5 is about a given map of a residential area. In the section where the reader's ability to interpret given graphs, charts, etc. is tested, 27 exercises are provided: Exercise 1 on 'Pertambahan Penduduk Dunia.' (Trans. The World Population Growth); Exercise 2 on 'Taburan Penduduk.' (Population Distribution [in Malaysia]); Exercise 3 on 'Purata Hujan.' (Rainfall Average); Exercise 4 on 'Keadaan Kemiskinan.' (Poverty Situation); Exercise 5 on 'Perbandingan Sekolah-sekolah Rendah.' (Comparison between primary schools);

Exercise 6 on 'Eksport dan Import.' (Export and Import); Exercise 7 on 'Pusingan Perniagaan.' (Trade Turnovers); Exercise 8 on 'Keadaan Ekonomi.' (Economic Situation); Exercise 9 on 'Petrol'; Exercise 10 on 'Nilai Eksport Getah.' (Rubber Export Earnings); Exercise 11 on 'Nilai Keluaran Timah.' (Tin Production Earnings); Exercise 12 on 'Nilai Eksport Balak.' (Timber Export Earnings); Exercise 13 on 'Nilai Eksport Kayu Bergergaji.' (Sawn Timber Export Earnings); Exercise 14 on 'Nilai Eksport Minyak Kelapa Sawit.' (Oil Palm Export Earnings); Exercise 15 on 'Memproses Padi.' (Padi Processing); Exercise 16 on 'Perbandingan Pendapatan Kerajaan.' (Comparison between Government Earnings); Exercise 17 on 'Gerakan Koperasi Sekolah.' (School Cooperative Movement); Exercise 18 on 'Kemalangan Jalan Raya.' (Road Accidents); Exercise 19 on 'Sumber Pendapatan Kerajaan.' (Government Revenue); Exercise 20 on 'Kawasan untuk Bertani.' (Areas for Agricultural Activities); Exercise 21 on 'Kawasan Ladang Kelapa Sawit.' (Oil Palm Plantation Area); Exercise 22 on 'Tapak untuk Pekan Baru.' (The Site of a New Town); Exercise 23 on 'Meniliti Poster.' (Poster Assessment); Exercise 24 on 'Memilih Logo.' (Choosing a Logo); Exercise 25 on 'Belanja Pengurusan.' (Administrative Costs); Exercise 26 on 'Pengeluaran Petrol.' (Petrol Production); and Exercise 27 on 'Kakitangan Ikhtisas.' (Professional Staff).

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Trans. Appnd. 5.1: 'Kesankan perkembangan bahasa Melayu sejak ianya diiktiraf sebagai bahasa kebangsaan dan bahasa rasmi di Malaysia atau sebagai bahasa kebangsaan dan salah satu bahasa rasmi di Singapura. Buatlah penilaian dari segi (a) bahasa itu sendiri, dan (b) kedudukan

yang diberikan kepadanya.'

5.2: 'Orang Melayu boleh menjadi satu bangsa yang besar dan mulia sekiranya mereka tidak jemu mengambil iktibar peribahasa itu.'

5.3: 'Dalam setengah-setengah masyarakat kebudayaan masyarakat ini melumpuhkan atau menghalang proses peradaban, misalnya dalam masyarakat kita orang Melayu setengah dari kepercayaan dalam kebudayaan orang Melayu menghalang dari berfikir secara logik dan menyebabkan penghalang penerimaan cepat terhadap kemajuan teknologi (sic) yang ada sekarang. Dalam hal ini pendidikan memainkan peranan dalam menentukan corak pemilihan kebudayaan merubah atau mengekalkan tradisi.'

5.4: '... hendaklah berdasarkan al Quran (sic) dan pendidikan sains dan teknologi (sic) hendak dikaitkan dengan isi-isi yang terdapat dalam al Quran (sic) supaya tamaddun yang diharapkan akan menjadi tamaddun yang sebenar nya (sic) yang menuju kepada kebenaran mutlak'.

5.5: 'Memelihara kehidupan tradisi bererti mengekalkan pengenalan mereka sebagai orang Asli, suatu yang terus-menerus menghalang penerimaan masyarakat biasa.'

5.6: 'Lagu-lagu kita ini terlalu dipengaruhi oleh unsur Barat atau Hindustan sehingga semakin lama unsur Melayunya yang sebenar semakin hilang dan tidak diketahui. (Emphasis added.)'

5.7: 'Kita harus melihat ciri-ciri bangunan tradisional yang terdapat di lain-lain daerah di Semenanjung, Sabah and Sarawak untuk mewujudkan

rasa "kekitaan" dan menggambarkan bentuk yang tulen bukan asal ambil saja untuk melahirkan ciri seni bina "kosmetik" masa kini!'

5.8: '... sesuatu ciri seni bina yang hanya menggambarkan masyarakat etnik hendaklah dikurangkan, kalau dapat biarlah kita melahirkan bentuk baru yang benar-benar menggambarkan kebudayaan Malaysia dan berakar umbi di bumi Malaysia'.

5.9: 'Buat satu rencana tentang perkembangan teater Melayu dari dahulu hingga sekarang. Panjangnya rencana itu di antara 300–350 perkataan.'

5.10: 'Buat satu rencana tentang salah satu daripada tajuk-tajuk yang di bawah ini. Panjangnya rencana itu di antara 300–350 perkataan: (i) Wayang kulit. (ii) Bangsawan. (iii) Makyung. (iv) Wayang Cina. and (v) Sandiwara.'

5.11: 'Dengan perkataan anda sendiri, buatlah satu rencana yang panjangnya di antara 300–350 perkataan tentang sebab-sebab teater Melayu di Malaysia tidak mendapat sambutan.'

5.12: 'Seni ukir di dalam zaman kejayaan kerajaan Melayu melibatkan ketokohan para pengukir dan para penaungnya'.

5.13: 'Bincangkan peranan raja-raja Melayu pada zaman dahulu yang menjadi penaung perkembangan kesenian Melayu.'

5.14: 'Karya yang bermutu seperti itu dilahirkan bukan kerana kesedaran dan tanggungjawab. Mereka tidak ada kesedaran memperjuangkan nasib masyarakat yang masih lagi pincang dan perlukan

pembelaan.'

5.15: 'Kesusasteraan kebangsaan adalah penulisan yang dibuat di dalam bahasa Kebangsaan. Beri pendapat anda.'

5.16: 'Perkembangan kebudayaan negeri ini tidak patut dipaksakan mengikut sesuatu arah tertentu.'

5.17: 'Di negara kita, takhta masih kekal sebagai suatu simbol lambang (sic) perpaduan, sebagai punca dan tunggak keadilan, sebagai tempat memohon kasihan belas dan pengampunan, dan sebagai gedung pengurniaan bintang-bintang kehormat.'

5.18: 'Sejarah telah menunjukkan bahawa takhta yang dialihkan dari istana ke muzium sejarah adalah hasil dari salah nasihat yang diberi oleh penasihat-penasihat istana yang tidak bertanggungjawab kepada rakyat.'

5.19: 'Yang lainnya — dari Perdana Menteri sehinggalah kepada rakyat biasa — tiada seorang pun yang kebal. Taraf mereka adalah sama, hak mereka adalah sama, dan mereka diberi perlindungan yang sama di bawah Perlembagaan.'

5.20: ' "Di negara kita, takhta masih kekal sebagai suatu simbol lambang (sic) perpaduan, sebagai punca dan tunggak keadilan, sebagai tempat memohon kasihan belas dan pengampunan, dan sebagai gedung pengurniaan bintang-bintang kebesaran." Bincangkan keterangan di atas di dalam konteks sistem raja berpelembagaan yang diamalkan di Malaysia.'

5.21: 'Kebangkitan orang Melayu Naning yang dipimpin oleh Penghulu Dol Said menentang campur tangan Inggeris di daerah Naning, adalah penentangan terawal yang mengejutkan penjajah Inggeris.'

5.22: '...kekalahan ini mengajar orang Melayu betapa pentingnya perpaduan.'

5.23: '... Mr. Chong Cheong Chan tidak sama malah hatinya bulat ke Tongsan selama-lamanya... walaupun moyangnya telah diperanakkan di Melaka pada zaman Sultan Ahmad sebelum zaman Portugis dan Belanda. Begitu juga Mr. Phanabalam atau Mr. Thambayah Manikam hatinya dan resamnya atau kulitnya tidak akan berubah dari resam moyangnya walaupun diperanakkan dia di kemuncak Gunung Bubu sekalipun... '

5.24: 'Dalam konteks kesedaran kebangsaan dan kesedaran politik yang membawa kepada kemunculan gerakan kebangsaan dan gerakan politik, kedua-dua golongan elit ini memainkan peranan dan bertindak sebagai penggerak, pemaju dan pemimpin bagi orang Melayu.'

5.25: 'Ini adalah satu pukulan kepada orang Melayu.'

5.26: 'Kerakyatan yang diberi di bawah rancangan Malayan Union ini memberikan hak yang sama kepada semua golongan bangsa yang telah dilahirkan di Tanah Melayu selama 10 tahun daripada 15 tahun yang telah lalu. Dengan ini hak keistimewaan politik orang Melayu telah diambil dan nampaknya Kerajaan British tidak lagi mengiktiraf negeri-negeri ini sebagai negeri "Melayu". Orang-orang Cina dan India yang berjumlah lebih kurang tiga juta pada masa itu dengan senang

menjadi bilangan yang terbanyak.'

5.27: 'Gagasan Malayan Union telah mendapat tentangan hebat daripada orang-orang Melayu. Bincangkan sebab-sebab gagasan ini ditolak.'

5.28: 'Bincangkan perkembangan-perkembangan politik serantau sehingga menimbulkan kesedaran orang-orang Melayu untuk menentang usaha-usaha Inggeris untuk menaluki bekas tanah jajahan mereka selepas Perang Dunia Kedua.'

5.29: 'Apa-apa peruntukan bagi perlindungan, kesentosaan atau kemajuan orang-orang asli Semenanjung Tanah Melayu (termasuk merizabkan tanah) atau merizabkan bagi orang-orang asli jawatan-jawatan yang sesuai dalam perkhidmatan awam mengikut kadar yang berpatutan.'

5.30: 'Buat satu kajian perlembagaan dan penubuhan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu tentang peruntukan "hak istimewa orang-orang Melayu". Dalam bidang apakah hak ini diberikan?'

5.31: 'Demokrasi dapat diumpamakan sebagai sekuntum bunga: kalau dijaga ia akan kembang dan wangi, sebaliknya ia sangat lembut dan mudah dihancurkan. Bincangkan.'

5.32: 'Kita harus mengakui hakikat bahawa Bumiputera terkebelakang dalam pendidikan. Kalau dilihat perangkaan pekerjaan, jelas kelihatan bilangan jurutera, peguam, doktor atau akauntan Bumiputera masih kecil dan keadaan ini boleh membahayakan perpaduan kebangsaan... Sekiranya ketidakseimbangan kepakaran ini dibiarkan tentulah ia mewujudkan ketidakadilan kepada golongan Bumiputera. Tentulah dalam mencari

keadilan itu kita terpaksa tidak berlaku adil kepada setengah-setengah pihak kerana ketidak-adilan kita sekarang akan membawa keadilan jangka panjang.'

5.33: 'Di dalam rencana di atas pengarang berkata: "Tuduhan setengah-setengah pihak bahawa kerajaan mengamalkan sikap pilih kasih dalam sistem pelajaran dengan mengutamakan pelajar Bumiputera tidaklah tepat." Beri pendapat anda tentang perkara ini (300-350 perkataan).'

5.34: 'Bila aku kembali ke kampung, aku mendapati kawan-kawan yang sebaya denganku, kelihatan seperti orang-orang yang telah berumur. Badan mereka kelihatan telah uzur dengan gigi yang telah tidak tersusun lagi. Mereka kelihatan lebih tua daripada umur mereka yang sebenar. Inilah akibat penderitaan kemiskinan yang melanda mereka.'

5.35: 'Apabila kita memperkatakan orang Melayu, sama ada sudah wujud perubahan atau sebaliknya, kita terpaksa mengakui bahawa kehidupan mereka masih lagi dikaitkan dengan luar bandar dan kemiskinan.'

5.36: '... kuasa politik yang ada di tangan orang Melayu.'

5.37: '... bolehlah dikatakan bahawa politik desa mempunyai pengaruh yang besar dalam menentukan corak pentadbiran negara.'

5.38: 'Kata pengarang, "Politik desa mempunyai pengaruh yang besar dalam pentadbiran negara." Adakah pendapat ini benar dan buktikan.'

5.39: 'Selagi kemiskinan tidak diatasi segera selagi itulah perjuangan mengisi kemerdekaan khususnya dalam membantu golongan malang ini tidak

berakhir dan selagi itulah khidmat harus diberikan.'

5.40: 'Walaupun berbagai-bagai langkah kerajaan telah dijalankan bagi membela nasib nelayan-nelayan, tetapi nasib mereka masih tidak berubah. Bagaimanakah perkara ini boleh terjadi dan berikan cadangan anda untuk mengatasi masalah ini (300-350 perkataan).'

5.41: 'Berbagai-bagai rancangan telah dilancarkan oleh kerajaan untuk memperbaiki taraf hidup penduduk-penduduk luar bandar tetapi tidak semuanya mencapai hasil yang diharapkan. Dengan mengambil contoh yang benar-benar berlaku buat satu analisa mengapa keadaan ini berlaku.'

5.42: 'Orang-orang Melayu tidak pandai berniaga.
Ahmad orang Melayu.
Sebab itu Ahmad tidak pandai berniaga.'

APPENDIX VI

Contents of Rupert Emerson's *Malaysia. Satu Pengkajian Pemerintahan Secara Langsung dan Tidak Langsung* (Malaysia. A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule).

The book is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on 'The Setting of the Problem' (pp.1-11); 'The Geographical Setting' (pp.11-15); 'The Racial Pattern' (pp.15-23); 'The Peoples of Malaya' (pp.23-37); 'The Indians' (pp.37-41); 'Rubber and Tin' (pp.41-50); 'The Netherlands Indies' (pp.51-59); Land Policy (pp.60-64); and Indirect Rule and Protected States' (pp.64-74). Chapter 2 touches on 'The Historical Background; The First Three Centuries of Contact with the West' (pp.75-85); 'Sir Stamford Raffles and the Extension of British Rule' (pp.85-109); and 'A Half-Century of Inactivity' (pp.109-134). Chapter 3 is on 'The British Forward Movement' (pp.135-163). Chapter 4 discusses 'The Federated Malay States'; and 'Federation' (pp.165-177); 'The Reforms of 1909' (pp.177-187); 'The Reforms of the Post-War Decade' (pp.187-213); and 'The Political and Economic Structure of the FMS' (pp.213-235). Chapter 5 examines 'The Unfederated Malay States' (pp.237-242); 'Johor' (pp.242-270); 'The Former Siamese States' (pp.270-288); 'Kedah' (pp.288-300); 'Perlis' (pp.300-304); and 'Kelantan and Trengganu' (pp.304-328). Chapter 6 is on 'The Straits Settlements' (pp.329-375); and 'Note: The Defence Contribution' (pp.375-381). Chapter 7 discusses 'Malaya Today' (pp.383-399); 'The Federated Malay States' (pp.399-420); 'Malayan Union' (pp.420-440); 'Malayan Customs Union and Imperial Preference' (pp.440-458); and 'The Return of the Dindings' (pp.459-463). Chapter 8 looks at 'The Dutch Forward Movement' (pp.465-501). Chapter 9 focuses on 'Indirect Rule in the Netherlands Indies'; and 'The General Nature of Dutch Policy' (pp.503-510); 'The Regencies' (pp.510-523); 'Indirect

Rule in the Outer Islands' (pp.523-546); 'Note: Church and State in Karangasem' (pp.546-549); and 'The Native States' (pp.549-571). Finally, Chapter 10 is the 'Conclusion' (pp.573-639).

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Appnd. 6.1: 'Orang Melayu mempunyai kebudayaan tersendiri yang tinggi mutunya serta sikap istimewa dan tersusun rapi terhadap kehidupan yang sedikit sebanyak telah memisahkan mereka dari keadaan sekeliling yang telah ditimpakan ke atas mereka.'

6.2: 'Kata-kata ini adalah satu perkara menjatuhkan nama baik yang kerap benar mempertunjukkan kesalahannya, kerana itu tidak perlulah diperbesarkan lagi penyalahan itu. Ini adalah satu kenyataan yang direkodkan dengan jelas bahawa orang Melayu pada umumnya adalah lebih suka hidup bebas daripada menjadi seorang buruh untuk bekerja di ladang-ladang getah mahupun di lombong-lombong bijih kapitalis Eropah atau Cina.'

6.3: 'Pemakaian dasar ini kepada negeri-negeri Tanah Melayu yang berkeadaan separuh tamadun itu, (yang penduduknya jahil seperti kanak-kanak) adalah seolah-olahnya menganggap bahawa mereka sudah berpengetahuan dari hal dunia dan tahu menghargai perjalanan undang-undang dan keadilan adalah tidak akan wujud di kalangan kerajaan-kerajaan tersebut hingga sesudah beberapa lama pembuat rayuan ini dan keturunan mereka meninggal dunia.'

6.4: '... pembangunan ekonomi Semenanjung hingga masa terbentuknya persekutuan dalam tahun 1985 hampir keseluruhannya dipegang oleh orang

Cina.'

6.5: 'buruh kasar, penarik beca, dan budak pelayan di rumah-rumah yang kesemuanya dalam golongan bawahan, terus kepada golongan yang lebih ramai lagi iaitu sebagai buruh mahir, kerani, saudagar dan pedagang sendirian, dan pengeluar serta pemproses barang-barang pada golongan pertengahan, hinggalah kepada golongan yang lebih tinggi sebagai ahli-ahli profesional dan pemilik perusahaan yang besar-besar iaitu pada golongan atasan.'

6.6: 'yang telah mencapai satu kedudukan bebas dalam lapangan ekonomi dan mereka setelah tinggal lebih lama atau lebih singkat masanya di Tanah Melayu berasa bahawa mereka telah mencapai satu alasan yang baik bagi mendakwa supaya dianggap sebagai bumiputera negeri itu sebagaimana orang-orang Melayu sendiri.'

6.7: 'Dalam lapangan politik, adalah difikirkan perlu untuk memperkenalkan satu pandangan yang menunjukkan pemerintahan Melayu, atau sekurang-kurangnya, penyertaan orang Melayu dalam kerajaan, tetapi tidak perlu dalam lapangan ekonomi. Akibatnya, sebagaimana yang ditunjukkan di atas, orang Melayu tidak mempunyai apa-apa dari segi ekonomi di negeri mereka sendiri. Mereka dibiarkan meneruskan kehidupan mereka menurut cara kelaziman mereka, tetapi hingga ke masa kini mereka tidak memainkan peranan yang mencipta mahupun peranan tunduk sahaja di dalam ekonomi baharu yang telah mengambil tempat menguasai ekonomi mereka sendiri sebagai kuasa yang unggul dan dinamik di negeri ini. Mungkin pada masa depan, orang Melayu akan menyertai dalam pertandingan yang berkesan dengan bangsa-bangsa asing, tetapi mereka akan menghadapi tugas yang bukan mudah dalam usaha mereka untuk

mencari tempat dalam lapangan ekonomi yang telah dikuasai oleh bangsa-bangsa asing itu.'

6.8: '... orang Melayu mempunyai perhubungan dengan tamadun Barat hanya baharu beberapa puluhan tahun sahaja dan bahawa di Persekutuan sekurang-kurangnya perkara-perkara yang terbaik pada sebahagian besarnya terelepas ke dalam tangan bangsa-bangsa asing sementara orang Melayu biasa yang tinggal di kampung-kampung terpaksa berpuas hati dengan apa jua yang kurang mutunya daripada itu. Walaupun terdapat kekurangan ini, adalah ditegaskan bahawa mereka sudah pun membuat kemajuan yang sebenar-benarnya dan mereka boleh dipercayai untuk terus mara dan meningkat maju jika mereka diberikan latihan, perhatian, dan perlindungan seperti yang telah diberikan kepada mereka di negeri-negeri tidak bersekutu.'

6.9: 'Sebagaimana yang dapat dilihat iaitu semakin tinggi darjah kehidupan ekonomi di mana-mana satu kawasan, maka semakin besarlah bilangan penduduk asing jika dibandingkan dengan anak negeri.'

6.10: 'sekurang-kurangnya sama juga sesuai bekerja sebagai pekerja di kapal-kapal korek besar yang dibawa masuk oleh syarikat-syarikat lombong British.'

6.11: 'merupai sebuah bandaraya moden bercorak Ketimuran'.

6.12: 'sebuah bandar yang walaupun mempunyai bentuk-bentuk moden, ia adalah ternyata timbul daripada masyarakat Melayu'.

6.13: 'tanah boleh diberikan kepada orang-orang Melayu dan mestilah

kekal terus-menerus di dalam tangan orang-orang Melayu.'

6.14: 'Tanah Simpanan Melayu yang diwujudkan di Persekutuan, Johor dan Kedah, sungguhpun ianya semata-mata merupakan satu senjata British terhadap orang-orang Cina dan India, bolehlah dilihat sebagai satu simbol dan sebagai satu daripada usaha-usaha yang praktikal dan paling penting yang telah dilaksanakan oleh pihak-pihak rasmi untuk melindungi orang-orang Melayu daripada bahaya akibat hubungan terlalu rapat dengan kuasa-kuasa baharu yang sedang membuat rancangannya di negeri mereka.'

6.15: 'bagi menurut kemahuan umum yang dibuat oleh anak negeri Kedah bahawa sebarang pertambahan kuasa dan kewibawaan orang-orang Cina akan membahayakan kedudukan ekonomi mereka dan mengancam sifat Kemelayuan negeri itu.'

6.16: 'sebagai satu penghubung yang penting bagi Malaysia bercorak zaman pertengahan kepada suatu dunia moden.'

6.17: 'masyarakat bebas yang boleh mengambil peranan mereka yang sama dan mempunyai hak kuasa dalam kegiatan dan keputusan yang dibuat di dunia.'

6.18: 'memasuki persaingan ekonomi dunia moden atas asas persamaan.'

6.19: 'Kekusutan yang sedia ada di kawasan-kawasan penjajahan itu menjadi lebih rumit dengan adanya pertembungan di antara dua atau lebih bangsa yang berlainan, tiap-tiap satunya mempunyai adat resam, sifat-sifat yang tertentu, kecerdikan dan keburukan masing-masing.

Kepada orang yang sudah bersebati dengan cara-cara dan adat resam masing-masing itulah dipaksakan satu kehidupan asing secara tiba-tiba yang dahulunya tidak ada hubungan dengan kehidupan mereka sendiri. Kesudahannya maka bentuk politik, dan lebih-lebih lagi penduduknya, sama ada orang Eropah mahupun anak-anak negeri yang asli, tak dapat tiada merupakan campur aduk yang tidak boleh dihubungkan kepada mana-mana kelompok sebagaimana asalnya.'

6.20: 'Hal mengenai asal-usul bangsa Melayu yang darinya dinamakan Semenanjung, masih menjadi rahsia yang belum dapat dipastikan lagi oleh pihak kajimanasia, akan tetapi ada sedikit sebanyak buktinya bagi menyokong pendapat bahawa orang Melayu telah melarikan diri arah ke selatan disebabkan tekanan daripada suku-suku bangsa Cina, lalu tinggal di hujung-hujung benua Asia. Ini mungkin telah berlaku tatkala bumi Semenanjung bercantum dengan Sumatera, Jawa dan Borneo. Orang Melayu adalah dianggapkan bukan penduduk Semenanjung yang awal sekali dengan alasan bahawa adanya saki-baki orang primitif. Apabila orang Melayu yang kebudayaan dan kuasanya lebih kuat daripada orang primitif datang menyerang semenanjung itu, mereka (orang primitif) itu pun melarikan diri ke dalam hutan dan ke gunung-gunung. Mereka amat berpegang teguh kepada cara hidup mereka dan sentiasa berpindah-randah. Orang asli yang telah memeluk agama Islam hidup mengikut cara hidup orang Melayu, bertutur dalam bahasa Melayu serta menurut kebudayaan Melayu juga. Kesudahannya mereka langsung dikirakan sebagai orang Melayu.'

6.21: '... tidak begitu benar-benar menjadi pusat tumpuan orang Melayu jika dibandingkan dengan gugusan pulau yang di sekelilingnya. Di pulau-pulau itulah terdapat kerajaan dan empayar Melayu yang lebih

lama berkembang dengan gagahnya, sementara tanah besar pula, kelihatan, dikaitkan hanya sebagai penambah sahaja.'

6.22: 'Sesungguhnya pada lazimnya nama Melayu itu mempunyai hubungan dengan Tanah Melayu sejak zaman berzaman, sayugia diingat bahawa perpindahan orang dagang dari Gugusan Pulau Indonesia berjalan terus menerus hingga ke hari ini. Juga sebahagian besar daripada penduduk Melayu yang ada pada hari ini ialah terdiri daripada orang dagang yang telah dilahirkan di tempat lain ataupun keturunan mereka telah datang ke Tanah Melayu dalam beberapa puluhan tahun yang lampau. Bertentangan keadaannya dengan bangsa-bangsa asing yang datang berdagang ke Tanah Melayu dalam masa yang baharu lalu, orang Malaysia — satu istilah digunakan meliputi orang Melayu di tanah besar dan pulau-pulau di sekelilingnya — terus tinggal menetap di Tanah Melayu buat selama-lamanya serta langsung menjadi anggota di kalangan penduduk Melayu yang sudah lama wujud itu.'

6.23: '... bolehlah dikatakan bahawa orang Melayu adalah bumiputera Tanah Melayu yang sebenarnya, dengan syarat, mereka juga sebahagian besar dikirakan orang yang baharu datang ke negara ini. Walau bagaimana baik pun dakwaan mereka dari segi sejarah, sekalipun dakwaan itu sekurang-kurangnya lebih baik daripada dakwaan mana-mana bangsa yang lain, tetapi pada hakikatnya negeri yang mereka miliki ini adalah sedikit demi sedikit terlucut dari pegangan mereka. Bilangan bangsa-bangsa lain sudah pun melebihi daripada bangsa Melayu. Dalam banci tahun 1931, jumlah penduduk ialah seramai 4,385,346 orang. Daripada jumlah itu orang Melayu hanya seramai 1,962,021 orang atau 44.7% sementara orang Cina berjumlah 1,709,392 orang atau 39.0% dan orang India seramai 624,009 atau 14.2%.'

6.24: 'Penerimaan apa jua jenis pemerintahan yang diperintah oleh suara terbanyak akan mengakibatkan rakyat bumiputera ditenggelamkan oleh orang dari bangsa asing. Ini akan menimbulkan satu keadaan yang membawa kepada mengkhianati amanah yang diberikan oleh orang Melayu di negeri-negeri ini, daripada golongan tertinggi membawalah kepada golongan serendah-rendahnya, yang telah diajar supaya menaruh kepercayaan kepada Kerajaan British.'

6.24: '... yang bukan sahaja bimbangkan bahawa orang Melayu akan tidak dapat menjalankan tanggungjawab mereka tetapi juga enggan membatalkan tuntutan-tuntutan mereka yang menuntut supaya mendapat layanan yang sama di negara tumapah darah mereka (orang-orang asing).'

6.25: 'Tipu-helah seperti ini melapangkan fikiran dan berguna dengan mengumumkan bahawa oleh kerana negeri-negeri ini ialah negeri Melayu di bawah pemerintah raja-raja Melayu maka konsesi (concession) yang diminta oleh orang-orang asing itu adalah di luar daripada kuasa British menyempurnakannya.'

6.26: '... nampaknya ... bergantung terutamanya kepada sifat dan kekuatan raja-raja yang telah menduduki takhta kerajaan Johor dari semenjak Raffles campur tangan di Singapura menggangguimbangan kuasa di tempat itu. Raja-raja ini, yang setengah-setengah daripada mereka biasa dikatakan mempunyai campuran darah daripada bangsa bukan Melayu bukanlah terbilang tentang sifat akhlak yang tinggi atau, mungkin, tentang kecemerlangan dalam bidang pelajaran, tetapi mereka itu mempunyai bakat yang tinggi darjahnya di bidang politik. Raja-raja ini mengetahui bagaimana hendak tunduk dengan segala kemuliaan kepada

sesuatu yang tidak dapat dielakkan untuk faedah diri mereka sendiri. Mereka itu tahu bagaimana hendak menyesuaikan diri dengan darjah dan kehendak-kehendak dunia imperialis baru yang telah dipaksakan ke atas mereka, dan juga bagaimana hendak mengadudombakan antara satu dengan lain terhadap berbagai unsur dan kepentingan, di kalangan orang-orang Eropah dan Asia, dan bertemu dengan mereka.'

6.27: 'Di sini masalah asasi ialah bagi ketentuan para pengundi yang boleh diterima dan berkekalan. Jalan yang sehabis-habis senang ialah menggunakan perwakilan kaum tetapi dalam masa jangka panjang langkah ini adalah paling membahayakan, sebagaimana yang ternyata dari pengalaman India. Di mana juga cara itu telah digunakan adalah didapati ia memperhebatkan bukannya mengurangkan persengketaan kaum.'

6.28: 'kebolehan negeri itu mengikuti tujuan-tujuannya yang lebih sederhana dari segi orang Melayu...'

6.29: 'Amalan tradisi pada lazimnya ialah, Majlis-majlis itu hendaklah dijalankan dalam bahasa Melayu, tetapi anggota-anggota baharu kebanyakannya, mungkin tidak berapa boleh bertutur dalam bahasa itu, dan mereka hanya boleh bertutur setakat bahasa pasar yang menjadi bahasa perantaraan di seluruh Tanah Melayu.'

6.30: 'menerima bahasa lain selain daripada bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa perantaraan (lingua franca) negeri itu.'

APPENDIX VII

D.G.E. Hall (1979), *Sejarah Asia Tenggara* (A History of South-East Asia), Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2nd Print.

Like Rupert Emerson's Malaysia. Satu Pengkajian Pemerintahan Secara Langsung dan Tidak Langsung, this 1176-page book, which forms one of the recommended history books for Form Six students, is a Malay translation of the author's English original, A History of South-East Asia.¹

The Analysis

In this book the term 'South-East Asia' is defined broadly by the author so as to encompass 'the territories of the eastern Asiatic mainland forming the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the immense archipelago which includes Indonesia and the Philippines' [p.3; Trans. Appnd. 7.1]. Hence, the chapters that were selected and found relevant (the focus of the study being Malaya [now, Peninsular Malaysia]) to the study are: Chapter 1; Chapter 2 with particular reference to 'The Spread of Indian Influence'; Chapter 10; Chapter 12 particularly on 'The Portuguese'; Chapter 17; Chapter 27 with particular reference to (a) 'From the acquisition of Penang to the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824' (pp.616-628), and (b) 'The Straits Settlements from 1824 to 1867'; Chapter 29; Chapter 39; Chapter 44 with particular reference to 'Malaya'; Chapter 46; Chapter 47 with particular reference to 'Malaya'; and finally, Chapter 48 in particular, 'Malaya and Singapore'.

THE CULTURAL

(a) Foreign cultural influences

If, as asserted by Raymond Williams, it is in the interest of a

particular class to promote a version of 'the significant past which is intended to connect with and ratify the present' so as to offer 'a sense of predisposed continuity' (in de Castell, Luke and Luke (eds) 1989:58), issues of cultural uniqueness of and outside cultural influences on the various ethnic groups in the country as well as of their ethnic origins would be of paramount importance to these groups concerned. Moreover, in order to consolidate itself an ethnie or ethnic group necessarily needs to have a sense of a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, and a distinctive shared culture (A.D. Smith 1986:23-6). In Chapter 1 ('The Peopling of South-East Asia'), Hall argues that while the South-East Asian region did receive Indian and Chinese cultural influences 'the areas involved', however, 'are not mere cultural appendages of India or China but have their own strongly-marked individuality' [p.4; Trans. Appnd. 7.2]. What needs to be emphasised for the purpose of this study, though, is that this region, the Malay Peninsula included, had received such cultural inputs and gained from them, as acknowledged by Hall himself: 'And it was only through the fertilizing impact of their cultures that her own (South-East Asia's) began to develop and achieve greatness. [p.5; Trans. Appnd. 7.3]' That the cultures of the region, particularly the Malay one, has been influenced by Hindu/Indian culture is also reflected in the essay on traditional Malay dances in A. Long's Pengajian Am 2. Here the writer concerned seems to appreciate, or at least does not exhibit any dislike for, such cultural mix — as opposed to the one who regrets the 'adulteration' of Malay songs (also in the same book). In contrast with the Pengajian Am books, this discussion here provides the reader a wider view of cultures in the country, particularly Malay culture, that presents a possibility or potential for the reader to possess at least a sense

of, borrowing the words of Anthony Smith, 'a shared history, and a distinctive shared culture', if not also a feeling of joy for what appears to be the dynamism and adaptability of the region's indigenous cultures. On the other hand, the interaction of the indigenous cultures with those of India and China may cause more than an emotional and cultural stir among many Malays as this would necessarily suggest that, for instance, Indian and Chinese cultural elements — which in certain cases are interpreted as conflicting with particular Malay-Islamic values — should also be given equal status and role to the Malay culture in the project to construct a national culture of Malaysia² as already mentioned in many of the Pengajian Am books.

(b) The Malay monarchy

Such interaction between foreign cultures, particularly Indian, and the region's indigenous culture is evident in Chapter 2 which discusses 'South-East Asian Proto-History' (pp.15-32). Here the author provides evidence of Malay seamen and ships that 'played every bit as important a part as Indian in the trade of South-East Asia with India and Ceylon. And the same is true of the diffusion of Indian culture' [p.24; Trans. Appnd. 7.4]. He adds that the transmission of Indian culture in the Malay world was made at the court level because kings and nobles played an important part in international trade (p.24). And it is also here that he cites four cultural elements that the region received from India: '(a) a conception of royalty characterized by Hindu or Buddhist cults, (b) literary expression by means of the Sanskrit language, (c) a mythology taken from the Ramayana and Mahabharata, the Puranas and other Sanskrit texts containing a nucleus of royal tradition and the traditional genealogies of royal families

of the Ganges region, and (d) the observance of the Dharmasastras, the sacred law of Hinduism, and in particular the Manava Dharmasastra or "Laws of Manu". [pp.24-25; Trans. Appnd. 7.5]' This would imply that in the case of Malay royalty its origins could be traced to its Hindu or Buddhist influence, hardly a refreshing statement for a society like Malaysia's that strives for an Islamic image and consistently promotes the importance and significance of Islam as the base of its intended national culture. But more importantly, that very institution that is largely perceived and officially recognised as the protector of Islam as well as of Malay special position and privileges — such image of which is promoted by Pengajian Am 1 (Othman et al.), Kenegaraan Malaysia (Malhi), and Pengajian 2 (A. Long) — is now placed in the context of Hindu or Buddhist influence. Such an observation of the Malay monarchy can be quite, to some Malays, as unsettling as Emerson's earlier cutting remark on the Malay royalty.

The origins of Malay monarchy is still pursued. In Chapter 10 which focuses on 'Malacca and the Spread of Islam' (pp.252-271), the reader is told that Parameswara, the founder of Malacca (the Malay version, 'Melaka', is now used officially), was a Sailendra prince of Palembang who fled to Tumasik (the old name of Singapore) from a domestic war. Thence he fled to Malacca where he assumed the title of Sultan Iskandar Shah after his conversion to Islam (p.257). The implication of this account is that Malay monarchy, at least in this case Malacca monarchy, was not only a human creation (as opposed to some mythical beginnings) but also that of a former Hindu personality, thus making any claim to Islamic ancestry or legitimacy by the royalty or supporters of such social institution problematic. While this Hindu beginnings again may cast, to a very limited degree, a negative

light on the Malay rulers' position as the defender of the Malay community's interests and of Islam, the base of the country's national culture, the religious conversion may well be hailed by the Malay-Muslim reader as Islam's triumph over Hinduism. Such perceived cultural incompatibility is further invoked in Chapter 17 (which focuses on 'The Malay Powers from the Fall of Malacca [1511] to the End of the Eighteenth Century') where Hall states that 'Raja Melewar (1773-95) (of what is now the state of Negeri Sembilan) claimed descent from the royal house of Minangkabau in Sumatra, which itself claimed descent from the Sailendras of Srivijaya fame. [p.439; Trans. Appnd. 7.6]' In other words, an alleged Buddhist (i.e. Sailendran) ancestry can be potentially damaging to the Melewar royalty in particular and to the conception of Malay royalty among many Malays in general, especially in these days of Islamic fervour. On the other hand, the non-Malay reader may appreciate this historical account as it can be perceived as the cultural dynamism and colourful history of the Melewar royalty.

Also in the same chapter the reader is told that the grandson of Iskandar Shah, Raja Ibrahim, assumed the title of Sri Parameswara Deva Shah, a Hindu-Muslim title, an act which was interpreted as a displeasure against the new Islamic faith (p.259). Raja Ibrahim was dethroned and killed as a result of a coup d'état by Tamil Muslims led by his elder brother Raja Kassim. Raja Kassim, of Tamil blood, took the title of Muzaffar Shah and ruled Malacca (p.259). Once again, like Emerson's comment earlier, this historical account can wreak havoc to any claim by the Malay royalty, as protector of Malay interests and of Islam, to 'pure Malay' and/or Muslim ancestry or to such belief possessed by some Malays.

(c) Malacca and Islam

The significance of Islam in the days of Malay power surfaces on page 261 in the same chapter where Malacca in the 1460s was sketched not only as a first-class political power that withstood the Siamese military strength, but 'also the most important commercial centre in South-East Asia as well as the main diffusion-centre of Islam' [Trans. appnd. 7.7]. So, this segment of Malacca's history, despite its earlier 'Hindu beginnings', can constitute a 'significant past which is intended to connect with and ratify the present'.³ In other words, this historical account presents a choice. It can go beyond 1460 to a Hindu past and so include its present Indian population in terms of a common heritage, or it can stop at 1460, and consolidate the energies of those who advocate Islam to be the basis of the country's national culture (as is expressed in many of the Pengajian Am books) by recalling the past glories of Islam in this region so as to lend legitimacy to the promotion and perpetuation of the political, cultural and spiritual significance of the faith in contemporary Malaysia. Any sense of joy on the part of the reader who favours such a position of Islam in the country can only be further inspired by the fact that, as shown in Chapter 12 (on 'the Portuguese in the region'), Islam still survived despite the conquest of Malacca in 1511 by the military might of the Portuguese whose very objective was to stem the tide of Islam in the region (p.287).

(d) Chinese education

In Chapter 44 where the book examines 'The Economic Aspect of European Domination', particularly as regards Malaya (pp.967-979), the author comments on the Chinese activities in Malaya in the field of

education:

They (the Chinese) established many schools, in which the written vernacular, the Kuo Yu, or National language, replaced the literary language. Their teachers were nearly all China-born and taught Chinese nationalism in an extreme form which was hostile to the government of Malaya. Their textbooks were imported from China and were full of subversive matter. The whole tone of the curriculum was unfavourable to the cultivation of a sense of Malayan nationality. [p.970; Trans. Appnd. 7.8]

This observation serves as a background to the eventual policy of the British to institute a common national education as expressed by Hall on page 1016 where he states that prior to Malaya's political independence, the British felt the necessity of creating a common Malayan citizenship, which then prompted them to design an education policy that was envisaged to meet this goal: 'This involved finding some means of integrating the Chinese schools, the breeding-ground alike of Chinese nationalism and of Communism, into the general system of education. [Trans. Appnd. 7.9]' In other words, education is a political tool used by the authorities to try to forge among students a Malayan consciousness that must take precedence over one's ethnic pride. This argument however is at variance with that of Emerson's who believes in the State providing non-Malay (primary) vernacular education.

THE POLITICAL

(a) British colonialism and Malay rulers

British intervention in the Malay Peninsula is frequently sketched in the book as one that was precipitated and motivated by the desire of the British authorities to 'protect' the political interests of certain Malay rulers in the region. In Chapter 27 (particularly pp.616-628) for instance, the acquisition of the island of Penang by

the British was made possible by the pretext of protecting the Sultan of Kedah (who ceded the island to the British) against the frequency of Siamese attack. And in Chapter 29 (pp.679-705), we notice that British intervention in the Malay States often began with a power struggle between rival Malay rulers or chiefs where the British would come into the picture only to 'pick' a new ruler of a particular state who seemed to possess the important potential of becoming their ally and who would be willing to serve their commercial and political interests (p.679). This was what happened in the Malay state of Perak where the British recognized the contending Abdullah to be the new Sultan even though he had little support from his people. This resulted in Abdullah signing the famous Pangkor Treaty of 1874, which essentially marked the beginning of British intervention in the Malay States in the form of the British Residential System (p.683). The institution of Malay monarchy is currently held to be the guardian of Malay interests — as illustrated by all the Pengajian Am books except Pelengkap Diri: Pengajian Am STPM — but the above historical account brings this role into question. In addition, this underlines the relevance of Emerson's bitter remark regarding the political shrewdness and opportunism of the Johore rulers.

(b) Malay political supremacy

Concern for (Malay) political supremacy is implicit in Hall's discussion of the demographic trend of Malaya in 1941 in Chapter 44. Here his discussion revolves around the issue of the immigration of Malays from neighbouring islands into Malaya and its political implications and also the immigration of the Chinese and Indian labourers — that has already been touched by Emerson. Hall however does raise China's Chiang Kai-shek's government's policy that regarded

all Chinese living abroad as citizens of China 'even if their families for several generations had been British citizens' [p.973; Trans. Appnd. 7.10] which might have caused some ambivalence in regard to their political loyalty, let alone suspicion of their divided allegiance in Malay eyes. Hall comments that as a result the Malays 'Naturally ... regarded themselves as the people of the country and the rest as aliens' [p.973; Trans. Appnd. 7.11]. He cautions, though, that the Malays at that time had not yet acquired the notion of a Malay collective or, to borrow Benedict Anderson's term, a larger 'imagined political community (1983:15)' within the context of a nation 'since the ordinary Malay peasants' loyalty was to his Sultan, and Malays from other states were foreigners to him' [p.973; Trans. Appnd. 7.12].

The idea of a Malay nation struck deep root in the minds of most Malays after the Japanese Occupation, and apparently made them always preoccupied with the idea of maintaining and promoting their numerical and political strength in the country, particularly when they were broached with the idea of Singapore (which is predominantly Chinese) being included in the formation of Malaysia. Thus Hall tells us on page 1085 that Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman's 'Malaysia' plan 'to expand the Federation to include Singapore and the Bornean territories of North Borneo (Sabah), Brunei and Sarawak received British official support in Nov. 1961' and was 'aimed at solving the Singapore problem, and at the same time maintaining the political ascendancy of the Malays. [Trans. Appnd. 7.13]' On 16th Sept. 1963, a state of Malaysia was proclaimed, after the successful entry into the federation of the territories of Sabah and Sarawak which possess categories of people which can be considered 'Malay' and 'Bumiputera'.

In other words, Malay political predominance must be maintained at all cost and at all time. This concern for Malay numerical supremacy (or 'numbers game') — and hence political ascendancy — is also detected in Pengajian Am 2 (Othman et al.), and Pengajian Am 2 (A. Long).

(c) Japanese Occupation: Divide-and-rule

In his survey of 'The Japanese Impact' in Chapter 46 (pp.994-1012), Hall highlights the fact that 'The Japanese in Asia, like the Germans in Europe, showed a genius for alienating any people over whom they established control. In Malaya they relied on stirring up Malay hostility against the Chinese, and with some success, but they failed to arouse Malay hatred against the British... [p.1001; Trans. Appnd. 7.14]' Once again, the reader is reminded of the dangers of the politics of 'divide-and-rule' in multiethnic Malaysia. In fact, Hall tells us, the Japanese Occupation of Malaya had the strong effect of creating a Malay national sentiment that 'was strongly anti-Chinese, and its rallying cry, "Malaya for the Malays", transcended the particularism of the individual states' [pp.1014-1015; Trans. Appnd. 7.15]. And yet in Chapter 48, Hall contradicts himself when he considers as 'the biggest step forward' towards a secure, stable political future of Malaya the 'merger' between UMNO and MCA to form the Alliance in 1952, an endeavour that was primarily aimed at contesting and winning the Kuala Lumpur municipal elections (p.1082). This alliance, it should be noted, was a marriage between two ethnically based parties whose political and ethnic support and interests were fundamentally different. In addition, this line of argument reminds us of Malhi's which accepts the formation of the ruling Barisan Nasional (whose predecessor was the Alliance) as a positive step towards forging national integration. Finally, this

contention runs counter to Emerson's view which perceives danger in 'communal representation'.

(d) Malayan Union

The author expresses his agreement with the controversial Malayan Union proposal which he believes could have promoted 'a sense of security and common citizenship as a preparation for self-government within the British Commonwealth' [p.1020; Trans. Appnd. 7.16]. Apart from the generous granting of citizenship to all immigrants under this Union, 'Citizenship was to involve full equality of rights, including admission to the administrative services. There was to be no discrimination of race or creed. [p.1020; Trans. Appnd. 7.17]' This proposal was eventually shot down after an outcry from the Malay community and the UMNO. The Malays were later granted, constitutionally and politically, a specially privileged position, a measure seen to be in the right direction towards helping them economically. Contradiction appears in Hall here because his advocacy for the liberal Malayan Union proposal runs counter to the principles of ethnic-based Alliance politics to which he also agrees. The Union proposal is criticised by an article in Pengajian Am 2 (A. Long) that perceives it as endangering the political supremacy of the Malays.

THE ECONOMIC

(a) Chinese economic contributions

In his survey of the socio-economic development that had taken place in the Malay States, Hall observes that 'Until practically the end of the (19th) century the economic development of the Peninsula was almost exclusively in Chinese hands. Their capitalists did much to develop the protected states. Tin mining was their chief occupation,

and their primitive methods were most effective. [p.689; Trans. Appnd. 7.18]' Under Chapter 44, Hall also makes a short remark about the virtual monopoly of the Chinese over the economic development of British Malaya (p.969) while at the same time acknowledging that they also 'brought political problems', what with their 'underground movements such as the Kuomintang and the Communist party' (p.970). As in Emerson, what is made to establish here is the fact that the Chinese as a community had made great economic contributions to the country, despite certain accompanying political problems⁴ — a past that could have been made 'significant' by many of the Pengajian Am books.

(b) Chinese demands and Malay response

Although the British did recognise the important economic contributions of the Chinese as a whole, they were still not willing to entertain certain demands of the said community, mainly out of political convenience. Here Hall raises similar points as outlined by Emerson: that the British had used the Malay rulers as 'a most convenient device for refusing to take action likely to be resented by the Malays. [p.693; Trans. Appnd. 7.19]' In the meantime, rulers of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Johor, apprehensive of the fast socio-economic changes in the FMS, sought to form the Unfederated Malay States (UMS) in order to retain their privileges (p.699) as well as maintain their 'Malay character'. Hence, we see Chinese demands being shut out of legitimate channels of expression, a sort of situation that can be paralleled with the marginalization of say, Chinese cultural elements in the discussion of national culture in many of the Pengajian Am books.

(c) Colonial economic exploitation

Chapter 39 (pp.887-893) informs the reader that the economic exploitation of the natural resources of this region by European powers caused deep resentment among the native peoples as they watched helplessly the riches of the land being 'plundered', consequently pushing them to the economic sideline. Anxiety and regrets prevailed among these natives particularly with the immigration of the Chinese and Indian labourers. This awareness of their economic plight propelled further the activities of the (Malay) nationalists during the first half of the 20th century (pp.888-889). Such concern for the socio-economic upliftment of the Malays vis-a-vis the non-Malays spurred many 'Malay champions' to advocate for economic nationalism as illustrated in discussions found in all of the Pengajian Am books (with the exception of Othman et al.'s Pengajian Am 1). The form of economic strategy pursued by the Malays, as we shall see below, is essentially inspired and influenced by western capitalism and at the same time animated by the special position of the Malays enshrined in the country's constitution.

(d) The 'positive side' of imperialism

The 'virtues' of imperialism and capitalism prevail in Chapter 44 (particularly pp.967-979) where we are told about Malay rice-growers who were only interested in growing on a subsistence level. This resulted in the country not being able to meet local demands for rice. Part of this problem was attributed to what is termed as the Malays' 'agricultural indebtedness' to the Chinese and Indian money lenders (pp.967-968). This is where the writer perceives Malay individualism and his 'propensity' to indulge himself in family celebrations such as wedding as being 'great obstacles' to the success of a cooperative

movement in Malaya. In addition, Hall says that these factors too impede his ability to adapt himself to 'the foreign industrial and capitalist system that had taken root in his country' [p.968; Trans. Appnd. 7.20]. Implicit in this statement is the message that Malays must socialise themselves into the western capitalist system that was being introduced into the country, and at the same time make use of the institution of cooperative societies to solve their financial problems within the system. This message becomes clearer as we get to pages 977-978 where Hall criticises opponents of economic imperialism, for he believes that such European domination nevertheless did provide some 'benefits' to the colonies, such as 'a vast amount of capital and technical skills, without which the development of the "colonial" territories to their present economic importance could never have taken place. [Trans. Appnd. 7.21]' Such a view is very much in line with the notion of 'modernization' which argues that a developing country like Malaya 'ought' to go through this stage of modernization in order to 'catch up' with the developed West. That is, a country has to acquire certain basic properties or structural and psychological characteristics before a country can 'modernise'.⁵ This perhaps explains Hall's satisfaction in final Chapter 48 where he discusses 'Independence', in particular that of Malaya and Singapore (pp.1080-1088). Here he applauds the good economic performance of Malaya since its independence because of its willingness to allow and not drastically curb, as in Burma, foreign economic interests in the country (p.1085). This sentiment is also shared by Emerson. Thus, it is within this 'modernization' and capitalist framework popularised by the British that successive Malay-led governments since Independence have been encouraged to play an active role in helping to upgrade the economic standing of the

Malay community as a whole as well as prepare it to step into the 'modern world'.

The use of terms and phrases

On page 973, Hall states matter-of-factly: 'Naturally the Malays regarded themselves as the people of the country... (p.973)' The word 'Naturally' implies the unquestionable position of the Malays in regard to their claim to indigenusness, so that — in the Gramscian sense (Forgacs (ed) 1988:421) — it is virtually 'commonsensical' to assume that they are. In other words, the reader is made to believe of the 'naturalness' of the Malays' indigenous position in the country. And this 'natural' assumption is also felt rather subtly but perhaps with strong effect on page 699 where Hall observes that the Malays would ultimately find 'themselves politically and economically "pushed out of their own house on to the doorstep". [p.699; Trans. Appnd. 7.22]' Here the underlying message is found in the use of the phrase 'pushed out of their own house'. The 'owner' of the country, the Malay community, is being marginalized politically and economically. In contemporary Malaysia, however, such claim to 'ownership' can have the effect of making the non-Malays feel politically marginalized. If anything, this would only consolidate a sense of solidarity (A.D.Smith 1988:24) within the respective non-Malay communities — given their shared perception, real or imagined, of political discrimination — and radicalise ethnic sentiments among certain quarters of each ethnic community.

Summary

Like Emerson, Hall too highlights the economic contributions of the Chinese in Malaya, particularly in tin mining industry. Such

contributions had brought forth enough confidence among the Chinese as to make certain demands which the British refused to entertain. While agreeing that the Malays had been pushed aside economically, and hence fuelling a spirit of economic nationalism from them, Hall nevertheless claims that there were 'benefits' that Malaya had gained from British imperialism.

British presence in Malaya, Hall holds, had the tacit approval of Malay rulers, thereby putting doubts into their role as the protectors of Malay interests. Nonetheless, the notion of 'Malay nation' and its significance were greatly felt by the Malays, adds Hall, after the Japanese Occupation when the question of Malay political supremacy dominated Malay thinking. Japanese Occupation also presented Malaysians the ugliness of its divide-and-rule policy that strained ethnic relations, particularly Malay-Chinese relations. Hall expresses his aversion to such divisive policy and yet at the same time favours the communal and divisive politics of the Alliance. Hall's conflicting view is also apparent when he supports the Malayan Union plan which called for equal citizenship, something that was anathema to the political ideology of the UMNO, the dominant member of the ruling Alliance at that time.

Culturally, Hall analyses in great length the Hindu and, to a lesser degree, Chinese influences on Malay culture. The very institution of Malay monarchy, for instance, derives from the Hindu concept of royalty, a notion that is clearly at variance with Islamic teachings that essentially advocate governance based on democratic principles. However, the account of Malacca being the diffusion centre of Islam in the region may form the past glory, the 'significant

past', that can encourage contemporary Malay-Muslims to strengthen and widen their religious (and ethnic) community in their attempt to help Malaysia achieve high Islamic credentials. As regards Chinese vernacular education, given its problematic past (i.e. its China outlook and slant) Hall suggests that it be incorporated into a common education system so as to ensure a Malayan content and ideology. Regarding the use of terms and phrases, the word 'naturally', as in, for example, 'Naturally the Malays regarded themselves as the people of the country... (p.973), has the effect of giving the impression that it's 'given' and 'commonsensical' to believe that the Malays are indigenous and hence this claim doesn't merit any debate.

Notes

1. Hence, the 'English translation' of the Malay extracts in this analysis is almost wholly derived from the English version.

2. The diverse cultures that exist in Malaysia, to certain ethnic and social groups like the Chinese-based Parti Gerakan (which is a member of the ruling coalition party) and major Chinese and Indian organisations, should be seen and formed by all Malaysians as a rich foundation on which Malaysia's national culture can be built. See Parti Gerakan's Memorandum on Culture (July 1983) and the Joint Memorandum on National Culture by 15 major Chinese organisations in Malaysia in 1983 and similar memorandum submitted by 10 major Indian associations in the same year to the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports (in Kua Kia Soong (ed) 1985:241-302; 303-321).

3. See Raymond Williams (in de Castell, Luke and Luke (eds) 1989:58) for an account of what he terms as 'selective tradition'.

4. This suggests a sort of utilitarian attitude of the British towards the Chinese as, for instance, implicitly expressed by C.G. Warnfor-Lock, a British writer, who sees Chinese 'industriousness' along these lines: 'He is the mule among the nations — capable of the hardest task under the most trying conditions; tolerant of every kind of weather and ill usage; eating little and drinking less; stubborn and callous; unlovable and useful in the highest degree. But never, under any conceivable circumstances, to be trusted or made a friend of. (Cited in Alatas 1977:75)'

5. For a critique of the modernization theory, see for instance Roger King (1986:200-203).

Contents of D.G.E. Hall's *Sejarah Asia Tenggara* (A History of South-East Asia).

The book is divided into four main parts: Part 1, entitled 'To The Beginning of The Sixteenth Century', consists of Chapter 1 which deals with 'The Peopling of South-East Asia' (pp.3-14). Chapter 2 discusses the 'South-East Asian Proto-History' with particular reference to (a) 'The Spread of Indian Influence' (pp.15-32); (b) 'The Earliest States: Funan, the Lin-yi' (pp.32-41); and (c) 'The period of the earliest inscriptions', (pp.41-54). Chapter 3 focuses on 'The Island Empires (1)' with particular reference to (a) 'The emergence of Srivijaya'; 'the Sailendras' (pp.55-73); and (b) 'The greatness and decline of Srivijaya' (pp.74-83). Chapter 4 examines 'The Island Empires (2)' with particular reference to (a) 'Java to the Mongol invasion of 1293' (pp.84-102); and (b) 'Majapahit, 1293-c. 1520' (pp.102-118). Chapter 5 studies 'The Khmers and Angkor', in particular (a) 'The Khmer Kingdom of Cambodia to 1001' (pp.119-137); (b) 'From 1001 to the abandonment of Angkor in 1432' (pp.137-160); (c) 'The economic basis of Khmer civilization' (pp.161-163); and (d) 'Cambodia from 1432 to the Siamese conquest in 1594' (pp.163-172). Chapter 6 examines 'Burma and Arakan' with particular reference to (a) 'The pre-Pagan period' (pp.173-180); (b) 'The empire of Pagan, 1044-1287' (pp.180-193); and (c) 'From the Mongul conquest of Pagan (1287) to the Shan sack of Ava (1527)' (pp.193-207). Chapter 7 is on 'The Thais and the Kingdom of Ayuthia' (pp.208-227). Chapter 8 examines 'The Kingdom of Champa' (pp.228-241). Chapter 9 deals with 'Annam and Tongking' (pp.242-251). Chapter 10 focuses on 'Malacca and the spread of Islam' (pp.252-271). And Chapter 11 surveys 'The coming of the European' (pp.272-282).

Part 2 analyses 'South-East Asia at the Early Stage of the Spread of European Powers'. In this part, Chapter 12 concentrates on 'The Portuguese and Spaniards in South-East Asia': (a) 'The Portuguese' (pp.285-296); (b) 'The Spaniards in the Philippines' (pp.296-307); and (c) 'Spanish intervention in Cambodia' (pp.307-313). Chapter 13 looks at 'Burma and Thai Kingdoms in the Sixteenth Century': (a) 'To 1570' (pp.314-325); and (b) 'From 1570 to 1599' (pp.325-335). Chapter 14 examines 'Indonesia from the Passing of Majapahit to the Rise of Mataram' with particular reference to (a) 'The Indonesian States' (pp.336-346); (b) 'The Anglo-Dutch assault on the "ring fence"' (pp.346-360); and (c) 'The Anglo-Dutch struggle for the spice trade' (pp.360-381). Chapter 15 focuses on 'Mataram and the Expansion of the V.O.C., 1623-84' (pp.382-401). Chapter 16 on the other hand looks at 'The Zenith and Decline of the V.O.C., 1684-1799' (pp.402-422). Chapter 17 examines 'The Malay Powers from the Fall of Malacca (1511) to the End of the Eighteenth Century' (pp.423-440). Chapter 18 deals with 'Siam and the European powers in the Seventeenth Century' (pp.441-462). Chapter 19 surveys 'Burma Under the Restored Toungoo Dynasty, 1600-1752' (pp.463-479). Chapter 20 concentrates on 'The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Mrohaung in Arakan' (pp.480-498). Chapter 21 studies 'The Beginnings of the Konbaung Dynasty in Burma, 1752-82' (pp.499-513). Chapter 22 focuses on 'Annam and Tongking, 1620-1820' in particular (a) 'The Struggle of Trinh and Nguyen, 1620-1777' (pp.514-528); and (b) 'The establishment of the Nguyen empire of Cochin China, Annam and Tongking, 1777-1820' (pp.528-539). Chapter 23 analyses 'The Kingdom of Laos, 1591-1836' (pp.540-552). Chapter 24 examines 'Siam from 1688 to 1851' (pp.553-573).

Part 3 analyses 'The Period of European Territorial Expansion'.

In this section, Chapter 25 looks at 'Indonesia from the Fall of the V.O.C. to the Recall of Raffles, 1799-1816' (pp.577-597). Chapter 26 deals with 'British Beginnings in Malaya: Background to Singapore' (pp.598-615). Chapter 27 focuses on 'The Straits Settlements and Borneo, 1786-1867' with particular reference to (a) 'From the acquisition of Penang to the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824' (pp.616-628); (b) 'The Straits Settlements from 1824 to 1867' (pp.628-640); (c) 'Borneo to 1839' (pp.640-649); and (d) 'Piracy and the work of Raja James Brooke' (pp.649-662). Chapter 28 examines 'The Restored Dutch Régime in Indonesia and the Culture System, 1816-48' (pp.663-678). Chapter 29 studies 'The British Forward Movement in Malaya and Borneo' (pp.679-705). Chapter 30 examines 'The Dutch Forward Movement in Indonesia' (pp.706-721). Chapter 31 deals with 'The Reign of Bodawpaya and the First Anglo-Burmese War, 1782-1826' (pp.722-742). Chapter 32 concentrates on 'Burma from the Treaty of Yandabo to the Creation of the Province of British Burma, 1826-62' (pp.743-762). Chapter 33 focuses on 'The Last Days of the Konbaung Dynasty at Mandalay, 1862-85' (pp.763-787). Chapter 34 surveys 'Vietnam and the Beginnings of French Expansion in Indo-China, 1820-70' (pp.788-802). Chapter 35 looks at 'The Second Stage of French Expansion in Indo-China, 1870-1900' (pp.803-814). Chapter 36 studies 'Siam Under Mongkut and Chulalongkorn, 1851-1910' (pp.815-829). Chapter 37 deals with 'Britain, France and the Siamese Question' in particular (a) 'Luang Prabang' (pp.830-839); (b) 'The Mekong question' (pp.839-848); and (c) 'Paknam and after' (pp.848-855).

Part 4, the final section of the book, examines 'Nationalism and the Challenge to European Domination'. In this section, Chapter 38 focuses on 'The Philippines to the End of Spanish Rule' (pp.859-886).

Chapter 39 concentrates on 'The Resurgence of South-East Asia' (pp.887-893). Chapter 40 surveys 'British Burma, 1886-1942' (pp.894-910). Chapter 41 studies 'The Dutch "New Course" and Nationalism in Indonesia, 1900-42' (pp.911-922). Chapter 42 looks at 'French Administration and Nationalism in Indo-China' (pp.923-931). Chapter 43 deals with 'The United States and Filipino Nationalism' (pp.932-949). Chapter 44 examines 'The Economic Aspect of European Domination' (pp.950-951) with particular reference to (a) 'British Burma' (pp.951-957); (b) 'French Indo-China' (pp.957-962); (c) 'The Netherlands Indies' (pp.962-967); and (d) 'Malaya' (pp.967-979). Chapter 45 surveys 'Siam in Transition, 1910-42' (pp.980-993). Chapter 46 looks at 'The Japanese Impact' (pp.994-1012). Chapter 47 examines 'After the War, 1945-50' (pp.1013-1014) with particular reference to (a) 'Malaya' (pp.1014-1024); (b) 'Burma' (pp.1024-1032); (c) 'French Indo-China' (pp.1032-1038); (d) 'Indonesia' (pp.1038-1045); (e) 'Siam' (pp.1045-1049); and (f) 'The Philippines' (pp.1049-1057). Finally Chapter 48 discusses 'Independence' with particular reference to (a) 'General Questions' (pp.1058-1068); (b) 'Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos' (pp.1068-1080); (c) 'Malaya and Singapore' (pp.1080-1088); (d) 'Indonesia' (pp.1095); (e) 'The Union of Burma' (pp.1095-1103); (f) 'Thailand' (pp.1103-1109); and (g) 'The Philippines' (pp.1110-1113).

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Trans. Appnd. 7.1: 'negeri-negeri di sebelah timur tanah besar Asia, yang terdiri daripada Semenanjung Indo-China, dan gugusan-gugusan pulau-pulau Indonesia dan Filipina.'

7.2: 'kawasan-kawasan yang tersebut bukan semata-mata mengikut

bulat-bulat kebudayaan India atau China tetapi masing-masing nyata mempunyai kebudayaan yang bersifat tersendiri.'

7.3: 'Hanya dengan kedatangan pengaruh kebudayaan yang subur dari dua negeri besar ini barulah kebudayaan negeri-negeri Asia Tenggara mula berkembang dan mencapai peringkat yang tinggi.'

7.4: 'telah memainkan peranan yang tidak kurang pentingnya seperti orang India dalam perdagangan Asia Tenggara dengan India dan Ceylon. Begitulah juga dengan perkembangan kebudayaan India.'

7.5: '(a) konsep diraja yang bersifat Hindu atau Budha, (b) penulisan sastra yang menggunakan bahasa Sanskrit, (c) kepercayaan yang dipetik dari Hikayat-hikayat Ramayana dan Mohabharata, cerita-cerita Purana dan buku-buku Sanskrit lain yang mengandungi beberapa banyak tradisi diraja dan salasilah keturunan Keluarga-keluarga diraja di daerah Ganges, dan (d) pengalaman Dharmasastra, hukum-hukum ugama Hindu dan terutama sekali Manava Dharmasastra atau Undang-undang Manu.'

7.6: '... Raja Melewar (1773-95) mengaku yang dia dari keturunan keluarga diraja Minangkabau di Sumatera, yang mengaku pula berketurunan dari dinasti Sailendra di Srivijaya yang masyhur itu.'

7.7: 'Ia juga merupakan pusat perniagaan yang terpenting di Asia Tenggara dan juga sebagai pusat penyiaran Islam yang utama.'

7.8: 'Mereka menubuhkan banyak sekolah-sekolah, di mana bahasa tulisan, Kuo Yu, atau Bahasa Kebangsaan, menggantikan bahasa sastra. Guru-guru mereka hampir semuanya dilahirkan di China dan mengajar

Perasaan Kebangsaan China dari segi yang terlalu ke kiri yang sangat bertentangan dengan Kerajaan Tanah Melayu. Buku-buku bacaan mereka dibeli dari China dan penuh dengan perkara-perkara sabersif. Keseluruhan cara mengajar sangat bertentangan untuk pembentukan perasaan satu bangsa Tanah Melayu.'

7.9: 'Ini melibatkan usaha mencari jalan menyatukan Sekolah-sekolah China yang menjadi pusat perkembangan semangat kebangsaan China dan Komunis ke dalam sistem pelajaran am.'

7.10: 'walaupun keluarga-keluarga mereka telah beberapa keturunan menjadi rakyat British.'

7.11: 'Sudah tentulah orang Melayu menganggap diri mereka sebagai orang negeri itu dan yang lain orang luar.'

7.12: 'kerana taat setia seorang rakyat Melayu biasa ialah kepada Sultannya, dan orang Melayu dari lain negeri adalah orang-orang asing kepadanya.'

7.13: 'rancangan 'Malaysia'nya untuk meluaskan Persekutuan dengan memasukkan Singapura dan kawasan-kawasan di Kalimantan itu Kalimantan Utara (Sabah), Berunai dan Sarawak telah disokong oleh British dalam bulan November 1961. Tujuannya ialah mengatasi masalah Singapura dan pada masa yang sama cuba menaikkan taraf kuasa politik orang Melayu.'

7.14: 'Orang Jepun di Asia, seperti orang Jerman di Eropah menunjukkan kecekapan mereka untuk mengasingkan sebarang bangsa yang mereka kuasai. Di Tanah Melayu, mereka bergantung kepada usahanya menimbulkan

permusuhan orang Melayu terhadap orang China dengan hanya mendapat sedikit kejayaan, tetapi mereka gagal untuk membangkitkan perasaan benci orang Melayu terhadap orang British ...'

7.15: 'perasaan anti China telah memuncak dan pekik teriak mereka ialah, "Tanah Melayu untuk orang Melayu", timbul dengan tersendiri dalam tiap-tiap negeri.'

7.16: '... perasaan keselamatan dan kewarganegaraan yang sama sebagai persediaan untuk berkerajaan sendiri dalam lingkungan Komanwel British.'

7.17: 'Kewarganegaraan adalah melibatkan hak-hak persamaan sepenuhnya, termasuklah kemasukannya sebagai pegawai di dalam perkhidmatan-perkhidmatan pentadbiran. Tidaklah mungkin ada perbezaan di antara kaum dan keturunan.'

7.18: 'Dari segi praktiknya, sehingga kepada penghujung kurun itu, perkembangan ekonomi Semenanjung hampir pada keseluruhannya berada dalam tangan orang China. Kaum-kaum pemodal mereka telah banyak berbakti dalam memajukan negeri-negeri naungan itu. Melombong bijih adalah kerja mereka yang utama, dan kaedah melombong dengan cara kunu itu adalah cara yang amat berkesan sekali.'

7.19: 'alasan yang amat sesuai untuk menolak dan terus mengambil tindakan ke atas tuntutan yang menimbulkan kemarahan orang Melayu.'

7.20: 'perusahaan asing dan sistem permodalan yang telah berakar di negerinya.'

7.21: 'banyak permodalan dan pengetahuan teknik, yang tanpanya, kemajuan kawasan-kawasan jajahan hingga sampai ke peringkat ekonomi yang penting sekarang ini, tidak akan ujud (sic).'

7.22: '... mendapati diri mereka "tertolak keluar dari rumah mereka sendiri ke pintunya dalam segi politik dan ekonomi".'

APPENDIX VIII

Contents of Gilbert Khoo and Dorothy Lo's *Asia Dalam Perubahan. Sejarah Tenggara, Selatan dan Timur Asia* (Asia in Transition. The History of South-East, South and East Asia).

This 1307-page book constitutes one of the history books recommended by the Ministry of Education for Form Six students. It is divided into three main sections. Part 1 devotes to 'Malaysia and Singapore, 1824-1954' where Chapter 1 traces the 'Historical Background' (pp.3-9). Chapter 2 focuses on 'The Growth of the Straits Settlements' (pp.10-77). Chapter 3 analyses 'The Malay States in the 19th Century' (pp.78-95). Chapter 4 looks at 'The History of Sabah and Sarawak' (pp.96-120). Chapter 5 analyses 'The Opening of the Malay States' (pp.121-172). Chapter 6 traces 'Events in the Borneo Territories' (pp.173-193). Chapter 7 deals with 'In Search of A Modern Malay Personality' (pp.194-206). Chapter 8 analyses 'The Formation of a Multi-racial Malaysia' (pp.207-214). Chapter 9 focuses on 'The Japanese Occupation' (pp.215-218). Chapter 10 analyses 'The Post-War Reconstruction of Malaysia and Singapore' (pp.219-242). Chapter 11 looks at 'The Development of Malaysian Nationalism and Party Politics' (pp.243-257). Chapter 12 discusses 'The Transition to Independence' (pp.258-273). And Chapter 13 traces 'The Post-War Economic and Social Development' (pp.274-307).

Part 2 covers the region of Southeast Asia, 1824-1954. In this section, Chapter 14 provides the 'Introduction' (pp.311-321). Chapter 15 focuses on 'Burma until 1900' (pp.322-404). Chapter 16 deals with 'Thailand until 1910' (pp.405-437). Chapter 17 analyses 'Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos until 1900' (pp.438-490). Chapter 18 discusses 'The Philippines until 1870' (pp.491-516). Chapter 19 traces 'Indonesia

until 1900' (pp.517-558). Chapter 20 analyses 'The Nationalist Consciousness'. Chapter 21 discusses 'The Interim Japanese Rule in Southeast Asia, 1941-45' (pp.645-683). And Chapter 22 looks at the 'Progress and Re-development after the War' (pp.684-798).

Part 3 firstly deals with 'China, 1824-1954' where Chapter 23 provides the 'Introduction: The Arrival of the Gasars from the West' (pp.801-810). Chapter 24 looks at 'The Cantonese Trade (pp.811-826)'. Chapter 25 analyses 'The First Anglo-Chinese War' (pp.827-842). Chapter 26 touches on 'The "Lorcha Arrow" War' (pp.843-862). Chapter 27 focuses on 'China, 1860-1894' (pp.863-885). Chapter 28 discusses 'China and the Colonies' (pp.886-897). Chapter 29 traces 'The Scramble for Influence' (pp.898-913). Chapter 30 discusses 'The Boxer Movement' (pp.914-924). Chapter 31 looks at 'The Fall of Manchu Dynasty' (pp.925-940). Chapter 32 analyses 'The First Years of the Republic' (941-951). Chapter 33 traces 'The Nationalist Revolution' (pp.952-970). Chapter 34 'China and the First World War' (pp.971-983). Chapter 35 focuses on 'The Allies and the Second World War' (pp.984-998). Chapter 36 deals with 'The Fall of the Kuomintang' (pp.999-1005). And Chapter 37 concentrates on 'China under Communist Rule, 1949-1970' (pp.1006-1024).

Secondly, this section deals with Japan, where Chapter 38 focuses on 'Japan Opened the Door to the West' (pp.1025-1037). Chapter 39 looks at 'The Meiji Era' (pp.1038-1065). Chapter 40 discusses 'Japan As A World Power' (pp.1066-1091). Chapter 41 analyses 'Japan in Manchuria' (pp.1092-1104). Chapter 42 devotes to 'The Pacific War' (pp.1105-1123). Chapter 43 focuses on 'The Japanese Occupation' (pp.1124-1137). And Chapter 44 discusses 'The Japanese After the

Occupation' (pp.1138-1144).

Thirdly, this section deals with India, where Chapter 45 discusses 'The Consolidation of British Power in India' (pp.1145-1169). Chapter 46 focuses 'The 19th Century' (pp.1170-1192). And Chapter 47 analyses 'Nationalism and Independence' (pp.1193-1241).

Fourthly, this section discusses Sri Lanka, where Chapter 48 looks at 'The Arrival of the British' (pp.1242-1265). Chapter 49 devotes to 'The Experimental Period 1833-1907' (pp.1266-1280). And finally, Chapter 50 traces 'The Nationalist Movement in Sri Lanka' (pp.1281-1305).

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Appnd. 8.1: 'Negeri ini mempunyai satu campuran kaum-kaum yang memberikan kepadanya satu kesegaran dan keupayaan yang tidak terdapat di mana-mana kawasan lain maupun di rantau Asia Tenggara ini dan juga di seluruh dunia.'

8.2: 'Oleh yang demikian rakyat menerima sahaja apa yang diarah, walaupun terpaksa mengalami siksaan dari kezaliman pembesar2nya. Dalam keadaan yang sama pula, orang Melayu tidak berminat untuk bekerja keras mengumpulkan harta, sebab pengumpulan harta yang banyak bererti seseorang itu merelakan hartanya untuk dirampas. Oleh yang demikian, tidak wujud satu suasana yang menggalakkan petani untuk memperbaiki hasil pertaniannya ataupun kehidupannya sendiri.'

8.3: 'Mereka tidak digalakkan berusaha lebih untuk memperbaiki taraf

hidup disebabkan keadaan hiraki sosial. Kebebasan yang membolehkan wujudnya mobiliti sosial tersekat langsung.'

8.4: 'Seorang yang bijak dan berpandangan jauh, baginda (Sultan Perak) telah bekerjasama dengan (Residen British) Hugh Low di dalam Majlis Negeri yang telah diadakan sebagai badan penasihat bagi membentuk pentadbiran negeri.'

8.5: 'Sungguhpun teori bahawa Residen2 hanya memberi nasihat dikekalkan, tetapi sebenarnya merekalah yang memerintah di sebalik Sultan2 dalam Majlis.'

8.6: 'Orang2 Melayu tidak memahami dan juga tidak cenderung ke arah cara2 hidup orang2 Barat.')

8.7: 'mengharapkan British melindungi mereka daripada kesan-kesan buruk akibat persaingan daripada komuniti-komuniti bukan-Melayu.'

8.8: 'British, di samping bersetuju memodenkan masyarakat Melayu, juga mahu mengekalkan kehidupan kampung tradisional Melayu.'

8.9: '...dengan itu dasar British mengecualikan mereka daripada jawatan2 dalam kerajaan adalah satu cara mengasing2kan kaum2 di Tanah Melayu supaya tidak berlaku sebarang jalinan sosio-kebudayaan.'

8.10: 'orang2 Cina seberang laut adalah warganegara negeri China sekiranya mereka mempunyai bapa keturunan Cina.'

8.11: 'Memang menjadi dasar Jepun mencetus konflik antara kaum ini

menyebabkan hilangnya kepercayaan satu kaum terhadap kaum yang lain.'

8.12: 'Pendapat seumpama ini adalah terlalu awal dan adalah mendahului masa.'

8.13: 'Ini adalah malang sekali bagi Dato Onn, dan juga bangsa Malaysia yang akan datang dan juga bagi kerajaan dan Persekutuan Malaysia.'

8.14: 'Sungguhpun buat sementara waktu perlembagaan itu telah meletakkan kuasa politik dalam tangan orang-orang Melayu dan kuasa ekonomi dalam tangan orang-orang Cina, kedua-dua belah pihak adalah begitu yakin bahawa ciri-ciri ini akan beransur lenyap selepas keadaan ekonomi orang-orang Melayu bertambah baik.'

8.15: 'mempertahankan kedudukan istimewa orang-orang Melayu dan kepentingan-kepentingan yang sah kaum-kaum lain.'

8.16: 'Orang2 Melayu dari Sumatra, terutamanya Orang2 Minangkabau, segolongan kecil orang2 Bugis dan Ambon dan orang2 Jawa telah datang ke penempatan2 ini sebagai tukang dan pedagang2 kecil. Dalam tahun 1840an seorang buruh Melayu mendapat lebih kurang \$3.50 sebulan di Singapura, sementara buruh India dan Cina masing2 mendapat lebih kurang \$4.00 dan \$5.00.'

8.17: 'Orang2 Melayu lebih suka kepada kerja2 yang senang dan mulia, atau kerja2 yang diizinkan oleh tradisi, daripada kerja2 yang dilakukan oleh buruh2 India yang mana dianggap mereka lebih buruk dari hamba tebusan.'

8.18: 'Dalam bandar, orang2 Cina merupakan peniaga2 yang baik; dan di luar bandar pula, mereka merupakan petani2 yang bijak.'

8.19: 'Mereka merupakan tulang belakang ekonomi Negeri-negeri Melayu... Mereka adalah pekerja-pekerja, pelombong-pelombong, pekedai-pekedai, kontraktor-kontraktor, kapitalis-kapitalis; pemegang-pemegang pajakan pungutan hasil dan penyumbang-penyumbang kepada hasil seluruh Negeri-negeri di Semenanjung.'

8.20: 'Dengan itu upacara2 istana dan institusi raja2 telah dikekalkan hingga ke hari ini sebagai tradisi2 Melayu. Sungguhpun Islam telah dikekalkan sebagai satu pengaruh yang kuat dalam kehidupan orang2 tempatan, amalan2 animisma masih ternyata sungguhpun ianya telah bercantum dengan kepercayaan2 Hindu dan Islam.'

8.21: 'Ini tentunya tidak dapat dicapai sekiranya tiga sistem pendidikan yang wujud pada ketika itu diteruskan.'

APPENDIX IX

D.J.M. Tate (1985), *Sejarah Pembentukan Asia Tenggara (Jilid II)* (The History of the Formation of South-east Asia), Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti, 4th Print.

The Analysis

The relevant chapters that were analysed are Chapter 1 ('Introduction: Agents of Change'); and Chapter 3 ('British South-east Asia', particularly 'British Malaya').

THE ECONOMIC

(a) Economic imperatives of colonialism: The origins of immigration

In Chapter I (pp.1-37), the reader is told of the socio-economic and political impact of the Industrial Revolution upon the South-east Asian region. Malaya in particular found itself opened up to the British colonialists who required the country's natural resources so as to 'feed' British factories with materials like tin and rubber (pp.1-2; 11-13). In its trail, the territorial expansionism of the British and other European powers in the region brought forth increasing trade between East and West, and also brought technological revolution, medical innovation and general modernisation¹ into the region. And with this gradual commercial and industrial development that was taking place in Malaya came the immigrants of India and China in the 19th century into South-east Asia, particularly in the Straits Settlements (SS) and the Malay States, and the flow was facilitated by a laissez-faire immigration policy of the British. Fifty years after the establishment of the SS, all immigration was handled solely by the private sector without any interference or direct control by the government. However, after 1850 when the rate of immigration continued

to rise, the government took steps to stop malpractices regarding employment and treatment of labour. A Department of Chinese Affairs was created in 1877 to deal with matters of immigration and treatment of labour (p.289), but this and other enactments failed to protect the welfare of the Chinese labour because in the final analysis the British administration in the main sided with the employers. Later, Tate however tells us, a Labour Act of 1923 eventually helped alleviate the problems experienced by the Chinese, Indian and other labourers (p.291). When the British took control of the Malay States, its officials pursued the line of continuing immigration because they felt the presence of Chinese was needed. This policy was also supported by the Malay rulers in the name of economic prosperity (p.272). On the whole, adds Tate, the British administration in Malaya used all the means to facilitate the immigration of Chinese without being concerned about its possible social and political implications (p.272). One major feature of this immigration until 1930 was that the entry was temporary. Before this date, Chinese and Indian immigrants considered themselves as transients and this was also one factor, says Tate, that led to the acceptance of this liberal immigration by the general public in the country (p.272). This historical account goes to show that much of the immigration of the Chinese and Indians and the 'opening up' of the Malay Peninsula to these immigrants were in the main due to the economic imperatives of the British. For many Malays, as suggested by Hall and Khoo and Lo, this wave of immigration later provided a sense of a community that was being challenged economically and politically by the immigrants and thus created a strong sense of ethnic solidarity among the Malays. On the other hand, this history of imperial exploitation of the immigrants can constitute the 'significant past' (Williams in de Castell et al. (eds) 1989:58) that

would help the non-Malays, if not the Malays as well, possess 'a sense of shared history' (A. Smith 1988:25).

(b) Chinese economic contributions

In sections of the book that deal with the Malay Peninsula, the reader is constantly reminded of the economic contributions of the Chinese to the socio-economic betterment of the country. The Chinese, we are told, who had a virtual monopoly over the commercial sector, were middlemen in business, and labourers in mines, estates and factories (pp.22-23). Given their long experience in commerce and business, the Chinese were considered, at least by the Westerner, as an important element to the economic development of South-east Asia as well as to western industrial ventures in the region (p.26). According to the 1947 Population Census, half of the peninsular population and three-quarters of Singapore's population were Chinese. In terms of number and economic power, Tate notes, the Chinese constituted an important immigrant group (p.274). The economic contributions of the Chinese in Malaya are further reinforced, as in Emerson, Hall, and Khoo and Lo on pages 274-275: 'The Chinese had monopolised the retail trade and owned oil factories, steel mills, shipping companies, motor agencies and banks. [Trans. Appnd. 9.1]' In social terms, adds Tate, they were found at all economic and social levels. It should be noted that this historical factor is 'lost' in the memory of all the Pengajian Am texts. If anything, such Chinese contributions form a 'significant past' that is largely seen and employed negatively by many of these books as a threat to the economic and political future of the Malays.

(i) Agricultural activities

Under the title 'The role of agriculture' in Chapter 3, Tate surveys the economic contributions made by Malaysians, again particularly the Chinese, in the development of the Malayan economy. On page 197, Tate says that while Singapore was the first place where rubber was grown, the planting of rubber on a large scale was conducted by Tan Chong-yan, a Chinese, in Malacca in the 1890s. Because of the high demand for rubber in the 1890s in the world market, rubber was given priority by the British authorities over other cash crops (p.242). This shift of priority is set in the context of 1912 when Henry Ford initiated the American automobile industry which propelled the popularity and demand for rubber (p.243). Malay and Chinese landowners (p.246) took this opportunity to grow rubber, while the smallholders also played an important role. The growth of rubber industry was closely associated with the existence of the railway network on the west coast (p.244). And the high demand for rubber prompted immigration from Sumatra and Java into the Peninsula (p.246). After rubber came coconut in agricultural importance in the 20th century. Coconut planting were mostly done by Malay smallholders, that is, apart from growing padi (p.197). Here we witness not only contributions of the Chinese in the country's agriculture but also the Malays' as well.

Next we are given an array of agricultural activities in which the Chinese, and the Malays to a lesser extent, were involved. The Chinese were the pioneering planters of pepper, betel nuts, potatoes in Negeri Sembilan and Selangor, and sugar in Perak (p.230). Chinese growers of pepper and betel nuts were found in Johor since 1820s due to its fertile land and also due to encouragement given by the Johor

government, the Temenggong family, who knew the Chinese would contribute to the former's prosperity. This in turn led to further Chinese immigration into Johor. By 1820, there were more than 200,000 Chinese in Johor, an increase in numbers that is attributed also to increasing demand for pepper and betel nuts from Britain and North America (p.231). The Chinese provided labour for European enterprises in pepper growing in Penang (p.198). Chinese growers, reveals Tate, operated on a system called 'kang-chu' which in effect meant a scheme wholly independent of the neighbouring Malay villages. The Johor government was also satisfied with this arrangement as it did not require it to directly administer this foreign community. This system also meant that the Chinese could lead their own way of life and tradition. The growing of pepper and betel nuts was halted in Johor in 1917 when demand fell and was replaced by rubber (p.232). Other cash crops such as potato, sugar cane, and pineapple were also grown almost entirely by the Chinese.

(ii) Tin mining

The economic activities of the Chinese in the Malay States however centred on tin industry. For instance, the book tells us that huge Chinese investments in tin had caused the prosperity of the Larut District in the state of Perak (p.218). Yap Ah Loy, the famous Chinese leader, was involved in the tin industry and his efforts had contributed to the prosperity of the state of Selangor (p.219). Tate informs that the Chinese monopolised tin industry because the mining technique that they employed required little capital, and therefore made possible the use of a large supply of Chinese labour. This situation thus largely hindered the Malays from venturing into tin industry (p.221). Even if there were cases of Malay involvement in the

tin industry, as there were in the early 19th century, it normally took the form of the Malay ruling class acting as landowners, sponsoring mining enterprise or working on the tin mines using Chinese capital and labour.² The technique used by the Malay tin miners was primitive compared to that of the Chinese, and their production costs were normally dictated by (expensive) tradition rather than market forces (p.221). Malay labour working for the tin mines were hard to come by simply because they refused to work in tin mines which they considered as having appalling working conditions. This then prompted the British to encourage immigration from China solely for this economic purpose (p.224). This point about the Malays' refusal to work under inhuman conditions in the tin mines and rubber plantations is raised again by Tate on page 271. This would help put into proper perspective the conspicuous lack of input of Malay workers in the tin mines and rubber plantations, as compared to the contributions made by the immigrant Chinese and Indian workers in this economic sector as mentioned on pages 286-291. In contrast, nowhere in the Pengajian Am texts is there a mention of Chinese contributions in Malay's tin industry nor any attempt to explain to the reader that this Chinese economic input and deplorable working conditions are a few of the factors that slowed down the entry of Malays into the modern economy, and thus putting them economically behind the non-Malays.

(b) Indian economic contributions

The economic contributions of the Indians to Malaya are not to be forgotten. As far as the Indians were concerned, says Tate, they confined themselves to the British territories in South-east Asia. Four-fifths of the Indians who came to Malaya in 1941 were Tamil from Madras. Most of them came as labourers, imported by the British

basically for their 'loyal' attitude, and they worked in terribly exploitative conditions (p.26-27). The development of British bureaucracy also necessitated the demand for clerks, hospital attendants, teachers, etc. who had had western education; Indians from Madras, and Ceylonese from Jafna met this requirement. There were also Indian small traders and professionals. Compared to the Chinese, Indians in Malaya were smaller in population size and made up of skilled and unskilled labour from South India. Before 1800, Indian convicts were used in public construction projects (p.275). Tamils from South India became contract labourers, replacing convict labourers in road construction and railway lines and in town councils. In the later half of 19th century, most Indian labourers were brought in to work in coffee and sugar cane plantations in Penang and Province Wellesley, and later Perak and other parts of Malaya (p.276). Ten percent of the Indians were Muslim traders from South India. Tamils who were English educated from South India came in early 20th century, and they found their niche in the professions such as doctors, lawyers, journalists and teachers.

Having been informed about the economic contributions of the immigrants, the reader is told that Malaya soon grew as part of the world market in which the immigrant labour was responsible for creating wealth and overall economic development (p.279). What can be derived from this survey of the economic activities of immigrant labour as well as the Malays is that each one of them had contributed in its own ways to the socio-economic development of the country, many under harsh working conditions. Again, this can form a 'significant past' that would help Malaysians possess a 'sense of shared history' (A. Smith 1988:25) and consequently perhaps promote a sense of

solidarity. This also would imply that each has a legitimate stake in the political, economic and cultural future of the country. This notion of collective possession of Malaysia is well encapsulated by the quotation found in Malhi's: 'Malaysia is not the property of any one race, but a joint property of all races and all Malaysian citizens. (p.199)' This point is further driven in the discussion below.

(c) Immigrant labour and Malaya's economic progress

The subject of labour and immigration is again dealt with on page 286. But this time the emphasis is on the prosperity of the country that was largely brought about by the exploitation of the immigrant labour. Here Tate states that while to some British Malaya represented a country that was politically stable and economically prosperous, to others the country's economic success was based on cruel exploitation of a majority of the poor labour imported from overseas. This includes the many deaths of Chinese labour in Malayan mines in the second half of the 19th century. Worse treatment was received by Indian labourers. The shortage of labour led to the creation of the notorious 'kangani' system. Under this system, the plantation owner would assign his agent (kangani) to India to seek the labourers of his choice and bring them to Malaya. These labourers would then be asked to repay their passage expenses to the kangani from their monthly wage. However, this did not solve the shortage problem due to the rapid growth of the rubber industry. In the end, the authorities set up an Indian Immigration Fund in 1907 so as to provide free passage from India to Malaya (p.287). And like the Indians, the majority of the immigrant Chinese in the 19th century came as contract labourers, known as 'sin-khehs' (Hokkien) or 'san-hak' (Cantonese). Both Indian and Chinese labourers

were subjected to the exploitation of the recruiting agents and appalling conditions under which they were brought to Malaya (p.288). The above account thus represents again a reminder of the important contributions — no doubt to a large degree for the needs of British capitalists — of the immigrant labour towards the general improvement of the living standards in certain parts of the country.

(d) Malay economic problems

(i) Uneven development of the Malay States

The Malay States in 1850, Tate informs us, were slowly developing along with the growth of tin and rubber industries, which transformed the society into a multiethnic one and also into an economy that was highly dependent on and vulnerable to the vagaries or gyrations of the world market (p.215). In addition, economic development was evident mainly in the states on the west coast which were rich in tin. This explains in many ways why the bulk of the material wealth was monopolised by immigrants who mostly lived and worked in the western towns, whilst Malays mostly lived at a subsistence level in the traditional, agrarian society that was mainly found in the east coast (p.215). The fact that there was (and still is, to a certain degree) this socio-economic disparity between the two coasts of Malaya is again established by Tate on pages 240-241. And to emphasise this point further, Tate reports that since railway and road infrastructure in the Malay Peninsula was established primarily to cater to the needs of the tin and rubber industries, the bulk of the communication network concentrated on the west coast (p.256). He adds, the roads here were so well developed that, for example, some enterprising Chinese started operating lorry, small bus and taxi services. In the 1930s, eight airports were built, all of which were on the west coast

(p.257). And most of the available medical facilities were mainly found in urban areas, thus depriving of much needed medical care and treatment areas in the north and east coast where most Malays lived (p.296). Apart from the economic disparity between the east and west coasts of the Peninsula, observes Tate, there was also a similar gap between the major ethnic groups. Wherever they lived, the living conditions of the Malays were much worse than those of the Chinese and Indians. This was mainly due to the Malays' subsistence economy that provided incomes of the lowest level. In short, Malays as a group continued to be the poorest inhabitants in the country. Moreover, the pattern of urbanization along the west coast isolated the agrarian native Malays from the immigrants, particularly the Chinese (p.279). Hence, says the writer, this marked the beginning of problems associated with the creation of a multiethnic society like Malaya (p.280). As mentioned earlier, this kind of survey of a 'significant past' provides a proper historical perspective to the question of Malay poverty as opposed to the one that dominates many of the Pengajian Am books, a perspective that ignores or chooses to ignore these underlying factors and thus likely to provoke a divisive reaction of 'them' versus 'us'.

(ii) Malay poverty: structural factors

Also prevalent here is a historical perspective such as the one above that goes a long way towards erasing a confrontational view of general Malay poverty in relation to the relatively better living standards of non-Malays as a whole. Tate concludes that British policy in the Malay Peninsula ran into problems in its attempt to achieve their twin objectives: One, to exploit the colonized economy efficiently through the establishment of a stable and efficient

government. And two, to improve the living conditions and protect the interests of the Malays from pressures of the new economic structure whose very formation was assisted by the British themselves. The second objective was pursued in the following manner: One, the education policy adopted by the British effectively tied a majority of the Malays to agrarian activities. This presents a major factor towards making Malays a social group that failed economically (p.283). Two, the 1913 Malay Land Reserve Enactment which, according to Tate, instead of helping the Malays it locked the Malays into poverty and thus hindered them from adapting themselves to the economic development that was taking place elsewhere in the Peninsula (p.281). This policy was also pursued in the predominantly Malay Unfederated Malay States where most of them are found on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, thereby eventually creating the east-west economic gap (p.283). And three, the British government encouraged the Malays to grow padi, especially when the growth of the padi sector was undermined by the rapid development of the tin industry. Moreover, this encouragement was further pushed when Malaya experienced acute shortage of padi supply at the end of the First World War, which then prompted the British Resident, empowered by the Federated Malay States Padi Land Enactment of 1917, to prohibit the growing of crops other than padi on Malay land (p.257). Hence, there developed a situation where a thriving capitalist economy existed side by side with a Malay traditional society, consciously untouched by these social and economic changes (p.280). By the beginning of the 20th century, Tate asserts, features of a capitalist economy had already prevailed in Malaya in such a way that the Europeans (and also Chinese) were associated with providing capital; the Chinese (and also Indians) in providing cheap labour; and the Malays as natives working laboriously

in agriculture (p.281). Such a socio-economic disparity largely arising from British policies compels the writer to remark on page 286 that 'The unbalanced and unjust socio-economic development that took place in this country is symptomatic of a colonial system which only prioritised its own interests as opposed to finding a more radical solution. [Trans. Appnd. 9.2]' This account has in many ways traced the origins of the present social differentiation, that is, the socio-economic disparity that is experienced between the present-day Malays and non-Malays in general and within the Malay community as well, and can nonetheless lend credence to the underlying goal of the New Economic Policy, that is, to help improve the socio-economic conditions of the majority of the Malays. Support for such economic assistance and policies are found in Pengajian Am 2 (Othman et al), Kenegaraan Malaysia (Malhi), Pelengkap Diri: Pengajian Am STPM (Saidi and Salim) and Pengajian Am 2 (A. Long). In other words, a 'significant past' such as the factors related to Malay poverty indeed can be conveniently marshalled by these writers and proponents of Malay economic assistance in their eagerness to maintain government policies such as the NEP.

THE POLITICAL

(a) British immigration policy: changing demographic pattern

(i) Non-Malay immigration

In Chapter 3 under the section on 'The Straits Settlements (SS) and Peninsular Malay States', the reader is told that the SS became the main channel for a new wave of immigrants, resulting in the creation of a multiethnic society there. Among the countries in this region, Malaya was the one receiving the greatest number of immigrants and by 1931, the native Malays no longer constituted a majority group.

The SS had Chinese as its main population component with two-thirds of its population concentrated in Singapore (p.268). A sense of unrestricted flow of immigration is reinforced further: Tate states that in the SS and the Malay States immigration was an important factor encouraged by the liberal British policy that allowed new immigrants to be economically active and become rich without any fear of being robbed or deported (p.268). This point about the liberal policy of immigration is raised again on page 272. The Great Depression of 1929 however marked the end of uncontrolled immigration. The FMS Immigration Central Ordinance 1928 empowered the authorities to prohibit immigration during the Emergency. Chinese population was still rising at that time because female Chinese were still allowed to migrate to Malaya until 1938. The Indians were not particularly affected by the Ordinance, except for the restriction imposed by the Indian authorities on unskilled labour leaving for Malaya. Consequently the Indian population in Malaya stabilised. The Malay population on the other hand reduced numerically (p.273). This account creates a sense of a huge number of immigrants coming to Malaya and 'engulfing' Malays, which then brought forth the salience of the 'numbers game' or Malay political supremacy. This is a factor that finds its relevance in Pengajian Am 2 (Othman et al.) and Pengajian Am 2 (A. Long) where overt or covert concern is expressed over Malay demographic pattern (i.e. reduced numerical strength) in the country. Similar concern also manifests itself below.

(ii) Malay immigration

As far as the 'immigrant' Malays are concerned, Tate says that it is difficult for the British authorities in Malaya to detect the rate of 'immigration' of Malays into Malaya because many of them came on

their own and were not subject to official examination and registration. They easily assimilated into Malay way of life because of similarity in areas such as culture, worldview and occupation. Culturally and historically, these immigrants from Indonesia were no different from the Peninsular Malays as they all came from that part of the world which was known as the Malay World, i.e. prior to the arbitrary demarcation of territories by the European colonial powers (p.277). In fact, the writer adds, the British considered their immigration as one way of consolidating the position of the native Malays and that they would be regarded as one ethnic group in the official statistics. In the SS, the population of Malays had increased as a result of this immigration but the number still lagged behind that of the other immigrants who constituted the major producers of primary commodities. The Malays in Penang were mainly farmers and those in Singapore and also Penang were fishermen (p.277). News of new economic opportunities spread in the Malay archipelago which then led to the migration of its inhabitants into Malaya. The individual Malay States on the west coast gave encouragement to this demographic movement. Johor State, for instance, gave encouragement for Malay immigration as a step towards balancing the ethnic proportions in the state.

In the wake of 'immigration' of Malays from the archipelago, Tate observes, the Peninsular Malays were only able to maintain their solidarity in states where they were numerically superior before the 19th century. These were the states of Kelantan and Trengganu which were not affected by the recent demographic movement and were still regarded as 'Malay' in the Peninsula. The sovereignty of the Malays was still prevalent in Kedah, Province Wellesley, Negeri Sembilan, and

Pahang, but dwindled a bit in Malacca (p.278). In other states, says Tate, the number of Malays was small compared to other ethnic groups and they lived at a subsistence level in villages along river banks. In the 19th century, he adds, the immigrant Malays, like the immigrant Chinese, were not interested in uniting themselves or forming alliance with native Malays in the Peninsula because of jealousy or suspicion between themselves. However after 1900 this attitude was taken over by sentiments of common origins.³ Tate explains that this consciousness struck root when the system of communication became widespread and many Malays, irrespective of their origins, found employment in the civil service particularly in the police and armed forces (p.279). This goes to show that modern and effective forms of communication and close interaction between Malays in the civil service provide an opportunity for them to construct consciously or otherwise a sense of being swarmed by non-Malays, and thus the need to create an 'imagined political community' that is capable of possessing a strong sense of shared history and destiny as well as protecting 'common interests'. In other words, a strong sense of ethnic solidarity can prevail when its members perceive, rightly or wrongly, themselves as a collective being overwhelmed economically, politically and/or culturally by other ethnic groups. One could therefore deduce that this is probably the context in which, for instance, the call for the purification of Malay songs and the insistence on Malay culture being the basis of the proposed national culture (found in many of the Pengajian Am books) is made.

THE CULTURAL

(a) Ethnic social problems: more stereotypes?

We are told of certain social problems which inform the 'normal

characteristics' of a particular society. Hence, for the Chinese, 'the obvious social problems revolve around gambling activities, drugs, and prostitution and the role of the government was at the level of structuring these activities more systematically rather than abolishing them' [Emphasis added. p.297; Trans. Appnd. 9.3]. As for the Indians (p.298), their social problems are primarily associated with drinking. Apart from the prostitution problem among the Chinese (because, so the argument goes, there were less Chinese women than men to satisfy the latter's sexual urge), no deeper sociological explanations were given to these other social problems. It is significant that there was no mention of any Malay 'social problems'; it is either that the Malays have no such social problems or that these problems, if any, need not be identified and emphasised. Such 'obvious' identification of social problems with ethnic groups may reinforce certain ethnic stereotypes and prejudices that already pervade the Malaysian society.

Summary and Conclusion

This book establishes the fact that the imperatives of British imperialism were the catalysts for the rapid flow of Chinese and Indian (and to a lesser extent, Malay) immigrants into Malaya, thereby transforming the society as a whole into a multiethnic one, with all its attending complex problems. The immigration policy of the British had the effect of the non-Malay population outnumbering the Malays, a situation that made the Malays as a community rather nervous. As a remedy, the British encouraged Malays from Indonesia (i.e. the Malay Archipelago) to migrate into Malaya so as to balance the country's ethnic proportion and at the same time meeting the labour requirements of the modern economy, particularly the rubber industry. What is

implied here is that the notion of 'numbers game' has already been introduced into the country as a result of this rapid flow of immigration and pace of socio-economic changes where the Malays, native and immigrant alike, especially towards the later part of the history of British Malaya, were made to realise the importance of being an ethnic community and possessing solidarity, sharing a perceived history of threatened political, economic and cultural existence.

We also have seen that the imperial capitalism that was introduced by the British into Malaya had caused an economic disparity between two major geographical regions (the 'less developed' east coast versus the relatively wealthy and 'progressive' west coast) on the one hand and between the traditional and agrarian Malays and urban non-Malays on the other. And to deepen this dichotomy further, the British consciously maintained the traditional lifestyle of the Malays vis-a-vis the modern economy by, for instance, reserving land to the Malays for padi growing, thereby making this 'protection' an almost life-time guarantee for Malay poverty — given the inherent uneven development in the capitalist system. It should be pointed out at this juncture that the refusal of the Malays to work under inhuman working conditions in the modern economy only amplifies this economic gap. As we have noted, if there were involvement and interaction between Malays and non-Malays, it took the form of joint economic ventures between the Malay ruling class and the Chinese bourgeoisie. But more importantly, this economic system has built permanent structures that sustain to some degree such domestic economic disparity as well as locking Malaya into the world capitalist system, dependent on and vulnerable to the vagaries of the world market. Such a situation only

heightens the fears of the Malays as a community as already mentioned previously.

The book nonetheless recognises (coming from the author himself as well as the passages of quotations by the British and the Malay rulers) the important contributions of the immigrants, especially the Chinese, towards the general economic progress of the country. Emphasis has been made on the Chinese contributions which permeate all aspects of economic life. Such economic inputs can provide — and have provided — a strong linkage to future claims of the Chinese to equal citizenship and social justice in modern Malaysia. In other words, this constitutes their shared history, which is their 'significant past' (Williams in de Castell, Luke and Luke (eds) 1989:58).

Tate also mentions economic contributions made by the Indian immigrants and to a lesser degree the Malays. This then leads to the recognition of the fact that the prosperity of at least certain parts of Malaya was based on the human exploitation and sacrifices of largely immigrant labour. Such an acknowledgement also has the potential of creating a sense of shared history among members of all the ethnic groups.

Finally, the ethnic stereotypes mentioned in the book would only provide ammunition for those having the propensity to indulge in ethnocentrism and racism, a proposition that is not unlikely in ethnically-conscious Malaysia. The writer could have been more guarded in the sense that a sociological exploration into each of these 'social problems' and at the same time offering possible solutions to these problems would help avert any impression that such an exposé is

a conscious exercise in ethnic slur, particularly when there is no explanation of the absence of 'Malay social problem' in his exposition.

Notes

1. Proponents of modernization theory hold that an economy has to develop in an evolutionary manner, going through what are considered to be necessary stages of growth, before reaching the 'developed' level now experienced by the industrial West. For a critical perspective of this theory, see Ankie M.M. Hoogvelt (1982:116-119).
2. See Martin Brennan (in R. Higgott and R. Robison (eds) 1985:93-127) for an analysis of economic cooperation between sections of the dominant class or bourgeoisie of various ethnic origins in contemporary Malaysia.
3. For a discussion of factors that unite an ethnic community, such as 'a collective name' and 'a distinctive shared culture', see Anthony Smith (1988), particularly chapters 2 and 3.

Contents of D.J.M. Tate's *Sejarah Pembentukan Asia Tenggara (Jilid II)* (The History of the Formation of South-east Asia).

This 673-page book, one of the history books recommended for reading by the Ministry of Education for Form Six students, is divided into six main chapters: Chapter 1 provides the 'Introduction: Agents of Change' (pp.1-37). Chapter 2 focuses on the 'Dutch East Indies' (pp.38-132). Chapter 3 looks at 'British South-east Asia' (pp.133-134), namely (a) 'British Burma' (pp.135-168); and (b) 'British Malaya' (i) 'The Straits Settlements' (pp.169-214), (ii) 'Peninsular Malay States' (pp.215-268), and (iii) 'The Straits Settlements and the Peninsular Malay States' (pp.269-304); (c) 'Sarawak' (pp.305-327); (d) 'British North Borneo' (pp.329-354); and (e) 'Brunei' (pp.355-360). Chapter 4 discusses 'French Indo-China'

(p.361), namely (a) 'Vietnam' (pp.364-432); (b) 'Cambodia' (pp.433-464); and (c) 'Laos' (pp.465-483). Chapter 5 devotes to 'The Philippines' (pp.486-570); and Chapter 6 concentrates on 'Thailand' (pp.571-654).

The Original Malay Version of the English Translation

Trans. Appnd. 9.1: Original pp.274-275: 'Orang Cina telah membolot perdagangan runcit dan memiliki kilang minyak, kilang perkakas besi, syarikat perkapalan, agensi motor dan bank.'

9.2: 'Perkembangan ekonomi dan sosial yang tidak seimbang dan tidak adil yang terbentuk di negara ini adalah gejala-gejala yang terpaksa diterima di bawah sistem penjajahan yang hanya mengutamakan kepentingannya dari membuat sesuatu penyelesaian yang lebih radikal.'

9.3: '... masalah sosial ternyata berkisar kepada kegiatan judi, candu dan rumah pelacuran dan peranan kerajaan adalah setakat menyusun kegiatan-kegiatan ini secara lebih teratur bukannya untuk menghapuskannya.'

APPENDIX X

University of Malaya

Student Enrolment into Year One by Faculty Number of Malays and Non-Malays

		<u>Malay</u>		<u>Non-Malay</u>		<u>Total</u>
<u>1960/61</u>						
Agriculture	.....	1	....	18	....	19
Arts	.....	66	....	140	....	206
Engineering	.....	3	....	63	....	66
Science	.....	7	....	61	....	68
<u>1961/62</u>						
Agriculture	.....	4	....	21	....	25
Arts	.....	91	....	166	....	257
Engineering	.....	1	....	81	....	82
Science	.....	7	....	88	....	95
<u>1962/63</u>						
Agriculture	.....	1	....	23	....	24
Arts	.....	108	....	205	....	313
Engineering	.....	1	....	84	....	85
Science	.....	5	....	107	....	112
<u>1963/64</u>						
Agriculture	.....	4	....	27	....	31
Arts	.....	143	....	265	....	408
Engineering	.....	-	....	89	....	89
Science	.....	8	....	130	....	138
Medicine	.....	7	....	33	....	40
<u>1964/65</u>						
Agriculture	.....	8	....	28	....	36
Arts	.....	205	....	300	....	505
Engineering	.....	3	....	89	....	92
Science	.....	14	....	135	....	149
Medicine Year 1	.....	2	....	36	....	38
<u>1965/66</u>						
Agriculture	.....	21	....	26	....	47
Arts	.....	294	....	359	....	653
Engineering	.....	3	....	98	....	101
Science	.....	13	....	169	....	182

(Cont'd. APPENDIX X)

		<u>Malay</u>		<u>Non-Malay</u>		<u>Total</u>
Medicine:						
Pre-Med.	.....	11	....	31	....	42
Year 1	.....	4	....	76	....	80

1966/67

Agriculture	.....	30	.....	27	....	57
Arts	.....	350	.....	423	....	773
Engineering	.....	3	.....	96	....	99
Science	.....	35	.....	162	....	197
Medicine:						
Pre-Med.	.....	20	.....	20	....	40
Year 1	.....	12	.....	84	....	96
Econs. and Admin.	.....	49	.....	83	....	132

1967/68

Agriculture	.....	17	.....	38	....	55
Arts	.....	487	.....	381	....	868
Engineering	.....	9	.....	83	....	92
Science	.....	57	.....	241	....	298
Medicine:						
Pre-Med.	.....	23	.....	20	....	43
Year 1	.....	24	.....	86	....	110
Econs. & Admin.	.....	121	.....	177	....	298

1968/69

Agriculture	.....	8	.....	66	....	74
Arts	.....	490	.....	461	....	951
Engineering	.....	2	.....	96	....	98
Science	.....	84	.....	256	....	340
Medicine:						
Pre-Med.	.....	25	.....	11	....	36
Year 1	.....	23	.....	105	....	128
Econs & Admin.	.....	185	.....	248	....	433

1969/70

Agriculture	.....	25	.....	70	....	95
Arts	.....	722	.....	505	....	1,227
Engineering	.....	5	.....	109	....	114
Science	.....	79	.....	228	....	307
Medicine:						
Pre-Med.	.....	26	.....	14	....	40
Year 1	.....	24	.....	102	....	126
Econs. & Admin.	.....	197	.....	308	....	505

Source: Malaysia (1971b), Towards National Harmony, Appendix: Table 1

APPENDIX XI

Malaysia: Enrolments in Tertiary Education by Race and Field of Study, 1970-1975¹

	1970					1975				
	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total
<u>Diploma & Certificate courses²</u>										
Agriculture ..	458	72	3	12	545	934	109	19	1	1,063
Engineering (including Petroleum Engineering) ..	633	399	27	7	1,066	2,480	371	47	9	2,907
Land & Quantity Survey, Architecture & Town & City Planning ...	59	5	-	-	64	936	14	-	3	953
Statistics, Computer Science & Actuaries ...	136	-	-	-	136	267	-	-	-	267
Science & Technology & Applied Science ...	218	-	-	-	218	1,291	378	11	1	1,681
Animal Science, Fisheries & Forestry ...	-	-	-	-	-	542	19	6	-	567
Home Science ..	-	-	-	-	-	69	11	2	-	82
Accountancy ..	353	34	3	-	390	1,354	313	21	4	1,692
Business ..	376	27	3	-	406	1,682	588	29	-	2,299
Administration & Law ..	355	-	-	-	355	542	-	-	-	542
Applied Arts ..	277	-	-	-	277	303	-	-	-	303
Hotel Catering ..	-	-	-	-	-	380	-	-	-	380
Library Science ..	-	-	-	-	-	108	-	-	-	108
Mass Communications	-	-	-	-	-	145	-	-	-	145
Secretarial Science	-	-	-	-	-	492	-	-	-	492
Interpretation/ Translation ..	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	6
Certificate in English Lang. Teaching	-	-	-	-	-	36	7	2	2	47
Others ..	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	13
Sub-total	2,865	537	36	19	3,457	11,579	1,810	138	20	13,547

Degree courses

Arts & Language .	2,104	870	270	133	3,377	1,826	429	168	34	2,457
Economics ..	494	661	135	52	1,342	1,287	339	86	19	1,731
Law ..	-	-	-	-	-	124	62	17	8	211
Humanities, Humanities with Education, Social Science & Social Science with										

(Cont'd. APPENDIX XI)

	<u>Malay</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Malay</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Education ..	61	41	17	3	122	1,833	449	120	10	2,412
Islamic Studies ..	32	-	-	-	32	486	-	-	-	486
Diploma in Education ..	146	237	36	24	443	240	283	55	10	588
Diploma in Public Administration ..	16	2	-	-	18	15	7	1	-	23
Science, Science with Education & Applied Science ..	188	1,222	66	41	1,517	799	2,096	170	29	3,094
Medicine, Dentistry & Pharmacy ..	100	403	45	33	581	399	542	60	20	1,021
Agriculture ..	91	208	15	10	324	273	94	20	2	389
Veterinary Science & Forestry ..	-	-	-	-	-	105	35	2	-	142
B.Sc. Agriculture Business & Agricultural Engineering ..	-	-	-	-	-	179	36	6	-	221
Engineering (includ. Petroleum Engineering)	5	365	11	11	392	361	737	30	7	1,135
Architecture, Land & Quantity Survey, Town & Country Planning & Evaluation ..	-	-	-	-	-	226	108	8	2	344
Total	3,237	4,009	595	307	8,148	8,153	5,217	743	141	14,254

Notes: 1. Figures refer only to enrolments in local universities and colleges.

2. Does not include enrolments in domestic private institutions.

Source: Third Malaysia Plan, 1976-1980, Table 22-8, pp.402-403.

APPENDIX XII

Student's Questionnaire*

1. What are the things you value most in life — in the order of importance?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
 - d.
2. What do you think an ideal society would be like? Are we getting any closer to this society? In what ways?
3. Do you have any close friends of other racial groups? If so, how did you meet them? What sort of things do you usually talk about?
4. What is 'race relations' to you? Do you think this is or should be an important factor to be considered in Malaysia? Why?
5. Do you think it sometimes helps to understand others if you know what racial group they belong to? Is it important whether they are Malay, Chinese, Indian, or other? Why?
6. What does your religion, if any, mean to you? Name your religion.
7. How important is your religion in your daily living? Do you think much about it?
8. Does religion help a person stay honest and on the right track, or does it make any difference at all?
9. Do you feel differently about people who belong to different religions? How and why?
10. What role, if any, do you think religion should play in political life?

11. Students belong to at least one organisation/society. Which one(s) do you belong to, and why?
12. Please tell a little about what you do in these organisations/societies as (answer only the relevant one):
 - a. committee member:
 - b. ordinary member:
13. What do you feel you have in common, if any, with other members of these organisations/societies?
14. In the Malaysian history, who are your favourite political figures, and why?
15. In the Malaysian history, who are the political figures whom you favour less, and why?
16. What does 'freedom' mean to you?
17. Some people think there should be more freedom, others think there should be less. What do you think? What kinds of freedom?
18. Do you sometimes feel that listening to all the different points of view on a particular subject is too confusing and that you would like to hear just one point of view from someone who knows? For example?
19. Are the organisations/societies to which you belong democratically run? How?
20. Do you think that sometimes the government must force people to do things against their will? Give example and reasons.
21. Is there any social injustice which you think ought to be put right either in school or in your society?
 - a. school:
 - b. society:

22. In your personal life, are there some people whom you regard as not really equal to you? How?
23. In school, what subjects do you like best, and why?
24. Are there any subjects which you dislike, and why?
25. Are there any textbooks used in the classes below which you like? What are they and why?
- a. general studies: ,
 - b. history:
 - c. geography:
 - d. Bahasa Malaysia:
 - e. Malay literature:
 - f. economics:
 - g. other (specify):
26. Are there any textbooks which you find unattractive because they are offensive to you? If any, please specify in what aspect, and how.
27. Do you find any racial stereotyping in your textbooks? Give examples.
28. In your opinion, are there any serious omissions or distortions in the textbooks that discuss cuslture in Malaysia? If so, what are they?
29. Do you read newspapers regularly (cross where relevant)? Yes ____
Sometimes ____ Not at all ____
30. Name the newspapers you like, and why?

31. When you read newspapers, which parts of the content do you usually pay close attention to (cross where relevant)?
- politics ___ business and economics ___ religion ___ sports
 ___ advertisements ___ entertainment ___ cartoons ___ other
 (specify) _____
32. Which newspapers, if any, do you dislike, and why?
33. Do you often read magazines? Yes ___ Sometimes ___ Not at all

34. Name the magazines you like, and why?
35. What kinds of magazine do you read?
- news and current affairs ___ educational/academic ___ cultural
 ___ entertainment ___ religious ___ professional ___ other
 (specify) _____
36. Are there any magazines which you dislike, and why?
37. Do you often read comics? Yes ___ Sometimes ___ Not at all

38. Name the comic magazines you like, and why?
39. Name the comic magazines, if any, you dislike, and why?
40. Do you have a TV set? ___
41. If yes, do you often watch it? Yes ___ Sometimes ___ Not at all
 all ___
42. What are your favourite TV programmes (name the titles), and why?
- movies _____
- drama _____
- news _____
- sitcoms _____
- talks _____
- documentaries _____
- music _____
- women's _____
- other (specify) _____

43. Are there any TV programmes you dislike, and why?
44. Do you have a radio set? ____
45. If yes, do you often listen to it? Yes ____ Sometimes ____ Not at all ____
46. What are your favourite radio programmes (name the titles), and why?
- music _____
- news _____
- drama _____
- documentaries _____
- other (specify) _____
47. Are there any radio programmes you dislike, and why?
48. Do you have a video recorder? ____
49. If yes, what kinds of video do you watch?
- soap opera/drama _____
- sitcoms _____
- documentaries _____
- other (specify) _____
50. What do you think are the major problems in Malaysia today?
- a. economic _____
- b. political _____
- c. social _____
- d. cultural _____
- e. other (specify) _____
51. Which of the above problems do you think is the **most** serious, and why?
52. What do you think the government should do about the above problems?
53. What do you think the ordinary citizens should do about the above problems?
54. Sex: male ____ female ____
55. Father's occupation: _____
56. Mother's occupation: _____

57. Father's educational level: primary school____ lower secondary school____ upper secondary school____ college____ university____ other (specify)_____.
58. Mother's educational level: primary school____ lower secondary school____ upper secondary school____ college____ university____ other (specify)_____.
59. What do you consider yourself as — Malay, Chinese, Indian, other (specify), simply Malaysian, or what?
60. What do you consider the others outside your racial group as — Malay, Chinese, Indian, foreigners, foreign nationalities, Malaysian, according to their respective racial groups, or what?
61. (Your) racial origin: _____.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

* Adapted in part from James C. Scott (1968), Political Ideology in Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore: University of Malaya Press, Appendix A: Interview Guide.