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SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. LEE KUAN YEW, WINDING UP THE DEBATE ON THE MOTION OF THANKS TO H.E.THE YANG DI-PERTUAN NEGARA, IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON AUGUST 10, 1960.

Mr. Speaker, Sir. Yesterday, the Member for Cairnhill wanted to tell us how we should govern. Today the Member for Farrer Park was telling us how we should run the PAP as a party. Sir, all this coming from the ex-Chief Minister who failed dismally in the last Assembly to govern with the consent and support of the majority of the people, and from the Member for Farrer Park who never got a political party going. If they knew better than us and if they had the ability to do better than us, they would have been here on the Government benches and not we.

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I said some time before the elections that we do not pretend that we could solve all the problems that were facing us for even then it was quite clear what the state of the game was and what any government that assumes power had to face. But I did say then, and if it is of any consolation to my colleagues and myself, there are very few who would have done better than us. It has not been a

period of inactivity. It has been an intense period of change. Lack of firmness and lack of skill would have meant that the lid would have blown off. It was a change of the social order because once the base upon which power was mounted was altered then we must accept the reflection of the basic power position to find its reactions in all echelons of our society. It was a change in which the English-educated had to take a few knocks. The Chinese-educated gained admission into the scheme of things, and I hope will continue to come in and work the democratic system. It is a change in which a lot of bitterness and hostility of the dispossessed against those who had it good, was well contained.

The problem of the revolution in Malaya was that power was handed over to the nationalist groups both here and in the Federation in a contained and controlled exercise before the nationalist groups had developed sufficient sinews to grab power from the colonial authority. The problem that we face is the catalyst effect of the Communist revolution in 1948 which brought a whole chain of events to come to pass at a speed which the Indians and Ceylonese did not have to face and which has saddled us with some real long term problems of how not only to take over the machinery of the state from the colonial authority but man it with sufficient effectiveness at all strategic points to be able to withstand the Communist contender for ultimate power.

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In a curious way the Member for Hong Lim and his two associates have made this Assembly a more lively and interesting place. For the first time since the last elections, people whom we have called left-wing adventurers, the definition of which I gave when I moved the motion on August 3, have found a proxy in this chamber, to shout their slogans and espouse their cause from time to time. That is not to say that the Member for Hong Lim and his two associates are left-wing adventurers. Very far from it. For we know that some of these left-wing adventurers, whatever our fundamental and abiding differences with them, have sincerity of their political beliefs, albeit misguided, have dedication, are prepared to sacrifice personal interest for their long-term objectives.

It is the tragedy of the MCP that they made so many fundamental mistakes in Malaya - first in starting the armed revolution in 1948, next in not gracefully ending it on or before August 31, 1957, when the Federation got its political independence, and third in still refusing to recognise right now that national solidarity between the various races and their cultures in this country must come before any Socialist state can be established. All these factors have driven them into the wilderness out of the constitutional arena to a point where their party and their followers, these left-wing adventurers, are so completely excluded from the constitutional arena that they can only make themselves heard through proxies. Their challenge is the abiding challenge not only to our country

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but to the whole of the uncommitted regions of South-East Asia, the Middle East and now Africa. What is important is not the formal Oppositions in the Legislative Assembly but the silent underground, and on-the-ground resistance to the policies of the Government - the vicious smear and distortion, to turn the people sour against the Government. And to the extent that they can get some of their views heard in this chamber via proxies who are prepared to lend their services in return for expected support, it is useful to get their issues thoroughly debated and put into perspective. For what is interesting is that the intelligent Communist at the top of the MCP leadership know full well the folly and futility of the orthodox line of class struggle and revolution in a multi-racial, multi-cultural society like Malaya.

From the Communist point of view, the anti-colonialist line, the united front of all progressive forces to fight colonialism, feudalism, imperialism, capitalism in all its manifestation and all its forms was the best way to establish the widest possible support for their cause and right up to August 31, 1957, they came near to succeeding. But they knew that the independence of the Federation on August 31, 1957, had radically changed the complexion of all anti-colonial slogans. Before that to fight against the established constituted authority of the British imperialist colonialists was to accord with the slogan 'all classes unite to fight against the British colonialist imperialists'. After Merdeka in the

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Federation, he who fights the established state, who fights the independent nation of the Federation of Malaya and its Government becomes a rebel and an enemy of the people. The position in Singapore is not quite the same. And it is this curious subtle distinction between a completely independent Federation and a semi-independent Singapore which I think has obscured the view of many who in their desire to reduce the complex truth to simple lies are egging and inciting the PAP Government to take a plain simple straight forward anti-Communist Party line.

I am gratified that my statements from time to time have stirred and inspired the Member for Hong Lim and given him sustenance for his political slogans. He has quoted me at very great length my speeches in the years 1954, 1955, 1956, and in every one of them there is a fierce consistency in the anti-colonial line, unite and fight the common enemy - the British. He did not quote me on the meaning and significance of the anti-colonial struggle after independence in the Federation of Malaya. We as the Central Executive Committee of the PAP discussed, analysed and anticipated the radical change in the power position after independence. Let me read out for his benefit and for the Member for Tanglin what I said on behalf of the party on 21st August, 1957 - Hansard:

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"I think we would be deceiving ourselves if we do not realise the deep significance of the change that will take place after 31st August. Before 31st August, every policeman, every Home Guard Officer, every member of the Federation Regiment who is shot in the armed revolution is shot as a running-dog, or it can be said he was a running-dog of the British. But after the 31st August -- and this I think is in the mind of everybody --- every soldier, every Home Guard shot, is a shot against a guardian of the newly-found freedom of the people of Malaya, and therefore the $64,000 question: What is the Malayan Communist Party going to do? If it goes on shooting, then the consequences will be catastrophic for them and the country.

This is a new phase and if there are leaders who have the interests of other than just their parties at heart, we should be able to make the democratic system work, for this simple reason if nothing else, that the people of Malaya have not lost faith in the democratic system. It is the democratic system -- or the democratic constitutional parties taking advantage of the overall three-cornered fight in Malaya -- that brought freedom to Malaya. That is the first fact that must be acknowledged. Secondly, the people of Malaya are not at the moment in favour of any armed totalitarian revolt.

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> And we say this: Whoever does not declare where he stands after 31st August is a fool. Up to 31st August in the Federation, the question is : Do we have an independent Malaya? After 31st the question is : What kind of independent Malaya do we make of it? And we say categorically -- I say it for myself and for my Party -- we believe in an independent, democratic, non-Communist Malaya."

Has he forgotten that he signed a pledge on the 13th of May, 1959 in the midst of the elections in which he said:

> "I, Ong Eng Guan of No. 3B Fair Drive, off Haig Road, Singapore, hereby acknowledge that I have read and understood the 4th Anniversary Celebration Souvenir issue of the "PETIR" the organ of the People's Action Party published on the 22nd November, 1958 and the Five Year Plan of the P.A.P. announced at the Special Party Congress of Saturday, 25th April, 1959 and I declare that I am in full agreement with the People's Action Party policy as set out therein."

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These are the two documents that formed the political basis of this phase of our struggle. He has read and understood the 4th Anniversary Souvenir of the PAP and he agreed with it and with the 5-Year programme. The 4th Anniversary Souvenir contained the basic thinking and analysis of the political situation in an article entitled "The Phase after Merdeka". This article issued by the Central

Executive Committee of the Party of which he was a member, firmly and clearly enunciated our stand on the new phase after Merdeka - our tasks and policy.

"It was four years on November 21, 1954, that we published the manifesto setting out the aims and objectives of the People's Action Party. They have been four eventful years. The course of history of Malaya changed in this period. Three years after 1954, the Federation of Malaya became an independent nation - on 31st August, 1957, the artificial division between Singapore and the Federation has been accentuated and has hardened. Singapore is not part of the independent nation and cannot become independent by itself. Next year it will become only internally self-governing. The time has now come to take stock of our position and to restate our aims and objectives.

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The creation of an independent, democratic, non-Communist Socialist Malaya (Federation plus Singapore) is a task which will occupy our whole life time. They are enduring objectives for which, as socialists seeking a just system of organising society, we must always strive. But our immediate tasks have changed not so much in objectives as in emphasis.

Four years ago, we were preoccupied with fighting for freedom. Colonialism in its crudest and most direct form chafed and exasperated us. The country was run by an overlordship of British officials, led by Governors, High Commissioners and Generals. A vast army of British troops and foreign mercenaries held the opposition down. So our manifesto emphasized the need for freedom from foreign domination. The New Phase since Merdeka.

Now the circumstances are different. The Federation has been politically independent for more than a year. True a good number of British officials are still working in the Federation. But now in the Federation they are no longer the arbiters of policy they used to be. Elected ministers have taken over the direction and control of our destinies in the Federation. It is up to them to complete the independence they won on 31st August 1957, to make political independence more than just a shouting of "Merdeka", and to translate the power they have acquired on the people's behalf, into homes, schools, hospitals, jobs and a decent life.

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This is even more true now than four years ago. For to achieve freedom in our island we must achieve merger. Singapore by itself,

an island of 224 square miles with a population of 1.5 million, living mainly on its trade with the Federation and Indonesia cannot hope for anything more than the status of Hongkong or Taiwan. And just as four years ago, we passionately want Merdeka. Then the British obstructed us. They ruled the Federation and Singapore. They divided us. Now the Alliance led by UMNO rules the Federation and they thwart our hopes of merger and Merdeka.

And so the time has come for a reappraisal of the situation and a re-statement of our tasks in the immediate future.

The present Alliance Government is anti-merger for different reasons. The Alliance leaders have put out different reasons at different times, but we can summarise them into two: First, Singapore has about one million Chinese (about 70 percent of Singapore's population or 18 percent of the Federation population). The inclusion of this one million into the Federation will upset the racial balance of power in the Federation. Second, Singapore has too many "leftists" who are supported by the one million Chinese in Singapore. The Alliance leaders are not very clear in their distinction between Communists and Socialists. They believe all "leftists" may be Communists of varying degrees.

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We must allay these fears and create the condition for merger. This is our immediate task. To achieve freedom it is no longer just a simple question of fighting the British. We must also resolve the two fears which make the Malay majority in the Federation not want the Chinese majority in Singapore.

It is only among the Chinese of recent immigrant origin that Communism has found its disciples. But if Communism is ever to succeed in Malaya it must be through all races including the Malays and not through the Chinese alone. The more Communists are Chinese, the more the Malays will be against Communism fearing not only Communism but also Chinese domination. This is a dilemma which the Communist cannot resolve in Malaya. They can only win if their army can win. But their army cannot win because of the superior forces of the Federation Government backed by the British Army.

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If Malaya wants to create a socialist society without inter-racial strife, it can only be through the more tolerant and humane road of Democratic Socialism. Because socialists believe in revolution by

consent, not revolution by violence, they are provided in Malaya with the best conditions for success. The less uncompromising method of persuasion through the democratic system ensures that social changes are not forced against emotional and violent resistance of the people.

Malays are not anti-Socialist. The majority of them are poor peasants and they desire a more just society. Islam is not anti-Socialist because Socialism does not, like Communism, take on the role of a rival religion."

(PETIR 4th Anniversary Celebration Souvenir

1958, pages 2,3,5)

Does he allege that the party has departed from this? Has he not in contact of political opportunism decided to abandon this stand and go back to the out of date, hysterical battle cry 'down with imperialism, up with Malayanisation' 'the PAP has lost its revolutionary fervour of 1954'? Can he quote one single instance in which we had departed from this statement of basic political beliefs in the 4th Anniversary Souvenir or any act of Government where we have departed from our 5-year plan? He shouts these meaningless slogans 'unite all classes without barriers of language or race.' Did he not believe in what he signed? He talks about the deadlock in the Nantah issue, trying to stir up trouble on the question of

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language. Has he not read the statement of policy on education in the 4th Anniversary souvenir number entitled 'The National Approach to problems of Education Policy' written by a founder member of the PAP who was at the time of the publication of that article in prison?

> "The people of Singapore strongly desire a political merger with the Federation of Malaya. An important pre-condition for such a merger is that our own education policy in Singapore should approximate as closely as possible, in essentials, with that of the Federation of Malaya. We cannot expect the people of the Federation to show any enthusiasm for a merger with Singapore if our education policy is based on principles which are opposed to those which obtain in the Federation.
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> The treatment of the national language in Singapore is a case in point. The Singapore Government's White Paper on Education (No. Cmd. 15 of 1956) does not manifest any aspiration towards a unified national education system based on the acceptance of Malay as the national language. Unlike the practice in the Federation, the Malay language is not taught as a compulsory second language in Colony schools. Malay is only treated as an optional subject in schools in Singapore. Even as an optional subject facilities for its teaching are

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woefully inadequate. These are unpardonable omissions in the education policy of a territory which claims to desire a political merger with the Federation and they are omissions which ought to be urgently rectified. Further, it is of vital importance to the success of our aspirations, that the whole education policy of Singapore be reviewed with a view to bringing it into line, on all matters of principle, with the education policy of the Federation of Malaya.

We have discussed briefly some of the essentials of a national approach to education policy, what it means, and the responsibilities and obligations it imposes on all those who sincerely desire a united Malayan nation.

If Malaya is to survive as a nation, and if our people are to achieve social, political, economic and cultural advancement in the modern world, the most essential pre-requisite is to abolish the communal divisions, antagonisms, rivalries and distrusts which threaten the unity of our country. This can only be done by working devotedly for a united Malayan nation based on a united national consciousness and a common loyalty to Malaya. The instrument to achieve this aim is a truly national education policy.

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> The P.A.P's stand point is clear and unequivocal. We have neither time for nor patience with narrow-minded and short-sighted communalist approaches to problems of education policy. That way lies national anarchy and ultimate national suicide. We stand for a united Malayan nation and national education policy. That way lies unity, peace and progress."
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> (PETIR 4th Anniversary Celebration Souvenir
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> 1958, pages 23 and 24)

We were treated yesterday to gratuitous lesson by the former Chief Minister on how to fight Communism and defend democracy in Singapore. May I congratulate him, now that he has lost the services of the ghost writers in the Government on being able to find some new ghost writers, for those parts of his speech about the Internal Security Council and how to fight the Communists.

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Those parts of the speech came from type-written scripts and had a flow of language which is not in harmony with the informal note on which the Chief Minister pitches his own speeches - usually off the cuff.

It is important that we answer the Member for Cairnhill and his political mentors who inspired this simple anti-Communist line. We are obliged to him if

nothing else, for providing the contrast in the attitudes and approach between the positive non-Communist Socialist and the sterile anti-Communist. He gave his game away when he said with disapproval that "it was an open secret that the PAP was pursuing a policy of trying to win over Communist sympathisers and activists to the way of democracy". He obviously does not believe in this. He, when he was the Chief Minister of the last Government, believed not in the positive winning over of the Communist sympathisers and supporters to the way of democracy but in the negative crushing them. And of all the people who have preferred advice on how to govern the country and develop the democratic system there is none who is less qualified to give advice than the former Chief Minister.

He had proved conclusively, in the Singapore position of semi-dependence for the years 1956 to 1959, that his negative policy was disastrous. All that he has to show of his political movement which never got started is the survival of a few chance individuals like Members for Tanglin, Mountbatten, Farrer Park and Joo Chiat. He said democracy was the anti-thesis of Communism, and insinuated that the man who calls himself a non-Communist democrat is contradicting himself. According to his definition, to be a democrat person should first be anti-Communist. Sir, he wound up by recommending us his line and with promises of support if we should do so. I have stated in the opening, that it is the business of

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each side in the struggle to pull us to their side, and here is an example of a local representative of the discredited reactionary ranks trying to get us to make common cause with them on a sterile anti-Communist stand.

I would say we are flexible when we define non-Communist, anti-Communist and Communist. We say non-Communists are people who want to seek industrial peace, industrial expansion, prosperity and progress, and create pre-conditions for a merger with the Federation. Others are enemies who want strikes, chaos, unemployment and the irreconciliable struggle that lead to perdition.

Let me assure the Member for Cairnhill that we have our own battles to fight, for our own cause, more worthy and more likely to succeed than his own sterile and negative approach. The Communists have not found us negative and passive victims in either the ideological argument or the organisational battle for power. But we shall fight them on issues of our own making and at a time of our own choosing.

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One thing we have achieved more than any other political party since 1948. We have won over the masses of people who might otherwise be sympathisers or supporters of the Communist cause, by our positive approach -

the non-Communist democratic socialist approach. As long as we keep on doing so and succeed in doing it, we shall remain a virile and vigorous force, and a movement to be reckoned with in the Malayan political situation.

The world ideological struggle is ceaseless and un-relenting and every day million of words are poured out of radio stations and newspapers all over the world. No one political leader's pronouncement on this subject can do more than to add its little argument in deciding the thinking of the people of Malaya on this ideological conflict. And the Overseas Chinese, not just in Malaya, are fully aware of the tremendous strides in industrialisation and effective administrative organisation that have been made by the Communist Government in China. And as far as the ideological battle is concerned, it is the example of Communist China - the example of rapid progress and organisation and efficiency - and not the dismal failures of the MCP which has sustained the Communist in getting recruits into their oft-depleted ranks in Malaya.

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The business of any political party that sincerely believes in the democratic system is to win over the mass of the Chinese and the other people in Malaya away from Communism to the democratic system. In Malaya we would be be stupid if we fail to recognise that the MCP has been working in the schools, talent-scouting and recruiting a whole host of intelligent, honest and sincere

young men and women to their ranks. It is because of this negative approach that the Member for Cairnhill has never got a political party, let alone a movement to tick. All that he has got to show in the SPA is the occasional SPA Newsletter, himself and his four other colleagues, sorry now only three, one having through sheer inertia and inactivity brought dis-repute upon himself and the S.P.A.

AUGUST 10, 1960. (Time issued 0005 hours)

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