TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECH MADE BY THE PRIME MINISTER MR. LEE KUAN YEW AT THE TANJONG KATONG SCHOOL DURING HIS TOUR OF MOUNTBATTEN CONSTITUENCY ON 13 JUNE, 1965.

Friends and fellow citizens:

I feel particularly reassured this morning going around Mountbatten, not by the official handshake but by the faces I see behind the official handshakes. This is very important you know - the verve, the spirit, the resolve of a people. You see, what has been going on for the last few months has been a very interesting phase - people are testing us out, they want to know just how far before our will melts away. They know that the ministers are a bit difficult to intimidate because fiercer men have tried to intimidate us with more dire consequences and we are very accustomed to the rough talk; in fact, the rougher they talk, the politer we become. You know, people talk of losing their patience. We never lose our patience - he who loses his patience loses his temper, loses the argument, loses the case. And we know that we have a cast-iron case: Malaysian Malaysia. According to the Constitution, according to what is right and wrong, according to what is possible, the only possible way of saving Malaysia is a Malaysian solution. As we know it so there's no need to lose our temper and lose our patience.

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But what is important for me today, I was watching the faces behind the guard-of-honour, behind the official reception committee, I saw people with a lot of spirit and a lot of verve – they are not cowed. You see, I have got a vested interest in this – if the people as a whole are cowed and only a few leaders are standing up, then there may be others who are tempted by the thought that perhaps if you get rid of a few leaders, all will be solved. But if they know behind

the polite, friendly and correct attitude of the leaders, are men equally if not more resolute and prepared to face all consequences ... you know, it is quite a different problem dealing with 11 million Malaysians. And last week, last Sunday, we had this rally in the National Theatre ... I was greatly encouraged. People coming from as far as Sarawak, up the Rejang; you heard the thing on Television -- it is not faked, it is genuine -- the man says every time he tunes in to the radio Kuala Lumpur ... and (it) says "Waktu Tanah Melayu" ... and he shakes his head. He says "(If) Tanah Melayu", he says, "Well, that's not mine then. This is terriible. Then what are we doing all this for? Holding the frontier against the Indonesians. In that case, Sarawak (is) Tanah Iban." So he says, "There is only one way: Tanah Malaysia". That sounds better, everybody has got a share, everybody feels it is worthwhile contributing.

And, you know, I read the Tunku yesterday with a great deal of interest and some encouragement. Here was the polite, soft, reasonable line: he wants to talk. Whatever is in my mind, whatever is worrying me, he is prepared to listen. Which I thought was a very reasonable and very friendly attitude. And I welcome it. The only pit is he said it as he was leaving so I did not know he had said it when I sent him off at the Airport. So I will wait for him to come back and we will sit down and talk and we will sort out all our problems. And in case there is anything urgent, Tun Razak is in Kuala Lumpur ... just let me know (if) there is anything urgent, and we will go up and talk. We want to try and solve all these things in a friendly and in an effective sort of way. Not just talk for the sake of talking, but really talk to solve basic problems. Because it is not me, it is not the Tunku: it is what we are trying to achieve for 11 million Malaysians.

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And I said just now in Malay: even in the second World War, in the

height of a titanic struggle, as men and nations were looked in battle, an American President met the British Prime Minister on board of battleship in the middle of the Atlantic to proclaim to the world why and what for men were fighting and dying. It is very necessary: (if) you want to mobilise the people, ask them to sacrifice their lives, they (will) ask, "What for?" And in the Atlantic Charter, they spelt out in 1943:" ... for the freedom of all peoples, in all countries throughout the world." A beacon of hope, something worth fighting for, worth dying for. That is right.

Similarly now, as Tunku says, we are facing confrontation from without, enemies from within ... and I am very pleased with all this explanation: I am not the enemy now. They have not said that we are friends, but anyway, we are not enemies. They say: "Ah, enemies mean Indonesian terrorists, mean Communist subversives and Indonesian sympathisers;" and they say neither the Communists nor the Indonesians think us worth using, so therefore we are `clear'. That is good: we will keep it that way: we will act constitutionally democratically as a loyal Opposition, loyal to the Constitution.

What is it that we are fighting for? People are asking us, you know, (to) contribute (to the) National Defence Fund, (to ask people to join the Vigilante Corps, the guard the city against terrorists and go for National Service. Only lunatics and mad-caps like Barisan Sosialis any anti-Vigilante Corps, anti-National Service. They are anti-themselves. They do not even know when they are defiling their own door-step. If we really do that, we do what the Communists ask us to do and be passive and prostrate in the face of aggression, we deserve to perish.

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We will do all those things – defend the country, make the sacrifices:

our wealth, our energies, our lives. But we want to know what is it we are fighting for, what it is all this sacrifice for ? We do not want to waste five, ten years and hear this is not ours; that this not a Malaysian country, this is somebody else's country. It doesn't make sense to me.

I think now we decide this. This is Malaysia – who does it belong to? Let us go to the Constitution. What does it say? It belongs to all the citizens of Malaysia; that means me and you too. When we agree to that, all the other things we can sort out; but first agree that we are all co-workers as Dr Lim Swee Aun said in Parliament.

Four months ago, poor Dr Lim was being chased by UMNO branches in Perak. "Sack him!" they shouted. "Anti-Malay, anti-national language". All the poor man said was, "Look, if the Malays should want to go into business, they should try and compete', and the poor man was said to be anti-Malaya and anti-national language. Nobody said a word for him; the president of the MCA just kept quiet. Mr Tan Siew Sin says, "Best thing when you hear these communal slogans, you just pretend you don't hear them. Go home, close the doors, close the windows, forget it. If necessary, take the blanket, cover your head, take the pillow, cover your ears".

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Chaps marching outside shouting. "Malays unite, do this do that", and you keep quiet? If you keep quiet, the fellow agrees that you have agreed with him that he can do what he likes; then where are we after four to five years? If you want to object, object now, at the beginning of Malaysia; don't' object later after he believes that all this is agreed in his way. Now we lodge our formal, our vigorous protest - no, please follow the Constitution.

Some people write to the newspapers and say, "Why all this Malaysian

Malaysia? Wait till election time." You know (if) they think that this for election, they are mad. This is for your future and mine. (If) we do not assert this now and they keep on telling everybody that this is their country not yours and mine, when are we going to get them to change their minds? After they have had this pumped into their heads for years, or now when they are starting? I say (there is a) better chance now, isn't it? Please just register my profound disagreement with all this foolish talk.

I like Tunku's way. He says, "Soft talk. Come let us talk, let us say anything." Very honestly, he said I used to talk with him for hours. Yes. He said he is prepared to listen for more hours. I was very cheered when I read that. Because I will have to talk to him for more hours. But a long talk is in order to achieve certain fundamental agreed objectives. We must know where we are going. What are we fighting for? You say donate Defence Fund, mobilise the people, Vigilante Corps, National Service. I say, all right. Agreed. But what is this for? For Malaysia? Agreed. Very good. Who gets the benefits out of Malaysia? In other words, to whom does Malaysia belong? To some or to all Malaysians? If to all Malaysians, regardless of race, language, culture, religion, I say well, three cheers, full agreement, proceed. Satisfied. Win or lose, we will fight on. But if there is my doubt about that, I say let us clarify this first.

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As I said just now, even in the middle of a war, the Americans and the British had to announce to the world why millions of people had to die. What were they dying for? For the freedom of all men throughout the world. What are we asked to sacrifice and die for? I tell you what I think it is worth dying for – a Malaysian Malaysia. A Malaysia in which you and I – whether you are Indian, you are Chinese, you are of Pakistani or Ceylonese or Eurasian abstraction –

you and I, we are co-citizens, co-workers. A multi-racial society preserving one of the highest standards of living in Asia.

It will take decades for any of the countries around us to catch up with our standard of living and this is worth preserving. If we start trying to 'down' the other fellow, then the whole thing will come unscrambled, loosen, sag. Once you unloosen the bolts and nuts and the whole machine sags, instead of opening the tap and getting water you will be digging wells for water. And this has happened in many countries.

And I say, in case they misinterpret us – and from time to time they deliberately misinterpret us – I say for all, regardless of race and in Singapore….. I have just been to Kampong Amber…. I got worried there – the Malays feel that it is an old Malay kampong, now they are asked to move by private landlords who want to develop. They are going to be given compensation but they do not like the idea of being moved and pushed out into the countryside. I said, "All right, the government will undertake the responsibility". Not only when government is developing - when the government has to build new houses and schools and so on – even when private landlords develop, every time you have an old kampong like Kampong Amber, we will step in and say, "Right, we will acquire a part of the land, maybe one quarter, one third of the land, for the people who have been there for many years, minimum since 1958, seven years, who have got Singapore citizenship and we will build low-cost housing for them there on the spot." And for Malays whose total family income is below $200, $200 and below, we will subsidise their rent via a Trust Fund to the extent of 20 percent. But only Singapore citizens; otherwise every year, more are coming down from Johore, Kelantan, Trengganu, Perlis, ... life become difficult. Only our own citizens,

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we will shoulder that responsibility.

And I say to the Central Government, let us compete. If they are worried not about their power, and their position, but about their lives and future of the Malays, I say, "Come on, let us compete. Who can do better for them? Who can build them a better world? Who can train them and fit them to meet the problems of modern society?" The Malaya cannot lose. Let us compete: who has got the programme, the policies?

I make this offer because I know I can win. If I know I am going to lose I won't compete. I know I can win. You know their problem? They do not know how to do it. They say they want to help Malays, the poor people. But you cannot help poor Malays without helping poor Chinese and poor Indians. It is not possible.

I will give you an example. Last December, they had to increase the taxes to collect more money to pay for fighting confrontation. What did they do? What does the Finance Minister do? He increased the tax on sugar and black oil in Singapore. Eighty million dollars just on sugar alone: ninety percent of that eighty million dollars are paid by poor people, isn't it? The rich chap takes saccharine; he is sacred of getting fat. You mean to tell me that the Malays do not take sugar? You put up the tax on black oil and the buses cost more, electricity costs more (in) the Pasir Panjang Power Station. You mean the Malays do not have electric lights in their homes?

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And you know, what he did for the Federation? Crown cork tax: five cents. Every time you open a soft drink, five cents. You mean, Malays do not

take soft drinks? They are the people who are not supposed to take beer and whisky; and beer and whisky never went up in price. Who is being swindled by whom? They do not like this. They say, "Ah, this is subversion." How can this be subversion? This is dollars and cents. This is what hurts, isn't it? You are cheating people.

If you want to help poor Malays, you must help poor Chinese and Indians too, just like Kampong Amber, as I said just now. We will acquire that land, one part of it, build up low-cost housing for all who are at present staying there and who have stayed there for seven years. But we cannot say only just Chinese or Indians. It must be Chinese, Malays, Indians. We cannot just say all Malaya and no Chinese or Indians. That is bad: sure trouble.

So you have got to help the lot. And it is far more difficult to help all poor people than to make a few Malays rich. So they do it the other way: Kongress Ekonomy Bumiputera. You read the whole story: what does it say? Let's have bank with banks of money and lend money to all our friends. Then they will open shops. After a few years, the shop loses money, loan (is) not paid, forget about it.

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You know what Ungku Aziz says? He says even if you make 40 percent of the economy controlled by Malay capitalists -- which is the percentage of Malays in the country 39 percent, rounded off 40 percent -- you have not solved Malay poverty. (You) cannot solve it. You have got to raise the level of the lot of them; not just a few to become rich. One Malay capitalist out of 1,000, what happens to the 999? So the one capitalist hires ten others to be his servants; one polishes shoes, one opens the motor-car door, one cleans the cape. That is ten

out of a thousand, that is one out of a hundred: what happens to the 99 poor ones? It cannot be solved.

So you see, I say when we say compete, we know that we will win; and we must win provided we show resolve and resolution. Because what they are trying to do is to check us, to indimate us, and frighten us into a side track. This is the main track, the main competition; who can give the people of Malaysia a better life. If they can, what are they afraid of? Why are they afraid that people will hear us?

I told Inche Senu in Parliament, "Look, your television from Gunong Pulai is too far away; the pictures are cloudy. There is a snow-flake effect." I said, "Why not put it up at Bukit Batok? We will put up a special serial there for you. And you reciprocate, put ours up in Kuala Lumpur. Then people can compare and contrast. I don't think that people are stupid. They can compare and contrast." He said, "No, no, one voice, one voice, one idea." Can you do that? There are as many ideas as there are human beings in the world, and the ideas that win are the ideas that mobilise the majority.

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And, I say the one idea, the one goal, the one ideal worth fighting and dying for is a Malaysian Malaysia. And we will win because that is what people are prepared to right for. Not because it is going to make the PAP the government, or make me the Prime Minister. People are not interested in that. But if it is necessary that we win in order that there is a Malaysian Malaysia, then I say people are prepared in the end to organise and fight for that. If really that is the only way to get it, then I say so be it.

And, to these people who shout about these fierce slogans, I make this

little plea. I say, the Tunku talks very softly, soft talk, politely he talks. It is very good. I like to hear that. I mean he is very sensible. But these chaps who talk with such strong, abrasive voices -- you know, "We are going to take this away," and threatens with this, that -- I say, all the Tunku's good work, winning votes, making friends in Singapore (is) is lost by these chaps talking fiercely. They are undoing and undermining the Tunku's good work.

I say, follow the Tunku, talk softly and we will listen to reason. But shake your fist, threaten us, bring out the gun, take up the pistol, and we will say, "Look, that is all childishness." What do you think you are playing, dumb or chess? These people they play dumb, one at a time. They do not know this is a very complicated complex thing, and if you have to play this game that is a game of chess, not dumb. You calculate five or six, seven eight steps after you make your opening move. Do not just move big pieces here and there without knowing where you are going.

You think the Singapore Government gets frightened because you say you are going to take Radio and Television away, and so therefore tomorrow we have a long speech by Inche Senu and we all keep quiet? We have read the Constitution very carefully. We say right, according to the Constitution we can do this, we will do it. If we are wrong, list out the complaint, go to court, argue it out. You don't want to go to court, you want to use the gun? All right, we calculate: how many guns have you got? You know (it is) not just Malays: this is Malaya, Singapore plus Sabah and Sarawak.

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I explained last week why it is so very difficult ... The British today have got 50 to 60 thousand troops in Sabah and Sarawak. Gurkhas and British troops:

Sabah, Sarawak, manning the borders. The Central Government hasn't even got the chips to carry, assuming that they have got 50,000 troops, they haven't got the ships to carry them over there. If you put them in the Alliance sailing boat, it (is) sure to sink. The flagship of the Malaysian Navy, the "MUTIARA" -- "MUTIARA" means Pearl -- flagship, Malaysian Navy. It is a cabin cruiser, and airconditioned. It is true. I have been on it; I have seen it. They have told me about it. It is a very good boat to go fishing: you can go to Pulau Langkawi, Pulau Tioman.

(If) you want to cross this ocean ... You know, the Indonesians have got about five submarines given by the Russians, probably still manned by the Russians. One cruiser, very big cruiser, and about 20 or so other destroyers and small vessels. You want to travel about without the British Royal Navy and the Australian Navy to help you? You have got to depend on them, isn't it? So, this is not dumb. (In) dumb, you move one at a time -- I hit you, you hit me, finish. You are playing chess; and if you do not want, watch out, you get checkmated. Don't move foolishly.

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You know, before we decide that we stand for a Malaysian Malaysia, we first find out ... There are three guarantors of Malaysia's integrity against external enemies: Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Britain, I know well. I was a student there for many years, many friends, too, you see, in Government, out of Government (in the) Labour Party, the Conservative Party – many friends. You know them well; we know the British people well. And I can tell you that they have no intention of being involved in a second Vietnam in Malaysia. And they know how they can get involved in a second Vietnam by doing the things that some people are shouting for; sure second Vietnam so they are out.

Recently, I went to Australia and New Zealand; you know why they got excited? Because I was invited to go there, they got excited. What is wrong with it? I defended Malaysia. You heard my broadcast – I never condemned them, I condemn them here in Singapore, in Kuala Lumpur, in Parliament and they dared not let me speak. When I go out, I defend Malaysia. When I want to attack and criticise, I do it in Kuala Lumpur, in Parliament until they did not want to allow me to speak. Well, all right, never mind, still we carry on. We are patient, forbearing because we know time is on the side of the Malaysians. And when I say that, I include the Malays, you know.

In UTUSAN MELAYU three days ago, they said Malays are not Malaysians, Malaysians are not Malays. Where are we going? I say the way we use “Malaysian”, it includes Malays. That’s right – all. And we can win in the end. Must win. History, demography, geography are all on our side. Demography – the racial proportions of distribution of population and so on – that is on our side. There is no one community which can dominate the others. Geography, I have already explained: South China Sea 1,000 miles; Sabah, Sarawak 80,000 square miles. History shows That it is the groups that are patient, that have got stamina and endurance that will finally triumph.

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Individually, we may die, we may get gastritis, aeroplanes may fall down, I might get knocked down by a bus, that is irrelevant. The battle will go on, the battle will go on. The ideas that we represent must triumph. So I say, we can afford to be patient.

And when the Tunku says, "Let us talk," I say, "That is a good sign."

Talk means argument, reason, logic, common sense, accommodation; and therefore, success for Malaysia. What worries me is not talk; what worries me is foolish shouting, threats. That gets nowhere. You see, they will have to keep on shouting louder and louder; finally, they will lose their voice; and in the end, they frighten themselves into doing foolish things. I say, that is not necessary.

What is most important is for you to show all of them that they are not meeting only a few leaders; they are meeting the mass of the population adults, (who will) stand up to them. You know, they are so accustomed to terrifying people that they think they can do this and get away with it. Scare people and the next day . . . You know, the Germans used to do that, Gestapo techniques. First you hammer the fellow, frighten him. Then the next day, you come and give him a cup of coffee and give a cigarette and say, "You (are) good chap."

Today you sbout at me, tomorrow you give me a cup of coffee and cigarette, I will have to look at the coffee and see what you put inside because you have been threatening me - what the hell are you giving me the coffee for?

Today, I was a bit late because I took some time in getting up; slept late last night; some work to be done; two functions in the evening. But that is important. I like to tell you this because I think this is what we all must do: "sleep well of nights." You know Shakespeare, "Give me men that sleep well of nights. "That is what he said. I think it right. Men who worry, you know, read all this, and they start shouting al this they get worried themselves, night time comes, they can't sleep. Next morning they wake up, mind befuddled, wrong decisions, more trouble!

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We assure them and I say this: this goes for all of us in Singapore. Sleep

well of nights. Tomorrow is another day. We will settle it, and we know that we have got enough stamina. We will last the pace.

And, on that note, I say we face the future with confidence.

Thank you.

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