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TEXT OF PRIME MINISTER'S BROADCAST ON18TH SEPTEMBER, 1961 AT 7.30 P.M.

My talk tonight is largely a personal narrative. It will explain how I came to know the Communists, what they are after in Malaya, who they are, how they operate, why we worked on parallel lines with them for many years and why eventually we have parted company over merger.

Let me take my story back to 1950 when I began to learn the realities of political life in Malaya. At that time every genuine nationalist who hated the British colonial system wanted freedom and independence. That was a time when only weak men and stooges came out and performed on the local political stage. Fierce men were silent or had gone underground to join the communists. There were the Progressive Party and their feeble leaders. There were the clowns of the Labour Party of Singapore. When I met acquaintances like Mr. Lim Kean Chye and Mr. John Eber and asked them what they were doing, why

they were allowing these things to go on, they smiled and said "Ah well! What can be done in such a situation? "

One morning in January 1951 I woke up and read in the newspapers that Mr. John Eber had been arrested, that Mr. Lim Kean Chye had disappeared and escaped arrest. Shortly afterwards a reward was offered for his arrest. Politics in Malaya was a deadly serious business. These are not clowns or jokers. They had decided to go with Communists.

So my colleagues and I pressed on working with the Unions. The only unions able to take fierce and militant action were those with no Communist affiliations whatsoever. The postmen went on strike. I acted for them. We extracted every ounce of political and material advantage out of the dispute with the Colonial Government and got them maximum benefits. The P & T workers wanted their salaries to be revised and backdated. It went to arbitration. We helped them and exposed the stupidities and inadequacies of the colonial administration. The whole of the Government civil service was organised to revolt against non-pensionable expatriation pay for the benefit of a few white men. You remember my colleagues, Dr. Goh and Mr. Byrne, organise a fight against the European half of the civil service. So we went on organising the

workers in their unions, rallying them to fight the British colonial system for freedom, for a more just and equal society.

Meanwhile, I had got in touch with the people who were detained in the same batch as Mr. John Eber. They were the English-educated group of anti-British League, a Communist Organisation. The A.B.L. relation to the M.C.P. is like that of the volunteer force compared to the regular professional army. I was instructed to act for one of them. I came to know and liked him. Subsequently in 1953 he was released from detention. We became friends. He told me that he was a Communist. I will call him Laniaz. He is still a most important Communist cadre spreading propaganda on behalf of the Communist cause. Through him I came to know Devan Nair, who was the most determined A.B.L. member I have ever known. Subsequently, I discovered that Devan Nair was in fact on the way to being a full-fledged Communist party member.

We became comrades in the united front in the unions and in the PAP. Devan Nair knew I was not a Communist; he knew that I knew he was a Communist. In 1956 he landed in jail together with Lim Chin Siong and company. After spending a great part of his life with the Malayan Communist Party, he came to his own conclusion that their leadership was inadequate to meet the needs of the revolution in Malaya. Determined and dedicated though

they were, they had their shortcomings and were unable to make the necessary changes in policy and approach, to create a national based movement for their Communist cause.

Devan Nair is now on our side. On the other hand, Mr. S.T. Bani, Assemblymen for Thomson who was not a Communist and who had for several years worked together with me in the unions competing against the Communists, decided some time late last year to throw in his lot with the Communists. He has been won over to their side. So the battle goes on for the hearts and minds, first of the political elite of the population, and ultimately of the whole population.

Laniaz joined us, a core of English-educated to fight colonialism. We were all non-Communists other than Laniaz - Dr. Toh, Dr. Goh, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Rajaratnam and myself. We organised and worked in the unions, recruited cadres of our own in the English-educated and Malay-educated world. We drew up plans for the setting up of the party.

Then one day in 1954 we came into contact with the Chinese-educated world. The Chinese middle school students were in revolt against national service and they were beaten down. Riots took place, charges were preferred in court. Through devious ways they came into contact with us. We bridged the

gap to the Chinese-educated world - a world teeming with vitality, dynamism and revolution, a world in which the Communists had been working for over the last 30 years with considerable success. We the English-educated revolutionaries went in trying to tap this oil-field of political resources, and soon found our pipelines crossing those of the Communist Party. We were late-comers trying to tap the same oil-fields. We were considered by the Communists as poaching in their exclusive territory. In this world we came to know Mr. Lim Chin Siong and Mr. Fong Swee Suan. They joined us in the PAP. In 1955, we contested the elections. Our initiation into the intricacies and ramifications of the Communist underground organisation in the trade unions and cultural associations had begun.

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It is a strange business working in this world. When you meet a union leader you will quickly have to decide on which side he is on and whether or not he is a Communist. You can find out by the language he uses, and his behavior, whether or not he is in the inner circle which makes the decisions. These are things from which you determine whether he is an outsider or an insider in the Communist under-world. I came to know dozens of them. They are not crooks or opportunists. These are men with great resolve, dedicated to the Communist revolution and to the establishment of the Communist state believing that it is the best thing in the world for mankind. Many of them are prepared to pay the price for the Communist cause in terms of personal freedom and sacrifice. They know

they run the risk of detention if they are found out and caught. Often my colleagues and I disagreed with them, and intense fights took place, all concealed from the outside world because they were Communists working in one united anti-colonial front with us against the common enemy, and it would not do to betray them.

Eventually many of them landed in jail, in the purges in 1956 and 1957. I used to see them there, arguing their appeals, reading their captured documents and Special Branch precis of the cases against them. I had the singular advantage of not only knowing them well by having worked at close quarters with them in a united front against the British, but I also saw the official version in reports on them. Many were banished to China. Some were my personal friends. They knew that I knew they were Communists, for between us there was no pretense. They believed that I should join them. They believed that ultimately I would be forced to admit that what they call the "bourgeois" democratic system could not produce a just and equal society and that I would admit that they were right.

On the other hand, I used to spend hours arguing with some of them trying to prove to them that whatever else happened in China or Russia, we were living in Malaya and, irrespective of Communism or democratic socialism, if we

wanted to build a more just and equal society in Malaya, we would have to make certain fundamental decisions, such as being Malaysians, uniting the Chinese and Indians and others with the Malays, building up national unity and national loyalty, and rallying all the races together through a national language.

Mr. Lim Chin Siong is not the beginning nor the end of Communism. He is only one of their disciplined open-front workers. When the emergency started in 1948, he was only a young school boy about 15 or 16 years old in the Chinese High School. The strength of the M.C.P. lies in the propagation of Communist theories and ideals to recruit able and idealistic young men and women to join them in their cause. One able young man on their side can by working in a union, fighting for better pay and conditions of service for workers, get around thousands of workers on to their side.

Let me explain this.

In 1953 I became legal adviser to the Naval Base Labour Union, fought their case and won the confidence of the committee and the men. They were looking for a union secretary. I introduced to them Mr. S. Woodhull, a person I had then known in the University of Malaya Socialist Club for 1 1/2 years. I knew that he was anti-British and anti-colonial. I also knew he was reading

Marxism and that he was initiating himself into the mysteries of world revolutions. But he was not a Communist or a member of the A.B.L. although they were grooming him for recruitment. He was then prepared to work for a cause. On my recommendation he became secretary to the Union. He worked hard and by 1955, two years afterwards, he had organised with the help of a handful of dedicated Communist ground workers in the Union, 10,000 workers in the Base. He had organised them into a coherent force which would listen to him, not because the workers believed in socialism or Communism, but because the workers knew him then to be a trustworthy and industrious man who worked with me for them.

In this way, the Communists, although they had only a few hundred active cadres, could muster and rally thousands of people in the unions, cultural organisations and student societies. By working and manifestly appearing to work selflessly, and ceaselessly, they won the confidence and regard of the people in the organisation. Having won the confidence and regard, they then got the people to support their political stand.

The strength of the Communist party lies not in their mass as such but in the band of trained and disciplined cadres, who lead the mass into Communist causes, often without the masses knowing they are Communists.

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