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TEXT OF SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. LEE KUAN YEW

ON THE "MERGER" MOTION IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

ON WEDNESDAY, 6TH DECEMBER, 1961.

There are two parts in the amendment moved by the Member for Queenstown. The first is that Singapore should merge with the Federation as the 12th State. The second is that all Singapore citizens should automatically become Federation citizens.

As to the first part, let me refer him to the joint communique issued on 16th September this year by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya and myself. It stated:

"The two Prime Ministers are satisfied that all legitimate local and special interests of the people in the two

territories can and will be safeguarded with the merger of Singapore as a State within the Federation."

I emphasize the words "merger of Singapore as a State within the Federation." There is no doubt whatsoever that Singapore will be the 12th State of the new Federation.

There has been considerable play made of the word "merger". Members of the Opposition have for various reasons alleged that the proposals contained in Command Paper No.33 of 1961 do not constitute a merger. Some talk of complete merger like Penang and Malacca. Others talk of absolute merger. It is useful to note that the title of the Memorandum which contains the heads of agreement agreed to with the Prime Minister of the Federation reads: "Memorandum setting out Heads of Agreement for a merger between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore". The joint statement issued in London at the end of the Tunku's first series of discussions with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom says "The Ministers took note with satisfaction of Heads of Agreement recently negotiated between the Governments of Malaya and Singapore for merging Singapore with the Federation."

Three Ministers of the Federation Government - the Prime Minister of the Federation, his Deputy Prime Minister and his Finance Minister, and the Prime Minister of the U.K. together with his Ministers for Commonwealth Relations, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Secretary of State for Defence, all have described these heads of agreement as "merging" Singapore in the Federation.

"Merger" is defined in the Oxford dictionary as meaning "combine", and the word "merge" is defined as to "cause (something) to lose its own character or identity in something else". It is part of the problem of the Communist that they have to find metaphysical arguments to explain why a merger is not a merger. They have agreed to merger, but they cannot afford to admit that the heads of agreement contained in Command Paper is a merger without having to accept it and land themselves in trouble.

Members on the other side have termed the White Paper PAP type merger. Sir, merger requires two parties to the agreement. The proposals contained in the White Paper are no more PAP type than Tunku's Alliance type of merger. They represent our agreement after frank and free discussions on the respective problems of the two territories, and on how merger can be achieved with the least possible upset for either side.

I note that no member in this House has had the temerity to call the White Paper "Tunku type" merger and then tear the agreement to pieces. Obviously, whatever the errors and follies of Barisan Socialis they understand the realities of power. The PAP Government is democratic and tolerant. With only 817 soldiers in the S.I.R. to back its will, it is an easy government to deal with.

The Member for Nee Soon has said that the Tunku is a Statesman. The smiling, friendly Prime Minister of the Federation is "Bapa Kemerdekaan" as the Malays call him. The Member for Nee Soon obviously understands that the Tunku has got sufficient battalions of troops and jungle-bashing policemen to ensure that the people of Malaya can afford to smile and laugh all the time, despite the venom and frustration of the Communists.

Mr. Khrushchev, instead of taking on Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese, beats up Albania. He abuses, castigates and threatens Albania, but the whole world knows that what he wanted to do was to abuse, castigate and threaten not small Albania, but big China. But China was not particularly upset.

So like Mr. Khrushchev, the Barisan Socialis have gone on abusing what they call the PAP type merger. Sir the PAP does not mind being a little "Albania" for the brave men of the Barisan Socialis, the revolutionaries who talk

fiercely of dealing with the gentle PAP Government in Singapore, while they coo about the Statesmen of Kuala Lumpur, hoping thereby that the Statesmen in Kuala Lumpur may be kind to them when the time for settlement comes. But I wonder whether merely a few sweet words with no supporting acts, will deceive those in Kuala Lumpur. The people in Kuala Lumpur are as knowledgeable of the ways of the Communist world as the people in Singapore, and when the day for reckoning comes, the leaders of Barisan Socialis may will find that out to their great cost.

I expected members from the Barisan Sosialis to spout the Communist line and to say that our proposals are only a phoney merger. I even expected the Member for Anson to deny in the name of decency from all human beings to all human beings not to "corrupt" the sacred word of "merger" in describing the Heads of Agreement contained in Command Paper 33 of 1961 between us and the Prime Minister of the Federation on behalf of his Government.

They are people who are not particularly precise in their use or misuse of words, particularly when they get abusive after having lost the argument. But I was disappointed that the Member for Farrer Park who tries to be precise in his words should have spent so much time in trying to argue that merger is not merger.

Sir, it is not for me to tell him the meaning of the word "meaning". He has no doubt read the scholarly book entitled "The Meaning of Meaning". A great deal of clear thinking is necessary over this simple subject and the book is so common and sensible as to be erudite. The Member for Farrer Park will recall what Humpty Dumpty said in "Through the Looking Glass to Alice" :-

"When I use a word, " Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone," it means just what I choose it to mean -- neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master -- that's all."

When I first started on the study of law some years ago, the first few lessons were on "Language and the Law". A brilliant teacher expounded with considerable lucidity the importance of being precise in the terms we use. These

lessons, which were published in the Law Quarterly Review were devoted to explaining that any word can have at any time three possible meanings.

First, the meaning which the speaker using the word intended.

Second, the meaning which the listener hearing the word interpreted.

And third, the meaning commonly or widely accepted of the word by the majority of people.

When Mr. Khrushchev talks of "world peace", he means a situation in which his enemies in the Western world are slowly crumbling under the pressure of Soviet propaganda, economic and technological progress assault, with all the present neutral countries slowly won over to his Communist side.

When President Kennedy listens to Mr. Khrushchev talking of "world peace" he understands things differently. World peace to him is a situation where the capitalist Western world is naturally expanding by the process of free competition based on the interplay of selfish individual motives in which the Communists are contained by a tight concord of pro-Western and anti-Communist allies and from time to time Communist satellite countries, like

Hungary and Poland, break out in successful revolution against their Russian Communist masters.

What the majority of people understand of "world peace" is a situation where the diabolical and ruthless process of struggle and attrition of one system intent on destroying the other ceases, and human ingenuity and intelligence are spent in fruitful research to make life on earth happier and more meaningful for everyone, without war or fear of war.

So you see, Mr. Speaker, Sir, simple words like "world peace" when used by Mr. Khrushchev mean to him something different to Mr. Kennedy. And what Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev interpret as "world peace" is completely different from what the mass of humanity believe to be world peace for them.

In the same way, when the Member for Farrer Park used the word "merger", he means merger like Penang, or Malacca, or Johore, or Perak, or anyone of the 11 States of the Federation. Any variation from these terms giving Singapore more reserve powers, and preserving the rights of Singapore citizens not otherwise qualified for citizenship under Federation citizenship laws and at the same time automatically giving them nationality of the new Federation, he does not understand to be merger. The Barisan Sosialis when they talk of

merger, mean merger like Penang or Malacca. Of course they have gone on to add in their meaning of merger special terms for automatic conversion of Singapore citizens to Federal citizens which did not exist for those who live in Penang or Malacca.

So what the Barisan Sosialis in fact says is they want merger like Penang or Malacca. And just in case that is acceptable to the Tunku and then automatic conversion asked for. If that should unexpectedly be agreed to by the Federation Government, then they would ask for more impossible terms until finally the Tunku must refuse, and merger frustrated.

Sir, we do not intend to give any special meaning to the word "merger". We have used this word in the widely and commonly understood meaning of the word, both as defined in dictionaries and as understood generally by all people.

I am in safe company when I found the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, his Minister of Defence, the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and for the Colonies - two Englishmen and two Scotsmen - referring to these proposals as "merging Singapore with the Federation of Malaya".

I am not an Englishman, Sir. But I feel reasonably assured having looked into the dictionary that four Cabinet Ministers of the United Kingdom Government cannot be ignorant of the meaning of merger.

The words used in the heading of the memorandum mention "merger" and in paragraph 5 of the same memorandum agreed to between the Prime Minister of the Federation and myself the words are "merger of Singapore as a state within the Federation" are used.

The Tunku understands the uneasiness of the Malays in the Federation when about one million Chinese from Singapore have to be absorbed more particularly because of the press reports of organised misbehaviour by Chinese school children and Chinese workers making the Malays apprehensive of becoming engulfed and swamped by the addition of more Chinese from Singapore. So from time to time the Tunku has gone out of his way to stress the differences of the conditions of merger between Singapore and the Federation and that of the other states of the Federation.

The words "close association between Singapore and the Federation" are often used to refer to these constitutional proposals by the Tunku.

By whatever name we call the Heads of Agreement all must agree that these proposals mean that the British flag will be removed from Singapore and that we shall in future fly the flag of the new Federation. Singapore citizens whether born here or elsewhere will as nationals of the new Federation vote in Singapore for 15 representatives direct to the Parliament of the new Federation just as Federation citizens will also as nationals of the new Federation vote in the present Federation for representatives to the same Parliament. Together they will deliberate on the policy, legislation on the welfare of the whole of the people of the whole of the new Federation.

Let me ask the Member for Farrer Park where close association becomes so close that it is complete merger, and where complete merger is made not so complete by reservation to State large powers over education, labour, social welfare, health and other matters as to make merger a close association. These are watchwords, Mr. Speaker, Sir. Whatever anybody likes to call them, the Communists understand that by these arrangements, that their plot is thwarted. Their plot is to use Singapore as a base for a Communist ideological and propaganda offensive and ultimately a military offensive against the Federation, for a "genuine Communist merger" not of Singapore with the Federation but of the Federation of Malaya with Singapore. As long as merger proposals defeat their interests they will oppose, even though it is in the interests of the people.

So I say to the House, let us use words not like Humpty Dumpty to make them mean Humpty Dumpty intend them to mean, but to use words in the commonly and widely accepted meaning.

The Member for Hong Lim has referred to the Heads of Agreement as making Singapore only an associate member for the Federation Club. Let me draw his attention to a few points.

First, all the citizens of Singapore will as Federal nationals vote 15 representatives direct to the Parliament of the new Federation. Any one of these 15 representatives as nationals of the new Federation representing the people in Parliament can become a Minister of the Government of the new Federation. According to the Constitution of the new Federation there is nothing to stop a Singapore citizen, by virtue of automatically becoming a national of the new Federation, from becoming the Prime Minister of the new Federation of Malaysia. And this is so whether he is a Singapore citizen born in Singapore, or a Singapore citizen born in India, China or elsewhere who has acquired Singapore citizenship by registration.

But I do not need to read any horoscopes to tell you that for a very long time the Prime Minister of the new Federation is going to be Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj. From time to time, the Tunku has been talking of his heavy duties as Prime Minister, and talks of giving way to the younger man. I have a feeling he will be there for a long time much to the unhappiness of the Communists. And when finally he retires, according to a reading of the stars including reading the Red Star of Barisan Sosialis, the prophets see Tun Abdul Razak as Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaysia. I am afraid this will make the Communists equally unhappy. But there is nothing to stop any Singapore member of UMNO or the UMNO-Alliance from becoming a Minister of the Government of the new Federation. And in constitutional theory, there is nothing to stop the Member for Queenstown, in conjunction with his so-called "socialist" front friends like Mr. Lim Kean Siew, becoming Prime Minister of the new Federation. Mind you, I think long before that stage has been reached, there will be a lot of trouble between ambitious front men, both in Singapore and in Penang, let alone from other parts of the Federation.

Let me ask the Member for Hong Lim: Can he show me any instance of an associate member of a club having the right to become a member of the managing committee? 15 representatives of Singapore who will be elected direct to the Parliament of the new Federation will help to manage the affairs of the

nation in the Parliament of the new Federation. Can he show me any club which allows an associate member to become the President or General-Secretary, or office-bearer of the club?

Any one of the 15 Members of Parliament from Singapore, be they born in Singapore or born elsewhere, can become Ministers and Deputy Prime Minister and even Prime Minister of the Federation. Is this a sell-out?

As to the second part of the amendment, may I refer to paragraph 14 of Command Paper 33. The clear, categorical statement agreed to by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya says that "nationals of the larger Federation, whether Singapore citizens or Federation citizens, will as nationals have equal rights, carry the same passport, enjoy the same protection and be subject to equal duties and responsibilities under the Constitution of the larger Federation.

The only point where Singapore citizens are different from Federation citizens is that Singapore citizens will continue to enjoy their State rights and privileges such as those in labour and education, within Singapore, and will vote in Singapore for their representatives to the new Federation Parliament, while citizens of the present Federation of Malaya will vote in the present Federation for their representatives to the same new Federation Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we had anticipated that the Barisan Sosialis would continue to raise a false alarm on the question of citizenship. Hence, in clear and explicit terms the White Paper explains that no Singapore citizen will lose his citizenship rights. In addition, he will acquire new rights as a national of the new Federation. Among those rights will be the right to elect representatives direct to the new Federation Parliament, the right to carry the same passport, to enjoy the same rights and privileges under the Constitution, and to be subject to the same duties and responsibilities. These rights and duties are set out in many sections of the Federation Constitution beginning with Article 8 emphasizing that all citizens are equal. This will later be amended to provide that all nationals of the new Federation shall be equal. So also with the many other articles 9, 10, 47, 119, 123 and several other sections in the Constitution setting out the rights and duties of nationals.

We discussed the question of citizenship and nationality and representation with the Federation Prime Minister and his colleagues. Our respective arguments and view points were recorded in an exchange of letters which were tabled on Friday, 24th October.

The Member for Queenstown has asked nine questions regarding citizenship and nationality. The Member for Thomson has added a few more. These questions make interesting subjects for discussion in a forum in which as I understand from the interjections of the Member for Queenstown he is eager to participate.

Everyone of these proposals in Command Paper 33 of 1961 we are ready to discuss, explain and to prove they are just, fair and reasonable. Those who make fantastic allegations of a "sell-out" of Singapore rights to the Federation of Malaya should do well to ask themselves whether the people will believe that a government which is contemplating a "sell-out" of the rights of the people would act in the way we have done and are doing.

First, we published the agreement between us and the Federation Government as soon as they are ready and before the Tunku left for London on 16 November. We are giving ample time to everyone for full debate on every point.

Second, we are willing and ready to explain the reasons for everyone of these provisions to everybody and association of citizens genuinely interested

and concerned in the future of the people of Malaya and to do these explanations in any language at any convenient time and place.

Third, we are prepared to put all or any one of these proposals for the people to decide on.

Let me ask the Barisan Sosialis and their Communist mentors if there is a "sell-out", what is the "sell-out" in return for? What is the price we are accused of receiving in return?

They are indeed the people were fully aware that only in May this year the PAP Government was prepared to resign and return the mandate to the people after the Hong Lim by-election. At that time we saw no way out of our economic, social and political problems, with no prospects of merger and a commodity common market. For without merger and a common market, we cannot meet the expectations of the people for jobs, houses, welfare benefits and so many of their social and economic needs. At that time they the members now turned over to the Barisan Sosialis wanted to carry on in office. They told us the Ministers to ignore the people of Hong Lim, whose verdict was no real expression of the people who really count. Moreover, they added, if Mao Tse-tung had to stand for elections in China with all the food shortage in the

Communes, he would probably lose his deposit. I remember the Member for Upper Serangoon, my former Parliamentary Secretary, urging me not to pay too much attention to these democratic niceties for after all he said what mattered was whether we were doing good to the people or not and not whether the people thought so or not.

Now when we have something to fight for and a worthwhile task to fulfill on behalf of the people, to bring Singapore into reunification with the Federation of Malaya to a more peaceful, stable and prosperous society, when we see prospects of expanding our economy, creating more jobs, more homes, more prosperity, they the Communists want us to resign.

Do they believe that people have such short memories? Do they believe that people cannot see through the sudden twists and right-about turns of the Communists in Barisan Sosialis?

Sir, you will remember that in September this year the Leader of the House asked the Member for Queenstown to state his party's views on merger. In his reply the Member had stated that Singapore should be merged with the Federation as the 12th State like Penang and Malacca. I emphasize the written words of the Member for Queenstown on behalf of Barisan Sosialis "like Penang

and Malacca". He referred to this as "complete merger". And yet he is now asking that unlike Penang and Malacca, Singapore should not abide by the citizenship laws of the Federation of Malaya, but that there should be automatic conversion of Singapore citizenship to Federation citizenship. As the Member for Anson said the Barisan Sosialis demand for "complete merger like Penang and Malacca" was a great mistake. But I venture to suggest that the ghost writers were driven to this predicament by their being forced to say that they want complete merger when in fact the last thing they want is merger in any shape or form, until of course when and if there is a Communist Government in the Federation of Malaya.

Having said that they wanted complete merger, they then as the Tunku has said in the Federation Parliament on 16th October, asked for "impossible terms" so that merger can be frustrated. And if this demand were unexpectedly agreed to by a generous Federation Parliament, the Communists would then oppose merger on some other ground. Of course, it is difficult to get the people to oppose merger on the ground that merger is not good for the Communists. So they have to get the people to oppose merger by falsely saying that the merger proposals are bad for the people.

Hence their constant search for an issue ostensibly unconnected with Communism with which to rally the Chinese, to oppose merger in any shape of form. The openly communal line they in Barisan Sosialis are taking has naturally provoked some dangerous talk by the Malay Assemblymen about bringing out their "parang panjang".

But the Communists have an impossible task. The Chinese, Indian and English-speaking sections of the people in Singapore do not want Singapore to go in on the basis of Penang or Malacca. Many would lose their citizenship rights because they cannot qualify under the Federation citizenship laws. All would lose the present status they enjoy, of the free competition between all races in the Civil Service in trade, commerce and industry and in nearly all other walks of life.

One of the Member for Queenstown's ghost writers has referred to the "Sinn Fein" movement in Ireland. This is for them an unfortunate example. It is because complete merger at present may lead to unhappiness and a "Sinn Fein" movement that the Tunku has agreed to give Singapore large powers of local autonomy like Northern Ireland. Had these powers of local autonomy been given to Southern Ireland, the history of Eire may have been different. On the other hand, the people who want to create "Sinn Fein" trouble are the Communists in

Barisan Sosialis, who are suggesting that we should hand over education to the Federation Government and implement the Rahman Talib Report in Singapore with all its consequences on Chinese Middle schools in Singapore and on Nanyang University.

While they are publicly saying this on the one hand, their agitators and cadres on the other hand are mounting trouble in the Chinese schools, over a very simple and innocuous proposition that has been agreed to between the school principals and management committees and the Education Ministry: that all those who want to take the Government upper Secondary II Examination at the end of six years must first pass the Government's Secondary IV Examination at the end of four years.

They are trying to get Chinese middle school students excited over the proposition as absurd as saying that students should be allowed to go to a University before passing the Senior Middle III Examination. The troubles they have caused over their so-called boycott has stopped for the time being. But we would be unwise to assume that the Communists have decided not to use the students any more as a source of mischief and disorder in their attempts to prevent merger.

The attitude of the Government is simple and obviously reasonable. There is no reason at all to be excited about the future of Chinese education, language or culture. Education in our merger proposals is a subject reserved for the State. The 4:2 system, has been agreed to between the school principals and management committees and the Education Ministry. It is not the wish of the government to impose any change on Chinese Schools, even though such change is for the better, unless the Chinese educational world themselves agree. I repeat it was the decision of the Chinese educationists themselves to adopt the 4:2 system. In this way we shall see that the Communists will run around in vain to find a rallying point in the Chinese schools from which to mount trouble for an assault on the Government.

Some members of Barisan Sosialis are keen bridge players. I am told by the Member for Jalan Besar that while Barisan Sosialis were in the doldrums in the last few months staying at the Canning Rise Assemblymen's hostel reading the news of our progress towards merger, they used to while away their time playing bridge, day and night. They will appreciate this little metaphor. We called merger as trumps. They raised the bid on merger as trumps. Our merger partner, the Federation Government, on the other side raised the bid higher. Finally, Barisan Sosialis called for a grand slam with merger as trumps. They want complete merger with no reserve powers. In our hand we hold the 7, 8, 9,

10 of merger trumps. In the Tunku's hand he holds the ace, jack, queen, king of merger trumps. Probably that is why they have ill-advisedly called him feudal. Now their hand will be played out, and a terrifying lot of points will be lost.

The folly of their false and hypocritical proposition that they want more merger than the Singapore Government or the Federation Government or the people of Singapore want, will land them in more and more difficulties until their game is inevitably and irretrievably lost.

A lot of ill-conceived and ill-considered remarks about the Tunku and the citizenship and nationality proposals of this White Paper have been made by the Communists through the voice of the Member for Queenstown in this House. He has two assets from their point of view -- a strong voice and a total disregard for reason, logic and decency. He has referred to the citizenship and nationality proposals agreed between the Tunku and his colleagues and the Singapore Government as a form of apartheid in which he wildly alleges that Singapore citizens will be segregated from the Federation citizens. Nothing is more remote from the truth.

The Member for Queenstown has read out too many different speeches written by too many ghost writers, and the arguments that they put forward for

him to read out are often contradictory ones. First, he has asked in writing for merger as a 12th State like Penang and Malacca. Then he rejected the conditions for citizenship which applied in Penang and Malacca, and wanted instead automatic conversion for Singapore citizenship to Federation citizenship, even though he admits that the rules for Singapore citizenship were quite different being freer and easier than the rules for Federation citizenship.

Then in lengthy and complicated arguments he says that even if the rules of Penang and Malacca were applied, nearly all Singapore citizens will qualify.

Yet when last month on October 20th I asked publicly in the newspapers since he believed that all Singapore citizens could qualify under Federation citizenship laws whether he would accept the citizenship laws that applied in Penang and Malacca, he did not reply. Instead he repeated the claim for automatic conversion, which he knows is completely unacceptable to the Federation and he is trying to laugh off the different residential qualifications required by the Federation citizenship laws by saying that only a few European civilians and ex-Servicemen are involved. I asked him whether he was aware that a large number of Indians as British Commonwealth citizens were allowed to acquire, and have acquired Singapore citizenship after only two years residence. Over 50,000 such persons the majority of whom are Indians would be

disenfranchised on the residential qualification alone, if we had merger on the basis of Penang and Malacca. Yet the Member for Queenstown tries to laugh it off as only a few European civilians and ex-Servicemen are involved.

Any Singapore citizen who goes to reside in the Federation and would like to give up Singapore citizenship and together with it give up his special State rights in Singapore can do so and apply for citizenship of the Federation. If he can pass the rules for citizenship including the language test, then he can convert his Singapore citizenship to Federation citizenship. But there are 230,000 present Singapore citizens who will be unable either because of the residential qualification or the language qualification to satisfy the Federation citizenship laws. They can travel freely in the Federation and enjoy equal rights and protection under the Constitution as a national of the new Federation event though they cannot pass the tests for Federation citizenship.

The members for Queenstown, Thomson, Pasir Panjang and Moulmein are persons who were not born in Singapore. The members for Queenstown and Thomson were born in the Federation and the other two were born in China. Under Penang and Malacca conditions, they would have to re-apply for registration as citizens. They know very well that the Federation Government does not give citizenship rights to Communists, pro-Communists or conscious

stooges of the Communists and if they had to apply for registration as Federation citizens they will never get it. So for their own selfish interests, to ensure that they get Federation citizenship and can run for elections in the Federation in case they cannot win in Singapore, they have mistakenly asked for complete merger like Penang and Malacca, and in effect propose to sell out the rights of over 230,000 Singapore citizens who would be completely disenfranchised by the application of the Penang and Malacca conditions for merger.

Very few people in Singapore change their residence to the Federation. Over 99.9% of the people of Singapore are not Communists and of those who move to the Federation nearly all can qualify under the Federation citizenship laws and vote there for Federation State elections and Central Parliament elections. Only the Communists, and there are unfortunately many in Barisan Sosialis, are anxious about their having to register for Federation citizenship since they know that the Federation Government will never give citizenship to Communists or conscious stooges of the Communists.

Then we are told that the term "national" of the new Federation means absolutely nothing. You will remember, Sir, that the Member for Anson raised certain questions arising out of the term "national of the new Federation" and I said then that I would ask the State Advocate General to advise us on this

question of nationality. I have done this. And I have tabled his opinion for the benefit of all Members of this House.

The Member for Queenstown's advisers, one of whom is only semi-qualified legally, must have told him that there is no such term as Federal National in the present Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, and therefore the term "national" means nothing. But surely do they expect the people to be all this simple. Do they believe that all these proposals in Command Paper 33 of 1961 mean nothing? Surely, the term "Federal National" will have to be enshrined in the Constitution of the new Federation.

If for domestic and internal purposes, a man wants to change his rights of Singapore citizenship to Federation citizenship or vice versa he can do so under the domestic or internal State laws of Singapore and the Federation.

There is nothing to support the wild allegation that a Singapore citizen will be a second-class citizen or will be segregated from Federation citizens. It is just another Barisan lie intended to confuse the situation.

The points that must constantly worry the Communist backroom boys of the Barism Sosialis is, that whatever happens, after merger, security will be in the

hands of a strong Central Government and their opportunity for subversive activity will be severely conscribed and confined.

The Member for Queenstown has on behalf of his Communist friends denied that they are worried by this and claim that they are quite happy to go to jail. But on the other hand, the only proposal for merger which is acceptable to the Barisan Sosialis, they have stated in writing, is a Confederation where internal security is not in the hands of the Central Government. But if it has to be merger in a federation and security has to come under the control of the Central Government, then they ask for what the Tunku has called impossible conditions, just to block merger.

This is their dilemma. In a 7<sup>1/2</sup> hour speech asking for complete merger as a 12th State, the Member for Queenstown never once mentioned that he is in fact asking for education and labour to be controlled by the Central Federation Government. He knows, and even more so, his backroom Communist Barisan boys know that this is the last thing the Chinese-educated want. These are the people who demand complete merger and are thereby asking for education to be implemented in accordance with the Rahman Talib Report, and who with the same breath have uttered and are constantly uttering the direct of threats and abuse.

Do they seriously suggest that Singapore's Chinese middle schools should teach in Chinese for only one-third of school time? That public Government examinations should be only in Malay or English? For these are the very points the Communists are encouraging people to get excited against in the Rahman Talib report.

We are not concerned with their hysterics as they find the net of merger and a solidly united Malayan nationalist movement relentlessly closing in on them. The people of Singapore can read, understand and discuss their rights and their future for themselves and decide that the proposals we have tabled are fair, just, and in their best interest. A Singapore citizen will keep his citizenship, lose nothing but instead will get something more, the status of a national of the new Federation. And this status will bring with it all the rights and privileges written in the Federation Constitution.

I have already explained simply that the only change which involves all Singapore citizens is a change for the better. Instead of the words "British Passport" and "British Subject" appearing on the passport carried by the present citizens of Singapore, will be the words "Federation of Malaysia Passport" and

"Federation of Malaysia National." Yet to the jaundiced eye of the Communists this is a retrograde step.

They prefer full internal self-Government with the I.S.C. abolished to independence through merger. They claim to be anti-colonialist, and yet it is they who are suggesting that we should continue to use a British passport as colonial subjects of Britain in preference to an independent Federation passport as nationals of an independent nation. And the people understand that with this national status goes all rights and privileges equal with those of the present Federation citizens who will also become nationals of the new Federation.

These merger proposals are in the interest of the people. The people will endorse and support what is in their interests whether the Communists like it or not. After allowing ample time for explanation and discussion to clarify all aspects of merger, we have no doubts what terms the people will decide are in their best interest.

Sir, we have been called desperate men. I in particular have been likened to Sygman Rhee, Chiang Kai Shek and Wang Ching Wei. If I were even remotely like any one of these three gentlemen, the ghost writers for the Member for Queenstown, some of whom were and are still sitting in the the Public Gallery

in this Assembly throughout this debate, would have disappeared painfully, but quietly, a long time ago. The trouble the Communists are in has been inadvertently admitted by Mr. Sandra Woodhull recently in the press when he said that it was easier to deal with the reactionary than to deal with us in the PAP. We have the advantage of knowing them well, and having good reasons to know them well.

In the old united front days when we fought the British for the common objective of independence, we used to work together, and we got to know their modus operandi. We watched the conjuror from the back stage, not from the front stage. We took out the top hat, they slipped in the white rabbit for us to pull out, to the applause of the multitude. At other times they allowed themselves to be tied up and put into a big suit-case to be locked up. After a decent interval we unlocked the suit-case and out they came free men. We know how they work their tricks. We know how the props are used and where the props have to be.

The trouble with the Member for Queenstown, and that goes for quite a number of the Barisan boys on the other side, is that he has never had enough political conviction to go through this gruelling process of the united front with the Communists before. It may well be that one of these days, through lack of

experience and over-excitement, instead of pulling out a white rabbit from a top hat he may pull out a scorpion which may sting him mortally, to the discomfiture of his Communists props. Perhaps, that is why the ghost writers watch him so anxiously from the public gallery, while he performs for them. Often their faces betray dismay as he bungles the role he was asked to play. He reads their line correctly, but often he gets the stage directions wrong. For instance, instead of staring us fiercely in the eye as he reads the heavy lines of abuse and denunciation against us written for him, he joins us in mirth and merriment at the absurdity of it all. There is a fundamental distinction between the united front that we worked together with the Communists in the years between the formation of the PAP and the attainment of independence of Malaya, and the present united front between some non-Communists in Barisan Sosialis and the majority of the pro-Communists and Communists in Barisan Sosialis. Our united front from the years 1954 to 1957 was a classical anti-colonial movement of all those, be they nationalists or Communists, who oppose the British colonial system. The common enemy was the British imperialist, and we the people of Malaya sank our differences between nationalists and Communists to fight the common enemy. That was the classic anti-colonial united front phase, when nationalists and Communists despite their different goals, combined to fight the British. The Tunku did not fight the Communists until he got independence. Then he had to

fight them because after Merdeka they wanted to fight on for a Communist Malaya.

The Barisan Sosialis, on the other hand, have embarked on a very different proposition. Their common enemy is no longer British colonialism. It is the nationalists that they intend to fight, not the British. Theirs is an anti-nationalist, not anti-colonialist united front. When they say that all progressive forces should unite to fight the reactionary and feudalistic forces of the Federation, they really mean that all those in favour of Communism should combine to down the Malay nationalists who rally around UMNO and the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman. We the non-Communists support the Tunku because he represents the genuine will of the nationalists in Malaya. Differences of political policy, of political philosophy and economic policy there are and always will be between a party of non-Communist Socialists in the PAP and what the Tunku calls a party of the right in the UMNO and Alliance parties. But on the nationalist issue of whether we should have a nationalist democratic Malaya or a Communist Malaya, we have no hesitation in declaring on which side we stand. We stand on the side of the nationalist Malaysians and we will prevent the Communists from undermining our society and the independence of our country.

Let him remember that the Barisan Sosialis united front is no longer against the British Raj. It is now going to be against the Malayan nationalists, a completely different proposition. He has joined hands with the Communists, not in order to hammer someone who is dying and on the way out like the British Raj, but he has been foolhardy enough to try and take on virile political forces of Malayan nationalism. It is a hazardous gamble that he has embarked on, and the least that we can wish him is that his painful error should be over as quickly as possible.

The Member for Queenstown can well appreciate the predicament his wrong assumptions has led him into. He will recall the earnest conversations he had with me and the Minister for Finance in June this year just before and during the Anson by-election. He was persuaded to believe both by the British and the Communists, that Mr. Lim Chin Siong and his Communist friends would be given a free run of the place by the British provided they left the bases alone. From that major error of judgment stems a whole host of terrible consequences.

After the joint statement by the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Federation of Malaya on the establishment of Malaysia, any faint hope there may be of a Communist assumption of power by manipulation of the open lawful parties has disappeared.

From the Communist point of view whatever happens they are in trouble. At one time they had hoped that if the PAP could be voted out of office, there could be general elections, and a confused situation created. As a result of such confusion, even if they could not win the elections, no coherent strong government would emerge and merger would be thwarted. Their backroom dialectical analysts must be naive if they believe this any more. In the light of the events since the publication of Command Paper 33 of 1961, in particular the joint statement of the Malayan and British Prime Ministers, all prudent and wise men can see the shape of things to come. Whatever alterations in the constellations, I do not see the Red Star of Barisan Sosialis in the ascendant.

Mr. Woodhull at a meeting of the Sembawang Branch of the Barisan Sosialis on 26th October stated that the PAP had only another two years to go. After that, he believed that Barisan Sosialis would deal with us. I have a premonition that long before Mr. Woodhull reaches a time where he can vent his frustration on the people who obtained his release from prison he might well be in a predicament worse than he was before 5th June, 1959, when he was released on our insistence.

As the Minister for Finance has said that in a Zugswang situation in chess, any move the Member for Queenstown makes still leads to a checkmate.

There are three forces that could checkmate the pro-Communist groups in the Barisan Sosialis, Party Rakyat, the Communist-controlled unions like the Singapore General Employees Union, the student clubs, old boys associations and cultural bodies.

First, there is the castle representing forces of the Federation of Malaya; second, there is the bishop representing the forces of the British Government, and third, the knight representing the Singapore Government. What the bishop tried to do was to get the knight to do the checkmate. The knight is unwilling to do this because either the castle or the bishop can more quickly end the game. The time is fast approaching for those who in July decided to take the Communist band-wagon to fame and glory to show how well they can take it. Those who cannot take it may find the next 18 months to June 1963 a long and harrowing process.