

TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH BY MR. LEE KUAN YEW  
AT THE KAMPONG KAPOR COMMUNITY CENTRE  
3RD ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS HELD ON  
5TH JULY, 1964.

Friends,

I think for the next two or three years, we will be going through the most trying phase in the consolidation of Malaysia. If there is wisdom in the political leadership of the various territories in Malaysia, then we shall survive. I have no doubt about that. As I have said, the military pressure can be withstood, as well as the economic pressure and the boycott. But the most dangerous is the political pressure -- the crude appeals made by Indonesia to break Malaysia on the basis of race. That is what Maphilindo amounts to.

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This worries me. I know that after his experience of Manila the Tunku is not at all happy about Maphilindo. That is why I encouraged support for him in the last elections in Malaya. But, you know, when I read of the Assistant-Secretary-General of UMNO, a Member of Parliament from Pontian, going down to Geylang Serai and telling the Malays there -- and the Utusan Melayu publishing it for all the Malays to read: "Why is the PAP afraid of Maphilindo?"

(implying that he is not), where are we going? Is he really also wanting to play this line to the hilt and to fall right into Soekarno's lap? Has he calculated where he is going?

I mean, there are thousands of people reading this: "Why is PAP afraid of Maphilindo?" We are not afraid of Maphilindo but we will fight it! We have been against it from the moment it was announced because it is a racist concept which must ultimately break up this region, and definitely break up Malaysia. By all means, let us have cultural and economic co-operation. But the political concept designed according to Radio Indonesia -- the getting together of the Malay race -- what does it mean? To fix the other races. Doesn't it mean that?

Of course, we don't like this racist concept and, what is more, we will fight it! We have not fought the Communists, you know, just to allow ourselves to go into a worse predicament. We are part of this country and we intend to survive as a separate entity -- a multi-racial and perhaps a culturally heterogeneous society, but with sufficient cohesion to make it a nation. But, you see, these are some of the problems.

If there is no or insufficient political wisdom or just plain common sense amongst the political leaders of Malaysia, then Malaysia must collapse. Neither

the Chinese, the Malays, the Indians, not the Ceylonese are going to get anything good out of this. And, particularly, I make this point, because some Malays may think that they are going to get something out of this. I don't think so. All will be sorry.

You know, the Celebes revolted against Indonesia. The Sumatrans revolted against Indonesia. This will never go that way, not if we have the will. I am not worried, you know, about the first 5 years because the economy is strong enough to see us through these years. And, anyway, there are sane, rational men in charge as Ministers in Kuala Lumpur, in Singapore, and also in Borneo. But if we do not check this, the next second 5 years all the wild men in each section will become more and more wild and Malaysia must break up. Therefore, I say, this is our most important task at the moment: to meet the political challenge which Indonesian confrontation and aggression have brought

on us.

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As I see it, if we all begin to manoeuvre for short-term sectional advantage -- you know, UMNO playing for UMNO, PAP playing for PAP, SUPP and UPKO, USNO, everybody playing a little bit for himself -- we are in for real trouble. That means we don't deserve to prosper. This is a very big task -- first,

to withstand external aggression and second, to consolidate internal unity, understanding, goodwill, co-operation and cohesion.

I am quite happy about the Singapore end, as I have said, if we can play this quietly, meet it coolly, point for point and blow for blow just so we ding-dong with the Communists. I have only one fear -- that some unfortunate incident takes place. You know, they invoke the Koran. I don't understand this but I know in 1950 a lot of unhappiness took place because of religion getting mixed up with a great deal of political feeling. And, I say, don't misjudge -- I mean, these are mostly people who have come from Kuala Lumpur and elsewhere and who think that they can play this line here. Singapore is a fairly sophisticated place and it is that which gives me confidence.

We have the sufficient nerve to meet this challenge and not be intimidated.

We cannot allow one community to intimidate another. Just as I could not allow the Chinese Communist to intimidate the rest of the community so I will not allow the Malay communalist to intimidate the others. It cannot be done! This place has to be run on a basis of fair play and fair share for all, and on the open argument.

I called a meeting, you know, of a hundred odd associations and this had nothing to do with PAP. Just all Malay associations because this has become a major talking-point. So I said, "All right, let's meet, let's talk." There was no press publicity, not even an announcement, but UMNO heard about it and they immediately accused us of toying to divide the Malays -- they decided to hold their own meeting and put up demands. First, they said there were no workers in Jurong who were Malays. But as there are now 16% Malays they say, "Why not 25%?" I say, why not make it 100% and be finished with it!

I mean, where do we go? But I do not believe that this is the majority view in the Malay world. It cannot be possible. Otherwise, Malaya would have collapsed years ago if that is the basis on which they run Malaya. And, what is required now is argument, careful thinking, heart searching, and the facing of the facts. We will do what is right and what is fair. But most important, we will do what is necessary to make this country survive.

I am not worried about Singapore because I am quite sure Singapore will move forward. It has enough momentum, drive and impetus already to carry it forward over the next five years. But I am concerned to see that this fits harmoniously into the whole of Malaysia and that we become part of a happy family within Malaysia. That is our problem.