

The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

MALAYSIA - AGE OF REVOLUTION

by

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Prime Minister of Singapore

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SOUTH-EAST ASIA IN TURMOIL

The most significant thing about the last few decades, since the end of the second World War is the emergence of national identities, some of which never existed before both in Asia and in Africa. Some of them like India, represented a re-emergence of old, ancient civilizations. So with Burma, and perhaps to a lesser extent with Indonesia. In 1945 none of these territories had any self-expression, nor did they realise how quickly events were to move once the process of de-colonization began, when India and Pakistan became independent in 1947.

First Phase

The 1945 to 1965 era can be broadly divided into two. The first period represented the thrills, the sensation of independence, as young nations began to flex their muscles. It ended with Bandung, when Afro-Asia decided in a collective way to assert themselves on the world scene. Bandung marked the end of the first phase. Then independence and anti-colonialism dominated political thoughts and movements throughout all the dependent territories of the world. But after independence, having acquired political control over their own destinies, could they satisfy the other urges which drive people towards independence — a better life, higher standards of life which they saw in their European overlords, which they assumed would automatically come by the assumption of power? All those were questions which, whilst from time to time a few leaders may have reflected upon, the mass of the people just assumed. All one had to do was to rally and mount massive agitation and if that did not work, then one had to resort to violent

revolution; the European power and domination would collapse because firstly, the will to assert military dominance was lost, and secondly, a tide of history was in motion.

Second Phase

But 1955 to 1965 marks the second phase, when slowly dependent peoples, who had acquired independence, began to realise that perhaps some of the leaders who led them to freedom, who were good orators, who mobilised mass emotions and mass sentiments, were not necessarily good administrators or nation-builders. Consequently, a period of gradual disillusionment set in although power had already been transferred. A few of the political elite and some of the middle-class of the old colonial societies were able to move up to almost European standards of life but the mass of the people did not profit by this change or transfer of political power. This is now the most important single motivating force in Asian politics. Hence, for a variety of reasons political leaderships which are unable to provide physical and material satisfaction to the people they led to freedom, have got to find other devices to keep their loyalties and to be able to remain in ascendancy.

Two Types of Leadership

Political leaders in Afro-Asia broadly fall into two classes: those who tried to achieve social and economic progress like Nehru in India, or Nasser in Egypt, and were able to hold the loyalties and affection and their following in the people; and those who could not.

Those who could not inevitably get replaced as new forms of leadership and new styles are experimented with. Of course amongst those who were unable to satisfy the material urges of their followers, there were quite a number who by sheer histrionic skill and other qualities of leadership, and the capacity to mesmerise their own people, were able to remain in the ascendancy, partly by their own personalities and the image they projected and created for themselves and projected to the nation, and a skilful balancing of internal forces within the country.



Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore with Sir Bernard Fergusson, Governor-General of New Zealand, during his visit to New Zealand.

Economic and Social Progress

The newly emerging Asian countries are in varying stages of economic and social progress. First on the list, partly because of its size and also because of the progress it has made in spite of so many other short-comings, is India. Seventeen years of Mr. Nehru's fairly honest and relatively effective administration was able at least to keep up with the population growth and some of the major heavy industries — steel, hydro-electric power — were established. Pakistan, which went careering along with feeble and unstable governments for many years before a General took over by unconstitutional means and later established his continuance by constitutional processes, at least a popular mandate, is now at least not going down in the way it was when musical-chairs was being played in the Pakistani Parliament in Karachi. Burma, one of the first to be independent, after experimenting with the one-man one-vote system without much success, now finds herself under military rule of one General and a few of his immediate Lieutenants. Ceylon, one of the paragons of British colonial decolonization processes, the theory of gradualism, is in some difficulties. Indonesia turned from Western-type Parliamentary democracy, to guided democracy; perhaps it would end up with the hegemony either of the army or of the communist party unless a third balancing power is found once the President is no longer there. Thailand, which managed to survive as a separate entity and avoided colonial domination and European hegemony, for the last 200-odd years, is governed very largely by means other than that of popular expressions of will, and is able to maintain economic progress of about the same level as that of Malaysia, only because of the enormous amount of American aid that has gone into it during the last ten years.

Cambodia is almost *sui generis*. Its extremely intelligent Prince in charge is also the popularly-elected head of his Government, who perilously charts a course of neutralism, balancing his country's independence in between Western and Eastern pressures, hoping thereby to cancel out both. Laos, which is supposed to have been

neutralised in 1954 is very much now in the hands of the Pathet Lao, which is either pro-communist or communist-controlled. South Vietnam is in the throes of fairly violent distress.

In the Philippines American influence has remained, and with it a certain degree of economic advance. But, again, the economy has been kept up because of massive American aid. In the whole region, Malaysia, the only country which is viable on its own, which is making economic progress on its own, which has some form of popular democratic government in that from time to time the people are able to choose their leaders and their government, is now under very severe pressures. If these pressures are not resisted, and if we are unable to prevent a diversion of our economic resources from social advance into futile, wasteful military expenditure, then within the next five to ten years, we may find ourselves classified amongst the other territories which are less fortunate than ourselves in South-east Asia.

What does all this add up to? First, these are very new nations in most cases with no accumulation of collective wisdom of how to survive as a nation. The Thais have it, whatever their shortcomings: a leadership, a hereditary elite, the King and his Ministers, the Generals; the Generals appoint their sons into military academies and they in turn subsequently become Generals. But data on how to survive is fed into the national electronic machine.

India's Nehru

India has re-emerged with tradition, with history, with an administration, and with democratic government during the 17 years of growth. How long more it can go on and advance or regress, is really now being put to the test. India, during the last 17 years was really dominated by the affection, the loyalty which the people felt for one national figure, Mr. Nehru, and the impetus which the Indian Congress Movement had, a momentum which it had built up over the years of anti-colonialism.

Soekarno and Empire

From time to time Soekarno refers to the Majapahit and Srivijaya empires. Vaguely they embrace this whole region, including Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak and the Philippines. He is not quite definitive enough in just exactly where the boundaries of the Majapahit and the Srivijaya empires ended. But, his attempts at geo-politics follow the school of thought which the Indonesians have founded with the theory that God had ordained that this myriad group of islands between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, between the Northern and the Southern hemisphere, was destined to be at the cross-roads of the world and destined to be under one rule. And whoever ruled it was therefore in charge of the cross-roads of the world.

Malaysia's Immigrant Races

Of all these countries, Malaysia has least history, national identity and continuity as a separate nation. It is the result of 100-odd years of British colonial rule. The local inhabitants, who were present when the British arrived, did not take to regimented labour in the plantations or the mines. So, immigration was actively encouraged from South China and South India. This cheap, industrious labour, in the process, opened up the country, built the plantation and the mining economy which is the basis of Malaysia's wealth, and at the same time has now assumed an important role in the distributive, banking, insurance, infra-structure of the commercial economy in all the towns.

Future of South-East Asia

What is to happen to South-east Asia in relation to the rest of the world in 1975? Events over the last 30 years show that the rate of change has gone at a speed which no one had anticipated. It is a fair assumption that this rate of change will certainly not slow down. The impact of China as a major industrial, commercial and a military power on the whole region is difficult to assess.



Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore with members of New Zealand's Parliament (from left to right), Mr. A. E. Allen, Chief Whip, Mr. Hugh Watt, Deputy Leader of the Opposition and Dr. A. M. Finlay, Opposition Member.

But unless the countries in South-east Asia learn quickly enough how to act in their own collective interests, first as nations in themselves, and then in concert with each other, to prevent an erosion of their national interests in the next 10 to 20 years, a very different picture will emerge.

The most marked single distinction between South-east Asia and the more established nations of Europe is not only that these nations are new in most cases, but that, worse, even where they are old and established nations with a history and background of their own, they tend to be inward-looking. For this reason they have not been able to act in concert with each other in their collective interests.

Power Politics in Asia

It is incredible that India, a vast nation with vast potentials, should have allowed itself to be so naive to believe that the world would believe in world order, that the rule of law would prevail, that international rights would be respected and that force as a means of settlement of international disagreement and disputes would never be resorted to. One of the most tragic personal events on any one of its leaders was that which occurred when Mr. Nehru faced the agony of the disillusionment of his basic, fundamental belief. Power-politics in Asia is as old as the first tribes that emerged, and whether we like it or not, if we are to survive and maintain our separate identities, it is necessary that we should learn what is in the joint interest, at any one single time, of a group of nations.

S.E.A.T.O.

For the last 20 years it is the European powers who have tried to act in concert to protect Asian collective interests. Hence, SEATO. Pakistan joined it; the Indians scorned it, and the Thais joined it. The Filipinos joined it. But nobody really believed that the Thais, the Filipinos and the Pakistanis were conscious of their joint interests. They joined it for a variety of reasons: partly to

get American arms like Pakistan, partly because of American aid like Thailand, partly because in any way they are that way inclined like the Philippines. And when a gathering of SEATO takes place, it could be that the Secretariat is for sentimental and other reasons placed in Bangkok; nobody really believes that here was a group of Asian nations acting in concert for its own collective interests.

Failure to Identify Common Interests

This is a remarkable phenomenon because amongst these new nations are some whose histories go very far back, and yet who are unable within the first two decades of their existence to get a grip on their own personality to recognise what are identical common interests with their neighbours, and whose links with former metropolitan powers are usually closer than those with their neighbours. But this is a phenomenon which must spell weakness. In this state of weakness, those who are determined and organised and have their objectives clearly defined and their techniques of achieving the objectives sufficiently worked out in practice to be effective, are most likely to triumph.

South-east Asian States in Disarray

Whatever the miseries of South Vietnam, if the Americans had not intervened in 1954, if in fact the Geneva Agreement of 1954 was honoured solidly in the spirit and to the letter, South Vietnam would have been reunified with North Vietnam and would now be under the National Front Government, or probably by now a completely communist government. Strangely enough, even in that situation, Thailand is in conflict with its neighbour Cambodia, and Cambodia more frightened of Thailand and South Vietnam than anything else; India is in deep conflict with Pakistan over Kashmir. The Ceylonese have not yet settled the problem of the $\frac{3}{4}$ million Tamil non-citizens of Ceylon in the tea and rubber plantations. The Indonesians for reasons known only to themselves are completely in accord with China to crush Malaysia. The Filipinos are in conflict with Malaysia through their claim to sovereignty over Sabah

based on the titular right of some ancient Sultan of Sulu. Thus, there is turmoil in South-east Asia, which is a vital region of the world.

African States and Collective Interests

At least in Africa, while admittedly they have their own differences, there is still a consciousness of their own continental interests in the O.A.U. — Organisation of African Unity. Their leaders are very conscious of the fact that they know that they have inherited colonial boundaries. President Nasser knows that the boundaries between Egypt and the Sudan were a product of the British rule. They were not natural boundaries. Yet, he told me that if they were to start quarrelling about these boundaries, then the whole of Africa would be unscrambled, resulting in endless strife.

Thus mining rights in the Sudan are still granted from the U.A.R., because that had been done for many years. The Sudanese Government attempted to change it. There was an immediate meeting of minds between the two Presidents who both decided that in their common interest, they should not try and resolve this dispute. There are instances where national leaders have not been so rational, as in the case of Somalia and Kenya, and Somalia and Ethiopia, where they claim Somali territories which form part of Ethiopia and part of Kenya. But the way in which the African States together got Algeria and Morocco to exercise restraint in settling their boundary dispute is an indication of individual consciousness of collective interests, which is completely lacking in Asia for some unknown reason. South Asia is in discord.

Effects of India, China and Japan on South-east Asia

The future of South-east Asia hinges firstly on whether the leadership in these countries matures rapidly enough to identify their common interests and act in consort, and secondly, on the intentions and policies of the two big potential industrial powers in Asia: China and India. The third is Japan. For the first time, after an abstention of twenty years the Japanese, not without Western



Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, signing the Visitor's Book at Wellington. Looking on is Mr. K. Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

encouragement but probably from the Americans, have made a bid to play a role again in Asian politics. They knew that they were in bad odour for a long while in South Asia and they made no attempt at exercising the influence which a nation of their industrial capacity would normally do. We are now witnessing the beginning of Japan's re-entry on the world stage.

Two Choices for New Zealand

In the midst of all this, if I were a New Zealander, I could adopt one of two attitudes. One is to watch what is going on with dispassionate disinterest, and as long as the Australians had not been overrun, life could go on just as usual. The second is to begin to identify where in this kaleidoscope of power-conflicts New Zealand's ultimate interests lie. You are not yet put into the acute position of the Australians. Nor are the Australians in the acute position of the Cambodians. But nevertheless, when the Prime Minister of Australia said that he had taken certain decisions — military conscription amongst others, and the decision to send one regiment for active service in Sabah — he rounded off his remarks by saying that he had to live with the Indonesians as neighbours for two to three hundred years. Well, I was surprised because I would have thought that the Indonesians may well endure for more than three hundred years.

Dilemma

However, here is a recognition that an interest is at stake. The dilemma is how that interest is to be advanced. Hence, one Senator says that he finds it difficult to support the Australian policy because on the one hand it is sending troops and helping Malaysia to defend herself, whilst on the other it is giving aid to Indonesia in forms which could ultimately either directly or indirectly help it or increase its potential to do harm to Malaysia.

This is the process of maturing, something which, whatever the faults of the Government of the Peoples' Republic of China, it has in abundance. The Chinese Communists know their history well;

They have read what has happened, and there is a great deal of accumulated data in their computer machine. It is also in abundance with the Japanese, and basically, with the Indians, if only they had not been so preoccupied and so inward-looking over the last 17 or 18 years.

This is also true of the Thais, however Ruritanian some of their aspects of government may be. It does possess the collective wisdom of how a group of people can preserve its separate interests, if not by military means, then at least by diplomatic accommodation. The present Indonesian leadership has learned how to live literally on its wits over the last 16 years of revolution. But can the leadership that ultimately emerges there recognise its collective interests? If it does not, then the whole history of that part of South-east Asia may be different: thus the Sumatrans may find expression separately from the people in Ambon and the Celebes, and so on. But if that leadership, whatever its shortcomings now, continues to recognise that it has a potential for greatness in being together as one people, then the course of history will be very different for Asia, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand.

An Intractable Neighbour

I do not intend to arrogate to myself what I think is New Zealand's interest in this matter. But I do suggest that whatever the dilemma in wanting to be friends with a potentially powerful and intractable neighbour, it is in the interests of everyone in South-east Asia to see that this attempt at resolving nationalist ambition and national frontiers by a combination of diplomatic and military pressure, should not succeed. If it does, then forces would be released which must ultimately end in great disaster for all those around the region.

But I advance a further reason why I believe Malaysia's survival is also in the interests not only of Australia and New Zealand but also of countries like India.

Removal of Military Bases

The Indians face an even more acute dilemma. The whole object of confrontation is to remove Western presence in the region as the first step. Before anything can be done, before one can readjust national boundaries at will and assert, if not absorb one's neighbour, at least assert authority over its policies, the presence of Western powers as represented in military bases in the Philippines and Malaysia must be removed. President Soekarno's stand on this is clear. The Indians are committed to non-alignment, and over 17 years of neutralism, they committed themselves to a fixed posture against military foreign European bases on Asian or African territory. At the same time, it is evident from what their leaders say and from those who formulate policy in India are writing, that they are becoming extremely conscious that if these bases were removed prematurely, then their national interests might well be in jeopardy.

Aims of Communist China

Viewed from all angles and in four dimensions the policy of the Chinese People's Republic in giving moral and economic assistance to Indonesia to carry on her confrontation, makes sense for it leaves them with the option of what South-East Asia is to be subsequently. Without this assistance the present Indonesian government may perhaps embark on other policies to resolve its own internal economic and other distress. If these regions develop by themselves, make progress and strike roots, then in two decades, by the time a nuclear stalemate is reached and when wars on the Asian mainland may no longer be resolved by nuclear deterrent but by foot-soldiers, the position may by then be already pre-empted, as far as they are concerned. Non-communist systems of government would have taken root in South Asia, found sustenance and become self-generating.

But if these countries are perpetually embroiled in internal conflict and conflict with each other, and their energies are dissipated in futile strife, and the governments are unable to satisfy the



Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's Prime Minister talking to Malaysian students in New Zealand.

material aspirations of the people they had led to freedom, then these people will be attracted by revolutionary doctrines. This is the most important single factor. To me, China is a very self-possessed, supremely confident nation, absolutely believing in the doctrine of revolution, partly in the spirit of revolution onwards, selling ideas, equipping those who believe in their philosophy in their ideology, to fight their own revolution. To the Americans, China is simply an aggressive, expansionist power.

Revolutionary Situations

So long as the present leadership in China continues, they are sufficiently steeled in the processes of revolution to understand that if the Chinese army begins to liberate or to bring freedom or communism to any non-Chinese territory, then communism will be equated to Chinese imperialism. That is a mistake that they will never commit. The real revolutionary force they pose to South Asia is their fervent belief that revolutionary situations already exist in these territories because of the unsatisfied aspirations of the people. All that is now needed is the assistance given, both ideologically and otherwise, to revolutionary groups and movements within these territories. Therefore, the Americans have found themselves in a dilemma in South Vietnam, not because Chinese soldiers are confronting South Vietnamese or American troops, but that Chinese example and sustenance have brought about a situation in which both North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese trained revolutionary digits are able to bring the whole economic life of the country to a halt and leave the regime completely dependent on American sustenance.

Indonesian Revolutionary Tactics

This poses a challenge which cannot be met by force alone. The Indonesian attempt at fostering revolution is completely un-Marxist from the Chinese point of view, and destined to failure. If the Indonesian regime were skilled in revolutionary techniques as the Chinese, as it may well be in 20 years' time, if the Indonesian

communist regime were to emerge, then it would not be doing things as it is doing to Malaysia. Sending Indonesian "volunteers" actually thinly disguised Indonesian regulars to try and pose as liberators to a relatively affluent society in Asian terms, cannot succeed. But it can succeed in bogging down the economy of that country by its having to divert its economic resources to unfruitful military expenditure.

National Identities can Emerge in South-east Asia

The first objective having been achieved, the revolutionary conditions are created in which a revolution can then be mounted from within. If the nation—States that have been allowed to emerge in South and South-East Asia are to find their own identities and survive and then grow, three factors must operate. Each and every one of them should recognise and act in terms of their collective interests as a people. They should begin to recognise their inter-group interest between nations in order that there shall be a balance maintained like the European powers once maintained a balance: when the Russians got too powerful, the British and the French got together: when the Germans got too powerful, the French and the Russians and the British got together. And, in that way, whether for good or for evil, they were able to maintain their separate national identities. This is not necessarily a good thing. But having emerged with definite boundaries of our own in Malaysia, we have an irresistible urge to see that those boundaries are not altered, that we are in fact masters of our own destiny within our boundaries. We can act in consort with others in the region, and others *outside* the region, whose interest it is to see that there shall not be an imbalance of power in the region and will assist those who want to save themselves.

Our Will to Survive

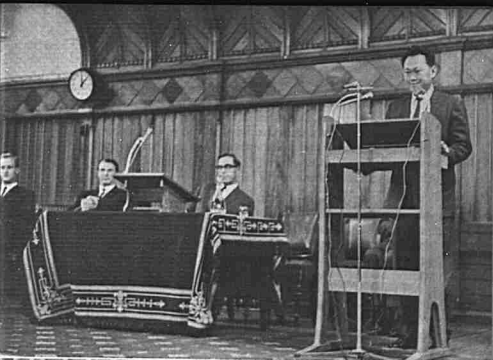
It is important that people must want to save themselves. Otherwise no amount of external help, either military or economic, can prevail. But if the people do have that will, then that help may

well be decisive. In the case of Malaysia, it could mean the difference between a successful society with self-generating economic growth, if we were left alone to live in peace or the Indonesians otherwise fended off from harrassing us, or being dragged down into a morass as in Laos and South Vietnam.

Common Interests

Ultimately, New Zealand's interests in this matter must coincide with Australian interests and will for the time-being coincide with British interests and probably will for quite some considerable time coincide with American interests. But in each different situation there are different combinations and permutations of interest between the nations in the area and their external supporters. In Malaysia's case, there is a dichotomy. The British are committed to defending Malaysia. The Australians and New Zealanders were subsequently persuaded that it is also in their interests to defend Malaysia. But the Americans have not yet been persuaded that they should abandon their equivocation and support Malaysia as against Indonesia, for American power-interests in the region against the back-ground of American long-term strategy have helped to push her into a position where their attitudes are still equivocal insofar as a direct conflict of support for Malaysia against Indonesia, or for Indonesia against Malaysia, is concerned. She would like to be friends with both. If possible, she would like both to be her friends and allies. The Australians nearly recognised that, but they have decided that if they do not show more active support for Malaysia, then Australian interests may well be jeopardised, because once boundaries begin to shift as a result of this technique of military and political and diplomatic pressure, then Australia, who shares a common frontier with the Indonesians, may well suffer from the same maladies.

But, over the years, the shape of South-east Asia will be determined by these three factors. It is to be hoped that eventually, there will be a sufficient coincidence of interest of the non-communist governments in the region to find a meeting-ground with



The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew speaking at Christchurch University in New Zealand.

Western intentions, not only that the communists should not emerge in the region, communist regimes should not take over, but more important that there should be social and economic advance. For in the long term, that is the only basis on which the communists challenge can be fended and thwarted.

Thwarting Communism

If in any of the nations of South-east Asia the standard of life is that approximating to what it is in New Zealand or Australia, then communist revolutions will be automatically thwarted. But no matter what military pressures are brought upon their revolutionary zeal, if in fact that revolutionary zeal, which is grown out of frustration and hunger and poverty and anger and social injustice, is not blunted, then ultimately communist revolution must triumph. When the Americans, who have the biggest potentials of all to help, realise or can find some means to give non-communist systems in Asia like India the same impetus and economic development as revolutionary zeal has given to China, then a balance in Asia would have been permanently struck.

But as long as one set of countries is advancing at a greater pace than the other, acting as a model of how things could be done, then regimes in South Asia which are unable to match that performance, are always in jeopardy. It is hoped that New Zealanders recognise firstly that their short-term interests are that military aggression should be checked, and secondly, that in their long-term interests that there shall be comparable economic and social development to match what other regimes of a more revolutionary and regimented nature can produce for their people.

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SURVIVAL FOR SMALLER NATIONS

Twenty years ago, the Allied powers, overwhelmed by the tremendous sacrifices that two world conflicts had inflicted on them, and mindful that a third would be even more disastrous, set out to build an organisation which could prevent another conflict of big power interests from engulfing the world.

The first decade from 1945 to 1955 was not unpromising. Small wars did take place. Wars of national independence which led to independence for countries in Asia, set an example which made it easier for the colonial peoples in Africa to achieve their freedom with less strife. The French defeat in Vietnam at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 was symbolic of that era. There were other wars where conflict resulted from a clash of ideologies. Communist aggression in South Korea in 1950 was checked and ultimately halted by the United States, acting under the aegis of the United Nations and supported by a number of other Western and non-Western powers.

The first decade ended with the Bandung Conference in 1955. There was still hope that perhaps nations had learned the terrible lessons of politics based completely on big power considerations. Since the big nations were unable to resolve their conflicts with other big ones by force without disastrous results upon themselves, they sought to advance their positions by rallying support from the smaller ones. It then appeared just possible that nations would learn to resolve, or at least to contain their differences peaceably.

With the entry of a growing number of Asian, and later African, nations into the United Nations, it appeared possible that the counting of heads could become a practice in relations between nations as in relations between citizens in a nation.

Drift Back to Blatant Power Politics

1955 and the Bandung Conference was the high watermark of this age. The solidarity of Afro-Asia, of India and the smaller states of Asia with China, and the states as yet to emerge in Africa, was demonstrated in resounding terms. Panchasila was Afro-Asia's new code of international ethics. Afro-Asians affirmed their belief in peace, non-aggression and the solution of all problems on the basis of mutual respect and esteem.

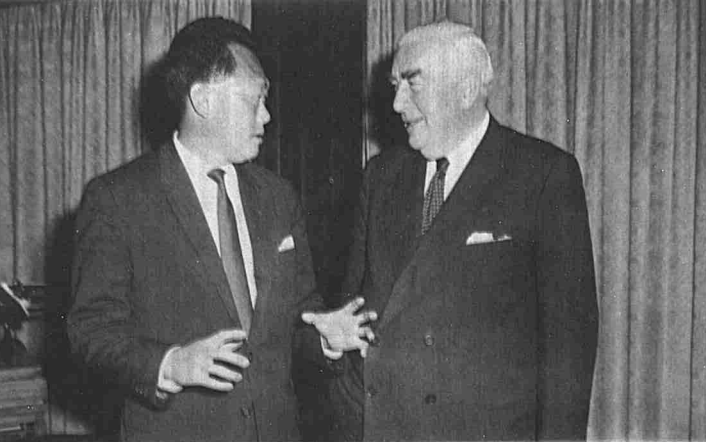
The Third Decade

All these hopes of a brave new world based on justice and moral right faded away. The United Nations is in a state of suspended confusion. The big powers are unable to agree that both sides would benefit equally by its continuance. Yet the big powers, with the exception of China, appear also unable to agree that the dissolution of the United Nations would be in their mutual interest.

Meanwhile, the Indonesians having to find something as dramatic as the crushing of Malaysia when the cock crowed on January 1, 1965, decided to withdraw from the United Nations. It appears that the world body needs "re-tooling". Just in what shape this re-tooling should take, nobody could ascertain, except that Malaysia should be out of the Security Council.

Afro-Asian Solidarity was against European Domination

It is clear now that Afro-Asian solidarity was founded on a common antipathy against European domination. They had also proclaimed their solidarity for the virtues of peace, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual respect, regardless of size and power for all the newly independent nations which have and are yet to emerge from European colonial rule. But in less than a decade, many conflicts old and new between the different peoples of Afro-Asia led to disillusionment as Asians fought Asians over the Himalayas and Africans fought Africans over former French possessions between Algeria and Morocco.



Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew met the Australian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies informally at Parliament House, Canberra.

New Mood in Afro-Asia

A new mood is emerging not only in Afro-Asia, but also amongst the European powers. All are conscious that the great divisions in the world need no longer be between Europeans and the rest. That would have been too simple and clear-cut, too dangerous for the Europeans, too easy for the Afro-Asians. Nor is the division simply between Communist and non-Communist blocs.

Instead, the picture is complicated, for in any given instance there may be many overlapping divisional lines of interests. There is the division between Communist revisionists who want peaceful competition with the non-Communist world, and the Communist revolutionaries who despise the Communist revisionists even more than the non-Communists.

Then we are told by the leaders of Indonesia that the great division is between the new emerging forces and the old dying forces. And from the way Indonesians treat their neighbours, not only Malaysia, but also young and bustling Australia, are classified under old dying forces.

New Divisions — Big and Small Powers

One of the divisions which would interest Australia and Malaysia is that between big powers and small powers. Malaysia shares a common problem with Australia. Both have small populations. How are they to survive and seek their legitimate national aspirations without being destroyed or made vassals or satellites of big powers?

Whatever other reasons for great power besides a large population and abundant natural resources, there would appear to be only a limited number of nation groups in this world capable of achieving great power — the Americans, the Russians, the Europeans, the Japanese and amongst those likely to emerge from underdeveloped Afro-Asia and join the ranks of the great are the Chinese, Indians and Arabs. These are peoples of ancient civilizations. Their past history indicates that they were, once upon a time, capable

of intense endeavour and sustained effort to give them a pre-eminent position amongst nations. Given the right leadership and opportunity, they will undoubtedly again vie for a leading place.

As nations, Australians and Malaysians, however well off they are in natural resources and however advanced they may be as individual humans, are unlikely in the immediate future to achieve great powers status on their own. So they must seek some shelter behind one or more of these big powers.

It is against this sombre background of big power politics that Australia's relations with Malaysia can be seen in perspective.

We have a common neighbour, bigger in numbers than either of us, poorer than both of us, and likely to be in a state of unrest and turbulence for a long while yet. But on the other hand the history and cultural pattern of its peoples is not that of intense effort and sustained endeavour. So it should not be too difficult if it has to be for us to match the Indonesian will and test their patience, and let time work things out.

Malaysians can understand Australia's approach to the problems of Indonesia. Like Australia, we are aware of Indonesia's size, her potential for advancement of her own people if her leaders chose to bend their energies on construction and economic progress, and her equally great potential for mischief if her leaders, for a diversity of reasons, prefer external diversion to internal construction. And if one or more of the big powers exploit their restlessness for other revolutionary ends the situation can become complicated and dangerous.

In the years before 1963 when Indonesia's energies were concentrated on the acquisition of West Irian, we counted our blessings. We were left in peace, if for no other reason than that the Indonesians were realistic enough to know that they can only take on one problem at any one time. Like Australia we were painfully aware of the perils inherent in that situation. But unlike Australia, because we are Asians and not Europeans, we were on the other side of Afro-Asians as against Europeans.

Commonwealth Aid only Buying Time

Malaysia is fortunate that both Australia and New Zealand, though not big powers, are sufficiently alive to their interests in peace and stability in South-east Asia to have committed themselves to helping to uphold Malaysia's integrity. We know that military and economic aid cannot guarantee us our ultimate success, but at least it will buy us time.

For if Malaysia should fail under Indonesian pressure and the national boundaries in South-east Asia are again altered by the skilful, if somewhat cynical, combination of diplomatic and military pressures which Indonesia exploited against the Dutch on West Irian, then there will be no end to other adjustments of boundaries in the whole neighbourhood.

But we can use the time that is being bought to greater advantage than it has been used in South Vietnam. Let historians never say that, in spite of the bitter lessons of South Vietnam, Malaysia and her allies never learned to do better. There eleven precious years bought at enormous expense in economic and human resources were frittered away.

This experience showed that however massive the military cover, however enormous the economic assistance, if the leaders of the people, in whose name and on whose behalf military cover and economic aid is given, do not set out to secure its own salvation, the end result is still perdition both for the helper and the helped.

Lesson of South Vietnam

If the exercise is to be successful, the leaders must use the time they are given to consolidate their own economy. Next economic gains must be used to bring about social advance and a more stable social structure. Finally a political system sufficiently sensitive to popular feelings and aspirations must be evolved to make resistance to subversion and infiltration enduring. Only then is external military and economic aid worthwhile. For then it can be reduced



Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew talking with the Leader of the Federal Opposition, Mr. A. A. Calwell during a visit to Parliament House, Canberra.

and eventually dispensed with. Afro-Asian countries are only worth the saving if they can save themselves, just as Western Europe used the Marshall plan to save itself.

The picture of a small nation, like Malaysia, forever dependent on Western military and economic succour and sustenance is not one that uplifts the soul. If Malaysia is to be perpetually dependent on Western aid for its survival, then she is hardly worth the saving.

Special Factors in Malaysia's Favour

But there are special factors in Malaysia which favour her success. She has a plural society. The Malaya and the indigenous people are largely in the rural areas. The Chinese, Indians and others of immigrant stock, are mainly in the urban areas. If leaders of the various communities in Malaysia are able to discern and identify their common interests, this plurality in her society could be used to great advantage in ensuring her economic advance and political stability.

People in rural areas all over the world tend to be less revolutionary in outlook if they own their land and get decent returns. The Malay rice farmers or rubber small-holders if assured of a decent life do not want revolution. They form a ballast against revolutionary excesses.

Meanwhile, in the towns, the Chinese and the Indians, nurtured in a highly competitive tradition, respond to the spur of enterprise and incentive, giving high performance and good returns.

It is true a growing urban proletariat having to pay the price for quick economic advance are sometimes tempted by Communist appeals of revolution, of a completely egalitarian society, with power in the hands of the proletariat. But if the main political leaderships in Malaysia are practical and realistic enough to know that they need each other's contribution and are prepared to find accommodation if they are unable to achieve co-operation they can match and balance the naturally conservative rural base with the more revolutionary urban to the advantage of all.



The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew chatting with Professor H. Burton (centre), Principal of the School of General Studies at the Australian National University, and the Registrar, Mr. C. Plowman during a visit to the University on March 19.

For there should be enough wealth from the economic activity of the urban economy to ensure not only welfare benefits for the urban workers, but also a reasonable level of earnings for the farmers and small holders. This will give time during which it is possible to set up reasonable standards of community welfare to take the sting out of class bitterness and hatred and set us on the road to self-generating economic growth, which is the only basis to build a more equal and just society.

Plurality has Seeds of Destruction

But let me admit that in this plural society of Malaysia also lies the danger of her own destruction. If under external pressure of Indonesian confrontation, the leaders of the various communities in Malaysia respond not as Malaysians, but as so many Malays, Chinese, Indians and others, then the end must be disintegration. For instance, if the Malay leadership in Malaysia faced with Indonesian calls to Malay chauvinism tries to compete and outbid the Indonesians by being more Malay than the Indonesians, then pressures will be generated which will divide the nation between urban and rural, between immigrant and indigenous, between the economically advanced and the economically backward.

The real danger is Malaysia's own internal weakness. Indonesian political subversion aimed at making a bid for the Malay community within Malaysia. If Malaysia's leaders respond to this as so many Malays, Chinese, Indians and others, instead of responding as Malaysians, then complications arise. For the more the Malay leadership in Malaysia talks in terms of Malay nationalism, the more the non-Malays in Malaysia will be in doubt as to their future.

What happens if disintegration sets in is too unpleasant to contemplate. Suffice it to say that theoretically there are three possibilities: first, Malaysia's absorption or conquest by a third power; second, the supremacy of one community over the others in Malaysia; and third, a drift towards segregation and ultimately the partition of Malaysia. All three have gruesome implications.

Malaysia can and must Succeed

And so there is no going back either for Malaysia or her friends. Any regret or vacillation at the cost of upholding Malaysia's integrity against Indonesian aggression, would bring catastrophic results for all of us.

However different our views, we share a common interest to ensure that our common neighbour shall not bring greater strife into this region. We have reasons to be confident that Indonesia's military and economic pressures can never crush Malaysia. After nearly two years of Indonesian policy of blackmail and terror, Malaysia has shown that she has the resilience and stamina to withstand the worst the Indonesians can do.

It is a pity that these acute pressures should have come upon Malaysia so early. If she had been given more time, it is not unlikely that she would have found more inter-racial solidarity to face Indonesia's threat to her existence. But be that as it may, we must now find the best way in which to get the different communities within Malaysia to discern and recognise their common interests, to identify who is their common enemy, and to unite all the communities in Malaysia in defence of their collective interests.

There is no simple solution to peace, let alone prosperity for Malaysia. The only formula to success is firmness in the face of threats and acts of aggression and a patient search for the main areas of friction within Malaysia in order to remove them. If we do this it will generate more confidence and unity, which in turn will help achieve economic and social progress and ensure political stability, for this is all that the protective umbrella of Commonwealth military assistance can really be designed for.

Australians have to make a choice between three courses of action, none of which are pleasant. First, to do nothing to help Malaysia and leave it all to the British, running the risk of the British effort failing, because it is isolated and labelled as being in pursuit of the interests of an old dying imperialist force. Second,

to help Malaysia, and risk antagonising Indonesia. Third, to do both, be friends with Indonesia and at the same time fulfil Commonwealth obligations to defend Malaysia's boundaries.

If I were an Australian not unnaturally I would like the third course best. Australian interests require that national boundaries should not be changed at the whim and will of the countries with the bigger population in the region, and do this in a way as not to antagonise either the people or the government of Indonesia. But the American experience in Indonesia tends to show that the Indonesians are in no mood to be rational, or to act more than just their short-term interests. The Americans are not even committed to the defence of Malaysia. But the Indonesian view seems to be that those who are friendly to Malaysia must be their enemies.

Like Australians, Malaysians have to live with Indonesians for centuries. So if we continue to have an aggressive neighbour, I hope Malaysia's co-operation with Australia for their mutual interests will continue for centuries. We both want to be friends with our neighbours. But that friendship is only worthwhile, if it is acknowledged that we have a will of our own and that we have our own interests to safeguard. Vacillation in the face of veiled threats of what will happen to us because others have larger populations is not the way to some semblance of international order in the region. We do not have to be truculent with an irascible neighbour. But we have to be politely firm to help a bewildered adventurist neighbour to come to a sober working relation with all round him.

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THE FUTURE OF MALAYSIA

The subject "International Affairs" is as old as the subject of man. Although from the first tribes to the modern nations, man may have learned how to use wood and stone and metal and gun powder, and now nuclear power, his essential quality has never altered. The Pelloponesian Wars and the Three Kingdoms of the Chinese classics show there is nothing new in the human situation. The motivations for human behaviour manifest themselves in greed, envy, ambition, greatness, generosity, charity and inevitably end in a conflict of power positions. How that conflict is resolved depends upon the accident of the individuals in charge of a particular tribe or nation at a given time.

A New Element

The facility with which men can now communicate and transport ideas, man himself and his weapons has changed. Therefore, into a very old situation has been introduced a very alarming element which puts the whole problem of international relations in a very different perspective.

Human Ingenuity

It is possible for the human ingenuity that discovered these modern means of communication of ideas which can make it possible for us to communicate with each other so rapidly, to transport human beings from one place to another rapidly, and to deliver weapons of destruction instantaneously, also to enable us to find some way, if not a final solution, at least to stave off

the inevitability of complete destruction if we pursue power and play with the mechanics of power in the way nations of Europe and of Asia have been accustomed to do for so many thousand years.

East-West Conflict

More immediately of concern to us is the ideological conflict between East and West, between Communism and Anti-communism with a large mass of Afro-Asia still non-communist in the sense that they do not want communism but are not convinced that the answer to communism is anti-communism and western capitalism; and in this situation, how to find sufficient accommodation to prevent calamity? If it is not possible to find a solution, at least to be able to get some time in which accommodation is possible while some final solution is being worked out.

The Australian Problem

Australia, being somewhat near, finds herself more preoccupied with some of the problems of the region, particularly since she has some engineers in South Vietnam, although not on combat duty. The American problem in South Vietnam is not unrelated with American interests ultimately in the whole of the region, which will determine whether America will find it worthwhile to continue maintaining a presence in Asia. Or, if not in Asia, in the South Pacific, which in turn poses the question whether the Australians can in a world of big power conflicts find some shelter behind some big power which will afford them the comfort of superior force.

A Simple Division

What does this conflict signify? Ten years ago, when the Geneva Agreement was signed, it was doubtful whether the position could have been held for 11 years. Then the world was a simple division of the underprivileged against the privileged



The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, in session with the Labour Council of New South Wales, the State branch of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. Left to right: Mr. J. Ducker, Assistant Organiser; Mr. C. Dolan, Vice-President; Mr. R. Marsh, Assistant Secretary; Mr. J. D. Kenny, Secretary; the Prime Minister; Mr. F. Bowen, President; Mr. J. Colbourne, General Secretary of the Australian Labour Party; and Mr. A. J. Mulvihill, Assistant Secretary of the Australian Labour Party.

Western nations. The underprivileged included all the non-European countries, or the non-European populations dependent on Russian military force to break down the hegemony of America and Europe over the rest of the world.

The position appeared so very simple and clear cut at that time. The West was determined to hang on to what it had; the East, Russia, East Europe and China, determined to smash every modicum of strength left in the West, and to liberate the world. The few people who had then been already liberated, such as the Indians, the Pakistanis, the Burmese, the Ceylonese, but not the Africans or the Malaysians, were undecided as to where their interests lay.

The Bandung Conference

1955 which marked the first decade after the second World War was the high-water mark of that age. It saw Bandung, anti-colonialism and the solidarity of Afro-Asia against European hegemony. On one side were those for freedom, for equality, for liberty, for human happiness; and on the other those who wanted to assert European ascendancy and exploit the subject peoples of Asia and Africa. It was that simple.

A New Division

Ten years from then in 1965, a very different picture presents itself. It is no longer Europeans versus the Rest — the Rest being led by the Communists, and the Europeans representing anti-communist, anti-change: it is the communists versus other communists. It is the Russians, who are now called Revisionists, versus the Chinese, who proclaim that they are the true disciples of Marx and Lenin. The West itself is divided, however identical the interests of European countries may be.

President De Gaulle is not convinced that in a crisis America will sacrifice her own interest on behalf of France. President De Gaulle is not convinced that the Americans would act as Euro-

peans. He fears American interest may be given precedence; therefore he must have his own say, and must have his own deterrent. As for the Afro-Asians, the solidarity which manifested itself in 1955, in the great brotherhood of man, is now clear as a solidarity against European domination.

Asians Fight Against Asians

In 1955 when they foregathered in Bandung, Afro-Asia proclaimed its solidarity for a peaceful endeavour, mutual respect and self-esteem, non-interference with each other regardless of size, and for the settlement of disputes by the five cardinal principles, *Pantjasila*, Afro-Asia's code of moral ethics.

Now Asians have fought Asians over the Himalayas; Africans have fought Africans over former French possessions lying between Morocco and Algeria, or between Somalia and Kenya and Somalia and Ethiopia. That first flush, that romantic decade of brotherhood of all non-white peoples against white peoples, has gone through a subtle change. Now it is realised that man whether he is European, Asian or African, is a human being, and collectively, as a group constituted in nations, they react in certain predictable manners and ways.

Inevitably, they react in their own defensive interests, and all principles go by the board: except insofar as the principles happen to suit the exigencies of their immediate interests. Now this is the problem we are faced with in South-east Asia. Two decades have passed since 1945. Many nations have emerged, some old some new; some never existed before in history, such as Malaysia, or, for that matter, Indonesia. They have had as yet no time to be able to ascertain what is in their collective interests, firstly as individual nations, and secondly, as groups of nations in the region. They have not been able to act in consort with each other, if not for their collective interests, at least against a common threat.

The Age of Nehru

In South-east Asia, the most spectacular thing about the period from 1945 to 1965, the Age of Nehru (because he set the pace, the idealism, the belief in great principles), was the absence of cynicism, to a point where vast numbers of otherwise cynical people were led to believe that because Asians have gone through a common tribulation and common humiliation at the hands of the European powers, therefore thereafter they would always be brothers in a common struggle. That is not true, unfortunately. The Cambodians know it is not true, they being as fearful of the South Vietnamese as of the North Vietnamese. They are equally fearful of the Thais, because their history before the French took them over, was one in which in any case they were likely to have been pincerred between these two forces, both bigger than them.

But none of these powers were able to exercise an influence outside their own region in aid of their own interests. This is the most spectacular single fact of Asia in the two decades after the Second World War.

Fantastic Alliances

If one were to look back from 1945 and turn over the pages of history, one would wonder how it was that the highly intelligent and highly experienced revolutionary figures in India, not just individuals but groups of men, were able to work themselves into a position where India is now divided between Pakistan and India. Strangely enough, Pakistan — Muslim and anti-communist — now is acting in consort with China because it has a dispute with India over Kashmir. It is very hard to believe that this need have happened. It is equally strange the Indonesians should now be actively soliciting economic aid from China to carry out a policy of confrontation, which cannot mean any identity of interest. Whatever the end-result of confrontation may be, there is no coincidence of interest between the present Indo-



The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, at the Australian Institute of International Affairs in Melbourne, with the Chairman of the Institute, Professor J. D. Legge (left) and the Vice-Chairman, Mr. L. Stock.

nesian regime and the Chinese government whatsoever. Yet they are able to find common accommodation, albeit temporary. Surely, this is fantastic.

Puzzle of Filipino Claim

To make confusion worse confounded, there is the attitude of the Filipinos who are America's proteges in Asia: American manifestation of culture in the Pacific, and dependent on American aid for its cultural pattern of life. Now, against its own will, it is committed internationally on the side of the Indonesians against Malaysia, all on account of some fabulous claim over Sabah which is based upon the interpretation of some old document which the Sultan of Sulu and the Sultan of Brunei were supposed to have signed some time in the last century.

Loss of Aura in Afro-Asia

How did this come about? Is it possible that these sane, rational, intelligent men could have worked themselves into these awkward positions?

The first admission to be made is that it was inevitable that the idealism which generated so much hope of a brave, new Afro-Asian world had to go through this phase of disillusion before man discovered that Afro-Asians were men, human beings, just like the others, as much prisoners of their past as apostles of their future.

Problem of Malaysia

It is in this context that the problems of Malaysia being presented to you. As mentioned earlier, there is nothing new in human relationships, in human situations, in the permutations and combinations of any given situation between two groups of men either as tribes or as nation-states, but the big difference is the capacity for quick transportation of ideas, men and weapons, creating a new problem.

Malaysia is, in a way, a very special manifestation of this problem. Here, as a result of a hundred-odd years of British rule, vast numbers of men moved in from China, India and Indonesia. On Singapore island there were probably about two fishing villages, with probably not more than 500 people, when Stamford Raffles first established a colony early in the 19th century. Perhaps, just as there was nobody in Melbourne 200 years ago, except for a few people with boomerangs and wooden spears.

But, unlike Melbourne or Sydney or Wellington, here was a situation where migration had taken place, in large numbers, bringing into one milieu peoples of different cultures—Chinese, Indians, Malays and Indonesians, products of different civilizations. Because their past histories were different, so their present habit-patterns are also very different.

Evolution of a Life of Ease

The Malays and the Indonesians under the beneficence of tropical sunshine and tropical rainfall are by and large a leisurely people, not intense, with no tendency to gastric ulcers, no desire to accumulate fortunes, leading lives as satisfying as any other human beings anywhere in the world. They would have been quite happy but for the impact of Western civilization which brought in the Chinese and the Indians into one milieu.

Industry of Immigrants

The Chinese, products of floods, pestilence, famine are an intense people, not better or worse, but different because of that experience. A different climate and a different situation produced a different type of culture. The people who went South were fortune-hunters: that's the main reason why they left their homes. They also went to South Island, New Zealand, to look for gold when there was a gold rush there, after they had missed the gold rush in California. In Malaysia they tried their hand in rubber, tin, commerce, trade, industry and manufacturing. Similarly, the

Indians were also migrants seeking a better life. At the time of leaving their country, many had the intention to return, to receive the accolade from their own village elders for having made good. But for various reasons, they lived on in the leisurely climate of Malaysia because life was good here.

British Authority in Malaysia

What keeps Malaysia together? For over a hundred-odd years, the same British Raj governed the whole of these territories. They divided it into little Protectorates and had little potentates whom they installed and regularly removed whenever they were found inconvenient and then in their place they installed another cousin or uncle, or aunt twice-removed. The business of extracting wealth from these regions continued with unremitting efficiency until the Japanese came in 1942, and then the whole system collapsed.

To their credit when they returned in 1945, the British realised that this was the end of the Empire. They are probably reading the archives now, seeing some of the saving-grams that went backwards and forwards between their leaders in London and Ministers and Under-Secretaries giving instructions to the Governors. In fact, there was a conscious effort to try and go along with history. They knew that to re-establish the old dominance was no longer possible.

Separation of Singapore from Malaya

They tried in many diverse ways to keep a foot-hold in the region, and one of the biggest mistakes they made — not with malice — was to divide Singapore from Malaya and allow the development to go on in the two territories, one more or less Malay, in which Malays were predominant, and the other with Chinese predominance. For 18 years it went on from 1945 to 1963, until the two territories were brought together again. The problems we are facing today need never have arisen if that artificial political division had not taken place.

A. C. T.

17-25



The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, and the President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Mr. Albert Mack, at the Australian Council of Trade Unions building in Melbourne after their meeting on March 26.

If the British Government had not been persuaded that it was possible to hold this island base, for perhaps three, four or more decades, then Malaya would have had to learn to live with Singapore much earlier, and all our problems, which are merely problems of adjustment today, would have had to be faced in 1945, 1946, 1947, or 1948. Much greater stability would have resulted.

Battle for Merger

But that was not the case. It took 18 years, or nearly 16 years, till 1961, before we finally convinced the British Government that a separate Singapore meant in the end greatly resented problems; that a Singapore crippled economically by a hinterland in the hands of a hostile government, a regime which did not share its forward-looking revolutionary attitude, was bound to lead to conflict, resulting in the complete destruction of the British bases. It is in the light of this that you have got to face up to the problems which Australia, together with New Zealand have to under-write with the British.

Had the British been more far-sighted and seen that it was not possible to hold Singapore separately from Malaya, many of these problems need not have arisen. But these problems have. Because for 18 years Malaya was so accustomed to Malay predominance, when the awful moment of truth that it could not go along to the utter disregard of what was happening in Singapore came, they found Singapore so unpalatable and indigestible a unit that they insisted that Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei should go along with it.

In any case, Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei would have gone along with it. We were part of one empire: our telecommunications networks, the trade lines, the administrative system, the civil service, were by and large one. The British kept up the fiction of different political divisions. But this accident of taking in the Borneo States together with Singapore triggered off confrontation because 1963 the year of the formation of Malaysia, coincided with the year the Indonesians got back West Irian (on May the 1st).

and thereby lost the one reason for doing what they were. Either they had to do something different and turn inwards to build Indonesia now that they were through with anti-colonialism, or they had to go on with another adventure.

Problems of Adjustment

Had we formed Malaysia in 1962 or 1961, perhaps we could have avoided this evil. But by a freak of history we formed it in the very year the Indonesians resolved their West Irian problem and found themselves with nothing else to do. An army of 400,000 became suddenly unemployed. This would mean retrenchment for officers and soldiers, producing unpleasant effects.

That is the beginning of our problems, and of yours. Because, for the first time, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand have to face up to the realities of living with an uncomfortable, unhappy neighbour. We regret the fact that he is uncomfortable. We would like to help him to be comfortable. But he is in no mood to be rational and to be constructive. He is not interested in increasing his standard of living, or in increasing the industrial output of the gross national product of Indonesia. The President is also in the last phase of his life, and determined that whatever else history may say of him, it shall at least accord him an honoured place as one of the great revolutionaries that the Afro-Asian world produced, and he will have a niche in the Afro-Asian pantheon of gods. He has indeed compared himself to Jesus Christ. The way he made the comparison was not without great vividness. They all talk in great terms. They all think vivid, imaginative pictures for their people.

The Great Visionary

What history will ultimately say about the President is not known but I do know that he is determined that history shall say that he was a great man. In view of this, to start turning at this

stage of his life to internal construction when the whole of his life has not been constructive is hardly likely to earn him an honoured place amongst the leaders of men. So, we have to resign ourselves to this revolutionary posture being maintained, if for no other reason than that this is the way the great visionary intends to go down the corridors of history.

Eventual Take-over by P.K.I.

But our problems will persist long after the President of Indonesia has left the scene. I would like to believe that after he is gone, perhaps our problems will become more manageable. But I am not greatly encouraged in this belief because of the skill, the patience, and the perseverance with which the Indonesian Communists seek a broad national front in Indonesia. If they can succeed in carrying on this great anti-colonial, anti neo-colonial surge, "Common enemies", "all Indonesians unite", and "all patriotic forces unite", whether they are in the Army, whether they are in the Communist Party, whether they are in Islamic groups or otherwise, and buy themselves more time in which to consolidate their position not only in the outer regions, but also in the Army itself, then they are in for more years of strife, the end result of which can only mean greater peril.

We want to be left Alone

But then, so many things in history are not predictable. Nobody would have imagined that in spite of all the great accord which existed between India and China in the early 1950's, Mr. Nehru would live to see his policies of peaceful co-existence destroyed. So half our battle is that not knowing what the ultimate result is going to be, although fearing that the result may be adverse, it nevertheless behoves us that we should hang on and press forward on every possible front in order that if the situation offers itself, we shall be there, ready to consolidate our position. Your position and mine, in this respect, are identical.

All we ask for is to be left alone to get on with our business of living, to build up our own country, create our own prosperity, trade and be friendly with our neighbours. Our problem is that our neighbours are bigger, and have very little inducement to leave us alone because we are wealthier, and see no reason why they should not exercise a greater influence over our lives than they are doing.

Territorial Ambitions

So we go back to the first history of man. No tribe in proximity with another tribe is happy until a state of dominance of one over the other is established. Or until it has tried to establish that dominance, and failed and it is quite satisfied that it is not possible, whereupon it lives in fear that the other tribe will try and assert dominance over it. The cavalcade of man will go on. If it goes on, then we have reason to rejoice, for then, we shall reach for the moon and the stars and the universe.

The danger is that with the modern advances in scientific techniques, it may well be that the last mistake may be the end of all this history, and strife between conflicting groups. But those are the imponderables, the infinite. What are finite and definable are our immediate problems: those who want to create instability in the area are on one side, and on the other are those who want to seek accommodation and stability and progress, leading naturally to a much more viable situation for all the present existing regimes in the area.

An Identity of Interests

1955 saw Australians and New Zealanders, British, French, Dutch, Americans, the colonialists on one side, and Malaysians together with Chinese, Indians, Africans and others on the other side. The picture in 1965 is a very different picture.

You want to be left alone in peace, unmolested. I want to be left alone in peace, unmolested. Therefore, we are together. If I am

left in peace, unmolested, in spite of the pressures from a bigger neighbour and in the end if their pressures turn out to be unsuccessful, your chance of being left in peace is that much greater. The wider divisions are between those who want to create general instability, not just big and small nations, and people who have a stake in instability. Communist regimes can only emerge if there is chaos, confusion and disintegration.

Bulwark against Communism

Therefore, the communists have a stake in economic chaos. They are on one side. We are on the other. But I doubt whether the Russians are all that happy about North Vietnam and South Vietnam, because they have another split which cuts across that desire to upset established order, if by upsetting the established order they upset their position in that established order. For, the Russians have established a very comfortable position in the order of things.

So we can go on *ad infinitum*. Our hope is that by holding on and establishing peace and stability, other powers will also begin to develop an interest to establish an interest in their position in the world, whereupon we may well emerge into a much more peaceful, a much more tranquil, a much more secure world. That may or may not be so in the end. But it is on that basis that we must endeavour to hold the present position.

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During his visit to New Zealand and Australia, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore made numerous other speeches and participated in many "Question-and-Answer" sessions wherein he expounded and analysed the many problems confronting Malaysia. The following pages contain excerpts from those speeches and interviews which highlight some of the major problems facing Malaysia in her present stage of development.

THE ULTRAS

Who are the Communal Ultras? They have been identified as the Malay extremists throughout Malaysia who are trying to appeal to the Malay electorate by fabricating myths so as to incense them into irresponsible action. As such they are the real enemies of a multi-racial Malaysia which cuts across race, religion and language.

The Ultras are Uncomfortable

(From Prime Minister's interview at NZBC in Australia on March 5, 1965)

"... the impact of our multi-racial politics, where the issues are social and economic policies and not "Malays unite" or "Chinese unite" or "Indians unite" — has been such as to generate a great deal of frenzy among the Malay ultras, the ultra nationalists."

Chauvinistic Approach by the Ultras

(From the Prime Minister's Question-and-Answer Session at University of Adelaide on March 30, 1965)

"... if you are a Ceylonese nationalist, you are also a Sinhalese nationalist; if you are an Australian nationalist, you are also an Australian racist to a certain extent. But in Malaysia, nationalism must embrace a much wider concept than the various racial components of the nation... It is impossible to deny the tremendous appeal of one race, one language, one people, one nation..."

Mentality of the Ultras

(From the Prime Minister's interview at NZBC in Australia on March 5, 1965)

"... under pressure from Indonesia's appeal over the head of Malaysia's Malay leaders to the Malay people of Malaysia, some of these leaders are trying to counter these appeals by making

even stronger calls based on Malay sentiments, Malay race, Malay culture and so on. This is not a very intelligent way of countering Indonesian political subversion. If you try to compete with Indonesia as to which is a more Malay nation, then Malaysia must lose because she has only 4½ million Malays against Indonesia's 90-odd million Malays out of a total population of 104 million."

War-cry of the Ultras

(From the Prime Minister's speech at University of Western Australia, Perth on April 1, 1965)

"People came down to Singapore and started shouting "Malays unite! The Chinese are oppressing you. They are chasing you out from the city" and so on."

The Fear of the Ultras

(From the Prime Minister's speech to Malaysian Students Association of N.S.W., Sydney on March 20, 1965)

"... over the next 15 or 20 years, a Malaysian government will emerge, and a Malaysian nation with it. This is what the Ultras do not want . . ."

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MALAY RIGHTS

Malay rights were written into the Constitution, the purpose of which is to help to bring up the Malays to more desirable economic and social levels. These privileges are welcomed by the Singapore Government which is committed to the creation of an egalitarian society.

However, the Singapore Prime Minister has pointed out the abuses perpetrated in the name of Malay Rights, and it is also maintained that quotas for licenses and so on should be superseded by more practical devices such as free education, better housing and



The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew exchanged gifts with the Premier of the State of Victoria, Mr. Henry Bolte, in Parliament House, Melbourne, on March 25.

so on. In this way, the effects are broadcast to ground-level, and are far more permanent, as the Malays are helped up the road to self-respect and equal ability. The Ultras are deliberately misinterpreting this practical approach to cover up the inadequacies of their own policies.

Malay Rights will not raise the Living Standards of the Malay Have-nots

*(From the Prime Minister's Question-and-Answer Session with
Malaysian students in Adelaide on March 29, 1965)*

"My charge is not that there are these special rights but that these special rights will not solve the problem. How does giving bus licenses or licences to run bus companies to one or two hundred Malay families solve the problem of Malay poverty? . . . In Australia and New Zealand, all the farmers are wealthy people. How is it that in Malaysia, all the farmers are poor people?"

What the Singapore Government is doing to redress the Economic Imbalance between the Malays and the Immigrants

*(From the Prime Minister's Question-and-Answer Session with
Malaysian students in Adelaide on March 24, 1965)*

". . . You have to solve it (Malay poverty) on the basis of giving them education, raising their standard, their earning capacity. Giving a man a gold coin does not solve his problem."

Education is the Key to a More Just and Equal Society for Malays Also

*(From Speech of Prime Minister to Malaysian Students of N.S.W. Sydney
on March 20, 1965)*

". . . and most important of all is education. If a man is not educated, then he is not likely to be able to adopt the scientific techniques which alone can ensure him a better life. In other



Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, addressed Malaysian students from Adelaide University and their Australian friends at Malaysia House, East Terrace, Adelaide, on March 29.

words, we propound the thesis that a man's capacity to earn must be increased. Slipping him a license or giving him a gold coin will not solve his problem . . . Ali (a Malay) gets the license. Baba (a Chinese) runs the company. People in Malaysia become cynical, and they dub this form of Sino-Malay co-operation Ali Baba, which will never resolve the economic imbalance."

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NATIONAL LANGUAGE

Having unequivocally accepted Malay as the National Language, the Singapore Government has encouraged its study and use, knowing that it is the best instrument for breaking down cultural and racial barriers, and for promoting harmony, good-will and understanding in our multi-racial society.

Singapore's Practical Approach to the National Language

(From the Prime Minister's Question-and-Answer Session with Malaysian students in Adelaide on March 29, 1965)

"Our stand is quite clear: we accept Malay as the National Language. It is going to take a long time before legal, medical and engineering literature can be translated, and before anybody in any of our universities or technical colleges will be competent to stand up and speak in Malay to teach the mysteries of the intestinal juices in the Malay Language."

"Less Haste, More Speed" Policy advocated

(From the Prime Minister's Question-and-Answer Session with Malaysian students in Adelaide on March 29, 1965)

" . . . let us be sensible and let us be reasonable. For 20 or 30 years, let us keep on learning Malay, expanding its use in all fields of human endeavour . . . let us feel our way forward. But

it will be utter stupidity to bring what we have, and what is still working, to a granding halt."

Tolerance towards Other Languages Essential to Administration

(From the Prime Minister's Question-and-Answer Session with Malaysian students in Adelaide on March 29, 1965)

"... if the Government of Malaysia is unwise enough to try and implement the National Language to a point where everybody has to think, speak, write and learn in Malay, the whole administrative and the commercial life of the country will be brought to a halt... The Constitution says that English ceases to be one of the two official languages in 1967. But that does not mean we stop teaching in English either in the schools or in the Universities..."

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MULTI-RACIAL POLITICS

In a multi-racial country, participation in political activities cannot be the monopoly of any one ethnic group. Multi-racial politics not only provides equal opportunities for all, but also permits optimum utilisation of abilities from the reservoir of talent of our multi-racial population. Only a multi-racial leadership can emerge as a coherent, stable national force.

The Logic of Multi-racial Politics in New Malaysia

(From the Prime Minister's Meet-the-Press Session in Adelaide, March 30, 1965)

"Communal politics worked in old Malaya because although the Malays were only 50 per cent of the population, they made up 65 per cent of the votes. Whoever got the majority of those votes automatically assumed control of the country. But this will not work in Malaysia."

Proof that multi-racial politics can work

(From the Prime Minister's Speech at University of Western Australia, Perth, April 1, 1965)

"... because we are pro-Malay and prepared to do more than they are and more effectively to raise Malay standards, they (the Communal Ultras) hate us. So much so that when they found that they had lost their three Malay seats in Singapore in September 1963, they went all out to ensure that that process is reversed in Singapore and is never allowed to start in the States of Malaya."

No Alternative to Multi-racial Politics in a Malaysian Malaysia

(From the Prime Minister's Speech at Western Australia, Perth, April 1, 1965)

"... there is no other way . . . What other way is there? Get slow boats and pack all the Chinese and Indians back to China and India? Do you want to do it like Alley Oop on the time machine—switch the machine and back to 1800 before Stamford Raffles? Even then there were Chinese and Indians too. Do you want to murder and massacre them? It is not such a simple proposition. Even Hitler could not do what he wanted to do."

Multi-racial Politics' End-Result: a Malaysian Malaysia

(From the Prime Minister's Press Conference at Qantas House, Sydney on March 23, 1965)

"A large number of the Chinese and Indians and immigrant groups regard themselves as Malaysians and if Malay leaders support the concept of a multi-racial society as the only sensible way in which Malaysia could work, the only rational way in which we could hold these territories with diverse communities together, then the Malays would be thinking as Malaysians, sharing a common experience with Chinese and Indians and others in Malaysia and sharing a common response, feeling and thinking as one people although they may be different in racial origins or racial descent."



The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew (left) and Mrs. Lee being escorted by the President of Adelaide University's Student Representative Council, Mr. Chris Sumner (centre) to the Union Hall at the University where Mr. Lee addressed a meeting of nearly 2,000 students. The hall was packed and nearly 1,000 students who could not get into the hall listened to Mr. Lee's speech through amplifiers outside. Mr. and Mrs. Lee were on the second day of their three day visit to South Australia.

Clear Proof that the Singapore Government is Non-communal

(From the Prime Minister's Question-and-Answer Session at University of Adelaide on March 30, 1965).

"If, in fact, what we wanted to advance was Chinese interests, then we would never have gone into merger and Malaysia. The way to have advanced Chinese interests was to fight for an independent Singapore . . ."

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REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Malaysia had been held together by a strong and effective British Authority, but it is now replaced by a Malaysian representative government, which will have to command the loyalty, support and respect of the majority of all the ethnic groups. To be truly representative, the right to share the political life should be a basic right enjoyed by all loyal Malaysian citizen, regardless of race, language or religion.

Representative Government to solve Conflicts

(From the Prime Minister's Press Conference in Melbourne on March 24, 1965)

"I do not say that democracy is bound to work and succeed; nor do I say that we are going to slavishly imitate Western parliamentary forms. But in a multi-racial society, representative forms of government are the best means of preventing acute conflicts from developing between communities in a multi-racial society."

The Logic of Representative Government in Malaysia

(From Speech by the Prime Minister at University of Western Australia, Perth on April 1, 1965)

"No one single linguistic or racial group is in a position to impose its will on the others. I would like to believe that this cold fact is one which will gradually percolate into even the

most frenzied of communal and chauvinistic minds. The price that any communalist must pay if he wants to assert the supremacy of any linguistic or racial group is conflict that must lead to disintegration."

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DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

One of the most dangerous myths in Malaysia is that only the Malays are poor; but in actual fact, a number of Malaysian Indians and Chinese are also equally impoverished. So there should in Malaysia be two sharp economic divisions: the haves and the have-nots — after all a person's admission into the have-club or the have-not-club is not dependent on his culture, race or religion, but on an accident of birth. Therefore, the have-nots should, in their collective interest, band together to raise their economic status, and to fight for better social amenities.

The Singapore Government in its endeavour to evolve a more just and equal society takes to Democratic Socialism as the road towards this sacred objective. It bestows equal opportunities on all citizens regardless of race, culture, language or religion, for them to find fulfilment in a fuller life within the context of a democratic multi-racial society.

Equality

(From the Prime Minister's Radio interview, Melbourne on March 27, 1965)

"... what is it we are seeking to do? As a socialist, I want a more just and a more equal society in which man is not judged, limited, or handicapped by the poverty of his parents or the limitations of his birth or rank. All men should be equal even though they are not equal. They should be given equal opportunities ..."

Foundation of a More Just and Equal Society

*(From Prime Minister's Speech to National Press Club, Canberra
on March 16, 1965)*

" . . . there should be enough wealth from the economic activity of the urban economy to ensure not only welfare benefits for the urban workers, but also a reasonable level of earnings for the farmers and the small holders. This will give time to set up reasonable standards of community welfare to take the sting out of class bitterness and hatred and set us on the road to self-generating economic growth, which in the last analysis is the only basis to build a more equal and just society . . ."

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Singapore's Prime Minister received full press support in New Zealand and Australia and the following excerpts from editorial comments typify press opinion in these two territories.

"The Auckland Star" of March 8, 1965 noted that:

As Prime Minister of Singapore, a key State in the Malaysian federation, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew is performing an invaluable service in clearing the New Zealand and Australia air of doubts about the validity of Malaysia and its long-term right to survival. He is a Malaysian; he is a Chinese with old Singapore associations; he is a socialist who once appeared to be much more to the Left than some Asian leaders who now enjoy varying degrees of support from Peking.

Few men have the background and the political experience to speak with such authority on the situation in South-east Asia. In a region under ideological, racial and economic strain, few leaders share the capacity of Mr. Lee to discuss current problems with the cool objectivity he displayed last night when answering a variety of questions, most of them with political understones, put to him by university students in Auckland.

Mr. Lee leaves no doubt about his attitude towards communist China or towards a militant Indonesia. He opposes both of them only as far as they threaten elected government and established order in his own State of Singapore, and in the other States of Malaysia. With a political maturity that has developed remarkably since his party first won office in Singapore less than six years ago, Mr. Lee places the present situation in reasonable perspective.

"New Zealand Herald" of March 8, 1965 observed that:

When President Soekarno of Indonesia set out on his barefaced campaign to "crush" Malaysia, he obviously underestimated the cool, determined defiance of men like Mr. Lee Kuan Yew,

the imperturbable Prime Minister of Singapore. Mr. Lee is at present a most welcome visitor to New Zealand where he will find a ready and widespread sympathy for the Malaysian cause . . .

He is a Socialist, but not a doctrinaire Socialist. He firmly believes in a multi-racial society. He is essentially a political realist.

Mr. Lee himself was one of the architects of the new Malaysia. Not without difficulty he persuaded Tunku Abdul Rahman that the wider federation would give all the constituent territories greater economic and political strength. Over and above that, more than any other single man he has encouraged the Straits Chinese to regard themselves as Malaysians.

"The New Zealand Herald" of March 11, 1965 observed that:

Not only the Prime Minister, Mr. Holyoake, but also leader of Opposition, Mr. Nordmeyer pledged continuing support from New Zealand for defence of Malaysia against any aggressor. Mr. Lee for his part expressed both the will to resist and the wish for assistance from Commonwealth countries in doing so. In that he endorses the attitude of the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Mr. Lee leads the only organisation in Malaysia with resources to have any prospect of forming at some future time an alternative government to that of the Tunkus'. Such unity of outlook among the leading politicians of both countries takes the issue above party level and assures a continuity of policy which is valuable at both ends. Malaysia can feel the more certain in counting New Zealand among her reliable allies. New Zealand can feel with greater confidence that she is basing her front line of defence in a country which is prepared wholeheartedly to preserve its independence.

"The Christchurch Star" of March 15, 1965 commented that:

The new Malaysian federation has an articulate and powerful advocate in the person of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore. As one of the key figures in the founding of Malay-



Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and Mrs. Lee received a standing ovation when they attended a reception given by the Malaysian Students' Association at the University of Western Australia on 1st April, 1965.

sia, and a leader who is alive to the dangers as well as the strength of his country's position. Mr. Lee is a welcome visitor to Christchurch at the end of his stay in the Dominion.

On several occasions during his visit to New Zealand Mr. Lee without equivocation has explained the Malaysian situation as he sees it. Each time he has furnished both the Dominion and Australia with very good reasons why they should continue the support they have offered from the founding of the federation.

Mr. Lee shows himself very much alive to such a threat. He had no great fear of Indonesian landings in Malaysia, on the score that they could expect no local support except from "the odd individual with a grievance." He is more concerned about what could happen should Indonesia make some headway in the exploitation of racial division among the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians who comprise the major part of Malaysia's population.

As he points out, 40 per cent of the people, the Malays, feel Indian or Chinese Malaysians. Yet it is the steadfastness of Mr. Lee, for the Chinese, and the Malaysian Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, for the Malays, which rebuffs the attempts to divide the races.

Mr. Lee has left no doubts about his country's wish and will to survive as a multi-racial nation which desires to live at peace with neighbours, but determined to resist, with its allies, the spread of Communism.

"The Canberra Times" of March 16, 1965 carried the following comments:

Already six years Prime Minister of Singapore at the age of 41, and the most able and important Chinese politician in South-east Asia, Lee Kuan Yew is something of an elder statesman, though his critics sometimes try to dismiss him as a brash young man in too much of a hurry . . .

He is an unrepentant Malaysian. He overrode left-wing opposition, and Malay hesitancy to lead Singapore into federal union with the Malayan mainland and the Borneo States of Sarawak and Sabah eighteen months ago . . .

He is a man of considerable political talent and driving industry, and he has the confidence that comes from knowing his own ability . . .

He is an up-and-doing politician; a pragmatist; an abrasive man who believes that, in a hard world you only survive and prosper if you work at your ambitions and fight for them if necessary.

"The Sydney Morning Herald" of March 18, 1965 observed that:

In Mr. Lee Kuan Yew Australia welcomes a man who can be fairly ranked as the most able political figure in all South-east Asia, shrewd, tough-minded and supremely a realist . . . Mr. Lee's un-lawyer-like habit of plain speech may take aback some of those he meets in Canberra, but nobody is better fitted to put Malaysia's case. Labour politicians and trade union leaders should derive particular benefit in this respect from conversations with this militant Asian socialist.

Mr. Lee's public mission is to explain Malaysia's stand and rally support for it, and his public utterances so far show that he is bringing his own particular brand of commonsense to the task.

"The News" of March 30, 1965 commented that:

Our distinguished visitor, the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has said some honest and wise things which might make clearer to many Australians the aim and purpose of Australia's role in Asia and her support of Malaysia.

If it is accepted that the main purpose of Western policy in Asia is to try to stem the flood of communism through the most populous part of the world, then Mr. Lee has uttered in one simple sentence the whole guiding principle of the policy.

For his own country, Malaysia, Mr. Lee has appealed to Australia to help it gain the time to forge an integrated nation out of its Malays, its Chinese, and Indians, with a common motive, a "unified reason to fight" — or to live in peace.

Vietnam is the dreadful example of a nation that has not found "a unified reason." The Americans in Vietnam know exactly what they are fighting for — or against.

But a purely negative, defensive crusade of anti-communism cannot ultimately beat the unified creed of the Communists unless it can offer some alternative belief, some driving force which is just as strong.

This is what Vietnam has failed to find. This is what Mr. Lee is striving to build for his own people in Malaysia, out of racial equality and and a common sense of national pride . . .

"The West Australian" of April 2, 1965 remarked that:

The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew is specially welcome in Western Australia because he represents a Commonwealth partner with which the State had close associations long before Indonesia's confrontation of Malaysia. Mr. Lee is an outstanding Commonwealth personality.

Singapore is not much farther from Perth than is Sydney, and it is the part of Asia with which West Australians are most familiar and in which they are most at home. We would like to believe that many Malaysian students here feel equally welcome in Perth.

Australians have a vital interest in Malaysia's future because, in the final analysis, our security is largely dependent on its survival and welfare. A close friendship with Malaysia has become a distinctive feature of Australia's post-war affairs.

There is no reason, however, why Dr. Sukarno's threats should be allowed to intrude into our welcome to Mr. Lee.



Mr. and Mrs. Lee were entertained on Thursday, April 1 to a formal luncheon with members of the West Australian Cabinet at Parliament House. The Premier of Western Australia Mr. David Brand and Mrs. Brand met Mr. and Mrs. Lee at the main entrance to Parliament House.

There is still wide scope for expanding interests, not only in trade and cultural fields but also in joint industrial undertakings in Singapore.

"The Australian" of April 5, 1965 observed that:

The visit to Australia of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew has afforded us a close look at the man responsible for governing Singapore. He is obviously a forceful personality. He has his facts at his fingertips and is an astute politician. His frankness may appear disarming, but the moment you probe a vulnerable spot you can observe the dexterity with which he turns the table on his questioner . . .

"The Australian Bulletin" of April 2, 1965 remarked that:

Towards the end of his tour, it became increasingly apparent that Mr. Lee was doing more than educating himself, and explaining Malaysia. Stress was heavily laid upon the need for Australia to support the concept of Malaysia, and not any particular regime in Malaysia. . .

His meetings with the ALP were especially useful. There is now more than a possibility that Australian socialists will establish firmer contacts with Afro-Asian socialists. There have always been links between Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's People's Action Party and the ALP. In Australia, Mr. Lee has been able to strengthen these ties. A closer relationship is likely to follow the Prime Minister's long conversation with Mr. A. E. Monk, president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions. Singapore's Arbitration Court is modelled on Australia's experiences.

Yet Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's presence in Australia was worthwhile. General consensus was that he lived up to his reputation as being one of the toughest of the intelligent leaders of Asia.

Part of Mr. Lee's personal success in Australia was due to the fact that his criticisms and comments were widely cast, and his reflec-

tions upon South-east Asian affairs franked and sensible if you agreed with them, and well-reasoned, genuinely held, though mistaken, if you did not.

Whatever the real purpose of his visit, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew proved himself a good ambassador for Malaysia. He goes back to Singapore, his reputation as a brilliant, tough Asian politician untarnished. Whether this will be appreciated by his fierce critics in Malaysia, whether his Australian venture will lead to an improvement in the present strained relationship between Mr. Lee's Government and the Tunku's Government in Kuala Lumpur, is Mr. Lee's affair.

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