
The History of Collaboration among the Pluralistic Society of Malaysia

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Abstract

This article discusses highlights on the beginning of the collaboration between the prominent races in Malaysia from a historical perspective. It focusses on looking at some of the aspects of the cooperative relationship built on the interests of all races. Among the early interactions in the construction of this pluralistic relations are in relation to the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, Article 153 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, citizenship, and political and Alliance claims. The method used was historical approaches and literature reviews. The findings conclude that the collective agreement established through the social contract had successfully created a plural society, harmonising the relationship between different ethnicities and prospering the lives of all Malaysians.

INTRODUCTION

The highlight of the history of cooperation among the different races that exists in Malaysia can be seen in various forms of relationships established. Among them are in relation to the Federal Constitution, Article 153 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia which relates to the rights of Malays and bumiputera privileges, citizenship status and political and Alliance rights claims. The harmonious relationship between the Malay-Chinese communities changed dramatically following the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Malaya. The Malays were influenced by communist propaganda in the early stages of administering Malaya after the withdrawal of the Japanese troops. An ideological war that started at the early stage has continuously been a major racial conflict (Cheah Boon Kheng, 1981:116). Historical folds begin in reference to the events with the communist party demanding full independence and wanting to create a Communist Republic of Malaya. However, some Malay leaders came to realize this and Dato 'Onn Jaafar proposed that the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) open its membership by accepting Chinese and Indians as members. This would change UMNO from the United Malays National Organization to the United Malayan National Organization. The British encouraged the establishment of a political body that encompasses all races in order to gradually hand over the administrative powers to the organization. This is seen as a step to weaken the communist struggle. However, Dato' Onn Jaafar's efforts were unsuccessful as most Umno members did not want UMNO to be transformed from a Malay-based party to a multiracial party. Hence, Dato 'Onn Jaafar had to withdraw from UMNO (Ariffin Omar, 2007:333). Tunku Abdul Rahman was then appointed as the New President to replace Dato' Onn Jaafar. Tunku Abdul Rahman gave his assurance on the position of other races in Malaya remains unchanged.

“With regard to other races in the country, we will not forget their fair share. The races in this state can be rest assured that the Malays are not a greedy. History has proven that the other races in Malaya today are richer than the Malays. Their wealth is attributed to the Malays not being greedy. Non-Malays are able to run their businesses in Malay villages and even doing better than the Malay traders. It has also been proven that Malays were able to live peacefully as neighbors to non-Malays since more than two hundred years ago. We sit together as neighbors with various races in the country. We give them what we have with no sense of envy or jealousy ... “(Abd Manaf Haji Ahmad, 2009:114). Dato' Onn Jaafar also played a major role in the formation of the Communities Liaison Committee (CLC) with the aim of establishing good rapport and understanding among the various races in Malaya (R. K. Vasil, 1980:67).

Research Objective

This article discusses the aspect of cooperation between plural societies in Malaysia. The four issues discussed are in relation to the Federal Constitution, Article 153 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia namely the rights of the Malays and Bumiputera privileges, citizenship and political and Alliance claims. These four aspects are considered appropriate in understanding the beginning of cooperation between the plural societies of Malaysia especially among the three largest races - Malays, Chinese and Indians. All these can be seen in the history of Malaysia. There is no doubt that there are many more aspects that can be peeled off but the four aspects of the subject discussed in this article are the answers to the objective questions of the study.

METHODOLOGY

This article uses the literature review method. Historical approaches are used to acquire the precise facts in the construction of racial cooperation in Malaysia. The existing relationship is the result of mutual consent with a common interest.

THE HISTORY OF PLURALISATION IN MALAYSIA

Malaysia has a plural society moulded by a multiracial population. The arrival of immigrants due to British encouragement was the beginning of the process of pluralisation among its people, thus making Malaya unique. The plural society has been in existence in Malaysia since the time of the Malay Sultanate of Malacca where trading was a buzz. The diversity of races within the Malacca Malay Sultanate was able to live harmoniously in a peaceful environment as the multiracial society was loyal by nature to the government. The harmonious life of the people of Melaka has been described by Abdullah Munsyi as found in his note as follows: "... then all the people of Malacca from the four races were loving and dedicated to the Lord Farquhar, hence, at that time Malacca was in harmony, and trading was active, coming from all the states for business (Berita Harian, 1 June 2010:27).

Trade leads to the emergence of foreign settlements. Traders go back and forth between settlements in the Malay Archipelago and their respective places of origin. However, there are those who settled down with local women. Colonial powers such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British did not impose any restriction to the inflow of these foreign immigrants. In fact, the British encouraged the entry of foreign immigrants, especially from China and India to Malaya, to work on their interest in the mining and plantation sectors (Ruslan Zainuddin, 2005: 41). The economy of Malayan during colonial times was diverse. The occupation of the population is identified by ethnic groups and each ethnic group lives separately and maintains their way of life. The history of racial pluralism became important when the British were in control of the Malay states. Chinese immigrants involved in the tin mining industry were already in Malaya as early as 1777 and settled in Perak in 1830 (Patrick Sullivan, 1982:13).

With the emergence of the British in Malaya, the Malay political supremacy began to erode. The British not only introduced policies that collided with the core of the Malay principles but also changed the composition of the community from a commonplace to a plural society. This means that the inflow of foreign immigrants brings a new dimension in the process of forming a plural society in Malaysia (Wan Nurhasniah Wan Husin, 2015:197). Although the Chinese and Indians have long been a part of the Malay and Malay culture of the Malay Peninsula, however, with the beginning of British intervention in Malaya in 1874, arrival of immigrants were intensified. This pattern of entry continued for decades. It was only with the drafting of the Immigration and Foreign Ordinances in 1930 and 1933 respectively that this pattern of migration was blocked (Thock Ker Pong, 2007:21). After the British implemented an administrative policy by promoting immigrant entry from China and India on a large scale in the early 19th century, there was a dramatic change in the characteristics of the society in Malaya. The Malays were very surprised by the results of a census carried out in 1931 which showed for the first time that the number of immigrants overwhelmed the number of Malays. In 1835, the Malays amounted to 85.9 per cent and the Chinese only 7.7 per cent of the population. However, in 1931, the number of Malays had decreased to 49.2 per cent while the Chinese increased to 33.9 per cent. The census was released in the declining period of 1929-1931 which also affected Malaya. This figure creates panic among Malay intellectuals that sparked the rise of Malay nationalism. This suggests that the census had played a role in raising the spirit of nationalism and anti-colonial movement in the colonised states (Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, 2017:34).

Historically, the Chinese and Indian immigrants, especially young men were brought into Malaya to carry out certain economic functions. The Malays were reluctant to do menial labour but continued to loyally toil the farms for their livelihood. Unlike the Malays, British social dominance and control over immigrant communities were implemented through employer-employee relationships. Although there is evidence suggesting the practice of extreme exploitation among Chinese and Indian porters, the resistance to this relationship is minimal. This is due to the nature of recruitment and job practices that emphasise certain criteria and value systems, which promote the relationship of dependency between employer and employee. Implementation of the Kangany system in Indian labour intake and the creation of the Chinese Capitan to monitor Chinese workers in the tin mining industry are two major approaches adopted by the British to ensure compliance and prevention of resistance among immigrants (Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, 2014:57).

Federal Constitution of Malaysia

A sovereign state, the constitution is the supreme source of law and every individual has to adhere to the supremacy of the constitution. The existence of the constitution is a guide to regulating and coordinating the rule of a country. In fact, the constitution also serves as a guide for the formation of laws, whether on the part of the government, the people and anyone. In Malaysia, there is no one institution that can be above the supremacy of the Federal Constitution (Nazri Muslim, 2017:16).

In terms of documentation, the Constitution refers to the Federal Constitution and state constitutions in Malaysia. The history of the constitution should reflect the spirit and purpose of that provision (Abdul Aziz Bari, 2008:12). The Federation of Malaya Constitution was enacted by the Reid Commission established in 1956. This began with the Alliance memorandum that was handed over to the Reid Commission on 27 September 1956 by delegates of Alliance comprising Datuk Abdul Razak, Encik Mohammad Khir Johari, V.T. Sambanthan, Bong Pang Hwa, Ng Ek Tiong and Ramanathan led by Tunku Abdul Rahman. According to Reid's Commission, the memorandum received from the Alliance was reasonable and acceptable because of its clear representation of the three largest races in the country through the political parties of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC). The memorandum was drafted through a thorough research by law experts.

This Memorandum of Understanding proves that all races comprising the Malays, Chinese and Indians listed in the Alliance have agreed on all of the following. If the current Malaysian constitution is revised, it can be seen that the entire content of the Alliance memorandum is included in the existing Federal Constitution. Up until now, there is no reason for any party to dispute the content of the Constitution because it has been mutually agreed upon by UMNO, representing the Malays, MCA representing the Chinese, and MIC representing the Indians. The Federal Constitution is concrete, practical and respected as the commission has sought suggestions and views from not only political parties but also the people, individuals and the Malay Rulers. This signifies acceptance and consent of the current Federal Constitution by all Malaysians (Nazri Muslim, 2017:17).

This shows that the social or political contract in Malaya has succeeded in producing successful and excellent Malaysians not only in the eyes of third world countries but as well as developed countries. This Memorandum proves the seriousness of the Alliance and then the Barisan Nasional to administer this country

fairly and equally. No other political party has submitted such a memorandum as this. The statements and recommendations of the constitution were referred to a body representing the Malay Rulers, the Alliance government and the British government for review, amended and then sent to London for the consent of the British government. The Commission recommends a Federal Constitution for all the states as a self-governing nation within the Commonwealth based on parliamentary democracy. The Report shows that most of the content in the Constitution was taken from the Alliance's proposal albeit with some amendments and some recommendations from the Rulers' Council including consideration from the commission (Abd. Manaf Haji Ahmad, 2009:286).

In drafting the constitution, the Malays and non-Malays agreed on some very important matters for the stability of the country in relation to the social contract. Through this social contract, the non-Malays are given loose citizenship rights based on the principles of *solu jua*. Meanwhile, the Malays are provided with Islam as the federal religion in the constitution, the Malay language as the national language and the special position of the Malays as well as maintaining the position of the Malay Rulers or so-called constitutional elements in the constitution (Nazri Muslim, 2017:23). The 1957 Constitution of Malaya is in use until today with some amendments made. Examples of amendments made were the Malaysian Act passed in 1963 amending Article 1 (1) and (2) for the inclusion of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore and to rename the Federation of Malaya to the Federation of Malaysia (Mardiana Nordin & Hasnah Hussain, 2014:249).

The formation of Malaysia in 1963 brought another dimension to ethnic relations in Malaysia. With the inclusion of Sabah and Sarawak, the bumiputera ethnic standing in both states is accorded the same status as the Malays and is included in Article 153. This suggests that the Federal Constitution is the result of a bargaining process between the three largest ethnic groups at that time consisting of the Malays, Chinese and Indians through UMNO, MCA and MIC. The bargaining process has created a balance of multi-ethnic interests in the current Federal Constitution. It is clear that in 1957, during the formulation of the constitution, the Malays and non-Malays protecting their interests for an independent nation (Nazri Muslim, 2017:130).

Article 153 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia

The establishment of the Federal Constitution was the result of tolerance among various races in the country during the formation of the Federation of Malaya. The consent to ease the terms of citizenship by Malay leaders has enabled non-Malay leaders to acknowledge the special position of the Malays and Muslims. With the formation of the Federation of Malaysia on September 16, 1963, the status of special privileges was extended to the Bumiputeras in Sabah and Sarawak. The privileged position of the Malays and Bumiputeras is pursued in accordance with Article 153 of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia (Zainal Abidin Borhan et al., 2014:339).

The Chinese and Indians in the MCA and MIC accept the historical fact of this country and willingly volunteer, accept and acknowledge the privilege of the Malays since their forefathers and Islam as the official religion of the country. Indeed, Article 153 and the question of citizenship is the cornerstone of the existence of Malaysia today. Every race has its own country. The Chinese have their country in Mainland China while the Indians have their country of India. Chinese and Indian descendants born in this country and devoted unwavering loyalty, have the right to become the people of this country and enjoy it as a Malaysian

nation. In order to ensure that bumiputera communities gain access to all sectors of the economy and gain a more equitable share of the nation's wealth, the provisions of the Federal Constitution have been extended to various government policies (Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, 2014:106).

The special position of the Malays is the fourth element and Article 153 gives heavy responsibility to the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to preserve the special position of the Malays and Bumiputeras of Sabah and Sarawak as well as the legitimate interests of other races. In earlier agreements between the Malay rulers and the British government, the provision to prioritise the Malay population was not required as the country was a Malay state and no one at that moment in time questioned the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Malays. But as a result of some later agreements with the British government where the Malay rulers were required to accept advice from the British in all matters except Malay customary rights and Islam, the rights and privileged position of the Malays gradually decreased. The opening of the tin mines and rubber plantations and the immigration 'open door' policy at the beginning of the century left the Malays stranded in their villages. Where economy and education are concerned, they are not able to compete with the immigrants migrating into the country to work in mines and rubber plantations.

After the war, the British government felt they were responsible for immigrants living in this country. They consider the pre-war government system no longer appropriate and steps toward simplifying and renewing the system begin to take place. The Malayan Union Constitution formulated on March 27, 1946 to achieve this basic objective and came into effect on April 1, 1946. The rights and privileges of the Malays were ignored and all powers, privileges and position of the Malay Kings reduced to just formalities and in small matters concerning Islam under this constitution (Ruslan Zainuddin, 2010: 221). This was because a British governor assisted by the Government Working Council and the Legislative Council took over the governing powers of the country. However, the Federation of Malaya 1948 replaced the Malayan Union, and the Federal High Commissioner was responsible for protecting the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other races. When the country achieved independence in 1957, the responsibility of the Federal High Commissioner fell upon the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. When Sabah and Sarawak joined the Federation in 1963, the special position of the bumiputeras of the two states was recognised as part of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong's responsibilities under Article 153 in relation to quotas in the following areas:

- i) Posts in the Federal public service;
- ii) Granting of scholarships, student donations as well education and training assistance provided by the Federal Government; and
- iii) Issuance of permits and the licenses required by law for a business or enterprise (Tun Mohd Salleh Abas, 2006: 53-54).

Citizenship

Planning of citizenship awards began since the inception of work towards the People's Constitution by the Manpower Center (PUTERA) and the All Malaya Council of Joint Action (AMCJA) Action Council (PRC). The People's Constitution affirms the nationality of Malays base on similarity of appearance and thus are of equal citizenship status. In accepting the People's Constitution, Malay citizenship is granted automatically to all born in Malaya or outside Malaya but the father at the time of his or her birth must be a Malay citizen; or a person who has been residing for at least eight years in Malaya. The applicant

must pass an easy oral test in Malay and pledge loyalty to the Federation of Malaya or Malaya. The Declaration of Emergency in June 1948 thwarted this idea. However, PUTERA-AMCJA's efforts proved that steps have already taken place by the Malays and non-Malays to create citizenship that could include all races in Malaya.

In Macdonald's report to the Secretary of State for Territorial Land, the Communities Liaison Committee (CLC) agreed unanimously that the Malays have a special position in the Federation due to the fact that for centuries Malaya has become their sole place of residence and that the country including the nine Malay states with their rulers in relation to the Agreement with the king where the government and the country are also recognized internationally. The CLC was established in 1949 with an important agenda in relation to plans that needed the acceptance of all ethnic groups. This involves the willingness to redefine federal citizenship as a way of offering such citizenship to more non-Malays who are clearly "Malay minded". Thus, the extension of this federal citizenship can open the door for the establishment of a "national" citizenship of independence Malaya generally. Next report:

'It is unanimously agreed that the goal of the Federation of Malaya is the establishment of a self-governing government with sovereign status, and citizenship should be established for all eligible citizens regardless of race... The Committee agrees that the special position of the Malays be protected, where its purpose is to ensure that they are not dominated by politics in their country, and that over time they will also play important roles in the economy of the country. The consent of Chinese and other non-Malay leaders to this principle is valuable. Subject to this, which is not considered to be inconsistent with the present-day conflict, it has been agreed that all federal citizens of the near future shall enjoy the same status, privilege and opportunity within the Federation irrespective of race. The consent of the Malay leaders in this Committee was important and left an excellent impression on their non-Malay friends. The information obtained from the results achieved by the various ethnic elites during the CLC discussion is that the Malays are willing to accept non-Malays as citizens of their own accord provided the non-Malays agree to accept the Malays as legitimate owners of Malaya and therefore will be given the privilege of protecting and improving their socio-economic status "(Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, 2014:71).

The Reid Commission received 131 memorandums from various parties and organisations, but only the memorandum from the Alliance party which had a major impact on the drafting of the final draft of the proposed constitution of independence. In the Reid Commission's report, the formula for granting citizenship in Malaya is independent of four categories:

- i) Those who are already citizens;
- ii Those born in the Federation on or after the Independence Day;
- iii) Those born in the Federation before Independence Day and is still a residence on Independence Day; and
- iv) Those residing in the Federation on Independence Day but not born in Malaya.

This implies that the Commission was not prepared to recommend the principle of *solus sanguinis* for having a retrospective effect, as claimed by some non-Malays (Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, 2014: 73).

Although there is an opinion saying that the citizenship given to non-Malays is a sign of the emergence of race or nations for the Federation of Malaya (Ariffin Omar, 2007: 332), almost

1 375 000 people became citizens of the Federation of Malaya. Of these, 500 000 Chinese and 230,000 Indians were accepted as Federal citizens in 1950.

The dramatic increase in the number of non-Malays acquiring citizenship took place after 31 August 1957. Due to the relaxation of the conditions in obtaining citizenship, over 120 000 foreigners acquired their citizenship within four months after that date. Then in 1958 only a total of 822 567 foreigners were given the citizenship of Malaya. As a result, ahead of the 1959 elections, about a million newly acquired citizens were involved directly or indirectly in the process of determining the state and the future of the country. Until the 1969 election about 1.7 non-Malays were awarded citizenship status with political rights as Malaysians. Foreigners who were formerly in Malaya solely for the sake of livelihood and wealth are now politically involved and given rights to make political demands challenging the rights and political position of indigenous people. The identity of the Malays who was once political rulers of a nation forming the core and determining factor of the regional national character suddenly diminished into just a part or group of people as well as a new race or nationality created by the British colonisation. The Malays are forced to share political rights and power with other groups who are demanding equal rights in all aspects (Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail, 2007:352).

Political demands and the Alliance

As early as the 1920s, some Chinese especially the Chinese Peranakan claimed that like the Malays, they could not be separated from the country. As such, they are also given political rights. However, the Malays did not recognize the term and regard non-Malays as foreigners who have no right in the Malay states. As an example, Rahim Kajai as a strong supporter of the Malays as a politically shadowed society called upon the British High Commissioner in the late 1920s to prevent foreigners (foreigners or immigrants) from claiming rights in the country. In this context, the British acted as peacekeepers and arbiter to avoid open political confrontation.

Dato' Onn Jaafar also acted as the founder of a Malay political party. UMNO was established by the Malays as a result of protests against the Malayan Union's plan. In a congress held in Johor Bahru on 11 to 13 May 1946, Dato' Onn Jaafar was elected as the president and subsequently became the representative to voice the Malay protests against the Malayan Union in London (WO 172/1813: 189). For the first time in the development of Malay nationalism, the Malays are united when all state-based Malay organizations were brought together under the UMNO banner against the Malayan Union. The slogan 'Malaya for the Malays' and 'Long Live Malaya' is popular in calling on the Malays to unite as a nation against the idea of the Malayan Union. The establishment of UMNO in the premises of the Sultan of Johor on 11 May 1946 to oppose the Malayan Union was a unique UMNO relation with the government. UMNO continues to strengthen its politics and supremacy in the Malay community as it prepares for a more serious political concession in bringing Malaya to full independence. This is possible because UMNO's direct agenda has been achieved, namely that the dignity of the government has been reinstated and the position of the Malays reinforced as enshrined in the Malayan Constitution (Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, 2014: 59). UMNO continues to strengthen political and supremacy in the Malay community and prepares for a more serious political concession by bringing to full independence Malaya. This is possible because UMNO's direct agenda has been achieved, namely the dignity of the government has been reinstated and the

position of the Malays is reinforced as enshrined in the Malayan Constitution (Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, 2014: 59).

The British are more inclined towards making Malaya a plural country based on two clear reasons. Firstly, the ongoing armed conflict with the communists, who are mostly Chinese. Secondly, there are a large number of immigrants who are ready to settle in Malaya. Denying the legitimate place for immigrant communities in Malaya after independence merely gives advantage to the communists who have established themselves in China and North Korea. Therefore, UMNO has to make some basic compromises to accommodate the pluralistic concept as envisaged by the British, if it wants to play a bigger role before and after the independence of Malaya. The British have shown that independence will only be given when UMNO is ready to accept the political fact of a plural society and cooperate with non-Malays in administering Malaya (Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, 2014:140-145).

The great victory of the Alliance in the Kuala Lumpur municipal election in February 1952 gave rise to the non-Malays especially MCA. Based on the spirit of understanding between UMNO and MCA leaders in Kuala Lumpur, a coalition of cooperation between the two largest political parties was held under the Alliance. At the end of 1954, the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) expressed its desire to join the Alliance. The participation of the MIC in the Alliance is welcomed as it united the three major races - Malays, Chinese and Indians in a single coalition. Every race can express their interests through the Alliance which acts as the coordinator. The purpose is to work together in elections and demands for independence (Abd Manaf Haji Ahmad: 2009:192).

The British Colonial Office is satisfied that the Malays represented by UMNO is willing to cooperate with the non-Malays in the Alliance. This cooperation is evidenced by the consensus of the Malays and non-Malays through the manifestation of a manifesto in the 1955 election under one name, 'Alliance'. This single manifest promised to implement the following if the Alliance won in the 1955 elections:

- i) Demand independence from the British safely.
- ii) Maintain the privilege of the Malays.
- iii) Award citizenship to non-Malays according to the concept of *solih* justice.

UMNO, MCA and MIC strengthened their cooperation in the Alliance by agreeing to convey a single memorandum jointly to the Reid Commission. UMNO, MCA and MIC have agreed on the following in the memorandum:

- i) Citizenship based on the *solih* justice as requested by MCA.
- ii) Maintaining the privilege of the Malays.
- iii) Position of language, culture and religion.

This is basis of the social contract agreed by Malaysian leaders who have succeeded in the creation of Independence Malaya. This illustrates that the Malays in UMNO are willing to sacrifice and forget their interests in politics and are willing to sacrifice some of the constituencies they should contest in and have voluntarily given them to their political partners in the MCA or the MIC. In fact, the greatest sacrifice of all is that the Malays are willing to accept the process of citizenship based on *solih* justice that has been abolished so far. (Abd Manaf Haji Ahmad: 2009: vii).

After receiving citizenship of the Federation of Malaya from the British-led negotiations, many non-Malays suddenly found that they have gained the political rights they never expected, thus, becoming very enthusiastic in making claims

that worry the Malays. Among the Chinese community, for example, the leadership of the older generation who are more compatible with the Malays and their cultures are now being challenged by a strong new generation with strong Chinese essence. The MCA itself is in great turbulence as soon as Malaya achieved independence. A new group emerged demanding political rights and equality in all aspects which carries the slogan of "Malaysian Malaysia" arguing that as Malaysians, they have the same political and cultural rights as well as equal status with the Malays in all aspects. (Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail, 2007: 353).

CONCLUSION

History has proven the openness of the Malays in accepting the arrival of outsiders to Malaya either accommodating the arrival of colonialists or the influx of Chinese and Indians who were grouped as non-Malays. Despite the fact that their arrival was economically justified, eventually they were also determined to become Malaysian citizens. For that, the Malays gave them the same citizenship status and their position is also recognised by the Federal Constitution of Malaysia.

In fact, non-Malays are given the opportunity to maintain and practice their culture, customs, language and religion brought together during their migration to Malaya. For example, in the Federal Constitution of Malaysia, Article 3 (1) which regards the position of Islam as the official religion of the Federation also gives freedom to all individuals to practice their own religion peacefully and harmoniously in any part of the Federation. The social contract agreed upon should be understood by the generation of the day in order to establish the correct understanding of the cooperation between the Malays and the non-Malays. This clearly shows that the acceptance of Malays towards non-Malays has created a harmonious pluralistic society to this day.

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