democratisation of the multilateral system, indicate that the old international order may need reordering.

Malaysians have recognised the distinctiveness and non-universality of Western notions and goals, which their proponents have tried (not always consciously) to impose as a basis of collective dialogue and action. However, this hegemony of Western 'givens' is now being challenged.\textsuperscript{212} Perhaps, we are set to move towards a more equal playing field, or at least see new stars take to the field.

So-called 'Western' societies, like their 'Eastern' counterparts are in reality multicultural societies of diversity and breadth. What is an 'Asian' culture remains rather nebulous, however a regional economic success and growing confidence is asserting that there must be inherent common factors, which account for that success. Similarly, the domestic need for an evolving common 'Malaysian' culture is given assent, but what it is and when it will arrive remains usefully vague and undefined. Its construction poses no less a challenge than the charting of commonalities in today's diverse global village. The question for all will be whether there is sufficient commonality of thought and purpose to allow for constructive partnership.

Despite an increasing complexity in Malaysian social and economic life, political and discursive power has become more

\textsuperscript{212} Note Dr Mahathir's comments in his speech 'Give developing world rightful place', NST, (13.3.95), p.14. For example: "only one western model is permitted"; "the UN should cease from continuing to be a place to discipline the developing world on the basis of a western model that 'one size fits all'".
and more centred in the person of the Prime Minister. Extensive patronage and executive prerogative powers wielded by the Malay elite over political and educational instruments (from schools to public image-making ceremonies) have secured their position. They attempt to lead the way though demonstrating personal sacrifice and commitment to the common cause. Their governments attempt to mould the characteristics of citizens so as to make them "disciplined" (read compliant and loyal) and of "good behaviour and morality".

Both institutional and knowledge structures and 'modernity' itself are now being scrutinised on the basis of a 'Malaysian' Islamic discourse. It is described as 'Malaysian' for it is very much a local product crafted by local influences, under the supervision of Malaysian leaders. They remain the intellectual and religious custodians and teachers, the givers of nama and wealth, and the guarantors of well-being. They represent one aspect of a claim to cultural distinctiveness in a nation, in which government (kerajaan) remains "the condition of having a Raja".

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213 Sociological study of changes in behaviour and attitude over time in response to educational and ideological initiatives would be needed to make a more objective assessment of the actual behaviour and thinking of Malaysian citizens.

214 The word in Malay for government is kerajaan. This literally means "the condition of having a Raja". This contrasts with the Indonesian word for government, which is pemerintah. The root of this word (perintah) means 'order' or 'command'. Thus, linguistically, Malaysian notions of government are still connected with the Rajas and Sultans, who were the essence of government in the past.
# APPENDIX

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APPENDIX I: The Rukunegara

Our nation, MALAYSIA, being dedicated -

to achieving a greater unity of all her peoples;
to maintaining a democratic way of life;
to creating a just society in which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably shared;
to ensuring a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural traditions;
to building a progressive society which shall be oriented to modern science and technology;

WE, her peoples, pledge our united efforts to attain these ends guided by these principles -

Belief in God
Loyalty to King and Country
Upholding the Constitution
Rule of Law
Good Behaviour and Morality

1. Islam is the official religion of the Federation. Other religions and beliefs may be practised in peace and harmony and there shall be no discrimination against any citizen on the ground of religion.
2. The loyalty that is expected of every citizen is that he must be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty the Yang di Pertuan Agong ...
3. It is the duty of a citizen to respect and appreciate the letter, the spirit and the historical background of the Constitution. This historical background led to such provisions as those regarding the position of ... the Rulers, the position of Islam as the official religion, the position of Malays and other Natives, the legitimate interests of the other communities, and the conferment of citizenship. It is the sacred duty of a citizen to defend and uphold the Constitution.
4. Justice is founded upon the rule of law. Every citizen is equal before the law. Fundamental liberties are guaranteed to all citizens. These include liberty of the person, equal protection of the law, freedom of religion, rights of property and protection against banishment. The Constitution confers on a citizen the right of free speech, assembly and association and this right may be enjoyed freely subject only to limitations imposed by law.
5. Individuals and groups shall conduct their affairs in such manner as not to violate any of the accepted canons of behaviour which is arrogant or offensive to the sensitivities of any other group. No citizen should question the loyalty of another citizen on the ground that he belongs to a particular community.

APPENDIX II: National Education Philosophy

Education in Malaysia is an on-going effort towards further developing the potential of individuals in a holistic and integrated manner, so as to produce individuals who are intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically balanced and harmonious, based on a firm belief in and devotion to God. Such an effort is designed to produce Malaysian citizens who are knowledgeable and competent, who possess high moral standards, and who are responsible and capable of achieving a high level of personal well-being as well as being able to contribute to the harmony and betterment of the society and the nation at large.


Pendidikan di Malaysia adalah suatu usaha berterusan ke arah mengembangkan potensi individu secara menyeluruh dan bersepadu untuk mewujudkan insan yang seimbang dan harmonis dari segi intelek, rohani, emosi dan jasmani berdasarkan kepercayaan dan kepatuhan kepada Tuhan. Usaha ini adalah bagi melahirkan rakyat Malaysia yang berilmu pengetahuan, berketrampilan, berakhlak mulia, bertanggungjawab, dan berkeupayaan mencapai kesejahteraan diri serta memberikan sumbangan terhadap keharmonian dan kemakmuran masyarakat dan negara.

APPENDIX III: Structure of Malaysian Education System

*PRIMARY Education (General in nature; automatic promotion; continuous internal assessment; free but not compulsory) (6 years, ages 6-13; Standards 1 to 6; English - a compulsory subject)

i) National Schools (Malay Medium)
ii) National Type Primary Schools (Chinese, Tamil Medium)

(Ujian Pencapaian Sekolah Rendah (UPSR) conducted in Standard Six - NTPS (C/T) pupils with good results in this exam may bypass the Remove Class and go directly to Form 1)

*LOWER SECONDARY Education (Comprehensive, Academic stream; automatic promotion)

(REMOVE CLASS for NTPS(C) and NTPS(T) students - 1 year, age 12; Malay medium)

National Secondary Schools (3 years, ages 12/13 to 14/15; Forms I to III) (Malay medium)

Penilaian Menengah Rendah (PMR) - formerly Sijil Rendah Pelajaran (SRP) or Lower Certificate of Education (LCE) Examination

*UPPER SECONDARY Education (Malay Medium)

i) Normal (Academic) Secondary Schools (2 years, ages 15/16 to 16/17; Forms IV-V; divided into Arts, Science streams; also includes Fully Residential Schools, Science Secondary Schools and MARA Junior Science Colleges)
ii) Technical Secondary Schools
iii) Vocational Secondary Schools (to be upgraded into technical schools by 1998)

Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (SPM) or (Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia Vokasional (SPMV) & Sijil Kemahiran Malaysia (SKM)- the Malaysia Certificate of Education (MCE) Examination (or Malaysia Certificate of Education (Vocational) Examination (MCE(V) - to be phased out by 1998) (Sijil Pelajaran Agama Malaysia (SPAM) to be introduced in 1999 for students intending to further studies at Al-Azhar and Alexandria Universities in Egypt)
*FORM SIX Education* (Malay medium) (2 years, ages 17/18 to 18/19) (Science or Arts streams with some exposure to both streams)

*Sijil Tinggi Persekolahan Malaysia (STPM) or Higher School Certificate (HSC) Examination*

*UNIVERSITY and COLLEGE Education* (Ages 19/20 and above)

i) Universities (4 years - to be reduced to 3 years with 1996 student intake; medicine to stay at 5 years)\(^1\)

ii) Technical Colleges (Polytechnics - Ungku Omar Polytechnic in Ipoh (1969), Polytechnic in Kuantan (1976); MARA Institute of Technology - once training centre under RIDA(1954), became MARA College(1965), then MARA Institute of Technology (1967); Tunku Abdul Rahman College (1969); Note: as of March 1995, there were seven polytechnics with three more to be built under the Sixth Malaysia Plan and a further three under the Seventh Malaysia Plan)\(^2\)

iii) Teacher Training Colleges (3 year course since 1979 - previously 2 years) (In 1977 a college for teachers of Islamic Religion established)

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\(^1\) Shorter varsity courses: Study period will be cut by one year to meet manpower needs', *NST*, (17.8.95), p.1.

\(^2\) Firms get RM276m contracts to build two polytechnics', *NST*, (21.3.95), p.14.
APPENDIX IV: Ministerial Office Holders

a) Prime Minister

1981 to present  Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad
1976-81  Dato' Hussein bin Onn
1959; Sept. 1970-1976  Tun Abdul Razak

b) Deputy Prime Minister

1991 to Present  Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim
1986-1991  Tun Abdul Ghafar Baba
1981- 26.2.86  Datuk Musa bin Hitam
1976-81  Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad
13.8.73-76  Datuk Hussein Onn
1970-73  Tun Dato' (Dr) Ismail bin Dato' Abdul Rahman
1957-1970  Tun Abdul Razak

c) Ministers of Education

(1943-1945)  Tunku Abdul Rahman
1955-1957  Tun Abdul Razak bin Haji Hussein
1962-1964  Hj. Abdul Hamid Khan
1970-1973  Datuk Hussein bin Onn
1973-1974  En. Haji Mohamad bin Yaakob
1974-1978  Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad
1978-1981  Datuk Musa bin Hitam
1981-1984; 1991-1995  Dato' Dr Haji Sulaiman bin Haji Daud
1984-1986  Datuk Abdullah bin Haji Ahmad Badawi
1986-1991  Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim
1995-  Dato' Seri Haji Mohd. Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak

Finance Minister

1991 to present  Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim
1984-91  Abdul Daim bin Haji Zainuddin
5.3.76-84  Tengku Tan Sri Razaleigh Hamzah
1974-76  Datuk Hussein Onn
1970-73  Tun Tan Siew Sin

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APPENDIX V: Personal Profiles of Prime Ministers


TABLE 2: Personal Profile: Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj (Father of Malaysia)

Born: 8.2.1903 at Alor Star, Kedah (7th of 13) (Died: 6.12.90)
Father: Sultan Abdul Hamid Halim Shah, 24th Ruler of Kedah (45 children in all)
Mother: Makche Menjelara (6th of 8 wives), daughter of Luang Naraborirak, a Shan Chieftain from Thailand
Wife: Meriam (Siamese Chinese) (deceased) (2 children) Violet Coulson (English) (divorced)
Sharifah Rodziah (m. 1939) (a number of adopted children)

Education:
- B.A. in history, St Catherine's College, Cambridge Uni, UK (1923-1926)
- Barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, London (1946-1948)

Career:
- Served as Assistant District Officer, Kulim (1931); Assistant District Officer, Sungei Patani (1932); District Officer in Kuala Nerang (1934); Langkawi (1934); Sungeu Patani (1936); Kulim (1937); and deputy public prosecutor (1949-1951) before entering politics
- President of UMNO (1951)
- Chief Minister & Minister of Home Affairs (1955-1957)
- Malaysia's First PM (1957-Sep 70); Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Sec-Gen, Islamic Secretariat, Jeddah (1971-74)
- President PERKIM & RISEAP (Stepped down 6.9.88)

Affiliations:
Chancellor University of Malaysia
TABLE 3: Personal Profile: Tun Abdul Razak bin Dato’ Hussein (Father of Development)

Born: 11.3.1922 at Pulau Keladi, Pekan, Pahang (eldest of 2 children) (Died: 14.1.76)
Father: Dato' Hussein bin Mohd. Taib (Pahang Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar)
Mother: Fatimah
Married: Tun Hajjah Rahah (5 children)

Education
- Early education in a Malay kampong school
- entered the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar (1934)
- Awarded scholarship to Raffles College, Singapore (1940)
- Education interrupted by Japanese Occupation - served as a Captain in the Malaysian Resistance Movement Wataniah Force 136
- Awarded scholarship to study law at Lincoln's Inn, England (1947); passing the Bar final in April, 1949 after less than 18 months

Career
- Called to the Bar (May 1950);
- After his Father's death he inherited his father's title of Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar (Aug. 1950)
- Returned to Malaysia & became State Secretary of Pahang; becoming Mentri Besar 3 years later
- Elected UMNO Youth President (1950)
- Appointed to Federal Council (Feb. 1951)
- Education Minister (9.8.55)
- A member of the Merdeka Mission to London (Jan. 1956)
- Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence (After Merdeka 31.8.57)
- Briefly Prime Minister and Foreign Minister when the Tunku resigned to prepare and lead the Alliance Party in the country's first post-independence General Election (1959)
- Minister of National and Rural Dev't (1959-1969)
- set up National Operations Room (Sept.1961)
- Director of National Operations Council (1969-1971)
- PM (21.9.70-14.1.76)

Affiliations: Chancellor Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
TABLE 4: Personal Profile: Datuk Hussein Onn

Born: 12.2.22 in Johore (Died: 28.5.90)
Father: Datuk Onn bin Jaafar
Married: Toh Puan Datin Suhaila (daughter of Tan Sri Mohd. Noah bin Omar, first Speaker of Parliament) (6 children)

Education:
- English College, Johore Baru
- Military Academy, Dehra Dunn, India (1940)
- Barrister-at-Law, Lincoln's Inn, London (1958)

Career:
- Army Officer, Johore Military Forces
- Served in the Indian Army - the 19th Hyderabad Regiment & in intelligence at the New Delhi Army HQ, Rawalpindi, India
- Instructor, Malayan Police Recruiting & Training Centre
- Commandant, Police Depot, Johore Baru
- Promoted to Captain
- Left the Army & joined the Malayan Admin Service (1949)
- Ass't District Officer, Kuala Selangor & Klang (1950)
- Practised as a Barrister in Skrine & Co.
- Elected as MP for Johore Bharu Timur in 1969
- Minister of Education (23.9.70-1973)
- Elected Vice-Pres, UMNO (1972)
- Elected Dep-Pres, UMNO (8.8.73)
- Dep. PM & Minister of Trade & Industry (13.8.73-76)
- Acting Pres UMNO (Jan76-Sep 78) following Tun Razak's death
- Elected UMNO Pres 15.9.78
- PM (15.1.76-1981); Minister of Federal Territory
- Adviser to PETRONAS

Affiliations:
- Patron of the Royal Asiatic Society
- President of the Malaysian Association for the Blind
- President of International Islamic University (stepped down 1.7.88)
TABLE 5: Personal Profile:
Dato’ Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad

Born: 20.12.25 at Alor Star, Kedah (youngest of 9 children)
Father: Encik Mohamad Iskander (appointed in 1908 as the first
Malay headmaster of an English language school in Kedah)
Mother: Cik Wan Tempawan binti Cik Wan Hanapi
Married: (m. 5.8.56) Datin Seri Dr Siti Hasmah bte Haji
Mohamed Ali (7 children including 3 adopted)

Education:
- Malay School, Seberang Perak, Alor Setar
- Sultan Abdul Hamid College, Alor Setar (then the Government
  English School)
- MBBS, University of Malaya, Singapore (1947-52)
- Seminar on International Affairs, Harvard Uni, USA, under
  tutelage of Dr Henry Kissinger (1967)
- FRCP (Ireland)

Career:
- Served as Houseman, Penang General Hospital (1953)
- Medical Officer, General Hospitals in Alor Setar,
  Pulau Langkawi & Perlis (1954-57)
- Resigned from Gov’t Service to enter private practice & set up
  MAHA Clinic (1957) - first Malay private medical clinic in
  Alor Setar
- Started his political career in 1945 & joined UMNO in 1946
- Elected MP for Kota Setar Selatan in 1964; lost 1969; for
  Kubang Pasu in 1974 (and since).
- Member, UMNO Supreme Council (1965-69)
- Expelled from UMNO 1969; (returned to medical practice in
  Kedah and wrote Malay Dilemma); readmitted 1972 and
  elected to UMNO Supreme Council
- Appointed Member of Dewan Negara (Senate) (1973-74)
- Chairman, FIMA (1973)
- Minister of Education (6.9.74-1977) & Cabinet Member
- UMNO Vice-President (1975-Sept.78)
- Deputy PM (5.3.76-9.7.81)
- Minister of Trade & Industry (1.1.78-9.7.81)
- Deputy President, UMNO (15.9.78-25.6.81)
- Represented PM at Heads of the Islamic Nations Conference
  (Jan.1981)
- President UMNO (since 26.6.81)
- PM (since 10.7.81) & Minister of Home Affairs
- Chaired Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in
  Vienna (June, 1987)
- Coronary By-pass Operation (24.1.89)
- Chaired International Conference on Indo-Chinese Refugees in Geneva (13&14.6.89)
- Hosted CHOOGM in K.L. 1989

Affiliations:
- President, St John’s Ambulance Association, Kedah
- First Chairman of Higher Education Council (1968) - influenced development of universities and institutions after 1969
- Member, Higher Education Advisory Council (1972)
- Member of the University Court and the University of Malaya Council (Apr. 1974)
- Chairman, Universiti Kebangsaan Council (1974)
- Chairman, Malaysia Commonwealth Studies Centre at University of Cambridge (1995)
TABLE 6: Personal Profile: Dato' Seri Anwar Ibrahim

Born: 10.8.47 at Cherok Tok Kun, Bukit Mertajam, Penang
Father: Haji Ibrahim bin Abdul Rahman (a former Member of Parliament and Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Health (1964-69))
Mother: Che Yan Hussain (Wanita UMNO chief for Seberang Perai (1961-67))
Married: Datin Seri Dr Wan Azizah bte Dato' Dr Wan Ismail (6 children)

Education:
- Sekolah Kebangsaan, Cerok Tokkan
- Stowell School (where he received his early religious education)
- Malay College, Kuala Kangsar
- BA(Hons) in Malay Studies, Uni of Malaya (1967-71)

Career:
- President, National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students (1968)
- Founded Muslim Islamic Youth Movement (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia - ABIM) (6.8.71); President until 1972.
- At Tun Razak's request represented Malaysia at a UN International Youth Seminar; helped to found Yayasan Anda Akademik and served as its first principal and as Chairman of the Board (1971)
- Secretary of Malaysian Youth Council (1972)
- Selected as member of the UN Advisory Group on Youth (1973)
- Re-elected ABIM President (1974)
- Arrested and detained under ISA following University of Malaya student demonstration about rural poverty (1974-1976)
- Resigned as ABIM President; contested (and won) April General Elections as UMNO candidate in Permatang Pauh constituency (part of his father's old constituency Seberang Perai Tengah (1959-1969)) (April 1982)
- Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department responsible for Islamic affairs incl. establishment of an Islamic Bank; International Islamic Youth Centre; International Islamic University (1982-3)
- Elected UMNO Youth President (Sept. 1982-87)
- Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports Minister (June 1983-84)
- Minister of Agriculture Minister (1984-86)
- Elected as UMNO Vice-President 23.4.87; Nov. 1990.
- Deputy President UMNO (Nov. 1993 to present)
- **Minister of Finance** (since March 1991)
- **Deputy Prime Minister** (since 1.12.93)

**Affiliations:**
- President, Malay Language Society, Uni Malaya (1968-69)
- C'tee Member, Asian Youth Council (1971)
- Member, World Assembly of Youth (1973)
- Board Member, Federal Land Consolidation & Rehabilitation Authority (1971-74)
- Member, National Youth Consultative C'tee (1972-76)
- President, Malaysian Youth Council (1972-76)
- Chairman, Advisory C'tee to UN Secretary on Youth Affairs (1972-76)
- C'tee Member, Int'l Islamic Federation of Student Organisation (IIFSO) for Asian & Pacific Region (1977-80)
- Member, Board of Trustees, IIFSO (1984)
- C'tee Member, World Assembly of Muslim Youth for Asia & Pacific Region (1976-82)
- C'tee Member, Int'l Islamic Thought (1981-82)
- C'tee Member, Int'l Islamic Council (1981-84)
- Member, Islamic Consultative Body Malaysia (since 1982)
- C'tee Member, Int'l Islamic Charitable Foundation (since 1982)
- Member (since 1986) & Chairman (1989-91), SE Asian Ministers of Education Council
- UNESCO Executive Board Member (1987-90)
- Member, Board of Trustees, Intellectual Studies Foundation (since 1987)
- C'tee Member, The World Council of Mosques
- President, International Islamic University (since 1988)
- Member, Board of Trustees, Institute for Policy Studies (since 1988)
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