

TEXT OF MR. LEE KUAN YEW'S SPEECH AT A RALLY AT  
SERDANG BATU, KUALA LUMPUR, ON MONDAY, 6TH APRIL, 1964.

Urban-rural does not mean Chinese-Malay

It is two weeks since the election campaign began. In the first week it seemed possible that, because the P.A.P. had made an issue of economic and social change as the intelligent way to combat Communist influence in the urban areas, we would get a rational and stimulating argument from both the Government and other opposition parties. But this was not to be.

Incoherent leadership of the Socialist Front

Here are so-called socialists who haven't made up their minds first whether they want socialism in Malaysia or in Malaya. Mr. Lim Kean Siew, after wavering and dithering, says he will defend Malaysia with his own life. On the other hand, Dr. Wee Lee Fong, Secretary-General of the Socialist Front, a few days later said that the S.F. will only defend Malaya but will not defend Malaysia. The fact that Malaya has constitutionally ceased to exist does not bother him.

Meanwhile, Dr. Lee Siew Choh turns up at Algiers on the Indonesian side helping to do in Malaysia at the Afro-Asian solidarity conference. Mr. Lim Kean Siew, fearful of being associated with this bit of open treachery, dissociates the S.F. from the Barisan Sosialis.

From this incoherent leadership of the Socialist Front comes no rational argument, but one endless diatribe repeating the Singapore Barisan Sosialis theme, that the PAP is fascist. The one party that is prepared to meet them in the open debate and to allow them use of Radio and Television in the open confrontation. Meanwhile, Ministers of the Central Government make regular election broadcasts over the radio and not a word of protest from the Socialist Front.

#### Degeneration from programmes to communal prejudices

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On 22nd March in Kuala Lumpur, I spoke of our social revolution and the winds of change that must begin to blow if we are to succeed. The next day, Tun Razak responded and spoke of the "terrific winds of change", and asked the people to see for themselves the "social evolution" that had taken place. I was cheered to read this rejoinder at intelligent argument.

I had spoken of the need to narrow the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots" in a social revolution. Mr. Tan, picking up this theme, spoke of the massive rural development programme bridging the gap between the rural and urban areas and impliedly accepted our thesis of a more equal society. He was reported in the Chinese press as using the same phrases I had used, so complete is the conversion of his interpreters!

But even before the first week was over they found argument too difficult. They gave up when we pointed out that Mr. Tan Siew Sin's "Property-owning democracy" and the "creation" of a large middle class" was little short of absurd in Malaya where the average per capita income was \$65 p.m., whatever these slogans may have done for the Conservative party in England where the net per capita income is 10 times more than Malay's.

We had talked of social revolution. It was darkly hinted by Syed Jaafar Albar that we were out to do the Sultans in. So we had to deny something we had never said. They even stooped to lying, telling the Tunku that in Seremban I had said in Chinese that he did not have the right calibre to lead Malaysia.

#### Comparison of social and health services

Mr. Tan Siew Sin has claimed recklessly on 28th March that in social and health services, Malaya is "miles ahead" of Singapore.

The comparative figures for Malaya with a population of 7 million and for Singapore with a population of 1.7 million are as follows:

In 1962 Singapore spend \$63.0-million as against Malay's \$93.6 million for health services. This means that per head of population for health services, Singapore spend approximately three times more than Malaya. This difference in health services lead more than 4,000 mothers from Johore every year to come specially to deliver their babies at Kandang Kerbau Hospital. We shall be happy to direct these 4,000 women, who often arrive in taxis on the point of delivery, to some other institution which is paid from the Federal vote if only Mr. Tan would tell us where. It will save Singapore about 10% of the expenses of K.K. Hospital.

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For social services Singapore spent \$15.1 million as against Malaya's \$4.1 million during the same period. It means that Singapore spent 15 times more on each person.

Mr. Tan says that his provident fund rate is 2½% higher. Singapore's provident fund rate was fixed years ago at the time when Tun Lim Yew Hock, an

Alliance leader, was in charge. Last year in July, to bring our rates into line with Federation practice, we moved an amending bill in the Assembly, but it was defeated by Tun Lim combining with the Barisan Sosialis. The matter has now been put right. In any case, is Mr. Tan seriously suggesting that the 2½% difference in provident fund was spent to benefit the "haves" in Singapore?

Irony non-communal party accused of communalism

by communal party

The saddest thing about this election campaign is the fallback on communal pulls, prejudices when the M.C.A. and other parties lose the argument on policy and politics. Unable to present a political programme with a content that can offer a crisp and clear alternative, they go back to communalism. The irony of it is that the P.A.P. which is non-communal both in its membership and its political philosophy, is now accused of being communal, and by parties like the M.C.A. which openly advocate the communal division of political parties in Malaysia!

P.A.P. is different from U.D.P.

From Penang Dr. Lim Chong Eu said that we had given a new communal emphasis by our distinction between the urban and rural voters. This comes strangely from a former president of the M.C.A. He said that he had tried to work with the present U.M.N.O. leaders and failed. He doubted the wisdom of the PAP rallying Chinese support just to work with UMNO leaders. He as equated our urban population to mean Chinese population.

But the PAP has never suggested that we rally only the urban Chinese to the exclusion of the urban Indians, Malays and others.

Dr. Lim had tried to rally only the Chinese as a counter-weight to UMNO. He failed for this and other reasons.

#### The Urban leadership

It is true that nearly 70% of the population in the urban areas are Chinese, but there is 30% consisting of Indians, Ceylonese, Eurasians and Malays. We seek to give as much articulation to their hopes and aspirations as the 70% Chinese. The limits of our appeal is distinguished not by race, but by the political sophistication, the distinction between the city dwellers and the kampong people.

In the rural areas where established customs and traditions die hard, political issues are often seen in purely communal terms. But in the towns and cities of Malaysia, with a higher political consciousness and the sophistication of the city life, with the accessibility to news and information and the stimulation of contact and discussion with the world at large, there comes the realisation that common interest is to be found not in race but in identity of economic interests. So it has been possible to rally people in Singapore irrespective of their race. This is what the PAP sets out to do, to rally the people in the urban areas regardless of race.

No conflict between rural and urban "have-nots"

Even Tun Razak appears to be under the misapprehension that by our talking of urban and rural population we are driving a wedge between the Chinese and the Malays. But this is not so. We have always stressed the importance of multi-racial following. What we want to provide is leadership for all races in the urban areas of Malaysia.

If we succeed in rallying them, we next have to persuade the Malay leadership in UMNO which is based on rural mass support, to adopt an economic

and taxation policy which will close the bridge between the haves and the have-nots in Malaysia, regardless of whether they are in the towns or in the rural areas.

Income tax figures show that of the people earning \$500 or more per month less than one out of ten persons is a Malay. Therefore, a taxation policy which will make the "haves" in the urban and rural areas pay more for the social amenities enjoyed by the "have-nots", both in the rural and urban areas, will benefit the rural Malays more than anyone else.

#### Future lies in reducing communal differences

For this generation, it may not be possible to obliterate considerations of race and language in determining political loyalties. Hence we accept the need for a non-communal party like the PAP to work with a communal party like the UMNO. But if we want to safeguard multi-racial harmony and lessen the dangers of communal conflict, we must work towards the integration of our various communities into one national whole. We must encourage people in thinking less in terms of their racial origin, and more in terms of their national and economic interests as Malaysia.

This is what the PAP seeks to do in the urban areas. Whether we succeed in the towns in Malaya depends upon whether the towns in Malaya are as sophisticated as Singapore. We think they are. The test is on the 25th of April.

6th April, 1964.

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