

TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH AT THE PAP**VICTORY RALLY AT THE CITY HALL STEPS****ON 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1963.**

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

I want to tell you briefly what I have said already in Malay and Hokkien.

I read today's papers, the Straits Times, with a certain amount of regret because I think the sooner we get over this post-election phase and face up to the realities of life, the better it is for Singapore and the better it is for Malaysia.

Let me explain this. You know, there is no need for the Central Government to say that they have ultimate authority; we understand that; we understood that before we went into Malaysia; we understand that now. And I

say our intention and our purpose is to work together with the Central Government for the benefit of Singapore and Malaysia, but it must be a co-operation on equal terms, not that of master and servant.

I have explained to you just now in simple Malay, how Singapore is really the hub of the Overseas Chinese in Malaysia; every association, every Kong Huay, every Huay Kuan has got its H.Q. in Singapore, and it has been so for decades. And you cannot have phoney leaders here. You must have real leaders, people who lead, not who are led, not who listen to others, but people who will sit down with you, think out the problem, think out a solution which is fair and just to both sides.

And I say we are realists; we must be real leaders and we must be realistic in our approach. What I said in Hokkien I hope the Straits Times will carry it because I think it is important that we must have confidence; that we understand for the next decade, next two decades, the Prime Minister of Malaysia must be a Malay. That we accept. There are 43% Malays and indigenous people, 41% Chinese in Malaysia, 10% Indians, 6% the others.

We are not out to capture power in Kuala Lumpur. We want to co-operate and work in the common interests of Malaysia. We want to help them understand what we fear sometimes they do not understand the problem of the urban Chinese, the city, the towns where over the last few years the M.C.A. and the M.I.C. have lost ground to a host of opposition parties in Malaya: PPP, Socialist Front, UDP. They are a protest vote, and it can be resolved provided there is an intelligent appraisal. And I say quite frankly, there will be no intelligent appraisal from Senator Khaw Kai Boh. You know, he was the manager of the Lio/Soc campaign in 1959: they lost all their candidates. He was the manager this time of the Alliance: they lost all their candidates. He was the man who was supposed to set up the Malaysia Celebrations arrangements. He was going to send Mr. Tan Siew Sin here, send the Tunku to Kuching so on, so forth. 31st August nothing happened. 16th September, Dr. Ismail came here; the Tunku didn't go to Kuching. Khir Johari went there. Riots had taken place in the meantime when the U.N. team arrived, staged by the Communists. You see, the judgment was wrong. If he understood the urban people, then Tun Lim Yew Hock wouldn't have come a cropper the last time because he was the Director of Special Branch. He didn't understand it. That is the most important thing: You've got to understand the problem before you can resolve it.

And I was glad we took the action against Mr. Tan Lark Sye immediately, in order to help Kuala Lumpur to first appreciate our good faith: that we are not out, under the cover of Chinese education, culture and language, to protect the Communists; that we are prepared to fight them provided we first expose them as Tan Lark Sye did – he sold all his properties openly, came into the political arena. And I was glad they left Nanyang University alone, and I think they would be wise to leave Chinese education for us to handle. And if we do this – always understand the problem and what they cannot really resolve, leave to us to resolve here. That was the reason why I insisted together with my colleagues – Dr. Toh Chin Chye announced this 2½ years ago – that we should have autonomy, minimum autonomy, education and labour, because these are your trouble points.

We understand how to deal with them; and you know, if the N.T.U.C. were composed of a lot of traitors in the working-class as the Barisan said, then you know 9 – we had 11 candidates from the N.T.U.C., 9 won the elections. SATU did not have nine candidates. You see over the years, we have really begun to appreciate the depth and ramifications of this problem of language, culture, loyalties; trade union loyalties, working-class loyalties, language loyalties. Sometimes they are contrary forces, sometimes they work in the same direction; but if you combine, for the Communists, language, culture,

education plus Communism, plus working-class loyalties, I say the position is lost as it was in 1956/57. It was lost. The Government lost out: they never understood it.

So I hope we will always keep this in mind: the problems have not changed. They are the same, only the juxtaposition, the balance of power in Malaysia, have changed. The centre is stronger, but I think we would be wise if we helped the centre and they helped us by leaving us to resolve our educational and labour problems. If we do this and re-establish confidence over the next three months as I think we can because we want to help them, not to fight them, then I say Malaysia will flourish, Singapore will flourish.

But, in the eventuality of stupidity taking over – really, you know, do not believe, I hope people in Kuala Lumpur will read this, do not believe that you can keep Singapore down. It is not possible. If they could, the British would have stayed here, you know; never have given up this island fortress. They knew it cannot be; and I have refused to keep it down for them. I say there is only one way, and I told them that the moment I came into office 4½ years ago: and that is to merge, give us the opportunity to expand economically.

You solve the economic and social problems, create a more just and a more equal society, then is say: the future is bright. And, if we could have done that for 4½ years in Singapore, then together in Malaysia, we can really build an affluent society.

Friends, join me in a salute to a battle we have fought for all these years that we have now accomplished. A salute now to the fruition of that battle to bring about a more prosperous, a more just and more equal society in Malaysia without making a difference between race, language, religion and culture. We are all together in Malaysia.

MERDEKA! MERDEKA! MERDEKA!

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