

SINGAPORE GOVERNMENT PRESS STATEMENT MC. NO.74/61/TTS

TRANSCRIPT OF RECORDED PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE  
PRIME MINISTER, MR. LEE KUAN YEW, BROADCAST OVER  
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Straits Times: Singapore is to have 15 seats in the Federal House of Representatives. Can the Prime Minister tell us how this figure has been worked out? Is it on the basis of the number of eligible votes?

Prime Minister: Well, you heard the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya in his interview on Thursday night. In the estimation of the Federation Government, he thinks we should get 12 ½ seats. In the estimation of the Singapore Government, if there were no reserve powers, if education and labour goes to the centre, or the State revenue goes to the centre as in Penang and Malacca, and the Federation citizenship laws apply to Singapore, the result will be 19 seats.

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Let me explain. If merger were completely on the basis of Penang, then the citizenship laws of the present Federation, which applied in Penang, will apply to Singapore.

About 284,000 representing those born in Singapore out of the 624,000 Singapore citizens would automatically qualify for citizenship of the present Federation. This 284,000 will entitle Singapore to send 14 representatives to the Central Federation Parliament, because Johore is entitled to 14 seats for 291,000 citizens.

Now, the remaining 340,000 Singapore citizens who were not born in Singapore would have to apply for citizenship under the present citizenship laws of the Federation, which require the residential qualifications of eight out of 12 years, and knowledge of the Malay language and so on.

Statistically, if we work out the proportion in the Federation of those not born there who have got Federation citizenship -- today in the Federation only one-third qualify. Those not born in the Federation of Malaya who are now residing in the Federation of Malaya --- one-third applied and got citizenship. Therefore, if the same proportion applies to Singapore, as is most likely, because

the conditions are similar, then out of 340,000, 110,000 will qualify and 230,000 will lose their present citizenship.

We, therefore, say that we are entitled to 284,000 -- those born in Singapore - plus 110,000 - those who will qualify.

Now, there are some people who say we should claim for representation according to population. I think somebody - one of the Federation Ministers - asked why not claim representation according to area, acreage, square miles.

Well, the proposition, the argument that we have put forward is that on the basis hypothetically of complete Penang type merger we would get 400,000 citizens more or less, slightly less - 2,840,000 plus 100,000.

We say we would get 19 seats because Perak with 450,000 has 19 seats. The Federation doesn't think so because they say, even on our calculation, we should only have 17. Because Perak with 450,000 has got 19. Singapore with 400,000, we say, should also get 19.

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That is the Singapore Government's point of view, which was put forward.

Now, the argument of the Federation Government is not the same as this. They say Penang and Malacca were special, because Penang and Malacca formed part of the Federation right from the beginning 1948, and were already part of the Federation when it became independent in 1957. They say that we have to accept the conditions like the rest of the Federation, like Johore for instance, who is our nearest neighbor. And in Johore, not only must you be born there, but your father must also have been born there before you get automatic citizenship, otherwise you apply. Now, if you try, according to Johore, to apply the laws of Johore to Singapore, the Federation view is you will be entitled to eight seats at the end of the registration period. However, they say, "Well, never mind, let us be generous." Let us assume that we apply the citizenship laws of Penang and Malacca in a reasonable way generally over the whole Federation, and we will get 12 seats.

We claim 19, the Federation says we are entitled to 12. We have arrived at the figure of 15, not just to split the difference between 12 and 19, but also because we are keeping three-quarters of our State revenue.

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Now, the working model is Northern Ireland. If Northern Ireland has no reserve powers, and does not hold back money to pay for these reserve powers, and she had representation in the same proportion as the other parts of England

and Scotland and Wales, Northern Ireland would get 16 representatives. But because she has got reserve powers, she has only 12. This is on the basis of number of voters per representative.

Broadly speaking, you have 80,000 voters in England for one representative, in Northern Ireland you have 110 to 120,000. Therefore, on the basis of Northern Ireland, keeping three-quarters of our revenue, we say we give up four seats - less than one-quarter of what we claim we are entitled to. The Tunku does not concede this, but anyway we are agreed for the sake of the peace and prosperity of Malaya and Malaysia, that we will have 15 representatives.

Mind you, I would say that, if in future, Singapore wants to surrender education, which costs about 40 per cent of the budget, and wants to surrender labour and social welfare and health, which costs another 30 percent cent of the budget, then the question of representation can be reviewed. But I think if we do it now, handing over education to the Central Government - there is already as you all know a great deal of stirring going on in the Chinese schools, they are worried about four/two system, they say they should take the post-secondary examination even though they don't pass the school certificate examination after four years, and this with a Singapore Government doing its uttermost to allow the greatest freeplay in Chinese education, Malay education, Tamil education and

English education - if we hand it over to the Federation you can imagine what will happen. So, I think if we work on a practical and realistic basis - we keep 75 per cent of our revenue to pay for education, labour, social welfare, health and so on - we give up these four seats, that's according to our calculation.

According to the Tunku's calculation, he is giving us an extra three seats out of this for the cause of peace and prosperity in Malaya.

I might add also, of course, that as you know, we are entitled to two seats in the Senate like all the other states.

Press Trust of India: Will the Assembly's decision on merger be final, or will the issue be left for ultimate decision through a Referendum? In that case, when will the Referendum be held and who all will be entitled to vote therein?

Prime Minister: The final decision will be that of the people. The decision in the Assembly is final only for the Assembly. As I have indicated before, it is our duty to get the people the best terms and conditions for a fair merger between Singapore and the Federation and to get those terms and conditions which the people want.

Therefore, in the end, we must ask the people what they want.

Who will be entitled to vote? Naturally, the citizens of Singapore. When it will be, I cannot say. I think there must be a sufficient interval of time for all the details to be clearly explained to the people so that everybody understands what it is all about before they decide whether it is good for them or not good for them. And it is the duty of a Government to see that there is ample time for explanation and clarification before the final decision is made.

A.F.P.: Sir, the Malayan Prime Minister has said that the main reason that prompted him to expedite the Malaysia plan was the imminent Communist threat in South East Asia. Do you share this view, Sir?

Prime Minister: Well, I can only refer you once again to the sixth anniversary souvenir number of the PAP, published in January this year which I am sure you have read with some interest since certain of the analysis of future trends were adequately, and lucidly, I hope, explained. And I would say events since then have not disproved that analysis.

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If I have to put in my own words what I believe, I would rather choose the words of the Central Executive Committee of the PAP, that is, the analysis.

You know the theory that there are two ways out for Singapore.

Hypothetically, there are three possible things that can happen.

(1) Status quo, that is, to carry on like this forever more.

(2) Change - and the change can take place in one of two ways. The first towards merger, the other towards solitary independence.

Well, we have always believed in merger. We are nationalists, and everybody including the Communists have since 1945 denounced the British for separating Singapore from the Federation. Now the time has come to re-unite. And, as you know, some people are very unhappy at the prospect of national security being in the hands of a strong Central Government, so they look for all kinds of reasons why this merger is not a very good thing. But they dare not say they are against merger. They just say they are against this kind of merger, and they propose a kind of merger with security not in the hands of the Central Government and thereby expose their hand.

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Well, I say it is an inevitable step in the history of Singapore that it goes back to the Federation.



You know, if we are far-sighted we should move ahead of history and in keeping with our history. If we are foolish, obstinate or selfish and want to thwart history, then remember this: today we are dealing with a reasonable man in the Tunku. And he is a reasonable man, otherwise he wouldn't have given this agreement which has been put in the White Paper. There is no selling out Singapore to him because he does not want to buy out Singapore. But if we don't deal with a reasonable man, one of these days, in 20 or 30 years' time, you get an unreasonable man, then you are in trouble, you are like West Irian then, you see, part of the old Dutch Empire claimed by Indonesia. And the Dutch say, "let the people of West Irian decide" and the people of Afro-Asia supported by the Chinese, the Russians, say, "No, Indonesia must take over West Irian because it is part of the territory that belonged to the Dutch Empire which Indonesia inherited." I like to count a few moves ahead when we make moves on the chess board, and I say, here is a reasonable situation in which we can talk reasonably and safeguard each other's problems and interests.

If, in the end, the Communists succeed in creating trouble over this either by stirring up people over Chinese schools -- or God knows what else they will try -- citizenship, representation, all kinds of things -- if they succeed, then I say, the outcome is not an independent Singapore, which is what they really want, but the outcome is a West Irian situation. So, I say to the people of Singapore my

duty to them is to do my best for them. And my best, in fact, best in the circumstances, is to reach reasonable agreement with a reasonable Prime Minister in charge of the Federation of Malaya. Nobody doubts, particularly the Chinese, that the Tunku is not anti-Chinese.

If you don't want to reach agreement with the Tunku -- let us assume one day -- supposing you get a PMIP Prime Minister in the Federation, and the chap says why not close down Nanyang University -- you've heard it in Parliament itself, they want to close down Nanyang University -- Chinese middle schools would be wiped out, and a lot of other things besides. Bank of China will be closed, that is part of the Federation banking laws. We have looked after the entrepot trade. We say Singapore depends for its survival on free trade with the whole world including China. And the Tunku, you heard him on Thursday night, he is basically a reasonable man, and he says, "Well all right, this is running well, leave it alone, carry on."

You wait if one of these days, and God forbid, there is an unreasonable man, I am not saying all PMIP chaps are unreasonable but, you know, fanatical people, particularly religiously fanatical, are likely to be bigoted and bigotry leads to all kinds of harshness and uncompromising attitudes. So let us cement our relations in a mould which suits us while we have the opportunity to do so.

Sunday Mail: Sir, since there is no multi-lingualism in the Federal Parliament, the chances of Mandarin and Indian-speaking people contesting for Federal Parliament are practically nil. Is this so, Sir?

Prime Minister: Well, that is the case of the present Federal Parliament. We have anticipated this a long time ago, so we have encouraged the study of the Malay language -- the national language. You start talking in Tamil there, nobody will understand you, then what happens? Very complicated all this. You've heard the Tunku, he is quite happy to leave the State Assembly in Singapore as it is. But if you think, you know. I mean if you want to try and convert the new Federal Parliament to some different kind of United Nations set-up with earphones, well, the Tunku is not going to agree.

And those who ask for complete merger like Penang should remember that. There are many other things that will go if the Penang conditions apply. But I don't think there is any difficulty in speaking bazaar Malay. It's very simple, and by the time a man has ambitions to stand for Parliament, surely he ought to have a little bit of energy to learn a couple of hundred words of Malay to get by.

But let me make this clear, you don't have to speak Malay in order to be able to vote for your candidate to the Federal Parliament. The average man may not want to have to learn Malay in order to vote and he is not required to do so.

Press Trust of India: Sir, is there any need to take the PMIP so seriously. They have already been discredited in Trengganu, their Government has been defeated and the Alliance has come back in power there?

Prime Minister: I don't take anything all that seriously. If I did, you know, I'll be quite a sick man. A number of foolish things being said, if you take them all seriously, you'll get quite demented. But I am posing to you not the PMIP as such but that streak in the Malay mass which reacts to Chinese and non-Malay people in such a violent way that they become ultra-Malay and ultra-Islam. If it's not the PMIP, there will be some other party. You know, you've got them in Indonesia too - the Darul Islam and so on and so forth. You get this anywhere in the world. Just as you have in India you well know your extreme Hindu organisation that thinks Mr. Nehru is a very foolish man for even meeting the Prime Minister of Pakistan. They believe that Mr. Nehru should march over and conquer Pakistan. You get these lunatic fringes in any society. And our problem is to maintain a state of sanity and stability where the lunatic fringes are kept out from leadership, because the people will not listen to lunacy. But once you start

doing foolish things, you get a general state of confusion, uncertainty, fear, excitement, general tension. Then the fanatic takes over, all kinds of mad slogans are shouted, and in the name of God or culture or language, people go on the march as a mob, and once human beings go on the rampage in a mass hysterical mob, the result is disaster for the country. And what I was posing when I answered that question about, let us settle reasonably with a reasonable Prime Minister like Tunku Abdul Rahman, is this: If you keep on acting unreasonably and do foolish things in Singapore, you are going to cause an adverse reaction amongst the Malays in the Federation. You heard the Tunku, he tells you quite frankly and bluntly what his fears are. He says Singapore is a problem child. He goes to Calcutta and he says that. He knows that the Malays are scared of Singapore. PMIP says, why not close down Nanyang. Even the Tunku says: They even have a Chinese university. And Nanyang Students Alumni Association writes a long letter saying that they are really Malaysians.

Well, I don't know whether that is going to clear the air. I think you'll need more than just one letter to convince the Malays - nearly 3.7 million Malays in the Federation - that we are all Malaysians. It's going to take a long time and is going to take action, consistent conduct, not one or two letters to dispel suspicions.

And if we keep on doing foolish things, the suspicions will mount, fear would become intense; finally it takes a sudden turn in reaction, and then you get your extremist elements taking over the leadership. Then the Malays will say well it's no use having reasonable non-communal attitudes which the Tunku represents. They may well come to the conclusion that they should have leaders who will protect Malay interests at all costs, even at the cost of suppression of Chinese, Indian and other rights. Well, I say, if you get to that position, then it's hopeless. And in that position also, the PAP and myself, my colleagues, we have no place in that situation.

Extremism breeds extremist reaction, and what I am saying is let us not drift into that by accident. Let those, who for their own selfish reasons are wanting to avoid security going to the centre, let them ponder on what they are doing because they will have to bear a very heavy responsibility for doing foolish things. It's not what happens to the PAP and what happens to me, it's irrelevant. This is a course of history, a multi-racial people trying to seek a common destiny in peace, tolerance and equality. You start churning up one section, mind you, talk differently in one language press which you hope the other fellows don't understand, work up feelings, suddenly it gets out of hand.

Let me put it in another way. If we do not resolve our many contradictions between Singapore and the Federation that have arisen out of 16 years of separation since 1945, and resolve them in gradual stages, if we allow the drift apart to continue, then I say the ultimate answer will be force of one over the other. That we analysed in our party statement published on January 1.

Singapore says to hell with the Federation. I don't want your education policy, I don't like this, I don't like that. The Federation says well, to hell with you. I don't like you either. I won't buy my stuff from you, nor will I sell my stuff through you. Finally you get angry with each other.

Apart from water, you know, water is only one small digit in the very massive panoply of economic and military armaments which can be brought to bear one on the other. As the Tunku said if international intervention takes place, then you get South versus North, and he is not going - and look, he hasn't told me this but I am going to tell you that neither he nor his colleagues are going to allow that to happen.

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You know, at the moment we only have 800 soldiers in the S.I.R. He is not going to wait until you've got 80,000 soldiers in the Singapore Infantry Regiment and then one day we settle scores like Laos. He will have to make a

decision now, and I say we have done the right thing coming to terms as equals, not one trying to coerce and oppress the other. We have got in this White Paper more than our fair share - 75 per cent of the revenue we are keeping to run this place and we are getting three-quarters, more than three-quarters, in our own calculation, in fact, in anybody's calculation - more than three-quarters representation in the centre. And according to the Federation Government's calculations, we are getting three seats more than we are entitled to if we had gone in like Penang and Malacca, because they say their distribution of seats is more in the rural areas and less in the towns, and so they say you are entitled to 12, and yet we have settled at 15. And if anybody thinks he can do better, then tell us how. We are open to all constructive suggestions, but this is not a free invitation, you know, for 10 unions, five unions, two unions to write long scurrilous memoranda. Mind you, it doesn't bother me at all, but let me tell these people who are writing all these things in their name that it's all being noted down somewhere, in Kuala Lumpur, because this is important to them, what people say, how they try to influence and poison people's minds. And I say, well, you want to say these things, we'll let you say it. But ultimately I say do a bit of calculation, think it over carefully where all this is leading to.

The Singapore Government is democratic to a point of being almost used as a doormat by unions, by workers and all, well, because that is our duty. We



like to be tolerant, forbearing to everyone, but in the last resort we haven't got the guns, we haven't got the troops, we are men of peace. When war comes, and as Tunku says not necessarily war of arms, because that's annihilation, but when, you know, metaphorically speaking, war between the pro-Communists and the anti-Communists starts, as a good non-Communist, I will support the side which is right, and I say everybody should carefully take note of what the Tunku has said and what he has not said.

I think on the whole everybody has taken note, because everybody is very polite nowadays for ceremonial occasions and so on, as you all know yourselves.

Straits Times: Mr. Prime Minister, can you tell us, in the event of a merger whether there would be such things as banning of a person from one country to the other, I mean, Singapore and the Federation?

Prime Minister: Oh, there's no question of banning persons from one country to the other, you know. Even under present regulations we have what we call "restricted residence", big chaps who get to mischief, particularly long night meetings and so on going on to three/four o'clock, they get unbalanced, then they do foolish things, and they run around more and more and get more and more excited and get other people excited. So, for their own good health sometimes

the Government says: Please stay at home. You know, they don't go out after 8 o'clock. And you'd better reside in such and such a place. And that's already in existence. You don't have to ban people from one country to the other. We will all be one country. As the Tunku says - what are his actual words - free, there is no immigration control, free movement up and down and more up than down, he says, and so it will continue, he had said so. But, of course, you know, there are as I have said night birds who run around and lose sleep - you've got to look after them - I mean for their own good health.

Straits Times: The case of Said Zahari.

Prime Minister: Yes, what about the case of Said Zahari.

Straits Times: Is he on the permanent ban?

Prime Minister: Well, for the time being, you know, nothing is permanent. If one of these days he clears up his misunderstandings and so on and makes quite clear where he stands or what he was doing and what he intends to do and so on, everything will be all right. But supposing he gets involved here, with Barisan Sosialis, Party Rakyat and so on, well, then, things get more complicated. But I would say that knowing Mr. Said Zahari for many years, from the old days in

Utusan Melayu when I used to be legal adviser both to the company and to the union, I would say he is an intelligent and reasonable man and ought to see the sign of the times. There must have been some things which caused misunderstanding between him and the Government of the Federation, and whatever I can do - if, of course, he would help me - whatever I can do to help him - help himself to clear the misunderstanding, I'll be very happy to do so, because after all it is our duty to help everyone, provided you know they want to help the country.

Press Trust of India: After merger what will be the position of newspapers that have been banned? I mean like certain journals that are published in Singapore being banned in the Federation and vice versa?

Prime Minister: Thank you very much for asking me that question, because this is another point people like Fajar, Nanyang University Tribune and a few others should find worthwhile their thinking about. They keep on writing these long articles, complete merger like Penang - complete merger like Penang.

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If you have complete merger like Penang, you look at the State, I mean, the Federal List No.1, Item 21 - newspapers, publications, publishers, printing and printing presses. That will be Federal, that means going out no more. But,

you see, we have persuaded the Federation Government that the situation in Singapore is a little bit different, that the leadership is sophisticated. If you meet lots of night birds with lots of night life, you get a sophisticated city. So these sort of scurrilous articles and so on may not do so much harm, let them publish it. Moreover, you know also what they are thinking about, what all those aches and pains are that they make those groans for. So, let it be concurrent, which means let the Singapore Government look after it, unless, of course, it affects the Central Government to such a point that the Central Federation Government then passes a law which overrules Singapore. So, there's a great deal of free play. For instance, as I mentioned just now, we don't mind the newspapers publishing all these things, but if they affect the Central Federation Government, then, as I have said, although it's concurrent, the initial responsibility will be ours. We will say: Good luck to you. Hope you do good business and report honestly and sincerely. But if good advice is not taken and the Central Authority is consistently provoked and otherwise upset, then we may get a piece of legislation which will overrule us. That is the whole basis of this - finding a modus vivandi, which is reasonable and sensible. Don't change Singapore overnight. People are used to night life here, let them continue for the time being. And if you stop all night life all of a sudden, chaps get psychologically upset, and we don't want them to be upset. We want the process of, you know, integration to take place in

a gradual and peaceful manner with as much ease and as little discomfort to everyone as is humanly possible.

Observer: There's been a certain amount of criticism about the proposed terms of the arrangement for partnership between Singapore and Malaya on the basis of the point that the Singapore citizens although Federal nationals will not be able to vote elsewhere in the Federation or stand for election elsewhere. The second point for all I know may be a valid one, but I would be grateful, Sir, if you could clear up the point about the first one. It seems that something must have escaped me over this because I think in most countries where democracy is practised all over the world, it is perfectly normal for a voter to be limited to his own constituency. I know in my own experience that in the last four general elections in Britain I have only voted in one because I was absent from my constituency for the other three. Is there some special point about this which in fact has given rise to the criticism, because if I can only vote in Hampstead, London, I cannot vote when I happen to be in Edinburgh or Manchester, it seems to me logical that a Singapore citizen who finds himself in Perak or Kelantan at the time of general election will not be able to register his vote unless he makes special proxy arrangements.

Prime Minister: The problem arises in this way: 624,000 people have already become citizens under relatively easier citizenship laws in Singapore. But if we have merger on the basis of Penang and complete acceptance of the citizenship laws, then they can be transferable - the voting can be transferable - 230,000 will lose all citizenship rights, and this is the cause of all our difficulties. If 230,000 people lose their citizenship rights, I think there will be a lot of unhappiness, and probably a little bit of trouble, and we don't want that. Therefore, we have said let the 230,000 people also keep their citizenship rights, and the Tunku, on the other hand, says but that cannot increase - your voting strength - by spilling them over into the Federation, or by increasing your representation for Singapore. But take the individual, as you have said. If I wanted to go and, say, live in Kuala Lumpur permanently, then I can apply in Kuala Lumpur, and if I pass a language test, which I hope I can do after a bit of effort, then I transfer my citizenship. I become then a Federation citizen. Then I have transferred myself, of course, but, I mean, if you can't pass their requirements, namely, the language test and a few other things, then you can't transfer yourself. But you got to apply. But the problem does not arise really for the mass of the people. Nobody in Singapore is moving up to the Federation. In fact, the people from the Federation are moving down to Singapore. Every year, the change in identity card numbers shows an increased flow more from the Federation to Singapore than vice-versa. But if anybody in Singapore wants to

go off and stay in Trengganu or Kelantan, and he doesn't want to come back here, well, learn the Malay language and pass it and take up the citizenship there and vote there - nothing to prevent him. I hope I have made myself clear.

If you take the percentage of those resident in Malaya but not born there who haven't got citizenship, and you do the same calculations for Singapore, you will find 230,000 losing their citizenship. We don't want that to happen. Therefore, we are giving them automatic retention of Singapore citizenship plus Federal nationality, and on this - I want to clear this, this is a, I think, a material point because it has been made so, some people have tried to make a bit of fuss about this.

You see, the word "nationality" is really the orthodox term. It is the classical word, the term used to describe a person's association with and protection by a country. And anybody who carries a passport, whether it is a British passport, a German passport, a Chinese passport, will find the term there which he has to describe himself - national status or, as you see from this passport which I am showing you - nationality. Then it says there British Subject - Citizen of the State of Singapore. And the only change that will take place now will be national status, nationality: Federation of Malaysia national. British subject will be cancelled. Citizen of the State of Singapore will be retained,

that's all. And, it's the same thing in the application form, your answer the same question. Nationality: (1) Citizen of Singapore by birth the same. (2) Citizen of Singapore by registration - naturalisation and you are asked to delete words which do not apply, because this is important. Are you a citizen automatic by birth or have you got it by registration and naturalisation. They carry certain implications. And nobody bothers about the word "citizenship". This is a new coined phrase which the British introduced in 1948 with the concept of Commonwealth citizen. The British have always called themselves British Subjects - nationality: British. You know, they are proud of it. Once upon a time like the Romans were - civis Romanus - I am a citizen of Rome and wherever I go in Europe, I have got the protection of the Roman legions. Once upon a time, you know, the same way this passport which we have, and Singapore State still uses it - British passport. We don't use a Singapore passport, because we are not a sovereign country.

And answering Mr. Muthukrishnan, when you asked the Tunku whether we are masters, well, I say, we are not. British passport - they are the masters. It is their legions or what there are of it who will protect Singapore citizens when they travel abroad, because 817 men in the S.I.R. cannot protect people who travel widely over the face of the world. But the Federation is different. The growing army, navy, air force, and all that is to be changed. British passport,



cancel out British and put Federation of Malaysia passport. Singapore citizen which is in the passport remains - British subject cancel. That's all. So in other words, far from becoming - what did you say it was - masters to tenants, is it? Master to tenants is I think a misconception of the present status. If, to follow your analogy, at present we are tenants, then after Malaysia, we become co-owners of Malaysia.

Press Trust of India: What do you think the ultimate result will be of two long separated families throwing in their lot together in this fashion, will it ensure peace and harmony in the common household or breed jealousy and hatred, discontent and dissatisfaction ultimately ending up in dissolutionment and disolation as were recently witnessed in the case of Syria when it opted out of the U.A.R.?

Prime Minister: Well, in my view it will definitely lead to harmony if we are wise and do it in gradual stages, phase by phase, first 10 years, maybe 15 years, may be 20 years, we must keep state powers, education, labour and a lot of other things - health, social welfare. Our social welfare benefits today are three times what the Federation States are paying, and if you have a sudden merger and you reduce your social welfare benefits, Chinese schools stop getting grants-in-aid, Nanyang University closed down, I say there is trouble, there is not

disillusionment, there will be violent reaction and disaster and force will be used, troubles will be put down but a great deal of resentment and hatred will remain. We want to avoid that. That is the whole object of taking the thing in phases.

If these people who say they want complete merger are sincere, then I say: Complete our work, it's not over. Persuade the people one day to accept the Federation Central Government's policy of education. Ask for this Federal List to be altered. Change from State to Federal. Why not? But if you try and do the thing immediately, then, I say, I begin to doubt what is the motive of the person who prompted these questions. Do you really want complete merger as the Communists say they want? And hand over education? They say yes. I say no that's not what they really want, and nobody believes them, because at the same time some are causing trouble in the schools over examinations. They want to take the post-school certificate exam even though they have not passed the school certificate, and that's already trouble and you say hand over to the Central Government, no grants-in-aid, the school closes down, you have riots. And I tell you what I think is going to happen if you don't have merger. Reject this, fight it, at your own peril I say to the Communists, because in the end you will convince the Malays in the Federation that you are up to no good that, perhaps, reasonable prime ministers for the Federation is not the answer, and the answer are tough

prime ministers who are going to be tough to all non-Malays, and that is a risk you run.

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