

Chapter 4

Building 1Malaysia

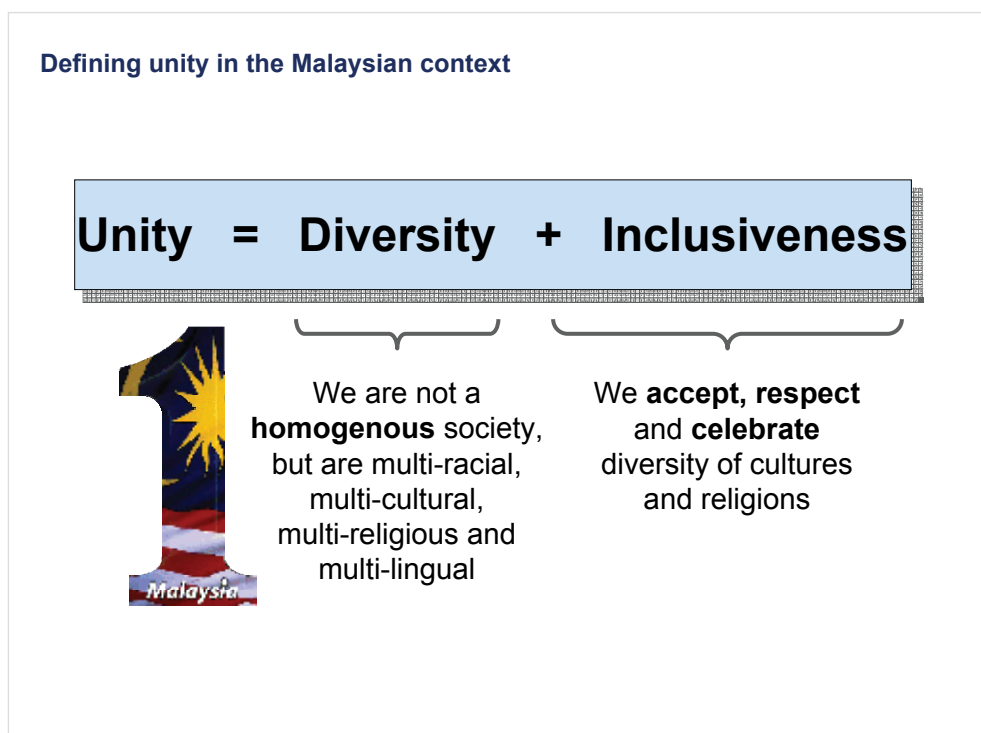


“It is important that we first acknowledge the tremendous progress that we, as a nation, have made in creating a more united and inclusive Malaysia. Nevertheless more needs to be done, and it is my belief that Malaysians have reached the level of maturity necessary to discuss some of the tougher issues we face. These issues often do not have a solution and represent polarities that require compromises to be made by all parties. All Malaysians have an opinion on what is needed to build *1Malaysia*. Often these opinions differ. However, they are based on a common underlying objective of making Malaysia a greater and more resilient nation. We are committed to staying the course to strengthen *1Malaysia* and transform the nation.”

(Dato' Sri Mohd Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak, Prime Minister)

Creating oneness or unity within a multi-religious and multi-cultural nation is challenging. Some countries with plural societies have adopted the concept of full assimilation to forge or even force a single national identity. Malaysia, on the other hand, has chosen a different route – that of unity in diversity and inclusiveness, while ensuring fairness to all. Anchored in our Constitution, this concept means that we embrace a diversity of ethnicity, religions and beliefs and, by being inclusive, build mutual respect and acceptance into a solid foundation of trust and cohesiveness. This has historically been the path that we have taken as a nation and is now encapsulated by the principle of *1Malaysia* (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1



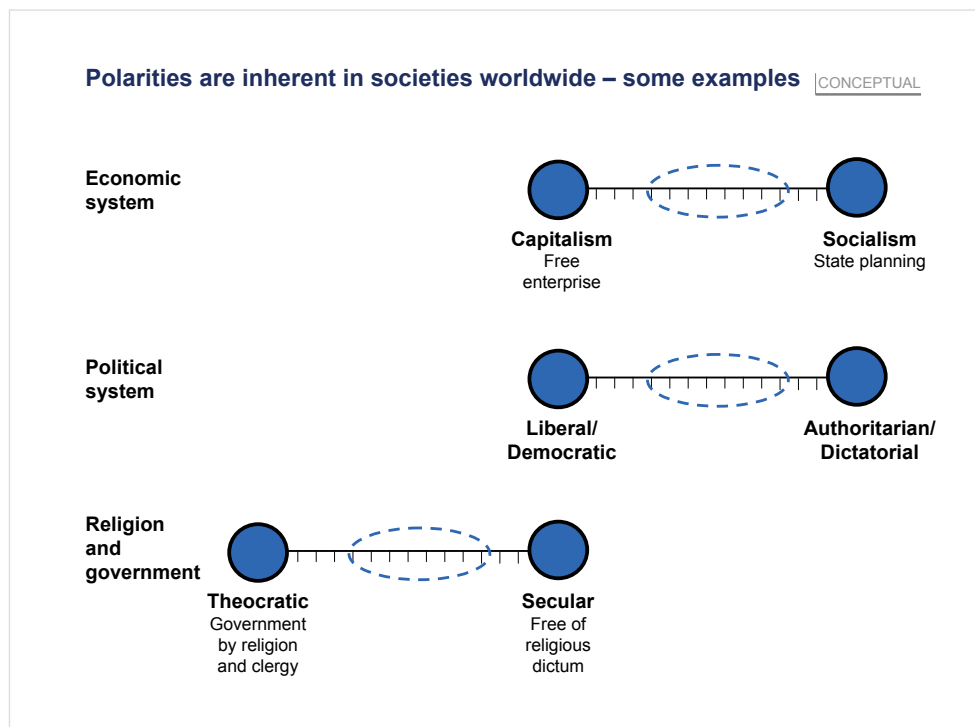
Our mission of unity is not merely for the sake of harmony and good relations, but is critical to building a productive and competitive Malaysia and achieving Vision 2020. While our path to Vision 2020 may be difficult, we trust that the benefits will be greater given the richer resultant cultural diversity and competitive advantage this approach engenders.

4.1 Managing polarity by embracing inclusiveness

Inherent in every human society or relationship are polarities, and even more so in a plural society. A polarity is the existence of two views, conditions or demands that are opposite to each other. Unlike a technical or mechanical problem that can have a simple, straightforward solution, a polarity usually requires a trade-off that needs to be managed, and managed well. As a simple analogy, take the tension between cost and quality. A very cheap product that disintegrates is useless; similarly, a high quality product that is unaffordable is irrelevant to most people. Therefore in designing and manufacturing products, cost and quality must be balanced, and that optimal mix will vary with each product and will evolve over time.

Polarities in society are far more complex, involving divergent views on the economic and political systems, the role of religion in government, etc. Examples are illustrated in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2



A well managed polarity is one where the benefits of both extremes are maximised while the disadvantages are minimised. An optimal situation or zone of inclusiveness needs to be defined between the two poles to balance the needs of the opposing ends. Achieving this balance is critical. Therefore, to effectively manage polarity, we must first accept the existence of tension and then try to manage it.

There are two polar approaches to the multi-cultural context of Malaysia: assimilation and segregation. Assimilation advocates adoption, sometimes in the form of forced imposition, of the dominant culture or even religion by other communities. This is the route chosen by some countries. On the other hand, segregation arises through the assertion of cultural self-preservation and self-determination by each community to firmly and fully maintain its culture in a separate and compartmentalised manner, sometimes without interaction with others.

“It is not uncommon for young Malaysians to grow to adolescence cocooned in their specific ethnic socio-cultural environments, be they Malay, Chinese or Indian. This happens partly because of the barriers created by significantly different languages and religious traditions, partly because different ethnic groups live in segregated physical locations.... The end result of all this is the thickening of barriers, creating ethnic insulation and segregation at the individual level.”

Prof Datuk Dr Shamsul A.B., Founding director, Institute of Ethnic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. “Managing a ‘Stable tension’: Ethnic Relations in Malaysia Re-examined” in Readings on Development: Malaysia 2057 (2009)

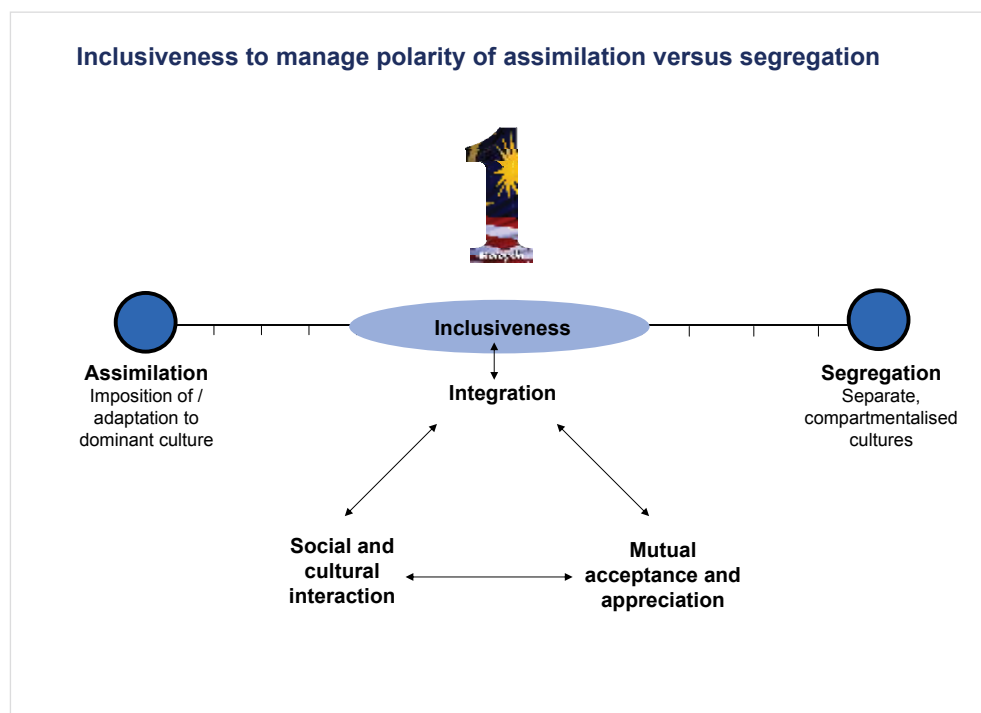
Ethnic insulation and segregation can also occur at the group and community levels. In fact, the forces for disparate socio-cultural and religious communities to move further apart, instead of come closer together, remain very real even today, after 52 years of independence.

“In recent decades...our communities seem to have grown apart. Our schools have become less diverse and our communities more polarised. Religious practice has taken on less tolerant interpretations”

Dato’ Sri Mohd Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak, Prime Minister. Speech to the Asia 21 Young Leaders Summit, 20 November 2009

It is therefore imperative to constantly manage the polarity between assimilation and segregation by enlarging the common ground in between, by promoting integration through inclusiveness, guided by the spirit and principles in the Federal Constitution, Rukun Negara, Vision 2020, National Mission and 1Malaysia (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3



“Malaysian diversity is not dissolvable in a melting pot, and the challenge of our living together will not yield to a single, once for all, solution...we have resisted cultural assimilation in favour of pragmatic bridge-building and power sharing. We have relied on good sense to make compromises and come to accord on specifics. At our best we have preferred growing our unity organically, beginning from where we are, rather than forcing down schemes conceived at the top”

Dato' Sri Mohd Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak, Prime Minister. Speech to the Asia 21 Young Leaders Summit, 20 November 2009

By embracing inclusiveness, compared to other multi-racial and multi-religious countries, Malaysia has been able to sustain relative peace and harmony. However, there are occasions when divergent views and differences in perception and interpretation result in conflict. This is exacerbated when issues of contention involve religion, language and culture, all of which can become highly emotive and explosive. Fortunately, few such conflicts have resulted in bloodshed.

The challenge of sustaining harmony and unity remains real and relevant. Hence the need to continually remind ourselves of the challenge and to constantly renew and nurture the sense of oneness and the unity of purpose, as enunciated in *1Malaysia*.

“*1Malaysia* essentially stresses social harmony irrespective of religion, race or political ideology, and prioritises economic productivity.

... these ideas are in line with a more moderate and inclusive position on nation-building...

Politically and socially, the common thread that has run through all nation-building efforts in post-Independence Malaya, then in modern Malaysia, has been the challenge of creating a united nation from the country's disparate ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and the integration of Sabah and Sarawak...”

Tun Musa Hitam, Deputy Prime Minister 1981–86. “The Challenge of Managing Change Inside and Outside Malaysia” in *Readings on Development: Malaysia 2057* (2009)

4.2 Foundations of nationhood as the basis for *1Malaysia*

1Malaysia is built upon the foundations of our Federal Constitution, various laws and policies, the Rukun Negara, Vision 2020, the National Mission and our own view of unity and fairness.

“Our foundation is the principle of fairness for all races, meaning that the fortunes of all races will be championed, and none will be marginalised. This fairness must account for the different levels of development of the different races, where such differences exist. Therefore, government policies and constitutional provisions that provide support for groups that need support will be continued.”

1Malaysia Concept Paper, published by the Prime Minister's Office, 2009

- **Federal Constitution:** *1Malaysia* is anchored in the Federal Constitution, the supreme law of the land, formulated by the top leaders of the three major communities, led by our first Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al Haj, also known as the Father of Independence. A framework based on parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy, the Federal Constitution has been generally successful in arriving at a large enough zone of inclusiveness to manage the polarities of race, religion and region within Malaysia. It provides

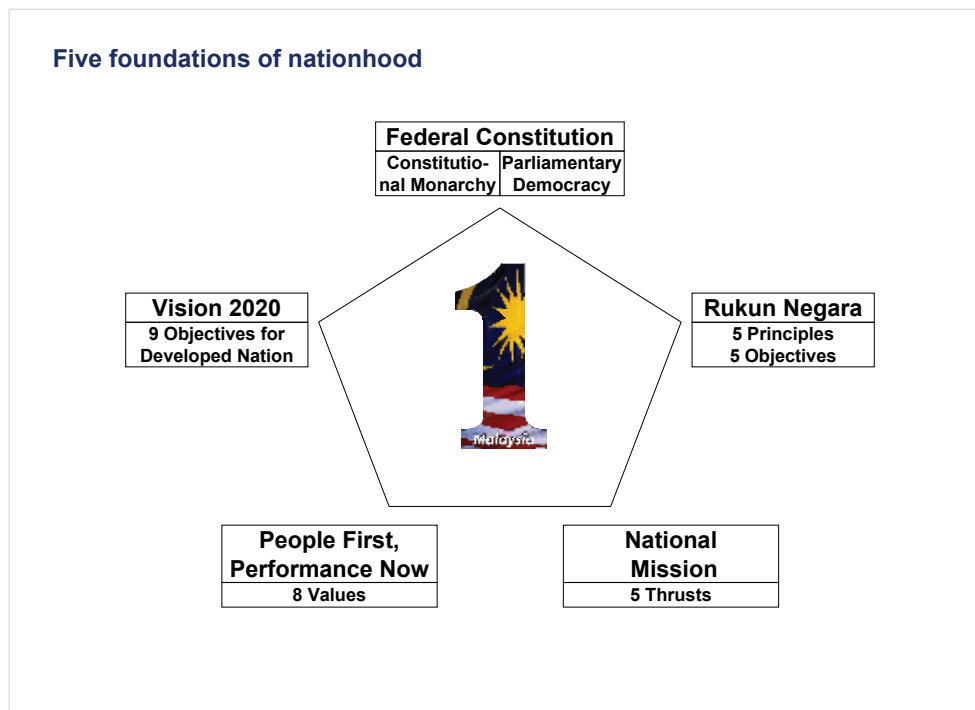
for equality of all Malaysians before the law, guarantees fundamental liberties and basic rights and prohibits discrimination based on religion, race, descent or region. At the same time, it also safeguards, through the rulers, the special positions of the Malays and natives in Sabah and Sarawak with provisions for reservations in land, recruitment into public services, issuing of permits or licences for certain businesses and scholarships and other forms of educational aid, while safeguarding the legitimate interests of other communities. Various provisions of the Constitution must be understood and interpreted in totality, and not in isolation.

- **Rukun Negara:** Formulated by the National Operations Council led by our second Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, also known as the Father of Development, in the aftermath of the racial riots of May 1969, the Rukun Negara states that our nation is dedicated to achieving greater unity, to preserving a democratic way of life, to creating a just society with equitable sharing of wealth, to guaranteeing a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural traditions and to building a progressive society based on science and technology. To achieve these five objectives, we committed to five tenets, namely, belief in God, loyalty to King and country, the supremacy of the constitution, the rule of law and courtesy and morality. Since then, the Rukun Negara has served as a unifying philosophy for the nation, having been rigorously promoted by our third Prime Minister, Tun Hussein Onn who was also known as the Father of Unity.
- **Vision 2020:** Formulated and promulgated in 1991 by our fourth Prime Minister, Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad, also known as the Father of Modernisation, Vision 2020 set the targets for Malaysia to become an advanced nation by year 2020, economically, politically, socially, spiritually, psychologically and culturally through achieving nine objectives as detailed in chapter 2 (section 2.1).
- **National Mission:** Formulated in 2006 in conjunction with the announcement of the Ninth Malaysia Plan and the 15-year National Mission towards the year 2020, by our fifth Prime Minister Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, the National Mission emphasises five basic thrusts, namely to move the economy up the value chain, to raise the capacity for knowledge and innovation and nurture 'first class' mentality, to address persistent socio-economic inequalities constructively and productively, to improve the standard and sustainability of quality of life and to strengthen the nation's institutional and implementation capacity.
- **1Malaysia** is also premised on the following basic ideas, commitment and moral and aspirational values.
 - **Unity in diversity and inclusiveness:** *1Malaysia* is fostered through inclusiveness, not mere tolerance or respect. This means accepting diversity amongst ethnic groups, embracing the unique qualities each group brings and capitalising on this diversity as a competitive asset for the nation. It is through true inclusiveness that we can build a foundation of trust and cohesiveness.
 - **Social justice:** No group should be marginalised on account of any element of its background, be it ethnic, religious, political, geographical or socio-economic. *1Malaysia* compels the Government to provide support and opportunities to all Malaysians on the basis of individual need and merit while taking into account the differing levels of development amongst groups.
 - **The 1Malaysia moral and aspirational values expounded by the Prime Minister:** These are basic human, moral and aspirational values which have formed the foundation of *1Malaysia*. They include a culture of excellence, perseverance, acceptance, education, integrity, wisdom, humility and loyalty.

- **People First, Performance Now:** These are the twin commitments of the Government under *1Malaysia*. The people come first in all policies and projects, and the NKRAs and MKRAs have been identified accordingly. Emphasis on *Performance Now* will ensure delivery of big results fast and positive outcomes for the people.

These five foundations for nationhood must be understood and accepted in their respective totality and in combination (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4



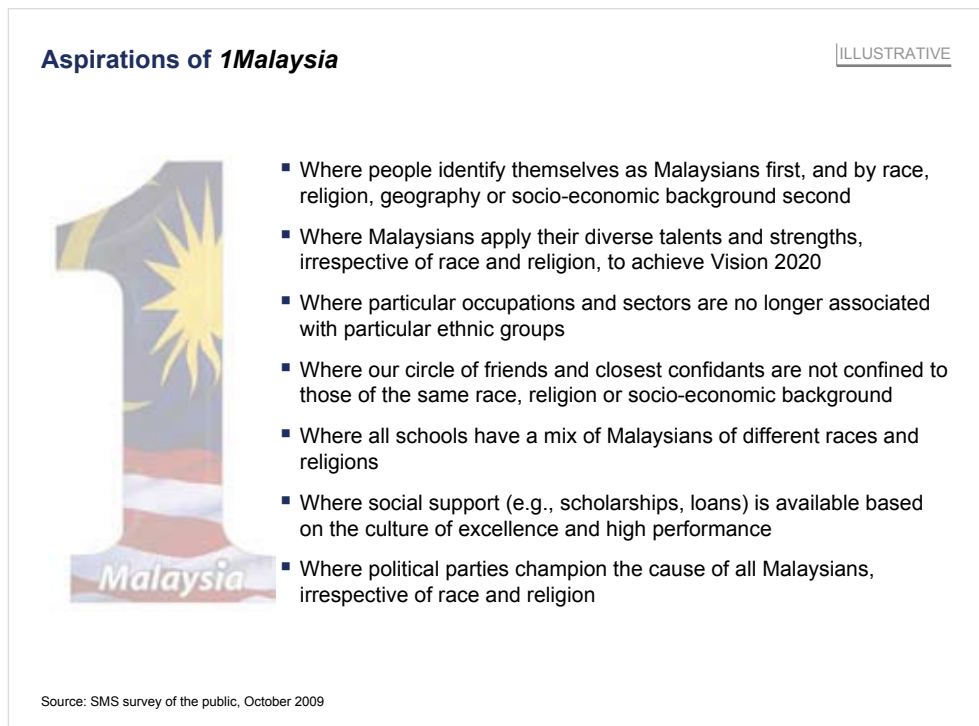
4.3 Aspirations for *1Malaysia*

The goal of *1Malaysia* is to make Malaysia more vibrant, more productive and more competitive – and ultimately a greater nation: a nation where, it is hoped, every Malaysian perceives himself or herself as Malaysian first, and by race, religion, geographical region or socio-economic background second, and where the principles of *1Malaysia* are woven into the economic, political and social fabric of society. Such a goal is envisioned both in the Constitution (discussed above) as well as in the aspirations of Vision 2020 (discussed in Chapter 2).

Malaysians have different views of the ideal *1Malaysia* and the steps required to get us there. Therefore, in October 2009, we reached out to 17 million mobile phone users via SMS, to obtain the rakyat's views on what could be done to achieve *1Malaysia*. We received more than 70,000 responses. We also took on board comments presented to us during the Open Days in Kuala Lumpur, Kuching and Kota Kinabalu. In addition, we studied the rakyat's suggestions received through other channels, e.g., via post, e-mail and the GTP website.

As expected, these perspectives were diverse: There were some who argued for retaining the status quo, but a sizeable proportion would like to see drastic change. We have synthesised the responses to illustrate what could potentially be an ideal Malaysia acceptable to most Malaysians (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5



While *1Malaysia* is our aspiration, we cannot just leapfrog from where we are today to our desired end state. Getting there will take time and careful adjustments to maintain the peace and harmony that we have developed since the birth of our nation. Also, delivering *1Malaysia* will not just be the responsibility of the Government; it calls for the creativity and spirit of volunteerism of all Malaysians to make it happen. We will not get there overnight, we might not even get there by 2020, but, God willing, we will get there.

In fact, a glimpse of the future is already here in Sabah and Sarawak, which have been heralded as the role models for unity, harmony and opportunity. Here, people of more than 60 ethnicities and just as many dialects live together and mingle daily. Political, economic and social opportunities are widely available to all, regardless of ethnic, religious, geographical or socio-economic background.

Indeed, the Prime Minister, in his personal statement on Malaysia Day (16 September) 2009, attested to Sabah and Sarawak being testaments of the *1Malaysia* ideal that the country should aspire to:

“Sabah and Sarawak...are vibrant examples of how Malaysians of different racial, religious and ethnic roots can come together...The story of Sabah and Sarawak is the story of *1Malaysia*... They are a testament to the fact that our differences unite this country, and that the true power of Malaysia is revealed when Malaysians of all races, religions and ethnicities live in harmony with one another...In fact, I have concluded that the people had already adopted the values of *1Malaysia* long before I explained its various elements...Malaysians of any race or creed need simply look to Sabah and Sarawak to gain an understanding of the incredibly strong and harmonious unity that can be found in accepting and respecting the diversity of our nation.”

Sabah and Sarawak as vibrant examples of *1Malaysia*

Perspectives of Sabah and Sarawak add colour as to why and how such a harmonious situation has come about:

- “In many villages, people of different ethnicities and religions live together. Even mosques and churches are built side by side”
- “Most political parties count a mix of Malays, other indigenous groups, Muslims and Christians among their ranks”
- “Politicians do not play the race card and are reluctant to hurt the feelings of others”
- “We (Sabah) have had chief ministers and governors of various ethnicities, including Chinese, Kadazan, Bajau and Murut”
- “I am a Muslim but most of my good friends in school were Christians”
- “Inter-ethnic marriages are on the rise so it is often difficult to tell the ethnic background of people you meet”
- “All of us eat together in the same food stalls, and at the same tables, regardless of race or religion”



Sabah and Sarawak however are not without their share of issues and challenges. Despite considerable natural resources, the distribution of wealth is uneven and their incidence of poverty is the highest in the country. Further, basic infrastructure is still lacking in most areas. These issues need to be solved; Chapter 9 on raising living standards of low-income households and Chapter 10 on improving rural basic infrastructure elaborate on our plans.

4.4 Delivering six NKRA's for greater inclusiveness and unity

The diversity and complexity of our country means that we have to manage multiple issues simultaneously. Many of the issues that we grapple with as a nation – and which the rakyat have identified as important – are in fact polarities, such as between rich and poor, between young and old and across religions, races and regions.

As outlined in Section 3.3, the six NKRA's are reducing crime, fighting corruption, improving student outcomes, raising living standards of low-income households, improving rural basic infrastructure and improving urban public transport. These are a beginning to managing some of our nation's complex polarities. The NKRA's are elaborated in Chapters 6 to 11 respectively.

Identified and formulated based on public feedback, these six NKRA's are meant for all Malaysians and cut across race, religion and region. Four of them – education, low-income households, rural basic infrastructure and urban public transportation – target the needs of the lower income and disadvantaged groups. Incidence of poverty and lack of infrastructure are more prominent amongst Malays, Sabah and Sarawak Bumiputeras, Indians and Orang Asli, though not exclusively so. By delivering on these NKRA's, we will reduce existing disparities, which in turn should

mitigate legitimate feelings of relative deprivation that may sometimes turn into discontent that is perceived and expressed in racial terms.

Moreover, the concerted effort to deliver positive results in the six NKRA will motivate, mobilise and galvanise active participation and effective contribution from government officials, the private sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the rakyat. This will in turn nurture a greater sense of unity in purpose and bring people closer together.

The contribution to social harmony, national unity, integration – and ultimately 1Malaysia – by the successful delivery of positive outcomes in the six NKRA can be summarised as follows:

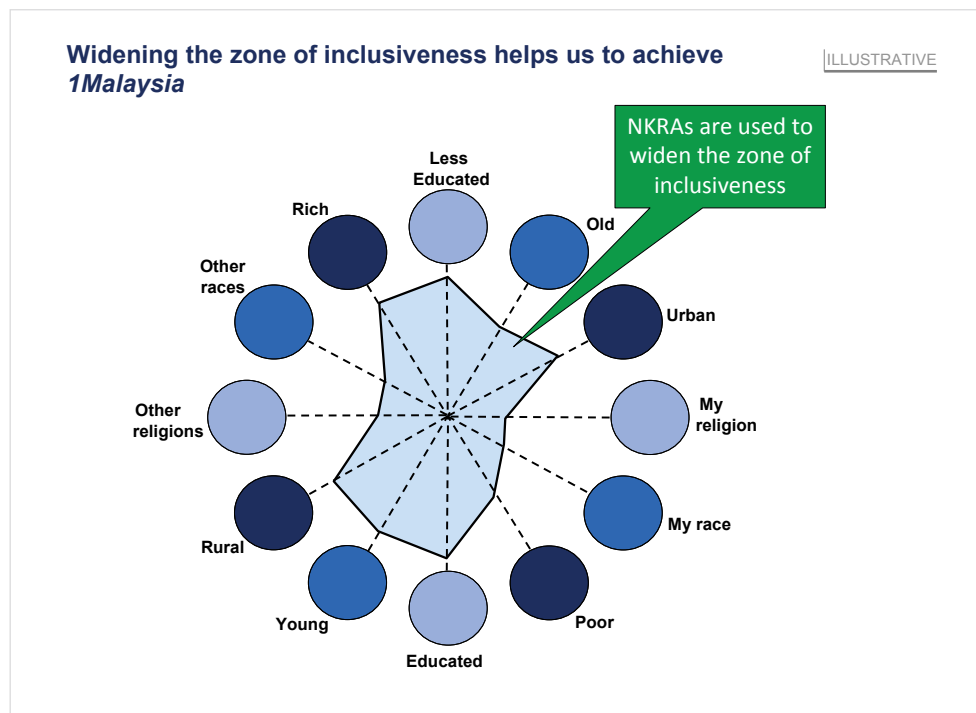
1. **Reducing crime** – The incidence of crime cuts across race and religion, although crime rates are generally higher in lower and middle income neighbourhoods. However, in some instances where the criminals are from one race and victims from another, the perception of crime being racially motivated cannot be totally avoided. Moreover, the fact that the police force is predominantly Malay may also fuel race-based perceptions. Therefore, a concerted effort to further improve the quality, effectiveness and welfare of the police force, to galvanise participation by all in cooperating with the police to fight crime and to heighten consciousness about issues and factors affecting crime will contribute positively to the breaking down of racial stereotyping and negative perception – and ultimately contribute to national unity.
2. **Fighting corruption** – As in crime, corruption is not a race or religion based issue. Many mono-ethnic countries grapple with even more serious corruption problems. However, the fact that an overwhelming majority of government officials are Bumiputeras, and wealth and power is concentrated in elite groups, does occasionally give rise to race-based prejudices and perceptions. Therefore, a determined campaign to fight corruption by installing a more effective system, mechanism and procedures and involving more open and transparent public feedback channels will ameliorate negative perceptions and contribute to national unity.
3. **Improving student outcomes** – The NKRA on education aims to address the existing gaps in performance amongst students from different geographical and social backgrounds. At present more than one third of our children do not receive any form of pre-school education. There is disparity between rural and urban areas and amongst states, for example, only 65% of children attend pre-school in Kelantan, compared to almost 100% in Penang, with stark differences in quality as well. There is also a vast disparity in the performance of schools. Such disparities affect mainly the poorer groups, irrespective of race. Through the commitment to increase pre-school enrollment to 87% within two years and to raise student outcomes across the whole school system, such disparities can be addressed over time. Moreover, a better-educated and better-informed populace will be less susceptible to prejudice and racial sentiments.
4. **Raising living standards of low-income households** – Although absolute income levels have improved over the years, relative poverty is still a major phenomenon affecting many, especially in the context of rising costs and severe economic dislocations due to the global economic crisis. There are still more than 200,000 households that live on less than RM 750 a month, and many urban households with incomes of RM 2,000–3,000 a month find it difficult to make ends meet. Therefore a concerted effort to provide a more effective social safety net for the poor and disadvantaged and to provide opportunities and incentives for business and entrepreneurship will go a long way towards mitigating this disparity and the polarity between the rich and

the poor. The objective is to ensure that no one is left behind – irrespective of race or religion – as we continue to grow as a nation.

5. **Improving rural basic infrastructure** – While most states in Peninsular Malaysia have achieved nearly 90% coverage in amenities like water supply, Sabah and Sarawak record only 57%. Moreover, Sabah and Sarawak (and some parts of rural Peninsular Malaysia) are lagging in the provision of basic infrastructure such as roads and rural housing. By focusing on rural basic infrastructure as a priority, such disparities can be effectively addressed and the gaps between Peninsular Malaysia and Sabah and Sarawak significantly reduced. This will no doubt contribute to a greater sense of belonging amongst the people of Sabah and Sarawak, and hence improve national integration.
6. **Improving urban public transport** – The poor state of public transportation distresses the low and middle income groups in urban areas such as Kuala Lumpur and Klang Valley and levies a sizeable financial burden. Addressing this pressing need and implementing measures to increase reliability, comfort, convenience, accessibility and connectivity will help reduce travel time and encourage a shift away from private transport. This in turn will encourage greater interaction amongst different segments of the population (at least during the daily commute) and also remove a major source of urban discontent.

The outcomes targeted by the six NKRA's will contribute towards widening the zones of inclusiveness across various polarities as shown in Figure 4.6. Beyond these six areas, there are additional polarities we need to manage, which are discussed in Section 4.5.

Figure 4.6



Being inclusive and striving for unity in diversity is a necessary step, as that will be the only way for us to reduce the tension of various polarities and truly harness the synergies of our diversity – and continuously increase the competitiveness of our nation – all with the ultimate goal of achieving Vision 2020.

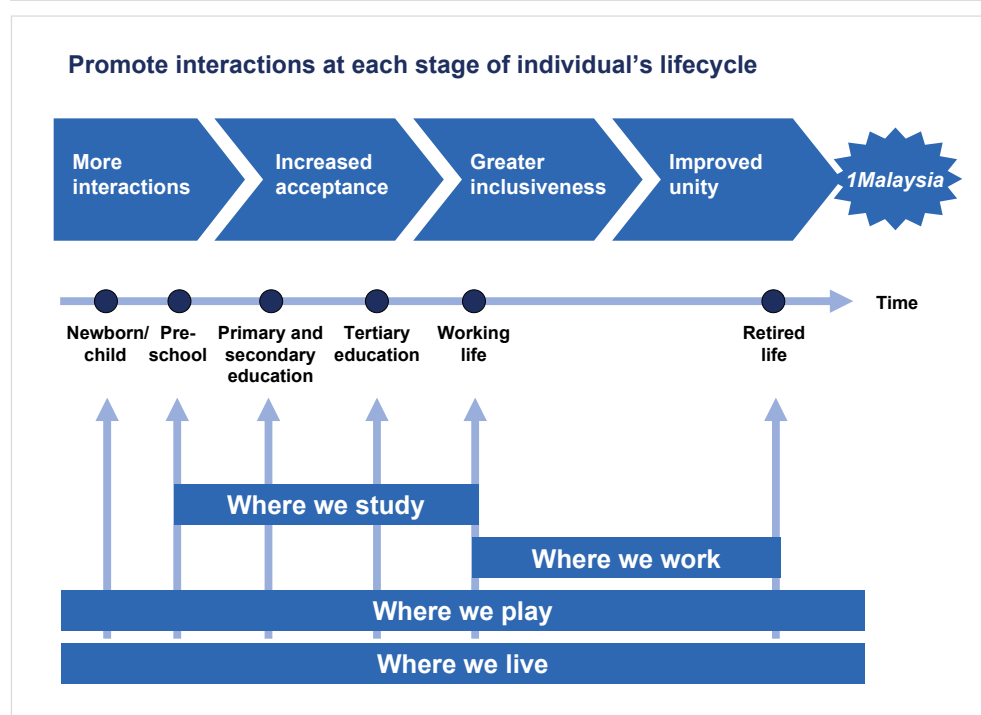
4.5 Initiatives specifically targeted to achieve 1Malaysia

To generate additional initiatives and design action plans to achieve the ideals of 1Malaysia, we convened a 1Malaysia Lab in October and November 2009. Representatives from the private sector, civil service, academia and NGOs were invited to participate in or give input to the lab. The lab also sought the views of opinion shapers and personalities representing a range of views, through interviews, focus groups and roundtable discussions with nearly 100 people. It also reached out to student leaders through roadshows involving 4,000 students from 30 institutes of higher learning.

To ensure that the initiatives we created would be as inclusive and representative of the rakyat as possible, the lab solicited input from the wider rakyat through public surveys, Open Days, focus groups, mobile SMS and websites.

In developing initiatives, our intent is to promote more interactions amongst different segments of Malaysian society at all stages of a person's lifecycle – across the spectrum of living, studying, working and playing together shown in Figure 4.7. Our premise is that more interactions amongst different segments of Malaysian society will encourage greater acceptance and celebration of diversity, which in turn should enhance inclusiveness and ultimately improve unity. Unless we proactively intervene to encourage interactions and a 1Malaysia mindset across a person's lifecycle, the default is that the barriers and divisions that currently prevail will continue.

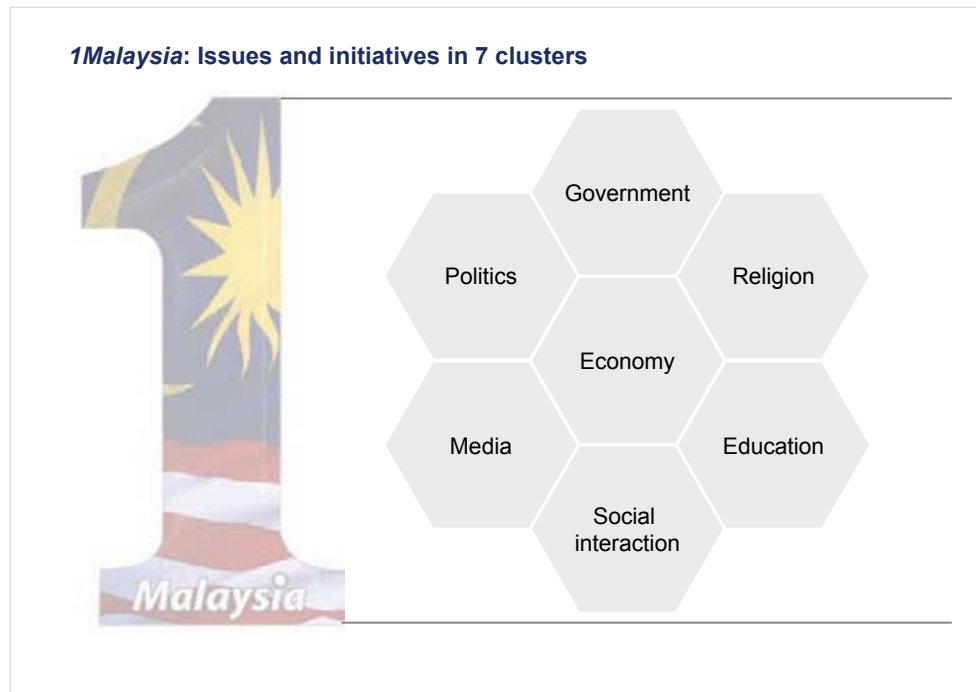
Figure 4.7



Working together in the lab, we identified many issues and initiatives relating to unity and clustered them (Figure 4.8). Some of these issues and ideas for initiatives were recommended by the rakyat and then discussed by the 1Malaysia Lab. It must be pointed out that many are already implemented programmes that need to be reviewed, while others are proposals that need to be considered for implementation by various ministries and agencies. The list of initiatives is not comprehensive or exhaustive.

Below we discuss briefly the various existing programmes and new initiatives to promote unity in accordance with the seven clusters identified.

Figure 4.8



4.5.1 The economy and national unity under *1Malaysia*

Poverty and inter-ethnic disparity in economic participation and wealth distribution were identified as the key causes of Malaysia's inter-ethnic tensions and strife and social-political instability in the late 1960s. Accordingly, this socio-economic consideration has formed the basis for the formulation and vigorous implementation of the NEP since 1971.

While the NEP (1971–1990) evolved into the NDP, 1991–2000) and then into the NVP, 2001–2010), the basic two prongs remained: eradicating poverty and restructuring society. Now, nearly 40 years later, it is time to objectively appraise the situation, especially in the context of different and evolving global and local environments.

The NEP's first prong, eradicating poverty irrespective of race, is largely achieved, with the poverty rate reduced from over 50% in 1957 to less than 3.6% today. Various targeted schemes, e.g., FELDA, and economic growth through industrialisation have provided employment and raised the standard of living for many – if not all – Malaysians. Economic growth has also fueled urbanisation, which brought households of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds to live together in new housing schemes.

The NEP's second prong, the restructuring of society in terms of economic participation and wealth ownership has also achieved considerable progress, especially in increasing the number and percentage of Bumiputera professionals. Further, the proportion of Bumiputera equity in the corporate sector increased from 2% in 1970 to 19% in 1990, and the overall size of the economy grew considerably in that timeframe and also in the last 20 years (1991–2009).

However, despite continuous increase in absolute terms since 1990, the Bumiputera equity proportion has remained stagnant. In fact, as noted by the Prime Minister in July 2009, of the RM 54 billion shares allotted to date, only RM 2 billion has

remained in the hands of Bumiputeras. He concluded that regulations and rulings by the Foreign Investment Committee (FIC) were ineffective. Hence, he announced the establishment of a new vehicle with more creative and effective measures, Ekuiti Nasional Berhad (EKUINAS), a private equity fund to drive Bumiputera participation in high growth areas.

At the same time, some aspects in the implementation of the NEP have led to certain unintended results, including the emergence of a “two-speed economy” described recently by former Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Musa Hitam, in the following manner:

“...what has developed now is a two-speed economy where one sector, driven by market forces, has moved ahead while the other continues to lag and remains dependent for its survival on government subsidies and patronage.

We must now begin to pay heed to questions as to whether our redistributive economic policies are indeed holding us back competitively compared with the rest of the world. Race-based economic policies do not sit well with the realities of globalisation and free trade. Malaysia must find a way to create a race-neutral space within itself and find the correct formulae to harness the qualities necessary to compete on a global level”

(Tun Musa Hitam. “The Challenge of Managing Change Inside and Outside Malaysia” in Readings on Development: Malaysia 2057 (2009))

Another unintended outcome of the NEP was a sense of deprivation, discrimination and even resentment felt by the non-Bumiputeras, which was attributed to the over-zealous attitude and approach in implementation by some officers in certain agencies. There has also been a widening of the income gap within the Bumiputera community, leading to rising discontent amongst certain segments of that community.

These factors have pushed many Malaysians, especially professionals, to work and reside overseas, in economically more advanced countries with attractive pull factors such as higher income, wider exposure and opportunities, better quality of life and education for their children. Many have chosen to settle permanently, and there are signs that this brain drain has become increasingly serious.

It is imperative that these issues of a two-speed economy, widening inequality, rising discontent and increasing brain drain be addressed, as not only is our economy’s competitiveness, stability and sustainability at stake, but continued widening and rising disparities will jeopardise national unity.

Some initial steps have already been taken. Together with the establishment of EKUINAS, the financial sector and 27 service sub-sectors were liberalised. More creative initiatives are being formulated as part of the New Economic Model and are expected to be announced in the first quarter of 2010.

On the other hand, we must actively explore and exploit the positive factors inherent in our Malaysian society. One such factor is our diversity.

“...a key objective of my administration to make every Malaysian understand and accept our diversity as a blessing: a source not just of cultural vitality but also of economic advantage... Today, as China and India rise again to their historical levels of global economic prominence... Malaysia, sitting astride the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, is poised to rediscover itself at the nexus of regional trade flows. We are a trading country with the DNA of the Islamic Middle East, China, India and the Malay Archipelago, sitting at the geographical nexus of these worlds.”

(Dato' Sri Mohd Najib bin Tun Haji Abdul Razak, Prime Minister. Speech to the Asia 21 Young Leaders Summit, 20 November 2009)

Proposed ideas, based on discussion in the lab and feedback from various sources, specifically to promote more effective inter-ethnic collaboration and unity in the economic arena, include the following:

- a. Formulating a more focused and effective strategy to leverage the diverse linguistic capabilities, cultural connections and religious affiliations of Malaysians to further explore and harness economic opportunities in the emerging markets of China, India and Islamic countries.
- b. Forging genuine collaboration and participation in business enterprises for external and domestic markets, focusing on products and services that leverage our diversity such as Islamic financing, halal products, herbal supplements and traditional health products.
- c. Formulating a more effective brain gain strategy and providing a more conducive environment to attract talented people, both Malaysians and non-Malaysians, to contribute to the various fields of our knowledge-based economy.
- d. Connecting with and convincing Malaysian diaspora to invest in Malaysia or to help market Malaysian products and services in their respective countries of residence.
- e. Prohibiting discrimination based on racial attributes or linguistic capabilities in recruitment advertisements.

4.5.2 Education and national unity under *1Malaysia*

The education system reflects cultural and linguistic diversity, especially at the primary level. Based on the Education Act 1961 and subsequently the new Education Act 1996, there are various streams using different media of instruction across the primary, secondary and tertiary levels (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9

Formal Education System and Media of Instruction			
Tertiary	Public Universities and Institutes of Higher Learning (IHLs) Bahasa Malaysia as main medium, English for science, technology		Private IHLs English as medium
Secondary	National Secondary Schools (SMK) Bahasa Malaysia as medium		Independent and Private Schools ¹
Primary	National Schools (SK) Bahasa Malaysia as medium	National-type (SJK)	
		Chinese as medium (SJKC)	Tamil as medium (SJKT)

¹ Including Chinese Independent Schools, private religious schools

Students are therefore able to learn using their respective mother tongues or community/family languages, while a common curriculum and syllabus content is leveraged to build national identity and a sense of patriotism. In addition, Bahasa Malaysia is compulsory in the Chinese and Tamil primary schools, while English is compulsory for all. At the secondary level, most students in all three streams will go into national secondary schools (SMK), while there are some Chinese independent schools, Islamic religious schools (with emphasis on the learning of the Quran and Arabic language) and private Bahasa Malaysia-English bilingual schools, which account for less than 15% of the age cohort.

As a result, the education system has produced students with diverse linguistic capabilities (Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese, English, Tamil, Arabic), thus enabling Malaysians to communicate and explore learning and business opportunities in the key markets of the world – China, India, Islamic countries and the West. This multilingual capability has been and will continue to be a comparative advantage of Malaysians, which if properly enhanced and harnessed, will augment Malaysia's position as a major trading nation of the world. However, the challenge is how to further improve the command and competency of each of these crucial languages, especially as for most students, it is not easy to master multilingualism.

While multiple streams at the primary level allow linguistic and cultural transmission of the three major communities, the fact remains that students of different races tend to remain segregated even at the secondary and tertiary levels. Therefore, there is a need for continued effort and new initiatives to promote integration within the formal education system.

Some initial steps have already been taken and those will be supplemented with new ideas, including:

- Upgrading the quality of national schools to be the schools of choice for all students (irrespective of race or religion) in terms of excellence in teaching and learning, with provision for vernacular or pupils' own language and a more multi-

inclusive atmosphere, as is the case for some of the premier mission schools in urban areas.

- b. More extensive and effective implementation of Rancangan Integrasi Murid-murid untuk Perpaduan (RIMUP) to promote interaction amongst SK and SJK students (section 4.5.3).
- c. Promoting of *1Malaysia* Boarding Schools by making present boarding schools more multiracial in student composition and setting up more high-quality boarding schools that are open to all.
- d. Awarding of national scholarships to top students, strictly based on merit, to study in top international universities, in addition to the various existing government scholarship schemes.
- e. Making private IHLs more multiracial in student composition by providing additional incentives and bursaries to Bumiputera students.
- f. Providing all teachers with knowledge, awareness and skills so as to be sensitive to the diverse background of students and to handle inter-ethnic relations in a positive and proactive manner.

4.5.3 Promoting *1Malaysia* social interactions

Several programmes and projects have been implemented to promote social integration amongst Malaysians, reflecting the Government's long-term commitment in the past few decades. They have achieved varying levels of results and therefore will need further enhancement upon more in-depth review. These include the following:

- a. **Rukun Tetangga (RT)**, which was introduced in 1975 as a group against anti-national sentiment, has since focused on promoting neighbourliness, assisting in neighbourhood watch for security and promoting various community, environmental, economic and socio-civic activities. There has been rapid expansion by almost 10% per annum in the past four years, with over 4,500 RT units throughout the country, mainly in urban and semi-urban housing schemes, involving more than 100,000 committee members and with annual participation exceeding 3 million person-events. Proposals for the future include providing more activities to further strengthen community networking and training leaders to acquire better communication and mediation skills.
- b. **Programme Latihan Khidmat Negara (PLKN)** or National Service Training Programme, introduced in December 2003, has involved over 400,000 youths of all ethnic, socio-economic and regional backgrounds in a three-month camping and social-work environment with generally positive outcomes. Proposals for the future include ways to further improve effectiveness of the programme in inculcating *esprit de corp*, expansion to involve more youths at any one time and even extension of the training period as well as formation of an Alumni PLKN to maintain networking and to channel alumni into Rukun Tetangga and RELA so that they can continue to play a positive and productive role in their adult lives.
- c. **Various programmes for sports, youth and women development that can contribute to greater integration amongst various communities.** Achievement by Malaysian athletes in the international sporting arena not only brings national glory but promotes a shared sense of pride, loyalty and unity. Sukan untuk Semua (Sports for All) programmes promote wider participation from different age groups within local communities. Various youth and women development programmes have also brought participants from various ethnic groups together

to work on common projects. Proposals for the future include how to make these programmes even more effective in attracting an even wider and more sustained participation, especially in leveraging new media that provides attractive options for entertainment and recreation.

- d. Various programmes under the Department of National Unity and Integration (JPNIN)** to promote awareness of the foundations of nationhood as well as goodwill, understanding and integration amongst people from Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak. Such programmes include student exchanges, homestays, workcamps, Rukun Negara clubs in secondary schools and Rukun Negara secretariats in IHLs. Proposals for the future include expansion and qualitative enhancement, especially in giving greater emphasis to the effective aspects of attitude change rather than mere cognitive learning of information and knowledge.
- e. RIMUP** or Student Integration Programmes for Unity, which was first introduced in 2006 to promote joint extra-curricular activities amongst students from national and national-type primary schools with the involvement of teachers and parents. Proposals for the future include a more effective and aggressive rollout of the programme to involve more schools and to harness the support of parent-teacher associations (PTAs), Rukun Tetangga and local NGOs, review of methodologies for more effective inculcation of positive outlook on various ethnic groups as well as the rollout of the e-Integrasi project which leverages the Internet and website games, leading to increased interaction.
- f. Programmes in arts and culture** including the promotion of joint presentations of dances and performing arts, especially related to cultural tourism (e.g., Homestay Programme, Tarian Cuti-cuti *1Malaysia* and Food Fabulous Food *1Malaysia*) under the tagline of Malaysia Truly Asia and in public and private functions, to highlight the rich and diverse cultural heritage of Malaysia and promote a sense of pride and belonging. Proposals for the future include multi-ethnic themes and storylines in theatre productions and musicals, promotion of Malaysian music incorporating traditional musical instruments of all ethnic groups and promotion of Malaysian writers to write fiction and non-fiction works in various languages for both domestic and international readership.

4.5.4 Managing religious and cultural polarities

Malaysians professing different religions are – and have been – living harmoniously and peacefully together. It is common to find places of worship of various religions near one another. This is the picture of multi-cultural and multi-religious Malaysia that has been the admiration and even envy of many other countries.

However, as Malaysians of different faiths closely interact at work, at school and in social settings, it is inevitable that misunderstandings and mishaps occur. Unfortunately, sometimes these are interpreted as being driven by race or religion. As emotions flare, such conflicts can exacerbate the differences in cultural and religious beliefs and practices. If not managed and mediated well, such disputes may snowball beyond individuals and become inter-group conflicts.

There are specific sensitive areas of concern that require further attention, for example, places of worship and issues arising out of inter-marriages. For these, continued efforts need to be made to expand the zone of inclusiveness such that acceptable mechanisms are in place to manage disputes.

- a. Places of worship** – While most places of worship are accepted in any particular location, there are some problems. For example, some Hindu shrines were not properly relocated when the plantations where they were originally situated were

developed into housing estates. Subsequent attempts to relocate such shrines can sometimes evoke objections by local residents when interpreted as a religious intrusion. However, this is usually an urban planning issue that requires prudent management by state and local authorities. Clear guiding principles and procedures should be formulated and mediation mechanisms put in place to resolve these issues – before they become disputes.

b. Issues arising out of inter-marriages – Most inter-marriages that require conversion of one spouse to the religion of the other are not controversial as both parties enter marriage willingly and with full knowledge and understanding of the consequences. However, in the case of a breakdown in the inter-marriage or unilateral conversion, family disputes may arise if not managed properly. These can, in turn, be dramatised and publicised as major inter-religious conflicts. Recent high-profile events include the following situations:

- i. The conversion by one spouse to Islam without informing his/her spouse and immediate family led to a dispute after death over the appropriate religious burial rite.
- ii. The conversion by one spouse to Islam without properly settling issues related to divorce, custody, inheritance and religious practices of children led to intense family disputes sensationalised in the media, causing inter-group tensions and conflicts.

Through the Cabinet and the Attorney-General's chambers, we have recently sought advice from the Malay Rulers, state Islamic religious councils and relevant NGOs, so that we can formulate guidelines and rulings, including amending relevant acts. Our objective is to ensure that any responsibilities being assumed are known by both the converting person and his/her non-converting family members, so that such disputes can be avoided.

It is important to acknowledge the potential risks of disputes arising out of the polarity of religion and culture. However, efforts must be made to promote better understanding and widen the zone of inclusiveness. Some proposed initiatives include:

- a. The formation of Consultative Panels on Social Harmony and National Unity at the federal and state levels to promote inter-ethnic and inter-faith understanding
- b. The set up of consultative panels at the district or even town or village level, working with Rukun Tetangga or Village Security and Development Committees (JKKK) to promote mutual understanding and unity
- c. Encouragement of participation by Malaysians of different faiths in community-based joint charity and welfare efforts to promote understanding and build working relationships based on the spirit of caring and compassion, which are the basic core values of all religions.

Instead of focusing only on potential differences and disputes, we should harness the multi-religious and multi-cultural society in Malaysia to our advantage. For example:

- a. To host and organise international forums for inter-faith and cross-cultural discourses, which can showcase how a fair and just government under a principally Muslim leadership (the Sultans and the Prime Minister) can manage a country with a multi-religious population in harmony

- b. To explore and exploit economic potential of new growth areas of Islamic financing, halal food and herbal health products
- c. To promote religious tourism to highlight the splendid architecture of mosques, temples and churches existing in harmony, as well as the colourful variety of festivals, rituals and traditions.

4.5.5 Towards a truly 1Malaysia government

Central to the commitments to *People First* and *Performance Now* is the further upgrading of the delivery efficiency of the Government administration and the civil service. This commitment cuts across racial, religious and regional barriers. Particular attention will be paid to ensure that the civil service becomes even more inclusive and is fully committed to practise the spirit of 1Malaysia. Initial steps have already been taken, for example, the set up of a federal-state task force to clarify the status of undocumented citizens in Sarawak and issue identity cards to confirmed citizens. Completely undocumented people will have their status clarified and their documents issued by 2011. All confirmed citizens without identity cards will be issued one by the end of 2010.

In addition, below is a selection of proposals to promote a truly 1Malaysia government:

- a. Ensure the promotion of the spirit of 1Malaysia, i.e., unity in diversity through inclusiveness to be a key commitment and hence a key component in the overall KPI of each and every ministry and public agency
- b. Adjust the ethnic mix of the civil service to be more representative of the population, in particular encouraging more Chinese and Indian people to join the civil service and upgrading officers of Bumiputera origins from Sabah and Sarawak.
- c. Ensure that all training programmes and courses, including those conducted by INTAN and Biro Tata Negara (BTN), fully promote the Rukun Negara objectives and tenets as well as the 1Malaysia spirit of inclusiveness and core values.
- d. Inculcate a broader and more inclusive outlook, attitude and behaviour amongst civil servants so that they are sensitive to diversity in cultures and customs and to the divergences of views and needs. In addition, they should be skilled to manage and mediate potential conflicts amongst people.
- e. Eliminate the requirement to mention race on government forms, except when it is for the purpose of census and statistics.

4.5.6 Promoting and practising all-inclusive 1Malaysia politics

Independence was won in 1957 through the unity of purpose forged by three race-based parties in the Alliance. In 1974, this tripartite coalition was further expanded to include other parties, some multi-racial in composition, to form the larger Barisan Nasional (BN). Working closely with the people, the Alliance and then the BN brought stability and prosperity to Malaysia for five decades.

Since 1990, there have been attempts by opposition parties, both multi-racial and religion-based, to form electoral pacts to counter the BN. In the 2008 General Elections, riding on waves of discontent, the opposition electoral pact of two multi-racial parties and one religion-based party managed to deny BN its traditional two-

thirds majority in Parliament and to form governments in five states, under the name of Pakatan Rakyat (PR).

Although both coalitions reflect and represent Malaysians from various races and religions, race and religion-based rhetoric still emerges from time to time from both coalitions. When amplified through the media, very negative sentiments are generated.

Therefore, in line with the *1Malaysia* spirit and in order for *1Malaysia* to be successful, there is an urgent need for:

- a. All political parties, whether race-based, religion-based or multi-racial, and all politicians to move towards more inclusive politics, emphasising the many common issues that affect all Malaysians and harnessing common universal values, rather than just amplifying the differences in race, religion and region.
- b. Every political leader to lead by example, by carrying messages of goodwill and understanding, discarding and dispelling racial stereotyping and utterances and mediating and seeking amicable solutions to disputes.
- c. Wherever possible, a politician should also ensure that administrative, political office and service centre staff (full-time and voluntary) reflect a multi-racial representation.

All political parties and politicians must promote and practise all-inclusive *1Malaysia* politics – the politics for all and by all. We must have the political will to move in this direction.

4.5.7 Promoting an all-inclusive *1Malaysia* media

Print and now electronic media in Malaysia have thrived in the four major languages, Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese, English and Tamil, while Kadazan-Dusun and Iban-Dayak supplements are included in some Bahasa Malaysia and English papers in Sabah and Sarawak.

By and large, while the English-language press caters to English-educated readers of all ethnic backgrounds, the Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese and Tamil papers tend to cater more to their respective ethnic communities. Therefore, there is a tendency for the media in each language to select and present news and to have editorials and articles which cater to, but also create, the demand and interest of its respective readership. On foreign news, the Bahasa Malaysia press tends to give more coverage to Islamic countries and communities, the Chinese press of China and the Chinese diaspora, the Tamil press of India and the Indian diaspora.

In many ways, the Malaysian media reflect and reinforce the diversity in Malaysia. The positive side of this phenomenon is that the various ethnic-cultural communities in Malaysia are well informed about and stay connected with the larger Muslim, Chinese, Indian and Western worlds. This has cultural and economic value that ultimately contributes to Malaysia's overall advantage.

On the other hand, if and when some of the reporting and writing becomes too ethno-centric or even takes on a more race-centred angle, then it will raise, rather than break down, barriers. Rather than promoting understanding and unity, it may have the opposite effect and impact.

Moreover, there is a concern that, instead of providing constructive and valid criticism, some writers abuse the greater freedom of expression now available to use terms and express feelings that are racist or inflammatory in nature and tone,

particularly in the electronic media, which can be easily and widely transmitted, thus provoking reactions and over-reactions amongst larger segments of society.

Therefore, while censorship is antithetical to democracy, there is a need to introduce, instil and internalise a commitment to journalistic professionalism, a sense of responsibility and self-restraint, with sensitivity to the divergent views and feelings of the diverse communities in Malaysia.

4.6 Proposed implementation approach

As issues relating to national unity, race and religion are sensitive and complex, it is important that we have an effective implementation approach and delivery structure, supported by research capabilities and a system to monitor the impact and effectiveness of various initiatives in delivering social harmony and national unity.

4.6.1 An evolutionary and phased strategy

We need to consider what the most appropriate strategy and approach is; should we adopt a revolutionary approach or an evolutionary approach?

A revolutionary approach attempts to push for high-risk, high-return ideas that would require fundamental changes to policies and societal structures. While these ideas aim to make breakthroughs over a short time frame, they would have significant downside risk if the underlying intent or measures were misunderstood or not accepted by certain groups of the rakyat.

An evolutionary approach involves more consensus-seeking but gradual change. While it may take longer to achieve a united and fair Malaysia, this approach would be less divisive and more likely to be accepted.

"Malaysia has...been in a state of 'stable tension', which means that we have been living in a society dominated by many contradictions but have managed most of them through a continuous process of consensus-seeking negotiation. Sometimes, the process itself is a solution"

Prof Datuk Dr Shamsul A.B. "Managing a 'stable tension': Ethnic Relations in Malaysia Re-examined" in Readings on Development: Malaysia 2057 (2009)

Mindful of Malaysia's historical development and the tensions underlying a revolutionary approach, we chose an evolutionary approach to achieve 1Malaysia. Ultimately, as we are dealing with polarities, the answers will not and cannot be simply black or white. Rather, they will involve mutual inclusiveness and an attitude of give and take. Malaysians will most likely meet somewhere in the middle on issues regarding fairness and unity, but may not be exactly in the middle on each and every individual issue.

4.6.2 Review of the delivery structure to promote unity

While many ministries and agencies have implemented programmes that contribute – either directly or indirectly – to national unity and social integration, the national unity portfolio falls under JPNIN within the Prime Minister's Department.

To date, the JPNIN has focused on the promotion and administration of Rukun Tetangga schemes and Tadika Perpaduan (Unity Kindergarten) classes throughout the country as well as the implementation of programmes and activities to promote

interaction amongst youth, women and senior citizens, and integration of the people of Sabah and Sarawak with those of Peninsular Malaysia. These are important activities that need to be further expanded and empowered.

However, there is an urgent need for a planning and coordination function to formulate strategies and policies for the entire government (across ministries and agencies), so as to more effectively implement programmes, encourage inter-ministerial collaboration in unity programmes and monitor the outcomes and impact of each and every initiative. In addition, there is also a need to promote more in-depth research on various aspects of inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations.

It is proposed that the JPNIN be restructured into two departments – a Jabatan Rukun Tetangga focused on promoting Rukun Tetangga, and a second new unit to be called Unit Perancangan Perpaduan dan Integrasi Nasional (UPPIN) under the Prime Minister's Department, that will focus on policy research and formulation, strategic planning and development, and monitoring and assessment of outcomes. The latter unit will serve as a central agency to support the Government and all ministries, similar to the EPU and ICU.

4.6.3 Research on national unity and social harmony

National unity and social harmony are both societal conditions and subjective perceptions that are not easily measured. Attempts to do so are often met with criticism. However, similar to corruption and other human and group behaviours, attempts have been – and should continue to be – made to more scientifically and systematically measure the situation in Malaysia and compare it to that in other countries or societies. At present, two indices are relevant for Malaysia:

- Global Peace Index (GPI), measured by the international organisation Vision for Humanity, compares 144 nations. It is a composite index based on 23 quantitative and qualitative indicators that measure ongoing domestic and international conflicts, societal safety and security and level of militarisation. In 2009, Malaysia moved from 38 to 26, ahead of Spain, France and the UK, but behind top-ranking New Zealand, Denmark, Norway and 14 other European countries, Canada, Australia, Japan and Singapore
- Societal Stress Index (SSI) for Malaysia monitored by the JPNIN measures the number (per million population per year) of inter-personal or group conflicts reported to the Malaysian police involving two or more ethnic or religious groups, plus the number of street demonstrations on issues of social conflict, and controversies involving race or religion being reported or debated in the media. The SSI for 2006, 2007 and 2008 were 17, 20 and 28 incidents per million respectively, in line with the increased public protests and expressions of discontent over the past three years.

While the SSI does not take into account public perception about the incidents it measures, it provides a basis for comparison over years. It also allows hot spots that need special attention and mediation efforts to be identified. Currently, the JPNIN uses this information to channel more resources to these hot spots for Rukun Tetangga and the training of Rukun Tetangga and community leaders in mediation skills.

We realise and recognise that more research and surveys are required to obtain a more comprehensive picture of issues involving race and religion as well as the perception and reaction of diverse groups to such issues and incidents. Consequently, the JPNIN has stepped up its working relationship with university

researchers and is sponsoring more research and study projects, in particular with the Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA) of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

4.7 The new era of 1Malaysia

Achieving national unity has been and will continue to be the most important mission for Malaysia and Malaysians. It is an ongoing and perhaps never-ending mission requiring significant commitment. *1Malaysia* has provided a renewed sense of direction and purpose, a new breath of inspiration and a heightened aspiration. New outlooks and new ideas are emerging. Creativity has been unleashed, but this is only the beginning.

We, the Government, are determined and dedicated to promoting the *1Malaysia* mission together with the people. The various initiatives proposed above (both existing and new) are meant to forge greater understanding and unity amongst all Malaysians, now and in the future. These *1Malaysia* initiatives together with the successful implementation of the New Economic Model and delivery of results in the NKRAs and MKRAs will usher in a new era of *1Malaysia*.

Indeed we have no other choice but to transform the Government, to achieve tangible results fast and to transform Malaysia. Not doing so entails too many significant risks: our economy's competitiveness and investment will continue to decline, we will lose jobs and talent, our income will fall, our livelihoods, standard and quality of life will deteriorate; our social fabric will be strained; our inter-ethnic harmony, stability and security will be threatened.

On the other hand, if we can work closely together, firm and focused in our resolution and endeavour, we not only relieve the many irritants of the rakyat but also bring significant gains for all.

The new era of *1Malaysia* will see the realisation of:

(i) a **thriving and modern economy** that is

- highly competitive and productive and able to achieve high incomes for all, instead of being caught in the middle-income trap
- attractive to talent and investors, both international and domestic, reversing the present brain drain and capital flight trend
- well-connected to all the major markets of the world and well-diversified in all major economic sectors
- inclusive and well-integrated, with meaningful, fruitful, effective and positive participation from all ethnic and social groups, without anyone being left out
- equitable and fair, with a stable, striving and strong high-income middle class without widening and glaring socio-economic disparities

(ii) an **integrated and united society** that is

- confident in the nation's shared destiny, and committed to *1Malaysia*, based on the foundations of nationhood
- inclusive and liberal in its approach to its rich and diverse cultural heritage, rather than being exclusive, divisive and close-minded

- morally strong with enlightened belief in and mutual respect for the great religions being practiced, within the constitutional framework
- caring and sharing, with volunteerism and charity being a major commitment of individuals and corporate bodies
- safe and secure for all, where crime rates are amongst the lowest in the world

(iii) a **competent and committed government** that is

- highly effective and efficient in delivering results and benefits to the people and the nation
- responsive to and responsible for the needs of all individuals and all groups, irrespective of colour and creed
- representative of all races, religions and regions in its civil service composition, and inclusive in its approach, projecting the face of a truly *1Malaysia* government promoting understanding and unity amongst the people
- receptive and open to new ideas and constructive criticisms, willing to change and transform, and to be creative and innovative
- clean, transparent and accountable, with corruption, malpractices and abuse of power well under control and reduced to a minimum

While the *1Malaysia* Lab – with inputs from Cabinet, leaders from the private and public sectors, academics, NGOs and rakyat – was able to outline key issues and make preliminary proposals, much more needs to be done. Therefore we welcome constructive criticism and creative contributions from all Malaysians. Let us all build *1Malaysia* together, and move forward into the new era of *1Malaysia*.



