

SINGAPORE GOVERNMENT PRESS STATEMENT BYC/MC. AU.3/60

TEXT OF SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. LEE KUAN
YEW, ON AUGUST 3, 1960, WHEN HE MOVED A MOTION
EXPRESSING THE ASSEMBLY'S THANKS TO THE YANG DI-
PERTUAN NEGARA FOR THE SPEECH WHICH HE DELIVERED
ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AT THE OPENING OF
THE PRESENT SESSION.

I beg to move the motion standing in my name. The second year of office will be a decisive year for the Government. For if construction and expansion do not begin in the second year, they are hardly likely to start in the third or fourth year of the Government's office. And the question before the Government and the country is this. Will there be continued stable conditions for industrial expansion and an effective Government whose declared policies can be relied upon? Or will there be growing agitation, ferment, unrest and talk of reopening of constitutional discussions for immediate independence with consequent inability of the Government to maintain stable conditions, and no expansion, either economic or industrial, taking place to meet the growing unemployment and the concomitant social problems that failure to resolve unemployment must bring?

It is my duty to give an objective and dispassionate review of the past year and a forecast of the trends and tendencies in the immediate future.

An analysis of the forces at work in the past year discloses that there are now new factors which have entered the political arena to bedevil us or to rescue us from the intractable problems, both political and economic. Against the PAP and what it stands for - an independent, democratic, non-communist, socialist Malaya - there is only one organisation, the Communist Party, which can challenge the present Government in a bid for ultimate power.

The right-wing forces, such as they are, as represented by the Liberal-Socialist, SPA and whatever new parties may spring to being, are inert and ineffective. And it was with sadness that I read the notice of the feeble amendments to this resolution that have been tabled by the Members for Tanglin and Joo Chiat. After 14 months in which crucial issues facing the survival of the democratic system in Malaya, both in the Federation and Singapore, have been intensely debated, all that the official Opposition in this Assembly can think of are the restoration of the pay cuts, worries about kidnapping and the re-employment of the civil servants who have left the Government Service prematurely. These are the world-shaking events that comprise the horizon of our official Opposition, eloquent testimony of their purblind approach to our problems. For they can only

see peace and prosperity in relation to the restoration of their little social world which enveloped their whole being. They refuse to see, perhaps they are incapable of seeing, the bigger problems which confront us, problems which go to the very root of the survival of our society.

But in any drama there must be comic relief. And the former SPA Member for Joo Chiat, breaking his 14 months' self-imposed penance of silence on the subjects of kidnapping of towkays, and the re-employment of Government officers who have prematurely resigned from the Government Service, qualifies for an Oscar as the parliamentary jester of this Assembly.

It is not that we disregard the unhappiness of the rich families and their heads who are being held to ransom. Nor does the Government wish to shirk responsibility for failing to prevent these kidnappings. But to put up these secondary issues when the primary question of survival of the state is staring us in the face is an example of political myopia which has only been equalled by the Member for Tanglin.

This is not to say that there are no right-wing forces in Singapore. Apart from the British whose extensive economic and military interests in Singapore and this whole region are obvious, there are local adherents of the KMT and a whole

host of other reactionary diehards who would stop at nothing to bring the present government down in the hope that they could go back to the old days to exploit the country for their benefit. We had defined subversion before the elections and made quite clear what we meant by that term; that whether it comes from the right or from the left any subordination of the interests of the people of Singapore to outside interests we consider an undermining of the authority and integrity of the State and we shall resist. Extremism, either from the right or from the left, will have to be smacked down good and hard. If we allow one, acute reaction on the other side is inevitable. Our duty is to squash both.

What has happened in the last 14 months? Has the PAP stood up to its responsibilities and the test of power? Has it proved itself adequate to meet the stresses and strains of an internally self-governing state with an Internal Security Council, and foreign affairs, and defence out of its hands?

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In the past year the momentum of the PAP after its massive victory in the last elections was tremendous. There were exuberance and zeal which took a lot of tempering. Minor mistakes of haste, born out of impatience to put the world right, were committed. They were errors, not of the rashness of the policy to be implemented, but of the intemperate haste in not preparing and carrying the people, and could have been avoided by consultation and discussion. True,

power accentuated the weaknesses latent in some of the individuals in the political leadership. The emotional immaturity and instability of certain individuals caused more trouble than had been anticipated. The process of rectification, which started some three months after the party came into power, had to go to its logical conclusion.

Meanwhile, Communist sympathisers and activists, who had scattered and gone undercover before the last elections, began the work of regrouping and reorganisation. Over the last 14 months, a build up of their ground strength through ground cadres working on the workers has been taking place in the trade union movement. These pro-CP activists have worked hard to secure the support of the rank and file. The Government is realistic enough to acknowledge that there must be a certain amount of free play on the ground, provided the authority of the State is never challenged, and the leadership of the trade union movement remains non-Communist, as it must be in a non-Communist State. And, despite the regrouping and reorganisation, it is quite clear that the absence of tension and the absence of deep and abiding grievances have prevented the mass unrest and hysteria and the tendency to ram barricades. There is a dearth of issues upon which to bait the Government and work up feelings of antipathy and hostility from the ground.

By any test, the PAP Government is a progressive government.

Therefore, it is difficult to denounce it as reactionary. By no stretch of the imagination can it be denigrated as anti-worker, or enemies of the people. But, of course, being a non-Communist government, although it is progressive, it is said by the pro-CP orthodoxists that the Government consist of waiverers (the traditional concept of the bourgeois revolutionary) always stopping short of ultimate revolution, comprising with the enemy, selling out on the long term rights and interests of the people to the reactionary colonialist imperialists of the British, or the reactionary feudalists of the Federation. These are the terms and language of the doctrinaire. But, as I see it, the danger is not that the PAP will deviate from its declared policy, but that these left-wing adventurers, unable to manipulate the PAP to abandon its non-Communist principles, will begin a fight with a government, which by their own admission, is progressive.

In this connection, the events arising out of the expulsion of the Member for Hong Lim from the PAP provide a wealth of material as to the thinking and the tactics of the pro-CP. Once the PAP discovered the weaknesses of its individual adherents in the political leadership it had either to rectify, or go down as a result of these weaknesses. And rectification started not with the recent expulsions, but with the immediate systematic conscribing of the capacity for harm, together with the putting right of what had been done wrong. The

opportunistic elements within the party were contained and conscribed. In an open society where no secret disappearances can take place, it is inevitable that rectification would have a temporary unsettling effect. When criticism and rectification of those individuals were not successful then suspension and expulsion was inevitable. And it also provided us with a demonstration in miniature of the forces that are against the PAP. The whole business of suspension and expulsion was allowed to run its full course so that the full extent of the weak points within the party, and the threats from without the party, can be brought into the open and clearly seen. Within and around the party, it was a test of loyalties demonstrated on an occasion of a minor crisis, amply giving proof of the loyalty or otherwise of those who subscribe to the PAP. The weaknesses within the party will have to be rectified and the challenge from outside the party will have to be met. What is worthy of note is that there has been no change in the basic forces at work. But it did bring out vividly in a controlled test the tactics and policies of those who, for want of a better description, we have called left-wing adventurers.

Let me clarify the distinction that we make between the Communist Party and these left-wing adventurers. The policy of the Communist Party is to unite with all progressive forces, of which the PAP is acknowledged as one, to struggle against the forces of reaction, namely colonialism, imperialism and feudalism.

But, because the CP is proscribed and inhibited, its followers and cadres lack positive leadership, lack an official line set out with the speed with which an open party can give the lead to its followers. Therefore, the policies of such an underground organisation have to be freely interpreted in a given situation on the basis of broad general principles laid down beforehand. And the less adept of these followers who want to out-left the left, and take on battles before they are ready for them, we term left-wing adventurers. Their acrobatics in trying to exploit the One Eng Guan affair is an object lesson to us of their recklessness and shortsightedness and interesting enough to merit study.

These left-wing adventurers all agreed that the Member for Hong Lim was a political opportunist. But they all supported the 16 resolutions. True, the man who proposed these resolutions was unworthy, but they wanted to support the worthiness of the 16 resolutions which they said contained progressive material.

They were all in favour of fishing in PAP troubled waters. This man whom they detested and despised to the point of conspiring to oust him in August 1957, they now find a useful lever for pushing the PAP into what they hope will be a more malleable and plastic position. They hold up their hands in horror and say that the PAP is going right. They must stiffen it and make it go left. They must make it resist the forces of reaction, i.e. colonialists, imperialists and feudalists, and respond to the forces of progress, i.e. their pro-Communist forces. In a time of

relatively minor difficulties in the party, they hoped to trip up the party into submission in the name of unity of the progressive forces.

Let me re-state the PAP's position. We stand for what we believe in. And if we have not got the strength, ability or skill to carry the mass with us on our principles and policies, then we deserve to fail. There is no need to be "rescued" by self-appointed mass leaders. Whatever our weaknesses, lack of courage of our convictions is not one, nor do we lack understanding of the techniques of left-wing adventurers. Were they really interested in the 16 resolutions? Were they interested in the 5 resolutions all turning upon the internal cadre organisation of the PAP, designed to prevent the party from being controlled other than by those who are loyal to the long term aims and objectives of the party? Did they want to be cadre members of the PAP when they supported these 16 resolutions? Since when did they decide that the tobacco and petrol tax was an unsocialist move.

And the Betting Bill. Nobody passed any resolution or sent any memorandum from the first to the third reading of the Bill until the PAP conference. Let them be honest. They were only interested in a few of these resolutions - resolutions designed to appeal for support of these left-wing adventurers. Reopen talks with the British. For what? For independence? Nobody in his senses believes that Singapore alone, in isolation, can be independent. In the same breath, another resolution talks of opening talks with the Federation for merger and

independence. What is it to be? Independence through talks with the Federation for merger, or independence for Singapore alone through talks with the British. This issue was fought with similar left-wing adventurers in 1957 when the PAP went to the Tanjong Pagar by-elections. The issue then was, independence for Singapore by itself as a practical, feasible political objective, or independence for Singapore only through merger with a larger entity - the Federation of Malaya - from whom its water supply comes and on whose hinterland Singapore's trade, commerce and industry depend.

One of the problems for the pro-CP forces during the past year has been the absence of issues which would agitate and excite their followers. They could not, when they supported the so called 16 resolutions, have put much faith on the practicability of independence for Singapore alone. All they were concerned with was to find some slogans to keep their supporters excited, something on which to get tensions to mount, to create an atmosphere of uncertainty in which no industrial expansion will take place, so that economic and social conditions will deteriorate and therefore their forces of recklessness will increase and strengthen.

And for good measure, there were two other issues - release of all the detainees arrested before the PAP came into power. The PAP had already decided on this principle and has made this stand clear, both in public and the

Internal Security Council. But of course they claim that the PAP was weak and vacillating, yielding to the forces of reaction in the Internal Security Council! And the cancellation of the registration of the federations which the Government had registered but had de-registered, again because the Government so they claimed, was either weak in the face of reactionary strength, or leaning to the right.

There were contradictions between the left-wing government in Singapore, and the British and a right-wing government in the Federation, contradictions which we must normally expect Communists to exploit. But many they did not do for the simple reason that it would have rebounded to the credit of the PAP. Let me give a small illustration but a vivid one.

Everybody knows that the PAP Government is going to stand or fall on its policy of industrial peace with justice, to secure industrial expansion to solve the economic problems. And it is the business of a non-Communist government to explore all avenues and all channels conceivable, for assistance and help to resolve its economic problems. Do they not know that even the presence of a Russian delegation to an ECAFE Conference in Singapore on small scale industry was viewed with suspicion and disfavour? Are they unaware from Press reports that even the giving of a residence visa for more than a transitory visit to a

Russian representative had caused excitement and brought opposition? The British interests in Singapore are obvious. The Federation has to ensure that Communist activity in the Federation is not aided from bases in Singapore. One would have thought that intelligent Communists would have found this a good united front issue. But on the contrary the left-wing adventurers kept silent. They only chose to exploit the issues which are of no benefit to the PAP but of benefit only to the CP forces.

Let me pose the contradictions between the PAP and the pro-CP forces. I say pro-CP forces advisably because since the MCP is under ground and is unable to evince its collective will itself, there is no way of preventing several different lines of various pro-CP groups, all in the name of the CP. The PAP is a progressive force and will remain a progressive force - a force for change towards a more equal and just society.

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There are three possible situations in which the PAP can find itself. First, where what is good for the people and the PAP may be bad for the communist. Secondly, where what is good for the people and the PAP may also be good for the communist. Thirdly, where what is bad for the people and the PAP may be good for the communist.

In all these cases, we are prepared to proceed according to the dictates of our interests, conscience and our judgment. Whether it is bad for the CP or good for the CP is irrelevant. The PAP Government is prepared to carry out all policies which are for the benefit of the aims and objectives which the PAP stands for, and which the people voted for. But it is not prepared to fight for, or carry out policies which are bad for the PAP but are good for the communists. To try and coerce the PAP into a united front on the third of these premises is a futile and fruitless business which will aggravate, exacerbate and stiffen the attitude of the PAP. We are not going to promise independence for Singapore for the immediate future, first because we believe it is a fraud on the people to claim that Singapore can be independent alone, not only because it is not viable, but because it can be so easily captured and destroyed. Have they forgotten that some 80,000 British troops had to surrender in Singapore 10 days after the Japanese captured the water supply in Johore? Do they believe that an island with 1½ million souls but with no natural resources, can be independent? We credit them with intelligence and therefore we believe that they can see these facts as well as we can. And the conclusion we can come to is that they are deliberately arousing false expectations and hopes in the people for the selfish purpose of creating excitement and tension, and an atmosphere of uncertainty upon which the growth of their strength depends.

I would like to restate in simple language for the benefit of the Opposition, both in the House and outside the House, that the policies of the PAP were evolved out of its own experience of struggle under local conditions, not out of doctrinaire principle. And it has been successful up to date and will continue to be successful so long as it adheres not to doctrinaire principles, in complete disregard of local facts and conditions, but to the principles evolved in the context of the Malayan revolutionary situation. We believe in an independent, democratic, non-Communist, socialist Malaya. What is the alternative for all left-wing forces in Malaya? To this affirmation of faith, does anybody seriously stand up to say that they believe in the establishment of an independent Communist Soviet Republic of Malaya? In the context of the present situation, do they hope to carry with them the mass of the Muslim Malays, the English-educated, the Indian-educated? Surely all have conceded that there can be no Communist Singapore until there is a Communist Malaya and there can be no Communist Malaya unless the Malays are sufficiently softened from neighboring territories.

I must ask the House to forgive me for having taken so much of its time on what would appear to be a theoretical dissertation of the inter-play of political forces in Singapore. But it is because what I have discussed are the factors that will decide whether Singapore ticks for better or for worse that I have spent time discussing these factors. I am sorry that after 14 months of PAP Government the

English language newspapers are still allowed to confuse and delude the public. The irony of it is that basically anti-Communist local journalists, through European imperialist, colonialist newspapers, have helped to build up confusion in the minds of the people. All this talk of democratic rights, laissez-faire liberalism, freedom and human rights, in the face of the stark realities of an underground struggle for power can only confuse the English-educated world.

The problem that we are confronted with is not a simple one of allowing absolute liberalism and democratic rights to prevail, but of exerting that right amount of restriction on absolute rights so that a tolerant democratic society can endure and not turn into a totalitarian state. In other words the government can, and where necessary must, restrict the rights of individuals, but if it does so to a point where it becomes in fact a totalitarian society, then the purpose of the restriction has been negated. These restrictions are bearable only because without them a more intolerant system would triumph.

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In his address to this Assembly the Yang di-Pertuan Negara has listed out in detail the things that will be done for the people in the coming year. They include mundane things as roads, footpaths, drains, stand pipes and sanitation. Since the integration of the business of the organs of local government with that of the Ministries of the central government, all these things have become the

concern of this Assembly. These are the things which intimately concern the people and their daily lives. It is right that a government that seeks to improve the lives of the vast majority of its people - the workers and the farmers - should spend so much time and effort and money to make the administration respond to these social problems. After 14 months we can now say that the organs of the State of Singapore are well maintained and functioning with a reasonable degree of sensitivity to the problems of the people. But we have to admit that a lot of ground has still to be covered in making the administration more alert, and equal to the political challenge we are confronted with - a challenge of rapid change, rapid progress, rapid improvement which the political ferment and revolution in Asia has aroused in the hearts and minds of our people.

Conclusion

What are the chances of success in our struggle to achieve these changes - changes of the economic basis of our livelihood and the social structure of our population through the democratic process. What kind of political weather are we in for. Running the risk of all weather forecasters to be proved wrong in the event, I would go on to say that the indications are that we will have reasonably decent weather with fair periods, wet patches and sudden squalls. It is the sudden squalls that we must be careful of. For the worst that can happen is the failure of

this little experiment in the democratic process of one man one vote to bring some improvement in the lot of the people. If we are unable to face these sudden squalls, then we shall go under and the experiment will have to be restarted all over again.

But it is useful if we can put these things in perspective, in terms of the ultimate, of the worst and the best, that is possible. What is the worst that can happen in the immediate future? It is that the Government finds itself outmanoeuvred and out-propagandaed by these left-wing adventurers, that the PAP will have to take the count in this fight, and the communist will be counted out for many years to come.

We are not unaware that with the CP on one side of us and the colonialists on the other, each side will want to pull us to its side. We are also aware that failing this, each of these two contending forces are quite prepared to use us as buffers in their machinations against each other. The British want to preserve their economic and military interests for as long as possible. The Communists want to set up a Soviet Republic of Malaya. Let me say this: we are fully alive to the realities of this political situation.

It is the business of a government to govern and whilst we are the Government we must ensure that the Government's authority prevails. But it is the business of the Government to ensure that if a collision has to take place between these left-wing adventurers and the colonialist imperialist the PAP should let them break their heads on each other. For we are confident that whatever the temporary manoeuvrings and ups and downs, we as non-CP socialists have a historic role to play in the political struggle of Malaya in this crucial stage. Our duty is to preserve the integrity and effectiveness of our movement, not to be used in other people's plots.

The best to be striven for is to succeed in settling the economic and political problems of the people of Singapore, and succeed in maintaining industrial peace with justice to the workers, whilst industrial expansion takes place to alleviate the unemployment problem and create optimistic prospects for the years beyond 1964. The economic and social conditions of poverty and distress must be removed by the joint endeavours of the people and the Government. There must be enough success to ensure a reasonable equilibrium for peace and prosperity in this phase of our struggle.

AUGUST 3, 1960.

(Time issued 1730 hours)

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH WINDING UP THE DEBATE
ON THE MOTION OF THANKS TO H.E. THE YANG DI-
PERTUAN NEGARA (CONTD.)

Refutation of Lim Yew Hock

Let me touch on two matters upon which the member for Cairnhill has laboured. First, the de-registration of the four federations. There is a lot of smoke over this as a result of the Member for Hong Lim and the Member for Cairnhill being on the same side in wishing to generate smoke. Obviously something must have gone wrong or otherwise how could a Government register a federation, and a few days later de-register it and three others. Suffice it to say that this was not unconnected with the issue of an entry visa for a Russian Communist representative to come to Singapore for trade. From time to time the Singapore Government is queried by the I.S.C. for not taking the advice of the Singapore Government's own intelligence department. The intelligence department had recommended against the issue of a visa for a Russian Communist representative to come to Singapore for trade. However the Finance Minister, together with the Minister for Home Affairs, over-ruled this objection and allowed a visa.

Meanwhile the same intelligence department had given advice that a certain general employees union should not be allowed to register as a Federation until their rules were changed to comply with the new Trade Union Ordinance, and had divested itself of those sections of its membership not qualified to be members of the union under the new Trades Union laws. This advice was endorsed by the Minister for Home Affairs. Unfortunately, this advice was overlooked by the Minister for Labour and Law. He allowed a federation which included this particular general employees union to be registered on the general employees union promise that when the new laws came into effect they would comply with them.

The question that had been raised by the Internal Security Council over the issue of the visa for a Russian representative was the principle that the Singapore Government had on an important matter, ignored advice from the Singapore Government's own Intelligence Department. The view of the Singapore Government was that it had the right to over rule advice from the Intelligence Department where it deemed it in the public interest and where no grave security risk existed. In the case of the advice on the registration of the federation, the advice of Singapore's Intelligence Department in fact had been endorsed by the Minister for Home Affairs and non-observance of this advice was difficult to defend on principle. Therefore for reasons of security arising out of an issue of

principle in the Internal Security Council, the Singapore Government decided to rectify the mistake made in the case of the registration of the Federation. It was decided to de-register all the federations and allow them to re-register after the new Trades Union laws had come into force. The new Trades Union laws would make it incumbent on general unions to comply first with the 19 categories before they can register as federations.

Now, Sir about the visa for the Russian. The Member for Cairnhill made great play of what could or could not be discussed in the Internal Security Council. I am glad that he stood up for the right of the Singapore Government to decide what was right or wrong in matters of internal self-government. Questions of trade and immigration are matters within the competence of the Singapore Government. But because in doing so, the Singapore Government had over-ruled the views of its own intelligence branch the Internal Security Council made an issue of this.

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However the Member for Cairnhill on this Communist Trade representative wanted to make capital out of a denial made by the Minister for Culture. I did not hear him say this yesterday but it is reported in the Straits Times on page 14 that he did say it. "Then later Mr. Lee issued another statement verifying the Tunku's claim as materially correct". What happened was that the Minister for Finance

immediately after the event wrote a letter to his counterpart in the Federation setting out the facts and that letter was released to the press in Kuala Lumpur. The Minister for Culture had no intention at any time to state other than what he personally knew to be the truth that in fact there was no Russian trade delegation as such. There was only a Russian delegation to the ECAFE Conference on small industries.

I would have thought the former Chief Minister would have given up his mendacious line that the PAP was communist-dominated or communist-infiltrated. He suggested, that the PAP was keeping in their membership a number of communist sympathisers and activists. As a man who has been intimately familiar with the organs of the State, he must know how stupid and dangerous it is to make this allegation. The fact that we do not take a hysterical anti-Communist line is quite a different matter from harbouring communists and others who are insincere in their loyalty to the aims and objectives of the PAP.

How otherwise can we govern with effectiveness and firmness. It is a pity to hear this dangerous drivel emanating from one whose former position should at least have given him at least a sense of responsibility, if it had not imparted wisdom in him.

The Member for Cairnhill denies that the Communist forces had gone under cover before the last elections. Does he understand what he meant? If his denial is true all he is in fact saying is that his first two purges, one in 1956 and the other in 1957 were completely ineffective. It is a foolish statement. The fact that fringe elements who were left out of the purge and the bulk of Chinese speaking were so convinced that he was a corrupt force anti-Chinese language education and culture that they actively set out to destroy him in the last elections, does not make them Communists. Whatever the price he paid for losing the propaganda battle and the battle for the minds of the Chinese the two purges did disrupt the efficacy of the Communist open front organisers. Whether he was wise in taking on the fight openly on his own behalf when the challenge was in fact met ultimately by the British is another matter.

But I felt sad for the ex-Chief Minister. He made a half-hearted call for general elections, a gesture meant to show that he is not a spent force. For 4 years he and his labour frontiers clung on to this Assembly upon the strength of nominated members and jobs for everyone. Here is a Government determined to govern within the limits of its power and invested with the power and authority to govern and he calls for general elections! Let me add that he may find his wish fulfilled earlier than he expects if the eventuality should arise in which the Left-

wing adventurers find that they are taking on not the Singapore Government but the referee, as the member for Cairnhill calls the I.S.C.

Let me correct some obvious mistakes made in the speech of the Member for Cairnhill as reported in the Straits Times. May I mention, incidentally, that if we were to refute and deny every inaccuracy and untruth uttered by the member for Cairnhill, we would waste the time of this House to little purpose. So far as he and the opposition are concerned, the principle is not that whatever is not denied is admitted but that whatever is not admitted is denied. He said that I had told him that he was fishing in troubled waters and that I had great confidence in his colleague the Minister for National Development. Sir, I told him that he was fishing in troubled waters but did not say more. At that time the weaknesses in the Minister for National Development had become apparent.

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(II)

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH WINDING UP THE DEBATE ON
THE MOTION OF THANKS TO H.E. THE YANG DI-PERTUAN
NEGARA (CONTD)

Refutation and Exposure of Ong Eng Guan

It is a sad and painful thing to have to denounce a man who had been a colleague for many years, a person who, through one phase of the struggle for freedom, we thought shared with us a common cause. We knew he had his weaknesses. We did not realise how much power was to enlarge and accentuate his personal weaknesses to reach the breaking point. The trouble with the Member for Hong Lim is he is more a plotter and schemer than a thinker and planner. He is all right shouting slogans and working up cunning little lines on the details after broad policy has been settled by a team of political thinkers. How is he going to fight colonialism in this phase? How is he going to bring about merger? How is he going to bring about independence, for Singapore by itself or merger with the Federation?

Let me point to him some of the rather obvious absurdities and contradictions of this propaganda line - the "Lee Kuan Yew Government". Everybody is all right, including you, Mr. Speaker, Sir, whom he called a "fine gentleman"; Mr. Rajaratnam is all right; Mr. Byrne is all right; Mr. Ong Pang Boon is all right; the chairman of the Party, Dr. Toh, is all right but I am a wicked man. I forced the Assemblymen to sign false statements against him. I put everybody on my payroll in the Party so that they all have to be my time servers. The whole Cabinet, the whole central Executive Committee consists of weak, vacillating members. Is it not a little too obvious - this curry-favouring with everyone. Is it not silly to imply that they are so devoid of self-respect, that they will be pleased to be told that they are reasonable chaps but are stooges of me the Secretary-General? What supreme insult! I as Secretary-General am the evil man, the dictator with wild ambitions, determined and obviously successful in manipulating all the Central Executive and the Cabinet. Is this not a process of projection of his motives, his plotting, his thinking, his methods, which failed so miserably.

Then he switches on to another stupidity, forgetting the myth that he built up of me as a strong wild powerful dictator and says the Government is really run by expatriates Blades, Thomson and Meadows. They run me and the Government. They run the Government and the PAP. On the one hand I am the

powerful character who manipulates my colleagues with terror and bribes, on the other hand and at the same time I am a meek docile stooge to three expatriate officers, Blades, Thomson and Meadows. Does this make sense? Now, Sir, I do not pretend to be suffering from any psychiatric disorders at the moment, and I hope never will be. I am no Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde personality. Does he believe that the Dr. Toh Chin Chye whom he denounced anonymously in the name of his Hong Lim Branch Committee, for the chairman's so-called "undemocratic conduct" of the party Conference is a stooge? A research scientist with no personal political ambitions of greatness, is he a mere stooge? And the Member for Crawford, the Member for Kampong Glam and the Member for Telok Ayer? I am glad he did not say that the Member for Sembawang is a nice and reasonable chap because he had whispered to all the other PAP Malay Assemblymen that the Minister for Health was my stooge, but he has not got the guts to say so openly and in this Assembly for he knows that the Member for Sembawang will tear him to strips on this floor.

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Let us get the facts on Malayanisation. Let us investigate Thomson, Blades and Meadows, the three bogeymen. Mr. George Thomson, former Director of Information. A powerful man in the old days.

To the Member for Hong Lim he is even more powerful now. What were his duties in the last Government? In the last Government he gave political line to the

former Chief Minister and quite a number of his other ministerial colleagues for they were incapable of thinking politically for themselves. They did not have the ideological substance to give the ideological or intellectual content to their speeches. And we denounced the Ministers of the last Government for just mouthing his speeches. But that is not to say that we do not recognise his ability and usefulness to us for a particular job. We had to re-educate our civil servants into our problems so that they would be more alive and alert to the dangers and difficulties of the revolution in Asia. Was the Member for Hong Lim prepared or intellectually equipped to do the lectures and teach them? His only contribution to political thinking in all his years in the PAP has been one article in the Fourth Anniversary Souvenir, a one page piece, entitled "Since I became the first Mayor of Singapore". Is he going to educate the civil servants with his "Since I became the first Mayor" ?

Fortunately the PAP is not without leaders who can undertake the intellectual task of the ideological exposition of democratic socialism. Mr.

George Thomson is a functionary in the Political Study Centre who arranges the lectures and the discussions. The political line, the policies and programmes of the Political Study Centre were laid down by a committee under the Chairmanship of the Minister for Culture, consisting of Mr. James Puthucheary, Mr. C.V.

Devan Nair, Mr. Jek Yuen Thong, Mr. S. Woodhull and Inche Rahim Ishak.

Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and Political Secretaries personally went down to conduct discussions and lectures. The only Minister who had not gone down was the ex-Minister for National Development. He has never been invited to lecture because it would have done the political leadership harm to put up a slogan-shouter in a study centre as a serious thinker. He should have attended some of these lectures given by Devan Nair, James Puthucheary, Woodhull, Jek Yuen Thong, Rahim Ishak, and perhaps he might have acquired some ideological basis to coin some of the new slogans which he now must forge if he wants to survive politically.

Mr. Blades, the second evil man. Who does he manipulate? The Minister for Home Affairs? On the one hand I am accused, as Prime Minister, of being in complete control of the Police; on the other, I am told that I am being manipulated by Blades. The Member for Hong Lim has got to make up his mind.

Either I am strong and I manipulate, or I am a docile quiet character and I am manipulated. And what about my colleague the Minister for Home Affairs, the Member for Teluk Ayer. Is he here as a stooge of both me and Blades, or only of me or only of Blades? Has he forgotten that we strongly recommended the promotion of the most senior local officer to be promoted to Deputy Commissioner of Police, and are arranging local police officers to prepare themselves for their new and big responsibilities?

No one knows better than these officers themselves how inadequately the Colonial Government had prepared them for their responsibilities and the local officers themselves had told the Malayanisation Commission that they could not for several years yet assume the top jobs of the Police Force. The Member for Hong Lim now that he is deprived of power is interested only in bringing the house down. We are here to see that the machinery of the State functions. And we are not going to allow his smears to put us in a false position - as in the Congo Army where a Sergeant Major became a General of an army of Corporals and no Privates, since all Privates had been made Corporals.

And Mr. Meadows, that man on intelligence duties. The Member for Hong Lim himself wanted to keep to help him in his Ministry. When he found that Meadows was unwilling to be his personal stooge he sent him to the Southern Islands. When he came back from the Southern Islands one day, Meadows found the walls of his office room which had been put up on the orders of the ex-Minister for National Development knocked down and the air-conditioner removed. And this intelligence duties man reacted in a manner unbecoming of an intelligence agent. He did a human thing. He offered to resign. Then the ex-Minister for National Development again wavered and swung to the other side of the pendulum because Meadows was making a good job of his planning in the

Southern Islands. But you cannot humiliate a man one day, pat him on the back the next day and tell him to forget that the day before he had been kicked in the teeth.

Sir, I did not plan to have Meadows in my Ministry. He was to have been transferred to either the Ministry of Finance or Home Affairs. But the Member for Hong Lim started a smear campaign on Meadows, I asked for his transfer to my Ministry. One of my duties is to put up a fight against what is wrong and wicked. I allotted him the task which he was to have performed for the ex-Minister for National Development but was never asked or allowed to do - that of distributing the departments of the City Council and integrating them with the Ministries of the Government.

He alleges that all these three bogeymen, now occupy more powerful positions than before. The repetition of untruth, if it goes unchallenged and unrefuted, might, as Mr. Goebbels once said, bring about the triumph of untruth over truth. But it is our business here to confront every untruth, every stupid malicious lie and half-truth with the truth and expose those who propagate these lies.

Let us discuss these other wild allegations on Malayanisation. Mr. Owen, says the Member for Hong Lim, a local officer, was sacked from the City Council. Three expats who retired were asked to return by me. He said Mr. Estrop, a local electrical engineer, was going to be promoted for a big job by the ex-Minister for National Development but was thwarted by the wicked evil of the Prime Minister. Let me confront the Member for Hong Lim with these facts.

First, the City Council Malayanisation policy, which was introduced into the City Council by him as the Mayor on 30th June, 1958. There is a verbatim report of the Ordinary General Meeting held on that day. He proposed that of the 71 expat officers only 8 were to be Malayanised immediately, leaving 63 to be Malayanised as follows :-

5 guaranteed employment until retirement

16 until 1.1.1959 (or retirement at 55 or optional
retirement at 50)

11 until 1.1.1964 (or retirement at 55 or optional
retirement at 50)

11 until 1.1.1962 (including Scales and Embley)

Total : 63 from all departments; Electricity, Assessment,
 ----- Secretariat, Architects, Water, Analysis, Chemical, Gas, etc.

Let us now go and turn to Mr. Estrop. Mr. Estrop, a qualified Electrical Engineer, posted by Mr. Lui Boon Poh, to be the No.2 in charge of the Pasir Panjang Power Station, without having the necessary mechanical qualifications or any experience of mechanical or steam machinery - a requirement laid down for the post and by the law in the Machinery Ordinance. See factories (Persons-in-Charge) Regulations. Regulations 3 and 7. Estrop has no mechanical engineering experience nor steam experience. The danger is obvious. He is now back as Distribution Engineer, for which he is qualified.

Mr. Lui Boon Poh, who made this posting, was then Deputy Administrator (Public Utilities) in charge of the three Mechanical Trading Departments (Gas, Water, Electricity). Mr. Lui Boon Poh was educated at Batu Pahat, where he attained Standard VIII. He had previously been a salesman for Fisons Chemicals. He was appointed first as Superintendent, City Cleansing Department, and then as Deputy Administrator (Public Utilities) by Mr. Ong Eng Guan. Now in Federation having been refused re-employment by Fisons Chemicals.

Mr. Lui Boon Poh has a brother who also found favour with the former Minister. His name is Lui Boon Phor. He was appointed first Chief Development Officer, S.I.T.

Mr. Lui Boon Poh also had a friend who was salesman with him in Fisons Chemicals. Name Low Chye Chuan. As a salesman he was appointed Labour Officer and then later Superintendent Cleansing Dept., City Council, when Mr. Lui Boon Poh was promoted to Deputy Administrator, Public Utilities. His salary \$800/- p.m. Now he is back selling medicine for Fisons Chemicals.

Mr. J.I Owen - aged 27.

(a) Oct. 1950 - Oct. 1951 Audit Clerk, Rennie Lowick & Co., Singapore.

(b) March 1952 - Nov. 1954 University of Adelaide.

(c) Nov. 1954 - March. 1955 Accountant Clerk, Broken Hill

Associated Smelters, S. Australia.

(d) 4.4.56

Awarded B. Economics (Adelaide)

(e) 18.9.56 Member of Society of Accountants

(f) March 1955 - March 1957 Accountant & Auditor, Price

Waterhouse, Chartered Accountants.

(g) 29th June 1957 Joined City Council .. was then not

qualified to become an Assistant

Treasurer as he was still not

A.A.S.A. and could only be

appointed Temporary Technical

Assistant. Became A.A.S.A. 30/10/57.

(h) 1st July, 1959 appointed Efficiency Expert at \$ 1,150 per month.

(i) Appointed Acting City Treasurer 12.9.59 plus \$200 per month allowance and
Deputy Administrator 17.9.59.

Mr. Owen is now working as an Accountant in Australia. Immediately preceding his appointment as City Treasurer, Mr. Owen was No. 6 in seniority in the department - Scales, Embley, Tan Beng Lay, Lum, Tan Hoay Gie having resigned. Had only become a qualified accountant for 2 years and for these two

years he was in City Council and not even in City Council Accounts. He was No. 6 in seniority of the City Treasurer's Department. Above him were Mr. Scales, Mr. Embley, Mr. Tan Beng Lay, Mr. Lum and Mr. Tan Hoay Gie, and because of his Batu Pahatisation policy, all the officers above quickly took their provident fund benefits and left. Of those officers two were local men, Mr. Tan Beng Lay and Mr. Tan Hoay Gie, and three were expats who had been asked by the Member for Hong Lim when he was Mayor to carry on up till the 1st January 1962. I was charged with being a colonial stooge for not putting \$120 million of public expenditure per annum under the charge of Mr. Owen age 27, who became a qualified accountant 2 years ago. Mr. Owen tried to make it a political issue. We smacked him publicly in the face. He has one qualification for the ex-Minister for National Development which has not been mentioned, namely he was an Ong Eng Guan stooge. He fiddled into the Budget of the City Council for 1960 an extra \$5 million odd dollars for the use of the ex-Minister for National Development.

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As Acting City Treasurer, Mr. Owen drew up a \$5 million deficit budget despite the stringent economies which were being applied by Government. It is significant that the departments whose expenditure had been boosted were those of the City Council which had been allocated to the Ministry of National Development namely the City Engineers Department - the estimated expenditure

being \$28 million as against \$19 million in 1959 and \$18 million in 1958. The Minister for Finance appointed Mr. Hibberd to scrutinize the City Treasury dealings and it was he, a Geographer who was able to unravel the Budget and draw up a Balanced Budget in its place. Why did the ex-Minister for National Development not say frankly and truthfully that it was because Mr. Owen had an Australian wife, that he went back to Australia, that he saw a better future for his wife and his Australian family that he took them back to Australia.

If it was right according to the ex-Mayor's Malayanisation scheme to allow Mr. Scales and Mr. Embley to remain till the 1st of January 1962, then it is right to re-employ them after they have got frightened into taking their provident fund and running away from the ex-Minister for National Development, and it is even more right to invite two senior local officers, Mr. Tan Beng Lay and Mr. Tan Hoay Gie, back into the services of the City Council. Mr. Tan Beng Lay has returned. Unfortunately Mr. Tan Hoay Gie had already committed himself.

Let me read out this startling business of Batu Pahatisation. Here is a list of 38 Local Senior Officers who took their provident fund and left because they thought the ex-Minister for National Development was the boss man, the supreme authority, was going to Batu Pahatise them.

List of Local Senior Officers who left the service during period the City Council was under the charge of Mr. Ong Eng Guan.

(Note: In cases where effective dates of leaving Council's service are after 17.10.1959 the date the Prime Minister took over the supervision of the Council, this can be explained by the fact that the officers concerned tendered notices of resignation during Mr. Ong Eng Guan's stewardship.)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Designation</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
1. J.W Bennett	Chief Public Health Inspector	Resigned on 1.1.59
2. H.L Pereira	Asst. Sanitary Engineer	Resigned on 31.3.59
3. Chan Bak Hoe	Sr. Asst. Secretary	Resigned on 1.2.59
4. Wee Chew Swee	Asst. Engineer.	Resigned on 11.1.59

5. Dr. K.M Indicula	Asst. Health Officer	Resigned on
		27.12.58

6. Sng Thian Lye	Deputy Registrar	Resigned on
		9.1.59

7. Tai Kon Chin	Asst. Water Engineer	Resigned on
		1.11.58

8. J.L. Da Silva	Supt. of Abattoirs	Resigned on
		1.3.59

9. A.J. Vaz	Dy. Superintendent	Resigned on
		1.6.59

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10. Hooi Peng	Asst. Commercial	Resigned on
Cheong	Engineer	21.6.59

11. S. Harris	Asst. Labour Officer	Services
		terminated on

20.7.59

following expiry
of agreement.

12. R. Dharmarajah	Asst. District Engineer	Resigned on 13.7.59
13. A.G. Armstrong	Mechanical Inspector	Resigned on 2.6.59
14. M.R. Marcus	Asst. Secretary	Resigned on 2.6.59
15. Goh Hoon Seng	Superintendent Waste Detection	Resigned on 1.10.59
16. J. Ephraim	Superintendent, City Cleaning.	Resigned on 2.11.59
17. Wong Lock Seng	Trainee Engineer	Resigned on 20.9.59

18. Tan Beng Lay	Asst. Treasurer	Resigned on 8.10.59 (re-employed)
19. C.P. Oliveiro	Chief Technical Officer	Resigned on 13.10.59
20. S.Retnasabapathy	Financial & Office Assistant	Services terminated on 29.7.59
21. R.Rabindran	Asst. Architect.	Services terminated on 29.10.59

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22. D.E. Joshua	Assistant Superintendent	Resigned on 1.11.59
23. E. Le Mercier	Deputy Superintendent	Resigned on 1.12.59

24. D.S. Solomon	Assistant Secretary	Boarded out on 5.7.59
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25. Henry Tan Hoay Gie	Technical Assistant.	Resigned on 1.11.59
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26. Dr. S.D.S. Grewal	Temporary Assistant Health Officer	Resigned on 1.9.59
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27. Lim Soo Guan	Assistant Registrar	Resigned on 6.12.59
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28. Dr. Ong Cheng Hooi	Assistant Health Officer	Resigned on 1.12.59
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29. A.B. Coombs	Secretary	Resigned on 23.9.59
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30. C.J. Meyer	Assistant Superintendent of Transport	Resigned on 22.12.59
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31. E.B. Carlos	Chief Engineer	Resigned on 22.1.60
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32. Lim Chuan Kim	Assistant Secretary	Resigned but subsequently withdrew resignation.
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33. S.I. Rodrigues	Chief Technical Officer	Resigned on 24.11.59
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34. Chen Yew Seong	Assistant Chemist P.P.P.S	Resigned on 15.11.59
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35. J.A. Milne	Superintendent of Transport Centre	Resigned on 14.1.60
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36. Dr. A. Manoharan	Assistant Health Officer	Resigned on 3.9.59
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37. K.S. Nathan	Assistant Labour Officer	Services
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terminated on

20.6.59

38. Dr. R.S. Corbitt

Assistant Health Officer

Resigned on

15.10.59

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Here is a list of the officers that we have re-engaged.

Senior officers (both expatriate and local) who have left the

Service and who were re-employed or withdrew resignation

<u>No</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Designation</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	Malayanisation date under scheme approved <u>by ex-Mayor</u>
1	Tan Beng Lay	Asst. Treasurer, Treasurer's Dept.	Resigned w.e.f. 8.10.59 Re-appointed as Temporary Officer (C .T.) w.e.f. 30.4.60.	

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2.	M.R. Marcus	Asst. Secretary, Secretariat	Resigned w.e.f. 2.6.59 Re- appointed as Temporary Officer w.e.f. 30.7.60	
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<u>No</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Designation</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	Malayanisation date under scheme approved by <u>ex-Mayor</u>
3.	T.McLoughland	Senior Commercial Engineer, Electricity	Resigned w.e.f. 1.1.64 23.11.59 Reappointed as Temporary Consumer's Engineer (E.E.) w.e.f. 30.7.60	1.1.64
4.	Chen Chun Yen	Engineering Assistant, Engineer's Dept.	Resigned w.e.f. 6.7.59 Reappointed as Temporary Engineer w.e.f. 16.11.59	
5.	N.P. Embley	Asst. treasurer, Treasurer's Department.	Withdrew resignation.	1.1.64

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------|--|---|--------|
| 6. | S.S.Scales | City Treasurer,

Treasurer's

Department | Withdrew

resignation | 1.1.62 |
| | | | | |
| 7. | Lim Chuan Kim | Asst. Secretary,

Secretariat | Resigned w.e.f.

8.12.59 but withdrew

resignation. | |

(Note: 4 local and 3 expatriate officers)

The City Council Malayanisation provided for 63 expats to stay, but only 13 stayed plus three who withdrew resignations and returned = 16.

Forty-seven (47) out of 63 left before their Malayanisation dates. A further point is that many of the appointments made by the ex-Minister were so called temporary appointments on contract - a device to avoid reference to the Public Service Commission and circumvent the provisions of the Public Service Commission Ordinance. Also all in salaries for the chosen few, awarded with new contracts, avoids the cut in variable allowance which permanent service officers had borne.

Nearly all are his minions, unqualified Deputy Administrators, carpet baggers who were to do his bidding. It gives me no pleasure, Sir, to recount all this because it is an admission of the mistakes of a man who was a member of the Government, and therefore a man for whom we are collectively responsible, more so me as the "Primus inter pares". I take consolation that the people can know that we put it right as from the moment we discovered that the ex-Minister for National Development had gone drunken mad with power. Every one of the officers improperly appointed have been dismissed and the proper officers re-engaged.

The same sad story can be recited in the S.I.T. Within 4 months of the former Minister for National Development taking over the Singapore Improvement Trust having made himself Chairman and Manager, the staffing and organisation of the Trust had been reduced to complete paralysis, unable to handle any housing or planning project of any consequence. The Manager, Architects, Planners, Financial, Estates and other officers all left. The position was :

8 Expatriate staff resigned and 10 were retrenched.

2 Local Senior Officers resigned and 1 was retrenched.

58 Local junior officers were retrenched. Amongst them were

expatriate officers, who had been asked to stay by the
 ex-Minister for National Development
 (i.e. Messrs. Dix and Meyers)

In their place came a host of personal appointees. Some were qualified but inexperienced, some obtained enhanced salaries, 22 others who took the place of the junior retrenched officers were either unqualified or under qualified. Mr. Lui Boon Phor is a good example.

Lui Boon Phor

Appointed Chief Development Officer - 20.8.59. Salary \$ 450.-p.m.

Appointed Lettings Officer - 1.10.59 Salary \$670. - p.m.

Brother of the newly appointed Deputy Administrator (Public

Utilities) Mr. Lui Boon Poh. Unqualified being part time language

teacher and Teacher in Adult Education. School certificate only and

no experience. Was placed in charge of all lettings to S.I.T. premises.

All these mis-appointments have been rectified and the right people with the right qualifications put into the right jobs. In the process some 30 PAP members who were underqualified or not qualified and had been employed on the personal instructions of the ex-Minister for National Development had their services terminated. The Member for Hong Lim thought he could buy support in the party by giving party officials jobs which by-passed the PSC. We smacked

this nonsense down. And may I say for the benefit of the Member for Cairnhill who alleges PAP-isation that I think he should look into these facts and figures before he makes these allegations of PAP-isation. Jobs for the boys, Sir, is one form of political corruption which the Member for Hong Lim in conspiracy with an expelled Assistant Organising Secretary of the party, Mr. Tan Gak Eng, brought the party into ; - a form of political corruption designed to build up his personal empire in the Government and in the party. It failed and even those who were to have been his grateful party supporters turned against him when they discovered what the game was about.

And let me add on this Malayanisation that only a political innocent will still be shouting the same slogans of down with the white officers. They are politically already down and we can get them out any time we want to. Our problem now is not the simple one of dislodging European officers who are entrenched in this country and deciding questions of policy. The problem now is to find the men amongst our local officers who are capable and efficient and can learn quickly enough to carry out the functions of the State and maintain the efficacy and efficiency of the administration. Let me place on the table a statement of the position of Malayanisation in the Government Ministries. They are far ahead of the time table which was laid down by the Malayanisation White Paper.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF EXPATRIATE OFFICERS
WHO RETIRED DURING THE FOLLOWING PERIODS.

Department	No. of Officers on 1.1.57	No. of Officers retired in 1957	No. of Officers retired in 1958	No. of Officers retired during 1/1 - 31.5.59	No. of Officers retired during 1.6.59 to 31.12.59.	No. of Officers retired during 1.6.60 to 30.6.60.	No. of Officers remaining in service on 1.7.60.
Administrative (5)	14	nil	nil	4	5	1	4
Audit (5)	3	nil	nil	2	nil	nil	1
Judicial (3)	5	nil	2	1	1	nil	1
Public Works (10)	20	nil	7	3	6	2	2
Agriculture (4)	1	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	1
Gardens (6)	3	nil	1	nil	nil	nil	2
Veterinary (2)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Education (5)	22	1	2	-	9	6	4
Health (5)	15	1	4	2	1	1	6
Chemistry (3)	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Civil Aviation (4)	3	-	-	2	-	-	1
Marine	4	-	-	-	1	-	3
Marine Survey	6	-	1	-	1	-	4

Department	No. of Officers on 1.1.57	No. of Officers retired in 1957	No. of Officers retired in 1958	No. of Officers retired during 1/1 - 31.5.59	No. of Officers retired during 1.6.59 to 31.12.59.	No. of Officers retired during 1.1.60 to 30.6.60.	No. of Officers remaining in service on 1.7.60.
Postal (3)	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Telecoms (9)	4	-	-	-	2	-	2
Meteorological (4)	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
Customs & Excise (6)	10	-	5	-	1	3	1
Income Tax (8)	10	-	3	2	2	1	2
Statistics (4)	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Forests (3)	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Accountant- General (5)	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
Broadcasting (5)	12	1	1	1	3	1	5
Information Services (1)	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Museum & Library (5)	2	-	-	-	1	-	1
Printing (7)	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
Labour (4)	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
Social Welfare (1)	1	-	1	-	-	-	-

Department	No. of Officers on 1.1.57	No. of Officers retired in 1957	No. of Officers retired in 1958	No. of Officers retired during 1/1 - 31.5.59	No. of Officers retired during 1.6.59 to 31.12.59.	No. of Officers retired during 1.1.60 to 30.6.60.	No. of Officers remaining in service on 1.7.60.
Police (6)	29	6	6	2	7	1	7
Prisons (4)	32	3	9	3	13	2	2
Total	210	13	48	23	59	18	49

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Only fools and half-wits shout slogans after the position has altered and the slogans are no longer valid. "Malayanisation and down with expatriate officers" was a slogan which we carried and shouted to meet a situation when expatriate officers were settling the destinies of the people of Singapore. They no longer are, and no stretching of lies and half-truths can prove that they are. We are in charge as far as the internal administration is concerned, and our problem is to find as many able administrators that are loyal to the State as we can. The easiest thing in the world to do today is to shout anti-colonial slogans and thereby pretend to be a fierce anti-colonial hero. There is no risk of personal injury in denouncing people who are no longer dangerously in a position to hurt you. The British have been driven to the wall in Asia and abuse and denunciation by the Asian peoples are part of their daily bread. We denounced the British at a time when it was risky to do so. In the early 1950's we fought them and nearly brought the machinery of government to a stand-still by working in the unions and amongst the government servants. But, of course, the Member for Hong Lim was not here then. We took him into the party in 1950. He did not say a single word publicly until the Tanjong Pagar by-elections in July, 1957. There the Party trained him up as a slogan shouter to project the party's thoughts and shout the party's slogans. But he forgot that without an outfit to think out the slogans for him, slogans based on sound political thinking and analysis, it would not be long before he comes unstuck and the mass turns sour on him. Does he believe we can

be intimidated by a mass meeting. Let me tell him this: That we are a party that learnt and demonstrated how to work the mass movement and mass sentiments and it was in the PAP, that he was taught and learned how to do it. And if he thinks that we cannot expose and denounce him and fight him on the ground, in the hearts and minds of the workers, the taxi drivers, the trishaw riders, the poor and the dispossessed, then he has a sad and rude awakening coming to him.

He alleged that I, as Secretary General of the party, had issued cards to non-members to get him voted out of the party in August, 1957. He denies by implication it was the Left-Wing adventurers who had since been detained who picked up the admission cards sent to members at addresses in the unions and organised to vote him out. Has he forgotten it was people like Mr. Lim Ching Joo still under detention (brother of Mr. Lim Chin Siong), a non-party member who turned up at the PAP conference in August 1957 by picking up the admission cards of the Shop and Factory Union Members who voted and downed him. He refers to these men whom he hated and feared, as his "comrades" who are still in jail. This is what Mr. Lim Ching Joo said to me in a letter dated December 22, 1959:

"As far as I am aware, I feel that you have greatly misunderstood me over a certain matter. And it is not unlikely that you are still in that

mood even today. I refer to the incident (the PAP Central Committee election crisis) which occurred in August 1957. You, too, are aware that it was rather unfortunate for me to be involved in the matter and that the attitude I then maintained was no different from what was adopted by those who disputed against you. And it was because of these people and their refusal to budge in their stand that the issue became worse. Now that I have pondered over the matter and the relevant facts, I am beginning to feel that those people were as wrong as they were harmful in the attitude they adopted. No one can deny that the August 1957 incident was virtually a battle for power, sufficiently indicating that the leftist adventurers involved were both childish and unscrupulous in their acts. And I feel penitent about all the wrongs I committed while involved in the incident. However, there is one point I must explain to you: that I was involved in the incident should by no means be interpreted as meaning that I was myself politically ambitious. I was of course somewhat opposed to the PAP because of its political platform, but other than that I had not the political maturity to remain firm in my stand. As a result, sentimental circumstances got the better of me."

Has he forgotten that it was then that we learnt our lesson first by that party cards with photographs were essential, and secondly not to allow people to be

members of the party just by filling up an application form and the payment of \$4 enabling them to attend the party conference to decide on policy and discipline of the party. Did he not agree with the Central Executive Committee in introducing amendments to the party constitution in 1958 to ensure that henceforth only cadre members, tried and found loyal to the party were to be entrusted with the control of the party policy and the execution of party discipline? Is it not because he lost out in spite of trying to buy party members over by giving them jobs in his Ministry, that he wanted to go back to the 1954 revolutionary spirit so that he can get his friends to pay \$4 to go to the conference and vote for him.

We obtained the release of all those men intimately connected with the Party leadership immediately before we took office. The others were mostly not our comrades. But, because they were detained at the same time as our comrades, on principle as a matter of honour, we had agreed to press for their release. He said that he had made his stand clear in the Internal Security Council on the 28th August, 1959 and after that he was not allowed to speak. Who did not allow him to speak in the Internal Security Council? He who proclaims himself a fierce anti-colonialist was intimidated from saying his mind by whom? Were there people with guns surrounding him? Was he so frightened in the Internal Security Council that he quietly acquiesced? Were there guns at the

meeting at which the statement entitled "Security and Communist Challenge" read by Dr. Toh Chin Chye in this Assembly in October 1959 was discussed?

He is not scared of the British any more because the British will no longer lock up noisy but harmless slogan-shouters like him. But he knows that the Left-Wing adventurers are past masters in the art of smearing and he was intimidated by his past experience of them. Let me tell him that it requires courage today to stand up to the Left-wing adventurers just as courage was required when we opposed the British at the height of their power. Why not admit that he hates the Communist Left-Wing Adventurers for what they have done to him in August 1957, that he wanted to fix them but lacks red blood corpuscles. Now he hopes to solicit their support.

The Member for Hong Lim alleges that I as the Secretary-General forced every member of the Assembly to sign the false statements. They are all here. He knows that he has been exposed as an unprincipled petty schemer and a plotter.

August 11, 1960.

PLEASE CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH WINDING UP THE DEBATE ON
THE MOTION OF THANKS TO H.E THE YANG DI-PERTUAN
NEGARA (CONTD.)

III - Ideological Battle and Political Realism

We are not concerned with the Member for Hong Lim because he lacks an organisation and political principles. But it is different with the left-wing adventurers, some of whom are fanatical in their misguided beliefs, and have a reckless disregard for not only their own lives and for the lives and property of their fellow countrymen and an equal disregard for hard facts. They are the people that we must counter. And in full knowledge of the extent of their cadre strength on the ground, we tell them that we will join issue with them every time they take up a stand which is against of the people and the PAP.

The brazen opportunism which these left-wing adventurers attempted in the Ong Eng Guan affair, has decided us more than anything else to join issue with them now and forthwith. Left-wing adventurers and the M.C.P have made many mistakes in the past to their great loss. If they misjudge our resolve or

miscalculate our strength they may yet add another sad episode to the blunders of the past.

A big mistake which their left-wing adventurers are committing in Singapore is that they think they can use Singapore as a base, a Yenan, from which to liberate the rest of Malaya. Here in a predominantly Chinese state they are going to shout anti-colonial slogans to bring the situation to the boil.

As the top leaders of the MCP know independence for Singapore can only come with merger, then the arguments in the PAP analysis "The New Phase after Merdeka" published in November, 1958 stands, that the task is not to build up tension and strife, but to lay the foundations for merger. For independence is no longer the simple business of fighting the British.

All these attempts to try and swing the political line back to the fluid, confused, uncertain position of the 1955 elections can never succeed for these left-wing adventurers cannot find the arguments to counter the logic and the realism upon which our analysis is founded.

My colleagues have drawn my attention to the fact that reading just the English Press, one gets the impression that a serious urgency has already arisen.

By using sensational banner headlines it may have created a completely false picture of the true position so that even the Member for Farrer Park believes that Rome is burning. Rome is not burning. The smouldering fires of the old revolution which started in 1948 and which was never quite put out are smouldering and the fire brigades are standing by. What is happening is not immediately dangerous but if left unchecked would create a dangerous situation by 1962.

Let me read what five persons closely connected with the party leadership, who were in prison for 2 1/2 years from 1956 to 1959, had to say on this party analysis immediately after they came out from prison on the 4th of June, 1959. They are Mr. S. Woodhull, Mr. Fong See Suan, Mr. Lim Chin Siong, Mr. C.V. Devan Nair and Mr. Chan Chiaw Thor, and they said after a long and sober period of political reflection:

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"In most other countries, socialist programmes rest on an already given historical foundation of an unitary national consciousness and solidarity.

"We have to struggle not only for socialism , but for the nationalist basis of socialism.

"The real struggle for socialism in Malaya can only begin when our people, Malays, Chinese and Indians are able to transcend the communal cultural and linguistic barriers and loyalties which at present divide them, and embrace a common Malayan loyalty and cultivate a common national consciousness.

"Once the problem of linguistic and cultural unity is on the way to being resolved, fears and suspicions will fade away. We must face the facts. So long as the fight was against British colonialism the differences between the peoples of Malaya were muted and dulled in the desire to achieve the common goal of freedom by common effort. Now that this freedom has been won in the Federation all the differences come back into their own. They can and must be resolved. And we in Singapore can set the way to the solution of these important differences in language and culture. That is what we can and must do in this next phase of our struggle for freedom, the struggle for merger.

"It was not the might of British arms which defeated the armed revolt led by the MCP, but the failure of the MCP to establish itself as a

nationally based movement. And thereby hangs a lesson which Malayan socialists will ignore at their own peril.

"But they i.e. genuine socialists will oppose, positively and on the basis of principle, all those who attempt to negate and destroy either the ends or the means of democratic socialism in Malaya.

"With the achievement of political independence by the Federation of Malaya, a new phase has begun. And the most important task of socialists in this new phase is to achieve complete identification with the ideal of a united Malayan nation, and to struggle by peaceful, democratic and constitutional means for the enduring objective of an united, independent, democratic, non-Communist and socialist Malaya."

This, Mr. Speaker, Sir, was the declaration of political faith and principles in complete accord with the policies and programmes of the PAP which they made when they were released from detention at the behest of the PAP. On this political stand we appointed four of them as Political Secretaries. Needless to say that if any deviation is made from this stand, then the working basis is gone. We are not going to harbour those who are not sincerely with us.

One of them, Mr. Devan Nair, has resigned his position. My colleagues and I are sure that he is completely sincere to the aims and objectives of the PAP and has not deviated from this stand. He had personal reasons for his decision.

Post-mortems are valuable insofar as we can draw the lessons from it. Does the former Chief Minister know he was out-manoeuvred and out-propagandaed by the Communists in 1956. He held out himself as the defender of the democratic system in Singapore, and in defence of democracy he had to purge the Chinese High School, Chung Cheng High School. But the fatal thing was the interpretation in the minds of the Chinese that he was purging not a few Communist students in the high schools, but was purging Chinese culture, language and civilisation. And, of course, the accompanying working up of popular sentiment led by CP activists broke up in riots. But when rioting took place, it was not the ex-Chief Minister who restored law and order. It was the supreme authority and the ultimate source of power, namely the British Army, which quashed the riots and re-established order. And in the minds of the people during those few days of rioting, the Chief Minister, far from being the defender of democracy, acted as a tool of the British whose General took over command of the operations room, and whose troops were out on every bridge and important inter-section in town. Hence he lost out in the hearts and minds of the Chinese population.

The question which the left-wing adventurers will find difficult to answer when attacking the present Government is why should members of the PAP leadership turn to stooges? Nobody, not even in a moment of madness, can accuse us of being corrupt. The \$3,050 that I get for my duties is what I could earn in for a long working week-end in the Federation or in Borneo. Therefore what is the motive for our being stooges? Let me give them the answer to the riddle. We are stooges to our convictions, our belief that our salvation in Malaya depends upon the creation of a united people, based on one common language and one common loyalty despite its divergent races, and upon the creation of a non-Communist socialist society. I am not afraid to stand here or anywhere else to say that this is what I and my colleagues stand for.

The Member for Cairnhill alleged yesterday that the PAP was playing a double game - one game with the British and one game with the Communists. The Member for Tanglin said that what the PAP intends to do is dishonourable, for if there is a collision of these two opposing contending forces the PAP would duck. The Member for Cairnhill, in one of his brighter moments of pun and clowning, said that when these two forces clash the PAP might well turn into a dead duck.

It is because he never saw the inter-play of different contending forces fighting for supremacy that he died politically, not in 1959 when the elections took place, but in October 1956 when the stooge image was built up in the minds of the people. He saw himself on one side of the ring fighting for democracy, and on the other side the Communists fighting for Communism. He still believes that that was the correct position and that we the PAP are in the same position in his place, i.e. that either we fight for democracy against the Communist or that we are double dealers and double crossers. He does not understand that there are three main contending forces in a three-cornered fight. Does he not remember that the Tunku fought the Communists and took an anti-Communist line only after he was sure that he was given Merdeka. Once Merdeka was obtained and the British forces were out of the political ring, then it became a straight fight between the Tunku on behalf of those who want the democratic system and the MCP on behalf of the Communists.

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But that is not the position in Singapore. We are not an independent state and are not likely ever to be one until we get merger. And there are still three forces contending in the political arena. I was intrigued by the Member for Cairnhill when he referred to the role of the ISC. He alleged that the ISC is there to referee the game between the Communists and the Singapore Government, and that they would only exert their authority in two situations - either if the

Government turns out to be weak and vacillating or if it refuses to discharge its responsibility to protect the interest of the people. Let me assure him that, whether he is propounding this line wittingly or otherwise, as a piece of political analysis, it is false. If we are to compare the ISC with a referee, let me say that is more the kind of referee that we find in all-in wrestling matches where far from being just a referee between two contestants, frequently the referee goes on the floor to beat up one of the two contestants.

Let us never forget that ultimate power rests not in the legal forms of sections 65 and 66 of the Constitution Order in Council but on the reality of the forces whose will can prevail.

Any challenge to ultimate authority if made will, in fact, not be made to the Singapore Government whose force is not the supreme one in Singapore, but to the British. And therefore to go and stand in front of the British armed forces when a collision takes place with the forces of violent revolution on the other side is an act of fool-hardiness.

But that is not to say that the Singapore Government under its constitution intends to abdicate and abjure its authority under the constitution. We accept our responsibility within the constitutional frame-work and where a challenge to our

authority is made within the constitutional frame-work, it is the business and the intention of the Singapore Government to assert its constitutional authority.

But it is idle to believe that there may not again be a challenge by unconstitutional to violent methods to overawe and overthrow authority. The answer to these methods of violent revolution can only be military force.

The three cornered fight still continues in Singapore. And the business of the non-Communist Socialist is to make use of the time between now and ultimate merger and independence in consolidating the democratic system the strength of the democratic non-CP forces and to see that we are not used as someone else's pawns.

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