TRANSCRIPT OF THE BROADCAST VERSION OF A TALK BY THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE CIVIL SERVANTS AT THE POLITICAL CENTRE ON THE 14TH OF JUNE, 1962.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Tonight, I hope to informally give you some of my impressions in the course of my journey and draw as far as I can the moral for us.

One of the most important lessons I think we have to learn, and learn very quickly, is that when people merge to independence they don't necessarily emerge from decadence to progress. It often happens that things get worse and there is no doubt about it. That is you allow your social organisations to sag it will take an awful long time to uphold the thing together again to make sense. And it is easy for it to sag. The tragedy about the one-man-one-vote system is that it is often easier to raise the bid not knowing or, even worse, knowing full well that you will never be able to fulfil your promises. And the highest bidder usually wins. In all new countries, the electorate is inexperienced, unsophisticated, he'll vote for the chap who says, "Well I give it to you. I will open up this street for hawkers and I will let you have the run of the place; I promise you the moon, the sun, stars and if there were some reserves left behind

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from before, well, you can exhaust it. They are invisible. People don't see it. And you can run through these things very quickly.

You see, one-man-one-vote on the basis of the Western parliamentary democratic system, where you elect your representative and they go into the Chambers and they decide whether to give the majority vote to a person and his Cabinet. That's workable within certain limitations. You have such things as fixed attitudes. Of what is right and what is wrong. Well, your population automatically responds to certain basic stimuli but you let a free-for-all take place, and in every one of the newly emergent countries they face trouble immediately after independence is won. That is one of the problems of an emergent society.

Authority has got to be exercised. And when authority is not backed by position, prestige or usage then it has to defend actively against challenge. But let me explain this. I went to India, that is a different composition. Authority there is not challenged. Mr. Nehru is there. He is there and has been there almost as long as the Himalayas. Nobody doubts that he is going to be there as long as he lives. And that immediately produces a stiffening effect on the pool of the population, on the civil service, on the administration, the people. There is the old boy he is going to be there, never mind what all the shouting is going on,

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everybody knows he is the man to trust. And you know the trade union chaps who met Devan Nair who went out and met them. They said, yes, that's right. We are Communists but when it comes to voting, we vote for the Congress Party. And it is true. He was talking to what they call serving boys -- Punkawallah -- gentlemen with red cap and so on, who brings you a glass of syrup water, we asked him what union you belonged to, he said, his union is Communist but, of course, when it comes to election, he votes Congress. They are not to be trusted, these Communists, they will do something foolish. And that is because the leadership is traditional. I mean they have got used to him. He, Ghandhi, were big names in India. For 50 years they fought and authority is exercised without challenge. In Ghana that was not the case. Nkrumah came in with a bang, and Nkrumah's opponents thought that they could come in with a bang. So they tried, and he decided that he was not going to have it, he smashed them down. But he is releasing some of them. But I think that is one of the things that we have to realise very early in this business of ... He who exercises authority has got to exercise it with firmness, competence and fairness, and what is most important, with a degree of continuity. The expectation of continuance of policy. And that is where the Federation of Malaya has succeeded. It is not the Tengku's great policy of charm which he has in abundance; but the fact that he has left an impression that he is there to stay and the fact that he has left the impression helps the whole position. You see people expect the state affairs to

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develop, change gradually, progress, then they make their calculations accordingly. So that is what is happening in India. But when they don't, one day Tweedledum, next day Tweedledee, one day Humpty Dumpty, next day John Plump. Everybody has a go -- pandemonium. And that is what we must never allow -- I don't know -- if you listen to the Radio Forum we recorded on Tuesday -- I was away with my constituents. But to think that the first Chief Minister of Singapore was mere raving lunatic. It is a tragedy. And that is, that underlines vividly, the easy failure of the democratic system. And it is my business whilst I am in authority to make sure that doesn't happen. And it is your business to help me to make sure that doesn't happen at all.

My impression of India is this. That it's big, it's making progress, whilst it's going to make progress, there is some tremendous big question marks. Basically, it is a stable society, in the sense that it is not a society that is suddenly going to turn all the past overboard. And this is not the first time I visited India.

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I was last there in 1959, and spent about a fortnight there. And there are changes, more buildings, more farming. The Communist Party has made some headway in Calcutta, but the people have got fixed attitudes. You know, they don't discard centuries of tradition overnight. And as I have said about the Punkawallah, he has decided whom he can trust to govern him and whom he can't trust to govern him. He will vote to his Communist union to make a row to

get him more pay but when it comes to running the country, he is going to vote for somebody whom he knows for a long time as the man to be trusted. The difficulty underlying the whole thing is this. First, what happens if that man disappears? There's no logical successor. And that is the problem of many of the other countries which are at present stable. What happens if Nehru goes? What happens if some of the military dictatorships, like Ayub Khan, Ne Win, Nasser, military dictatorships. But if he goes what happens? Does the Lieutenant-General step into the General's place and make sense out of it? I mean, Ne Win once was given a chance to run Burma and he made sense out of it. There is no doubt about it. When he took over '57, '58 he whipped the place into shape. I mean, piles of rubbish on the road, everybody was building right on the road. That could easily happen in Singapore. You can outdo each other in popularity, you see. The easy way out. Build an attap hut over the road? Say yes, why not? So next chap is asking why not in the road? Say yes, carry on. I will supply you with water also. So that's the end of it. And the General came in and smashed it down. He was not interested in things popular, he was interested in making sense. He ordered the troops out, cleaned up the streets, knocked the houses down, made new roads, where new roads had been planned. But when he came in this second time, there was no resistance for two reasons. One, he had proved himself the last time, and secondly, as the Opposition leaders told me, he was part of the leadership of the original revolution. And so he was successful. And

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I say he is there to stay. I may be wrong, but my feeling is he is going to be there for a long time, just like Ayub Khan. Just like Nasser, and the make sense, and Nasser makes sense. Young Colonel. And I had with me an Englishman, who was in Egypt during the war years. And his recollection of the Egyptians were not something you can't err -- can't say on objection, you know, because he'd probably get arrested. He says they were dirty, selfish, ignorant, thieving lot of so-and-sos. And they probably were. No self-respect, for this English journalist who was accompanying me, he said to me all these things. But we went there and we found a different place. It was bubbling with confidence. A transformation had taken place. I don't know how long it will last whether we'll see a different situation. But there is not the slightest doubt that the Government in authority is in authority. It is making a sincere, honest and dedicated attempt of transforming the country, brooks no nonsense from anybody and has popular support. We arrived at three o'clock in the morning. By the time, we were dead tired. There were chaps in the gaberdine, in the long pyjamas, men wearing enormous long striped things, and they were just sitting around the street corners. They just cheered madly. They knew who we were, what we were. Motor-cycle sirens going, they thought, well you know, must be some official party, just give these boys a cheer! Everywhere that was the case. Factories, street-corners, factories, everytime it happened. And if you go by constitutional and jurist prudential, as the yard-stick, that is a bad guide. There is no popular election.

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Government is popular. Why? Because he has given the people a sense of purpose, he has given them a sense of position and he's making progress. Of course, the big thing, the big trick was the Suez Canal. There were £50 million per annum income. Nasser pulled one of the biggest gambles in history -- either the Government collapse or get occupied again by the British, or French and others. But he did what he did. He nationalised it, and I will say this. I went down to Suez Canal and saw some of the workshops. 1957 this happened and it is five years ago. But today, Egyptians are running every single aspect of the Canal. He sent in army engineers, army technicians, chaps who didn't know what this is all about. But they made the place sing. And they have got a United Nations loan to improve the Canal, and with the £50 million per annum they are getting on with the Aswan Dam. And this is something which really has galvanised them, the image of a new Egypt greater than the past. You know the enthusiasm! We went down to Aswan on Muslim, what the Muslim call "Easter Monday". And that was the one day in the year they have a holiday. But because we were going down there they mounted an operation to show us how the thing worked out. And we were, and they were cheerful. 2,000 workers turned up to put on the operation. Cheered like mad, clapped hands, manipulated pneumatic drills, cranes, tractors, everything, the whole works. 10,000 men who only two years ago never even handled a screw-driver, are learning how to manipulate all the implements of modern technique.

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In 1968 they will complete the second phase, and when they do that, they would have built something 17 times bigger than the biggest of the Pyramids. In stone, in cubic yards, they have calculated what it was to build the Pyramid, and they say it is 17 times bigger and more than 17 times as useful. It is going to increase the arable land by 30 per cent. Here is something stupendous.

But then, you see how does he succeed? I mean to my mind, this is something, this is very much, I say this is like Kamel Ataturk did in Turkey after the first World War. Dedicated leader with a group of dedicated men around him, bring about a transformation, utterly and absolutely determined. Therefore, the dynamism is there.

Yugoslavia completely different. But the same sort. These are countries that are making progress, and this one while it's toss-up, what eventually happened, they have really done well. A little nation at the tip of the Balkan Peninsula cocked its nose at Stalin and refused to succumb. The British came in and helped them, just, you know to make sure that other chaps can cock its nose at Stalin and get away with it. And so did the Americans. They came in to help, and they have rebuilt the country from the damage of the war. They are building up a fairly industrialised economy. They are building ships for Indonesia and

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they are building ships even for some of the Scandinavian countries. But what was interesting to me, in all these countries, was the fact that there was an effective leadership, and these were men in authority who had tremendous worth. And they are not men who were diffident of what they were about to do or men who lacked the nerve. I mean Nehru, Nasser, Tito, they are completely different men. Tito was tough. He led a guerilla movement. He is a Moscow-trained Communist. He fought and blasted the Germans out. He captured power on his own steam not by leave of the Red Army, and there's a whole big museum to show how it was done. They are proud of it, not like Hungary, not like Poland, not like Czechoslovakia. There the Red Army came in, and then in the wake of the Red Army, came all the Moscow-trained Communists and they handed power to these chaps, and they say well at last, performed. But this was different. And the men around him were different. And therefore, when the break came, their Party held together. You know, I have a tremendous regard and respect for a Party like that who fight the Central Organisation of the Communist Party and get away with it. We had only a section of the Party influenced by the Communists and when the break came it really shook like that. I mean this personal experience, you'll respect that chap. Obviously, he knows how to do it. And it was the struggle that made him do it. Everywhere and every outpost in the Party there were men who have fought with him in their partisan war. And men whose loyalties were first to Yugoslavia, to him, and to the Yugoslav Communist Party,

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not to the Comminform. And when the rot came they caught hold of all their Stalinists, bundled them, some tried to escape, they shot them. And they used Communist methods to down Communists. And no doubt about it. But utterly ruthless. Then, of course, had they lost, they would have got liquidated. Fortunately, the majority were on their side.

Here again, you see, the most important thing I found was that there was social cohesion. I have enumerated in several of my talks of what I consider to be the three basic essentials for successful transformation of any society. First, a determined leadership, an effective determined leadership; two, an administration which is efficient; and three, social discipline. If you don't have those three, nothing will be achieved. And that is the one of the fatal effects of the democratic system. This business of seasonal change and your civil servants get rattled. They say, my God! I'll be in trouble, I better succumb. Why not I look for something for myself, and you know, whatever happens, I am alright. And it's all these creeping doubts, this wavering, this wishing to cushion oneself from trouble that brings a complete sagging of the whole machinery and helps to bring about chaos and collapse.

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But in these three countries which are making progress, India, Egypt, Yugoslavia, they are backward countries, no doubt about it, there was in every one, dedicated leadership and determination. Whatever there may be of petty

corruption in the provincial governments, even the Opposition in the Lok Sabah, the Lower House in Delhi, I met them, I had a chat with them. They admit that the government is honest. That is important. You must be able to command respect. You may agree with Mr. Nehru and his colleagues. You may agree with Mr. Menon, you may like him, you may not like him, but you admit these are honest men who are out to do a decent job. If they command authority that makes things easier. Their civil servants are self-respecting, the Minister acts with reasonable decorum, the Permanent Secretary acts with reasonable confidence, the tamby feels he's got to behave himself; if he doesn't he gets a trap on the knuckles. And everything ticks.

In every one of them there was an effective administration. In the case of Egypt they had none, but they filled up. They changed the top hierarchy which were corrupt and everywhere they filled in with trusted army officers, young army revolutionary types. They knew nothing about administration. They have since learned, but the idea was to infuse a certain amount of backbone and stop the petty thieving that was going on. And in Yugoslavia the whole of the partisan movement, the officer corps, went in and took over the administration.

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The third quality, in everyone of them, there was this, social discipline. And what is strange is this. Where the social discipline is less, the progress is slower. And the social discipline was slightest in India. And tightest in

Yugoslavia. You see, that something which a politician, no political leader, no revolutionary band can create overnight. It takes years to change a people in their habits, in their attitudes. If you don't get social discipline, everybody does what he likes to do, or will not bustle about what he is told to do. And that becomes the whole momentum. And the one reason why the Indian five-year plan had not really gone with the bang that it should have. It's not because the leadership was bad or the civil service is poor. The Planning Commission which has Nehru as its Chairman is undoubtedly one of the best in the world. I mean, to plan, to analyse, to conceive, as good as any in the world. But finally you go down, somebody's got to put a brick into place and somebody's got to put a screw, tighten the bolt, and has to see that he does it, the drive that he puts into it, that determines the pace. In India it's sluggish. In Egypt it was better. More enthusiasm, more momentum. Yugoslavia, of course, partly the years of the partisan war and the hierarchy, I mean, the tight control of the Party. Yugoslav Communist Party, is the Yugoslav Government, also runs everything in the State.

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And they supervise everybody. And there's tremendous discipline and this, as I see it, is our problem. How do we first prevent the thing from falling into bits? And before we talk about making progress, I say our first problem is to prevent it from going to bits. And it can easily go to bits. All you need is irresponsible or stupid leadership. In Kuala Lumpur or in Singapore, and the whole thing will rip asunder.

I don't think I need to elaborate. I mean, if we did not calculate this thing carefully, and calculated it even before we assumed power. Had we played this, you know, as it came, and say alright, we got to remain popular, we got to carry the crowd with us, and just pander to the crowd, you can play more and more. In Singapore, more and more Chinese feelings, sentiments, loyalty, ideas and the Federation's counter-reaction to that, more and more the Malay feelings, Malay ideas, and that will rip your whole population, not just in Singapore, I mean whatever happens here has its full impact in the Federation, and you rip your country wide asunder, just as has happened in Ceylon, only ten times more disastrous. In Ceylon it was just a matter of some quarrel between the Tamils and the Singhalese, and the Hindus and the Buddhists. And the Tamils were a minority and therefore were not really able to break the country down. But here if it happened, then I say hell is let loose. And there is no other consideration, more important than this. And I think the blessing that we have was that at least, we saw all the danger signs long before we assumed power, we know exactly what would happen, if we played certain lines, and as luck would have it, things came a little bit faster and to that extent, a great deal more fortunately for all of us.

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And, I see our first problem, apart from making progress, is to make sure that the place doesn't go asunder. And you know, the tragedy of the one-man-one-vote and the democratic system of musical chairs in the Assembly, I mean, Dr. Lee Siew Choh, he represented the Barisan Sosialis, I mean, they are committed to that line, "Don't want merger at all price". But I know Mr. Ong Eng Guan, too well. Without merger, he is a dead duck and he knows that. If Barisan Sosialis comes around he is dead. And he wants merger and he wants cribbed, cabined and confined. But it is not beyond him also to encourage Chinese chauvinist feelings to down the Government and hope Barisan will be down, Government will be down, he will come up. So he also says, "Yes, citizenship for all, equal citizenship like Johore", he said. So when I said alright, we will offer one like Johore, he gets a fright. "No, no, I don't mean that. I mean automatic citizenship." Marshall, he wouldn't survive for two seconds on his own. I mean, these are political facts. But a useful mouthpiece. You know, you put the penny in the slot machine and say well, play this one and he spouts, arouses feelings and they are genuine feelings, they can be aroused. I mean, if we wanted to play that line we would have played it completely different. Whole place will be chaotic now, hundreds, crowds all over the place, marauding, looking for foes to beat up.

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I would say that we are not out of that trouble, and the Tengku faces that trouble, acutely. I was up there for their Agong's birthday. Tun Razak, his deputy, has just come back from Kelantan and Trengganu where they lost in some of the local council elections, and the PMIP chaps have just taken a straightforward simple line. They say if you vote to Muslim Party and you go to heaven, Sorga. You vote for these chaps you go to Noraika, underneath, and they won. I mean, the man, Deputy Prime Minister, he was aghast. He can't explain it, he says, you now, really I don't know what is going to happen. And they are facts.

And I would say that is our first problem. I tell you quite frankly, I do not see today in Malaya, an alternative government to the Alliance Government. But what is the alternative? I say the Socialist Front takes over, then it's gone, finished. Either the Constitution is suspended, the Agong, some army officer will turn up and strike the whole thing off. That is quite likely. I don't see the Communists winning by constitutional means in Malaya. It is not possible. It is not on the cards. Neither do they, but in the hope of getting their dupes to play their game they hold out this challenge both in Singapore and in the Federation, then in Sarawak. Because if they can get popular with broad appeal replaced by a military government, without broad appeal, then their chances of an ultimate takeover are better. That is the basis of their calculation. I don't see the

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Communists taking over, at any time, until we have gone through all the phases. And if, Thailand collapsed and they are on the border, and the army has taken over in Malaya, and the whole economy is near wreck and ruin, well then I say, well, the next stage is internal revolution and that is lost. Right at the moment, we got to fight them on a constitutional level to prevent ourselves from being pushed into the next phase. Because whatever the shortcomings of this one-man-one-vote, it does to a certain extent let off steam at regular intervals, I think we want to capitalise on that. And for a long while, partly because of the stupidities of the Communists, they are going to rally all the non-Chinese chauvinists and non-Chinese around some group as a counter-balance, and our business is to use the time that they have afforded us, whilst they adjust their policies and they're gonna take long time to adjust their policies, and acknowledge this mistake and change tactics. 5, 10 years and I say use this time, get the things, get the bits and pieces together, and really make progress. Because, one thing you know, once you are out of your underdeveloped stage, the chances of their take-over are infinitely less. In Italy, they were near taking over, biggest Communist Party outside the Eastern bloc. That was before Indonesia, now Indonesia is probably the biggest. And that is in spite of its being a Catholic country and you are ex-communicated for not being a Catholic, and yet when the Communist is on the verge of death he calls for the priest to deliver the last rites. But, he's still a Communist when he's alive. No doubt about it, but they are down, they are

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contained. Why? Because the economy has recovered. When I was there in 1957, everybody, you know that was the age of the scooter, everybody had a scooter. 1957, five years ago, all Vespas running aground. This time I went there and the first thing I noted was all the scooters have been replaced by little Fiats, 600, 500 and chaps who got Fiats don't go and embark on revolution. They are thinking of the next instalment, how to get, to make sure that they got the next instalment to pay the Fiat dealer. Yes, it's a fact. We went out to the country one Sunday, we were there, and I think there must have been 100,000 families with the same idea. They also went out. Everybody with a little Fiat or an Alfa Romeo, depending upon your prosperity. And everybody brought a little tent or a fishing rod, they went round to the country, if they were young they made love, if they were old they just sat down under the sun and sipped mineral water. But no revolution, Ah yes, the democratic system is erratic and all the rest of it. Whilst I was there, the House or their Parliament was meeting day and night trying to elect a new President. And they couldn't elect the President because nobody got the majority. But they are kept down because their economy is bouncing. Men's minds turn to revolution when things are getting worse, not when things are getting better. That is the fundamental thing. And what we want to do here is to make things to get better. And the reason why Barisan is not successful is because things are getting better. Supposing you have got no houses, you know the number of school children who are being registered, the

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number of chaps who are moving into flats in Singapore? These are the basic factors on our side, the telling factor. You watch the Barisan branches, they all opened like mushrooms. Now they are closing down one by one. I watched it. Jalan Besar they have closed down. They only operate now in the Unions because they hope, you see the workers rally still because they hope to get money -- strike or do something, then some progress. But in actual open political identification, flop! And that's a useful sign. We watch all these things.

Why, I say, and I tell you basically because there is progress. Houses are going up, chaps are earning money, there are lots of scooters around. Yes. Last year, they registered near 8,000 scooters, that's what they told me, ROV. I mean, it's no laughing matter. It's a small state. 8,000 scooters, you just imagine that. Three in the family using it, you got 24,000 people kept happy. With 24,000 girl friends you got 48,000 chaps happy. You see? With some purpose in life and that really is your business to make sure of it. Keep the administration clean and efficient, because the moment you lose heart in yourself, the moment you say, "Oh! my god, you know, what shall I do, I better buzz off, I'd better look for something for myself." Then I say, that's the end. My message to you, as it was in the first day when we met here, you must have that certain amount of faith and confidence in yourself, in the future, and in the ability to give effective administration.

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No government has yet gone down to Communist subversion which have an effective administration. They only went down when the administration collapsed. And here you have got, you know, determined leadership. Don't believe, you know, Tengku, he smiles, he laughs, and so on, but if it came to the crunch, he will fight for what he believes in. Well, he is quite a determined fellow. You got that. And I say we got a bit of determination too, and we proved it over the last three years. We can't be pushed around, because we got something that we believe in. Now we are fighting for something bigger than ourselves. And I say compared to the rest of South-East Asia, the administration is wholesome, but it needs to be shaken up, chaps get flat. Chaps get lazy, you shake them up, flap them up sometimes rap them on the knuckles. Reward them when they do outstanding work. And the social discipline? Well, it's not what's strictly desired, but it can be improved. In my prognosis for the future, I say, if I had to choose any place in South-East Asia as the one most likely to survive for the longest possible time, in the best of possible circumstances, I say that is Malaysia. If ever this region collapses, then it will not because it went wrong from the centre, it is because it had got corroded along the edges. That is something beyond us, that's something for world powers to decide whether they push from and so on to Thailand and from Thailand one of these days they move down to the Malayan border. Or what happened in Indonesia. Those are the

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imponderables, but insofar as we can decide the ponderables, I say, your duty is to give effective, clean administration. It is my business to make sure that that happens. And I am here to ensure that nothing happens to you, in order than you can discharge your duties. I guarantee you nothing happens to you, if it's done it's over my dead body. But while we are in charge, I expect effective and loyal service and support. Because this is something bigger than all of us put together, we are fighting literally to ensure that our children will have a country worthwhile belonging to, happy, peaceful, prosperous, and if we make fatal errors they won't have them. Thank you.

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