TRANSCRIPT OF A SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER
MR. LEE KUAN YEW, AT THE 1ST ANNIVERSARY OF
SEREMBAN BRANCH OF PAP ON 27TH JUNE, 1965.

You know, slowly, if we are patient and even more important if we are firm, polite, always polite but resolutely firm, they will begin to take note. Utusan Melayu, according to Inche Othman Wok, are now begining to publish Tun Razak's speeches. This means they are learning.

You see, we are exposing this duplicity: two microphones -- one for a multi-racial audience, you and me; the other one, a special VHF, a very high frequency, in the Jawi script and meant for the kampong. We keep on tuning to this VHF and translating and putting it into the multi-lingual network. And this is a source of constant embarassment to them -- as it should be, if they are decent human beings. If they have got any some of decency and honesty, they must be embarassed by their multi-lingual community finding out what they have been saying privately in their own VHF.

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I think there are useful signs. You take this recent Congress -- "Congress Ekonomi Bumiputra": how to make Malay capitalists and contractors; not how to teach the Malays how to build buildings, but how to be a contractor to get the

other fellow to build a building and you just out the percentage. All these things worry me, but never mind. At least, they now say, "Congress Ekonomi Bumiputra" -- which is good. I quickly went home, took my Malay dictionary, opened it at "Bumiputra". "Bumi" means earth, "Putra" means prince -- so, the "Prince of the earth" ... meaning "Sons of the Soil". That is very good ... In the old days, they just said, "Congress Ekonomi Melayu". Everything Melayu -- "Waktu Tanah Melayu". Everybody gets worried. "If this is Tanah Melayu, where am I?" says the Dayak. So, they are learning. And this is a useful sign which means that eventually, the message will go home: that we are all, in accordance with the Constitution and in accordance with what is morally right, fellow-citizens, Malaysian citizens together responsible for the destiny of this country -- as it should be.

After all, let us be sensible. A man who is a "Syed" born in Sulawesi -- the Celebes -- comes to Malaya or comes to Singapore first, selling medicine -- I don't mind that; we need medicines in Singapore -- 20 years, and he says he is a "Bumiputra". Today, I met a man in Malacca who has been there 500 years. His name is a Portuguese name -- a very old one -- Sequera Lopez or something. He told me that the Portuguese dialect there contains Malay words, Indian words, Chinese words and Portuguese words. Five hundred years -- if he is not "Bumiputra", how is it that this man who comes here as an adult, 20 years -- he is

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a "Bumiputra"? Where is the logic in all this? I want to know. I have been here 100 years. I want to know what this is all about. This is very important.

Some people say, "Why (do you) want to raise these matters? They will get excited". I say, "Never mind -- let them get excited: it is good for them". When they get excited, I hope they will begin to think. And when they begin to think, they will begin to realise that this is Malaysia -- not Malaya.

And I will tell you another reason why (it should be) now, and not 5, 10 years later. Five, ten years later, you raise this issue -- (it) is lost, finished. Ten years of this stuff in Utusan Melayu, and everybody believes this is a Malay country, where are you and I going to go? We are in trouble. And (there is) no better time than in a time of crisis to defend what is the objective. We are being asked to sacrifice our fortunes, our lives to defend Malaysia, defend the country. I would like to ask, "Alright, we defend Malaysia; agreed. (But) who has an interest in Malaysia?" This is very important because having defended Malaysia, expended all this wealth, resources, energy, human lives suddenly, somebody turns around and says, "Ah yes, but you are not part of Malaysia -- you are just a guest' ... Well then, that is too late, isn't? Even in the middle of a big war -- in the second world war - when millions of people had to die, the American President met the British Prime Minister in the middle of the Atlantic. Roosevelt met

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Churchill to proclaim the Atlantic Charter, to promise freedom to all peoples all over the world -- as the objective of that great sacrifice required. We are asked to make sacrifices. I say yes, by all means but please tell me now, before the sacrifice is being made. On your behalf alone, or on yours and mine? If it is on our joint behalf, then I say by all means -- let us together march forward. But if you say what Ja'afar Albar says -- (that) I am (an) orang tumpangan, I tumpang -- I say that is a very funny word to say for a man who has been here for 100 years ... And he is a man who has been here for 20 years.

"Tumpang": you know what is means? Your motorcar, I give you a lift: you tumpang? If I tumpang, would you tell me why I should buy the new tyres, the new battery, pay for the grind valve, repair the carburettor, buy new spark plugs? What for? (If it is) your motorcar, you (had) better keep it. I will build my own motorcar. that is what I said: (that) other arrangements are possible if you really want that. But better this motorcar. This is a big motorcar, plenty of space inside for everybody. But if you really want that -- you know because they always say Raja Melayu and so on... So I at one thought (of) 5 places (with) no Raja definitely: Sabah, Sarawak, Singapore, Penang, Malacca. We start off from there. We never anti-partition. We just say, "other arrangements".

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You know what they want? They want Singapore out of Malaysia. That is what they want. Then they have got you fixed, you see: you are imprisoned in a present minority. Then, Dr. Lim Chong Su and Seenivasagam can run around Ipoh and Penang, come to Seramban: they are alright -- 65% their votes -- they control. You shout, open the boxes, you have lost.

But as I said just now, now it is very different. You shout away and antagonize people and antagonize a lot of Bumiputra like Mr. Buma of Sarawak ... he is a Dayak ... And everytime he hears you saying, "Waktu Tanah Melayu", he shakes his head. That is no good: because, there are 40 seats in Sabah and Sarawak, 15 in Singapore. That makes 55. There are 104 seats in Malaya. 55 plus 104 -- the total (is) 159. To have half, you need to have 80 because 80 times 2 makes 160. 55 plus 25 makes 80. So if they go and do this foolish thing -- running around and antagonising everybody -- I tell you 55 votes definitely in the Parliament will be for a Malaysian Malaysia.

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Even now, you know, they are secretly for a Malaysia, Malaysia. No doubts about it. Every time we speak they quietly cheer for us. What else can we do? You know, the Sabah newspapers run by some of their supporters scolded the Sabah MPs for not denouncing us in Parliament: why were they silent? I will tell them why they were silent -- because they dared not stand up

and cheer us in case they got properly scolded and reprimanded. So on the quiet they go outside, drink coffee and they say, "Very good speech"! Because (in) that kind of a Malaysia, they have got a chance: the Dayak has a chance, the Dusun has a chance; the Chinese have a chance, the Indians have a chance, the Malaya too have a chance. And this is the thing that really worries them: slowly, we will prove even to the kampong Malays that this is the way forward. This way, they also stand up on two feet. This way, they grow muscles of their own -- not, you know, blindly and supinely just beg! That is no use!

You give the man a gold coin today, and he gets used to spending a gold coin every week you have got to give him his weekly allowances of gold coins. Otherwise, there is a lot of trouble. And we never do that in Singapore. We always give him the training so that he can earn his own silver coin. That is very important! You educate him, you train him -- he can repair the television set, he can repair your refrigerator, he can be a doctor, he can be a scientist because he is given free education; and if he is bright, it does not matter how poor his father is; we make sure that he advances, and he will always make his own silver and gold coin; and the country will advance. But this way you know -- always kept down and every now and again before election time they just give cheques all round ... Chinese school, cheques; kampong, cheques; everybody, cheques. Election over, all money (is) taken back! Crown cork tax, turnover tax: price of

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oil goes up, price of sugar goes up -- never mind. The theory being that people are so stupid they will forget by 1969.

But this what we are here for -- isn't it? To make sure that nobody forgets in 1969 and if you remember that as your study and discharge it, I am sure we will be that much closer in 1969 to a Malaysian Malaysia.

Thank you and good night.

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