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TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER'S BROADCAST ON OCTOBER

9TH, 1961, AT 7.30 P.M.

The original aim of the Communists was to call for an independent Singapore. I had told the Plen on 11th May that whatever he might say about deferring the question of separate independence for Singapore, his open front workers were loudly talking of immediate independence for Singapore alone.

Their first step towards this end was to demand the abolition of the Internal

Security Council in 1963. The logical second step would be independence.

Once Singapore is independent, the Communists believe they could undermine

the Federation, if necessary by force of arms. The possibility of Malaya being

divided in open warfare between North vs. South is one which Communist policy

was heading for. The Tengku is ready to counter this.

Had there been no drought in Johore and water shortage in Singapore over the last three months the Communists might well have switched their line from internal self-government without the Internal Security Council to independence for Singapore alone. But nature reminded them of the utter absurdity of such a move. They abandoned feelers to test public reaction in articles which argued for immediate independence published in the Nanyang Political Science magazine and in the University of Malaya Socialist Club magazine, the Fajar.

So they have opposed our practical proposals for merger, by going to the other extreme of calling for complete merger as a 12th state like Penang, where education and labour will be controlled by the Central Federation Government. On this they cannot go back so easily. I must explain why complete merger as a 12th state like Penang means that Singapore citizens cannot automatically get Federation citizenship.

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Complete merger would mean that only people born in Singapore automatically become Federation citizens, just as only those who were born in Penang automatically got Federation citizenship.

In the Radio Forum on 21st September when Dr. Lee Siew Choh asked Dr. Goh Keng Swee to explain the Federation Constitution to him, he learnt for

the first time that out of the present 650,000 adult Singapore citizens only half, about 325,000, were born here and would automatically get Federal citizenship on complete merger like Penang. Yet he demanded this. He did not know that those who were not born in Penang had to apply for registration as citizens. One condition is residence in the Federation for 8 out of 12 years. But another more difficult condition is that a person must have knowledge of the Malay language - the national language. If Barisan Sosialis had their way, large numbers of persons out of the 325,000 Singapore citizens who have come from other parts of the world, like China and India, and even from the Federation of Malaya, will not get Federation citizenship because they have no knowledge of Malay. It means that a few hundred thousand people who now have Singapore citizenship will suddenly lose their rights. Only a young, inexperienced and reckless group of people would ever dream of doing this.

We want all Singapore citizens to retain all rights and privileges which they enjoy at present, regardless of whether they were born here or elsewhere in China or India. Even those who cannot obtain Federation citizenship by registration should keep their present Singapore citizenship rights. In addition, they will become Federal nationals. In international law there will be no difference between Federal nationals who are Singapore citizens and Federal

nationals who are Federation citizens. Both will have the same passport of the larger Federation Government.

Even in internal laws there will be little difference, except that Singapore citizens will vote for their representatives in Singapore, and Federation citizens will vote for representatives in the Federation, both to the same Federal Parliament. All Federal nationals, whether Singapore or Federation citizens, will be equal before the law and the courts of the larger Federation.

The difference between a Singapore citizen and a Federation citizen who will both be Federal nationals, will be similar to the present difference between a Johore citizen and a Malacca citizen who are both Federation citizens. They have equal national rights under the Central Government but on state rights each exercises his privileges in his own state. We have proposed that the citizens of the new and larger Federation should be called Federal nationals so as not to confuse people by using a phrase such as New Federation Citizens.

As soon as all legal details on citizenship or Federal nationality as it will be called have been worked out, they will be published.

There are also various sectional interests to be protected on merger. The English-educated want to be assured that merger does not mean that the 4:1 ratio between the Malays and non-Malays will apply in the Singapore section of the civil service.

Businessmen, contractors and bus companies want to be assured that priority for tenders and licenses will be as before, with no priorities or special rights for anybody.

Chinese parents who want their children to go to Chinese schools want to be assured that the present policy of equal treatment of all streams of education will go on.

Workers want to be assured that our pro-labour policy will continue.

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Merchants want to be assured that our free port status and our free trade with all countries will continue, and that our trading links with the whole world will remain as they have been, free and easy. The Federation Government understands the special conditions of our economy and social conditions, so fair and suitable arrangements can be made.

Every legitimate interest will be protected. But in the end, the Communists will still find merger unpleasant, because security comes under Central Government control. However fair and just the arrangements on citizenship or Federal nationality, and every other matter, they will still oppose. Their real objection is that security will be in the hands of a strong Central Federal Government. Unfortunately they cannot admit this selfish interest publicly, so they will find fault with every conceivable other point to achieve their aim to block merger.

But should we stop merger just in order to allow them to use a semi-colonial Singapore as a base to undermine the Federation? Should we risk a conflict that would ruin our country and our lives?

Many problems will be solved by merger. But never forget that as we the people in the two territories get together, and as the nationalist and socialist organisations in the two territories unite, so also will the Communist front organisations.

In Singapore the Barisan Sosialis is the main open front Communist organisation. As a subsidiary they have the Party Rakyat. They also have a few cadres planted in the Workers Party, and they are trying to penetrate Ong Eng

Guan's United People's Party. Their open front cadres are talking of getting these four parties into a Singapore Socialist Front which they can control, just as they control the Federation Socialist Front.

In the Federation, the Communists have very heavily penetrated the Labour Party of Malaya. The penetration of the Party Rakyat of the Federation is less than that in the Labour Party. But the pro-Communist cadres dominate the Federation Socialist Front which consists of the Labour Party and Party Rakyat.

Lim Kean Siew, the Secretary of the Socialist Front, is the younger brother of Lim Kean Chye, the man who disappeared in 1951 when wanted by the Police. Lim Kean Siew was in Singapore from the 14th to 16th July to agree with PAP on a proposed Conference on Malaysia of Socialist parties from the Federation, Singapore and Borneo. That night, 14th July, he went to see his

brother, Lim Kean Chye. But Rahim Ishak, who went to his hotel to have a chat, was told by Lim's organising Secretary Loland that he had gone to the pictures.

The next day, 15th July, at about noon, he, Dr. Wee Lee Fong from Kluang had a discussion in my conference room with Rajaratnam and myself. Lim Kean Siew's line was exactly the same as that of Lim Chin Siong's, that Singapore and the Borneo territories should get independence separately first. Then we can all discuss merger with the Federation at a later date. He may or may not know that

this plan suits the Communists very well. As I have explained earlier, as long as Singapore is a colony, the Communist struggle can be disguised as an anti-colonial struggle. So the Communist struggle in Sarawak also can be similarly disguised in the S.U.P.P. as an anti-colonial united front of nationalists and Communists in a struggle for independence.

My colleagues and I have friends amongst our counterparts the non-Communist socialists in the Labour Party and the Party Rakyat. The Communists are extremely agitated that we the non-Communist socialists in the Federation and in Singapore should get together and strengthen each other's hands.

On the 21st of September 1961, Lim Kean Siew, Secretary General of the Socialist Front, issued a circular to all Socialist Front branches telling them that they should not make any contact or discuss anything with P.A.P. members from Singapore, and that any contact with P.A.P. must be reported back to him. I quote from his circular:

"I am informed that Devan Nair came up to the Federation with Rajaratnam ..... But it showed one thing - that even as far back as

August, there were already talks of P.A.P. forming branches in Malaya....."

"Already his (i.e. my) lieutenants in Selangor, as far back as 1960, had been talking about the Malayan P.A.P."

"I would be very happy if the Executive could pass a decision that all contacts made by the P.A.P. with any one of us should be disclosed to us fully so that we will know....."

"I hope you are treating this as secret and I hope that I could be allowed to issue a statement warning the P.A.P. ...."

The real fact is they do not want our non-Communist Socialist counter-parts in

the Federation to get together with us and compare notes on the true position in Singapore and the Federation. Lim Kean Siew is the front leader in the

Federation, just as Dr. Lee Siew Choh is their front leader in Singapore.

In Sarawak the Communists have already penetrated the S.U.P.P. and can influence sections of it. As Malaysia takes shape with merger, the Communists in Malaya and Borneo are also planning to get their open-front organisations in

these territories together. Members of the secret Communist organisation of Sarawak have maintained contact with Lim Chin Siong through Dr. Lee Siew Choh. Dr. Lee was the P.O. Box for Lim Chin Siong. A letter from a Communist undercover organiser in Sarawak was sent to Lim Chin Siong as recently as the second half of September via Dr. Lee, the man who told Dr. Goh and me that he saw no harm in working with the Communists. So he sees no harm being a post-box for them.

Yet Dr. Lee, in an interview reported in the Guardian on 22nd September, stated "I am not a Communist, and if I became convinced there were Communists in our party I would expose them and let the people decide." But instead of exposing them he aided and abetted them by acting as a courier.

The Communists know that they cannot stop merger or Malaysia, however hard they try. They are preparing to bring their open front organisations into closer association for ultimate co-ordination and unification as merger and Malaysia take place. So Lim Kean Siew came down to attend the Barisan Sosialis inaugural meeting on September 17 representing the Federation side of the Communist front. And two Communists from the Sarawak front were to be sent to attend this same meeting. They complained when not allowed to.

With merger, Communist strength which is scattered in little concentrated pockets in Singapore, and in places like Penang will be diluted in a bigger nationalist whole. With Malaysia, Communist strength will be diluted even more. But although the problem is lessened it is not over. It goes on.

Communist cadres will go on organising and trying to capture the leadership of the trade unions, political parties, cultural associations, old boys' associations and student clubs. As they lose old cadres they recruit new ones. But their futile struggle based on wrong analysis and strategy will continue to meet with failure. However, we cannot afford to be complacent.

The long-term solution is to present the people with a clean and effective alternative to the Communist rigidly disciplined society. To prevent new recruitment we must offer healthy and dynamic leadership to channelise the idealism of our young men and women of the coming generation as they leave our schools and universities.

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### TRUTH CANNOT BE DENIED

I have recounted these events to you so that you can better judge what is in your best interests. Some of the facts are not in favour of my colleagues or myself. But you have to know them.

YOU JUDGE THE TRUTH FOR YOURSELVES FROM WHAT I  
HAVE SAID, AND ALSO WHAT THE PERSONS INVOLVED HAVE NOT  
BEEN ABLE TO DENY. YOU WILL NOTICE THAT YESTERDAY, 8TH  
OF OCTOBER, THESE PERSONS ABOUT WHOM I HAD TOLD YOU  
ABOUT IN DISCLOSING THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY HAVE ONLY  
SAID THAT ALL THIS IS A SMEAR.

WHAT WE WANT TO ASK THEM IS: WHICH PARTICULAR PART  
OF STATEMENT IN ANY ONE OF MY TALKS IS UNTRUE AND JUST A  
SMEAR?

We are about to enter a new phase in our struggle for a happier and more prosperous Malaya. We will do our best for you as a Government. But in the end, remember, your future is in your own hands.

This is the last of my first series of broadcast. In 12 short talks I have ranged over the events of the 16 years since the war. I have tried to put before you in bold relief the principal features of our political problems. Political problems ultimately mean the problem of how we make our living, how we can give everyone a fair and equal chance to study and work and have a full life.

There are so many more things that you must know about what is going on in Singapore. My colleagues, Toh Chin Chye, Goh Keng Swee and others, who have played their part in the memorable years since 1945, will, from their own experiences, fill in many of the blanks I have not been able to cover myself.

Then I shall round off these discussions in another series in which I hope to explain why merger which is vital for our survival is not by itself alone the complete answer to our social and economic problems. Merger will give us a large enough national and economic base to build our better society. But build it we must, for these things do not come about by themselves.

OCTOBER 9, 1961.

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