



26 Years As Gerakan President



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**Selected President Speeches
Dato Seri Dr. Lim Keng Yaik**

26 Years as Gerakan President

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* NOTE: THE MANDARIN, BAHASA MALAYSIA AND TAMIL
VERSIONS OF THIS BOOK WILL BE PRODUCED LATER

26 Years as Gerakan President

Lim Keng Yaik's Contributions and Legacy, as expounded in his presidential speeches delivered at the various National Delegates' Conferences (NDC) from 1981 to 2006.

Introduction

Dr Lim Keng Yaik joined Gerakan in 1973. Seven years later, he was elected the National President of the Party in the delegates' conference held in Port Dickson in 1980.

From 1981 onwards, Dr Lim delivered his policy speeches to various delegates' conferences. Dr Lim's NDC speeches for the past 26 years provide a detailed record of many aspects of Gerakan's development under his leadership.

In his speeches are recorded his proposed programs and plans for the party; his guidance, expectations and advice to party members, as well as his views and opinions on various developments in Malaysian politics.

His contributions to Gerakan can be identified if we compare the contents of his speeches of his earlier years as the party President to those of the later years.

This is the first of a series of booklets on Dr Lim Keng Yaik's 26 Years as Gerakan president. It focuses on the contributions made by Dr Lim Keng Yaik in building up Gerakan, the party he led for 26 years. It is hoped that the excerpts of his speeches will remind party members, especially the younger generation, on the sacrifices of the veterans, and that future party members will be inspired to carry on the torch of the party's struggle.

We analysed the president's speeches and classified them into various categories. This compilation focuses on his contributions and legacy but is in no way a comprehensive and exhaustive account. Members who have gone through thick and thin with the president know very well that there are many more of his contributions which are not recorded or do not find any place in the speeches he delivered.

Relevant excerpts of the speeches have been organized into six sections as follows:

- On Expanding and Strengthening Party Organisation;
- On Building Up the Party Building: Programs, Projects & Activities of the Party
- On Party Leaders and Members
- On the Youth and Women's Wings
- On Gerakan's political ideology, vision and mission
- On Re-inventing Gerakan

On Expanding and Strengthening Party Organisation

When Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia was formed in 1968, much of its strength actually came from the central state of Selangor (then inclusive of Kuala Lumpur Federal Territory or KLFT), and the northern states of Penang, Kedah and Perak.

The split in 1972, however, reduced the party to a relatively localized party based in Penang. The break-away group took along with them a sizeable number of members.

A year later, the MCA reformist group was expelled from MCA. Many of those expelled, led by Dr Lim Keng Yaik, joined Gerakan. Many supporters from Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan followed suit. However, the Gerakan at this time faced great antagonism from the MCA leadership, who, in the 1978 General Election, plotted the Gang of 7 Episode to sabotage Gerakan, but failed.

In 1980, when Dr Lim was elected as the Gerakan National President in Port Dickson, the total membership stood at only 10,191.

Dr Lim's policy speeches in his first five years as Gerakan President record his efforts in expanding the membership and strengthening the party organization. Membership drives were frequent and new branches and divisions were set up to cope with the influx of new members.

Within the period of 1981-1985, a total of 73,816 new members joined Gerakan. This was in spite of the fact that Michael Chen, who joined the party in 1981, had tried to pull away his supporters in great numbers when he quit the party in November 1988.

The open policy to recruit members continued and by 2006, Gerakan members totaled 221,291, an increase of more than 20 times as compared to the year when Dr Lim took over as the President.

It will be interesting to note that about a third of Gerakan members actually joined the party in the period of 1981-1985, an indication that Dr Lim had made recruiting of members the most important target in his first 5 years of presidency.

While Michael Chen's group joined the party in 1981-1988 in relatively great numbers, they made no impact on Gerakan, when they left with Michael Chen who failed in his bid for the post of President in the 1984 Party election. By comparison, the Chinese educationist group which joined Gerakan from 31 March 1982 would be of greater significance as many professionals, academicians and committed members were attracted into the party. Many of them would become key leaders of the party later.

The expansion and strengthening of Gerakan in Dr Lim Keng Yaik's 26 years tenure as national president can be summarized as follows:

Membership: From 10,000 in 1980 to 220,000 in 2006, an increase of 21 folds;

Divisions: From 102 in 1983 to 149 in 2006, an increase of 46%;

Branches: From 259 in 1983 to 1,378 in 2006, an increase of 4.3 times.

On Building Up the Party: Programs, Projects & Activities of the Party

Sdr Dr. Lim Keng Yaik, despite various attempts to discredit him through means like poison-pen letters during party elections, remains in Gerakan's members' heart as the man who spared no efforts to build up Gerakan.

The Gerakan of today is definitely the result of Dr. Lim Keng Yaik's hard work and determination through his 26 years as the president. He has provided the leadership and inspiration to other party leaders as well the general members to push the party forward.

It can be seen that Dr. Lim Keng Yaik has been able to do two important things simultaneously and successfully - building up a strong Gerakan through various programs and projects as well as expanding and strengthening the party organization, especially in terms of membership recruitment.

However, we can see that program and projects of the party only seem to take priority from 1990. Perhaps it was an indication that in the later part of 1980s, the party was too involved in internal party fights, with fierce fighting in the 1984 and 1987 party elections. Hence, the period after 1990 was relatively peaceful and the party was in the position to put more of its effort in organizing more activities to increase the political awareness among Gerakan members.

In particular, Dr. Lim Keng Yaik placed special importance in reminding Gerakan leaders and members to continually improve themselves to meet the challenges of the fast changing political climate. He led the Reinventing Gerakan Campaign, which would provided guidance and direction for the future struggle of the party.

There is no doubt that Dr. Lim Keng Yaik had contributed greatly to build up Gerakan. Among others, his major contributions include:

- The building up of the Party's hardware, inclusive of Menara PGRM, the national HQ buildings and party buildings in the various states. When he took over in 1980, there was only a rented premise in Penang. Today, in 2007, we have Menara PGRM I & II and all states, except Perlis and Kedah (Gerakan does not have branches in Sarawak), own premises as state HQs. The national HQ, in particular, is well-equipped with modern and sophisticated facilities.
- The Expansion of Party's human resource, including the strengthening of party secretariat, both at national and state levels. In 1980, there were only 2 full-time staff. By 2006, there were more than 20 staff in the HQ secretariat alone. Every state, has a Central Liaison Secretary, and state offices have an average of 2 to 5 staff. As a whole, Gerakan now has more than 50 full-time employees.
- The upgrading of Party's software, where continuous effort has been put in to

improve on management and administration of the headquarters. The party's membership management and HQ administration system has achieved ISO 9001 : 2000 certification since 8 April 2002.

- The setting up of Gerakan Resource Centre, SEDAR Institute, SATU Academy, with relevant personnel to attend to the qualitative upgrading of the party.
- Most important of all is his hard work in building up a sound and strong financial base for the party, which enable the party to carry on with the various programs and activities.

On Party Leaders and Members

During his 26 years tenure as Gerakan president, Dr. Lim Keng Yaik spoke extensively on the qualities he expected of its leaders as well as members.

He always advises party members not to have the idea of joining Gerakan to look for opportunity or for self interest, but to be in politics to serve the nation, the society and the people, with the aim of building up a better tomorrow.

Delegates to the annual general conference remembered how he has, in his unique style, criticized members who selfishly and ambitiously demanded positions, awards and other benefits.

In the 2005 NDC, he listed his criteria of a good Gerakan leader, which basically reflected his expectation of Gerakan members, especially the leaders. In short, the qualities he stressed are as follows:

1. A team player with national, society and party's interests above self interest;
2. Knowledgeable and capable, with ability to overcome any challenges and adversities;
3. An effective communicator and a good motivator;
4. Good PR skills and able to cultivate good relations with others;
5. Committed to the struggle of the organisation.

On the Youth and Women's Wings

The Youth and Women Wings were not formed in the early years of Gerakan. After Sdr Dr. Lim Keng Yaik was elected as the national president in 1980, he took special effort to have these two wings set up in the party. Gerakan Wanita was formed in 1982 and Pemuda in 1983.

From the policy speeches of Sdr Dr. Lim, it can be seen that he paid special attention to the development of the Youth and Women Wings from 1997, the year when the idea of re-inventing Gerakan was first proposed. This reflected clearly the importance of Youth and Women movement in his intended road-map for the party's future.

The year 2004 saw the important development of Gerakan's Youth and Women section, where representatives from both Wings were entrusted to contest in the year's general election. More than 40% of the elected legislators from the party were from the Youth Wing, and, the Women Wing had a Member of Parliament and a Senator for the first time in party's history.

On Gerakan's political ideology, vision and mission

In his first presidential policy speech to the National Delegates' Conference (NDC) in 1981, Dr. Lim Keng Yaik reminded party members that no personal benefits should be expected for joining the party. Instead, he told the delegates that "they are expected to make a lot of personal sacrifices, for the cause of our political beliefs, ... (and) they must be prepared to dedicate themselves in bringing about Gerakan's ideals and objectives."

Entering politics with reform in his heart, Dr. Lim placed great importance on political ideology. During his 26 years as the helmsman of Gerakan, Dr. Lim has constantly reminded party members of the founding principles laid down by the founding fathers of Gerakan in 1968, he stressed especially on the aims and objective as stipulated in Article 7 of the Party Constitution, which essentially required party members to strive for an egalitarian Malaysian society based on humanitarian and democratic principles and to ensure social and economic justice for all living under the Malaysian sun.

The need to uphold the party principles became increasingly tough with the setting in of complacency and benefit-seeking mentality into the BN over the years. Gerakan leaders, in their effort to counter this trend, proposed for itself the role of 'the conscience of BN' and that 'a non-racial Malaysian approach' be adopted when dealing with the problems faced by the nation.

These initiatives met with some cold reception for the obvious reason that Malaysians have, for a long time, lived under the influence of racial politics where each group fights for his own race only. However, the non-racial approach has been the guiding principles for Gerakan leaders in deliberating and settling the problems and grievances of the Malaysian people.

In 1991, Tun Dr Mahathir, the then PM of Malaysia, announced Vision 2020, which among others objectives spells out the ultimate realization of the Bangsa Malaysia in Malaysia as one of its main aims. Vision 2020 and the realization of Bangsa Malaysia were incorporated into the National Policies of the country in the booklet entitled

DASAR-DASAR NEGARA, printed and distributed by the Information Ministry in October 1994.

The New Deal, Vision 2020 and the concept of Bangsa Malaysia Nation are, in most parts, in line with the struggles of Gerakan to achieve a fair and equitable Malaysian society irrespective of colour and creed. Hence, from 1991 onwards, Gerakan opted to be in the forefront to promote Vision 2020 and Bangsa Malaysia.

Moving into the 21st century, human society faces a new transformation - from an industrial society to a knowledge society, where new needs like knowledge-based economy, globalization, learning organization, life-long learning etc, are posing serious challenges to the entire human race.

Dr. Lim Keng Yaik again led Gerakan to opt for change. The Reinventing Gerakan Program was formulated after a series of brainstorming discussions and workshops. The Re-inventing Gerakan Program incorporated the needs of the new knowledge era, which in essence, would be working towards the direction of making Gerakan an intelligent political party, which will remain relevant in the Malaysian politics.

On Re-inventing Gerakan

The year 1997 will remain an important year not only to Malaysia, but also to Gerakan. The impact of the 1997 Economic meltdown changed the political outlook of Malaysia. BN, in particular UMNO, was faced with the unprecedented challenge of Malay ground swell, where in the 1999 General Election, UMNO obtained less Malay support than PAS in the Malay heartland of Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah.

Gerakan, at this juncture, also faced various challenges as the result of long years of complacency among party leaders and well as members.

Realising the imminent danger of possible irrelevancy, the party national leadership initiated the 'Re-inventing Gerakan'. It was in the 1997 NDC that Sdr Dr. Lim Keng Yaik, in his policy speech, called for a program to rejuvenate and re-invent the party. This later developed through a series of processes and events into a booklet entitled Re-inventing Gerakan for the 21st Century. This set out a new direction and guidelines to ensure Gerakan will continue to remain relevant in future Malaysian politics.

The key projects in the Reinventing Gerakan program included:

- a) Reaffirming the Party's commitment on its founding principles and philosophy;
- b) Adopting the struggle to realize 'Bangsa Malaysia' as the mission of the Party;

- c) Expanding the party at Divisional level by increasing Branches from 12 to 18 through recruiting new members;
- d) Training sessions to upgrade the quality of party leaders and members, including:
 - i) Regular brainstorming session, workshops and seminars for top party leaders;
 - ii) Setting up of SATU ACADEMY to provide training to members;
- e) Setting up of SEDAR, the research arm of the party;
- f) Establishment of the Wawasan Open University;
- g) Building of Menara PGRM II;
- h) Establishment of the National Dialogue Initiative (NADI).

SECTION 1

On Expanding and Strengthening Party Organisation

1981 NDC

23. Lately, Gerakan has undergone a rapid transformation and expansion. We have steadily but surely become a national political force with grassroots support throughout the length and breadth of Peninsula Malaysia. The membership of the Gerakan has been steadily growing continuously and its organisation has also been developing to the extent that the party is now able to reach out effectively to the masses of the people throughout Malaysia. This increase in the strength of the party will enable us to play our part more effectively and more vigorously within the Barisan Nasional.
24. Such rapid expansion and transformation is the result of changing political attitude. Political patronage and gimmicks can no longer command support, least of all, respect. Competition in a democracy like ours will inevitably result in discarding the political dead-woods. For in the final analysis, the verdict rests entirely and absolutely with the people. Any party that fails to carry the masses must eventually be eliminated by the masses.

1982 NDC

1. As the party is expanding quite rapidly, the administrative infrastructure seems to be lacking behind. There is, therefore, an urgent need to build up and strengthen such infrastructure facilities as branch, divisional and state levels so as to ensure frequent and close communications and efficient administration. At the headquarters level, the party has outgrown its present rented premises. We are looking for new premises for our headquarters and we hope that in the coming year, we will be able to move into a new premise of our own with adequate space for the employment of additional full-time party officials. These are some of the intended changes required in order to strengthen the party organization.
2. Gerakan having consolidated in Penang in the early 70's began to expand in Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan in 1974. The party took a decision in early 1981 to embark on an expansion exercise through an open-door policy. In that year alone, we increased our membership 5 fold and doubled our branches. We have since established ourselves firmly in all the States in Peninsula Malaysia.

1983 NDC

7. The various Bureaux of the Central Committee will be preparing literature on our Party stand on various issues confronting our nation. We had already prepared position papers on two issues namely the KLFT master plan and National Culture which have been printed into booklets for distribution. Through joint meetings of the Central Working Committee and the various Bureaux, the Party will be preparing more position papers on Education, Economics, Labour etc. which will enable members as well as the public to understand better our party's struggle and our stand on various issues. These papers are prepared with our party's multi-racial thinking and these will be used to launch our party's objective of getting Malaysians to think and act as Malaysians.

1983 NDC

8. We have undergone a very rapid expansion in the last 2 years and we are embarking on an expansion exercise to target our membership for 250,000 by the end of 1985. It has become necessary to consolidate with members showing more self-discipline and purpose in order to unite the party. There is also a need to inculcate new members with proper knowledge of Gerakan's struggle. Although the objectives of the party are clearly defined in the Party's constitution, there are still some member whose conduct and utterances have caused some confusion in the party and thereby misrepresenting the party at large. Let me reiterate categorically once and for all, that Gerakan is a multi-racial Party. We shall not entertain any idea of merging ourselves with any political party that claims to represent the interest of only one racial group. However, we are ready to cooperate with such parties for the sake of national interest.

1984 NDC

2. Soon after this party election, we shall set about reorganizing our branches and divisions, in accordance with the new constituency boundaries. We shall then strengthen our organization in preparation for the coming general elections. In particular, we shall assist our leaders in Penang to formulate GERAKAN's 15-years plan which will propel Penang into the 21st Century based upon our ideal of a fair and just Malaysian society. We shall also continue to strengthen our ties with fraternal parties and other progressive organisations, especially those with similar ideological lines. This is to increase allies and support for our political line and struggle.
3. The party has progressed quantitatively and qualitatively. Over the past four years, its membership has expanded six-fold to 140,000. There are now branches

and divisions covering the entire Peninsula, even in remote areas. Many time leaders and young professionals have joined the party and are now working hard to strengthen the party's ideological positions. The Wanita and Pemuda sections have also been set up.

4. We succeeded in setting up many party premises, especially in Perak and Penang where we now have our own party HQ buildings. To improve the party's administration, the full-time central HQ staff has been increased from 2 to 15. Our financial position has also improved and we are now able to provide full-time executive secretaries for many states.

1985 NDC

17. Since early this year, our party has begun reorganizing its branches and divisions in line with the recently redelineated electoral boundaries at both the State and Parliamentary levels. This is necessary exercise that will prepare the party's organization for the next General Elections. Progress in reorganization is satisfactory. The verified membership lists for these reconstituted branches and divisions will form the basis for our party's branch and divisional elections scheduled for the beginning of 1986.

1986 NDC

32. In fact, in spite of the rather volatile political scene in our country over this last year, I am proud to say that our party has stood united and is now more consolidated than ever ideologically and 'organizationally. The party as a whole has achieved a higher level of political maturity.
33. Organizationally, our party has grown from strength to strength our total membership has increased significantly over the last year. At the same time, in line with the redelineation of electoral boundaries at both the state and parliamentary levels, our party has successfully completed the reorganization of our party branches and divisions. Subsequently, all the branches, divisions and state liaison committees of our party have also completed their elections in a smooth and disciplined manner. The grassroots leaders that have emerged from these party elections are a blending of the old and new as befits a dynamic, growing party. Many new and capable leaders 'have come forward to take up positions in the party organ to work alongside, and be guided by, the older and more experienced leaders. This dynamism augurs well for the future of the party.

1994 NDC

20. As part of the party's move to strengthen its machinery, and to enlarge its membership, an amendment to the party constitution that allows of a branch to be set up in one or a combination of several polling districts, instead of the present system of allowing only one branch for each state constituency, is proposed. When adopted, this will lead to a proliferation of branches, permitting of a substantial influx of new members as well as an increase in opportunities to hold leadership posts at the local levels. We hope via this change in the organizational structure of the party to double our membership from its present 150,000 to about 300,000 in a year's time. More and better talent, especially from among the youth, will hopefully be roped in as well. The party is thus poised for a very exciting period of expansion and renewal. A team of senior party leaders, led by the party's Secretary-General, have gone and will continue to go on a nation-wide tour of all states to explain to members of this and other proposed amendments to the party constitution. Following from this, the restructuring and expansion of the party will hopefully be carried out in a disciplined and orderly manner. The team led by the Secretary-General will also check on preparations made by all branches and divisions to face the forthcoming general election.

1995 NDC

16. While we have reason to rejoice at our good electoral performance, we must also be quick to remind ourselves that with victory comes responsibility. We must therefore set forth to discharge this responsibility with the utmost commitment and dedication. For this, our Party's organisation and machinery need to be further strengthened. In fact, we have already begun this process of consolidation through an amendment to the Constitution that allows of the establishment of a maximum of 12 Branches created along polling districts in every Division which corresponds to a parliamentary constituency. Work on creating the new Branches has already begun. When completed, the number of Branches is expected to increase to 1,300 from the current figure of around 350. Our membership is also expected to double from around 160,000 to about 300,000 in line with this increase in the number of Branches.

2005 NDC

42. As a political party, we need both quantity and quality to sustain our political influence. In the last NDC, we have amended the party's constitution to make way for our expansion by allowing 18 branches per division instead of 12 branches. This decision was made to attract more new members into the party.

SECTION 2

On Building up the Party: Programs, Projects & Activities of the Party

1984 NDC

10. Our achievements in the past four years have enhanced our party's image in the public's eye. All GERAKAN members should feel proud but not complacent. These achievements are solid foundations upon which we can build for a better future. Future programmes are therefore extensions of what we have laid down. We see the next few years as a period for consolidation amidst expansion. The effectiveness and efficiency of our organization at various levels are to be further improved. We shall recruit more young professionals and intellectuals from amongst all the races in order to improve the quality of the party leadership at all levels.

1992 NDC

23. The above are short-term measures aimed at strengthening the party's machinery in facing the next General Election. To strengthen the party in the longer run so that we may be better prepared to meet the challenges of the future, I would like now to unveil to you our party's long-term political programme. This programme, to be implemented over the remaining years of this century, will be launched next year in conjunction with our party's 25th Anniversary. The objectives of this plan to the year 2000 are:
 - a) to strengthen the party in terms of organization;
 - b) to enhance the efficiency of the party's administration and improve the effectiveness of our party's service, publicity and election machinery, in order to broaden its influence amongst members of the public.
24. As part of this programme, five major projects will be launched. The first is the construction of the new party headquarters in Kuala Lumpur. I am pleased to inform you that plans for the construction of this new headquarters are currently being finalized. A draft plan is in fact ready and will be unveiled to party members at our Malam Gerakan gathering tonight. Hopefully, our 24th Annual Delegates Conference will be held in our new party Headquarters. The second project is the launching of a massive membership drive. To facilitate this drive, sub-branches corresponding to polling districts will be set-up in numerous constituencies throughout the country. A certain portion of the new members will also be

identified for the purpose of training them to be cadres. This should strengthen our party's organizational machinery in facing the next and future General Elections.

25. We propose next to establish a national training centre in Kuala Lumpur as our third project. Under this scheme, specially selected cadres will be given intensive courses to instill in them greater awareness and knowledge about current issues and our party's affairs, especially its ideological pursuits, in order that they may be better equipped to take on the DAP in the ideological battle for the hearts and minds of Malaysians. The fourth project is the launching of Gerakan's Book Scheme. This will involve members at all levels raising funds for the worthy cause of acquiring and distributing books to Malaysian students, especially the poor and needy.
26. Finally, a Study Loan Scheme for children of Gerakan members will be launched in the not too distant future. Realizing that the costs of higher education, both at home and abroad, have escalated and that many party members are now finding it increasingly difficult to support their children, this scheme aims to ameliorate the situation by providing loans to bright and clever but financially poor children of deserving Gerakan members. Hopefully many more children of our party members will be able to pursue their higher education as a result of the implementation of this scheme. These five projects have been approved by the central committee and are due for implementation at the beginning of 1993, after the details have been explained to leaders at the branch, division and state levels. I am confident that with the implementation of these projects, our party's machinery will be better organized, strengthened and streamlined to better serve the rakyat and nation.

1993 NDC

16. At our last ADC, I announced the launching of 5 major projects to be implemented till the year 2000, as part of our efforts to consolidate further our party's Strength at all levels. These are :-
 - i) the building of our new party headquarters;
 - ii) the launching of a membership drive;
 - iii) leadership training;
 - iv) "My Book" scheme; and
 - v) Study Loan Scheme

As most of you would have witnessed yesterday, the ground breaking ceremony launching the construction of our new party headquarters, was conducted yesterday in Cheras, Kuala Lumpur, Actual construction work should begin soon after all the necessary procedures have been complied with and sufficient funds raised. Here, I would like to make a personal appeal to all branches, divisions and states to organize fund-raising activities for the purpose of raising funds for our party's

headquarters. Such activities can also serve to promote a spirit of camaraderie among our party's rank and file. With concerted efforts and co-operation from all, I am sure the plan to have our own party headquarters will be realized soon.

17. A membership drive has also been launched since last year. I am pleased to inform you that public response to our membership recruitment drive has been rather encouraging throughout the country, in particular Penang and Johore. This shows that Parti Gerakan's ideology is gaining increasing acceptance throughout the length and breadth of Malaysia. This should also place us in good stead to face and help annex a grand victory for the Barisan Nasional in the next General Election, especially in Penang. Besides increasing membership in quantitative terms, we are also sparing no effort in upgrading the quality of our membership. Soon, our party's Political Bureau will be organizing a series of workshops, workcamps and seminars aimed at inculcating good leadership qualities among the party's rank and file. We are placing particular emphasis on organizing a Special Election Brigade. This comprises members who will be given intensive political courses that will centre on the Gerakan's and Barisan Nasional's ideology and record of achievements and the opposition's highly reactionary line. These members will also be given training on public speaking and other important aspects of ideological propaganda work. They will then be sent to help campaign for all Parti Gerakan candidates in the next General Election.
18. Saudara-saudari, I am also pleased that good progress has been achieved in the implementation of the party's fourth project, viz "My Book" Scheme. The scheme was launched in Penang by me, only a week ago, with hundreds of books, mainly in the form of dictionaries, being distributed to school children. A book marker, bearing the logo and name of Parti Gerakan, has been given out along with these dictionaries. This scheme will be launched later in other parts of the country. Finally, the party's leadership is presently working on the details of the proposed Study Loan Scheme. Under this scheme, study loans will be given to outstanding but deserving children of our party members to enable them to pursue higher education. This will, hopefully, put into effect Party Gerakan's own manpower training scheme, albeit in a modest fashion.
19. Saudara-saudari, this year is a significant year for Parti Gerakan for it marks the 25th year of the founding of our party. Numerous events have been organized to celebrate this joyous and meaningful year. While we have every reason to celebrate, it is timely too for us all to reflect on the aspirations, objectives and goals on which the party was founded in 1968. I emphasize "timely" because the political and socio-economic circumstances in our country and in the world at large that prevailed in the late sixties and which exerted a tremendous influence on the thinking of our founding fathers have changed substantially since then. Such changes will obviously have to be reflected in the objectives of our party's

constitution, which as you realize, was a product of the late sixties. For this purpose, a special committee will be set up after this year's ADC to review the entire constitution and to propose appropriate changes that will reflect the demands of the prevailing political and social-economic circumstances. As this is a radical move, I promise you the widest possible consultations so that the end product will be truly reflective of the times and the will of the majority.

1995 NDC

18. Meanwhile, our Party is undergoing an exciting period of expansion in its physical facilities. Almost all state organisation already have or intend to have their own buildings to house their Headquarters in their respective states. But the biggest and tallest of all these will be the building to house our National Headquarters which is currently under construction. It is, scheduled to be completed by the end of this year. When fully built-up, it will be 21 storeys high of which 7 storeys will be owned by the Party, together with an ultra-modern convention hall that has simultaneous translation facilities and that can accommodate two thousand five hundred people. I am sure and confident that Party members will be truly proud of this newest and biggest facility of our Party when it finally comes on-stream.

1996 NDC

19. Saudara-saudari, there was initially a great deal of concern and anxiety among both students and parents that corporatisation may lead to an increase in university fees. This may in turn deny those from poor socio-economic background an opportunity to pursue higher education on account of inability to defray the higher costs, even despite having the requisite entry requirements. But such a fear should now be dispelled, as the ever-caring Barisan Nasional Government has announced the establishment of a National Study Loan Scheme for the purpose of extending loans to all needy students. Parti Gerakan welcomes such a scheme. Although its details have not as yet been announced, Parti Gerakan is confident its introduction will enable even more students, especially the indigent ones, to pursue tertiary education. Besides, such governmental efforts have been and will continue to be complemented and supplemented by similar efforts of guilds and associations as well as big corporations.
20. Here, Parti Gerakan, too, would like to make its contribution towards this national effort at democratising tertiary educational opportunities. During this Conference, Parti Gerakan will launch its University Study Loan Scheme. These loans will be made available to the deserving children of poor but loyal and committed Party members, in order to enable them to study at universities and colleges. Hopefully, our effort in this regard will enhance the prospects of better life-long earnings

of the beneficiaries, thereby helping to make education a more effective vehicle of social advancement for the individuals and of economic development for the nation as a whole.

1998 NDC

31. Since the launch, numerous activities to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the party have been and will continue to be organised. The most important of these is a road show where an exhibition on the history of our party's history and activities is staged. This road show has already been held in all states in conjunction with the holding of their respective State Delegates' Conferences this year. It has now reached its final destination here in this building. I call upon all those who have not yet seen the exhibition to do so within these couple of days.
32. Our purpose in organising the exhibition is to provide to our members, especially the younger ones, a glimpse into the history of our party's struggles. Needless to say, this is but only a first step in the long process of trying to understand and grasp the contents and spirit of our party's struggle. The latter requires all of you to read, first and foremost, our party's constitution, and then the numerous books covering our party's ideology and position on the country's economy, education, culture, environment and industry that have been published by our party.

2000 NDC

29. Quite apart from addressing the urgent task of winning back lost ground for the Barisan Nasional, the brainstorming held in Port Dickson also came out with a list of projects that the party will have to undertake over the next few years in order strengthen the party as a vehicle for serving the people even better. The first of these projects is to promote IT and Internet competency in Malaysia through the establishment of a computer centre in each Gerakan held constituency; the setting up of computer clubs in selected schools; the provision of IT training programmes in each constituency; the staging of seminars and talks on IT, the Internet, e-commerce, e-government and k-industries and the promotion of the use of the Internet and Internet technologies.
30. The second project is the setting up of a Gerakan IT college which is scheduled to be launched either later this year or early next year. This project will see the development of a virtual university which will offer accredited tertiary education to Malaysians using the Internet as a platform.
31. The third project is the establishment of a Gerakan Education Foundation which is

directly in line with our party's aim to provide even better education opportunities for all Malaysians. The foundation will manage a fund to promote and create improved education opportunities for students of all levels, from primary to tertiary.

32. Fourthly, a Tan Sri Alex Lee Excellence Award will be set up to provide book prizes, scholarships and awards to reward deserving children of Gerakan members who achieve excellence in academic performance and sports. This fund will honour the memory of our late Vice-President who was both a learned man and a fervent sportsman. Meanwhile, a Gerakan Tertiary Education Loan Scheme has been set up to assist Gerakan members and their children who need funding support for further education.
33. The fifth project is the setting up of a state-of-the art centre to provide leadership training for present and future Gerakan leaders so that they will be able to serve the people and the nation more effectively.
34. Sixthly, a Socio-Economic Development and Research Centre will also be set-up. The centre will serve as a think-tank for Gerakan to conduct research and to monitor key socio-economic issues. With a qualified and experienced team of analysts on-board, the centre will also be charged with the responsibility of addressing the needs of the marginalised groups and generating ideas on how to create a more fair and just society in Malaysia. Party leaders and members are encouraged to use this centre in order to improve knowledge as well as in articulation.
35. Finally, in the pipeline is the establishment of a Gerakan Women's Advisory and Skills Development Centre, which will specifically address the needs of women in Malaysia. Gerakan will set up an advisory and skills development centre which is open to the public. It is envisioned that this centre will offer a full range of services including counselling, legal advice, training and skills development. It will also organise special interest events.
36. I call on all of you to support fully all these projects of the party. When successfully implemented, I am confident our party will be better able to contribute inputs in a more informed way to policy formulation at all levels; monitor closely implementation of these policies in order to ensure they meet, and not stray away from, targetted objectives and to serve the people in resolving their problems. The launching of these projects will also serve to provide the basis for uniting all our members, young and old. I therefore look forward to your enthusiastic response to my call for support.

2005 NDC

40. On the last point, the party is currently building the Menara PGRM 2 and its completion should be ahead of schedule. This is to increase the number of properties owned by Gerakan and should contribute positively to its financial health. As a political party, we need a strong financial position to fund our operations and activities, including services to the society.
41. Wawasan Open University has received an approval from the Ministry of Higher Education on the 15th July 2005 for its establishment. Our quest to offer more education and skills development opportunities to all Malaysians especially those already working but without tertiary education, is just beginning. Logistics need to be provided, buildings to house the study centres (in Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh and Johore Bahru) need to be constructed and lecturers need to be employed. We need adequate financial resources to fund these preparations. After that, courses and academic curriculum would have to be in place before the university can start to accept its first batch of students by the later part of 2006.

SECTION 3

On Party Leaders and Members

1981 NDC

27. To be an effective political movement, we have to strengthen our structure and organisation so that we can move forward in unison. Gerakan members have proven themselves to be dedicated and disciplined. Gerakan representatives in all levels of Government have proven themselves to be clean, honest and efficient. This is something we are very proud of, and this has provided the greatest impetus for the surge, which has gradually been built up, to join Gerakan.

1982 NDC

2. In any political process, leadership changes are inevitable. The strength of any party is dependant on the ability of its leadership to adapt to changes. In this respect, we have to emulate our beloved Nasional Advisor, Y.A.B. Dr. Lim Chong Eu who so successfully ensured a smooth transition when he relinquished his position as President of the Party in 1980. This should be an example for other leaders to follow. Those by age or otherwise who are unable to lead anymore, has not only the responsibility to prepare continuity in leadership, but to relinquish their posts when the time approaches. This does not mean that younger members could go around criticizing older leaders and generally causing an air of suspicion and bad faith in their haste of ascend to positions. There must be dignity in this process of handing over. If there are choices to be made then let us make our democratic choices in a matured fashion. The party requires this matured approach to the changes of leadership and members are required to follow closely party constitutional procedures in guiding them through this process of change.
3. The Gerakan is a Party with firm principles and definite objectives. Only those who can accept our total commitment to a Malaysian political philosophy and are fully committed to the task of creating a just and equitable society for all have been accepted into the party fold. The Party in expanding its membership has carefully sustained its political integrity. We adhere firmly to the policy of quality in political dedication and not quantity of members. There is no limit to the number of supporters the party will seek to gather around us. We consider that membership in the Gerakan is a privilege and not a right. The most important attribute that we demand from every single member is that he is completely Malaysian in his commitment to serve the people and the nation.
4. The members of Gerakan come from various ethnic groups, from all walks of

life and they hold different religious beliefs. They are bound together to work for an integrated society in which the various patterns of ethnic heritage, linguistic and cultural backgrounds are woven into a Malaysia way of life and a Malaysian identity. To the Gerakan members, to be a Malaysian does not mean that one must become any less a member of his ethnic community, but that over and above his own heritage he must resolutely strive to understand the sensitivities and aspirations of the other ethnic communities and together blend and integrate into a Malaysian society. They are equally bound together to work against any unfairness and injustice in their resolution to strive for a fair and just society for all.

1985 NDC

31. Many such people have indeed joined us. They include academicians, professionals, educationists, trade unionists, workers, farmers and many others. With such talent and a huge reservoir of grass root support, our party can and should now enter into view phase of consolidation where the development and implementation of the party's lie in politics, economics, education and culture should take precedence over all else. This will place us in a position to play a more meaningful and effective role in the affairs of the country.

1986 NDC

38. In addition to inculcating political consciousness and ideological commitment, our party leaders will also need to emphasize the training of other skills and qualities among our members: organizational ability, teamwork spirit, objective analysis and problem solving skills, democratic work style, etc. The days of empty sloganeering and politicking are over. What we need today are people who can "deliver the goods". Having expanded our ranks rapidly in recent years, we must now consolidate and intensify our internal training programs for our rank and file so as to bring out the highest qualities in them.
39. Overall, I am happy with the progress that the party has made so far in its ideological and organizational consolidation work, although much remains to be done. While the exact date of the General Election has yet to be announced, our party is ever ready to face the challenge. In every constituency where we hope to contest, there has been no shortage of suitable candidates. Our final selection of candidates will be based ultimately on their ability and commitment to serve the people and to uphold the party's ideology. When the time comes, I am confident that our party members will be mature enough to set aside whatever personal allegiances and place party interests above self. While stressing the importance of the quality of our candidates, we must not, however, forget that it is upon the

strength of their grassroots support that victory can be achieved.

1990 NDC

21. I thank Party members for their confidence in electing me as the President again for a fourth term. It has been a pleasure for me in these last 10 years in having the privilege of leading the party, as party members in general have been disciplined, united and very helpful. The party is more united today as has been shown through the smoothness of the elections at every level of the party organisation whether it be at branches, divisions, state level or for both the Youth and the Wanita Movements. I urge party members to continue the discipline shown and be united in purpose in building up the party.

1991 NDC

18. Saudara-saudari, our ability to retain a majority of the seats in Penang, thus foiling the dream of Mr. Lira Kit Siang, was due in no small measure to the leadership provided by our much respected leader and founder member, Saudara Tun Datuk Dr. Lim Chong Eu. Despite his age, and true to the spirit of a good soldier, he led our party into what was to be a difficult war. While he fell in battle, our party survived the war and emerged victorious. For his sacrifices, I would like, on behalf of all members of Parti Gerakan, to offer our heartfelt thanks to him. His unselfish attitude in sacrificing himself for the larger interests of the party has touched our hearts. I do hope Saudara Tun Dr. Lim's spirit of nation before party and party before self will be emulated by all in our party, irrespective of rank.
19. I would also like to take this opportunity to place on record our appreciation to yet another old party faithful and stalwart, Saudara Tan Sri Dato' Khoo Kay For. Saudara Tan Sri Khoo has been with us since the very inception of our party. Like Saudara Tun Dr. Lim, he too has rendered his services to the party with distinction. But for them and the many other comrades who have stuck with the party through thick and thin, Parti Gerakan would not have remained in power in Penang today. Lest you forget, this is the 22nd straight year our party has been at the helm of the state administration in Penang. This is certainly no mean achievement. For this, we have a lot to thank both Saudara Tun Datuk Dr. Lim, Saudara Tan Sri Khoo and the many other comrades who have fought and struggled along with them and some of whom are still with us today, struggling to achieve the lofty ideals of Parti Gerakan.

1995 NDC

17. Besides a quantitative leap forward, our Party will also lay stress on enhancing

the quality of our leadership and membership at all levels. Towards this end, our Party's Research Bureau will be revamped and further strengthened. Work on the collection, storage, analysis and dissemination of data and information on economic, political, educational, cultural and environmental trends will be further intensified by this Bureau. To assist in the dissemination work of this Bureau, a bigger resource centre will soon be established in the National Party Headquarters and the operations of our Party Headquarters will be fully computerized, with on-line connections to all Party Headquarters in the various states.

1997 NDC

16. The same spirit of working together should prevail within each and every component party. There is a need to minimise internal squabbles and to focus on the political agenda of achieving Vision 2020. In the case of Gerakan, party members in various states should give one another support and encouragement. On the one hand, as Penang is Gerakan's base and indeed bastion, all other states must give support and encouragement to party leaders in Penang so that they can continue their good work and to face future challenges. On the other hand, leaders from Penang should also look beyond Penang and use Penang's experience to support and assist the party to grow and serve better in other states. This will be a manifestation of the "Satu Hati" spirit which should be further strengthened, not just among states, but amongst divisions and branches within each state, amongst old and new members, amongst Wanita and Youth.

1998 NDC

34. To those of you who have been elected to key posts at the branch and divisional levels, I wish to remind you that your tasks ahead are onerous and that you will do well not to betray the trust members and delegates have in you. You have been elected to do a job and I would urge that you start cracking on this job immediately. And there is much you have to do, such as strengthening our party's organisation at the different levels; recruitment of new members and passing on to them Gerakan's non-ethnic line through organising seminars, workshops and talks.
35. Indeed the new branch and divisional leaders have started to participate in useful activities such as workshop discussions organised to discuss problems of the national economy which we are facing today. A national seminar called in May 1998 to discuss some proposals of our party to turn the economy around, attracted some 400 participants. I do hope party members will continue to work hard to effect a national economic recovery for the benefit of the nation and its citizens. I do hope, too, that they will spread messages of tolerance and mutual

understanding among people of different ethnic groups and religions in an effort to promote national unity and political stability.

2005 NDC

39. In this regard, I would like to share with you the right attributes of a future Gerakan leader:
- (a) He/She should be a team player. He/She must work well with all leaders and members of the party. National, society and party's interests must come first and not his/her individual interest.
 - (b) He/She should demonstrate a good understanding of issues affecting the nation and the society. He/She should be able to use his/her intellectual capacity and knowledge to find viable solutions and strategies to help our nation overcome any challenges and adversities.
 - (c) A Gerakan leader should have good and effective communication skills. He/She must be able to articulate his/her thoughts and ideas in a concise and confident manner. An effective communicator can become a good motivator to other party leaders and members, especially the younger ones.
 - (d) He/She should have a good PR sense and skills. Being a small party, a good leader should know how to cultivate good relations with leaders of other component parties. He/She must be persuasive in discussions and dialogues in order to get the party's views considered and accepted by other partners.
 - (e) Finally, but not exhaustive, he/she must be committed to the projects that the party has undertaken, including efforts to reinvent and to strengthen Gerakan's management, operations and membership base.

SECTION 4

On the Youth and Women's Wings

1983 NDC

9. A large proportion of our population belongs to the “youth” category of ages between 18 to 40, about half of them are female. Even if we merely talk about women’s traditional role as wives and mothers, the contributions by women to society have been quite tremendous, to say the least. Such traditional role is fast changing in Malaysia where for example, there are more female teachers than male teachers, especially at the primary level and female students in institutions of higher learning accounted for over 40% of the student population. However, women are still not active in many fields, one of which is politics. All along, Gerakan has upheld the principle of equality between men and women. That is why we did not distinguish between male and female Party member – a woman stands an equal opportunity with a man to become Gerakan President. However, we also realize that to mobilize women are effectively, an organised Wanita movement is necessary. Wanita Gerakan was launched in November last year and is being organised at grassroots level at the present moment.
10. This year, we shall see the formation of Pemuda Gerakan, the objective of which is to mobilize youth to participate in Gerakan. The party has grown nationwide and it has become necessary for us to have an organised youth movement which can cater for the interests of young party members, promote healthy activities and more importantly provide a training ground for future leadership at all levels. Through Pemuda Gerakan our young leaders can also carry out joint activities and hold dialogue with other. Barisan Nasional component parties to promote better understanding and lay a solid foundation for the future. I therefore, call upon leaders and members of the party to give full support to both of the Wanita and Pemuda Gerakan. In order to co-ordinate both of the Pemuda and Wanita Gerakan within the party, it has become necessary for the party’s constitution to be amended. The Legal Bureau of the Central Committee has worked out the necessary amendments which would be discussed at this conference for adoption. With both Pemuda and Wanita movements properly organised, Gerakan will be better poised to play a more active role in the politics of the country on a nationwide basis.

1997 NDC

17. Saudara-Saudarr, in the years ahead, I want to see both our Wanita and Youth

wings play an even more active role in the affairs of our party and nation. As you are aware, our nation today is confronted by a whole host of social ills that require our urgent attention, despite the rapid advances made in socio-economic development. These include problems of discipline, drug addiction and gangsterism, especially among the youths. Our Youth Wing must thus take the initiative to help Malaysian youths overcome these problems in order that the energies, talents and skills of these young citizens can be tapped and mobilised for productive ventures. Our Youth Wing must enter into serious dialogues with the various representative youth bodies in order to understand their needs. Together, they can help to integrate these needs and other youth issues into the mainstream of government activities at all levels. These issues can encompass education and training, leisure opportunities and health. In other words, I want Pemuda Gerakan, together with the various youth bodies, to work together for the realization and enrichment of our country's National Youth Policy.

18. Likewise, our Wanita wing must enter into partnerships with non-governmental organizations that focus on women's issues for the effective formulation of more gender-specific programmes. There are many such issues which include among others domestic violence, gender discrimination at work places, rapes, missing girls, prostitution and the related issue of prevention of HIV/AIDS. With increased consciousness of these issues and greater empowerment of women, I am sure these will gain rising attention of the public. Wanita Gerakan must take a firm stand against domestic violence, especially wife beating and work with the relevant NGOs and government departments to combat this social ill. With the increased incidence of rapes or attempted rapes in schools, effective steps must be found to improve security within school compounds. Again, the expertise in the NGOs can be mobilised for training school teachers in this campaign against sexual violence. I also want to see Wanita Gerakan members take an active part in all the programmes organised by the Malaysian Aids Council. In short, Wanita Gerakan must be at the forefront of the movement for the full liberation and empowerment of women so that come the new millennium, women can truly be equal partners with men in the nation's development.

1999 NDC

18. Saudara-Saudari, as we continue to push for the material advancement of our nation's citizens, there is a need always to take cognizance of the distribution of our country's expanding economic pie. We all know that it is only via an equitable distribution of wealth and economic opportunities between classes, race and gender that the just and equal society that we all aspire to can be achieved. I want to, however, particularly stress on gender equality and the work we have to do to attain this ideal, in my speech this year.

19. As you are all aware, the Malaysian Government is fully committed towards gender equality in all aspects of the nation's affairs. This can be seen in the formulation of the National Policy on Women in 1989, after consultations with the National Council of Women's Organisations. This was followed in 1997 by the drafting of an Action Plan for Women in Development by the Women's Affairs Department in the Ministry of National Unity and Social Development. The purpose behind this Action Plan was to translate policies into action. The Malaysian Government's commitment to improve women's status is also seen in its chapters on Women and Development in the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995) and the Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996-2000). This commitment was reaffirmed when the Malaysian Government ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1995.
20. Despite all these commitments, much still remains to be done to realise the ideal of advancing the status of women and gender equality. The gap between reality and the ideal state remains large. It is absolutely necessary for us all, men and women, to work hard to close this gap. Our noble struggle in this regard will be better served if we can first identify the obstacles and then work hard to remove them. Let us be very clear about one thing : slightly more than half our people are women, and we cannot expect to make significant progress if they are handicapped by our values and our attitudes.
21. It is therefore imperative that Wanita Gerakan spearheads the drive to realize the ideal of gender equality. This drive must aim to draw attention to specific problems, issues and needs of women. These should be recognised and addressed; the awareness of the position of women in Malaysia should be raised and strengthened; and the political participation of women in Malaysia should be increased so as to promote and achieve gender equality. Wanita Gerakan must therefore be more active in these efforts. I would like to see Wanita Gerakan prepare a programme of action to attain these goals and to submit this programme for adoption by the party without delay. It is also important for Wanita Gerakan to forge partnerships with other organisations that share a common platform, in its efforts towards advancing the status of women in Malaysia. I come back to my basic point: the continuing progress of our country on all fronts requires a fuller and richer participation of our women in civic and public affairs.
22. Saudara-Saudari, as our Prime Minister himself admitted, leaders at all levels of government have not been adequately engaged with the youths of our country. The result is that many of our youth are now unhappy with, and even antagonistic towards, the government. They have been alienated from the leaders of the government. A gap between them and us exists. And this gap has no doubt given rise to mistrust and cynicism, which further widen the generational gap. Needless to say, we have to close the gap quickly, remove the mistrust, and build up a

relationship based on trust and confidence between leaders of the nation and its youths. Throughout history no society has ever succeeded without investing in its young. It is a truism, but our future success depends on our youth.

23. To realise this, we need to engage our young citizens in dialogues and debates. We must avail to them more democratic space to speak up on issues affecting them and the nation. On their part, leaders of the government must explain the rationale and objectives of national policies and developments on the political, economic, social and cultural fronts to them. In the course of performing this role, leaders must be brave to face criticisms; clarify mis-conceptions and mis-perceptions and admit any shortcoming. We must be respectful, understanding, honest and truthful in our engagements with them and always uphold the ideals of justice and equality.
24. Gerakan Youth must henceforth redouble its' efforts to engage the nation's youths in honest exchanges and productive collaboration. It must seek and forge synergistic alliances with youth groups in order to be able to represent them better and articulate their views more effectively. Such partnerships are essential in empowering our youths, rather than alienating them. The idealism, energies and strengths of our nation's youths must be harnessed, if we are to create a more vibrant, creative and innovative nation.

2000 NDC

22. Saudara-Saudari, another key issue is the increased violence against women and girls in our country. Parti Gerakan accepts the view that the Government, both at the Federal and State levels, has an obligation to prevent, investigate and punish acts of violence against women and girls and to provide protection to victims. It is with this in mind that we have legislated the Domestic Violence Act to combat domestic violence. Despite this, such violence continues to increase while sexual harassment at the workplace is on the rise, too. This could be due to inadequate understanding of the root causes of all forms of violence against women and girls, which in turn hinders efforts to eliminate such violence.
23. For a start, we have to improve collection of data on violence in order to arrive at better informed policy-making and analysis. Next, we need to change socio-cultural attitudes that regard women as subordinate and improve women's economic status to that equal to men in order to make women less vulnerable to physical attacks and abuses. Saudara-Saudari, it is clear that the political struggle to achieve gender equality and to empower women is still a long and arduous one. We are, however, not daunted. On the contrary, we are committed towards pursuing this struggle, for we believe that this is a just struggle; a struggle, which if successful, will lead to the realisation of the full potential of at least half our

population, thereby contributing towards the realization of yet another important human right.

24. Saudara-Saudari, in my address to you at our party's last NDC, I called on you to engage with the youths of our country. At that time, we were concerned over the increasing alienation of youths from the government and the widening gap between them and leaders of the ruling party. I cautioned that unless this gap is closed through productive engagements with youths that are based on mutual respect, trust and honesty, this gap will continue to widen, giving rise to further mistrust and cynicism. Already, there are some unhealthy signs and trends which are cause for concern and alarm. Indiscipline in schools, attacks on teachers, victimisation and intimidation of fellow students, and even arson continue to rise. Many youths are involved in drug taking, including ecstasy pills, and gambling in video arcades. Such unhealthy activities have reached alarming, if not, crisis proportions.
25. All these suggest that there is a group of otherwise highly productive youths who have lost their sense of purpose and direction in life and who in turn have sought refuge in drugs, ecstasy pills, gambling and even illicit sex. But why? What are the factors that have brought about this onset of moral decadence among a section of our youths? Could it be due to advanced capitalism and commercialisation which stress on material pursuits, to the neglect of the need to hold firmly on to good morals and ethics? Could it be because we measure a person's worth by his material achievements, irrespective of their source, but not by high moral and ethical standards? Could it be because our own behaviour, as leaders, has been less than exemplary? Could it be because of corruption that has led to very lax enforcement of laws? Or could it be because of inequality that has divided our society into haves and have-nots.
26. I have raised all these questions in the hope that you, especially our Youth Wing, will take them up as part of our joint effort to seek solutions to what have clearly become major social ills afflicting our society, especially our Malaysian Youths. Of course, I have not exhausted all the questions to be raised or the factors to be considered. There could possibly be many more questions or factors. It is, however, important that we raise them and seek answers so that we could draw up an effective and comprehensive programme of action to combat this social menace, thereby liberating a section of our youths from the clutches of drugs and gambling. I regard this as a very urgent task which I expect the Youth Wing to take up with the utmost commitment and dedication. Needless to say, we need to collaborate with other youth bodies and NGOs in this undertaking of ours. Meanwhile, the process of engaging our youths in productive discourses and healthy activities needs to be continued, if not stepped up, with greater vigour. Just like the Wanita Gerakan, Pemuda Gerakan has a full agenda as well. As they

say, much needs to be done. And I call on both our Wanita and Youth wings to spare no effort, waste no time and to seize the day and the seize the hour in pursuit of their politically meaningful agendas.

2001 NDC

25. Women have been major contributors to national growth and progress all the while. The modern women today are highly educated, independent and confident especially those who serve and excel in markets and industries once dominated by men.
26. Parti Gerakan will continue to pursue its agenda to ensure that gender equality is observed in all social, political and economic aspects. We will continue to raise important issues touching equal opportunities for women in career and education, personal security, sexual harassment and other relevant issues specific to our women folks. I would also like to see the Parti Gerakan Wanita taking a more prominent role and interest in national issues and contribute ideas and recommendations in policies review and other strategic issues.
27. Youths are our most endeared asset but also most vulnerable to many negative influences due to their naiveté and inexperience. Some of the social ills plaguing our youths are demonic worship disguised as black metal music, drug abuse, social vices and loitering and most alarming are influences of religious extremism and terrorism beliefs. Overall impact of these social ills on our youths is fatal and worrisome especially one should note the number of criminal and violent cases involving youths.
28. The responsibility of guiding our youths and steer them away from these negative influences lies broadly on all our shoulders. We as parents must engage and seek to understand what lies beneath the heart of our children. Spending enough quality time during the growing up years of our children is crucial and important to inculcate in them strong family bonding and moral values so that they will grow up to become a useful and contributing member of the society.
29. In the new era, one major challenge for us is to balance external influences with good moral and religious education. We must teach our youths to think objectively and responsibly to choose the right path and moral values. I would also like to urge our Gerakan leaders at all levels to reach out to any youth in need of assistance and guidance. Help them to your best ability and I am sure that you have made a significant contribution to protect and develop our most important national asset.

2004 NDC

42. I am thankful that the party is in good standing in terms of the next generation of young leaders. 20 out of the 40 GERAKAN 'wakil rakyat' at the MP and ADUN level are new faces. I am confident that will work hard to serve the party and their constituents. I also urge them to continuously push themselves to learn and build themselves up so that they can effectively lead the party well into the 21st century.

SECTION 5

On Gerakan's Political Ideology, Vision and Mission

1981 NDC

25. Members of the public who choose to join our movement are fully aware that there is no material benefit, nor any position, to be gained. We have often publicly stated in no uncertain terms that to be members of Gerakan, they are expected to make a lot of personal sacrifices, for the cause of our political beliefs, I have no doubt at all that the majority of our members, old and new, are prepared to dedicate themselves in bringing about Gerakan's ideals and objectives.
26. The Gerakan is a party with firm principles and definite objectives. Only those who completely subscribe to a Malaysian political philosophy and who are fully committed to the task of creating a fair and just society for all have been accepted into the party fold. The party in expanding its membership must be careful in sustaining its political integrity which is becoming the hallmark of the Gerakan. The Gerakan has no place for extremists, chauvinists and opportunists.

1982 NDC

5. The strength of the Gerakan is dependant upon the discipline of each and every member. This is through strict adherence to the party's objectives as dictated by the party's constitution. Efforts will be spent in inculcating our membership with the ideals and objectives of the Party. The Party leadership has been liberal with its disciplinary actions. This does not mean that the Party leadership is weak and is incapable of administering disciplinary actions. With the unity of the Party in mind, the leadership has tried to solve problems by convincing all members concerned to put Party interest before self-interest. This unity of purpose has been the strength of the Gerakan in the past and will be the strength of the Gerakan in the future.

1984 NDC

19. As embodied in the very name of our party, GERAKAN was conceived as a political movement fighting for the democratic rights of our rakyat of all races. We have always been true to this basic commitment since our formation. To us, the struggle for national unity and social justice must in the final analysis be

founded on the active democratic participation of the rakyat themselves. Parti GERAKAN is thus committed to defending the institution of democracy itself, and to championing the rights of our rakyat within a democratic framework. We are totally opposed to anyone group abusing the democratic rights accorded them in order to destroy the institution of democracy itself.

20. Another corner-stone of GERAKAN's political philosophy is our commitment to a non-communal Malaysian approach to politics. We have always maintained that a multi-ethnic political party with representation from Malaysians of different backgrounds is the most viable approach in the long run towards the creation of a just and equitable society for all, irrespective of race. Now, more than ever, in the face of increasing racial polarization in our country, we in GERAKAN shall redouble our efforts to further propagate and disseminate our non-communal Malaysian political line to our rakyat.
21. Besides intensifying our political education programs, we shall also demonstrate our Malaysian line to the masses through concrete exemplary political practices. We shall be actively identifying the communities and social groups that are ready for our political approach. We shall embark on an active programme of dialogues and debates on the need for a Malaysian political line such as are practiced by GERAKAN. After 27 years of independence we are convinced that the time has come to inculcate in the rakyat the need to think and act as Malaysians.
22. GERAKAN therefore has a very important role to play, particularly in the decade of the 80's. We have made a good start in the past four years with achievements on several fronts. These achievements were the realization of certain goals as the first phase of a long-term overall plan for the party formulated in 1980. The long-term overall plan is to build up GERAKAN as a genuine Malaysian party for all Malaysians.

1985 NDC

18. It is to this ideology that we must all commit and dedicate ourselves. Only when we have such a commitment, will we have genuine unity among our party members. Only then will our level of political consciousness be raised to a high level. Only then will political opportunism be weeded out and the attempted building up of patron-client relationship or the indulgence in money politics within our party is stamped out.

In the effort of inculcating our membership with the party's ideology, the maximum understanding and support from all leaders and members is indeed required. I therefore call upon all party leaders and members to work hard towards this grand common goal. Let us not deviate from these tasks by indulging in activities that

can unnecessarily disrupt and unsettle the serious mood of the bulk of our party's leaders and members.

19. These and other serious research work will lay the foundation for our party's stance and programs in politics, economics, education and culture. They can be further refined and sharpened, through continuous discussions and dialogs, at seminars, workshops and meetings at all levels of the party, into a coherent and well co-ordinated programme reflecting Parti Gerakan's ideology.

1986 NDC

22. As a responsible political party, GERAKAN has always stood for a political ideology that stresses economic development, democratic participation and social justice, and national unity through, a multi-racial or Malaysian approach. We believe that this is the most suitable political framework for the country in view of its complex socioeconomic, multi-ethnic reality. Moreover, the party I has always sought to serve the people by putting our ideology in practice through playing a constructive role rather than through empty sloganeering. We have also accepted the need for power sharing and consensus in the formulation of national policies.
34. Ideologically, our party has continued to voice the people's aspiration through our representatives in the government. We have consistently applied our party's ideological beliefs through concrete stance and programs in politics, economics, education and culture. In line with our commitment for an "efficient, trustworthy and clean government", we have consistently called for actions to punish all who are found guilty in the BMP scandal. In line with our belief in democracy, we have consistently supported the right of the Sabah people to a democratically elected government.
36. In the final analysis, it is through commitment to principled ideological stands such as these that our party can hope to achieve unity of purpose internally as well as to win the allegiance and trust of the people externally. The party is not built around individuals, but rather on the fundamental ideology that the party collectively stands for. Those who are only interested in working towards their own positions and power will have no place in our party. On the other hand, all those who share our ideological commitments are welcomed to take roles in the party commensurate to their ability to contribute.
37. In this regard, we need to continue to strengthen the understanding of our party's ideology among our party members. It is only when our own party members have thoroughly grasped and are committed to the party's ideology that we can be effective in winning over others to our side.

1987 NDC

29. As a responsible political party, we will continue to work hard at all levels to represent the people's interests and aspirations, and to combat the sources of such frustration, dissatisfaction and unhappiness. We will strive hard over the next few years to help create more jobs through the establishment of more small and medium size industries, increase educational opportunities eliminate racism and promote religious and cultural tolerance in the public sector. We will do all these, not so much because we want to win votes in the next elections, but because we believe it is the right thing to do.
30. Saudara/saudari, political struggle is a long-term process. We are in politics not because we want money, position, status or prestige but because we believe in our ideology and want to serve the people. To do so effectively, we of course need an organizational vehicle in the form of a political party. A political party, in turn should be a grouping of ideologically like-minded people who can work together as a team and slog to attain the political ideals they have set out to achieve. In struggle, there will be ups and downs but come what may, we should never waver or compromise our commonly agreed principles. We must always stand firm and have unshakeable faith in our ideals. We must bring together wisdom and collective effort and subscribe to the principle of collective leadership with collective responsibility. Only then will a struggle succeed in the long-run.
31. I reiterate all these because some quarters seem to think that the success of failure of our struggle hinges on electoral performance in one term. This is not a correct view. The success of our struggle hinges on our commitment to win over the hearts and minds of all Malaysians to our cause and or readiness to work together at all times. There is no short-cut. There is only one way and this is the long, strenuous and sometimes turbulent path of struggle along which we shall encounter many obstacles, and even hazards. This is the road for the committed, not the waverers; for the strong-willed, not the weak-hearted; for the principled, not the opportunists. I am confident that most of us present to-day are ready for and already on this path of struggle that will, no doubt, be long and arduous but meaningful. That is why we are in politics. That is why we are in Gerakan.

1993 NDC

20. Nonetheless, Parti Gerakan's basic ideological line will not change viz our commitment to a non-racial Malaysian line towards the attainment of a socially just and egalitarian Malaysian society. This, I am sure you all will agree, has not only withstood the test of time but will continue to be accepted by a vast majority of Malaysians as the only principled line towards attaining a Malaysian identity, consciousness and nationalism. The substance of this line need to be reviewed and

clearly spelt out as well in line with changing circumstances. I will therefore direct the entire party leadership, after consultations with leaders at the various levels, to work on an important policy directive that will have as its central theme the non-racial Malaysian line.

21. Such a policy directive, which will guide our struggle in the years to come, must take stock of the impact of the current and future political and economic trends, changing social forces such as the ethnic pluralization of our country's rich, middle and working classes, the expansion of the industrial workforce, the rise of religious fervor, emerging demographic patterns, the information era and the ever-changing international political and economic scenario on political values. Such contents should include Parti Gerakan's position on the national question and the appropriate social-economic system that can at once enhance efficiency and competitiveness without neglecting social justice. If we do it well, Parti Gerakan will not only be able to meet the challenges but be able to advance the cause of a non-racial Malaysian consciousness in the nineties and into the 21st century. Our ability to expand ideologically and be counted as a significant contributor to an important cause thus depends crucially on our capability to continue evolving a system of political thoughts that will suit the changing times. It is a task we must, therefore, take seriously.

1997 NDC

13. It behooves us next to address this issue urgently, driven by our burning desire to galvanise and mobilise the rank and file through the party for the political agenda ahead. This agenda includes:
 - i) building a Bangsa Malaysia where there is ethnic, religious and gender equality;
 - ii) creating a truly just and prosperous Malaysia;
 - iii) transforming our country into a modern, knowledge-based and high-technology based economy; and
 - iv) enhancing the quality of life through environmental protection, sound resource management and educational democratisation for both human resources development and cultural enrichment.

This is a full agenda that requires our utmost long-term commitment to realize. Those who love our country and party must therefore cast aside their negative and destructive attitudes and instead, close ranks for this great and challenging task of realising our agenda.

14. Many, if not most, from among you realise the urgency of this task. You have thus remain united and committed to our party's cause and have worked hard to

realize our political agenda. Both at the national and state levels, activities such as organising workshops and seminars on a wide range of issues from privatization to urban poverty, have been organised over the last several months. The idea here is to raise the level of consciousness, understanding and knowledge of our members on these socio-economic issues. Following from this, members will be better able to articulate the frustrations and difficulties of the broad masses on these issues to the decision-makers for their consideration and improvement. Alternatively, they could act as agents to explain the good intentions and soundness of government policies. Meanwhile, efforts to strengthen our party's organisation and administrative machinery continue unabated. One such effort concerns computerising the national and state level headquarters. The national and state level headquarters are now linked via computers, paving the way for electronic e-mailing as the main means of communication. Parti Gerakan is thus heading towards a paperless and electronic administration which hopefully will be even more efficient and effective. Those that have not done so should make immediate efforts to do so.

1998 NDC

27. On this 30th anniversary of the founding of our party, I feel it important for me to reiterate to you the political vision that has inspired our founders to launch Parti Gerakan. In launching the party, they pledged to mobilise and galvanise via the party all Malaysians as Malaysians. They knew then that it was crucial to promote the commitment to be a Malaysian above and beyond being a Malay, Chinese, Indian, Kadazan or Iban. And that this group would grow, more so if conscious political efforts are made to heighten the consciousness of Malaysians as a national identity, and to combat racism.
28. The very idea of the founding of Parti Gerakan was precisely to put forth these efforts. Over the past 30 years since the founding of our party, members at all levels have tirelessly and ceaselessly worked towards the creation of a Malaysian nation and race or Bangsa Malaysia. And we can say with immense pride and honour that some great strides forward have been made.
29. Today, many have come to identify themselves as Malaysians. They are proud to be Malaysians and want to be represented only as Malaysians. We have worked hard all these years to provide them with a vehicle and platform in the political arena to carry on this struggle to promote Malaysian nationalism and patriotism.
30. It remains for us and the future generations of Gerakan members to carry on the struggle. But I have to stress that the way ahead is arduous and the journey towards the ultimate political destination still long and difficult. Those of you who are still with us or who have just joined us, particularly the younger generation

of Gerakan members, must emulate the grit, determination and sacrifice of our party's founding fathers. These are qualities of the utmost importance in any political struggle. These are the qualities that are so essential to seeing any political struggle brought to its successful conclusion.

2002 NDC

31. Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's call for unity on the 45th anniversary of our Independence is most timely and appropriate for us to cast aside our racial and religious differences to create a successful and truly Bangsa Malaysia. He has pointed out in the nine strategic challenges of Vision 2020 that the first of these challenges and most basic is to establish a united Malaysian nation with a sense of common and shared destiny.
32. This has been the essence of Parti Gerakan's non-racial politics and our struggle to introduce progressive and developmental politics to all Malaysians which is above and beyond race, religion and cultural differences. Developmental politics is politics of wisdom and maturity that goes beyond slogan shouting, racial, theocratic or iconic politics and politics of self-interest. In the advent of knowledge era, it is crucial to emphasize on mental and character development to ensure that our Gerakan leaders possess the right mental attitude and depth of character to lend their leadership to our community.
33. As a political party, we must also be strong and competent to carry out the mandate by the people in an effective and efficient manner. Our leaders and members across the party hierarchy should make special efforts to understand issues and developments affecting our nation and people. In this regard, I encourage more activities and programmes with different emphasis such as leadership qualities building, political education, communication skills, information technology and others be made available at branch, division and state levels in liaison with our federal administration. In line with our party's reinvention programmes, we have obtained the ISO 9001:2000 certificate of quality recognition for Membership and Administration System. We understand the importance of efficient and professional membership management as the key to a political party's stability. One important indicator of a party's development and progress is its membership size. Therefore there is a proposal to increase the minimum membership to form a branch from 50 to 100 voting members. Likewise, the branch formation requirement for both Youth and Women wings is proposed to increase from 15 to 50 voting members. I wish to clarify here that our membership drive at all times must focus on recruiting quality people and those who subscribe to our non-racial developmental political approach whilst support the objectives of both Bangsa Malaysia and Vision 2020.

34. Parti Gerakan like other organizations is not exempted from extinction or being rendered irrelevant if we do not move in tandem with changes. Hence, one way to inject vibrancy into our party is through party elections to promote leadership renewal and act as a check and balance mechanism on performers and non-performers. Candidates of this year's party elections once elected must ensure that your contribution is seen and felt by the members and the people you serve. Otherwise the democratic process of our party will not hesitate to change you in the next round.
35. Malaysian politics in general has experienced tremendous assaults from communal and theocratic political influences. The tactics deployed by PAS and the Oppositions to win support will inadvertently create rifts in our society through their messages and actions. For example, the implementation of hudud law in Trengganu is both unconstitutional and insensitive to the general feelings of our multi-racial society. Such an act comes with high social cost to the community in the state and PAS intention to implement its version of hudud in Malaysia must be stopped at its track. I am convinced that many moderates among us will stand unite to reject PAS political advances and its selfish ambition using the holy mask of Islam. For instance, the Syariah Criminal Offences Enactment passed by the PAS-led Trengganu State Assembly on 8th July provides for death by stoning for zina and other feudalistic punishments may bring negative international attention to our country which is bad for foreign direct investment and international trade. Many more instances of the oppositions pointed to the manipulation of religious and iconic politics which is unsuitable to cultivate a united Bangsa Malaysia and the achievement of Vision 2020.

SECTION 6

On Re-inventing Gerakan

1997 NDC

19. To prepare for these many challenges ahead, there is thus a need for leaders of our party, to undergo rejuvenation and re-training. The idea is that we must equip ourselves with new techniques and bright ideas to overcome weaknesses and to counter threats while at the same time exploiting strengths and grabbing opportunities in a new era that is characterised by rising competitiveness which in turn is caused by rapid technological changes, short product cycles and borderless economies. At the same time as we undergo rejuvenation and re-training, we must seek to re-organise our party. These calls for:-
- i) continuous recruitment into our party of high quality members who are willing to serve and be prepared to place the interests of both the party and the public over private interests; and
 - ii) strengthening our party's organisation and machinery at all levels.

Saudara-Saudari, as we approach the 21st century, these tasks become all the more crucial, vital and important. If carried out well, Parti Gerakan will be pro-active, forward looking, visionary and courageous, especially in helping to identify issues that impinge on the nation and to strategise appropriate responses that will propel the nation forward. In these circumstances, Parti Gerakan will continue to be relevant and to have an important role to play in nation building in the new millennium. These tasks are very urgent. I thus call upon all our members to prepare themselves for these urgent tasks ahead.

1998 NDC

24. Saudara-Saudari, 1998 is a politically significant year for Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia. For this year marks the 30th anniversary of the founding of our party. To commemorate this event, a new logo was designed, unveiled and launched on the 1st March this year in Penang. The choice of Penang for the launch was deliberate. For it was there that our party was first elected to govern the state in 1969. And it was there that we have been a major partner in the Barisan Nasional Government since 1974 till today.
25. To commemorate the 30th anniversary of the founding of our party, I have just unveiled and launched a new logo at the beginning of March this year. This new logo is indeed attractive, and more importantly, contains very significant political

messages. Naturally, we have retained the green triangle logo with golden padi stalks and red base. This is unmistakably Gerakan, with its' non-ethnic approach and stress on equity.

26. The new logo is also marked by the catch phrase “Satu Hati, Satu Negara, Satu Wawasan”. This at once sums up the direction for the party towards the 21st century succinctly. “Satu Hati” has been our rallying cry for the past 30 years and will remain our rallying cry for the next 30 years. We have now added “Satu Negara” and “Satu Wawasan”. These catch phrases are meant to appeal to us to unite to form one united nation and to move towards the realization of our vision - Vision 2020. In brief, our new logo explains to the public at large the direction of our future struggle. Parti Gerakan strives for a united nation for all Malaysians.

1999 NDC

32. As we approach the new millennium, many challenges await us. These arise from globalisation and the increasing trend towards a borderless world, a shrinking of the public sector as a result of privatization, and rapid technological changes. Globalisation and the rapid dissemination of information, especially via the Internet, will impact on Malaysia. To be able to govern in this context requires that we must ourselves be able to keep abreast of the rapid changes. It is only then we can strategise at the national level and forge strategic alliances at the international level for national advancement. Saudara-Saudari, the central impetus today can be summarised in one word -EFFICIENCY. More and more, the economy and the market will become globalised. We have no choice but to be efficient, proficient and productive. The age of electronic commerce (or E-commerce) is already upon us. With our Cyber Jaya and Multimedia Super Corridor, we are already embarking on this informational and commercial revolution. We must, as YAB Prime Minister, has shown on numerous occasions, face the challenges of the 21 Century and seize the opportunities opening up to us.
33. Increasingly, these trends towards globalisation, privatization and rapid technological changes require that political parties, such as ours, forge comprehensive and effective partnerships that embrace all sectors of society for good governance. The role of political parties in promoting partnerships among various actors of civil society, including non-governmental organisations and the private sector is of critical importance for achieving good governance, to which Parti Gerakan is committed, at local, national, and global levels. Members of Parti Gerakan must take note of these dynamics and be constantly aware of the major global themes that impact on our collective national interests.
34. Leaders and members at all levels must help the government build partnerships among all groups of stakeholders, multiple voices and all levels of our society.

To play this role effectively, they must equip themselves with knowledge on the use of the tools of information technology. They must interact constantly with other organisations that represent youths and women. I do hope Gerakan leaders and members at all levels will pay serious attention to these dynamics, so that we can continue to serve our constituency, our party, the Barisan Nasional and our country in the new millennium.

2000 NDC

27. Saudara-Saudari, shortly after the last General Election, members of our party's Central Committee and all elected representatives gathered in Port Dickson for 2 days of brainstorming. The major objective of this brainstorming was to seek ways to strengthen our party as a vehicle that we can mobilize to help fulfill the mandate given by the voters to the Barisan Nasional in the last General Election. At the brainstorming, party leaders and all of our elected representatives actively expressed their views in a very candid manner.

Out of this very frank expression of views, we observed that while the Barisan Nasional still had majority support among the voters from all communities, there was considerable erosion of support among the Malays, although the Chinese, and especially the Indian electorate, rallied behind us. The first task before us was thus the winning back of support from the Malays and the retention, if not the further enhancement of support from the Chinese and Indians for the Barisan Nasional, in the next General Election. The question is, of course, how?

28. Parti Gerakan is of the view that this task can be considerably aided if the Barisan Nasional is to pursue policies in political, economic, cultural, educational and religious development that are moderate, fair and just. It is also imperative that we continue to liberalize; provide more democratic space for dissent; combat corruption; and redistribute income, wealth and opportunities from the rich and well-to-do to the poor and deprived of our society. As leaders, we must be humble, approachable and consultative. The policy formulation must follow the bottoms-up rather than the tops-down approach. This way, the Barisan Nasional will be seen to be moving toward the much supported goal of a more open, democratic, equal and just Malaysian society. We must, in all our deliberations, espousals and policy pronouncements as well as implementation, be mindful that Malaysia is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural society. This should lead us to eschew a racist approach but instead to stress on a non-ethnic approach towards policy formulation and implementation. There must also be space enough for followers of all religious faiths to fully practise their respective religions. We are confident that by sticking to these principles of good governance, Barisan Nasional will not only win back lost ground but gain even greater support from all

the communities that make up this beautiful motherland of ours.

2004 NDC

33. GERAKAN continues to strive forward to face the challenges of the 21st century. We are committed to realizing the aims of the party as outlined in our booklet entitled 'GERAKAN Re-invention for the 21st century'.
34. Many of these aims were discussed at a recent leadership brainstorming held in Penang in June. They include the commitment to the Party's ideology of equality, liberty justice, democracy, peace and national unity; to eliminate discrimination of all forms; and to promote the advancement of all Malaysians in all areas. Let us never forget these goals as we carry out our service to the nation and its peoples.
35. The meeting also reiterated that Parti Gerakan is a Malaysian Party open to all Malaysians. Although 80% of our members are of ethnic Chinese but we are not a Chinese-based Party. We use a non-racial approach towards solving the multi-racial problems in our country. We, therefore, support all national integration programmes like the National Service, Rukun Tetangga and integration programmes in schools. We believe that these will strengthen national unity and hasten the identity of a Bangsa Malaysia.
36. Programmes laid out for the Party include:
 - (a) expanding the party at Divisional level by increasing Branches from 12 to 18 through recruiting new members.
 - (b) training of new members through the Satu Academy
 - (c) completion of Menara PGRM II
 - (d) obtaining the licence to start Wawasan Open University.

These are programmes set up by the Party for the coming next two years. It also includes the on-going programme of increased and closer co-operation with the MCA as two significant Barisan Nasional component parties working towards the long-term goal of a merger.
37. Perhaps one of the greatest challenges to any organization including and especially a political party, is the challenge of staying relevant in an ever-changing environment. I see the need to build GERAKAN into an intelligent party through our leaders and members as a key thrust of how we as a political party can face the challenge of staying relevant.
38. Indeed, if a party is intelligent and forward thinking enough, I don't see why we cannot stay ahead of the curve by helping influence society in the way it thinks rather than just being led by the social trends.
39. As an example, even though many people were not ready to accept the notion

of Bangsa Malaysia, this has been a concept that has long been inculcated by GERAKAN leaders and members, and it is a concept that GERAKAN has embraced whole-heartedly for the past 13 years ever since it was put forth as our national policy under Wawasan 2020.

40. If we push ourselves hard enough, I don't see why we cannot lead the way in other areas of social policy as well as in other areas including the use of information and communications technology and the formation of a knowledge society.
41. Many of the senior GERAKAN leaders have labored hard to build the party into what it is today. We will continue to serve the party as long as our service are still wanted. We will share our knowledge and experience with the younger and up-and-coming leaders and hopefully guide them as they take over the mantle of leadership when we step down.

2005 NDC

34. As a political party, Gerakan is facing an important transition, especially in its political direction. Like all other organisations, we have to be ready to embrace change. In fact, we do not have to seek 'change', it will naturally find us! I would rather it is us, Gerakan leaders and members, who make the effort to do so. We do not want 'change' to find us and help to spell out our party's fate: politically irrelevant and extinction!
35. In reinventing the party, leadership renewal and rejuvenation is inevitable. As faithful party members, we have to accept that none of us is indispensable. As a mortal human being, we cannot rule and lead forever. Those who have had a chance to lead must be willing to pass down the torch to the next generation of leaders. Only through a proper and systematic process of leadership renewal and power transition, a political party can hope to continue and sustain its struggle into the future.
36. One of the challenges facing the party is money politics. During the state-level election, I have received some complaints of money politics. Those who practiced money politics are only interested in their own self-interest. Such practice, if proven to be true, must be condemned in Gerakan! A special committee to investigate the allegations have been set up and it is headed by Saudara Tan Sri Chan Choong Tak. The committee is given immediate executive power to act against any members found guilty of money politics and corruption.
37. A step-brother of money politics – poison pen letter – is rearing its ugly head in the party. If you are telling the truth, you do not need to hide in anonymity. Only the people who dare not stand up and defend their allegations have to resort to poison pen letters. This is a cheap and irresponsible form of politics.

38. Saudara-saudari, money politics and poison pen letter are not and never will be part of our Gerakan culture. We must reject these dirty tactics and reject the people who practiced them.

2006 NDC

36. The party has launched an ambitious reinvention programme in 2003 and I would like to once again request for your full commitment to the struggle. One of our objectives is to rejuvenate the party as a learning and intelligent political organisation capable of initiating political innovation and change. I hope this is not merely an abstract concept which ended up with business as usual.
37. Lofty targets must be replaced with achievable and measurable targets. Over the last few years, the party has added to its physical infrastructure with the completion of the Menara PGRM 2 and other state-level headquarters. It is time that we look into the improvement of our soft infrastructure or brainware. Just like any other organisations, human capital is the most important element of Parti Gerakan's success. The party leadership must be proactive in seeking out to encourage people who are passionate about national issues and the national development agenda to contribute their knowledge, ideas and enthusiasm via Parti Gerakan. For those sleeping members, it is time to wake them up or ship them out.
38. If we are not careful, opportunism is becoming a political malaise in our party. The opportunists are members who are waiting for their self-interests to be served instead of serving the interests of the society. Politics is about serving and giving back to the nation what you took from it. It takes a good leader to identify and differentiate the opportunists from the real members.
39. Good leadership is responsible for the welfare of the group and not the welfare of certain individuals. As a result, some people will get angry at your actions and decision. A good leader is not a crowd pleaser or a populist.
40. In the words of a prominent leader, trying to get everyone to like you is a sign of mediocrity. A good leader should not avoid making tough decisions, afraid of confronting the people who need to be confronted and refrain from offering rewards based on merit because people might get upset. He warned that by procrastinating on the difficult choices and by trying to please everyone, you will end up angering and disappointing the most creative and productive people in the organization.
41. The new leadership of Parti Gerakan should build their political foundation on fairness, justice, compassion and meritocracy. Only then, the reinvention of Parti Gerakan will create a desirable outcome and a hope for the members and its supporters.

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