TEXT OF MR. LEE KUAN YEW'S SPEECH AT A RALLY AT CITY STADIUM, PENANG, ON 19TH APRIL, 1964.

What is best for Penang

Penang is an integral part of Malaysia. Whether the Socialist Front leaders acknowledge or deny the existence of Malaysia, the fate of Penang is tied up with the fate of Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. If Malaysia were to weaken and fail, there is no going back to the old Federation of Malaya. It is not possible to go back to status quo ante and pretend that nothing has happened, that Sabah and Sarawak and Singapore had never joined Malaya to form Malaysia.

Malaysia must succeed for Penang to succeed

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For Penang to succeed, Malaysia and Kuala Lumpur must succeed. We must have a government which would stand up to Indonesia and sustain Malaysia. It must pursue its policy firmly whilst being prepared to be flexible in the methods to achieve this.

It has been said that if the Alliance were to win more seats than the last time, then President Sukarno would relent on its confrontation policy. I fail to see the logic of this prediction. I can understand why if the Tunku's Malay following were reduced and the number of seats won by UMNO were less, then President Sukarno may take encouragement and press harder. I can understand why if the towns were to go to the Socialist Front, Sukarno would be similarly encouraged not only to exploit these subversive elements in the country, but also to point out to the Americans the wisdom of helping Indonesia absorb Malaysia in order that he can, as Dr. Subandrio has said in the London Times "deal with the Chinese" in a way "there is now no Chinese problem in Indonesia". But whether the MCA wins or loses is irrelevant to President Sukarno. He is concerned with the Tunku and his Malay following Indonesia wants to subvert. President Sukarno is against the Chinese whether they support the MCA or the PAP. In fact, even if they vote for the S.F., he will not love them for giving him this advantage in his confrontation policy.

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Best election results

The best election result to preserve Malaysia against external threat is one in which all UMNO candidates are returned in the rural areas and pro-Malaysia parties are returned in the urban areas. The best result internally for our progress

and for bringing about the winds of change in economic and social policies is to have the UMNO leadership returned, but the MCA discarded, a vote for the MCA is a vote for continued inactivity, complacency and decadence. To bring about this change, there must be a jolt on the leadership of the Government. That jolt can come about by voting for the PAP and other opposition parties who, like the PAP, are pro-Malaysia and also for social and economic change within the country.

Special factor in Penang

In the case of Penang, there are special considerations why it is vital in Penang's interests that the S.F. should not win. For the interests of the PAP, it is better for Penang to vote out the MCA even though it means voting in the S.F. for in this way, the UMNO, leadership can be left in no doubts as to what the alternatives are. Then they will realise that the MCA is out of the battle for leadership of the urban population, which includes the majority of Chinese. But I would be doing Penang a disservice if I do not point out that to vote in the Socialist Front would be to bring unhappiness and trouble to Penang.

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No Central Government of Malaysia can afford to have Penang or any other state government used as a base for Communist subversion, particularly at

a time of pressure and crisis as a result of Indonesia's confrontation. The Communists know this. They know that their winning Penang will mean first, administrative and financial pressures to force a Penang S.F. government to toe the line for Malaysia's security. When they refuse, there will be growing difficulties as all development projects are cut off. The revenue of the State government of Penang is negligible, and like Kelantan and Trengganu, it must depend on Federal grants for all development projects. For the S.F. to talk of setting up an economic development board for economic expansion when they have not got the control of money and resources is just humbug.

Must Penang be a pawn?

Eventually, a state government at loggerheads with the Central Government will find itself suspended just as the Indian Government suspended the State Government of Kerala. A constitutional provision for this which was not in the old Federation of Malaya Constitution, has now been provided for in the Federation of Malaysia Constitution. The Agong can now proclaim a state of emergency and the Central Government can directly rule any state.

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Mr. Tan Siew Sin recently admitted accidentally this was what Singapore would have faced had the people of Singapore voted for Barisan Sosialis --

suspension of the Constitution as troops move in. If Penang voted for the Communists in S.F., it will end up with the Constitution of Penang being suspended. There would be general unhappiness of the people. But internationally the Communists would have achieved their objective of bringing the Central Government into international disrepute as a high-handed undemocratic government. To them Penang is a pawn on their chessboard to fight the Government internally and internationally.

Bad for Penang for S.F. to win

The PAP is likely to benefit more by a complete defeat of the MCA even if it means the S.F. winning. But this would do Penang grievous harm. It will also inflict on the Central Government of Malaysia grave injury internationally in the image abroad.

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The Socialist Front has put the election issue as for war or peace, war if the Alliance wins and peace if the Socialist Front wins. They have not explained how this follows. As I see it, if the Socialist Front wins, it will only encourage President Sukarno to break up Malaysia and so the chances of conflict growing acute are greater.

Question is not war or peace

There is no simple question of war peace. If it were, then confrontation would be so much easier to resolve. In two weeks of war, everything would have been sorted out. Now we are going to have prolongation of a situation between peace and open war. This is what the Indonesians mean by confrontation, aggression by guerrillas, saboteurs, economic boycott and political propaganda, all short of open war.

The Socialist Front has made an issue of national service and call-up. They invite people to vote for them for peace and to save their children from being killed as soldiers. In other words, if the S.F. wins, they would not have a call-up nor would there be measures to increase our defences. How will this secure peace when when it is weakness we will show? In fact, it will be an open invitation to Sukarno to attack.

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In any case, the whole argument is unrealistic. The Socialist Front is not going to win and they know it. But if the towns vote for the S.F., the problem that faces the Chinese community is not that their children will become soldiers and die. What will happen is that the UMNO leadership will find it difficult to trust the Chinese with guns when they have shown that their loyalty is with a party

which is anti-Malaysia and pro-Communist. The danger of facing Chinese and Indian and other communities is the possibility of not being taken to the armed forces and so losing by default. We have to convince the Malay leadership that we should be trained to carry arms in order that Malaysia can be properly defended.

At the moment 90% of the armed forces and police are Malays. The Malay leadership is unhappy at the prospect of having to introduce more Chinese, Indians and other races into the armed forces. This may weaken the army as the last defence of Malay political pre-eminence. But at the same time, the Malay leaders know that the guerilla battle will go on with Indonesia, and they cannot go on just having Malay soldiers to fight this battle. The armed forces must be strengthened by non-Malays. If the non-Malays are loyal, then the 30-40% non-Malays in the police force cannot be a security danger in Malaya. And it is in the interests of our urban population to show the Malay leadership that we are loyal to Malaysia and that we can be trusted to defend it. The danger is not that we shall be sent as soldiers to the front and die. It is that we may not be allowed to be trained to defend the country. Then we shall be not be allowed to be trained to defend the country. Then we shall be spectators as when the Japanese army marched in to enslave us in 1942 while we watched hopelessly.

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