

SPEECH BY SINGAPORE'S PRIME MINISTER,
MR. LEE KUAN YEW, DURING THE DEBATE IN THE FEDERAL
PARLIAMENT ON 27TH MAY, 1965, ON THE MOTION OF
THANKS TO THE YANG DI-PERTUAN AGONG FOR HIS SPEECH
FROM THE THRONE.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with the formal opening of this second session of the Parliament of Malaysia we open a new chapter in the drama of Malaysia. Parliamentary democracy makes the joining of political issues in the open debate often a dramatic and vivid way in which alternative programmes, policies, can be presented to the people, and it is therefore with special significance, after what has happened in the last 10 months, that we listened to the address of His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The issues are being clarified, they are being joined.

It was timely for us -- a Drief, succinct if somewhat equivocal in parts, and in particular I would like, if I may, to read to the House first the last paragraph of this address:

" We, (said His Majesty), are now facing threats to our security from outside, (and he defined it), i.e. from Indonesia. In addition, we are also facing threats from within the country. (There is no definition of where this threat from within the country is coming from.) But he went on -- both these threats are designed to create trouble. If those concerned achieve their objective, it will mean chaos for us and end to democracy."

And it ends up with an incantation to Almighty God to give us strength and determination to face these threats.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think no useful purpose is served if we pretend that we do not know what was intended. When I heard this speech I looked around me, Mr. Speaker, Sir, for obviously it must mean some sector of this House. Honourable Members from PAS? Are they the threats from within? Their leader has been arrested for conspiring with the Indonesians.

I looked at the three members from Singapore, from Barisan Sosialis they looked reasonably meek and polite but men of great determination. Could it be they?

If it is not these two parties, the Member for Batu, Dr. Tan Chee Keon? No less an authority than the Prime Minister has given him a certificate of clearance; he was a good man, said the Prime Minister, at our last meeting, because he tried to placate the crowd and run away from it the moment the crowd got into disorder.

Member for Batu: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I on a point of clarification say that the Honourable the Prime Minister for Singapore is but repeating the lie perpetrated by the Prime Minister of the Central Government.

Interruption from a Government bench: The bigger the lie the more it will stick, we presume.

Dr. Tan Chee Khoon: Birds of the same feather.

Well, Sir, obviously it could not be the Member for Batu. I concede that straightaway, for in any case he has already stated in this House that he has not got the stomach of which martyrs are made. He said so — he is a man of peace, and from time to time he makes quite sure that Honourable Ministers on the other side know that he is a man of peace.

So, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we were left with this doubt, that perhaps we loyal Malaysians gathering together now to establish the Constitution, that Malaysia is a Malaysian nation, perhaps we were the threat from within? I don't know what was intended and I hope the Prime Minister will take full responsibility for the text of this address. There is an advantage in the ceremonial, Mr. Speaker, Sir, of the Prime Minister solemnly mounting the dais to hand the speech to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. I have no doubt whatsoever that in the course of the Prime Minister's speech he will be able to add to the second sentence the same explanatory, i.e., "from within the country", i.e. So be it, let it be said so in this Chamber — let it not be insinuated, let it not be sowed insidiously in the Malay press to the Malays in the kampongs, in Jawi.

I would like, Mr. Speaker, Sir, to read if I may what this same Malay press, the UTUSAN MELAYU, was saying at the very same time that His Majesty was making the speech, and it is not what UTUSAN MELAYU says that worries me but who UTUSAN MELAYU is quoting from. Said UTUSAN of the 25th of May, headline, "LEE IS AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF MALAYSIA. Klang, 24th May, Dato Harun bin Haji Idris, Mentri Besar of Selangor described Lee Kuan Yew as an enemy of the people of Malaysia and was endangering the peace of the country." In the same issue day before yesterday, this time it's BERITA HARIAN, the Mentri Besar of Perak, Dato Ahmad bin Said, has called upon the Malays and amongst the things he called upon them to take note of is his statement: Lee Kuan Yew is now not only our enemy but he is also the most dangerous threat to the security of this country.

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think no advantage is served by equivocation. This has been going on and I have got a whole file, it goes back to a campaign mounted immediately after we announced our intention to contest the last elections, it goes back one whole year. This is what the Secretary-General of UMNO said in UTUSAN MELAYU on very same day, the 25th: The Secretary-General also called on the Malays to be more strongly united to face the present challenge, he stressed that the Malays should realise their identity, quote, "Wherever I am, I am a Malay. If the Malays were split the Malays would perish from this earth."

Now, Sir, I would like if I may to start with the oath which we all took when we came into this Chamber before we had the right to participate in debates, it is laid down that no Member shall have the right to participate as a representative of the people unless he swears this oath, and the oath reads, which I read myself, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the Malay language; "I..... (full name), having been elected as a Member of the House of Representatives do solemnly swear or affirm that I will faithfully discharge my duties as such to the best of my ability and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to Malaysia and will preserve, protect and defend its Constitution."

This is its Constitution, Mr. Speaker, Sir, published by the Government Printer with the authority of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong compiled in the Attorney-General's Chambers, Kuala Lumpur.

What is it, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that I or my colleagues or the other members in the Malaysian Solidarity Convention, what is it that we have done which deserve this denunciation as "enemy of the people"?

A danger, a threat to security? We have said we believe in a Malaysian Malaysia. We honour this Constitution because that was what we swore to do. And if I may just crave the indulgence, Mr. Speaker, Sir, to remind Honourable Members of what they swore to uphold:

Part 2, fundamental liberties: Article 5, liberty of the person; 6, Slavery and enforced labour prohibited; 7, protection against retrospective criminal laws and repeated trials; 8, equality — equality, Mr. Speaker, Sir, political equality — prohibition of banishment and freedom of movement, freedom of speech, assembly and association; 11, freedom of religion; 12, rights in respect of education; 13 rights of property.

But I will be fair to Honourable Members. There is also as part of this Constitution we swore to uphold, under 12 general and miscellaneous: Article 153, reservation of quotas in respect of services, permits, etc. for Malays and just before that, Article 152, National Language.

We uphold that, we accept it. This is what we swore to protect, to preserve and to defend and this is what we have every intention of doing, Mr. Speaker, Sir, by every constitutional means open to us and given to us by this Constitution, the basis on which solemnly and in good faith we came into Malaysia.

Sir, I would like to quote if I may no less an authority again than the Prime Minister of Malaysia when he recently again stressed that we must abide by the Constitution. We promised to do that, Mr. Speaker, Sir, faithfully and both in the letter and spirit of the Constitution. But I must confess that the actions taken by the Central Government over the last few months gives rise to growing doubts as to where and in what direction we are drifting. Strikes have been prohibited, the M.T.U.C., as the Member for Bungsar said, cannot now be registered as a trade union; public meetings are prohibited in danger areas; local government elections have been postponed indefinitely, and it is in this context, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that people were told that for reasons of amour propre, a feeling of nationalism, pride in ourselves as Malaysians, appeals to the Privy Council will be abolished.

Now, mark you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, appeals to the Privy Council only in constitutional and criminal matters, not in civil matters. I would not wish to say more on this because I am quite sure the Honourable the Prime Minister will be able to reassure us of our many doubts on these matters, and he is in a position to do so. If he would say to us publicly what I had the advantage of discussing with him privately two days ago, then I think a lot of fears will be allayed and I hope that it will be our privilege to hear from him the words of reassurance.

Sir, I think it is time we took stock of our position and we began to face each other on fundamental issues: where we stand in respect of Malaysia, what we propose to do to advance its cause, what we are prepared to do if in fact we are to be thwarted from our legitimate objective to get what was agreed in this Constitution implemented? Therefore, I noted with regret that

in spite of the protests we have made as Members of the Opposition, that grave constitutional matters require at least solemn deliberations of this House, we are still faced with standing orders which entitles the Government to bring about radical and fundamental changes in the Constitution, all within one day, one day's notice of the Bill, the intention of the first, second and third readings, if the government so chooses. Is this likely to protect, to defend, to uphold the Constitution?

Sir, I would like to divide the opposition between loyal and not-so-loyal opposition. The Member for Batu reminded the House that I once said there was a gulf between them and us. There is still, Mr. Speaker, Sir, perhaps not between him personally and us, because he is not really what his party represents. Parties like the Socialist Front, Mr. Speaker, Sir, and PAS, parties which have over a series of elections spread over 10/15 years have almost abandoned all hope of ever achieving what they want to constitutionally, it is only those parties that then began to become disloyal. I can give the Prime Minister and his colleagues this very firm assurance that we have a vested interest, Mr. Speaker, Sir, in constitutionalism and in loyalty because we know, and we knew it before we joined Malaysia, that if we are patient, if we are firm, this Constitution must mean that a Malaysian nation emerges. Why should we oblige the Member for Johore Tenggara to get out of Malaysia? "Secede," says he, "I demand that we say so now." We tell him and all his colleagues now we have not the slightest intention of secession. Secession is an act of betrayal, to leave like-minded people like ourselves in Sabah, in Sarawak, in Malaya to the tender mercies of those who talk in terms of race: "Wherever I am, I am a Malay." I would have thought, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if one were to say, "Wherever I am, I am a Malaysian," it would have sounded enormously more comforting to all of us and would have helped to consolidate the nation. But let me assure him, he has asked and urged the Hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs to take action, he has been going on for some months now, but it's reaching crescendo -- this was the 24th, the day before we met, UTUSAN MELAYU, 24th: "Albar challenges Kuan Yew: Don't be fond of beating about the Bush. Lee asked to state openly his stand whether Singapore wants to secede from Malaysia". And it goes on to say: "If Lee Kuan Yew is really a man he should not be beating about the bush in his statements and should be brave enough to say, 'I want to secede from Malaysia because I am not satisfied.'" But, said Albar, Lee did not dare say that because he himself signed the Malaysian Constitutional Agreement. Regarding Lee as 'the most stupid person he has ever come across,' Albar said that Lee entered Malaysia with his eyes open and the present Malaysia is the same Malaysia which he had endorsed. Why did he not think of all these before? Why only now has we regretted? Why? asked Albar in a high-pitched tone -- not I who said that, the UTUSAN, high-pitched note -- "and his audience replied, 'Crush Lee, crush Lee...'"

"Lee, continued Albar in a lower tone, was really like an 'ikan sepat' which cannot live save in muddy water.

"Several voices shouted, 'Arrest Lee and preserve him like entrails in pickle'. Dato Albar smiled for a moment and then replied, 'Shout louder so that Dr. Ismail can hear the people's anger'".

I want to make quite sure that everybody hears the people's anger.

Albar then went on (It is a very long piece, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I leave that for Hon. Members who are interested and we can put them on the mailing list, those who do not read Jawi, we will put them on the mailing list and provide them with copies so that day by day they can follow the theoretical expositions of this ideological group); "Albar regarded Lee Kuan Yew as a frightened man chased by his own shadow."

What can I do about my shadow, Mr. Speaker, Sir, it must follow me?

"Lee is like a traveller in the sands of the Sahara, said Albar" -- vistas of the Hydramaut, Sahara, Saudi Arabia.

"He looks to his left and sees the desert sands, to his right a vast emptiness and to his rear a wide open space, and he becomes frightened. To subdue his fear he shouts on top of his voice."

Well, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have quite a number of things to say, so I hope Members will forgive me if I say what I have to say in a fairly modulated way but I think sufficiently distinct and clear to leave nobody in any doubt as to where we stand.

Sir, I have no regrets about this document (holding the Constitution in his hand). It was passed in this House and in the old Parliament of Malaya, it was passed in the Assembly of Singapore. Why should we regret it? What we will regret very much is, as was obliquely hinted in the address of His Majesty, "There would be an end to democracy" -- the Constitution suspend, brushed aside?

Now, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think these are important matters which affect all of us. And, therefore, by the time a campaign which has been going on for some months finds an echo, albeit and oblique one, in His Majesty's speech to us, it is worthwhile going into the credibility of this insinuation.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we all want peace, we all want Malaysia to succeed, and that is why we came into Malaysia, but if we echo 'yes' in this pernicious doctrine, "Wherever I am, I am a Malay" -- said Dr. Mahathir yesterday "The trouble with us from Singapore is we are not accustomed to Malay rule." That's why, the implication being we ought to be, Mr. Speaker Sir. The bigger English Language newspaper for some reason or the other left it out, this very important passage, but the smaller English language newspaper very kindly put it out in script for us, so if I may just read this:

"On the question of Malay privileges about which Mr. Lee made so much play while in Australia and New Zealand, the saviour of Malaysia ignore the facts as they really are. We Malays are very sensitive but this is a total war declared by the PAP and even if it hurts our feelings it is wiser to demonstrate that in this land the privileged Malays, Ibans, Dayaks and Kadazans live in huts while the under-privileged Chinese live in palaces, go about in huge cars and have the best things in life."

I would have thought that was, if I had just read that without having heard Dr. Mahathir say it yesterday, I would have thought it came straight out from Radio Jakarta, Mr. Speaker, Sir. That is their line, that all the Chinese have got big houses and big cars. I can show Dr. Mahathir any number of Chinese in very miserable hovels in Singapore where there is a housing programme, let alone any other part where they haven't got a housing programme yet.

(Quoting Dr. Mahathir again) "It is, of course, necessary to emphasise that there are two types of Chinese -- those who appreciate the need for all communities to be equally well off and these are the MCA supporters to be found mainly where Chinese have for generations lived and worked amidst the Malays and other indigenous people, and the insular, selfish and arrogant type of which Mr. Lee is a good example. This latter type live in a purely Chinese environment where Malays only exist at syce level. They have been nurtured by the British and made much of because they helped the British economic empire. They have never known Malay rule and couldn't bear the idea that the people they have so long kept under their heels should now be in a position to rule them."

Ominous words, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

(Again quoting Dr. Mahathir). "They have in most instances never crossed the Causeway. They are in fact overseas Chinese first -- more specifically Chinese of the southern region as their mind sees China as the centre of the world -- and Malaysians a very poor second -- a status so utterly artificial to them that it finds difficulty in percolating through their criticisms."

What does that mean, Mr. Speaker, Sir. They were not words uttered in haste, they were scripted, prepared and dutifully read out and if we are to draw the implications from that, the answer is quite simple: that Malaysia will not be a Malaysian nation. I say, say so, let us know it now, why waste five-ten years' effort to build this, defend this, for whose benefit, Mr. Speaker, Sir?

According to this sacred document, we are obliged on oath to uphold this for the benefit of all Malaysians and a Malaysian is there defined, but all Malaysians have a duty also defined there under the General and Miscellaneous provisions to ensure that the development, preservation of jobs, licences and so on in Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak will go to Malays.

Quite clearly a distinction between our political equality and our duty as part of that political equality to give special attention to the economic and social uplift of the Malays and the other indigenous peoples in Sabah and Sarawak. We accept that obligation and I was delighted when I discovered that the Secretary-General of UMNO agreed in print that I had the right to determine the destiny of Malaysia.

While on that basis I say there is ground for believing that the future of Malaysia is fair. Deny that basis, I say we don't need Soekarno and Confrontation to destroy us.

Now, I believe it would be helpful, Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I were to spell out not for the benefit of the Prime Minister or the Minister for Home Affairs, because I think they have already sat down and worked these things out in their minds and therefore they speak with greater and wider circumspection. Is it really that simple that you can resolve these problems on the basis of stifling or negating your democratic constitutional opponents?

This is UTUSAN MELAYU again, Mr. Speaker, Sir, and the Secretary-General of UMNO urged in the strongest possible terms that action should be taken now. Well, I am a frightened man according to him and therefore I see shadows. I think it would help if I could sort of work out the various logical consequences. Frightened even though I may be, we are still not bereft of our senses. There are two ways in which developments in Malaysia could take place -- first, in accordance with the democratic processes set out in the

Constitution, and second, not in accordance with it, using extra constitutional capacities and the administration of the Police and the Army.

We have calculated this before we came into Malaysia and we must accept the consequences, but let me spell out the consequences. First, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I go back again to His Majesty's speech -- said he, "I would like to pay special tribute (not just a tribute -- a special tribute) and to those this special tribute was addressed were besides our own Security Forces and the Police, the British, Australian and New Zealand Armed Forces."

Now, what does that mean, Mr. Speaker, Sir? It means quite simply that if we are without assistance, airlines between Malaya and Western Malaysia and Eastern Malaysia will be closed. The sea will be closed. We cannot carry troops on the MUTIARA to go and fight in Sabah, can we? We know all that. We might be able to buy some, I don't know, perhaps, but let us be frank and honest to ourselves first, that Malaysia by itself hasn't got the capacity to be governed by force -- it is as simple as that, and therefore that capacity must be borrowed from somewhere -- the British, Australians, New Zealanders.

Well, Sir, I don't know the Australians and the New Zealanders as well as I know the British for I happened to have lived in that country for several years and therefore I took particular care and interest when I visited them recently to find out whether there was a possibility that such extraordinary aid can be given in order to hold Malaysia down. I will not talk about the Governments because they are friendly Governments -- friendly to all Malaysians, which included me and I will talk more pertinently of the people in these countries.

One battalion was sent to South Vietnam recently from Australia in defence of what the Australian Prime Minister called the survival of the democratic world and a very vociferous and articulate opposition disagreed profoundly. They may not be right or they may be wrong, but of one thing I am certain -- neither Australia nor New Zealand has got the capacity to play the role of the Americans in South Vietnam. Therefore, we ask -- have the British got this capacity? May be for some time but for all time? Because that is what it means.

Once you throw this into the fire and say, be done with it, it means that you do it for all times and history is a long and a relentless process. People born, people destroyed, and more are born and more surge forward. It is part of the story of the human race on this earth. Can it be done -- will the British public be parties to that? Well, I am not talking about the British Government, Mr. Speaker, Sir. I am now talking of the British public when, whatever Government it is -- Conservative or Labour -- it faces the same British public.

All right, so they want us to secede and leave our friends from Sabah and Sarawak, from Penang and Malacca and all the other parts of Malaysia at their tender mercies. We cannot oblige, Mr. Speaker, Sir. We will not, we know the juxtaposition of strength and weakness on both sides. We are fervently of the opinion that if we give and take and accommodate this can succeed, and there is no other way to make it succeed and we shall be patient but I will tell Members on the other side why I think what they are doing is not likely to lead to success for them.

I was intrigued, Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the Members were gathered for the Ceremonial Opening on Tuesday, I met the Chief Minister of Sarawak -- he had the seat next to me. I also noted the Minister for Sarawak Affairs. I felt reassured, Mr. Speaker, Sir, became greatly reassured not because I believe in a Chinese Malaysia, because if I look at them and I believe in a Chinese Malaysia, I will be very unassured. This is where the Member from Kedah talking about the PAP is making a very grave error, that what we want is a Chinese Malaysia -- a Chinese state.

The Minister for Sarawak Affairs can't go with a Chinese Malaysia nor can the Chief Minister for Sarawak come along with us for a Chinese Malaysia -- that is sheer folly! I may be a very foolish man, Mr. Speaker, Sir, according to the Secretary-General of UMNO, but I do sit down with paper and pencil to calculate and I have -- I look up all the annual reports of all these territories compiled before Malaysia. Apart from the fact that fundamentally I will oppose a Chinese Malaysia because it is wrong, there is the added incentive which I keep reminding Barisan Sosialis of that an appeal to a Chinese Malaysia can't attract majority support. It is not possible. There are only 42 per cent Chinese in Malaysia -- a permanent minority.

Now, Sir, I have been accused of being communal because I say this -- because I urge the Chinese not to be stupid. If I went around, Mr. Speaker, Sir, saying what the Member for Johore Tenggara says "wherever I am, remember I am a Chinese", well where would we be? But I keep on reminding them and sometimes I feel that with some Members of the Barisan Sosialis, it is not a futile effort -- even they are learning. I am a Malaysian. And I am learning Malay -- Bahasa Kebangsaan.

That is right and I accept my duties under Article 153 of the Constitution to uplift the Malays and the indigenous people -- you see including the Minister for Sarawak. I felt reassured, Mr. Speaker, Sir, without disclosing any confidence that they would find it very difficult to go along with the Member for Johore Tenggara. If he goes around, shouting and beating his breast -- "I am a Malay" -- where does that Member for Sarawak come from? I felt concern for him and I was reassured when I found that in spite of everything, he was still with his distinctive haircut.

I concede, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that they were proud of it. It is true that our Kadazan Minister from Sabah was more willing to try and conform, but even he, Mr. Speaker, Sir, had a rakish look about the way in which he presented himself as a Malaysian. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to remind Members on the other side that frightened though we may be, we always sit down looking at the figures, calculating what all this means. I suggest to Honourable Members that to suggest that if we pursue what we are entitled to pursue under the Constitution -- a Malaysian Malaysia -- there will be an end to democracy, so be it.

There is another oblique, perhaps this is really not so oblique, Mr. Speaker, Sir, -- it has been suggested by my colleague, Dr. Toh from Singapore has wrongly quoted I think the Member for Johore Tenggara. He said he was going to join Indonesia -- I think it was wrong. It was UMNO Merdeka and on behalf of my colleague, I would like to put that right because I think we want to be fair to the Member from Johore Tenggara. I think originally he was from Singapore just before the war, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

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I don't know. I am prepared as I have said to him to share equally with him the right to have a say in the political destiny of this country. I have got certificates to prove, Mr. Speaker, Sir, and proof is really not required in accordance with this Constitution. But if necessary, just to argue the moral righteousness of it, that my father and my grandfather before me were born there in Singapore and their labours helped build this little place from the marshland it was, and I have not the slightest intention of allowing it to go back to marshland. Forward, never backwards: forward to a Malaysian nation, never backwards to secession and an isolated and contained Singapore. That is not progress.

But this threat, UMNO Merdeka: Pushed too hard and we will join the Indonesians. Well, Mr. Speaker, Sir, let's be quite frank about this. Who has got the right to say we join or we don't join? Malaysians, isn't it, have the right? That is in accordance with the Constitution. Let us assume that they do things in accordance with the Constitution. I would like to put that to the test. I would like to see how many people really want to join Indonesia. The Minister for Sarawak Affairs? I think he is quite clear where his interests lie. The Minister for Sabah Affairs, not just a Member, the Minister for Sabah Affairs, he knows where his interests lie. That's why we came together on Malaysia.

I hope the Member for Johore Tenggara will tell us where his interests lie. I would like to know, and if it has to be, if really they can carry a large number of people, let us know now -- not know in 5, 10 years' time. It's better we know now, because now we can make alternative arrangements. And there are alternative arrangements, if they would sit down and look at the map carefully and juxtaposition of the islands and the demographic structure of these territories, there are alternative arrangements possible, and if we have to seek them then I say the sooner the better.

But then I have a faint suspicion that in fact there are some people who do think and they think a little deeper than what is published in UTUSAN MELAYU and they have calculated where this would lead to. Can I for the benefit of UTUSAN MELAYU and those who only follow this argument in UTUSAN spell out some of these steps, so that we know whether the threat is credible. It's very important, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Chinese say they are going to send volunteers to North Vietnam and they also add, if the North Vietnamese ask for it. I don't know how they are going to fly over the North Pole and miss all the land routes to land up in Hanoi, but that's what they say. And now says MELAYU MERDEKA, repeated and echoed in UTUSAN MELAYU which has been elevated to the voice of the Malays: We will join Indonesia unless you agree to be ruled by the Malays, says the Member from Kedah. Really....Really.

Let us go into the credibility of this thing. Let us assume first that really they are going to do this. What are they facing? Three million PKI cadres, Communists who can speak Malay with far greater passion. Their type of Indonesian Malay I am told their capacity for mass oratory is at least equal to the Member from Johore Tenggara, not to mention the "Bung." There are 15 million members of SOBSI and other peasant organisations controlled by the Communists. The Member for Johore Tenggara is going to join them. I say: Well, so be it. Perhaps he can join them -- we will make other arrangements for ourselves and we are not without friends, either in Asia or in Africa or in the Commonwealth. If it has to be so, let us know it now. Let us not just take out this big stick every other day, frightening people, bludgeoning them into a state of neurotic fear.

We have an obligation to our fellow Malaysians. Every now and again the Minister for Sarawak Affairs is told that he is going to be abandoned. He is fighting for the freedom of Sarawakians, freedom which he thought best secured within Malaysia and which is only valid and worthwhile if it is a Malaysian Malaysia in which he has a proprietary interest. If it is not a Malaysian Malaysia he has no proprietary interest, neither has the Minister for Sabah Affairs. Then where do we go from there?

So you see, Mr. Speaker, Sir, when we go into the credibility of this, I am reassured that being a thinking common sensible people. The Prime Minister has referred to the Chinese as a very practical, business like people. I would like if I may to pay that tribute to all Malaysians — I wouldn't like to single out any particular group for special mention. I think the Member from Kelantan, Mentri Besar of Kelantan, the Honourable Member, is as intelligent and is as shrewd as any member of this House. I think he can think, too. Where would he find his place in that kind of a situation.

We all can think and we are thinking and very deeply and very profoundly about these matters. I would suggest to the editor of MELAYU MERDEKA that, it sounds very much like the Russians saying that they are going to send volunteers to North Vietnam. But in case the Russians do, I don't think the rest of the world will just sit back and watch that happen. There will be reactions, many reactions, within internally and internationally, and whilst we consider all these possibilities remote, because reason, logic, must ultimately, the law of probabilities, must ultimately triumph, nevertheless may I allay that fear that in fact even in the unlikely eventuality of such steps being taken we will not be found unprepared, not be found unprepared, Mr. Speaker, Sir.

And if I may, in conclusion, spell out to all Malaysians where we stand, what we want to achieve and how we are going to achieve these things, then they will know what are their problems. Their problems is not that we are against Malay as the national language. We accept it: Kita Terima Bahasa Melayu menjadi Bahasa Kebangsaan.

(Mr. Lee continues in Malay).

"Nothing in Clause (2) of Article 8 or Clause (1) of Article 12 shall prohibit or invalidate any provision of State law in Singapore for the advancement of Malays; but there shall be no reservation for Malays in accordance with Article 153 of positions in the public service to be filled by recruitment in Singapore or permits or licences for the operation of any trade or business in Singapore."

(Mr. Lee continues in Malay).

We stand by this Constitution. We intend in accordance with the oaths we have taken to preserve, to protect and defend it. This Constitution provides, amongst other things, that all the fundamental rights of all Malaysian citizens are equal as set out in Part 2 of the Constitution — fundamental liberties in accordance with our obligations as Malaysian citizens. We accept the duty of all Malaysian citizens to have reservation of quotas in respect of services, permits etc. for Malays in the States of Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak — and by the amendment of the Malaysia Agreement, the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak. We accept it and honour that obligation. That having been said, let me say, Mr. Speaker, there it says in Article 43 — the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall appoint a Jemaah Menteri, Cabinet Ministers to advise him in the exercise of these functions, and the Cabinet shall be appointed as follows, that is to say -

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- (a) the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall first appoint as Perdana Mentri (Prime Minister) to preside over the Cabinet a member of the House of Representatives who in his judgment is likely to command the confidence of the majority of the members of that House;

and subsection (4)

- (4) If the Prime Minister ceases to command the confidence of the majority of the members of the House of Representatives, then, unless at his request the Yang di-Pertuan Agong dissolves Parliament, the Prime Minister shall tender the resignation of the Cabinet.

He shall tender his resignation. We have not the slightest doubt that the Prime Minister would continue to command, and in fact we would like him to continue to command. But in accordance with that light, it is open to us to demonstrate that we can do as much, if not more, for the Malays and the indigenous people. That our policies and what we stand for will bring about a more just and equal society in which Malays, Dyaks, Dusuns, Kadazans will slowly find themselves not just with paddings on their shoulders and added heels, but real strength which can only come through education, training the techniques and methods of modern industrial production. Let us be honest, Mr. Speaker, Sir. There are two different things. One, our accepting Malay as the National Language. It is good. We must have over the years one national language to unify the people. We agreed that the happiness of all those of non-Malay stocks which include the Dyaks and the Kadazans that they can speak their own languages, I am sure that that is the right policy.

But let me remind members in UMNO and I would like to draw this to the attention of the members in the MCA and their associates. This is a very dangerous thing leading people to believe that if we just switch in 1967 from talking English in the courts, and in the business, to speaking Malay, therefore the imbalance in social and economic development will disappear. It will not disappear. How does our talking Malay here or writing to the Ministers of the Federal Government, both Malays and non-Malays, in Malay, how does that increase the production of the Malay farmers? The price he gets for his products, the facilities he gets from the Government, fertilization, research into better seeds, marketing boards. How does that raise him? In fact our worry is not with Article 153, which gives special reservations to Malays for jobs and licences. I am not saying it is inimical to the country. What I am saying is that it has been in force now for 10 years with the imbalance between the rural and the urban areas widening.

The Minister for Finance is aware of this. He has the figures. He knows what is the rate of growth between the urban and rural areas. We have got visible evidence of that -- that the Malays are drifting from the kampongs into the towns in Kuala Lumpur -- shanty towns around the suburbs. And they are coming to Singapore looking for jobs. Malaya last year -- on the change of identity card addresses 10,000 young men came to Singapore looking for jobs. Equivalent to quarter of our birth rate of that generation -- 20 to 25. We were having an annual rate of 40,000. One quarter added to our burden. Of that 10,000, more than 3,500 were Malays -- more than 3,500 who "tumpang" with friends looking for jobs. Just solving these problems on the basis of Article 153? You are going to solve these problems on the basis of a Congress Ekonomi Bumiputra? What does it say the Congress is going to do? "Intended to give opportunities to all those who are familiar with the problems connected

with participation of the Malays and other indigenous population in the field of commerce and industry.

Let us start off with the Chinese and the Indians -- the non-Malays first. What percentage are in commerce and industry as bosses or shareholders? .2%, .3% that is the total. For one bus company -- that is the simplest unit because I think everybody will understand it. It is a simple operation, it has been done very often, so everybody knows. One bus company, let us say there are 20 shareholders and they employ 2,000 workers -- mechanics, fitters, ticket collectors, drivers, people who repair the buses, paint them up. Let us assume that out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ million Malays and another $\frac{3}{4}$ million Ibans, Kadazans and others. We create the .3% shareholders, do we solve the problem? How does the Malay in the kampong find his way out into modernised civil society. If you create this .3% how does this create a new and just society? By becoming servants of the .3% who will have money to hire them to clean their shoes, open their motor-car doors? We have not done this before because we tried to do it the friendly way. But I am afraid the time has come in which we have to state quite clearly what we think is happening, how we think these problems have to be tackled.

The urban rate of growth, the Minister of Finance, the Honourable Minister can confirm this. It is at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 times the rural rates over the whole population per capita. He has had discussions with my colleague Dr. Goh and he knows why Singapore's per capita income is also higher. How can you lift this up? By trying to compete with Singapore as to who can build a better urban society?

It is the wrong objective. Surely by setting out to bring about a social uplift, change and progress in your rural areas. We never touch on these matters before, Mr. Speaker, Sir, because we thought we would like to help members of UMNO with ideas and so on privately, but it is now necessary because they will not listen to us privately to state our position publicly.

The Ministry of Agriculture last year's ESTIMATES -- eighteen million dollars. I said this and it raised a lot of excitement -- nine million dollars half of it was for paying salaries from the peon upwards to the Minister and you have another nine million for general purposes of the Ministry of Agriculture, out of a total of \$1,300-million or nearly \$1,400-million budget.

Yes, we were told that there was a lot of planning and development going on -- over a hundred million dollar of which more than 80 per cent is going into rubber research, for the benefit of rubber estate owners and of course there are a few Malays who own a little bit of rubber, but who gets the benefit? Let's face this -- Malay special rights, they open a bottle of Coca Cola, don't they pay five cents? Is that special rights? -- putting the load on to the poor -- Malays don't drink Coca Cola, or pay crown cork tax? We are not communal, we don't want a Chinese Malaysia and in fact we are telling anybody who thinks of a Chinese Malaysia that it is the surest way to lose, but we believe if you want this nation to survive then you want cohesion and unity, then you must raise the level of life between the rural and the urban areas to a point where everybody feels that he is getting something out of this society.

Of course, there are Chinese millionaires in big cars and big houses. Is it the answer to make a few Malay millionaires with big cars and big houses? That is what Alliance means. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sorry to say it, but that is how it works.

How does that solve the ground problem? How does telling the Malay bus driver that he should support the party of his Malay director and the Chinese conductor to join another party of his Chinese director -- how does that improve the living standards of the Malay bus driver and the Chinese bus conductor who are both workers of the same company? It is just splitting the workers up. We have taken some time before, we have come down to the bone and we have and it cannot go on like this.

If we delude people into believing that they are poor because there are not Malay rights or because opposition members oppose Malay rights -- where are we going to end up? You let people in the kampongs believe that they are poor because we don't speak Malay, because the Government does not write in Malay, so he expects a miracle to take place in 1967. The moment we all start speaking Malay, he is going to have an uplift in the standard of living and if it doesn't happen, what happens then? Oh, you say, well they are opposing Malay rights. We are not opposing Malay rights. We honour and support it, but how does Malay rights solve your Malay Raayat's living standards. So whenever there is a failure of economic, social and educational policies, you come back and say, oh, these wicked Chinese, Indians and others opposing Malay rights. They don't oppose Malay rights. They have the right as Malaysian citizens to go up to the level of training and education which the more competitive societies, the non-Malay society has produced.

That is what must be done, isn't it? Not to feed them with this obscurantist doctrine, that all they've got to do is to get Malay rights for a few special Malays and their problem has been resolved. I don't see how that follows. So, Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are posing to the Alliance Government now the fundamental challenge. Not Malay national language, which we accept and agree, not Clause 153, which we accept and agree, implement and honour this Constitution, but let us go one step further and see how do you make a more equal society -- by taxing the poor to pay for the defence of the country? Special rights or do you tax those who have in order to uplift the have-nots including many non-Malays, Chinese, Indians, Ceylonese and Pakistanis. There are many such poor people, don't make any mistake about that I say over the months, they will have to come across and meet us on this issue -- development in the economy in the social and educational sectors. Meet us, show to the people that Alliance isn't, has got the answers to this problem. If they haven't don't stifle us, give us a chance to put forward an alternative, for we have an alternative which can work and has worked in Singapore and will continue to bear fruit.

We will wait and see -- in 10 years we will breed a generation of Malays with educated minds, not filled with obscurantist stuff, but understanding the techniques of science and modern industrial management, capable, competent and assured the family background, the diet -- health problems, the economic and social problems that prevent a Malay child from taking advantage of the educational opportunities which we offer free from the primary school to university. We will solve them, we will meet them, because in no other way can you hold this multi-racial society together if over the years the urban areas populated largely by people of migrant stock goes up and up and the rural areas remain stagnant.

Surely this is an unstable and unsafe situation. I would like to remind members of the Government that they will find in the PAP and I hope in the members of the Convention -- Malaysian Solidarity Convention -- a loyal, constructive opposition, an opposition in accordance with this Constitution. It is no use threatening us, that they are going to take away our local authority in Singapore and so on. It cannot be done unless you are going

to use the guns and as I have said, you haven't got enough guns and we are not going to allow them to get rid of the Member for Sarawak Affairs and the Member of Sabah Affairs. They are valuable parts of Malaysia, because you can put one hundred thousand troops in Sabah and Sarawak and they may never be seen or heard of again if the Ibans do not like it.

Let us be frank. We did this calculation carefully and methodically. There is no other way. It is not credible. You want a whole little Malaya may be, a whole Malaysia on that basis no. The threat is not credible. The Minister for Sarawak Affairs has got a knowing smile. He knows they are head hunting people, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Let me inform all these members here, we change this, we will change that, this solemn document says -- 161H -- you will challenge nothing of that sort without the consent of the State Government and first you have to win a democratic election in Singapore and we hold it quite democratically you know. They say 9 days, all right, I promise them next time, a full real long spell on radio and television, the whole works. We never run away from open confrontation as our friends from the Barisan Sosialis can testify. We love it, we relish the prospect of a meeting of minds, a conflict of ideas, not of force. We are gentle people who believe very firmly in ideas.

Hon. Member: On a point of clarification on this point of open confrontation of mine, I wonder if he could enlighten this House about the change by the Honourable Member for Batu -- the Singapore Assembly hasn't met although half a year is almost gone.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew: There is no trouble -- a meeting has been scheduled for the 16th of June -- you need not have any worry about that. The members of the Barisan Sosialis are much more competent to look after themselves than members of the MCA are. I give them this tribute. They know what they are after and they know how to look after themselves, but I often wonder whether the MCA boys know what they are after. Do they realise what is happening when these things are being said by the Secretary-General of UMNO? "Whatever I am, I am a Malay". What happens to the Member for Bukit Bintang? He is obviously asked to unite and to strengthen the muscles of the Member for Johore Tenggara. I will be much happier if he says -- "Malaysians, who are they and we Malaysians in UMNO/MCA/MIC unite, get all supporters to unite". No, he is not required, he is not wanted and I worry for him. If he were wanted, if he were required, if his little strength were added to the elbow, I would be so much happier and I would cheer for him because he was then fulfilling a useful function, but he is not required.

The Member for Johore Tenggara only doesn't speak like that in English. He speaks differently in English. He only speaks like that in Malay and particularly in the Jawi script. So the member for Bukit Bintang does not know what is going on. As I say, we will be putting him on the mailing list so that, Mr. Speaker, Sir, he will know what is being said, but that is not required, but I will tell him. We won't abandon him, we will look after him, we will look after him because after all he has done no great harm. All he wanted was to carry on nicely. I mean this is the Alliancism, the Chinese can do business. Every time I read that, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel sorry for myself because I don't do business. I don't trade in people's miseries. My business is the people's happiness.

His business is the accumulation of wealth and that is what is encouraged by Alliancism. The Chinese do business. You know how many Chinese do business? I have already said, point 3 percent -- let's round it off, round number, make it one percent, never mind. What about the 99 percent that don't do business? What satisfaction do they get out of life?

No, we have a vested interest in constitutional, democratic methods because we know history is on our side. We cannot lose -- not the ideas we represent. Time must go. It has gone in all the countries of Asia and Africa, away from the tribal traditionalist society. As men get educated, as men move from kampongs to towns, they free their minds from hidebound traditions, and when they do they question not just that Malays and some Chinese got big cars and big houses -- quite a number of Malays have got them too. These are the people who are threatening to join the Communists in Indonesia. I am told that some of them have got black marble in their bathrooms, where they didn't even have a shower in the old days. They have done well -- and why not, why not? I am all in favour of good hygiene. But I am not going to take that threat, that they are going to give all this black marble to the army commander that will come with the Siliwangi Division -- not credible. And even if it does happen out of stupidity, we will take certain precautionary measures.

We know, once you educate you liberate men's minds and they question and when they question you must convince them, not by stifling them, not by preventing people from being heard. The Minister for Information and Broadcasting, he should know this. In Japanese-occupied Malaya, he was here I believe -- I was -- nothing was published in the newspapers other than victories of the Dai Nipon Army and Navy, and everybody knew exactly when the last battleship was sunk.

You get to a situation where, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the talk in the coffee-shop carries more weight than the official gazette for publication, and when a Government gets into that position it is in a very dicey position: no weight, no credence. On the other hand, I commend this to him, and if he really believes that he has ideas that can solve this problem, I have already offered him. I complained to him, Mr. Speaker, that the reception from Singapore for a television tower in Gunung Pulai is not good enough. We get the snowflake effect -- they are not good enough, a bit shadowy and requires special aerials. We offered to put up his transmitter relayed in Singapore itself next to ours, make it equally crisp, equally clear. All we ask in return is, similar facilities: compare and contrast.

Is it true that day by day we are feeding our people with figures, balderdash

Minister for Information
and Broadcasting:

Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me have
the floor, Sir.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew:

Surely.

Minister for Information
and Broadcasting:

I think the question was mentioned by the Honourable Member from Singapore just now and was irrelevant, but I have been listening to his talk for the last one hour, I think we will have enough time for our reply later on. But as regards the television, I did tell him also, when he mentioned about getting some sort of, what do you call it, connection with our television so that we get that both ways but I did mention to the Honourable Minister that, well we are seriously thinking now in terms of national interest, we are seriously thinking of having only one way, of having only one voice, we want only one voice.

Minister for Information
and Broadcasting:

I think I did mention to the Honourable the Prime Minister of Singapore, instead of having so many voices for Malaysia, we should have only one voice from Malaysia. This is what we are thinking now: one idea, with one idea.

This is a sacred document, Mr. Speaker, Sir ...
(Interruption) ... We are prepared for it to be thrown into the dust-heap. But I say, do it openly -- don't do it surreptitiously. It's not use just changing, the Court of Appeal, that creates a lot of doubts in people's mind. If you want to change the law, change it openly here. We accept it -- you have got the right, go ahead. But when you start switching around the interpretation, people begin to get doubts, more confidence is lost; what will happen? We are prepared to face everything in a constitutional and democratic manner, and if after being never off-side the referee blows the whistle and puts us out of the field, the spectators will know, and, a melee is an inevitable consequence of such a referee's verdict, when spectators can see and spectators include internally 11 million and internationally one hundred odd nations.

We are prepared to take the penalties of being ruled offside, when in fact we are playing strictly in accordance to the rules. We have a vested interest in constitutionalism. We are not afraid that our ideas are unable to overcome the shroud of silence in the newspapers. By all means stifle us, close down the volume, take over the station, contrary to the constitutional agreement. And we will keep quiet? No, the voice will be heard ultimately and echoed in people's hearts and minds.

Abandon elections in 1969: we have considered that too. Justify Malaysia to the world as the will and self-determination of 11 million Malaysians. Abandon elections in Sabah -- the Minister for Sabah Affairs from time to time, I think, must have worked on these possibilities -- abandon them? We shall see. Every act carries a penalty and the penalty of not playing in accordance to the rules so far as Malaysia is concerned -- and it's not Malaya now, this is Malaysia -- is disintegration. And I will be honest with the Minister opposite and his colleagues; either a Malaysian Malaysia or nothing -- we are satisfied. We cannot agree to anything but a Malaysian Malaysia. We are prepared to play in accordance with the rules too: wait 5 years, 10 years, 15 years, but the ideas we represent must come true.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is barely a few minutes left and I really want to give others an opportunity to talk after this.

I would like to mention to Members on the other side, remember this: an Opposition is not loyal and will not abide by the Constitution only when, like PAS and the Socialist Front they find that they are unable to put their ideas into force in accordance with the democratic process. And Opposition which is sufficiently confident that the weight on the ground is such that eventually it must emerge will always find that it pays to play and talk and argue strictly in accordance with the rules. Never depart, never offside. We will honour the Constitution because we believe it can provide a solution to the problems of a multi-racial society in Malaysia.

But we are concerned by the statement that have been made and the many things that have been done, and I would like to add and move by way of an amendment, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the following words to the motion of thanks to His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, and the words are to add to the end thereof, removing the fullstop:

"but regrets the Address by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong did not reassure the nation that Malaysia will continue to progress in accord with its democratic Constitution towards a Malaysian Malaysia but that on the contrary the address has added to the doubts over the intentions of the present Alliance Government and to the measures it will adopt when faced with a loss of majority popular support."

I would like to make this one observation in moving this amendment. Loyalty to Malaysia is not equal and not the same to loyalty to the Alliance party or the Alliance Government. I am under no constitutional obligation to be loyal to the Alliance party or the Government but I must be loyal to the Constitution of Malaysia and I must obey the dicta of a democratically elected government of Malaysia: I accept it. But don't confuse these two things, as I fear His Majesty was somewhat confused by this, that we are facing threats from within the country. Threats, security of the nation, end to democracy, because unions want to strike for better conditions, wages, because we speak our minds and propound a better policy for Malaysia, because we exercise our prerogative in accordance with this Constitution to pose to Malaysia an alternative how Malaysia can become a prosperous happy nation, give honest, effective Government and dynamic ideas to propel it.

It is because we know that time is on our side, Mr. Speaker, Sir, that we will always be loyal, always act in accordance with the rules of this Constitution and with the decisions of the Government which are made and taken constitutionally.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move this amendment.
