

## Fakta Mengenai Jambatan Bengkok

Para Pembaca Yang Dihormati,

Saya menulis surat terbuka ini sebagai seorang rakyat Malaysia yang cintakan negara untuk sesiapa saja yang ingin membacanya.

Fakta-fakta yang terkandung dalam surat ini perlu saya hebahkan dengan cara ini kerana pada akhir-akhir ini tidak banyak lagi kenyataan saya yang disiarkan, sama ada oleh media massa elektronik atau cetak, walaupun mereka menghantar wakil untuk menghadiri sidang akhbar saya.

Mengenai isu di atas, saya telah menyatakan pandangan saya iaitu Kerajaan Malaysia telah gagal mempertahankan kedaulatan negara. Akibat daripada itu negara mengalami kerugian berbilion ringgit. Wang ini adalah wang rakyat.

Saya juga mahu rakyat faham sikap dan tindak-tanduk Kerajaan Singapura serta dakwaan Kerajaan Malaysia yang ia memberhentikan pembinaan jambatan itu kerana isu undang-undang dan kerana sentimen rakyat yang tidak sanggup menyerahkan ruang udara serta menjual pasir kepada Singapura, dan ini disalahertikan secara sengaja bahawa rakyat tidak mahu jambatan. Rakyat mahu jambatan tetapi menolak syarat Singapura kerana ia tidak berasas dan bukan hak Singapura.

Singapura sangat gemar mencetak surat-menyurat antara pemimpinnya dengan pemimpin Malaysia dengan tujuan membuktikan yang ia di pihak yang benar.

Kerajaan Malaysia sekarang percaya bahawa dengan tidak menyanggah kempen memutarbelitkan oleh Singapura, masalah yang dihadapi akan selesai dengan sendirinya. Tetapi ini angan-angan yang tidak akan jadi kenyataan.

Di dalam amalan diplomatik, surat-surat yang ditulis oleh suatu pihak dengan memetik persetujuan-persetujuan lisan yang kononnya dicapai di dalam rundingan tidak rasmi di kalangan pemimpin, adalah tidak sah.

Untuk menjadikan ianya sah, rundingan hendaklah dicatat dan dirakam dengan sempurna, disahkan dan ditandatangani oleh kedua-dua belah pihak. Kenyataan yang dibuat di dalam sidang akhbar oleh salah satu pihak tanpa pengesahan pihak satu lagi juga adalah tidak sah.

Encik Lee Kuan Yew, ketika dia menjadi Menteri Kanan Singapura, sangat gemar meminta diadakan pertemuan empat mata tanpa agenda yang sempurna dan kemudian merakamkan hasil pertemuan itu di dalam suratnya sendiri kepada pihak ketiga.

***(sila lihat Apendiks 1)***

Berdasarkan surat-surat itu juga, dia harap rakan sejawatnya akan menyetujui kandungannya dan oleh yang demikian terikat dengan kandungan surat-surat itu. Dia tidak mengambil kira jika catatannya tidak dianggap tepat dan tidak disahkan.

Saya menganggap apa-apa pun yang tidak menepati amalan diplomatik sebagai tidak sah. Tanggapan beliau adalah tanggapan beliau sahaja, tidak lebih dan tidak kurang. Tindakannya mencetak surat-suratnya sebagai bukti bahawa saya telah bersetuju tidak bermakna sama sekali. Hanya jika saya membalas surat itu dan mengesahkan perkara-perkara tertentu, barulah perkara-perkara berkenaan boleh dianggap benar. Tetapi sama ada ia sah dan kita terikat dengannya, bergantung pada pengesahan dan persetujuan kedua-dua belah pihak, secara rasmi.

Berdolak-dalik mengenai apa yang disebut "pakej" dan ketidakmampuan mencapai sebarang persetujuan adalah kerana kelulusan yang berasaskan "pakej" tidak praktikal. Jika persetujuan tidak boleh dicapai mengenai mana-mana satu perkara maka persetujuan tidak boleh dicapai bagi semua perkara dalam pakej itu.

Atas sebab inilah yang saya mencadangkan dan Encik Goh Chok Tong bersetuju iaitu kita menyelesaikan perkara demi perkara secara berasingan. Ini diperakukan dan diterima oleh Encik Goh Chok Tong selaku Perdana Menteri melalui surat bertarikh Oktober 14 2002 (*sila lihat Apendiks 2*) yang antara lain menyebut;

*"Pada penghujung pertemuan (di Hanoi) anda berkata kita perlu mencuba menyelesaikan isu air, lagi cepat lagi baik. **Saya bersetuju....**"*

Tetapi di dalam surat yang sama, Encik Goh Chok Tong berkata; *"Oleh yang demikian, saya tidak menjangka menerima surat anda bertarikh 7hb Oktober pada 10hb Oktober di mana anda menyatakan "Malaysia telah memutuskan untuk tidak meneruskan pendekatan pakej....."*

## JAMBATAN

Setelah menolak pendekatan pakej, saya membuat jangkaan yang isu pembinaan jambatan tidak akan dikaitkan dengan sebarang isu lain. Saya menaruh harapan yang sangat tinggi apabila isu pembinaan jambatan disebutkan di dalam surat-surat Menteri Kanan Lee Kuan Yew dan Perdana Menteri Goh Chok Tong.

Dalam sepucuk surat (*sila rujuk Apendiks I perenggan 6*) kepada Tun Daim Zainuddin, Lee berkata; *"Mengenai cadangan Mahathir membina Jambatan Tambak, Perdana Menteri saya (Goh) **bersetuju dengannya** tetapi mencadangkan agar kita tidak merobohkan Tambak Johor."*

Nampaknya rakyat Singapura lebih menyetujui jika kedua-dua jambatan baru dan Tambak Johor ada. Ini tentulah tidak masuk akal kerana cadangan pembinaan jambatan baru adalah bertujuan membuka laluan di antara kedua-dua belah di Selat Tebrau supaya air boleh mengalir tanpa sekatan. Ia bukan bertujuan menambah kapasiti hubungan antara Singapura dan Johor. Jika ini berlaku, ia hanyalah satu kebetulan.

Satu lagi hujah menarik Encik Lee ialah (sekiranya Singapura bersetuju dengan pembinaan jambatan itu);

*"Singapura akan menambak laut di sebelah wilayahnya hingga ke sempadan dengan Malaysia." (rujuk Apendiks 3, surat Menteri Kanan Lee kepada Dr Mahathir bertarikh Sept 8, 2001)*

Sempadan antara Singapura dan Malaysia di Selat Tebrau adalah dasar laut yang paling dalam. Bagaimanapun, bagi Tambak Johor sempadannya adalah di tengah-tengah jambatan. Jika Singapura menambak laut di sebelah wilayahnya sehingga ke sempadan, ia bererti hanya laut di sebelah Malaysia akan kekal. Jadi apa halnya dengan konsep sempadan berasaskan dasar laut paling dalam? Dalam surat yang sama kepada Daim (rujuk Apendiks 1 perenggan 12), Menteri Kanan Lee berkata;

*"Saya sentiasa memaklumkan inisiatif saya kepada Perdana Menteri saya. Dia (Perdana Menteri Goh) bagaimanapun, berkata dia menyerahkan hal ini kepada saya sehingga peringkat akhir apabila dia akan mengkajinya dengan teliti sebelum memberi sebarang persetujuan."*

Menteri Kanan Lee juga menulis (Apendiks 1, perenggan 12); *"semua nota atau surat yang saya hantar kepada anda dan kepada Mahathir dan sebaliknya perlulah dianggap sebagai Tanpa Prejudis (Without Prejudice) iaitu tidak akan ada sebarang perjanjian sehingga semua perkara dipersetujui dan ditandatangani oleh kedua-dua Perdana Menteri."*

Jelas bahawa Menteri Kanan Lee tidak diberi kuasa untuk memutuskan apa-apa kerana beliau perlu memaklukkannya kepada Perdana Menteri Goh untuk dikaji sebelum dipersetujui. Jika tidak, maka tidak akan ada sebarang persetujuan mengenai semua perkara sehinggalah diperakui dan ditandatangani oleh kedua-dua Perdana Menteri.

Dalam jawapan kepada cadangan saya agar terminal Keretapi Tanah Melayu dibina di Johor Baru, Menteri Kanan Lee, melalui surat bertarikh 10 Disember 2001 (sila rujuk Apendiks 4, perenggan 10), berkata;

*"Saya harap anda juga akan menimbangkan kepentingan jangka panjang dan nilai perkhidmatan KTM. Sejak tahun 1923 kereta api merupakan perhubungan yang sangat berharga ..... Saya rasa mengekalkan hubungan kereta api antara Kuala Lumpur dan Singapura menguntungkan kedua-dua buah Negara..... Bagaimanapun, oleh*

sebab KTM milik negara anda, Singapura akan **mematuhi** keputusan anda”.

Dalam surat ini, Menteri Kanan Lee berikrar mematuhi keputusan saya. Namun beliau boleh juga berkata Perdana Menteri Goh tidak bersetuju dan segala surat-menyurat kami adalah tanpa prejudis.

Namun begitu, apabila beliau atau Perdana Menteri Goh Chok Tong dan saya sendiri menurunkan pandangan-pandangan kami dalam bentuk tulisan, ia menggambarkan apa yang kami fikirkan. Tetapi oleh sebab ia dilakukan tanpa prejudis, kami tidak terikat dengan apa yang kami katakan.

Justeru itu, tidak timbul persoalan berdolak-dalik atau memindahkan tiang gol. Kedudukan tiang gol belum diputuskan. Oleh sebab apa yang dilakukan itu berasaskan konsep tanpa prejudis, maka ia tidak lebih daripada cadangan sahaja.

Dalam surat bertarikh 11 April 2002 (**rujuk Apendiks 5**) Perdana Menteri Goh menyebut; “*Saya sekarang memutuskan untuk mengendalikan sendiri perbincangan kita mengenai pakej dua hala.*” Sekarang barulah seorang yang berkuasa bercakap (bagi pihak Singapura).

Di dalam apa yang boleh dianggap sebagai komitmen mutakhir, Perdana Menteri Goh menulis (kepada saya):

### 1. Bridge

*“Di antara sebuah jambatan baru bagi menggantikan keseluruhan Tambak, dan yang menggantikan hanya bahagian di sebelah Malaysia, saya lebih suka kepada pilihan pertama.*”

*“Sebaik sahaja jambatan baru siap, Tambak bolehlah dirobohkan, yang mana saya gembira jika dilakukan selepas tahun 2007.*”

*“Tetapi sekiranya anda mahu menggantikan Tambak di sebelah negara anda dengan sebuah jambatan dengan serta-merta, **saya akan menyetujuinya**, walaupun pada pendapat saya ini tidaklah ideal.”*

Apakah kesimpulan yang boleh kita buat kepada kenyataan ini? Tidak pun disebut mengenai pasir dari Malaysia dan pembukaan ruang udara kepada kapal terbang tentera Singapura. Juga tidak disebutkan tentang nostalgia, hanya keutamaan **supaya Tambak dirobohkan selepas tahun 2007.**

Sekarang dihujahkan pula bahawa jika Malaysia sentuh paip yang membawa air ke Singapura, ia adalah tindakan perang (act of war). Adakah ini perisytiharan perang?

Peruntukan "Wayleave Agreement" (~~rujuk Apendiks 6~~) dengan Singapura cukup jelas. Berikut adalah apa yang dipersetujui mengenai paip air;

*"That the Licensee (Singapore) shall take full responsibility financially or otherwise for any alteration to the pipeline that may become necessary by reason of any alterations or improvements made or to be made on the Johor Causeway and on receiving not less than six months previous notice in writing from the Licensors (Malaysia) shall thereupon carry out the alteration in accordance with such notice and shall have no claim for any compensation."*

[*"Bahawa Pemegang Lesen (Singapura) akan mengambil sepenuh tanggungjawab kewangan atau sebaliknya bagi sebarang pindaan kepada saluran paip apabila ia diperlukan untuk sebarang pengubahsuaian atau pembaikan atau yang diperlukan di Tambak sebelah negeri Johor dan apabila menerima notis bertulis enam bulan sebelumnya daripada Pelesen (Malaysia) akan melakukan pengubahsuaian itu seperti yang disebutkan di dalam notis tanpa sebarang tuntutan ganti rugi."*]

Perjanjian itu tidak menyebut mengenai hak Pemegang Lesen (Singapura) mengingkarinya. Peruntukan "akan melaksanakan pengubahsuaian" (*Shall carry out the alteration*) sangat jelas dan kuat. Singapura wajib melaksanakan pengubahsuaian itu. Tetapi jika Singapura ingkar, ia mungkin merupakan tindakan perang dan bukan sebaliknya.

Apabila kerja awal pembinaan jambatan dimulakan tidak ada protes dan tidak ada permintaan membeli pasir atau menggunakan ruang udara kita. Sekarang pembinaan jambatan di sebelah wilayah kita pun nampaknya tertakluk kepada syarat kita membekalkan berjuta meter padu pasir kepada Singapura untuk menambak laut dan membuka ruang udara kita kepada jet tentera udaranya. Daripada mana datang semua syarat ini? Apakah kaitan antara perluasan wilayah Singapura dengan kita membina jambatan di dalam wilayah kita sendiri?

Tindak-tanduk Singapura mengaitkan pembinaan jambatan di wilayah kita dengan tuntutan agar kita menjual pasir dan membuka ruang udara kepadanya tidak berasas sama sekali.

Mengapa Kerajaan Malaysia perlu bersetuju memberi pasir dan membuka ruang udara kepada Singapura jika tidak terpaksa memberhentikan pembinaan jambatan bengkok di wilayah kita sendiri adalah di luar kemampuan saya memahaminya.

Adalah hak rakyat Malaysia tidak menjual pasir kepada Singapura atau membuka ruang udara kepadanya. Tetapi rakyat tidak pernah mengatakan yang mereka bersedia mengorbankan projek jambatan. Yang mereka tidak mahu adalah mengalah kepada tuntutan Singapura

supaya kita menjual pasir dan membuka ruang udara kepadanya. Mereka mahukan jambatan tetapi mereka juga mahu Kerajaan mereka menyanggah tuntutan Singapura kerana di segi undang-undang Malaysia tidak perlu melayan syarat-syarat Singapura.

Tindak-tanduk Singapura ini telah dijangkakan. Tetapi Kerajaan Malaysia gagal mempertahankan kedaulatan negara. Di samping itu, ia telah menyebabkan kerugian berbilion ringgit wang rakyat jelata.

Biarlah rakyat Malaysia, khasnya orang Melayu, Melayu Johor terutamanya, ingat bahawa Inggeris telah menipu Sultan untuk menyerahkan Singapura dengan percuma kepada mereka (Inggeris).

Seperti Pulau Pinang, Lumut dan Melaka, Singapura sepatutnya dikembalikan kepada kita apabila Inggeris melepaskan hak mereka. Tetapi Singapura telah menjadi begitu asing keadaannya sehingga ia tidak boleh lagi menjadi sebahagian daripada Malaysia.

Apakah Malaysia sekarang akan memberi lebih banyak tanah kepada Singapura supaya ia boleh memperluaskan wilayahnya dan menambah bilangan penduduknya? Menyerahkan dasar laut kita kepada Singapura tidak ada bezanya dengan memberikan bumi kita kepada Singapura. Kesudahannya ialah perluasan wilayah Singapura. Ia tidak ada bezanya dengan menyerahkan sebahagian daripada Johor untuk tujuan ini. Apakah kita begitu miskin sehingga kita perlu menjual sekeping bumi kita kepada orang lain?

Generasi rakyat Malaysia yang akan datang, sama ada Melayu atau Johor, akan menyumpah kita jika kita melakukan semua ini sedangkan kita, sebagai sebuah negara yang merdeka dan berdaulat, berhak membina jambatan di atas bumi dan laut kita sendiri.

Cukuplah kita menyerahkan Singapura (kepada Inggeris). Tidak perlulah kita menyerahkan lagi tanah kita kepada Singapura walaupun ada orang yang berpendapat kita hanya boleh membina jambatan di negara kita sendiri jika Singapura bersetuju.

Rakyat Malaysia tidak pernah mengatakan demikian. Janganlah ada sesiapa yang menyumbat hujah-hujah yang hambar ke dalam mulut mereka semata-mata kerana orang itu takut untuk mempertahankan hak dan kedaulatan negara serta rakyat Malaysia.

**Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad**

19hb April, 2006.

Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's letter to Tun Daim Zainuddin who was then Malaysia's Finance Minister

*Senior Minister  
Singapore*

24 August 2000

*Dear Daim*

I promised you a note during our telephone conversation on Monday, 21 August to help remind you of the items we spoke about. I have also given more details on the water projects that I have gathered from my secretary since we talked.

Mahathir had agreed to increase our water supply from the Johore River to 350 mgd. But the present yield of the Johore River is 313 mgd. This means Johore will not be able to continue to draw from this river the 70 mgd that they are doing at present. I therefore propose that Singapore build and pay for 3 water schemes to raise the yield to 530 mgd. This will take some 5 years to complete and will cost Singapore S\$378 million or RM 835 million. Singapore will then draw an additional 200 mgd instead of 100 mgd raw water from the Johore River. This will still allow Johore to draw 80 mgd from the Johore River.

In addition, Johore will have some 90 to 100 mgd from the Tebrau-Scudai-Gunong Pulai sources that we will hand over to them in 2011, when the 1961 agreement expires.

After 2061, Malaysia will continue to supply Singapore, for 100 years thereafter, with 450 mgd, comprising 150 mgd raw water, and 300 mgd treated water.

As agreed with Mahathir, the price formula for raw water will be at a 50% premium over the average inter-state raw water levy charged by Johore, i.e. at present,  $30 + 15 = 45$  sen. For treated water we will use the price formula we agreed in the 1990 water agreement for treated water in excess of the 250 mgd from the Johore River.

On Mahathir's Causeway bridge proposal, my PM agrees to it, but proposes that we do not demolish the Causeway. He is wary of a public outcry if he agrees to the destruction of a historical and still valuable asset, just to replace it with a beautifully designed bridge but one that will lead to increased toll charges.

He can better present the bridge proposal to the people of Singapore if he can say that three links are needed for longer term traffic growth, that even at present, during weekends and the holiday season, there is congestion at the Causeway. Both the bridge and the Causeway on the Malaysian side can be vested in Gerbang Perdana who can collect the toll

fees. The toll charges between the three links can be adjusted so that we get the desired usage results.

As for the tunnel to link the MRA train to Kranji station, our water pipes need not be placed in the tunnel. My secretary has informed me that the pipelines from Scudai, Tebrau and Gunong Pulai, through JB and the Causeway will revert to the Johore government in 2011 when they take over the Scudai, Tebrau and the Gunong Pulai water resources. A more important reason: It is not safe to put water pipelines into the tunnel as any leaks can cause catastrophic flooding in the tunnel, a danger to train travellers.

Singapore will allow the early withdrawal of the CPF savings of West Malaysians who have left Singapore permanently.

Malaysia will reinstate all the arrangements for RSAF aircraft to use Malaysian airspace for transit and training.

Singapore will exchange a site at Shenton Way, of equivalent value to the KTM station site at Keppel, an option which has been given in Plan 2 of the 1990 POA.

I am keeping my PM informed of my initiatives. He said however that he will leave them to me until the final stage when he will study them carefully before agreeing. To make it easier for us to write to each other, to test various options, all notes or letters I send to you or Mahathir, or vice-versa, will be treated as Without Prejudice; that there is no agreement until all points are agreed and signed by the two PMs.

I will be away in Europe and US from 1<sup>st</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> October. Perhaps we can meet before I leave on 1<sup>st</sup> October. The signing by the two PMs can be end October.

Let us clear the decks for the two PMs so that we can get on with it.

*Yours Sincerely  
Lee Kuan Yew*

YB Tun Daim Zainuddin  
Minister of Special Functions &  
Minister for Finance  
Level 1, Blok B5  
Federal Government Administrative Centre  
62502 Putrajaya,  
Selangor Darul Ehsan  
Malaysia

Oct 14, 2002

Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong's letter to Dr Mahathir Mohamad

*Prime Minister  
Singapore*

14 October 2002

YAB Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad  
Prime Minister  
Malaysia

Dear *Mahathir,*

I refer to your letter of 7 October 2002, conveyed via a Wisma Putra TPN dated 9 October, and sent to our High Commission in Kuala Lumpur on 10 October.

When we met on 8 October at Putrajaya, you said that the most important issue for Malaysia was water. If the water issue was resolved, all the other issues could be resolved. You also mentioned that Malaysia wanted to decouple the water issue from the other issues in the package.

I replied that all the issues were tied up because the price Singapore could offer for present water would depend on the price for future water (i.e. water after 2061), and on the concessions it would have to make on the other issues like the POA. We did not come to any agreement on which approach to take.

Towards the end of our meeting, you said that we should try to resolve the water issue, and the sooner it was done, the better. I agreed, and said that we should get our officials to resolve it. Accordingly, upon my return, I instructed my officials to make as much progress as possible on the water issue at the 16-17 October meeting as part of the package, even though my Attorney-General had advised that Malaysia had lost its right to review the price of water under the current Water Agreements.

I therefore did not expect to receive, on 10 October, your letter of 7 October, wherein you stated that "Malaysia has now decided to discontinue the package approach and to give the highest priority to first

resolving the long-delayed water issue, particularly the price review of raw water". Had you, at our 8 October meeting, told me that you had already written and signed this letter on 7 October, I would have elaborated on the pros and cons of your new approach. We would then have jointly decided on the basis upon which our officials would negotiate.

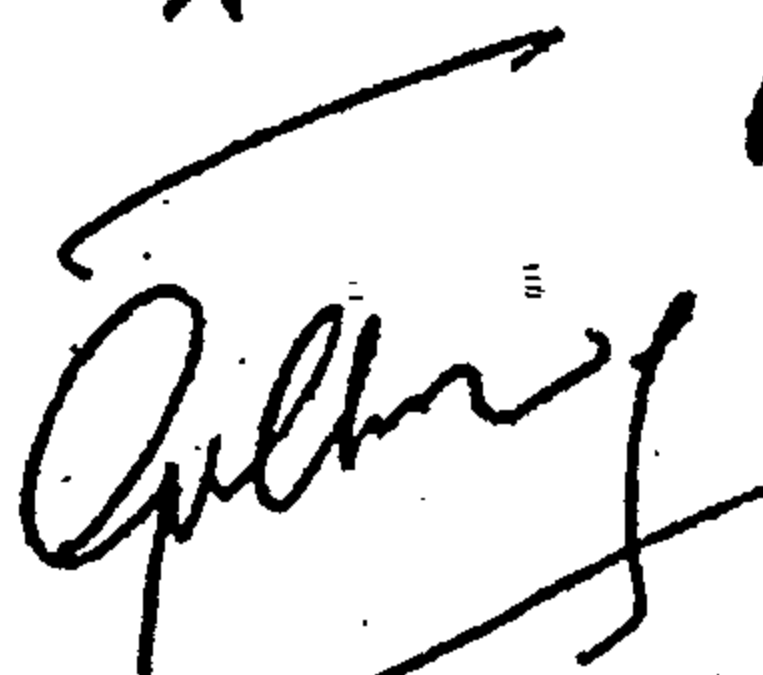
As you wrote in the opening sentence of your letter of 7 October, you and I had reached a decision "on 27 December 1998 in Hanoi for Malaysia and Singapore to resolve, once and for all, the outstanding issues between our two countries in a package." In other words, we had agreed to trade off, in a package, the benefits to each other from the various items, namely, water, POA, airspace, CPF, and the bridge to replace the Causeway.

I had been prepared to make concessions in varying the POA with extra pieces of land, allowing an early withdrawal of CPF deposits, and building our part of the bridge to replace the Causeway at our expense, as trade-offs, so that you could give us airspace, and future water at a fair price. Regarding water, you had written in your letter of February 2001 that Johor believed that a fair price for raw water was 60 sen. (The revision of the price of raw water under the current Water Agreements was not in the package we decided in Hanoi in 1998, until you raised it with Senior Minister Lee in August 2000 in Kuala Lumpur.)

Since you now want to deal with the water issue separately and discontinue the package approach, these trade-offs are no longer possible. And as the package deal is off, I have instructed my officials to deal with water and the other issues individually and separately, on their stand-alone merits, and no longer as a package.

I hope our officials can make some progress at their coming meeting with your new approach.

With Best Regards,  
Yours sincerely,



GOH CHOK TONG

# September 8, 2001

Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's letter to Dr Mahathir Mohamad

*Senior Minister  
Singapore*

8 September 2001

*Dear Mahathir*

Thank you for receiving me on Tuesday 4 September and moving the package forward.

Upon my return, I have briefed Prime Minister Goh and Cabinet of our discussions and they have given in-principle approval of our oral agreement. They have stressed the importance of settling and signing the agreement on the whole package.

You asked me at the end of the meeting whether work on the bridge can proceed. I said yes, we are unlikely to withdraw our offer. On my return, my secretary had a discussion with the Minister for National Development and his officials in charge of the bridge and reclamation project. He learnt that there are many technical details that need to be sorted out regarding the bridge and reclamation. As I had said to you, Singapore will be reclaiming our side nearly to the boundary, and will build our side of the bridge to meet up with the Malaysian side at the boundary. Officials of our Ministry of National Development said that the technical details regarding contour of the reclamation and the design of the bridge, and how the two sides of the bridge would join up have to be sorted out. It is necessary to settle these details before work on the bridge begins as was done when the two sides built the Second Link or the two segments will not meet smoothly at our international boundary. These technical discussions may take some time, so I suggest that officials in charge of the bridge and reclamation project on both sides should begin discussions early on these issues. Our officials are ready to meet up with their Malaysian counterparts.

*Best wishes.*

*Yours Sincerely  
Lee Kuan Yew*

YAB Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Bin Mohamad  
Prime Minister  
Malaysia

# December 10, 2001

Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew's letter to Dr Mahathir Mohamad

*Senior Minister  
Singapore*

10 December 2001

*Dear Mahathir*

Thank you for your reply of 18 October 2001, and your agreement that we need to settle all the issues and move on. I am sorry that preoccupations with our economic problems and elections have delayed my reply.

2 May I clarify Singapore's position on some of the specific items in your reply when you referred to what I said at our meeting and the joint press conference on 4 September 2001, and further outlined in my letter of 21 September 2001.

3 On the POA, I would like to confirm that what I said was that "the POA is being varied to give the extra 12 plots of land at Bukit Timah and the CIQ, too". I did not say that "the old POA no longer applies". The 1990 POA is a legally binding agreement and any variation to it will have to be by an agreement amending or supplementing it.

4 According to Clause 7 of the POA, the MRA land at Keppel where the rail station is currently sited will be exchanged for a plot in Marina South of equivalent value, for joint development by M-S Pte Ltd. It is in accordance with an option given in Plan 2 of the POA, as stated in my letter of 24 August 2000 to Tun Daim, that I had offered a plot at Shenton Way for this exchange, for joint development.

5 On water, I had written in my letter of 23 April 2001 that Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong appreciates your moderating the price of water.

6 In return for assured water supply beyond 2061, I agreed at our 15 August 2000 meeting to revise the price of raw water Singapore currently buys from Johore. I stand by this offer and had repeated that the price for the existing supply of 350 mgd raw water under the 1961 and 1962 agreements, be revised from 3 sen to 45 sen per 1000 gallons, with no price review. This will start from the date of the new agreement that we are negotiating and not 2011, as you wrote in your letter of 18 October 2001.

7 Also at our 4 September 2001 meeting and press conference, I agreed to the price of 60 sen per 1000 gallons, as proposed in your letter of 21 February 2001, for the additional raw water to be supplied from 2011-2061, and from 2061-2161. I agree that this will be reviewed every five years for inflation. I had proposed that this price of 60 sen start from 2011, (not 2061 as you wrote in your letter of 18 October 2001), to be reviewed every five years thereafter for inflation.

8 On treated water that Singapore currently sells to Johore, your letter of 21 February 2001 stated that Johore agreed to revisions in the price of raw water that it now supplies to Singapore, and the treated water that it buys from Singapore. This is in accord with the 1961 and 1962 water agreements. In my letter of 21 September 2001, I had replied that Singapore agrees also to the revision of the price of treated water it currently sells to Johore. The square bracket is simply to indicate that we did not cover this specific aspect during our 4 September 2001 meeting.

9 In your letter of 18 October 2001, you said that in the light of uncertainties in the international economic environment and the cost of building the rail tunnel and bridge, your economic advisers had advised you that it would make more sense to end the KTM rail service in Johor Baru. You had indicated that should you go along with this proposal it would only be fair that additional lands are also included in the package. Please let me know what additional KTM lands you are referring to.

10 However, before taking your decision on the location of the KTM train terminus; I hope you will also consider the long-term significance and value of the KTM rail service. Since 1923, the railway has been a valuable link between Peninsula Malaya and Singapore, one that has contributed to and will continue to enhance the development of both territories. When you electrify the railway, its speed will increase and so will the passengers between Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. I believe keeping the railway link between Malaysia and Singapore benefits both countries. The win-win position is for both countries to have your railway link up with our MRT. However as the KTM is your railway, Singapore will abide by your decision.

11 I look forward to hearing from you. Our officials must have a clear framework to work on. After you have set out your position on these issues, our officials led by our respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs, can then meet on the details.

*Yus Simah  
Kuan Yew*

**YAB Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad  
Prime Minister  
Prime Minister's Department  
Block A  
Federal Government Administrative Centre  
62502 Putrajaya  
Malaysia**

April 2002

APPENDIX 5

Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong's letter to Dr Mahathir Mohamad

*Prime Minister  
Singapore*

11 April 2002

YAB Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir bin Mohamad  
Prime Minister  
Malaysia

Dear *Mahathir*,

I refer to your letter of 4 March 2002 to Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew, and his reply of 11 March.

Before Kuan Yew visited KL in August 2000, he suggested that he discuss the outline of an agreement with Daim, which both of us could later consider and endorse. He hence addressed his letters to Daim. However, since you wrote to him, he corresponded and negotiated with you with my approval.

I have now decided to handle directly our discussion on the bilateral package.

I have taken some time to mull over my reply to you, because I wanted to find the best way forward from here to secure for the long-term, a stable, win-win relationship for our two countries.

I have discussed with my Cabinet colleagues the proposals contained in your letter, and have the following comments.

1. **Bridge**

Between a new bridge to replace the entire Causeway, and one to replace just the Malaysian side of the Causeway, I like the former better.

Once the new bridge is completed, the Causeway can be knocked down, which I prefer to be done after 2007.

But if you wish to proceed immediately to replace just your side of the Causeway with a bridge, I shall accept it, though I think this is not ideal.

## 2. Railway

I note that you have decided to relocate your CIQ to Johor Baru.

You also indicated that you would continue to operate the train service to Tanjong Pagar.

Under the 1990 Points of Agreement (POA), Malaysia had agreed to move the KTM railway station from Tanjong Pagar to Bukit Timah.

I recall, however, that you had proposed at our meeting in Hanoi in 1998, to relocate your railway station to Kranji. I agreed to this proposal in my meeting with Abdullah Badawi when he visited Singapore in February last year. I confirm here that Singapore is prepared to accommodate such a variation to the POA within the bilateral package.

You had later also proposed a railway tunnel from Johor to Singapore. But I read from your letter that you have now decided on a railway swing bridge because of the high cost of constructing the tunnel. I can go along with this proposal.

Since you intend to operate an electric train in the future, I suggest you revisit your Kranji station proposal. You could run your train in an underground tunnel from the Singapore end of your railway swing bridge to the KTM station in Kranji. This will take care of the problem of unsightly overhead catenaries. If you are concerned about the cost of constructing this tunnel, Singapore can help defray a portion of it.

### **3. Water**

I do not want our bilateral relations to be always strained by the issue of water. I am saddened by the constant emotional rhetoric in the media over Malaysia's supply of water to Singapore.

For the sake of good long-term relations, my colleagues and I have decided that Singapore will produce as much water by ourselves as we can, to supplement the existing Water Agreements.

We have just called a tender for a 30mgd desalination plant, which will be ready by 2005.

We have also been operating a 2.2mgd plant to produce NEWater (reclaimed water) using membrane technology for two years now. It has proven to be successful and economical. We have therefore decided to ramp up our programme to produce NEWater, to replace the supply of water under the 1961 Water Agreement when it expires in 2011.

But we will be happy to still buy from Johor a modest quantity of treated water, say, 10mgd or 20mgd, from 2011, after the expiry of the 1961 Water Agreement, to 2061, if Johor remains keen to sell.

As for water after 2061 when the 1962 Water Agreement expires, I accept your offer of 100mgd of raw water and 150mgd of treated water.

However, your proposal for a new water agreement to run for 100 years from 1 January 2002, means, in effect, a water agreement of only 40 years, since the 1962 Water Agreement will expire only in 2061. Our discussions have always been on the basis of an agreement for 100 years from 2061.

On pricing, in your letter of 21 February 2001 to Kuan Yew, you had proposed that raw water be priced at 60 sen, which Johor considered a fair price. Singapore offered a revision from 3 sen to 45 sen for raw water under existing agreements, and accepted your proposal of 60 sen for raw water under a new agreement. I note that you have not accepted this counter-offer from us. May I explain that this counter-offer took into account our concessions in the other parts of the package, for example, the additional 12 parcels of Malayan Railway land.

You have now proposed another pricing arrangement where, among other things, a new formula for the price of raw water after 2061 is to be negotiated in 2058, and the formula for the price of treated water is to be renegotiated every 20 years, taking into account the circumstances then. Having reflected further on this matter of pricing, I agree that it would be difficult for us to fix now, the price of water to be supplied many decades in the future.

However, we need a definite basis for all future price revisions throughout the period of the agreement. Otherwise, there will be no certainty in the agreement, and it will be difficult for our negotiators to agree on the price revision when the time comes. We will periodically be locked in dispute over water, in spite of a new agreement.

I propose therefore a pricing mechanism that can stand the test of time. I propose that we peg the price of treated water from Johor (water after 2061, as well as the modest quantity from 2011-2061 mentioned earlier in the letter) to an agreed percentage of Singapore's cost of alternative sources of water ("peg-price"). This is similar to the way we price natural gas that Singapore purchases from Malaysia, where the price of gas goes up or down with the price of alternative fuel, i.e. oil.

The price of raw water after 2061 can be calculated by deducting Singapore's cost of treating the raw water (including abstracting the water from the river and delivering it to Singapore etc) from the agreed peg-price.

To work such a pricing mechanism, Singapore will disclose independently-audited accounts of its cost of alternative sources of water. This cost will, of course, vary with the price of fuel oil, technology etc. For example, when the price of fuel oil goes up, the peg-price will go up too.

Our Foreign Ministers and officials can discuss both your pricing formula and my counter-proposal when they meet.

#### 4. CPF and Airspace

They should be able to make progress on these two issues as part of the package.

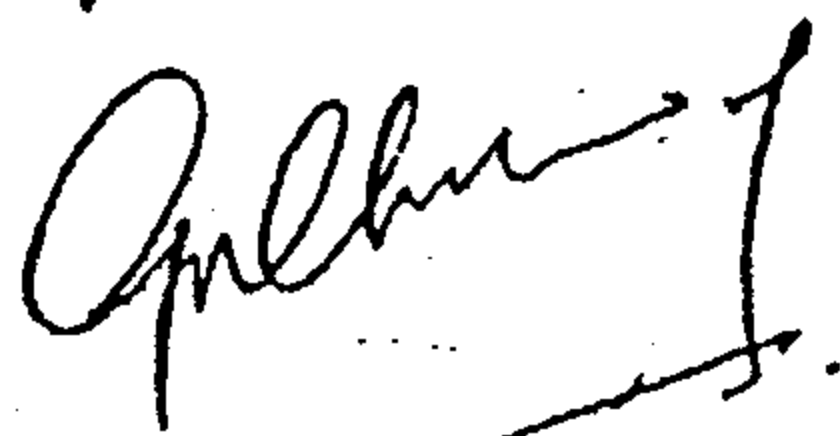
**Basis for Further Discussion**

Your letter of 4 March and my reply here can form the basis for further discussion between our Foreign Ministers and officials. They can proceed to set the dates of their meeting.

Should they run into roadblocks, I would be happy to meet you to help remove the blocks.

I hope we can now make progress in wrapping up this package of bilateral issues.

Yours *Sincerely,*



GOH CHOK TONG