

(English Translation below)

**Umno sebuah parti yang telah sekian lama berjasa.**

Umno ditubuhkan pada tahun 1946 untuk membela hak orang-orang dan Raja-raja Melayu. Ia telah membentuk pakatan untuk menyatukan rakyat Malaya demi mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957. Pada tahun 1963, pemimpin Umno, Al-marhum Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, menyuarakan visi yang lagi berani, iaitu penubuhan Malaysia di mana, pada 16 September, beliau mengisytiharkan adalah hasil “perbincangan, perbahasan, pertanyaan dan pemilihan yang melahirkan keizinan bersama” dan yang “diputuskan setelah difikirkan secara mendalam”.

Beliau menyuarakan rasa bangganya bagaimana “kita telah membentuk Malaysia melalui perdebatan secara terbuka dan bertolak ansur. Semangat kerjasama ini membuktikan keinginan kita hidup bersama.” Semangat inilah yang beliau namakan “asas Malaysia” yang bagaikan “petanda masa depan kita”.

Malaya dan Malaysia merupakan hasil visi yang dilaksanakan dengan pertimbangan yang penuh kesabaran.

Pemimpin-pemimpin Umno menyuarakan visi ini, serta meyakinkan orang ramai, dan mengikat perlembagaan negara baru ini selama berbulan-bulan. “Langkah demi langkah, konsep ini mula bernyawa.” Perbincangan perlembagaan diteruskan walaupun menghadapi pemberontakan komunis serta konfrontasi dengan negara jiran, tambahan pula semasa Perang Dingin berlangsung.

Walaupun bagaimanapun, Tunku mengakui kejayaan kerana “konsep ideal Malaysia berjaya membangkitkan imaginasi rakyat kita”.

Beginilah Umno, pada mulanya, mencapai misinya sebagai parti orang Melayu serta parti

sebuah negara. Beginilah Umno membela kedaulatan Raja-raja Melayu dan mencapai kecemerlangan kepimpinan politik Melayu. Kerana kami berjaya “membangkitkan imaginasi” rakyat Malaysia.

Kami mempunyai keyakinan dan kepimpinan yang diperlukan untuk melahirkan negara baru, bukan sekali bahkan dua kali. Walaupun peluang pendidikan amat kekurangan bagi anak-anak Melayu pada masa itu, namun negara kita mempunyai pemimpin-pemimpin bermutu tinggi yang mampu menyatukan masyarakat majmuk dalam menyuarakan visi ini dengan penuh keyakinan dan berasaskan kedaulatan undang-undang.

Bandingkanlah sendiri visi kita lima puluh tahun dahulu, dan bagaimana kita mengenal pasti serta menyelesaikan masalah walaupun menghadapi ancaman keselamatan yang serius, dengan kelakuan kita sekarang – mengapi-apikan pelbagai ‘ancaman’ yang dibuat-buat sementara cabaran yang benar dan serius seperti pendidikan dan ekonomi negara tidak diambil berat.

‘Pencapaian’ Umno terkini merupakan perampasan kuasa dengan pelbagai tipu helah dari sebuah kerajaan negeri yang ditubuhkan secara demokratik. Perbuatan itu menyebabkan orang ramai berpendapat Umno parti yang terdesak dan bukan parti yang berkeyakinan.

Bezakan betapa luasnya dunia kita dahulu, dengan kesempitan fikiran yang kini semakin menonjol.

Dengan kepimpinan yang sedia ada sekarang, Umno tiada harapan lagi. Masalahnya ialah pemimpin-pemimpin Umno sendiri, yang telah menstruktur, menindas dan membeli parti ini supaya mereka tidak dapat digantikan oleh ahli-ahli yang benar-benar ingin berbakti memimpin.

Tiada parti lain yang kini mampu melakukan tugas yang pernah dilakukan oleh Umno, dan masih perlu dilakukan sekarang.

## **UMNO: Then and Now**

Umno is a party with great deeds to its name.

Umno was founded in 1946 to defend the rights of the Malays and the Rulers. It formed an alliance to unite the people of Malaya in working out and achieving our independence in 1957. In 1963, Umno's leader, Al-marhum Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, worked out an even bolder vision, the formation of Malaysia, which on Sept 16, he proclaimed, had been "decided upon after much care and thought," the fruit of "mutual consent by debate and discussion, inquiries and elections"

He declared his pride in the way "we have created Malaysia through friendly argument and compromise. The spirit of co-operation and concord is living proof of the desire we share for a common destiny." This spirit he called the very "basis of Malaysia" and its "augury for the future."

Malaya and Malaysia were achievements of vision executed by patient deliberation. Umno's leadership articulated that vision, won others over to it, and helped forge the constitutional underpinnings for a new nation in negotiations over many months. "Step by step the concept came to life." Constitutional discussions were pursued in the teeth of an internal communist insurgency, violent confrontation with neighbouring countries determined to frustrate the union, and under the cloud of the Cold War.

Nevertheless, Tunku said, we succeeded "because the ideal of Malaysia caught the imagination of all the peoples concerned."

This, in its youth, was how Umno realized its mission of being the party of the Malays and the party of the nation. This is how Umno protected the sovereignty of the Malay rulers, and achieved the eminence of Malay political leadership. We were able to "catch the imagination" of all the peoples.

## **UMNO: Dahulu dan Sekarang / UMNO: Then and Now**

Written by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah  
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We had the confidence and leadership to envision a new nation not once but twice and to bring it to birth. Despite there being far fewer educational opportunities for young Malays in those days, we had the calibre of leaders to articulate this vision, draw diverse communities into it, and to found it on the rule of law. We had the confidence to unite people under a vision of the common good.

Contrast the breadth of vision we had fifty years ago, and our method of naming and solving our problems then, even in the face of serious threats to our security, with how we conduct ourselves now, having surrounded ourselves with self-made threats while real challenges such as education and the economy go begging.

Umno's most recent achievement has been to wrest power by underhanded means from a democratically-elected state government. In doing so we came across as the party of the desperate, not the confident.

Contrast the broad field we ranged over, with the narrow stage we now strut before a shrinking audience.

Today's Umno, under its present leadership, is probably beyond reform. Our leaders are the problem, and they have structured the party, bullied and bought it, so that they cannot be replaced by those who would lead to serve.

But no other party can do what Umno once did, and must do again.