

UCAPAN PERDANA MENTERI, DI PEMBUKAAN PERSIDANGAN PERWAKILAN M.C.A. DI DEWAN BAHASA DAN PUSTAKA, KUALA LUMPUR, PADA 21HB OGOS, 1971

Y.A.B. Tun Tan Siew Sin, Presiden M.C.A., Ahli-ahli Majlis Kerja Tertinggi M.C.A., Para perwakilan dan Saudara-saudara.

Saya sungguh berasa gembira dan bangga kerana diberi penghormatan yang tinggi pada hari ini untuk merasmikan Persidangan M.C.A. yang pertama diadakan semenjak tahun 1969.

Dua penghormatan sebenarnya pertama kerana inilah julung kalinya saya diminta merasmikan Persidangan Perwakilan M.C.A., sungguhpun sebagai Timbalan Perdana Menteri dan Timbalan Presiden UMNO, saya pernah diberi penghormatan merasmikan Persidangan Pergerakan Pemuda M.C.A. beberapa tahun yang lepas.

Kedua, hari ini adalah hari yang pertama saya berpeluang berhadapan dengan Pemimpin-pemimpin M.C.A. dari seluruh Malaysia sebagai Perdana Menteri semenjak saya dilantik sebelas bulan dahulu dan sebagai Pengerusi Perikatan dan Presiden UMNO. Tetapi, saya telah menemui kebanyakan daripada saudara-saudara di negeri masing-masing dalam lawatan saya ke negeri-negeri dalam negara kita ini. Sesungguhnya saya berasa bertuah. It is my privilege and honour to have this opportunity of talking to you all today. Today is double joy for me.

For this double joy and great honour, I would like to thank my good friend, Tun Tan Siew Sin, his colleagues of the Central Committee and you all for having kindly invited me to address and declare open your Conference today. I would like to congratulate Tun Tan Siew Sin and Tan Sri Khaw Kai Boh and others who were very fortunate to have been returned unopposed to their respective posts in the Party. You are fortunate indeed, since none of you need have to worry about strenuous and bitter election campaigns. There were also no persons fasting until death to concern you. This is how it should be, if it can be done.

Saudara-saudara,

Malaysia dan kita semua sekarang berada di dalam perengkat baru atau "new phase" dalam bidang pemerintahan, pembangunan ekonomi negara. Oleh kerana keadaan telah berubah dan bagi menyesuaikan policy-policy Kerajaan dengan hasrat-hasrat rakyat yang berbilang bangsa, maka kita terpaksa menggunakan "new approach" dalam strategy dan pelaksanaan pembangunan negara, mencari perpaduan rakyat dan keadilan sosial.

Dewan Rakyat pada bulan lepas dan Dewan Negara pada minggu lalu telahpun meluluskan Dasar Ekonomi Baru Kerajaan seperti yang terkandung dalam Rancangan Malaysia Kedua dengan sebulat suara. Isi kandungan Dasar Ekonomi Baru ini adalah new approach yang saya sebutkan tadi. Ini adalah satu perkara yang sangat menggembirakan saya kerana Dasar Ekonomi Baru Kerajaan telah diterima oleh semua bangsa di Malaysia yang mewakili berbagai fahaman politik.

Perkara yang selalu dibangkitkan oleh kritik-kritik Rancangan Malaysia Kedua ialah soal pelaksanaan. Di sini, seperti yang telah saya terangkan ketika mengemukakan dan menggulungkan usul dalam Parlimen, Kerajaan telah menyediakan jentera pentadbiran yang baru untuk menyelaraskan segala tenaga Kerajaan termasuklah badan-badan yang telah ditubuhkan oleh Kerajaan, supaya mereka semua dapat menyatukan usaha dan tenaga menuju ke arah matlamat yang satu, dengan hati yang satu dan semangat yang sama; one heart, one mind towards one objective.

Saya bersetuju sepenuhnya bahawa pelaksanaan merupakan anak kunci kejayaan Dasar Ekonomi Baru Kerajaan untuk membasmi kemiskinan dan menyusun semula masyarakat negara ini. Ada setengah-tengah dari kritik-kritik yang menyatakan kebimbangan mereka tentang pelaksanaan Rancangan Malaysia Kedua, sementara mengakui bahawa matlamatnya adalah baik dan wajar, tetapi Kerajaan tidak akan menjalankannya dengan adil.

Saya suka mengulangi lagi jaminan kepada semua rakyat di seluruh negara bahawa dalam melaksanakan dasar-dasar dan rancangan-rancangan yang terkandung dalam Rancangan Malaysia Kedua, Kerajaan akan sentiasa berlaku tegas, adil dan saksama. Oleh itu, mereka janganlah bimbang kerana kerajaan berpegang teguh kepada prinsip-prinsip Perlembagaan dan Rukunegara.

Tambahan pula, negara kita masih kaya dengan kekayaan alam, yang mana kalau digunakan dan dimajukan dengan sebaik-baiknya akan dapat sama-sama dinikmati dengan saksama oleh rakyat.

Bagi menjayakan matlamat-matlamat masyarakat ini, kerajaan terpaksa memberi sumbangan yang bermakna, iaitu dengan mengambil bahagian dan peranan yang aktif dengan secara langsung dalam bidang-bidang yang tertentu.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to reiterate what I had already said in the Parliament for your benefit today, so that if there is any doubt that might still linger in the mind of any of you, I hope by the time you leave this hall, it would disappear. That the New Economic Policy, as embodied in the Second Malaysia Plan, is for everybody—irrespective of race, colour or creed. Its main aim is to eradicate poverty among all races and to correct the economic imbalance among the races: that is to uplift the have-nots of all races so that Malaysia's fast growing affluence is more equitably shared and the distribution of employment and ownership of wealth is less identified with one particular race or community.

If there are talks that the Plan only benefits the Malays, you had better cut short any such talks, and instead I ask you to ask, whoever they are, to seriously consider spending more of their time reading and understanding the Second Malaysia Plan backwards and forwards, so that they will understand it fully and be convinced that it is actually for the benefit of all our people and for the unity and survival of our Nation. This is important. It is imperative that everyone understands this; otherwise, we are going to misunderstand each other and if this persists, there is not much future for our country.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am going to talk frankly to you today because I care for you and I need your support. You also know that you need me too. So, whether we like it or not, we are stuck to each other. The UMNO, as long as I remain its leader, will always want to cooperate with the M.C.A. and through it, with the Malaysians of Chinese origin in this country. I think our stand on this is clear. I believe in a multi-racial Malaysia and a multi-racial Government in the context of our Constitution and the Rukunegara. The

UMNO will not want to work with any other Chinese political group, as long as the M.C.A. can and have the force, will and determination to represent and speak on behalf of the Chinese in this country.

The other day in Rompin—part of my vast Parliamentary Constituency—I spoke quite frankly and bluntly to my constituents, more than 90% of whom are Malays, that the Second Malaysia Plan was the "last chance" for the Malays to improve their livelihood. That they would be left behind and swept away by the tides of time, unless they took full advantage of the opportunities in the Plan. My message was clear and I was frank to them because I care for them.

To my friends in the M.C.A., I would like to emphasise that to be effective politically, the Party leaders, MPs and Assemblymen, cadres and branch officials, and even ordinary members should spend more time on the ground explaining the New Economic Policy and mobilise the Chinese in New Villages, the Guilds, the traders, construction workers and other workers to support the Government's Second Malaysia Plan and its war against local militant communists.

To be really effective in their work, the M.C.A. leaders must first read and understand the Second Malaysia Plan backwards and forwards; they must be convinced that the Plan is the last chance for everybody's survival and the Nation's survival; otherwise, they will only fall victim to the fears and suspicions of certain groups of people in the country including certain group of Chinese. The choice in front of you all is simple—either the Second Malaysia Plan succeeds or the way is open for external or internal forces bent upon destroying the country. They are just around the corner waiting for an opportunity to strike against us—you and me.

The New Economic Policy must succeed. The stakes are too high to allow it to fail. It should not fail, because the Plan is not aimed at promoting any sectional interests. It is a blue-print for the progress and unity of our Nation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Therefore, I call upon you all, and to the non-Malays at large, especially those in the private sector, to co-operate with the Government in making the Second Malaysia Plan a great success.

The Plan is the "last opportunity" for all Malaysian have-nots to achieve a better life for themselves and to improve their economic conditions. Truly, the Plan provides a great chance for all of us, whatever race or whatever condition, to make ourselves a truly united, strong and prosperous nation.

Tun Tan Siew Sin, I understand, will later announce the M.C.A.'s Manifesto in the seventies: the basis of this Manifesto, if I gather it rightly, is "new realism" in the sense that Malaysians of Chinese descent have come to term with the political realities of the present day Malaysia just as the Malays had long ago realised that Malaysia is multiracial country and they must accept this fact and accordingly adjust themselves. I generally endorse the broad framework of your Manifesto. I think it is a bold one. The M.C.A. stands or falls by it and if I may hasten to say we in the UMNO will stand and fall together with the M.C.A. to uphold the Manifesto which has some similarity with the UMNO's Political Manifesto of May 11, 1971.

Under the changed situation in Malaysia now, the M.C.A. has to strengthen itself so that it can play its part in the implementation of the New Economic Policy and the Second Malaysia Plan. It has to unite the Chinese of all classes so that the Chinese industry, enterprise, initiative and resources can be mobilised to implement our Second Malaysia Plan.

When I speak about Chinese unity, I had better make it clear now that I am all for unity, but I am totally against any racial unity movement, be it Malay or Chinese, which is negative and, to me, a movement is negative if it was born out of fears.

Tun Tan, I am sure, shares my view on this, and I have every faith in the M.C.A. to reject any unity movement which smacks of racialism. The Chinese unity under the banner of the M.C.A. is important and relevant to Malaysia because its achievement is geared to objectives beneficial to the community and the country and of co-operation with other racial groups and of bringing about national unity. The objectives which are relevant today and which are very crucial to the fate of the nation is the successful implementation of the New Economic Policy within the context of our Constitution and of Rukunegara.

Let there be no misunderstanding as to the objectives of the Second Malaysia Plan. It will not deprive any one group of its legitimate rights. It is not aimed at promoting the interests of any particular community at the expense of others.

The success of the Second Malaysia Plan depends as much upon Government's resources and efforts as on the initiative and the willingness of all people to change their outlook and attitudes. It is not only that the Malays are posed with the crucial choice of gearing themselves to help the Government in implementing but the Chinese and Indians, in fact, each and everyone of us have a duty to make the Second Malaysia Plan a success. The success of the New Economic Policy will determine whether we have the will and the capacity to survive as a happy, united and prosperous Nation or not.

The New Economic Policy is intended to overcome the problems and the challenges that we face. Southeast Asia is undergoing a period of stress and strains, the like of which has never been experienced before. The successful implementation of the New Economic Policy and the Second Malaysia Plan will enable us to look forward to a period of greater progress, unity and prosperity for all our people.

Now, I would like briefly to refer to the growing threat of communist subversion in our country. The local communists are trying to reassert themselves. Their aim is obvious. They want to topple us and form a Communist Government in Malaysia. God willing, and with the support of all our people of all races, the MCP would fail in their evil intention.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Second Malaysia Plan and the economic progress that will ensure is the best defence against subversion and communism. It also has the major aim of national unity because without national solidarity, the Merdeka we won fifteen years ago would remain incomplete. Then, there is another challenge which all Malaysians must meet—to defend and uphold our Independence and sovereignty. Our Armed Forces and the Police are doing an excellent job on the border to fight our enemy, but I call upon all Malaysians, especially our Chinese friends to co-operate with

the Government to wipe out this communist menace so that every dollar we have could be spent on economic and social development for the people.

Tun Tan, who takes charge of our National Purse, said that every additional man and every additional dollar diverted to the needs of defence and security meant that one less person and one less dollar would be available on social and economic development. The people can help the Government by giving us information that will help the Security Forces to eliminate or capture the communists and their supporters.

The recent activities of the terrorists are designed to show to the people that they are still around and are capable of creating trouble. The communists also are well aware that their continued failure to win support from a great number of people of all races can prove their undoing and this, together with actively mobilised public opinion, may deter them from resorting to continued violence. However, we should never underestimate the terrorists. What is important is that we should see it that they would continue to fail to win the support of the majority of Chinese, Malays, Indians and others like and then the Communists will find no place in our society.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to refer briefly to our foreign policy since what we do or not do in the field of foreign policy can and will vitally affect the future security and stability of Malaysia and because it is our first line of defence. I will reiterate here that we support that the Peoples' Republic of China should assume her rightful place in the United Nations. Since this year's UN meeting is very important vis-a-vis China's admission into the UN, I personally will be leading our UN delegation. I shall be in New York round about the end of September.

But, what about our bilateral relations with the Peoples' Republic of China? At present, our relationship with Peking will be merely confined to trade matters. As regards the question of establishing diplomatic relations, it will have to be considered as a separate matter at a later date. It is, as you all know, our policy to have diplomatic relations with all countries on the basis of peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's sovereignty and

territorial integrity and scrupulous non-interference in our internal affairs. This is our basis for eventual diplomatic relations which I trust will in due course be clearly manifested.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Coming back to the home front, I believe that the role of M C A is very crucial in the sense that it is a partner, an important partner, in our efforts of nation building. Therefore, I ask everyone of you at every level to work harder, to go more to the ground to explain the New Economic Policy and the Second Malaysia Plan to the people. But, you yourselves must be convinced of the merits of the Plan so that you can convince your supporters and mobilise their resources behind the Government. Any political party, if it is to play its role effectively, must strengthen its mass base and it can only do so by projecting an image of constructive and sincere leadership.

I know, because of historical reasons, the M C A has a much harder task to build up a strong base on the ground. The U M N O began as a mass movement in the rural areas and gradually spread through every level of the community. This can be achieved if all of us, those holding responsible positions would spend more time among the people to explain our policies and actions.

I have to say this, but this cannot be repeated too often, that the only way to strengthen our mass base, is to go back to the people as we all used to do it in the early fifties and through the better part of the sixties. We must continue to win the support and understanding of the people. With the people's support and determination, we can march forward to build a happy and united multi-racial Nation.

Once again, I thank you for the honour and privilege of talking to you today. May I express to you the goodwill and good wishes from all the members of U M N O, and with my own expression of goodwill and friendship, may I wish you a successful and fruitful conference.

Thank you.