

TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER,  
MR. LEE KUAN YEW, ON 30TH MAY, 1965, AT THE  
DELTA COMMUNITY CENTRE ON THE OCCASION OF  
ITS 4TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS.

Friends,

Before I speak in Hokkien, may I just say what a great pleasure it is to be with you for the fourth anniversary of the Delta Community Centre.

Briefly, I would like to say how very proud I am this evening to see what a tremendous transformation this Constituency is going through. They had a fire in 1961, and from the ashes of that fire, we are building a new community. And this is the forerunner of what is possible in the rest of Singapore and indeed in the rest of Malaysia if we are prepared to be forebearing with each other, to build a Malaysian Malaysia, a Malaysia in which all Malaysians regardless of race, language, religion, share equally in the opportunities of life.

Some people may wonder why it is that we, instead of just keeping quiet and allowing people to say what they like, you know, "Malays unite" ... they shout this everywhere. People get worried. If amongst the Chinese, you hear

people say, "Hokkiens unite", all the non-Hokkiens will say, "What is all this about? Is it to wallop all the non-Hokkiens?" So they say, "Malays unite" and we say, "What's all this about?"

And the Secretary-General of UMNO says, "Wherever you are, remember, you are a Malay." I say, "What's all this?" I thought in the Constitution we are all Malaysians, we are all going to be together. But not according to the Secretary-General of UMNO (who says) "We are all Malays, not Malaysians."

Well, I say we had better decide now: Are we Malaysians or are we Malays? Because I can't be a Malay. I can be a Malaysian. And 61% of the people of Malaysia can become Malaysians; can become loyal to Malaysia, accept the concept of a Malaysian Malaysia.

But (it is) very difficult to be a Malay because many things have to be done if you want to be a Malay. So, I say, better decide now; don't wait five years, ten years.

And I would like to tell you the reasons why it is better to decide now. First, if you allow these people every day in UTUSAN MELAYU and UTUSAN ZAMAN to tell the Malays: "Malays unite, Malays unite" -- they talk about race; never talk about nation, they always talk about "bangsa", race; never nation -- if

this goes on for one, two, three, four, five years, (it will be) very difficult to change the thinking of the ground. So I say, better decide now whether they are going to go on doing this. Because later on to change, is much more difficult.

You know what this man, the Secretary-General of UMNO, said in Parliament? He says, "No harm; I can say 'Chinese unite, Chinese unite'." He hasn't spent his time calculating what is the significance of what he is doing. What he means is MCA calls the Chinese to unite, and he knows that the Chinese will never unite under the MCA because they are political eunuchs. You know what a eunuch is? A eunuch is a human being that is neither male nor female. So, politically these chaps can do no harm. So they say, "Yes, you call the Chinese to unite," knowing full well that they cannot unite under eunuchs.

But supposing we stood up, real virile Chinese stood up and said, "Unite", you know what is going to happen in five years, and 42% of the population.

What is going to happen to this country? I think it is all foolish talk. This is the sort of thing we fought against in Singapore for all these years, from 1959, '60, '61, '62, '63. You know that. You know how Barisan used to go around and work people up on the basis of race. I say that is no future that way.

But I will tell you another reason why it is necessary to decide now; not later on. Because now it is easier for us, if they do not want a Malaysian Malaysia, to make alternative arrangement; you know, some other way.

You see, the agreement in the Constitution must lead to a Malaysian nation, a Malaysian Malaysia. And if they want to stop it, they must use unconstitutional methods to stop it. So I say, if you want to do that, do it now; better for us, easier for us to make other alternative arrangements. And the alternative arrangements? Well, we don't want to talk too much about it. But if really it is necessary, then I say, "Look, all those States that want a Malaysian Malaysia can come together." I can think of three straightway: Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore. I can think of a few others like Penang and Malacca. I can even believe that Johore -- the Sultan of Johore may not like to go and join Indonesia as has been suggested by UMNO Merdeka. Why should he?

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Perhaps, the Secretary-General of UMNO ... I read in the papers he has come from the Celebes; born there, bred there; came to Singapore just before the War. Well, maybe, he wants to rejoin the Celebes. But I am quite sure the Sultan of Johore do not want to join Celebes because joining the Celebes means joining Java and joining Indonesia which means going right down. If they want

to insist on this, then I say, say so now. We can make alternative arrangements; easier now than later.

And, they have't got the capacity; they have not got enough guns to govern this Malaysia by force; cannot be done; not possible. To go and govern 80,000 square miles in Sabah and Sarawak; 1½ times the size of Malaya; 1,000 miles of ocean in between -- they are going to govern it? They are going to sit in the Alliance 'Kapal Layar', the sailing boat to go there and then govern Sabah and Sarawak without the help of the British, the Australians and the New Zealanders? I say, "Better say so now if you want to do that." And we can look after ourselves. We don't have to talk too much of details. But I'll say now, if that's what you want, then we've got other ideas of looking after ourselves.

But I say, best of all, Malaysian Malaysia, stick to the Constitution; honour each other; accommodate, make adjustments, live happily in a multi-racial society. Everybody equal Malaysian citizens regardless of race, language, religion.

This is the message I want to say. It is not just in Singapore that people are not accustomed to Malay rule.

You know what they said in Parliament, Dr. Mahathir from Kota Star? -- "We in Singapore are not accustomed to Malay rule. We are not like people in Kelantan and Trengganu." Well, let me tell him this: when we joined Malaysia, we never agreed to Malay rule; we agreed to Malaysian rule; never Malay rule. This is all bunkum. Somebody has made a grave error of judgment if they believe that we agreed to Malay rule. We never agreed to it.

The Constitution means democratic rule by representatives of the people on the basis of adult franchise: one man one vote; one citizen one vote which means Malaysia is ruled by Malaysians. And we want to make that clear now. That is the only kind of rule that we will agree to.

And any talk by Dr. Mahathir or anybody else about Malay rule I say is very foolish and very reckless, because that is the surest way to bring about a great deal of unhappiness not only for us -- because we know that any way we have to face problems -- but unhappiness for them. And if we show them that we are united and strong and will stand up to this intimidation, then there is a better chance that they won't try.

So, on that note, I wish the people of Delta many happy years within a Malaysian Malaysia.

Thank you.

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