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RADIO SINGAPORE ON WEDNESDAY, 13TH

SEPTEMBER, 1961 AT 7.30 P.M.

Soon you will have to decide on your future. In the next few months we shall settle the constitutional arrangements for merger. In this series of broadcasts, I hope to tell you what merger means, why it is good for all of us, why it is coming, and why some people are deliberately creating trouble and difficulty over it to prevent it from taking place.

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Everybody knows that merger is inevitable. The Tunku has said merger is inevitable. The PAP have also said that merger is inevitable. The Communists also admit that merger is inevitable. The inevitable is now happening. Some people can try to postpone the inevitable. But no one can stop it. The artificial division at the Causeway is a temporary one. It is only a matter of time before it is swept aside.

No political party, no one, has dared to raise his voice against merger. But you will see that quite a number of political parties and persons are deliberately being difficult about the terms and conditions in order to frustrate and delay merger between our two territories for as long as they can. It is our duty to put all the facts before you so that you can decide in full knowledge of the truth.

Merger is going to take place not just because it is the desire of the PAP or merely because it is the wish of the Federation Alliance government. It is as inevitable as the rising and setting of the sun. The two territories are so intertwined and interwoven in their economic, political and military complex that no man can keep up the artificial barrier at the Causeway for long. If merger does not come with the consent of the people of the two territories, then inevitably it will come by the use of force of one territory over the other, because each is vital to the survival of the other.

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Everyone knows the reasons why the Federation is important to Singapore. It is the hinterland which produces the rubber and tin that keep our shop-window economy going. It is the base that made Singapore the capital city. Without this economic base Singapore would not survive.

Without merger, without a reunification of our two governments and an integration of our two economies, our economic position will slowly and steadily get worse. Your livelihood will get worse. Instead of there being one unified economic development for Malaya, there will be two. The Federation instead of co-operating with Singapore will compete against Singapore for industrial capital and industrial expansion. In this competition both will suffer. But Singapore will suffer more, because we have less resources to fall back on. We have no rubber and tin, no large land mass. For 140 years we have grown, developed and prospered because we bought and sold for the Federation. Through Singapore they imported what they wanted from the outside world. Through Singapore they sold their rubber and tin.

Merger means that there will be one integrated economic development, and that the wasteful duplication of facilities in the two territories will come to an end. We have an international airport at Paya Lebar. The Federation is also building an enormous airport costing \$50-million near Kuala Lumpur. But no international airline wants to land his aeroplanes in two such short stops -- Kuala Lumpur and Singapore which are 250 miles from each other. We have an international rubber market in Singapore. The Federation was on the point of setting up their own rubber market to compete with Singapore and take away Singapore's business. With a Singapore separated from the Federation, we will

be cutting each other's throats. Shell Company has just built an oil refinery at Pulau Bukom in Singapore. Shell is compelled by the artificial division at the Causeway to build one twice as big at Port Dickson in the Federation. There are many such examples.

If we delay merger, Singapore will be restricted in its economic expansion. People here will get worse off, with less income, less employment. They will drift back to the Federation. Half of our population in Singapore has come from the Federation because of the prosperity of Singapore. If that prosperity disappears as a result of unequal competition with the Federation the reverse process will take place and people will drift from a stagnating Singapore to an expanding Federation.

We cannot survive alone. If we delay merger, everyone of us, no matter whether you are a worker, hawker, clerk, technician or businessman, will suffer. There will be less business. There will be less profits. There will be less pay. There will be less jobs.

Now let me tell you why Singapore is vital to the Federation. There is no conceivable way in which Singapore can be completely cut off from the Federation. The Causeway and the Straits of Johore are not the Maginot Line.

No iron, rubber or coconut curtain is possible between us. What happens in Singapore must affect the Federation. From Singapore the Federation can be undermined. Singapore is vital to the security and survival of the Federation.

Let me give you an example.

In 1960, when a Soviet mission came to Singapore to attend the ECAFE Conference, there was a great deal of unhappiness in the Federation because the Russians wanted to set up a rubber-buying mission from Singapore. For the rubber-buying mission could very easily become a centre for intensive political activity against the Federation. Singapore saw it just as an additional avenue of trade, but the Federation considered it a dangerous beginning of a Communist offensive against them. This in a minor instance illustrates how vital Singapore is to the Federation's security.

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So in any merger arrangement the Federation must insist on security being under Central Government control. We have already reached agreement in principle. The Federation government considers it basic that external affairs, defence and security should be under the control of the Central Pan-Malayan Government. We, on the other hand, consider it essential that Singapore should have local autonomy on education and labour policies. These seemingly non-

controversial propositions have aroused a great deal of noisy protest from interested parties in Singapore. The most important interested party is the MCP. They do not want to see security in the hands of the Central Government. They are an illegal organisation. And with security in the hands of an anti-Communist Central Government they fear they will be worse off. They are unable to make any official statements to the press or through other open channels of information. But they have proxies. They have sympathisers and secret party members in the lawful political parties, in the unions, cultural organisations, and old boys' associations who make appropriate noises on their behalf. Of course these people have not been so foolish as to oppose merger openly. They have all agreed to merger on principle. But they want a different kind of merger, one in which security is not under the control of the Central Government. Or if security has got to be in the hands of the Central Government, they ask for unreasonable and even impossible conditions which they hope will frustrate merger.

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The Communists through their proxies are therefore trying to cloud and confuse this merger issue in order that you may come to the wrong decision. It is necessary for us to tell you who are their proxies, what line they are taking, why they are taking this line, and what it all means to you.

They will try to confuse you and prevent you from seeing their hand clearly by calling all this a smear. It is up to you to listen to all sides and then decide for yourselves. To put you in the picture, I shall tell you in my next talk a little of the background leading to our conflict with the Communists over merger. Then you can see things in perspective. Then you can judge for yourself.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1961.

(Time issued 1200 hours)

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