

TEXT OF MR. LEE KUAN YEW'S SPEECH AT THE  
MALAYSIAN SOLIDARITY CONVENTION AT THE  
NATIONAL THEATRE ON 6TH JUNE, 1965.

Friends and fellow-Malaysians, this is quite an eventful day, for this is the beginning of a new tide in the affairs of the people of Malaysia. It took a long time for us all to come to the same conclusions despite our differing experience in Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak. Our friends in Sabah are not here today officially, but I can assure you that we have many friends there. There is no doubt about it that it took us a long time to reach inevitable conclusion that these people were up to no good -- (APPLAUSE). You know the line they were taking with growing truculence on a heavy racial accent, the intimidatory postures and the snarling guttural notes on which they sent out their signals to their followers on the basis of race lead us to only one conclusion -- that if this goes on, Malaysia will not belong to Malaysians. And since there are so many Malaysians, we decided that the time has come for us to speak our minds. The technique is quite a subtle one. They speak in two different wave-lengths -- one length for multi-lingual, multi-racial consumption, the other, a special VHF meant for their followers. The good men, multi-racial men, the top leaders, from time to time, completely dissociate themselves from this special VHF, but the wild men keep up the pressure. All nice things have been said in Parliament -- "Yes, of

course, Malaysia is a Malaysian nation", that in fact, it was their idea. Well, it does not matter. "If in fact it was their idea -- so much the better. But it disturbs us that even after all this had been said, today UTUSAN ZAMAN continues this crude, communal approach.

It will take some time, but what is important is that the top leadership has for the first time conceded publicly in Parliament, "Yes, we will follow the CONSTITUTION. Yes, this is a Malaysian concept. Of course, it is. Yes, we will be democratic. Yes, the PAP is not subversive. It is supplied with official intelligence, being briefed on the nation's security on what is going on, on the facts facing us." Never mind the manner in which it was put. In a sneering way, they say that the Communists do not trust us, and so they won't use us. Similarly, the Indonesians don't trust us, and definitely will not use us. And the enemies are Indonesians and Communist subversives of foreign ideologies and foreign expansionist groups. And the PAP and the parties here in convention will have nothing to do with these two groups. Now that we have had this clear official admission that we are not subversives, therefore it is our right to continue democratically and constitutionally in a peaceful way. And in a peaceful way, we will win. It may take five, ten, fifteen, twenty years. But you heard our friend from Sarawak? Voices like this will get more numerous and stronger as the years go by -- not weaker. You heard our friend from North Malaya, Dr. Lim

Chong Eu, "They failed in Malaya because the political parties associated with UMNO got themselves frightened and intimidated." And his advice to us after many years of very intimate knowledge of their method and tactics, "Be resolute, be firm. Never be intimidated." And there is this one quality common to all convened here. Tun Razak was surprised how we could all come together. Yes, we have got differing points of views, different experiences, different parties. But I tell you two things brought us together; one, the fact that we are Malaysians and not communalists; second, the fact that in spite of all this truculence, we are still talking for Malaysians on behalf of a Malaysian Malaysia towards a Malaysian Malaysia, and we will continue to do so.

I would like to spend just a few minutes to go back to the background as to why I say that there is hope. There is now this admission, not from the Tunku but from Tun Razak on behalf of the Tunku --it would have been better from the Tunku himself, but never mind, this is a good start. "We are not used by the Communists. We are not used by the Indonesians." In other words, gentlemen, if we continue to be Malaysians and not to be traitors to Malaysia, they cannot, and therefore will not, act undemocratically and unconstitutionally. That is the inference I must draw, and if I am wrong, I would like to hear them in the course of the next few days to put me right. Now why do I say that they cannot and therefore will not? I am not saying that they will not and therefore cannot. I am

saying that they cannot and therefore will not. I quote this from the census reports of the various States of Malaysia. This is not a subversive document. All we have done is added the totals; that's all. It's nothing to do with subversion. It is not taken from a Communist pamphlet or from Indonesian literature. We added the sum total of all the populations of all the States, and I will give you them in round figures:

39 per cent Malays

7 per cent Ibans, Kadazans, Kenyans, Dyaks, Kelabits, etc.

42 percent Chinese

about 10 per cent Indians and Pakistanis.

and the others Eurasians, Ceylonese, and so on. So you see that it is quite a sizeable enterprise for any one single group to try and run the others. This is where sometimes not only history is on our side but geography is also on our side. One thousand miles of ocean lies between Malaysia and Sabah and Sarawak. You cannot cross by the Alliance kapal layar! And in these waters there are Indonesian cruisers and submarines given to them by the Russians. So if you go along in your cabin cruiser, the flagship of the Royal Malaysian Navy, the "MUTIARA" which is air-conditioned with a dining-room for about 12 people, it is nice to go fishing.... But you cannot just cross over to Sabah and

Sarawak without some help from the British Navy and the Royal Air Force.

Assuming that they have been transferred over, you will need a lot of men -- a very vast territory. And I said in Parliament and Temenggong Jugah's face lit up when I said to him that I thought that if the Ibans really got angry, perhaps the 1,000 troops you send there may never be seen or heard again. So we have got to be democratic. There is no other way. We must govern by consent, because there is no other way. They know too, that governing by consent, they may be in there for many more years, because they have got their own kampong base, and they will always find a few rich Chinese to turn up for them and give them money and get their shop assistants or their children to vote for them. But I thought some of them were very honest recently. The Chief Minister of Malacca said, "Look, how non-communal the Malays are in Malacca. In a Malay constituency they voted for Mr. Tan Siew Sin." There is the Chief Minister of Malacca -- an honest man. Every time Mr. Tan Siew Sin goes around beating his chest, I thought that is what he represents, the Malays who voted for him. That is right. And so with Dato Sambanthan. He is another honest man. You know what he said? Jaafar Albar is a good man. Not communal. You know why? "In my constituency, he said, is in Perak, Sungei Siput, in Dato Sambanthan's constituency, he said, 90% of the people are Malays, and Dato Albar goes around and tells them vote for me. So they voted for me. Therefore, Dato Albar is not a communalist." So he told the Malays to vote for him.

So I thought it was altogether a most useful session of Parliament. We opened all the cupboards, with all the bad smells and odours, one good breeze blew it through, and it will keep open and keep blowing. We keep up the breeze. When the breeze falls we will switch on the fans to keep it going.

Get the truth out, and we will know that we have no reason to be afraid, no reason to be intimidated. But then if we are, then, of course, woe betide us. A people that are cowed, frightened, intimidated, they'll say, "Riots coming, blood will flow," so we will all go home, close our doors and take the blankets and cover our heads. And then they march up and down the streets shouting slogans: the next day peace. According to Dr. Lim Chong Eu, that is what that has been happening a long time there. And you can believe all these things because reading the non-Malay Press, non-Jawi Press one does not know these things.

And we decided we better pay attention. What is it being said in this special network? And very funny things are being said. And I would say the time has come to make it quite clear that come what may, we will play it democratically, we will play it constitutionally, we will insist on being peaceful, we will insist on being never off-side. In the football field, sometimes the referee blows the whistle and sends a player off the field. Off-side, and if the player is off-side, the spectators all say, "Well, too bad. Out of the field". But when 11 million

spectators -- you know, I want to correct this. We are no longer 10 million, because every year we are producing more. 11 million now. 11 million spectators in Malaysia, and over 1,000 million outside watching on. Very big stadium this. This is the world stage. You do this today, the telegraph wires buzz in all the capitals of the world, in Africa, in Europe, in America, in ASIA. They read this. There are a lot of spectators. If the referee blows the whistle and sends a player who is not definitely not off-side off the field and gives a penalty kick to the side which does not deserve it, I can assure you not only will the spectators in Malaysia feel excited, but 1,000 million spectators outside Malaysia will be similarly incensed. It is true, this sort of riot, these football riots take place only in South America. Sometimes players are sent off the field; spectators say this is a wrong. Suddenly spectators break into the field, and all the stones go inside. Spectators descend into the field; bottles -- referee runs for his life. There is no capacity of any one group in this country to govern these various territories and these various communities by force. Even if you buy enough bayonets there are not enough hands to hold the bayonets against the chaps who want a Malaysian Malaysia. Let us be quite frank about it. But we do not want to use bayonets, because otherwise they will say, "Ah, he is using a bayonet. Tangkap." Then the argument is over.

We can win on the argument, by the example we shall show them. We offered them this in Parliament. Why? If they were fearful for the future of the Malaya and the indigenous people -- never forget this, don't just say Malays -- indigenous people -- then I say, "Let us compete: programme policy, construction, education, social, economic reforms." The indigenous people must benefit if we begin to compete to raise their level. They don't want to compete. No good. Competition is bad! We are just told, "Lay off. Don't try and do anything good." How can it be? I say we intend to continue, and never get put into a false position, never get put into an anti-Malay, anti-national language, anti-Malay special rights position. That is wrong. Then they win.

They say they are worried about the Malays? I say, so are we. We want to raise their standard of living, and we will, and faster than they can. At the end of 5, 10, 15, 20 years, a new generation will grow up that will no longer respond to the special VHF they use. They will be tuning into the multi-lingual network.

They will be thinking like us, working like us, trained like us, prepared to live with us like Malaysians. Then we win. And history is on our side. Tribal societies throughout Africa, throughout India, the feudal structure has collapsed. All the Maharajahs have gone. So too the big chiefs in Africa. Gone or going. Their followers are beginning to stand up on their hind legs, straight, and speak up. The process has already started in Malaysia; their own followers, people



from the kampong, now being educated -- they have got to educate them -- and when they are educated, they will listen to the news. Even though it is only Radio Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Never mind. We start off with Radio Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. Finally, as they are twiddling the knob, they may listen to Radio Malaysia, Singapore, Kuching, Jesselton. They might even listen to Radio Indonesia. And they will begin to think; and when they do, we win; not we personally, but the things we believe in: in a multi-racial society of Malaysians, building together, preserving all that is good and decent in this little corner of Southeast Asia.

I have only this one injunction to give all our followers. Never get caught in their communal slogans. This is important. This is a new situation. Our friends from Malaya, in the old days without Malaysia, they are cornered. They are cornered, because the communal slogans can win for a very long time. They have got 50 percent Malays, with 65 percent of the vote. So whoever wins the 65 percent of the vote, the majority of it, controls. So, sometimes they were cornered into taking positions which now are no longer necessary. Not necessary. This is Malaysia. We have got out friends from Sarawak, from Sabah. And now they know there are lots of people in Singapore who are not cowed and intimidated by these things.

Concede the National Language. I read an editorial in BERITA HARIAN today. They agree with me that (in) 1967, Malay, the national language, the price of padi will still be the same in the kampong. The chances are the price of cigarettes and cooking oil may have gone up; and Coca-cola has already gone up by five cents, because of the crown cork tax. That's special Malay rights, you see, by the Chinese MCA Minister. Dong -- Malays drink Coca-cola, special tax five cents. "Malays in Singapore -- special rights", and they say, "pay tax on sugar". Malays don't eat sugar? Only Chinese and Indians eat sugar? Malays don't ride on buses -- so tax on diesel oil.

Argue, think out, calculate and they must lose, provided we play this long-term. Don't think in terms just of the next elections. You know, they are already switching their line. They are getting breezy now. They are feeling a bit chilly with all these breezes blowing, so Lim Swee Aun says, "We are all co-owners."

I like to hear that. You know, his tail was up, wagging again. You know, in February his tail was down. UMNO branches in Perak were condemning him and calling him anti-Malay, anti-National Language. "Sack him!" Passing resolutions in their special network in Jawi. We were reading it. We got alarmed. Chief Minister of Penang, Data Wong Pow Nee -- anti-National Language. They were being chased. At that time, there was not a squeak from the President of the MCA. He was quiet at home. Probably closed the doors and

window, switched the air-condition on, didn't hear all this. If you don't hear it, it does not exist. All will be well. Muar MCA. Muar MCA got scared. You know Muar? This was happening in the north, Muar is in the South: they got frightened. They said, "What's happening? Stop this, Tunku. Dangerous talk." Because, you see, we were tuning to this VHF and we put it on to the multi-lingual network. So they also heard this and they got frightened.

I say there's no need to be frightened. You see, the tails already are up. And now Lim Swee Aun says, "We are co-owners". This is important. We are fighting for Malaysia: agreed. Who own Malaysia? This is very important because having fought for Malaysia, 10 years of confrontation, suddenly we find only some are owners. The others are what Dato Syed Albar has called "Orang Tumpangan".

"Tumpang" is a very difficult thing. Your motor-car, I tumpang and I repair, I buy tyres, and I change the engine? I mean, it is not worth it. If it is going to be like that, I say better we buy our own car. Smaller car, never mind, but we will feel happy when we repair it. But now, we know. Admitted -- on the record. On the record, "We are co-owners", said Dr. Lim Swee Aun on behalf of the Federal Government. They tell us, "Ministers all speak for the Government". All right, Dr. Lim Swee Aun says we are co-owners, not lodgers,

not guests like to hear that. I congratulated him, and sincerely congratulated him, for the courage he had in saying that.

I liked some of the other speeches too, from some of the senior Malay Ministers. They made sense. Two-stage, said Dr. Ismail. One stage -- separate communal parties. Second stage -- non-communal. Good; then we are the avant -- gards, the avant-gards of Malaysia. That's what we are. But there are other voices which we must always watch. These are the same rational voices, the thinking men. The other men says, "Othman Wok, you traitor. Selling out Malays. Why are you with all these other people.

I thought originally that they were going to get all the Bumiputra and they say; "O.K. We Bumiputra." Then I found they were trying to fix one Bumiputra in Sarawak, another Bumiputra in Sabah. I said, "Good gracious me! They are taking on the lot!" It can't be done.

I would say time is on our side. They may play this intelligently . . . If they play this intelligently, they may have their position for some time. The process of history is a flow, but a relentless one, and they may slow down the process. But if they go on with this communal politicking and we are tuning in to this VHF and transmitting, relaying in other languages, then in four years the

base is gone. And I am hoping their their thinkers on their side will reach that same conclusion and stop it. I prefer them to stop it. I prefer them to preserve their base for as long as they can, because that gives us time to consolidate our side.

We are in no hurry. We don't want to knock them down tomorrow, or day after tomorrow. All we want is to get towards a Malaysian Malaysia. We can go slowly. Make haste slowly, and will win. And this will be a nation that will survive for hundreds of years as a separate identity in Southeast Asia, a multi-racial community -- a confluence of four of Asia's major cultures and civilizations, superimposed with a streak of British civilization.

It can never go back again. You cannot play this time machine. This is only true in the comic strips. It cannot be done in real life. Comic strip, you turn Alley Oop back in the Stone Age. You think you can turn your time machine and say go back to the day before the first Chinese, the first Indians and the first Pakistanis arrived?". Where do you think I am going to? You turn the time machine, I'll still be here, and then you'll be disappointed. That's what I keep telling them. And what is more, if you turn the time machine really back, quite a number of the wild men won't be here.

So, you see, our confidence is solidly based on demography, which means the distribution of the various groups and communities in Malaysia; on geography, which means the territories, the terrain, the sea in between; and on history, which means man must progress and break through the old tribal society into the modern age, because the world has got smaller, ideas take less time to be transmitted, and because man wants to advance. And Malaysians want to keep up with the rest of humanity, with the rest of the world, and advance as Malaysians. And that is the slogan I give you. That is the slogan we have decided. We'll win, a Malaysian Malaysia. Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER'S CONCLUDING WORDS AT  
THE CONVENTION.

Before I read the resolutions and my colleagues with me on this platform read it in the various languages, I would just like, for this record, to say something which I have already said in Chinese, which I think is very important that people should know in Malaysia.

We have a vested interested in democratic, constitutional methods of change. We are a loyal opposition group because the CONSTITUTION offers us, in the long-term, a way out towards a Malaysian Malaysia. We hope that the

voices of reason and sanity, some of which we heard in the last few days, will continue to grow stronger on their side and will prevail in the long run. For, in that way, there can be accommodation, adjustment and success for all. But we make it quite clear that whatever they do, we have not the slightest intention of being off-side, against the laws of the country, against the Constitution of the country, against democratic and constitutional and peaceful means. And if in spite of being not off-side, we are still dealt with by simple executive powers, then I ask them to calculate the long-term consequences.

We cannot afford to be intimidated. We will organise like-minded peoples throughout Malaysia. We have not the slightest intention of breaking Malaysia up regardless of what they allege we have said. We have not the slightest intention of seceding and obliging their "ultras" and leaving our friends, our fellow countrymen, our fellow Malaysians to the tender mercies of the "ultras".

They want us out, you know. You see the way they phrase it. "Kalau anak jantan, chakap sekarang mahu keluar Malaysia," chakap Dato Albar. "Apa sebab? "Takut saya anak perempuan-kah?"

Is there any doubt that we are reasonably masculine characters? Does he believe that because we are civil, because we are polite, because we are constitutional, therefore, we have become effeminate and feminine? No, we shall

always be polite. We shall always bear in mind that our long-term interest, whether they are living in North Malaya, across in Johore or across the water in Sabah and Sarawak, is a common interest with us. If any one of us goes out, then they can go back to their old techniques.

I tell you this. If Sabah and Sarawak go out, I will be the first to protect vigorously, and I will say we want an immediate change, because with Sabah and Sarawak . . . . Let me calculate for you: with Sabah and Sarawak, we have got 80,000 square miles; 1,000 miles of ocean, large jungle, rivers, mountains, and people like our friend, Mr. Buma of Machinda. I think I feel happier with him inside Malaysia. And I think he feels happier that we are inside Malaysia, too, because if we pull out, nearly 1.9 people pull out; more than 90% of whom, I have not the slightest doubt, more than 90 want a Malaysiian Malaysia . . .

I do not believe if you take a really genuine secret vote, you can get more than 5, 6, 7% who want a racial Malaysia. And we are not going to oblige them by withdrawing, and leaving them in a permanent minority.

And what is most important, (is) solidarity of all the Malaysians for a Malaysian Malaysia, regardless of every threat, every blandishment, every bait to get us off-course. If they compete intelligently, they will be there for some time;



it does not matter. But the forces for a Malaysian Malaysia will strengthen, will be organised in a loyal democratic constitutional way on the basis of one for all, and all for one; never again one by one. You know, one by one: one poor chief minister of Sabah now has been pushed upstairs. One Dayak Chief Minister in Sarawak nearly got kicked somewhere. And they are inviting you to kick me out of the bait that if you kick me out, they will give money: otherwise, they'll rob us of money.

Well, our presence here today means, very simply amongst other things, if you fix him -- I am not saying they want to -- but I am saying if any foolish, extremist groups try to get them in a corner, then they will find that there are lots of friends who can kick up . . . an enormous howl will go round throughout the rest of Malaysia which will reverberate throughout the world; not least in the lobbies of Westminster, in Parliament in London, in Canberra, in Wellington, so that they will know what they are supporting.

It is our duty as democrats. Otherwise, they might find themselves in a South Vietnamese situation which is no good for them, which, I have not the slightest doubt, their peoples do not want their governments to be involved in.

And, on that keynote of always forbearance ... because time is on the side of the Malaysians, not just on the side of the non-Malays, of the Malaysians,

including the poor Malays .... time is on our side. A ferment is taking place throughout the world, not just throughout Malaysia which must mean, in the end, an egalitarian a more just, a more free, a more open society.

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