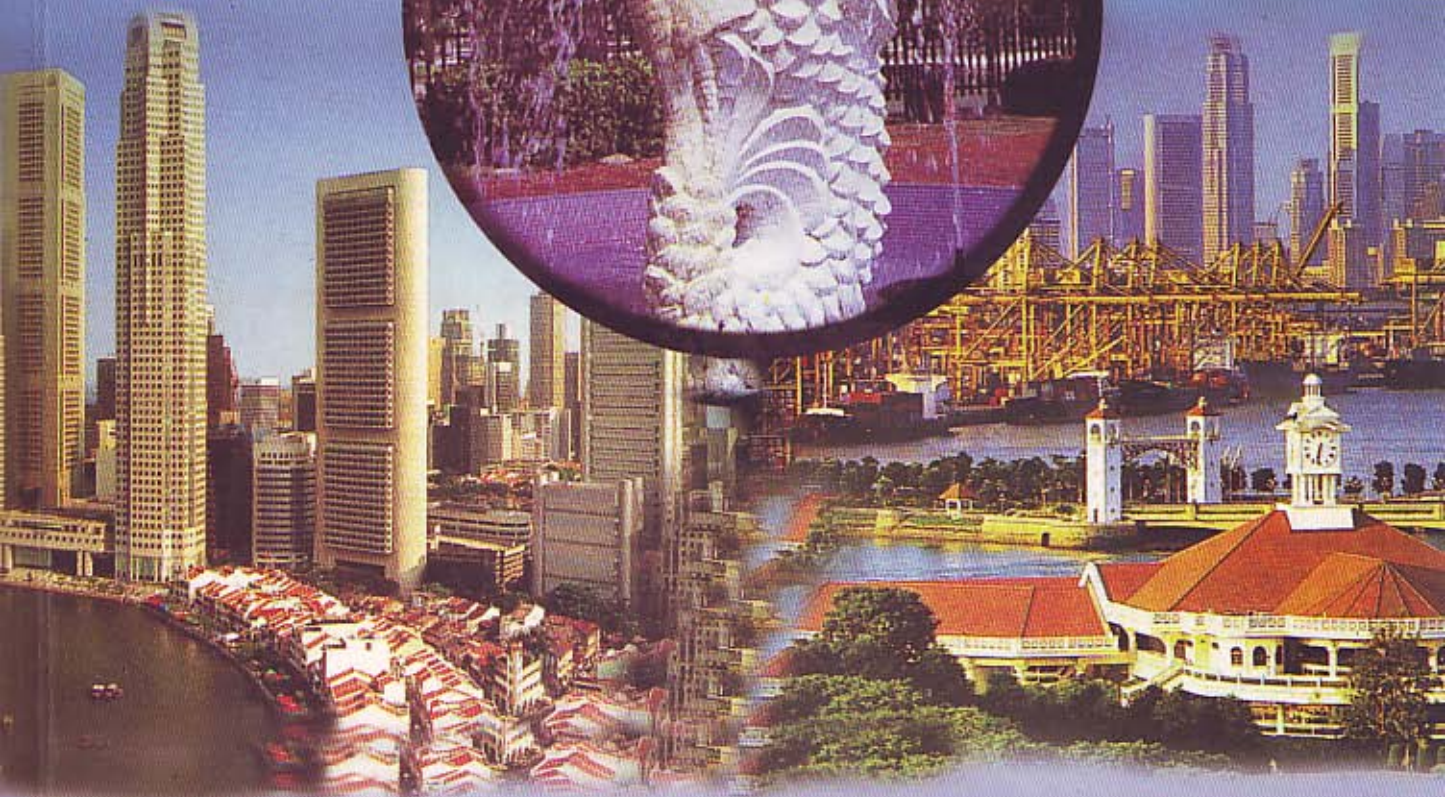
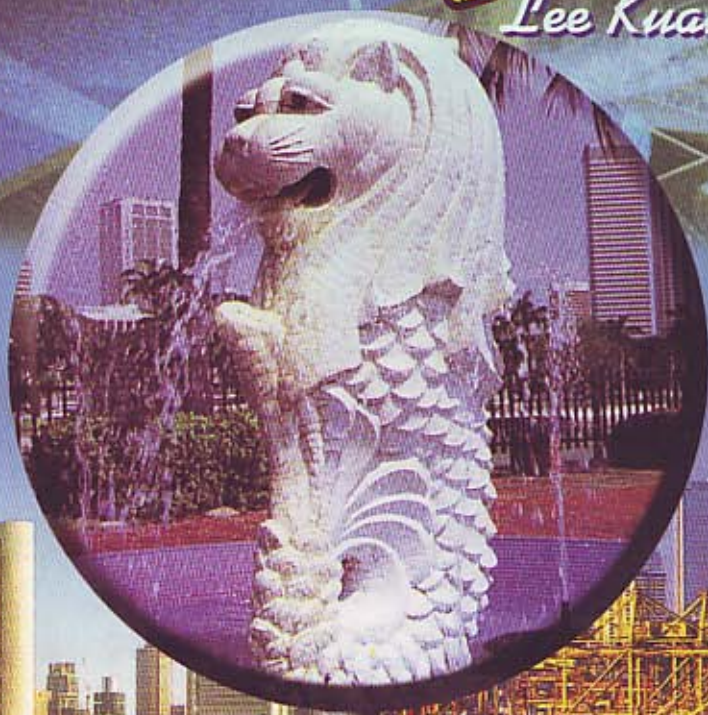


*Singapore Story*

# Wisdom Speaks

*Lee Kuan Yew*



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A Review By  
**Dr. K. Sivam, M.V.Sc.,**

## Radiating Diamond

Lee Kuan Yew

# Story of Singapore

The whole humanity is involved, affected, conditioned by politics. Good Governance bring prosperity and bad vice verse.

Democracy and other forms are instruments for governance. These systems were evolved for certain period of times and situations. Some are already fossilized, some are dying and some are inadequate for the purpose, as they have not grown or developed or modified with times and situations. As such these systems and the countries adopting them are under great stress and unable to meet the aspirations of people.

In this context, Lee Kuan Yew as leader and his team had deviated from the traditional established philosophies, norms, methodologies and had worked, and broken new grounds and horizons, pierced into the future, not completely rejecting the past but accepting the time tested wisdom and Synthesized Singapore – **New model in governance and development.**

This book is a distilled presentation of thoughts and Wisdom of Lee Kuan Yew and his team. Has he given new set of eye / mental glasses to enable us to see the world in a new way. We trust this book will be a great initiator and kindling, a new way thought process and discussion, amongst the present young intellectuals and would be leaders to create healthy productive positive situations in Asia and Africa.

May the humanity be benefited by new thought process and the effects of it.

**WISDOM SPEAKS**

**LEE KUAN YEW**

**SINGAPORE STORY**

**A REVIEW**

DR.K.SIVAM M.V.Sc.

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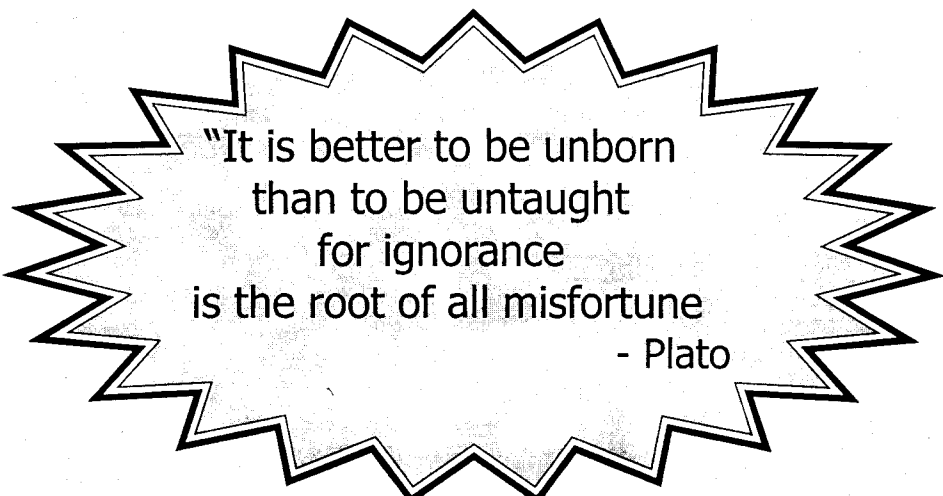
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DEDICATED TO

**Hon. RAJAJI**

(Late SHRI.C.RAJAGOPALA ACHARIAR)

**ASIAN STATESMAN  
WITH THIRD EYE**



"It is better to be unborn  
than to be untaught  
for ignorance  
is the root of all misfortune  
- Plato



# FOREWORD

“Reason and Judgement are the Qualities of a Leader”

TACITUS

The success of Singapore, as a nation, is undoubtedly due to the leadership of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. People may disagree, with his philosophy, but everyone has admired his leadership, and acknowledged him, as one of the great leaders of the world.

Reading through the three volumes (or books), of his life history, one is inspired, by his ability to look far into the future, and steadfastly hold on to his policies, despite the changes, that took place, in many neighbouring countries, steering Singapore to its present state.

What is democracy to many, may not be the same for Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. He decided that democracy is, what the people of his nation desired, and not, what the international pundits defined.

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew's life history, is a bible of hope, for many developing countries. It is necessary that, the younger generation, and the generations to come, are made aware, of the remarkable achievements of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

Dr.Sivam has made an attempt, to summarise the three volumes, into a small book which is easily readable, so that, it would inspire the younger generation, to realise, at a glance, the greatness of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew.

Dr. Sivam in his own way, has inspired a generation of young men, to look beyond, their inner circle. He was the author/editor of a Tamil journal called “Uttru” which was, a pioneering effort, to publish, a socio-scientific journal in Tamil. He continued publication of this journal, under severe conditions, until circumstances, beyond his control intervened, to discontinue the publication.

Being a great admirer of many Asian leaders, he was fascinated by, the achievement of, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew. His admiration for, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew encouraged him, to produce this simplified version, of the three volumes of the life history, of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, with a sincere hope, of creating enthusiasm, among the new generations, to think positively and work towards, the development of their nation.

I wish to congratulate, Dr.Sivam on his work, and I sincerely hope, that this abbreviated version, could be published in, as many Asian languages, as possible, for the benefit of a larger group of, young people.

**Dr.P.Ramanujam**  
**Ph.D., M.Sc., B.Sc. (Hons.)**







**Lee Kuan Yew -**  
Center of the World



## PREFACE & ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw, unprecedented development, research, creativity and innovative models in all spheres of human activity.

Development of technology and knowledge, shattered archaic establishments, values, institutional models and boundaries.

In social development, politics, development of group activity and nation development, new models and systems are being tried out in parts, and old theories and systems are shattering. In this climate, **Singapore and Lee Kuan Yew** attracted the attention of world, towards the modern social, economic, political model of a nation, confronting and facing the debilitating effects and drags of the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> century, in theory and practice. **Singapore is a new model developed** from research, truths from world over, synthesized in the development of a nation state. This model is being discussed at forums by scholars', specialists and others world over, with the objective of applicability, in nations, countries, small and big.

**New norms of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with futuristic targets and values, are avalanching, on human systems and society.** Singapore and its development shows, fundamental characters, which the world has to take note.

This is a **review of literature**, to bring out the fundamentals, on which Lee Kuan Yew laid the foundation, for a modern, developed Singapore. In this review, I was quite determined, to make, Lee Kuan Yew's thoughts, very precise, so that, the reader could have a quick grasp, of the fundamentals.

**Has, Lee Kuan Yew created new norms, and philosophy, in the field of politics, by integrating and synthesizing, morality, virtues, intellectualism, rationalism, imagination and futurism, denouncing mobocracy of democracy? Has he shown the way, for evaluation of democracy? Are new norms of governance created? Time will prove.**

I will be most happy, if this document reaches, wider spectrum of the population, and be a subject of discussion, for a new thought process, and for a new leadership, world over particularly in Asia, Africa and world at large, in relation to, needs of, time bound changes, in politics and developmental approaches .

I am very thankful to Mr.C.Thangarajah, Attorney-at-Law, Management Specialist, who was instrumental in initiating me in this venture, by giving the first book on Lee Kuan Yew, The Crucial Years, and constantly encouraging.

I am thankful to Dr.P.Ramanujam, Economist, Senior Civil Servant, Secretary to the Ministry of Tourism, Sri Lanka for his foreword. He has inherited lot of Singaporean values through his father.

I express my thanks to Mr. A. Nadarasa, (Spiritual Philosopher/ Engineer) for encouragement, criticism and editorial guidance.

My thanks are also to Dr.F.A.Abeyasena (Poultry Scientist), and Dr.S.Rajagopalan (Nutritional Scientist/ Planner, Chennai, India), Mr.S.Mohan (Engineer, PSA, Singapore) for encouragement and all assistance and to Miss.K.Shivankari, (ex-student, Vidiya Mandir, Mylapore, and presently Ethiraj College, Chennai, India) for continuously stimulating me in this endeavour.

My thanks are due to Miss.T.Yasothini for secretarial assistance.

**SIVAM M.V.Sc**  
(DR.K.KRISHNANANTHASIVAM)



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# LEE KUAN YEW

## Many Facets of a Diamond

### The words / phrases used to describe by Press, Leaders of world and others on Lee Kuan Yew

Many observers and analysts have viewed Lee Kuan Yew – who is a many faceted diamond “with a light that shine far and wide” from their own perspective and commented on same – 108 such comments are reproduced below.

1. Stands firm.
2. Perfectionist.
3. Fairly shrewd.
4. Tough minded.
5. Brilliant organiser.
6. Despises corruption.
7. Hates shoddy work.
8. Attacker of problems.
9. Supremely - a realist.
10. Lee is not a Christian.
11. Lee is a logical thinker.
12. He is a Chinese ascetic.
13. Good planning general.
14. Not a student of abstract.
15. He is loyal to his friends.
16. Life is a challenge to him.
17. Lee is a practical idealist.
18. He is impatient for change.

19. Materialist and pragmatist.
20. Managed to talk socialism.
21. Good and efficient infighter.
22. Leader among other leaders.
23. Never confuses his priorities.
24. Practical and ruthless idealist.
25. Architect of his nation's future.
26. Obviously, enjoy phrase coining.
27. Take major steps in social welfare.
28. Lee is, no doctrinaire theoretician.
29. Good surveyor of the overall scene.
30. A man of, infinite grace and charm.
31. Ruthless, autocratic, power hungry.
32. A man not confined to the ivory tower.
33. A historian, a zoologist, and a linguist.
34. Basically Lee Kuan Yew is an oriental.
35. Angered more by those, who do not try.
36. Believes in collective and mutual help.
37. Curiosity about a wide variety of subjects.
38. Spokesman for his new generation in Asia.
39. Had a "nimble brain" and a "quick tongue".
40. Too often a debater, and too nearly a diplomat.
41. Asian philosophy would call a "Superior man".
42. Lee has never believed, that all men are equal.
43. He hates poverty, and considers it unnecessary.
44. Lee is, not a democrat, by intellectual conviction.
45. Promoting Singapore's touchy capitalist economy.
46. Can make important decisions, and stand by them.
47. Lee can separate, virtues and morals, from religion.

48. Administrator, remarkable for speed and efficiency.
49. Relentless opponent, to unfair treatment of workers.
50. He narrowly escaped massacre in 1942, by Japanese.
51. Success in winning the confidence of the civil service.
52. Firm, decision, far sighted. Never confuse his priorities.
53. His first loyalties are his principles, and to the task ahead.
54. He is an idealist, subscribes to the rule of the law and order.
55. The decisions are never made, without considerable thought.
56. We have faith and trust, in his ability to see, that justice is done.
57. He is intelligent enough to know, that no general can fight alone.
58. A man who combined thought and action in a life of public service.
59. The population is, unanimous in their choice, of Lee's government.
60. Represented a small nation, who influence in the world, belied its size.
61. Was fortunate in that, he had a government, that was 100% behind him.
62. Lee, may be an idealist; but, he is also a realist, who, understands power.
63. Lee is an Englishman, an upper class Englishman, with a Chinese name.
64. Lee's possessed, of the industry, the endurance, and the patience, of a Chinese.
65. And, in the right way means, more work, the greater the reward, of satisfaction.
66. Political scientist who can produce visions of broad outline, and wide horizons.
67. Lee's administration, was one of the most honest, efficient and successful in Asia.
68. Has a remarkable capacity, for making sense, even while appearing, to talk out of two sides, of his mouth, at once.
69. Undoubtedly, his appreciation not only of the needs of his day, but also of the possibilities of tomorrow.
70. To an extra ordinary degree, he grasped, and shaped the opportunities of the future, for tomorrow.
71. On the international political stage, he is seen by the west, as a man possessed of, all the western virtues.
72. Perhaps, in the next five to ten years, to expose his inner self, he will stand revealed, as a good Chinese.

73. Lee's impetuosity, rashness, and excessive ambition, seemed to negate, his intellectual and political brilliance.
74. He is fundamentally, parochial in outlook, in that, he studies events and trends principally, in the light of their impact ,on Singapore and its future.
75. It is perhaps, to this that, he owes his political flexibility, his immunity from ideological dogma.
76. The superbly run Singapore, is attribute to his skills, and his now evident sense of responsibility.
77. He has profound respect, which every Chinese has, for education and higher learning.
78. Combustible combination of pragmatism, democratic reform, evolutionary socialism, and visionary scope.
79. And Lee's talent, for continuous analysis, of a developing political situation, is acknowledged.
80. His thinking is, naturally logical, and analytical, and this is probably, because of aptitude, for western learning.
81. He believes everyone else, uses, the same mental processes, which he employs, even when, they are seized with emotional issues.
82. He insists that, reason (or anything else) must be pursued, to a conclusion.
83. Lee's reluctance, to bend like the lawless, in the wind, a Chinese trait could be a manifestation, of an inner contradiction, which must be inherent in the makeup of any person, subjected to the impact of, two contrasting civilizations and cultures, one of which produces, a logical analytical mind, the other, endurance and patience. There must be times, when they overlap.
84. Lee is prepared to believe that, it is not always wise to seek a rationalization of everything.
85. Represents a new nation, whose people were endowed with, four thousand years of, Chinese civilization.
86. Will not compromise on, what he considers, is a basic principle, affecting integrity.
87. Earned a formidable reputation, as a Lawyer, thinker, legislator, and party leader.
88. He is not, a do gooder, so much, as an ardent reformist, and his aim, in reform, is to enable the individual, to make, the most of his talents, and ability, to lead a full life, according to circumstances. In that, Lee could be a Confucian.
89. Lee the human realist, the pragmatist, with the high ideals, will persist with his interpretation, of "all the socialism, that is practical, in present circumstances".
90. The encouragement, of enlightened capitalism, including state participation, in joint ventures, with foreign investors.

91. Lee is not prepared, to accommodate, and he will insist, instead upon, position and conscious effort to "Do things, the Right way, Not the Easy way".
92. The expansion of welfare services, to commensurate with the wealth, of the republic.
93. If Lee Kuan Yew, can persuade workers, and employers to work, in close sensible co-operation, with the state, for their mutual benefit, and in Singapore's status, as Asia's great industrialized entrepot, is maintained then, Lee, while in his fifties, will have set an example, for all developing states, in Asia and elsewhere.
94. Lee had proved that, it is possible, within twenty years, to create a nation, and develop a nation, with democracy. And this is something, nobody has done yet.
95. Kuan Yew means, "The light that shines far and wide". His parents gave him these names, to comfort him, on his way through, the dark patches in life.
96. He surveyed the world, for ideas, and constant search for solutions, never ends.
97. Once he has made a decision, he stands firm, having weighted every possibility, on important matters, such as arranging for social events, he can dither and change his mind.
98. He can congratulate himself, upon his talent for attracting, to his side, the best brains, and his success in winning, the confidence of the civil services.
99. A man ceases to be, Lee's friend, the moment he strays, from the path of rectitude.
100. Lee is ruthless, as he feels, he must be, because of the special high position, the leaders, in developing states, in Asia, must occupy, if they are to compete with, communists.
101. Whatever guarantees we have in constitution, in legal documents, finally it is faith, in the person, who have to translate, and implement this document, which is more important, than the written word.
102. Foolish words uttered, either in anger or in hate, can bring about, great trials and tribulations, all round.
103. He wants to reform, and hesitates to destroy, in order to rebuild, unless this is unavoidable.
104. He does not believe that, the best way, to ensure that, the poor have a better way of life, is to provide charity.
105. Lee's socialism consists mainly, of a firm belief that, the state must equip, all with an education, which will permit them, to the fullest use of their talents, and abilities.
106. But he insists that, **all men and women must be given, equal chance to make, the fullest use, of their own talents.**
107. His appeal continues to be, to common sense, to what is reasonable and sensible.
108. He believes, the ordinary man is not a fool, and expects, people to make correct judgement, if they are told the truth, and given the facts.

## 1.1 PERSONALITY

### How did Lee stay so long in power?

*“People knew, I did not lie and was sincere, in advancing their interests. They learnt, whom to trust. To win such trust, I never said anything which I did not believe in, and people slowly recognized, that I was honest and sincere. This was my most powerful asset.”*

Lee is an attacker of problems not a student of the abstract.

He is essentially an idealist, yet a practical and ruthless idealist. You start off with idealism, you should end up in maturity with a great deal of sophistication giving a gloss to that idealism.

Live as a leader among other leaders.

*“Most problems are man made and man must unmake them.”*

He is angered more by those who do not try. He is a perfectionist although hates shoddy work.”

A political scientist who can produce visions of broad outline and wide horizons. Never confuses his priorities. Lee can make important decisions and stand by them. They are never made without considerable deep thought, reflection, and consultation. Once he has made a decision, he stands firm, having weighed every possibility. On unimportant matters, such as arranging for social events, he can dither and change his mind.

Lee is a brilliant organizer in spite of his fascination with and interest in detail, and his genuine curiosity about a wide variety of subjects; He is good planning general, a good surveyor of the overall scene and when occasion calls, a good and efficient infighter. He is intelligent enough to know that no general can fight alone. He can congratulate himself upon his talent for attracting to his side the best brains in the island. Equally important, perhaps even more important, is his success in winning the confidence of the civil services. Politicians may make the plans and give the instructions, but in a developing state nothing will happen to the best of plans and the clearest instructions, unless there is an efficient and loyal civil service.

He is loyal to his friends, but **his first loyalties are to his principles and to the task ahead.**

**A man ceases to be Lee Kuan Yew's friend the moment he strays from the narrow path of rectitude.**

He narrowly escaped massacre in 1942 by Japanese. He made excuses and managed to escape. The people on the lorry never came back. The Japanese troops had a habit of collecting lorry loads of youths from time to time and take them away and shooting them.

*“Such was their blindness and brutality. They never know what they did to a whole generation like me, determined to work for freedom - freedom from servitude and foreign domination. I did not enter politics. They brought politics upon me. I decided that our lives should be ours to decide - that we should not be the pawns and play things of foreign powers”.*

In Lee, there is a combustible combination of pragmatism, democratic reform, evolutionary socialism and visionary scope.

***"My personal ambition is to ensure that people like myself, and their children, and my children have a future in this country. My roots are here. I have been three generations, nearly a hundred years. I have no other loyalties, no other homeland. And I want to bring about a situation which will secure the future for those like me."***

A man is as good as he is, and the degrees and titles he has after his name, do not make him a better or a lesser man.

*"A man who can be fairly, shrewd, tough minded and supremely, A realist"*

( Sydney Morning Herald )

If there have been times in the past when Lee's impetuosity, rashes and excessive ambition seemed to negate his intellectual and political brilliance, and he seemed, too often a debater and too rarely a diplomat. The superbly run Singapore, is a tribute to his skills and his now evident sense of responsibility. He has managed to talk socialism and take major steps in social welfare while further promoting Singapore's touchy capitalist economy.

*"Lee Kuan Yew represented a small nation whose influence in the world belied its size. He represented a new nation whose people were endowed with four thousand years of Chinese civilization. He was a young man but he had already earned a formidable reputation as a lawyer, a thinker, legislator and party leader as the architect of his nation's future as a spokesman for his new generation in Asia. In short Lee Kuan Yew was what Asian philosophy would call a "superior man", a man not confined to the ivory tower, a man who combined thought and action in a life of public service. Lee's administration was one of the most honest, efficient and successful in Asia".*

- President Johnson (P-397)

(L) He had a "nimble brain" and a "quick tongue". At times his articulatory skill seems to enmesh him in contradictions, but Lee has a remarkable capacity for making sense even while appearing to talk out of two sides of his mouth at once. Obviously enjoys phrase coining.

*"We have all learnt. I have not changed my views on fundamentals. I have always believed that no man has the right to exploit his fellow men by virtue of this possession of greater wealth or higher status. These are fundamental beliefs."*

*"I am a great believer in the positivist school of logic. Never mind what the theory is but what happens when it is put into practice. If it happens not in accordance with theory, then either the theory is wrong or you try again."*

In a toast to the memory of Raffles, Mr. R.G. Bennett, Chairman of the international chamber of commerce, described him as:-

*"An administrator, remarkable for speed and efficiency as a historian, a zoologist and a linguist". According to his devoted clerk, Abdullah, a man of infinite grace and charm. But Raffle's most outstanding characteristic was undoubtedly his appreciation not only of*

*the needs of his day, but also of the possibilities of tomorrow. To an extra ordinary degree he grasped and shaped the opportunities of the future for Singapore.*"

Mr. Bennett would not say that the Prime Minister possessed every single one of the qualities and characteristics of Raffles. But he would say that he possessed many of them, "especially the vision of what Singapore can be to a sharper degree than anyone else who has since walked this island in the past 150 years". The Prime Minister was fortunate in that he had a government that was 100 percent behind him and the population unanimous in their choice of government. Raffles on the other hand had considerable opposition although some powerful names supported him.

Lee Kuan Yew said he was flattered, a little apprehensive, by the generous comparison of the qualities of Sir Stamford Raffles with the attributes he was supposed to have.

***"If, he added, fifty years from now, your successor would say of me, some of the things you have just said, it would be of immense satisfaction to me, even if, I should be in some other world. For no judgement can be as fair and as final or as cruel and conclusive as that of history. Only posterity can pass judgement objectively on the wisdom or otherwise of their forbears. Only with the advantage of hindsight can people accurately analyse and assess the rights or wrongs of important decisions. Often these decisions had to be taken hurriedly and under intense pressure. But once taken they could not be easily undone."***

*"Lee Kuan Yew is an Englishman, an upper-class Englishman, with a Chinese name" a statesman whispered to me at the Prime Minister's conference in London in 1966. "Basically Lee Kuan Yew is an oriental", insisted an American in private conversation in 1967. "On the international political stage he is seen by the west as a man possessed of all the western virtues. I say that when he is forced by circumstances, perhaps in the next five to ten years to expose his inner self, he will stand revealed as a good Chinese, controlling a strategic island in the China seas." Which, people ask, is the real Lee Kuan Yew?*

*"To all the overseas Chinese community, Lee Kuan Yew reacts as a Singaporean and not as a brother Chinese. Most of the countries in the east have their "Chinese problems". Whatever may be, Lee Kuan Yew's private thoughts about them, as a person of Chinese origin or as a humanitarian, he keeps them to himself. He is a Singaporean with problems of his own."*

- Bennett

*"Lee is no doctrinaire theoretician." Wrote the observer in 1959, while well informed on world affairs, he is fundamentally parochial in outlook in that he studies events and trends, principally, in the light of their impact on Singapore and its future. It is perhaps to this that he owes his political flexibility, his immunity from ideological dogma.*

- Observer

It is interesting to reflect that the Malay extremist, Ja'afar Albar was much later to shout "one race, one religion, one state" on behalf of the Malays, when Tunku Abdul



Rahman and Lee Kuan Yew were trying to build a multiracial Malaysia. Albar believed that Malays were in danger from a yellow peril.

Lee is a democrat by intellectual conviction. He does not believe that all men are intelligently, equal, nor does he consider that all men should be treated equally, by society, except in law and in so far as citizenship rights and responsibilities are concerned. Persons with initiative drive and talent energy and ability, in Lee's view are entitled to higher rewards than those not so gifted. He is not an egalitarian. He believes, a worker should be rewarded according to productivity. He believes strongly in social obligation.

Lee Kuan Yew is possessed of the industry, the endurance and the patience of a Chinese. He has profound respect, which every Chinese has for education and higher learning. He is a Chinese ascetic. This is what makes him critical of American and Australian cultures. Both to him appear to be rough, unpolished, crude, lacking in finesse and depth. At the same time, Lee is a logical thinker and his talent for continuous analysis of a developing political situation is acknowledged wherever he speaks, at a Commonwealth Prime Minister's conference, a University, or a political rally. His thinking is naturally logical and analytical and this is probably because of his aptitude for western learning.

His weakness is that he believes, everyone else uses the same mental processes which he employs, even when they are seized with emotional issues like race and religion. His critics say that, this inability to realize that, there are times when logical analytical argument can be, the worst possible weapon to use is among his lesser defects. To them his inability to make concessions in advance to the possibility of passionate illogicality in other is a fault which can be attributed to the Chinese, in him, that part of his subconscious his endurance and his prodigious memory which insists that reason (or anything else) must be pursued to a conclusion. On occasions, therefore Lee Kuan Yew finds himself isolated, mentally playing chess, as it were with someone playing draughts or billiards or with some one just screaming his head off. Purely western thought would probably seek compromise. Lee's reluctance to bend like the bamboo in the wind, a Chinese trait, could be a manifestation of an inner contradiction which must be inherent in the make-up of any person subjected to the impact of two contrasting civilizations and cultures, one of which produces a logical analytical mind, the other endurance and patience: there must be times when they overlap. In addition to the contradictions thrown up by English learning absorbed by a Chinese of unusual intelligence Lee Kuan Yew also came into close contact with Malay culture, especially as a youth and this must also have had some effect upon his thinking.

For the time being at any rate, Lee is much more concerned with the task of wrestling with present day difficulties, most of which are man made and which he believes, can also be unmade by man, than he is with celestial affairs.

Yet materialist and pragmatist though he may be, Lee is prepared to believe that, it is not always wise to seek a rationalization of everything.

Lee Kuan Yew has often been looked upon as a man with Christian virtues in that he is an idealist, subscribes, to the rule of the law and order, despises corruption, believes in collective and mutual help, and will not compromise on what he considers is a basic principle affecting integrity. Lee is not a Christian and can separate virtues and morals from

religion. Overseas Chinese, as a rule still have a tendency to pay lip-service to the virtues while living an essentially practical life. Which they say, demands a great deal of accommodation. Lee Kuan Yew is not prepared to accommodate, and he will insist, instead upon position and conscious effort to, "do things the right way", **not the easy way. And if the right way means, more work, the greater the reward of satisfaction.**

**Lee may be an idealist, but he is also a realist who understands power. He is not a do-gooder, so much as an ardent reformist, and his aim in reform, is to enable the individual to make the most of his talents and ability to lead a full life according to circumstances. In that Lee could be a Confucian.**

Lee the human realist, the pragmatist with the high ideals will persist with his interpretation of "all the socialism that is practical in present circumstances", which means the encouragement of enlightened capitalism including state participation in joint ventures with foreign investors, a relentless opposition to unfair treatment of workers, and the expansion of welfare services (including housing, education and medical care) commensurate with the wealth of the republic.

**And if this succeeds, if Lee Kuan Yew can persuade workers and employers to work in close sensible co-operation with the state for their mutual benefit and in Singapore's status as Asia's great industrialised entrepot is maintained, then Lee, while still in his fifties will have set an example for all developing states in Asia and elsewhere. He will have proved that it is possible within twenty years, to create a nation, and develop a nation with democracy. And that is something nobody has done yet.**

## 1.2 THE MAN AND PASSAGE THROUGH TIMES

Unceremoniously booted out of Malaysia, he surveyed the world for ideas, taking advantage of his travels abroad to look out for them. The constant search for solutions would never end.

The story of how Lee transformed Singapore is a fascinating one, because no other leader in the modern world has had such a hand in influencing and directing his country's progress from independence to developed nation status, the way he has.

We have to study the passage of his times, through the following phases.

The revolutionary world in the first half of this century for independence from British Empire.

The developing world in the second half for wealth and progress.

Not only to destroy the old system but also to create a new and more successful one. This chapter deals with :-

### Lee

1. The Man – An Education with time.
2. How he approaches problem his methodologies.
3. How they worked, failed to work in practise, what have been tried, discarded or modified.

## Ideas Identified

- 1) Secret of good government.
- 2) Economic development
- 3) Politics and democracy
- 4) Law and order
- 5) Importance of culture
- 6) The nature of human society
- 7) Media

“To prophecy is extremely difficult-especially with respect to the future” (Chinese proverb). No serious futurist deals in “predictions”.

## Events that shaped his outlook on life

- 1) Japanese occupation – 1942-1945
  - 2) The battle with communists in 1950 and 1960
  - 3) The trauma of merger with Malaysia in 1963 and separation two years later
- Japanese occupation made Lee – a politician

Communist battle turned him - a hardened politician

Separation from Malaysia made, Lee, - govern Singapore, the way he has.

The question: Does he believe in one central theme which guided him through the years. The answer is YES and NO.

No, because Lee is not an ideological or dogmatic person.

He eschews theory and fife argument. What matters to him is whether a thing works or not, with practice, providing the best test.

There are several contrasts in his approach to problem solving.

First: Capacity and willingness to learn from experience. To change his beliefs even radically, when they do not conform to reality.

***“Practice decides for me, in the final implementation of policies. In each instance, we calculated, if that doesn’t work, this wouldn’t work.” This chapter deals with : -***

Constant striving to seek results, not in proving a theory, right.

Doggedness to achieve these results, never loosing sight of his objectives and relentlessly cleaning all obstacles in the way.

***“The world that I lived in, was a very unequal and unjust. The injustice of it, all the discrimination, struck me and everybody else. We became strongly against the system.”***

***“I sympathised with the underdog because, in a way I was an underdog, order of the system. But I was privileged underdog, among underdogs, because my family was comfortably well off and I was educated.”***

*“Over the years, we recognised the limits and the counter productive effects of subsidies on the incentive to work and on training and achievement which are necessary for the creation of wealth for everybody. Furthermore we did not see that you can have a system where the white man is not superior, but he competes on equal terms in his production of superior goods and services.”*

Today, the new meaning that capitalism has acquired, which means entrepreneurship, raising capital, putting your ideas into practice, testing the market, if the market accepts your service or your goods, you have created wealth for everybody and for yourself.

## 1.3 About Lee by Lee

### A more just and equal society. We are Revolutionaries

*“I am determined when I set out to do something, First, I’ve got to decide whether something is worth doing. If it’s not worth doing well, I’m not prepared to spend the time over it, to make the effort. Then , I just coast along, it doesn’t matter whether it succeeds or doesn’t succeed, it’s of no consequence.”*

*“If I decide that something is worth doing, I would put my strength, determination and willingness to see my objective to its conclusion. I will give everything, I’ve got, to make sure it succeeds. If I have to get good people, I get good people. If I have to change tact, I will change tact. If you have decided something is worth doing, you’ve got to remove all obstacles to get there.”*

*“PAP ( Peoples Action Party ) does not mean that all men are equal and will be rewarded equally. Men are not born equal in either physical or mental capacity. But a socialist believes that society as a whole will benefit, and there will be more happiness for more people, if all are given equal opportunities for education, and advancement regardless of class or property. Even under the new social order there will be some men who are more successful than others. But they have become more successful after free and equal competition and effort.”*

*“The government played a strong interventionist role in key areas of the economy, especially in those ventures which the private sector was reluctant to enter. Wholly or partly owned industrial and commercial ventures were set up, either through the finance ministry or through statutory boards.”*

*“We had learned from the difficulties of other developing countries which had been ahead of us in economic development and Industrialization. We consciously sought more skill intensive and less export – sensitive industries, like machine tools, electronic meters, and miniature ball bearings. Such industries need workers who are literate and skilled in working machines. They can employ more managers, engineers, and technicians from our two universities and two polytechnics for the same 1000 workers on the factory floor.”*

*“We invested heavily in our younger generation since they were our most precious resource. Education was universal and was both academic and technical and from primary to tertiary levels. Because we had a trained and educated workforce*

*ready, industries needing such a workforce came and set up operations in Singapore. And because they employed more sophisticated and automated machines, they could pay higher wages."*

*"Singapore entrepreneurs, like MNCs, are caught in the cycle of change, as rising costs and keener competition force them to look for new low-wage countries with good workers and stable social and political conditions. Only then they stay competitive. The government actively encourages this for the transfer of labour-intensive industries frees valuable band and labour in Singapore for Higher skill and capital intensive factories. Learning from scratch in the Singapore experience proved a costly business, the least hazardous way is to choose an experienced and expert guide."*

*"Today, I would describe myself as a person between socialist and conservatives, I would put myself as a liberal. As some one who believes in equal opportunities so that everybody gets an equal chance to do his best and with a certain compassion to ensure that the failures do not fall through the floor."*

*"A liberal democrat. A liberal, in that I want to run the system as efficiently as possible, but make allowances for those who will not be doing well, because, nature did not give them enough, or they cannot make that extra effort."*

*"A liberal in the economic sense, classical sense, **I am pragmatic**. I'm prepared to look at the problem and say, all right, **what is the best way to solve it, that will produce the maximum happiness and well-being for the maximum number of people. You call it whatever you like.**"*

*"... Only he can be a leader  
who never loses hope.  
A leader is useless, when he  
acts against the prompting of  
His own conscience.  
All cannot become leaders,  
but all can be bearers".*

*M.K.Gandhi*



## FUNDAMENTAL AND POLITICAL BASICS

Lee's very success, created, considerable difficulties for parliamentary democracy. The argument is simple. Lee has produced "good government by good men". What difficulty?

Singapore in its present form just happened. It fell out of Malaysia, which Lee had helped to create and in which he firmly believed, because Lee and his cabinet insisted upon a multiracial Malaysia.

*"We must reduce inequalities of wealth and ensure that workers by hand and brain get the full fruits of their industry and enterprise."*

*"There is no manifesto to socialism. This was deliberately omitted so that every citizen, rich and poor, employer and worker could look upon the PAP as a nationalist movement."*

*"We are also prepared to co-operate with other political parties generally interested in achieving real, not spurious, independence for our country."*

*"To abolish the unjust inequalities of wealth and opportunity. "interest in the present system"."*

*"To inspire them with a sense of endeavour in the creation of prosperous, stable and just society."*

*"I want no excuses. Produce the goods, and on time."*

*"His appeal continues to be, to common sense, to what is reasonable and sensible. He believes the ordinary man is not a fool, and expects people to make the correct judgement if they are told the truth and given the facts."*

*"The indefinite continuance of the subjugation of one race by another is only possible where the subject race is inherently, both mentally and physically inferior."*

*"The first problem we face is that of racial harmony between Chinese and Malays. The second is the development of a united political front that will be strong enough."*

*"We can study which profit the solution, Switzerland has found for her racial problems. Here is a national state, with three large racial groups, French, German and Italian and a fourth small group, the Romans, able to maintain its unity and independence through all the strain and stress of two world wars, when French, Germans and Italians were fighting on different sides."*

The present political situation is rapidly changing.

**"There can be no leaders without a body to lead. There can be no body to lead if there is no cohesion."**

**If, concluded Lee Kuan Yew, "we will fail to fulfil our duty, the change that still will come, must be a violent one, for whatever the rights and wrongs of communism, no one can deny, its, tremendous appeal to the masses."**

**"But we can affect the speed and orderliness of the change."**

He is impatient for change, but he wants to reform and hesitates to destroy, in order to rebuild, unless this is unavoidable. He hates poverty and he considers it unnecessary. He does not believe that, the best way to ensure the poor, have a better way of life, is to provide charity.

**"In the next generation ... once we have established that Malaysian society, it will make no difference whether it is a Chinese or an Indian, a Pakistani, Eurasian, Ceylonese or Malay or Dusun or Dayak who becomes the Prime Minister". [Statement made before Singapore got separated]**

PAP , Retained the purity of its ultimate beliefs and resisted the temptations of the moment. By "temptations of the moment", Lee meant corruption and which he considers to be inherent in the capitalist system, and which in his view, "buys politicians," and enables "those in authority to establish a paradise for themselves". This has happened in many of the newly independent countries, but not in Singapore. Democratic socialists could be proud of having worked the capitalist system efficiently.

**His ideal society is "Where all men are equal, if not in their ultimate performance, at least equal in the chance of seeking equal education, fulfilment and rewards."**

**"Democratic socialist must seek the ultimate, "in a society where men does not exploit his fellow man, where difference of language, religion or culture are completely subdued by identity of common interest, in an equal and just society where man is rewarded on the basis of merit and effort."**

**"Throughout the history of human civilization there has always been a coincidence of the power of the church and the power of the state. There have always been parallel sets of authorities for the material and the spiritual needs of a society."**

**"In Singapore, we are trying to prevent any recrudescence of the assertion of the right a majority religious group to dominate or coerce other into similar beliefs. It is true that our constitution means that temporal power has been handed to a group of elected representatives who depend upon the support of the majority opinion of the population who intern are open to influences of prevailing religions which had existed before the Europeans came. And so there is a dichotomy becomes acute, and then trials and tribulations are the lot of that society whether it is the prime ministers who get assassinated or riots which take place in the precincts of the holy walls of a temple."**

**"The open society-open to all the influences of a world grown smaller through man's means of rapid communication - must face up to these problems of multi cultures, multi religions and multi languages."**

***"We are now facing tremendous pressures from the majority sect to use the powers of the state to bring about conformity and compliance by minorities."***

Mills said, the leaders used the language of the democracy but it was doubtful, in his view, whether in doing this, they voiced the aspirations of the peasant majority.

Winsted, in his book questioned whether democracy, although successful in Europe suited the needs of Asia. He offered no solution except to remind his readers the best government is the best administration. Western-type parliamentary democracy may have to be adjusted to fit the needs and requirements of Asian peoples.

***"One man - One vote, "which I think makes it an extremely hazardous system to run anywhere in the under developed and the under educated world - where the majority of your population is semi literate. One responds more to carrot than to the stick, so this leads to a situation where he who bids the highest wins. At a time when you want harder work ,one man one vote produces just the opposite. The offer of more return with less work ends up in bankruptcy. I do not think it is a coincidence that ,it has flopped in Pakistan, did not succeed in Burma nearly came to grief in Ceylon."***

***It is not a tradition with the Malays or with the Chinese to count heads. Their custom has always been, to listen to the dictum of the elder.*** (Means – wisdom of the specialist of the Particular field, of specialised knowledge).

The Malays resented the success of the Chinese, an attitude, not confined to Malaya. The same hostility to the Chinese is found, in every country of Southeast Asia. The final cause of hostility was political. The Malays fear that under a democratic government they will be controlled by the Chinese. This seems very probable, since most of the Malays are rather naive and unsophisticated. ***This element of fear must not be underestimated. It is a major driving force in human affairs. Where fear is absent, there can be friendship or at worst indifference, but when one individual or race is afraid of another it breeds hostility and if it strong enough hatred.***

***This deliberate attempt to maintain the status quo and at the same time to ensure the perpetuation of the semi-feudal structure of the economy of the Malays for purely selfish reasons.***

***Tunku Abdul Rahman has often said that the Chinese are good businessmen. They should be allowed the carry on as in the past. Indians are good rubber tappers. They should be left alone in this blissful state in the rubber estates to continue to tap rubber. The Malays are a happy people and they should also left in their present position.***

***Nobody will ever know how many Indians died cleaning the jungles in Malaysia.***

***"Assertion by one group of chauvinists must lead to counter assertion by other chauvinistic group and in no time a multiracial Malaysia must rent asunder by communal conflicts."***



A more just and equal society. By this Lee did not mean that all men were equal and would be rewarded equally. Men are not born equal in either physical or mental capacity.

*Each one of us, has his own ideas of the form and the content. But all of us acknowledge that the only logical course is to come together for our stability and survival in the midst of the shifting balance of forces in Southeast Asia.*

*“Where these two conditions, reasonable living standards and an effective administration, do not exist, democratic socialism cannot provide an answer.”*

*“The democratic socialist can provide the answers quickly enough, only, if he can draw on the technical and industrial skills of the developed industrial nations.”*

*“I believe in an open society, and for that reason we are here. Not to be abused, for abuse carries us nowhere. Not to be intimidated for the members on the other side, like ourselves are brave and gallant men not to be easily intimidated by words. What are at stake are the lives of eleven million people, and foolish words uttered either in anger or in haste can bring about great trials and tribulations all round.”*

*“I believe that Malaysia was founded if you read its constitution as an open society, constituting peoples of various religions, of various languages of varying political beliefs, in which the will of the majority will prevail and in which a large dissenting minority will not be crushed and intimidated and silenced.”*

*“We must resolve to halt this drift to perdition, (Spiritual ruin) resolve to dispel this atmosphere of growing intolerance, resolve to expose the communalist and isolate the extremists, resolve to banish fear and hatred from our hearts and give the people faith in the future and in each other’s good intentions.”*

*“It is clear now that Afro-Asian solidarity was founded on a common antipathy to European domination. They had also proclaimed their solidarity for the virtues of peace, non aggression, non interference, natural respect, regardless of size and power of all the newly independent nations which have and are yet to emerge from European colonial rule. But in less than a decade many conflicts, some old, some new, between different peoples of Afro - Asia led to disillusionment.”*

*“Motivations for human behaviour had always existed and whether these motivations were greed, envy, ambition, greatness, generosity, charity, inevitably they end in, conflict power positions. How the conflict was resolved depended upon the accident of the individuals in charge of the tribes or nations at that given time. What had changed was the facility with which men could now communicate and transport not only ideas but also man himself and his weapons. Therefore, into a very old situation had been introduced a very alarming possibility which put the whole problem of international relations*

*in a very different perspective. Conflict of two absolute powers meant, the distraction of all."*

*"The world consists of more classification and permutation than just the capitalists the communists and the socialists. "*

*"Throughout the world national survival the advancement of purely sectional interest within a nation, have confused the course of development."*

*"Better life is produced only by continued and sustained intense effort."*

*"I am an unrepentant socialist. But in my own state I have to concede that, because it takes a long time to inculcate the high values of public duty and sense of service to the community, performance has been best only, when workers were offered high incentives for high performance."*

*"From each, his economic best, to each his need, can only be relevant after we have moved away from ignorance, illiteracy, poverty and economic backwardness."*

*"What some people dread most is the eventual establishment of such an equal and multiracial society."*

*"I would like to believe that as democratic socialists, and by the co-ordination of our thinking and co-operation in economic and social fields, both on a regional and on a world basis we can help the realization of a satisfying life for all."*

*"Every man was out for himself. This is dominant characteristic of Singapore. And this must be changed. There must be a change from a trading migrant community to a rooted community in a hazardous region. Can you make that change in attitudes and values? Your incentives, your motivations must change, because the situations with which you are confronted have changed. Vast changes are taking place. Changes in values, in concepts, that affect us, because they not only affect the mood and the style of doing things, they also affect projection planning of the super powers."*

- 1) *How do we ensure, our interests are not prejudiced in this situation? I would say that our best chances lie in a very tightly - organised society. There is no other way. Many other small societies like ours have survived.*
- 2) *The second important objective which we must achieve is an ability to mobilize the maximum that we are capable of. Societies like ours have no fat to spare. They are either lean and healthy or they die. You have not got much to spare. If you do not have an army, you will always be exposed to perils when bases are run down and many problems arise.*

*"What is required is a rugged, resolute, highly trained, highly disciplined community. Create such a community and you will survive and prosper here for thousands of years."*

*"We have however to reassess our plans for the kind of society we have to build. The emphasis must be on a rugged society."*

*"Another matter on which we must change our attitudes is the system of wages and salaries we pay. We must make it worth while for everyone to work his best. We often did pay the hard working and not hard-working, the same wage, and we just cannot afford to continue this. Our system of incentives must change and rewards*

must be equated to results, and not just to time. High incentives for high performance will build the kind of society which will guarantee us our pre-eminence as a centre of orderly growth and progress in an otherwise troublesome region."

"We want to live our lives as free men in an open society, not as sycophants or worse as serfs doing other people's bidding. If you want to live your own life, then you must be well organised, and you must have a tough society. And everybody must know that, small though we may be, this place is not a digestible morsel."

"The world must be made secure, for each nation to develop according to its own genius and its own chosen political and economic system."

"Known for tenacity of purpose and clarity of vision Mr. Lee has set out to persuade fellow Asians to create and strengthen as many common links as possible with a view to arriving later at a common agreed arrangement in which one would be for all and all for one."

"I demand the right, and I do not care whether the United Nations or the charter of human rights guarantees me this. Which I think I have, and you have that we should live in peace to be able to develop ourselves to the maximum of our capacity. And any one who sets about to destroy that right, I will resist either quietly, and surreptitiously or overtly and boisterously."

"Nothing is predestined."

"Whilst you're geographic and natural resources and other factors are by and large unchanging, your human factor is capable of change and it does change with very important and significant consequences. That means for us the very real danger that in the same way as we see salvation through innovation with new skills, new techniques, new methods of seeking livelihood. In this type of situation, so others will consider us a threat. For our resourcefulness poses a challenge to the type of society which they believe should be there for all time."

"I venture to suggest, that it is the absence of severe controls over human activity, the abstinence from the use of the spur or the whip on the working class in the public sector, plus the checks on outright exploitation of the working class in the private sector, which explains why, inspite of external help in investment in heavy industry, there has been no spectacular break through as yet in India. The absence of a trained cadre of administrators (which India had) the absence of any systematic training in the professions and technology made it difficult for successive governments to implement plans which were basically sound in the context of the great resources, both human and natural."

## 2.1 Social Democracy

"We had a deep sense of mission to establish a clean and effective government. When we took the oath of office at the ceremony in the city council chamber in June 1959, we all wore white shirts and white slacks to symbolise purity and honesty in our personal behaviour and our public life. The people expected this of us, and we were determined to live up to their expectations."

*“From the very beginning we gave special attention to the areas where discretionary powers had been exploited for personal gain and sharpened the instruments that could prevent, detect or deter such practices.”*

*“We decided to concentrate on the big takers in the high echelons and directed the CPIB on our priorities. For the smaller fish we set out to simplify procedures and remove discretion by having clear published guidelines. As we ran into problems in securing convictions in prosecutions, we tightened the law in stages.”*

*“For it may help their parties project an image in greater depth of the meaning of social democracy. It is not just a simple business as taking from the haves and giving it to the have-nots, so that every body or the majority of the people, who are have-nots will have more, without doing anything more for it. It was an over simplified view of democratic socialism, to say that all a socialist had to do was to take over power from the colonialist take over all the big houses, big cars, big offices, the chairs and tables and the few factories of the capitalists and distribute them amongst the poorer people and the problems of poverty would disappear. It was believed since poverty is caused by exploitation when exploitation is ended, so will poverty. When several democratic socialist parties were given the chance to govern after the Second World War, in Indonesia in Burma and in Ceylon they failed pitifully. For to eradicate poverty, one had to eradicate ignorance and banish obscurantism. People, mainly have-nots had to be educated, trained, disciplined and made into useful digits of the modern industrial society.”*

*“I am for a policy of great resolution and immense restraint. Such a policy can and will win in the end.”*

*“Most of our resources will go into economic development. Higher productivity with the elimination of restrictive practices, abuses of fringe benefits, and more efficient management, with even lower cost, we must reach out for more export markets.”*

*“He was confident that if the people maintained group discipline, if everyone contributed his fullest share of physical and intellectual effort to the fulfilment of plans, ‘we shall not fail’.”*

*“Let me put in a positive way, what we want? First a striving acquisitive community. You cannot have people just striving for a nebulous idea. They must have that desire to improve. You must equate rewards to performance, because no two persons want to be the same. They want equal chances in order that they can show, how one is better than the other. This is a fact of life which even the communists have had to admit.”*

*“Each man shall be rewarded in accordance with what he contributes, not “to each in accordance with his needs”. Next we want forward looking good management.”*

## 2.2 Political and Economic Modernisation

*“More important, most of us (Ministers) had working wives who could support the family if we were imprisoned or not around. This shaped the attitudes of my ministers and their wives. When ministers commanded the respect and confidence of the people, public servants were also able to hold their heads high and make*

*decisions with confidence. It made a critical difference in our battle against the communists."*

*"Besides natural conservation, the other problem is fear of competition for jobs. Both at professional and lower levels, there is resistance to the inflow of talent. Singaporeans know that more foreign talent will create more jobs."*

*"Thousands of engineers, managers and other professionals who came from abroad have helped us to grow. They are the extra megabytes in Singapore's computer. If we do not top up with foreign talent, we will not make it into the top league."*

*"We changed the constitution in 1990 to provide for a small number of non-elected MPs, called Nominated MPs (or NMPs) to reflect independent and non-partisan views. The NMPs have played a constructive role airing carefully considered criticisms of government policies and the government has taken them seriously."*

PAP leaders respond to charges in the needs and aspirations of a better educated people, and to desire for greater participation, in decisions that shape their lives. Singapore's options are not that numerous that there will be unbridgeable differences between differing political views in working out solutions to our problems. Socialism means social justice.

A precondition for a honest government is that candidates must not need large sums of money to get elected, or it must trigger off cycle of corruption. Singapore has avoided the use of money to win elections. It has shown that a system of clean, no money elections helps preserve an honest government. But Singapore will remain clean and honest only if honest, able men are willing to fight elections and assume office. They must be paid a wage commensurate with what men of their ability and integrity are earning for managing a big corporation or successful legal or other professional practices.

*"With the founder generation of leaders, honesty had become a habit. My colleagues would spurn any attempt to suborn them. They had put their lives in jeopardy to achieve power, not to enrich themselves, but to change society however this group could not be replicated because it was not possible to recreate the conditions that made them different."*

*"Most of the new countries, the transition from governor's rule to rule by elected legislature with elected cabinet ministers took less than twelve years. Then, in less than half that time, many countries changed over to presidential rule. Nowhere in Asia or Africa except in Ceylon had there been a complete circuit, where power was handed over from a constitutionally elected government to a constitutionally elected opposition and then back again. In the process, stresses and strains did considerable damage to the economy and the social fabric of Ceylon."*

*"Most of the new governments pursued policies of economic self sufficiency. It was free enterprise which accounted for the progress of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore which though in Southeast Asia had considerable East Asian or Chinese enterprise which had been allowed to operate and flourish. Thailand was also fortunate in never having been incorporated into a European empire. So the Thai's were aware that besides the removal of colonial exploitation, there were*

*other positive factors needed like enterprise management know-how and technological skills and capital before national wealth could be increased. Many governments in the region had tended sometimes deliberately to overlook the fact that it was free enterprise and not state planning and planning agencies, which had achieved industrialization of the economics of Western Europe, America and Japan.*

*"The main problem was that of ensuring a general climate of peace and security. Without security, constructive endeavour within each nation was difficult and co-operation between nations impossible. Conflicts between these new countries and interference by countries both inside and outside the region through subversion and through economic and political pressure and manipulation made for unnecessary turbulence. They resulted in fritting away of precious resources and energy. Southeast Asia had been an unsettled area. Yet the basic environment of security could only spring from the policies of the major world powers."*

*"For in the longer term, the only way to peace and progress is through the modernising of these societies and through rational economic and social policies providing the political stability. Only economic and social change will remove the latest internal pressures for violent revolutionary change."*

*"Everybody had to solve his problem, his own way. I can't tell my neighbours how they should solve their minority or other problems, just as I think they have no business telling me how I solve mine. I prefer to solve mine by sinking a lot of investment into education into housing to give the people who are less competitive a chance to keep up with progress. And I would like to believe that in the long run, because it is successful in lessening friction between ethnic groups this may point the way to similar solutions elsewhere. But the last thing we want to do, is to give advice."*

*It is not pre-determination but determination which decides what happens to a people.*

*"Some of the less developed countries, at the rate they were going, "will not even in thousand years, achieve the present standards of America, Western Europe or Russia unless they change the cultural and educational milieu through which alone they can bring forth the best of the innate qualities in the people."*

*"That we have done well under circumstances which would have crushed lesser spirits does not mean we can afford to slack. We cannot afford to carry passengers. Whether brains or brawn, whether university student or unskilled labourer. We expect and we will expect from each his best. No one is privileged to ask somebody else to carry the burden of making secure the quality of life which we have achieved. A New Year resolution for 1969 "I will give my best", and judging from the figures of 1968 our best will be good enough."*

*"In Southeast Asia the Vietcong have demonstrated that, given the tenacity the capacity the will to slog it out to the very end of the time, even the world's mightiest military and technological power can be persuaded to negotiate a settlement."*

"The first business of a government is to govern firmly and wisely in the interest of the whole community."

"And by right values I mean the values that will ensure you a reasonably secure, a relatively high standard of living which demands a disciplined community, prepared to give of its best, and ready to pay for what it wants, work and earn and pay for what it wants. Nothing is more disastrous than to be sucked up into the feels and fetches that we read about and see on our television screens, the kinds of student protest, unrest, malaise in North America, in part of Western Europe and in Britain. They have their problems: We have ours. We share some problems in common, living in a world which has grown smaller as a result of man's inventiveness and his capacity for instant communication and rapid transportation. Ideas pass quickly from capital to capital and we happen to be on the Jet route and the satellite communication system besides the SEACOM communication system. So what happens in London, Washington, we know of in a matter of minutes or see on our television screen in a matter of hours. But always ask: is this relevant to me? Ask yourself that question."

"As generation passes on, a younger one takes over, and I do not want to see what we have done, over the past ten years, go into fumbling, feeble hands. They must go into hands which are firm, minds which are just free from muddle-headed thinking, which means that we will see to it that our universities and most important, teachers in those universities, reflects the values which by trial and error, plus theory, have shown to be important, if we are to continue to prosper and to flourish."

"This was a troubled part of the world. It did no good to pretend that all was well. We know that all may not be well. But all difficulties would be manageable and resolved, if preparations were made and precautions taken to ensure that nothing was allowed to disturb the racial harmony or upset respect for law and order, so essential for our economic growth"

"If we are to overcome our problems, we must reaffirm our determination not to allow any citizen to be persecuted because of his race, religion language or culture. Four great civilizations have met in confluence here. The British, Malay, Indian and Chinese came and they built a metropolis out of a fishing village equator. Eventually, perhaps after several generations, a separate distinct Singapore identity will emerge in which the difference of race, culture and religion will be more than made up for by similarities in values, attitudes and a feeling of belonging to one whole."

"Whilst economics would never become as exact, as the physical sciences, analysis and anticipation could become more accurate, as the social sciences gave better insights into the group behaviour and responses of different peoples, and the character of their leaders."

"From each of his best, to each his needs"

"Similarly, the Americans had a continuing flow of migrant expertise from Europe and the vast open spaces - the new frontiers of the Wild West enabled them to reach the degree of technology and competence which put them with the highest G.N.P. in the world. And yet newly independent countries were expected to run representative forms of government - one man one vote, not make their people give of their

best, have minimum number of working hours per week, maximum paid holidays, maximum maternity, medical and other benefits, ending up with minimum productivity and no growth rate worth talking about."

*"But Mr. President, I do not believe that these discussions we can have in Lusaka and all the resolutions we shall pass at Lusaka or at the U.N. can make up for that sustained build up of a disciplined, dedicated, thrusting organised fight for freedom by the peoples within these territories. Perhaps we are coloured by what happen in our own part of the world. I have had examples in South East Asia, where all the latest weaponry, gadgetry, military technology have been brought to naught by the ingenuity of man and his determination that he shall be free."*

"The first dilemma to be faced was the thesis upon which freedom was achieved that freedom must bring about a more equal, a more just society. And this could not be brought about immediately. For any development to take place, there must be capital accumulation: in other words, preferably consumption must be less than income, so that, more could be ploughed back as capital and in very special instances, free grants for either ideological, political, strategic or other. Considerations from the more developed countries. The English speaking part of the under developed world faced a second dilemma: that as high level man power was trained the need arose to explain to the electorate that, inspite of belief in an egalitarian society, which was what had been preached pre-independence and post-independence, nevertheless a high level technocrat command a world price. He could move across national frontiers, which an unskilled or semi skilled or even a skilled could not do. Trained, he had to be paid according to what he deserved in the context of an under-developed society. Unless he had a deep sense of dedication, which did not necessarily go with the investment, the community made in him, he would leave. "And so the British are being creamed off by the Americans, and the British are creaming off the Indians and so on. What is the way out of this dilemma? Industrial and technological transformation requires two important factors amongst others. First, a highly disciplined work force, highly skilled, capable of intense effort over sustained periods. Second good managerial, engineering and administrative digits."

"The inequality, the wage differential, between an engineer and a factory foreman is less in a highly developed country than in an under developed country - if that under developed country is developing. Otherwise, it will loose the engineer and the whole factory will close down. This is one of the curious contradiction we face in the contemporary world. A British engineer finds himself heavily taxed, subsidizing free education, extensive medical and social services, public housing and his wage is not all what of a multiple over the foreman's."

"The under developed country on the other hand in order to keep the engineer in whom the state has invested considerable sums of money has got to pay him not in money terms but in real terms, something comparable to what he can command in the world outside, in the English speaking world."

"The only countries that had avoided doing this, were those societies that were either closed, and therefore emigration was difficult, as the Russians and the Chinese or where the cultural net work was such that language and cultural made emigration and a brain drain very uncomfortable business. So with the



*Germans and the Japanese both of them imbued with a deep sense of patriotism and a desire to rebuild their war-damaged war-ravaged countries and to demonstrate to the world that despite the fact that they lost the war, they deserved to win the peace."*

*"You know that there have been communal incidents. I returned on 20<sup>th</sup>, May knowing that Malay had been shot and killed by a group of thugs not very far from here. We held the ground. It erupted again last Saturday. When a situation like that happens, you first let everybody know that there will be just, fair and firm government. We talk about good with love, fraternity in one community, after everybody knows that his life and his prosperity are best secured by listening to reason, and to what the government through its police is urging him to do. Not to take the law into his own hands, and not to believe, that for reasons of sentiment he ought to beat another person up, because of his race. That is a very foolish thing to do in Singapore. Those who take the law into their own hands will be smacked down firmly and where the evidence justifies it, a criminal prosecution will go right through the end."*

*"No country had developed and industrialized itself on the basis of universal franchise not even Britain, the pioneer of industrial societies. They had to exploit their own labour and their colonies in order that they could become industrialized society."*

*"Even so, in spite of this, and in spite of Lee Kuan Yew's ardent advocacy upon his conviction's and his fundamental belief in the rule of law equal to all, it would probably be more correct to say that most Singaporeans of Chinese descent are much less interested in democracy, than they are in humanistic reasonable government, by a leadership elite."*

"In China", says Dennis Blood worth, "The Chinese have long since resigned themselves to the fact that Confucian government by goodness is only practicable in a state which is liberally dosed with dictatorship. They do not demand democracy but a square deal". Neither do the Chinese in Singapore demand democracy. They accept the democracy, Lee Kuan Yew has worked, to give them, but they are more interested in Lee's constant assurance that his government intends to create a more just and a more equal society. Lee is sufficiently a Chinese to know, that, Singaporeans prefer good government to chaotic lawlessness in which it is difficult to do business and live in reasonable safety: he knows they would prefer a square deal to liberalism; but the westerner in him insists that they have both democracy and good government, including a square deal.

The Chinese have always been accustomed to law which protects the state rather than the individual and this probably mitigated against the communist revolt. It also helps to explain Chinese reaction to what they consider to be good government. When, for example eighteen criminals were hanged in Changi, Gaol in 1966, for killing two Singapore prison officials, not a single word of protest or criticism was publicly uttered by anyone. Lee Kuan Yew's view was that they were antisocial, unfit to live, in Singapore society. Singaporeans of Chinese descent shared his view: in their opinion they were ruthless gangsters, extortionists and unconvinced murderers: they had killed state servants and destroyed state property by smashing and burning all the facilities

and equipment of an island open prison. In these circumstances the state was entitled to forfeit. **Good governments rule firmly and demonstrate their ability to do so when occasion demands.**

As a democrat Lee Kuan Yew holds, that every citizen must have the right to elect a government of his own choice. He hopes that parliamentary democracy based upon the British methods, but adapted, where necessary to fit Singapore requirements, will survive. To his legal mind, the democratic insistence upon all essential issues being openly discussed, and voted upon in parliament, provides the "Square deal" in government which citizens of Chinese and other descent demand. This ensures the continuance of the "open society" which is an important factor in Lee Kuan Yew's political thinking but whether in fact Singapore can produce sufficient interest in democracy, to provide the government with an intelligent constructive opposition, is another matter.

Lee's dilemma is to wean Singaporeans away from their complacent attitude of leaving everything to the state to the government, and to replace this with a judgement which understands that, while good government must be supported, this still leaves a lot of community work for public spirited citizens to organise for the good of the whole community. **This is not easy in a community renowned for its individualism and its basic belief that a good government provides the infrastructure and leaves the people to do the best they can for themselves.**

## 2.3 Political Beliefs

- |                       |   |  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Democracy             | : | How one after another of the newly independent countries had been ruined by the system of one-man-one-vote.  |
| Media                 | : | How the American Media had debased public respect for their leaders and had played a key part in changing social customs and morale, not necessarily for the better.   |
| Culture Meritocracy   | : | The importance of culture in determining the dynamism of any society.<br><br>Genes played a major role in deciding a man's ability, the high standards he set for political leaders in their public conduct. |
| View of western media | : | Ruthless, Autocratic, Power hungry.  |



## GOOD GOVERNMENT

### Starting point in Lee's quest for good government

It is what is needed first and foremost are good men, with ability, integrity commitment and that special quality which will make them keep their cool under fire. Nothing matters more than this seemingly self evident truth which has received scant attention in the great tracts of political Philosophy. Even bad system can be made to work by a group of capable leaders.

*"Singapore must get some of its best in each year's crop of graduates into government. When I say best, I don't mean just academic results. His 'O' levels, 'A" levels, university degree will only tell you his powers of analysis. That is only one-third of the helicopter quality. You've then got to assess him for his sense of reality, his imagination, his quality of leadership, his dynamism. But most of all, his character and his motivation, because the smarter a man is, more harm he will do to society."*

*"About getting good men to serve in government? How does a country get its best and its brightest to govern? How does it ensure, that only the most capable, the honest and the uncorrupt do so?"*

*"And what sort of men should be attracted to leadership? What qualities are needed to govern effectively? Under what circumstances will the most capable and the most upright thrown up and offer themselves for government. What system, if any, needs to be put in place to make sure that they will come forward, and not dishonest, the corrupt and the self serving."*

*"The conventional wisdom is that good men will come forward willy-nilly, that it is in the nature of human society, that they will inevitably be found."*

*"It is a powerful set of ideals that has inspired men through the years to live, to fight and certainly to die for them."*

*"What happened in the newly independent countries of the 1940s and 1950s as one after another plunged into strife and turmoil has had a tremendous impact on him."*

*"So we could see that it was going to fail, and I could see what was happening in Ceylon. The system was supposed to work. I could see, watching Ceylon, watching India, watching Pakistan. (They had just got their independence) watching, Burma with their constitutions and their peoples, could we work out our constitution."*

Lee understood the forces and motivation that had driven them to action. He knew only too well the force of circumstances and the uncertain temper of the times that had thrown up these men.

***"I would say the real problem now in Singapore politically-as different from the economics of it, is how do we, over the next 10 years, allow a new generation to emerge to take over from us. This is important. We are not getting younger. We cannot go on for-ever. And you must allow sufficient free play on the ground for a new generation to emerge well in time to take over."***

***"Unless you feel strongly enough, you don't emerge; you just subside beneath the broad mass. Some-how, some device, same method, some system must be brought about to tap your best into political leadership. Otherwise, the country won't tick."***

If there was a problem he thought would get in the way of the country's well-being, he was determined to find a solution to it, even if it meant going against conventional wisdom. And **what could be more important than finding good men to serve in government?** He believed that the problem was especially acute for newly emerging countries; developed countries already had an established tradition for throwing up leaders. Yet it was newly independent countries that **cried out for capable leaders to solve their numerous and pressing problems.**

***"It is in our interest to show that under the system of "one-man-one-vote" there can be an honest and efficient government which works through an efficient administration in the interest of the people. If we do not do our best, then we have only ourselves to blame when the people lose faith, not just in you, the public service and in us, the democratic political leadership, but also in the democratic system of which you and I are working parts."***

***"And when they lose faith, then they will look for alternative forms of government. And let us never forget that the communists are, only too ready to offer the people more drastic alternatives in social revolution than the democratic system of government. It is our duty to see that the people are never confronted with such an alternative of despair."***

***"This quality, combined with his thoroughness in attending to important details, has been instrumental in developing a civil service that has been an effective machine in carrying out government's programmes, and is now acknowledged as one of the best in the world. But in the early days the bureaucratic top down culture of the service made it haughty at the top and lackadaisical and unresponsive at the bottom."***

***"You know I will not tolerate this. When you have a button, there must be a purpose. When you click it, the light goes off. So, that is, what it is for. When you want the light on, you make sure you click it and it is on. And that is what I want this government to do (work)."***

***"Is this a good government that, I can trust to look after me and my family and will see that my children are educated and will have a job better than mine, and have a home better than mine? Is it fair or is it unfair and unjust, favouring its relatives, its friends; looting the public purse for its relatives for itself so that ministers live in luxury whilst the masses live in squalor. Those are the crucial issues because those are the issues that have toppled governments in the third world."***

Firm, decisive, farsighted. Those were the hallmarks of Lee's political leadership. Some called his style authoritarian, even autocratic.

**"My idea of popular government is that you don't have to be popular all the time when you are governing. There are moments when you have to be thoroughly unpopular. But at the end of your term, you should have brought about sufficient benefits so that the people realise what you did was necessary and will vote for you again. That is the basis on which I have governed. If you want to be popular all the time, you will misgovern."**

The manner in which he changed his views along the way is a fascinating story of how Lee, when confronted with the fact that reality and observation did not quite conform? To ideology, plumbed decidedly for the former.

**"The heart of the question is what makes a good government? That is the core of the question. Can you have a good government without good men in charge of government? My experience in Asia has led me to a different conclusion. To get good government, you must have good men in charge of government. I have observed in the last 40 years that even with a poor system of government, but with a good strong man in charge, people get passable government with decent progress."**

**"But the societies did not have the leaders who could work those institutions, nor the men who respected those institutions. Furthermore, the esteem, the habits of obedience to a person because of his office, not because of his person, is something that takes generations to build into a people. But the leaders who inherited these constitutions were not equal to the job and their countries failed and their system collapsed in riots, in coups and in revolution."**

**"The practice of big American corporations is, for the chief executive officer to step down at 65. I believe this is based on sound medical grounds. The chief executive officer has to ensure a smooth succession to secure the continuing progress of the enterprise. I have a duty to do the same for Singapore."**

Capacity and willingness to learn from experience. Change his beliefs even radically, practice the final implementation of policies. Constant striving to seek results. Doggedness to achieve those results, never losing sight of his objectives and relentlessly clearing all obstacles.

**"If it is not worthy of doing, well I'm not prepared to spend time. If some thing is worth doing, I would put my strength, determination and willingness to see my objective to its conclusion."**

**"I just cost, anything, it doesn't matter whether it succeeds or not, it's of no consequence."**

- Democracy** :- One man-one-vote newly independent countries ruined by this system.
- Media** :- American Media had debased public respect for their leaders and had played a key part in changing social customs and moves, not necessarily for the better.
- Culture** :- Culture determines the dynamism of any society. Genes played a major role in deciding a man's ability.

*"Set high standards for political leaders in their public conduct."*

*"Must break down the belief that we are inferior to Europeans."*

*"Without countless unnamed Indian patriots who did their share in awakening a sense of national pride and dignity and independence, there could have been no Congress Party, no Gandhi, no Nehru and no Indian Republic."*

*"If you do not want to associate with anybody who has left wing ideas, you are left with crooks and opportunists."*

*"So really, when you say you are fighting for the hearts of the people, you are fighting for the loyalties of key players."*

*"The battle for man's minds cannot be won by the simple smearing of a man being either anti communist and reactionary or a wavering bourgeoisie, social democrat or communist. Therefore in this battle of ideas it is necessary that we should call a spade, a spade and put across truthfully and honestly, the respective positions of everyone."*

*"How did NASA select aspiring candidates for Apollo 13, desperate trouble in space in 1970 and how they know they had the greatest probability of remaining calm, and collected throughout the ordeal and to make critical manures, that mattered? What is the selection process, should they, would not buckle under the severest test? In other words, how do you find such good men?"*

*"We have to find good men. For any group of men, the final achievement is to see their creation bloom and flourish. There will be new problems but the basic factors are the same. The world is different, the economy is more complex and sophisticated, but what makes a society tick, what gives a people flexibility, the cohesiveness, the thrust, the dynamism, always seeking new ways to overcome new problems or old problems-that, as old as the beginning of man and the first tribes. This will be the story of Singapore."*

### Failure of Communists

*"Their ability to penetrate an organisation with a few cadres and take control of it was fearsome, and playing on the human rights sentiments of the western media. To make it difficult for them to manipulate non-political bodies, we require all who enter the political arena to form Failure of Communists*

*"Their ability to penetrate an organisation with a few cadres and take control of it was fearsome, and playing on the human rights sentiments of the western media. To make it difficult for them to manipulate non-political bodies, we require all who enter the political arena to form their legitimate vehicle, a political party. In this way we have prevented our trade unions from being infiltrated and kept our social, cultural and trade organisations free from communist influence. Despite ruthless methods where the ends justifies the means, the communists failed, but not before destroying many who stood up against them, and others who after joining them decided that their cause was mistaken."*

*"If we had betrayed the people's trust, we would have been rejected. We took advantage of the expansion in world trade and investments to move from Third world to first world standards in one generation."*

### Law suits initiated by Lee / state during his leadership

*“Had I not sued, these allegations would have gained credence. Western liberal critics argue that my reputation is so unassailable that nobody will believe the outrageous things said about me. So I should ignore them magnanimously instead of suing vindictively. But outrageous statements are disbelieved only because they are vigorously refuted. If I failed to sue, that would be cited as proof that there was something in it.”*

- 1) Syed Ja'afar Albar  
1965 - Appologised in court and paid legal cost  
- Secretary General of UMNO
- 2) J.B.Jeyaratnam  
1976 - M.P. - Won damages and costs.
- 3) Francies Seow  
1986 - Former solicitor General.  
Being an agent and for fraudulent methods.  
U.S. government gave political asylum.
- 4) Far Eastern Economic Review. - The Judge found against Hong Kong the review and its editor
- 5) International Herald Tribune. - Appologised and paid (02-Aug-1994) damages and costs.  
- Owned by New York Times and Washington post
- 6) Asian weekly (Chinese)  
(02-June-1996) - Admitted liability and paid a large sum in settlement

*“Voters have come to expect any allegation of impropriety or dishonesty to be challenged in the courts. Those who allege that my libel actions were designed to silence the opposition do not understand how readily an allegation of dishonesty or corruption would be believed in a religion where corruption cronyism and nepotism are still a plague.”*

*“Communists are the most tightly organised political forces in the country. The good things of life can only come by hard work over a long time. I could hear chaps being chased and being killed. The communists had come out and were killing whoever they thought was a collaborator or an informer. It was summary justice. There was a certain streak of cruelty may be they deserved to die but that's not the way to do it. I mean, are you sure this is the chap? And you just catch hold of him; get him in a corner and bom! bom! And he is dead. So that left a deep impression on me, that these are ruthless, brutal... There was no sense of fairness in retribution. There was certain ruthlessness about the way they manipulated people and got friends to fix other friends and control them. And if you break away from the organisation, then they will fix you and destroy you. There was a ... lack of humanity about it.”*

*“I could not accept communism.... emotionally. I rejected it because it was coercive; it used methods which are disapproved of.... A chap disagrees, and you stab him and kill him. There is no give and take.”*

“Fundamental factor was their appeal was really based on Chinese chauvinism, pride in the Chinese party’s success, and in the China, the Chinese communist party had created. So that narrowed them down to only Chinese chauvinists and a few idealist and ideologues like Deven Nair, Wood Hull, James Puthuchery, that sprinkling of them right? That’s limitation number one. They were not geared for Malayan revolution; they were geared for Chinese revolution.”

“Second, their leaders lacked an understanding of the non-Chinese world. They saw the world through the Chinese eyes with communist spectacles. They could not see the wider world and that led them to make many more serious mistakes.”

“And one serious mistake was that, they believed – and this is how they lost the referendum and they lost the elections – they believed they could break away from the PAP and capture enough votes either in the assembly or later in the elections to form the government. There was no distinction for them between Singapore and Malaya. This was the second mistake.”

“Third mistake was complete ignorance of constitutional practices. They didn’t understand those rules at all.”

“The Chinese chauvinism was going to be a major force and would move in the same direction as communism.”

“Looking over the last decade, one of the reasons why the communist failed was that, they worked on a class hatred, which was not there. I believed they underestimated our determination. They believed we were English-educated, bourgeois and very soft, not prepared to die. And therefore, in a real show down, we may panic and beat retreat. I think they were unprepared for our resolution and our determination to lose everything but continue to fight them. That must have been a surprise to them.”

“We were frightened, but not so frightened as to give up. I did not believe that their system was right, that it would win. I believed, it was basically flawed, it was evil. They had personal attractive qualities, they wanted to do good to the people. But the system was such that in the end it would do harm to the people, completely ruthless. I don’t know, may be it’s just a visceral reaction. You see, it is not something you argue intellectually.”

“I think the biggest shock and disillusionment to them was, to see that China was after all not a success, that it was a mirage. That was the biggest shock because these people were trading on that belief, that if you help them win here, they would produce the same China miracle. But then there were no China, a miracle, which was the biggest shock of all.”

“The method of organisation to capture power has nothing to do with the ideology. It is a technique of acquiring power. There are two different things, one is the ideology, your beliefs, which helps to generate the sense of inevitability and therefore making the recruitment easier. Inevitability of victory. The other is the method of organising secretly, using persuasion and force when necessary and capturing power, creating disorder. And that is independent of ideology. And that, I think, we must prevent them from ever bringing back to Singapore.”



### 3.1 Order or Chaos

*“I explained our system (elimination of corruption). First – good intelligence; next, an impersonal not a subjective approach; third solid backing from the top for anti-corruption investigation and prosecution.”*

It would take longer to people as a whole to accept the rule of law, and act in accordance with it. **As long as the top people practice it, rule of law would work.** He came across as a serious man who had thought through his problems.

Freedom could only exist in an orderly state, not when there was continuous contention or anarchy. Parts of contemporary, American society were totally unacceptable to Asians, because they represented a break down of civil society with guns, drugs, violent crime, vagrancy and vulgar public behaviour. America should not foist its system indiscriminately on other societies where it would not work.

*“If we fail to fulfil our duty, the change that still will come must be a violent one, for whatever the rights and wrong of communism, no one can deny its tremendous appeal to the masses.”*

*“But we can affect the speed and orderliness of the change. What the individual returning home chooses to do is a question of personal inclination, economic circumstances, and political convictions. Irresponsible communal leadership will bring disaster.”*

*“There can be no leaders without a body to lead, there can be no body to lead if there is no cohesion.”*

*As single individuals, any Malayan nationalist who attempt to propagate ideas that would lead to the end of British Malaya would be considered undesirable by the British authorities. We have been able to grumble to each other; Or if we are too poor or too afraid even to grumble, we just suffer.”*

*“We formed a party because we felt that, we must have a genuine political party rooted in the people. Our members are people of all races, and they come from all classes of society. It was after we had formed the party that our members decided to contest these elections. Our helpers are all voluntary, ordinary workers like you and me- professionals.”*

### 3.2 Factors Underpinning the Democratic System

*“We were swept up by the wave of revolution in Asia, determined to get rid of Colonial rule, but angry at and ashamed of the Asian Nationalist Leaders whose failure to live up to their ideals had disillusioned us.”*

*“Anticorruption law gave wide powers to investigators, including arrest and search and investigation of bank accounts and bank books of suspected persons and their wives, children or agents.”*

*“With a keen nose to the ground and the power to investigate every officer and every minister, the director of the CPIB, working from the prime Minister’s office, developed a justly formidable reputation for sniffing out those betraying the public trust.”*

***“We increased the maximum fine for corruption from US\$.10,000/- to US\$100,000/-. Misleading information to CPIB, an offence, subject to imprisonment and a fine of up to US\$.10,000/-, and confiscate the benefits derived from corruption.”***

### **Important Anti corruption activities**

- 1971 - CPIB. Broke a syndicate of over 250 mobile squad police men.  
 Customs officers.  
 Personnel in the central supplies office.  
 Officers in the import/export department  
 Contractors  
 Public health labourers.  
 Principals and teachers.

- High profile cases - Ministers.
- Tan Kia Gan - Minister for National development  
 1966 - Removed from all posts.
- Nee Toon Boon - Minister of state  
 1975 - 4 years and six months in Jail. – Sentence reduced by 18 month.
- Phey Yew Kok - President of NTVC and PAP – M.P.  
 1979 - Released on bail. Jumped bail last heard of in Thailand.
- The Cheang Wan - Minister for National Development Committed suicide  
 1986
- Devan Nayar - Made to resign from the post of President Alcoholism & Misbehaviour.

***“We had established a climate of opinion which looked upon corruption in public office a threat to society. It is easy to start off with high moral standards, strong convictions and determination to beat corruption. But it is difficult to live up to these good intentions unless the leaders are strong and determined enough to deal with all transgressors, and without exception. CPIB officers must be supported without fear or favour to enforce the rules.”***

***“We were swept up by the wave of revolution in Asia, determined to get rid of Colonial rule, but angry at and ashamed of the Asian nationalist leaders whose failure to live up to their ideals had disillusioned us.”***

***“Development required foregoing consumption, saving, investment, training in short a considerable amount of sacrifice and pain. But the democratic pull went the other way. Where the majority of your population is semi-literate, it responds more to the carrot than to the stick, and politicians at election time***

*cannot use the stick. So... he who bids the highest wins. At a time when you want harder work with less return and more capital investment, one-man-one-vote produces the opposite."*

*"Effective government ... in an under developed situation means a government that must improve investment rate that must demand more effort for less return over a sustained period. Unless you had exceptional leadership and exceptional circumstances – to take the solution which is least painful ... the least painful solution is not to make undue demands on your population ... not to increase investment rate and not to back up your society."*

*"He was not one to believe that matters of state could be settled by consulting the people through referenda or opinion polls."*

### 3.3 Range in Voting System

*"Later we may have to give more weighting to the people, whose views should carry more weight because their contributions are greater, and their responsibilities are greater, in which case, we should consider giving those between the ages of 35 and 60, married with families, one extra vote. Their contribution to the economy and to society is greatest at this stage of life. Also they need to vote for themselves and also for their children."*

*"Their children have an interest that needs to be protected. Once past 60, their children would have grown up, and would vote for themselves. Then the parents should drop back to one vote. But during those critical years 35-60, people who carry twice as much responsibility should have two votes. This will make for a more viable system and a more stable society."*

*"We should not make unnecessary changes to the constitution, but look ahead and keep in mind that no constitution can stay unchanged for all time. The nature of society will change, the external environment that Singapore faces will change, and we have to change."*

### 3.4 An Asian Alternative.

*"Democracy was not an end in itself. He believed that there was nothing inevitable about the system. At the end of the day what mattered most was not what form the system took, but whether it worked to improve the lives of the people."*

*"What are we all seeking? A form of government that will be comfortable, because it meets our needs is not oppressive, and maximises our opportunities. I'm not intellectually convinced that one-man-one-vote is the best."*

*"To work, he argued, the system have to be adopted to suit the social, economic and cultural context of the societies in which it was to be applied."*

The peoples of Asia want higher standards of living in an orderly society. Our problem has been how to maintain stability in spite of the destabilising tendencies of

one-man-one-vote in a new society divided by race, language and religion. We have had to put political stability as the first priority.

*“Lee was not against the idea of a parliamentary opposition. A good opposition could, offer Government Ministers useful sparring partners, sharpen their skills and keep them on their toes.”*

Worse (opposition), instead of contributing to the debates on policy, they often sewed to under mine the system by casting aspersions on its key institutions, such as the judiciary and civil service.

***“We will take all good minds that are honest and sincere about doing a job for the people”.***

As world was drawn ever closer together, norms for decent behaviour would be established. Attempting to force western standards on Asian Societies not only smoked of cultural arrogance, it risked throwing these societies into Chaos and Confusion.

Now that the cold war has ended, I hope it is possible for western political scientists to write in more objective terms. **Why has democracy not worked in most of these newly independent countries? In particular, why has an American-based constitution failed to work in America’s only former colony, the Philippines?**

*“When western commentators are not writing to convert a third world country to democracy, they are more objective. For example, when they discuss the Soviet Union, they say openly that democracy will not work.”*

*“The final test is life. What happens in real life? What happens with people working in a society?”*

*“The, Harvard Don Huntington now believed that, although western civilisation was unique, it would be “false, immoral and dangerous” to believe it was universal. He realised the world had to be accepted as it was, with different languages, cultures, and religions, “Many other things follow, there will be differences in values, social systems and their spill over into political systems.”*

### 3.5 Democracy

Government, to be effective, must at least give the impression of enduring, and a government which is open to the vagaries of the ballot box ... is a government which is already weakened before it starts to govern. Whether, they like what is being done, then, I have not the slightest doubt that I could govern. Much more effectively in their own interest. This is a fact which educated understand, but we are all caught in this system, the British exported all over the place.

There are vagaries about the system of one man-one-vote, which make it an extremely hazardous system to run anywhere in the underdeveloped and the under-educated world... by a system of cutting up the country in accordance with the number of

adult citizens of given proportions, which give power effectually to one major a group of men, for an indefinite period.

***"I had seen so many fail. They came into power with such promising circumstances and much optimism, but this failed. The preconditions were not there. These were underdeveloped, societies that had no national cohesion to hold them together."***

Burma becomes independent and failed. Ceylon ran into difficulties by 1955. India was not successful, Pakistan had several constitutions failed and suspended. These are countries where British had been, much longer than in Singapore. They had Universities. We never had Universities. Ceylon had two universities at independence – 1948. India had many renowned universities of standards equal to London University, approximating to Cambridge and Oxford. But the basic precondition were not there – a cohesive, united People, with universal education and a broad well – educated middle class to provide stability.

***"I saw so many governments not working. What make Singaporeans think they are different, were we better educated? Were we more homogenous? Did we have more of the factors which will make for a successful functioning democracy?"***

***"When we started, we were not even one society, never mind a nation. We were several different separate societies brought together under British? An accident of history"***

***"There were times when decisions could not simply be a reflection of the majority will. But this would not be in the country's best interest, if it was to survive in an increasingly technologically based and English dominated world economy. He therefore went against popular sentiments of the times. We had to intervene. We never took vote. We decided that if we are going to make a nation, we can't have race riots every now and again. People talk about consultation, top down and bottom-up. These are theories, yard sticks worked out by western political scientists who have never been presented with the raw, unpleasant, unmanageable facts of making something out of nothing."***

***"If we took a poll, we would never have had national service. I simply decided "Introduce it" If was necessary. After a while, everybody understood it was necessary. But it had to be fairly implemented. I can't implement National service, and my children don't do National service; that's a disaster."***

***"He was mindful of the need to win the peoples hearts and minds. But unlike politicians elsewhere, he was adamant that, he would do so on his terms and not just bend to the prevailing political winds."***

***"Discussion is necessary for any successful policy. You have to get acceptance. Every policy I was going to implement I made public and I made sure that it was made acceptable. But I had consultations on my terms. I wanted accurate feed back to improve the policy and presentation, not to encourage pressure groups, who were out to make me, reverse policy. If I had to modify to get it accepted, I would modify it."***

***"And in this chamber the same technique not the big men, they are gentle figures, but from the small fry, the hatchet man howls of vituperation and abuse. Is this the open encounter? Is this the democratic system in which ideas competes for ascendancy? Not brawn or the strength of one's pharynx. But ideas - they cross frontiers, they***

have brought men into space and if we try to keep our men rooted, glued to the ground, fixed in orthodox political society which resists change, the world will pass us by. One day it will come down like a house of cards. It has not the resilience, the sturdiness, the stamina to survive."

"What people now mean by consultation is an imitation of what they see in America; Pressure groups and lobby groups. So our guys are now fashioning themselves on the west. It's an unthinking adoption of western patterns of development without any pruning and modifications to suit circumstances."

Nations are built by the imagination and untiring enthusiastic efforts of generations. One generation transfers its toil to another, which then takes forward the mission. As the coming generation also has its dreams and aspirations for the nation's future. It therefore adds something from its side to the national vision which the next generation strives hard to achieve. This process goes on and the nation climbs the steps of glory and gains higher strengths.

- Abdul Kalam

Ideal man whose character embodies the virtue of benevolence and whose acts are in accordance with the rites and rightness. Politics is only an extension of morals: provided that the ruler is benevolent, the government will naturally work towards the good of the people.

- Confucius

The Asian Mind has finally broken free from intellectual morass.

If we are to produce something new, our nation of Asian values must go beyond hard work, family etc, and deal with more fundamentals.

Throughout Asia politics is giving way to pragmatism.



# SINGAPORE

Area	:-	620 Sq. km (239 sq. miles).
Population	:-	1865 - 120 fishermen 1965 - 2 million people 2000 - 3 million people 2002 - 3.5 million people Chinese 76%, Malay 15%, Indian 6%.
Religion	:-	Taoist 31%, Buddhist 28%, Muslim 18%, Christian 10%, Hindu 4%.
Language	:-	English, Malay, Mandarin and Tamil.
First British flag hoisted	:-	1819. Population
Status	:-	Mud flat Malarial swamp -1865. Small village
First session of legislating assembly	:-	22 <sup>nd</sup> April 1955. After 136 years of British authority.

Year	1959	1965	1985	1990	1995	2002
G.D.P - US\$	-	70 million	-	34.5 Billion	-	85 Billion
Annual - Per capita Income	- US\$					
-do- Singapore	400	1000	6,500	12,200	26,000	21,800
-do- Britain	-	-	8,200	-	19,700	-

Income / head  
purchasing power parity } 9<sup>th</sup> position in the world

## Social Indicators

School enrolment infant mortality - comparable to the developed world.

Countries like China, Vietnam, and Myanmar have turned to Singapore for economic ideas and investments, Singapore modelled industrial parks in China and Bangalore, India.

Transformed from a small village to a trading centre 5<sup>th</sup> busiest port in the world.

The government of this cosmopolitan island is in the hands of professional administrators. The new state was acclaimed internationally as a unique experiment, its multiracialism. Socialism means social justice.

Foreign dignitaries came to study Singapore model 1990 – 43, 1993 – 231.

Model of efficiency, with electronically controlled roads, fast-moving traffic and few signs of pollution.

Resource : -

- (1) More than average human intelligence, diligence, skills, knowledge and expertise.
- (2) Superb geographic location at the Southern most tip of the continent of Asia, standing in the route between Indian and Pacific Oceans, the northern and Southern hemispheres. (Important sea Junction)
- (3) In the last 20 years grown in importance as a great air junction.
- (4) Accumulated total of 150 years of infra structure and experience in Commerce, industry and communications.
- (5) Most important were invisible accumulations of knowledge and expertise.

Language

- Official : - Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, & English.
- Business : - English – Basic language of the government & trade.
- Motto :- Good government by good men.

*“According to Lee the separation had tremendous educational value as well. I was sad not because Singapore was going to suffer. No. I was sad because by this separation, we could not help millions, several millions of our own people, our own countryman in Malaya, in Sabah and Sarawak – to progress with us. That was why I was sad. We could not help them any more. They have got to help themselves. They have got to take a stand. We cannot interfere.”*

***“But I say to you: here we make the model, multiracial society. This is not a country that belongs to any single community; it belongs to all of us. You helped, build it. Your fathers, your grand fathers, helped build this. There was no naval base here; and it is not the British who built it. It was your labour, your father’s labour which built that. Yes he came here looking for his fortune, but he stayed - my grand father was born here. Over 100 years ago, this was a mud flat swamp. Today, this is a modern city. Ten years from now, this will be a metropolis, never fear. – [1965]. Singapore is not that gullible and credulous.”***



The Institute of Management Development's world competitiveness year book 1997 ranked the least corrupt countries in the whole world giving 10 points as the perfect score for the country with no corruption. Singapore was ranked as the least corrupt country in Asia with a score of 9.18, ahead of Hong Kong, Japan and Taiwan. Transparency International (based in Berlin) placed Singapore in seventh place worldwide in 1998 for absence of corruption.

Many in the west believe that the government capable of fulfilling the obligations of the family, when it fails, as with single mothers. East Asians shy away from this approach. Singapore depends on the strength and influence of the family to keep society orderly and maintain a culture of thrift, hard work, filial piety and respect for elders and for scholarship and learning. These values make for a productive people and help economic growth.

***"We have always preferred to give aid in the form of training and technical assistance, not in grants which could be misused".***

*"Explained the key importance of political confidence and economic productivity. He pulled out his copy of Business Environment Risk Index (BERI) report and pointed out Singapore's rating as IA Ana scale of IA down to BC. China was not included in the rating. Singapore was safe and favoured for investments because of political, economic and other factors. There was no danger of confiscation. Our workers were industrious and productive, and there were minimal strikes. Our currency was convertible. Unique know how to sell confidence. How had we preserved the people's social and moral values? Confucian virtues like being filial to one's friends and loyal to the country were important supports for the legal system. At the same time, we set out to eradicate weakness like nepotism, favouritism and corruption, which were the dark side of Chinese Confucianism – the obligation to help one's family. Singapore leaders had to set the example in honesty and upright conduct. We considered it vital that the people feel confident the government would not cheat or harm them."*

### **What made Singapore work**

*"He was blunt about these things, choosing to speak honestly and frankly to the people. Sheer sweat and elbow grease. That is what makes Singapore work. Whatever the shortcomings, people do work. In Singapore, irrespective of your father's wealth, background or status, you enjoy the same opportunities from primary school to university."*

*"You cannot have people just striving for a rebel's ideal. They must have desire to improve, whether it is the scooter, the mini car, the flat, the fridge, the washing machine, the television set, better shoes, better cloths, or better homes. You must equate rewards to performance because no two persons want to be the same. They want equal chances in order that they can show how one is better than the other."*

**The constitution of Romania, a socialist country says that each man shall be rewarded in accordance with what he contributes, not "to each in accordance with his needs."**

***"We want forward - looking good management. Business management is a professional's job and we need professionals to run our business effectively. Easy social mobility. One of the reasons contributing to Japanese, and German recovery***

*was that their, capitalists, managers, executives, engineers, and their... workers all suffered defeat and they were fired with a singleness of purpose: to put their country on its feet. One simple objective: rewarding hard work and enterprise. Without a system of rewards, why would a population, strive to achieve ever higher living standards?"*

*"You must have a structure in your society which makes learning and hard work rewarding. In other words, to study, to learn, to be an effective worker. That must equate to success to rewards. So you must have that structure in place. To do that, you need order, discipline. You must create conditions where capital plus knowledge can be matched with workers with the skills and at a price that makes it productive. They, Investors have decided, we have a structure here, that's worth operating in, because their skills, their knowledge, their capital plus our labour and our consumers will make it profitable. So it must be a match. And if you don't create that, nobody will come in. Many poor countries don't have the capital. Now, we have the capital. When we started we did not have the capital. When we started earning, we started putting money aside. America, Europe and Japan, they have the capital. And you have got to make it productive. Of-course, it helps tremendously, together with a structure that rewards hard work and enterprise, the people working it are by nature hard driving and intelligent".*

The critical factor? The quality of your people. Are they hard working? Do they learn quickly? How well can they do the job? But it is the quality of the population. First, have they got the capabilities to be educated to that level? Second, have you given them facilities and have they made the effort. What was required then was a rigorous and sound education system, which in the early years of a country's development must be geared to the needs of the economy.

*"I think what is universally true of most new countries is that they inherited a system of education, which very often was carried on unthinkingly by indigenous independent governments for five, ten years with very serious repercussions for their own development resulting in unemployment. We may have been traders, but we do not understand management. Our managers do not understand productivity".*

*"The Germans made this point; the Singapore paradox... It is well known throughout the World that the workers of Singapore are busy and industrious. That means a sense of loyalty a Sense of trust worthiness, high-fidelity ... Management's problem is that they should not forget, that not only brains and hands but also the hearts of people should be working for the company. He is interested in the future of his worker. But the heart of the worker, that is what productively is about".*

And the lesson is that everybody has got to take a hard headed look at his own position, decided in the context of his own base, the potential that it has, what is the next step forward. And for us the most important single thing is of course, the development of our human resources, exploiting our strategic location which makes possible, certain industries. The success has been achieved by a combination of hard

work, a strong and determined leadership, enlightened economic policies, political stability and a culture which encourage thrift and learning.

Single minded determination to transform Singapore's economic base. Lee is completely unapologetic about this and is a convinced today as he was 38 years ago that for any government and people, economic development must be the number one priority. People want economic development first and foremost. You take a poll of any people. What is it they want? The right to write an editorial as you like? They want homes, medicine, jobs, and school. No, no, no, there is no question about it.

Such was their (Japan) [1941-1945] blindness and brutality. They never knew what they did to a whole generation like me, determined to work for freedom-freedom from servitude and foreign domination. I did not enter politics they brought politics upon me. I decided that our lives should be ours to decide that we should not be the pawns and playthings of foreign powers.

"My personal ambition is to ensure that people like me, and their children, and my children, have a future in this country. My roots are here. I have been three generations, nearly a hundred years. I have no loyalties, no other homeland; I want to bring about a situation which will secure the future for those like me."

"Democratic socialist must seek the ultimate, in a society where men does not exploit his fellow men, where difference of language, religion or culture are completely subdued by common identity of common interest, is an equal and just society where man is rewarded on the basics of merit and effort."

"In Singapore, we are trying to prevent any recrudescence of the assertion of the right a majority religious group to dominate or coerce others into similar beliefs".

Mills said, "the leaders used the language of the democracy, but it was doubtful, in his view, whether in doing this they voiced the aspirations of the peasant majority".

"Best government is the best administration"

(-Winsted)

"It is not a tradition with the Malays or with the Chinese to count heads. Their custom has always been to listen to the diction of the elder."

"The element of fear must not be under estimated. It is a major driving force in human affairs, where fear is absent, there can be friendship or at worst indifference, but when one individual or race is afraid of another, it breeds hostility and if it strong enough-hatred."

"He (Future English educated Singaporeans) will not be deculturalized or devitalized. He will have vitality and confidence and a sense of dedication to our country and our people. So in a way, the present English educated type will disappear and a new English speaking group with different characteristics will emerge."

"Our best chances lie, in a very tightly- organized society. There is no other way. Many other small societies like ours have survived. Societies like ours have no fat to spare. They are either lean and healthy or they die. You have not got much to spare. What is required is a rugged, resolute, highly trained, highly disciplined community. Create such a community and you will survive and prosper here for thousands of

years. High incentives for high performance will build the kind of society, which will guarantee us our pre eminence as a centre of orderly growth and progress in an otherwise trouble some region."

"New sort of education had to produce multi racial generation, which made up in quality, what lacked in numbers. It depends on the education we give them; the training they receive, the values that they are taught – what is good and what is bad. What should be done; what should not be done, whether we should have a rugged, robust, disciplined effective society, a hard society, a tough rugged society. "Singapore" might well be called the most notable city-state of our day."

"Your ideals and vision are those, which we also value. The vision of a composite society of many race, and languages, committed to the ideals of democracy and peace. Singapore is one of the youngest state in the world, is dynamic young state, and it is blessed with the dynamic leadership of a distinguished statesmen."

"History could be a burden. Not to do away with old tradition, but to break free from some in order to move ahead. In that sense you are fortunate. You start with nothing to hold you back. You have only a bright future to back on you forwards." (Indra Gandhi)

"The population seems willing to give up some basic civil rights in exchange for a clean, virtually crime-free, urban community."

"I demand the right, and I do not care whether the United Nations or the character of human rights guarantees me this, which I think. I have and you have, that we should live in peace to be able to develop ourselves to the maximum of our capacity. And any one who sets about to destroy that right, I will resist either quietly and surreptitiously, or overtly and boisterously."

"The first business of a government is to govern firmly and wisely in the interest of the whole community."

### **Three conclusion**

1. Nothing is predestined.
2. Whilst your geographic and natural resources and other factors are by and large unchanging your human factor is capable of changing and it does change with very Important and significant consequences.
3. Salvation through innovation with new skills, new techniques, new methods of seeking livelihood.

**For our resourcefulness poses a challenge to the type of society which should be there for all-time. There is tranquillity, poise and confidence and it is a confidence born out of the knowledge that there are very few problems which we cannot over come, given the frame work of honest and effective administration. For in this frame workout people's natural industry and talent will continue to blossom and flourish and generate prosperity for all.**

**The crucial thing is, do not be afraid to innovate. This is the historical process of Asians, who first become western, learned western languages, techniques, and sciences but remain Asians, and are proud to be Asians. A man is as good as he is and the degrees and titles he has after his name do not make him a better or a lesser man. In the end, it is what**

*the graduates of the University do, in the out side world and by way of research in this university which will determine its status in the eyes of all people. Ultimately it is what Nanyang graduates are really worth, and not, what the govt says they are, which counts.*

Singapore opened the first session of the Singapore legislative assembly on 22 April 1959 after 136 yrs, since establishment under the British flag as a trading centre transformed from the small village, to a centre of world trade, with its port ruling as **the tenth busiest in the world. 10 yrs later Singapore is the fifth busiest port in the world.**

*"The government of this cosmopolitan Island has hither to been in the hands of professional administrators",* said Sir John Nichol. Today Singapore is governed by a council of Ministers, answering to a legislature, which is predominantly, popularly elected.

*"In all these new Asiatic states, it is the returned students (U.K.) who have led the fight for independence. Returned students in any British colony fall into two classes (1) The rich man's son, (2) the impecunious government scholar. The first on returning home finds himself better equip to be a bigger and more efficient capitalist entrepreneur. The second finds himself linked up with the colonial administrative system, given positions second only to the Englishman who must necessarily in a colonial system, always at the top".*

*"Rule of law in newly emergent societies. We have departed in quite a number of material aspects in very material fields from the principals as justice and the liberty of individuals".*

*"We in Singapore present a unique example of the new society which will manifest itself more and more, as human transportation becomes easier and easier, and communities of different races, creeds and languages begin to intermix. For this phase of our social revolution, the better business you do, the more things you buy and sell, to and from Singapore, the more shops and factories that you open. The happier we are".*

*"If size is, what determines the importance of a country and its people, then Singapore would be of little importance to anyone other than to ourselves. Fortunately it is not size but quality which counts. Ancient Athens was a small state, but its vigorous and alert people gave birth to ideas and philosophies which are as alive today as they were 2000 years ago".*

*"We have faith and trust in his ability to see that justice is done to all. Whatever guarantees we have in constitution in legal documents, finally it is faith in the persons who have to translate and implement these documents which is more important than the written word".*

–Asoka's Rock Sermons - Rock Edict - X, declare that **the true glory of a king depends on the moral worth he aids his people in attaining.** Rock Edict - XI defines **"the true gift to be, not goods, but good - the spreading of truth.**

*"The impetus of a highly urbanised and a politically sophisticated city and two million people in it, may set a pace, which was too - well, which they thought was too fierce, too rapid".*

*"Our human resources are also limited, therefore, as the way forward is to exploit the virtues that we have. Both in actual size and in actual members of population we*

*may be the smallest nation in Asia. But there is one thing for which we need not be apologetic the quality of our people. But quality alone without the training and the disciplines, which are relevant, will have no significance for our future well-being*”.

In the Hindustan Times weekly the commentator “recorder”, wrote that ‘Singapore’ might well be called the **most notable city state of our day**.

*“Lee did not believe neighbours could be influenced by producing an eminent law school. That is the last thing, if I may say so with humility. It is the last instrument I would suggest we use. If you want to influence your neighbours, you show them the carrot, and you say, “That way lays gold, the jack pot at the bottom of the rainbow. Multilingualism, tolerance, multiculturalism, a successful economic booster to prosperity.”*

*“You produce a law school and lawyers to prove the guilt of individuals for corruption for nepotism for all the stupidities and inadequacies of a political system, and you believe you are going to influence your neighbours to follow you.”*

*“Discarding the past erosion of rule of law, traditions of an open, of an equal, of a talent society. Your style must be open. You must, yourself be tolerant. And most important of all, you must be able to ensure, in so far as you can, that your successors - even though they may not be of the same political colour as you are - are imbued with this value.”*

*There were 620 criminals, law supervisors, men “on whom the due process of law were unable to place even an iota of evidence”. Lee admitted that all this was true. This is a heavy price, “a conscientious bar”. First of all, the bar: the courts the administration of justice. If we continue as in the past, it will fail. To let them (criminals from jail) out, would be, run the very grave risk of undermining the social fabric. We had to adjust, temporally from ideas and norms. But it is an expression of an idea, whom we say temporary provisions.*

*“Before whom did an accused person, who could pay for a good advocate stand a more sporting chance of being acquitted - three high court judges or a jury of seven? I suggest that as legislators concerned with the administration of justice, we are not interested in this question. The question that we in the house must ask is: Are three judges more likely to do justice than seven men chosen at random to serve on a jury? I think we know the answer to this. Early in 1970, parliament passed a law abolishing the jury system in Singapore. In future, two judges will decide murder cases.”*

*“I am seriously contemplating an innovation in the law, because corruption is one of our key problems. Singapore’s progress, its vitality is assured because the administrative machine works. There is no gift to ensure this. I am thinking of an amendment to the law. The innovation is, if any official is found with wealth, which cannot be explained, and there is uncorroborative evidence of corruption, his whole property can be sequestered. There must be some punishment or they get away. And I have not the slightest doubt that there will be uproar from a lot of people not least of all from members practising in criminal law.”*

*"Lee described Singapore as a nation of immigrants with a short history no natural resources, but plenty of hustle and determination. All I can give you today is a flavour of the kind of men; you will deal with in Singapore. We have got nothing but two million highly motivated, achievement orientated relatively intelligent human beings, and we are going to be there a thousand years from now."*

*"Justinian stated that, the law is the will of superior and enforceable authority. There has been a spate of definitions in hundreds of languages, before and since Justinian. But, though there are number of definitions, two elements are common. First law is laid down in certain and precise terms. Second it is backed by the sanction of superior power, whether in criminal or in civil case. Hence the significance of one thought of Chairman Mao, that power springs out of the rifle barrel".*

***"If we were a soft society", declared the Prime Minister "we would already have perished, for a soft people would not be able to take their problems in their stride, nor support a government that takes measures requiring stiffer effort and greater sacrifice to ensure collective survival. A soft people will vote for those who promise a soft way out when in truth there is none. This has happened in several Afro-Asian countries newly independent. A soft people faced with tough problems electing a soft government soon find themselves in chaos and confusion which in turn inevitably lead to the imposition of military rule. There is nothing Singapore gets free. Even our water we pay for. And if you want to improve the air you breathe, by air conditioning, that costs money. True our children go to school free. They get dental attention free. But you and I are paying for it."***

***"If there was a prosperous and thriving Singapore, before the British built their naval and air bases, there will be a throbbing and humming industrial commercial and communications centre long after the British bases have gone. But for the first time, we must be, for ourselves. This is the acid test. Have we, the will to be a nation? Have we, the grit? It will be folly to minimize the size of our problems. But having had the privilege of leading a team of able dedicated and hard headed men and watching the response for nine years from a rugged and robust society. I have no doubts that we will not yield to the temptation of a soft solution when this is no way out. Together we shall build a more secure and better future for our children. Singapore is not that gullible and credulous."***

***"A new restlessness will bestir the people, a desire for improvement and change or just change for change's sake will appeal to a younger generation. The emergence of a party or parties either to the left or to right of the PAP must result. But they would be constitutional alternatives, willing to work the system, prepared to compete and attain power within the system and to surround it by the same rules through which they come into office."***

***"We hold together in national consensus a wide cross section of our society, from semi skilled and skilled workers like the members for Kampong Kembangan and Geylang serai both former employees of the Singapore Telephone Board and leaders of its union; clerical groups represented by the members for Telok Blangah, and Moulmein. University lecturers and professors like the members for katory, Joo chiat and Alexandra to professional men and business executives like the Members for Bukit Panjang, Rriver Valley and Jaean Kayu."***

*“Our future is at stake and we must give the lead in thinking and feeling in country. If the new members, we now welcome to our fraternity, learn and drill themselves, there is no reason why, when actual blood is drawn in a subsequent parliament, it should not be from the other side.”*

*“On the other hand, with imaginative and intelligent leadership and stiff standards of honest and just administration, we can make maximum use of our slender resources. We have not often underlined these valuable resources. Lee enumerated them. First the more than average human intelligence diligence skills knowledge and expertise. Second Singapore’s superb geographic location at the southern most tips of the continent of Asia straddling the route between the Indian and Pacific Oceans the Northern and Southern hemispheres. We have been important for 150 years as a great sea junction. And for the last twenty years we have also grown in importance as a great air junction.”*

*“Singapore’s third asset was the accumulated total of 150 years of infrastructure and experience in commerce, industry and communications. They did not merely mean the physical buildings, the ports, airports, ware houses, roads, banks, shops, power stations, water works, telephones and cables. Most important were the invisible the accumulations of knowledge and expertise. Now to run the port economically and efficiently how to keep up to date with containerised ships, and jumbo-jets; what banking, money, finance, stocks and shares, bills of lading and insurance were all about how and what to buy in bulk from industrial countries and how to break down bulk to retail in the area, and conversely to buy retail and package in bulk for export to industrial countries. This required a well trained professional, managerial and executive elite, supported by a well educated, skilled and industrious working population.”*

*“These assets constitute our inheritance. We must maintain and improve upon what we have inherited. Bustling commercial and administrative centres have been known to sink into disrepair for lack of self discipline, often starting with the leaders, but invariably infecting the whole population. We have a stable economic and political situation. We maintain sane orderly and healthy conditions.”*

*“We shall not just maintain standards of public health and cleanliness. We shall go further and make this, the cleanest and greenest city in South Asia. If we want high morale, we must have high standards. If we want high standards, the law must be enforced fairly and firmly. There will be no squatters and no beggars sleeping on our pavements doing their ablutions in our drains. People will be housed and cared for.”*

*“Our economic growth will be accelerated if we provide ideal conditions for the siting of the head quarters of international industrial commercial and servicing enterprises.”*

*“If the momentum was kept up, far from going down in the next five to ten years, Singapore would not only provide jobs for their own unemployed but would also be able to take in a controlled flow of the professionally and technologically trained the skilled and even those unskilled workers prepared to do the hard and heavy jobs. We shall have a prosperous thriving multiracial Singapore. And*



nothing is more infectious than success. In the longer run Singapore will be the light that radiates hope through out the region for similar successes of other multi racial communities not unlike us. By example and precept our success will influence the formulae, others are seeking to transform old fashioned communities into modern industrialized and affluent societies."

"Now in 1968 we have no doubts in our minds what must be done, not just in the short term or in the intermediate term but to do it in such a way that in the longer term, we create a healthy equilibrium that can maintain itself indefinitely. The longer term is most important for we cannot be sure that there will be a political leadership that could assert its ascendancy and will implement unpleasant policies without losing the ground. This is crucial: without losing the ground. First, let me say what we do not want: sluggish, ineffective labour because that is ruinous whether you are in a communist, capitalist or mixed economy. When you read articles about the state of the economy of the various nations in the world, Anterica, Britain, France or China or Russia they always talk about increase in production and rise in wages balance of payments and productivity they never tell you about the crucial item. How good is the human digit, how hard does he work? What is his motivation, how good is the organisation, how up to date is the thinking, the planning, and the machinery. At international conferences they use fine words about the application of science and technology to industry but seldom about sheer sweat and elbow grease. That is what Singapore work, whatever short comings people do work. Secondly we do not want ineffective management, on an old boy or father to son basis. We learn from other peoples experiences. Modern management is almost a science in itself and is being taught as such in good universities. The third factor which helps is that we have not got deep class division. Social mobility is half the secret of Singapore's success from rags to riches from riches down the ladder. When you have social mobility then you haven't that animosity and antagonism."

"What does this kind of Singapore contend for Southeast Asia? Naturally we would like to play our part, whether like a sparkling plug or little dynamo, to help light up the surrounding area. Self interest tells us that if our neighbours progress, the better the spin off for us. But at the same time I make one reservation that the converse is not necessarily true. We don't have to go down. This is a fundamental point that must be recognized and we have not the slightest intention of going down. You are hard headed entrepreneurs and executives who have skill enterprise and capital. You are not going to screw machinery into the ground just for purposes of charity. If you get this message across that, all in this region can modernize their societies, that they can open up their windows and get fresh air to blow through bringing in that verve vitality and vigour which new ideas and methods bring, then the future will, that much more comfortable for them."

"Singapore her rich and enduring past her sagacious, and enterprising people, Singapore would have been that much the poorer. For it was the continuous inflow of fresh blood that brought the stimulus of fresh ideas. There contributed to the verve of a busy trading and now manufacturing transportation and

communications centre We have not kept every thing old. You may find Singapore Indians look like Indians, speak, born and educated here as you get to know them, you will find are no longer Indians. Caste and customs rituals and taboos which inhibit innovation and modernisation have been discarded under pressure of competing in influence from other cultural and value patterns and religions, all seeking the eminence in the context of modernity."

"You may ask, why then this tighter work discipline, why this insistence on higher productivity, why the new employment bill? The answer is: because we are looking ahead into 1971 and beyond. We must accelerate our economic growth to meet the growing redundancies and the full cut of British services expenditure in the final phases of the rundown. Our main problem has been, and will continue to be larger unemployment in spite of favourable economic growth."

"But more significant were the changed attitudes and the positive outlook of the people. Singaporeans now, particularly those born and educated there, were aware that personal survival was not enough. What we have can be preserved only if we together defend the integrity of our country and secure the interests of the whole community."

"Who is a Singaporean? A person born here in the pre Malaysia days automatically become a Singapore citizen. Now he has to be born here with one parent at least a citizen. Why? Because we have so many non-citizens living and working here who may or may not belong or want to belong. Then there are those who have resided here for more than 10 years and can acquire citizenship. Then wives and children of such people and so on. But my colleagues and I know that whilst this may be the legal definition, the acid test of, who is a Singaporean is whether the person is so committed to Singapore that he is prepared to stand up and fight for Singapore. Emotive definition, qualitative not quantitative test of a Singaporean, is: a person who either by birth and up brining or residence in Singapore feels committed to upholding this society as it is - multiracial, tolerant accommodating, forward looking and prepared to stake his life for this community."

"Strange though, may seem, some of the people most willing to stake their lives for Singapore, were those born and brought up outside Singapore, and who had settled here. This was probably because they knew how unpleasant life could be in other societies. Neither tolerant nor accommodating. These were the people most prepared to fight for Singapore, for a multiracial community that offered them a place under the sun."

"With the end of empires, new political elites emerge. Ethnic religious, linguistic pulls become divisive when the levelling influence of superior authority is removed. A jostle takes place for ascendancy between the different ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. If you have the one man one vote system, then the temptation to get votes on the basis of ethnic, linguistic or religious loyalties often becomes irresistible. And so the relentless process of economic decline sets in, because predicting digits brought together to co-operate and complement each other under one authority are dislodged and disrupted in a contest for political ascendancy

*between the diverse groups. But having admitted this distinction, we go on to provide each with his place under the sun in an open, competitive society, whilst ensuring that the collective group interests of all is not jeopardized by any sectional selfishness.*

*“They would continue to have a benevolent influence on the society. It is a leaving influence the opening in the minds of our young of more windows into other worlds - one of the factors for the thrusting, vigorous, forward looking society, we have.”*

*“We have a compact well educated urban community a migrant society, keen high performance, spurred on by the prospect of high rewards. That combined with good administration and a sound infrastructure of harbour, airports, roads, banking and finance, makes rapid growth more than probable. And when, man for man, skill for skill, enterprise for enterprise, and the population is more than equal to any competition from the area, progress is likely to be rapid.”*

*“The final factor which gives the gloss on this human advantage is the geographic location. We occupy the southernmost tip of the Asian continent and this gives a competitive edge to a larger range of our services and manufactures. But this exercise in political and economic modernisation, representative government, which makes the gelling of the community into cohesive groups with the capacity to think and act corporately, and in unison, can only succeed, if there is a strong streak of dedication and realism underlying our thinking and planning. Singapore needs to expand her economy rapidly enough to match the ambitions of a young and better educated population. From the very top, down to the lower echelons, every person invested with authority whether in the Government or in a government agency or in functional or professional organisations or in the universities, must have that awareness, that power is being exercised in the interest of a whole community, not of a few persons or sections of the population. In other words there must be, that capacity to make decisions other than on personal or sectional interest.*

*Our young needs to be fired by idealism. But behind all the idealism there must be an awareness of the practicability of policies. It must never be forgotten that what ever the declarations of human rights, whatever the ideals in any given situation whatever the FAO or UNESCO can tell you about how many calories, what minerals, which vitamins, you ought to have every day, nobody tells you who is responsible for giving you two solid meals a day. Never forget that for each grain of rice you consume you need foreign exchange, which brings us back to our balance of payments. This brings us back to the strength of the Singapore dollar, and this in turn brings us to the verve and vitality of our economy to the need for high performance.”*

*“Ours is a society where, weight of tradition is least stifling and the debris of history can be more easily sloughed off. English is the basic language of the government, law and trade.”*

*“We must always remember that the choice before is either an orderly organised community enabling long term planning for growth and development*

or a disintegrating society sinking into-chaos and perdition. It takes time and effort to build up an efficient organisation to administer to the needs of a community. But in a short while one can run things down. Water, power, homes, roads, transportation, harbours, airports, schools, polytechnics, universities, teachers, industrial estates, all require a climate of stability and security. Without them planning for long term production and profit is impossible. We have the highest density of population with an elected government in the whole world - 8,855 per square mile (1969) only Hong Kong does not have an elected government which has to worry about governing with the consent of the majority."

"Hong Kong also has almost no subsidised educational medical or social services. We can continue to meet the ever higher expectations of our universally educated younger generation only if we improve on our organisation and produce a better disciplined and better educated generation, more skilled in the techniques of modern industry. Our people cannot take things for granted, whether it is prosperity or security. We must maintain the maximum of security with the minimum of cost. So our citizen's army-national services which will, as the administrative and infrastructure expands, enable and require every man and woman to make a contribution to both our economy and our security."

"It was only when hard-headed businessmen and industrialist believed that what Singapore was doing was sound and practical and would ensure orderly working conditions with workers trained well and emotionally geared to high productivity. That we shall get the maximum of capital investments, giving the maximum of economic growth, leading to higher incomes, better homes, better schools and new levels of achievement."

"The alternative was to join the many broken-back states of Asia, Africa and Latin America where arbitrary government and insecurity was part of a way of life. The economy runs down in the midst of social disorder. Inevitably there is an exodus of brains, skill, expertise and capital. But the bulk of the people, without professional thinking government, constantly looking and planning forward, substitute an irrational impulsive and unthinking leadership, and the worst would happen to Singapore. Then those who could not emigrate would have to put up with grinding poverty, disease and squalor. But any government in Singapore that did not think through the most horrendous of possibilities was guilty of a grave dereliction of its duties."

"Lee said that one of the contemporary dilemmas facing Singapore was that, on the one hand, excellent communications with the rest of the world by sea, air, wireless, cables and soon, satellite were a great economic asset."

"You can take an aircraft or a ship any day to any part of the world. You can telephone through to all the main centres of world commerce. You can watch television and read newspapers and magazines within hours of publication in the main centres of Eastern and Western Europe, North America, Japan and Australia. But on the other hand this exposed Singapore to the fads and fetishes of contemporary permissive society on the west. Some people learnt easiest by

imitation. "Because students in North America and Western Europe are in a state of disorder, for a variety of reasons, and free sex. Drug-taking long hair and funny clothes are thought to be fashionable. So this affects Australian students although their problems are so very different. An anarchic protest for the sake of protest becomes fashionable. Some young students in Singapore, particularly that part of English-educated, without grounding in their own cultural values, want to be "with it". Whilst such student aberrations would not wreck America or Western Europe, they would surely ruin Singapore. "It is the business of a government to govern. It should do this in the interest of the majority or better still in the interest of everyone. And in the interest of all, we cannot and will not allow this permissive, escapist drug-taking, self-indulgent, promiscuous society to infect our young. Those who try to introduce these habits do so at their own peril, for we shall take immediate antiseptic measures to prevent and scotch any such infection, or affection. The choice before us is constant vigilance or a complacent slide to prediction."

"Singapore must continue to be clean and green, spruce and well maintained. It is that air of general well-being of trees and shrubs, flowers and creepers, no flies or mosquitoes the general cleanliness and the appearance of well-manicured and well-kept city, with nothing in a derelict condition, this is the backdrop for success."

"In July, 1969 a team from the World Bank assessed Singapore's economic position. They reported in October that "In 1968 Singapore entered a new phase of accelerated growth with boom condition in private investment a decline in unemployment, buoyancy of government revenues, the emergence of an overall surplus of savings over investment, and a significant build up of external reserves."

"They attributed" the greater than expected success in Singapore's drive towards industrialization to four factors. They placed the employment act as the second of the factors. The Prime Minister said that legislation could prohibit and punish abuses and malpractices. But it could not give "that positive urge to work and to achieve. This urge can come only from the conviction of a people that they must and want to give of their best. It is the consciousness of our being co-owners of the new society we are creating that provides the drive for fulfilment. In multiracial countries like ours, trade unions have a special role in building up this spirit of camaraderie amongst the workers. Whatever our race or religion, it is what we produce, that entitle us to what we get, not our race or religion. Developing the economy, increasing productivity increasing returns, these make sense only when fair play and fair shares make it worth everyone's while to put in his share of effort for group survival and group prosperity.

"As a rule of thumb, the standard of living of a people could be equated with their standard of technological competence. Trade between countries reflected this difference in their standards of technological competence. When America and the west exported to Asia and Africa they exported commodities of high technology like machinery and sophisticated goods. When Asia and Africa exported to the west, they sent agricultural or mineral raw products or simple manufacture, like textiles. The moral of it, all is that the relatively high standards of life Singaporeans enjoy can only be justified and continued if our standard of technological competence is comparatively high for the area."

*“Before you discuss your future remember how we got here - the past. You have a role to play in transforming a dependent under - developed community to an independent industrial society. It depends upon how successfully we can mobilize internal and international capital and expertise, get people to learn the skills and crafts and acquire the managerial and marketing know how. Only then can we produce goods and services efficiently and competitively for international customers. So whilst throwing your eye towards the far horizon, do not forget the harsh realities of today. Let us first negotiate and overcome these immediate hazards.”*

*“In highly developed societies, students are supported for twenty-five to twenty seven years until they get their Ph.D.s and they begin to repay their debt to society. The quantity of our population depends on raising not only the I.Q. level but also getting parents to care, nurture and educate their children and to develop all those other qualities so crucial to effective living summed up in the word “character”.*

*“The Prime Minister warned that in the next two to three years Singapore must make the most of her great opportunities.”*

*“Progress must not falter through a shortage of skilled workers. The educational system was being brought up to date and students were being prepared with the skills required. Mean while, skilled workers must be allowed to come in and help Singapore, take advantage of this spurt in industrial growth. Skilled artisans from Hong Kong or elsewhere were now being offered permanent residence and on completion of five years of good work the opportunity to obtain citizenship. The chance we now have for spectacular industrial expansion does not come often to a people. If we exert ourselves, maintain social stability, improve skills, increase keenness and productivity, do not turn away industrial opportunities which are coming our way, by the end of the ‘70s, Singapore will no longer be an under - developed country. Our way of making a living will change rapidly. But most rapid of all is the change from a dependent and disparate community to one with the will and spirit the organisation wherewithal to look after itself in most things.”*

*“Now the time has come to raise sights, to aim at a higher quality of life for all. In most towns in Southeast Asia, cleanliness and resolve to be, began and ended in the homes of the wealthy. Outside the walls of these wealthy homes, the world was invariably ugly and filthy. “But we are succeeding in making all of Singapore our garden and our home: clean, green and gracious. Roads are being lined with trees. Road dividers will have palms, plants and flowering shrubs. Open spaces will be garden or parks. We shall improve our surroundings. Minimum standards of decent living will be achieved.”*

*“Beaches will be cleaned up. Open drains now running into the sea would go into underground sewers, and end up in treatment plants. A clean seaside was a recreational asset. Oil pollution up ship repairers or ships passing through would be countered by heavy fines. The air would be kept clean; new legislation would require all vehicles and industries to reduce pollution. “We shall improve public transport. Then these will be fewer vehicles whizzing around endlessly, looking for passengers. And the roads will be safe for everyone.*

*Our social standards will go up. Most parents now plan their families. But some do not. They have to, if their children are to make the grade. Social progress must be accompanied by social responsibility."*

*"The society was being made more just. Nobody was privileged because of his parent's status or wealth. Children all went to the same schools. All did national service. They got into the universities on merit. "And we shall give everyone a stake in our growing economy". In a turbulent corner of Asia, constant vigilance has become part of our way of life. But all said and done, the zest and zeal with which the twin objectives, security and prosperity, had been pursued had already given Singapore that glow of success."*

Through education and environment Lee Kuan Yew is trying to make a new Chinese:

A person capable of retaining all that is good in his remarkable past, but capable also of using modern technology and of understanding that the centre of world is not really in China.

Lee Kuan Yew's task would be easier, if the large Chinese community in Singapore lived with other communities of similar size, for then multiracialism would be a practical necessity as well as an exercise in intellectualism. An advantage which tends to balance that drawback is Lee Kuan Yew's policy of an open society and an open door, and his line of neutralism and internationalism, his emphasis on a Singaporean rather than, a Chinese outlook and attitude in his approach to world affairs and to regional matters. In this Lee is helped enormously by Singapore's geography unlike China, which keeps the foreigner out. Singapore on the crossroads of East and West welcomes the traveller is prepared to do business with him to listen to his arguments and to discuss with polite interest matters of moment concerning politics, economics or anything etc. What is good and useful from these foreign contacts, Singaporeans will absorb? To survive as a separate entity to resist being swallowed up by larger fish swimming in the areas, Lee Kuan Yew says Singapore must have a wide circle of friends and no enemies and must be prepared to learn from anyone to achieve rapid progress.

"The citizen soldier and the professional soldier now have an honoured place in society. It is Chinese arrogance or western arrogance which makes Lee Kuan Yew say defiantly and seriously that one Singaporean must be worth ten other Asian? Whatever it is, Lee is determined that, Singapore will be a very prickly and unpleasant morsel should any greedy fish in the neighbourhood be tempted to try to swallow it."

*"People had to make the effort all the time. They had to maintain standards improve them. There could be no slackening in any developing country. There would be none in Singapore.*

*"We have what sociologist call a highly "achievement oriented" type of society. We are a people with a compulsion to succeed."*

"In this, Lee Kuan Yew the Chinese speaking? Or is it Lee the Singaporean of Chinese ethnic origin?"

*"We look Chinese", Lee told Mrs. Indra Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, when she came to Singapore on a state visit in 1968. "We speak Chinese. But if a man from China speaks to a Singapore Chinese, he will discover that the Singaporean is already a distinct and different type".*

*“Lee Kuan Yew may be Prime Minister of Asia’s smallest state for another decade. This should be sufficient time to test his theory that in spite of or perhaps because of the interest of the probably three super powers in the region, development in Asia is possible with democracy: that is not necessary or inevitable for developing countries to follow China’s ideological example to achieve success.”*

*“Talent, initiative, adventure, endeavor, risk, confidence, vigour have made Singapore an example to other nations of success an example whose clear message is that you can’t enjoy the fruits of effort without first making the effort.”*

*-Mrs. Thatcher-*

## 4.1 Strategic Position

*“Singapore has no natural resources apart from the collective ability of its population.”*

*“Singapore undoubtedly owes much of its wealth and property to its unrivalled focal position in Southeast Asia on the international sea route from the Indian Ocean to China sea and on the air route west and north across Asia and east across the Pacific and south east to Australia. Its economically strategic position at the centre of one of the worlds richest areas of natural wealth, and its deep water harbour have made it the natural outlet for the products of Malaysia and neighbouring countries. With its highly developed wholesale and retail commerce, banking system, insurance, shipping and storage facilities and generations of inebriated commercial skill and initiating, Singapore ranks among the greatest of the worlds commercial centres and is virtually the commercial and financial heart of the whole of Southeast Asia. The new state was acclaimed internationally as a unique experiment in multiracialism.”*

*“Not for a moment did Lee Kuan Yew and his colleagues lose their nerve or their complete control of the situation. Neither did they look towards China.”*

***“We are not landlocked”, observed Lee calmly. “We are a centre of great communications: the cross - roads between the northern and southern hemispheres, between the east and west... all centres of great traffic become centres of great cultures, learning and civilizations. And it is this factor which we must exploit to our utmost”. That is the role Lee Kuan Yew wants for Singapore: that of a centre for neutrality’ He wants Singapore to be an Asian Geneva: not a refuge for persecuted overseas Chinese from the rest of South East Asia: not a protectorate of China or of any foreign state: but an independent and neutral nation where all nations can meet.***

*As professor Fitzgerald says, “One of the great gifts of the Chinese is that of devising compromise. It is inherent in a nation of bargainers and particularly well developed in communities of merchants and businessmen.”*

*“Singapore had a long way to go before full advantage could be taken of its strategic position, the skills of the workers and the competence of the marine engineers and naval architects to establish itself as the biggest ship - repairing and ship building centre east of Suez and south of Japan.”*

***“We doubled the output in two years from US\$64 million in 1996, to US\$120 million in 1998. It indicated how much could have been accomplished if we had concentrated***



*earlier on bringing up to date our ship-repairing and ship building capacity and changing union and workers habits. If we build up a reputation for fast work, of good quality at fair prices, ship repairing and ship building will become one of our great industries.”*

*Singapore’s carefully designed programmes of social engineering seek to manage the conduct citizen’s lives.*

*“... The heights by greatmen reached and kept  
were not attained by sudden flight but they,  
while their companions slept  
were toiling up wards in the night”*

**Long Fellow**



## LEADERSHIP

What are the qualities of leadership? Integrity, drive, verve, intelligence, physical and mental discipline.

*"You must have application, you must be prepared to work hard, and you must be prepared to get people to work with you. Especially for political leaders, you've got to have people work for you with you. You have got to enthuse them with the same fire and the same eagerness that pushes you along. I think that's a very big factor in leadership. Intelligence is crucial, though not the be-all and end-all."*

*"But I do know one thing: that whilst in colonial ruled Asia, there was no problem of leadership, whether of a political or purely social nature, in the Asia that we see today there is a genuine problem of leadership and succession to leadership."*

*"The first generation, the Post-War generation of people who led these countries to independence are passing away. In India, Pakistan and in other parts of South and Southeast Asia, the people who grew up, their whole being just wanting to displace an existing injustice, have exhausted their task. A new generation has grown up for whom the British Raj, Colonialism and all the rest of it are but a vague memory. Stories from their fathers and grand fathers, Poverty, ignorance, ineptitude, corruption, ineffective administration are what they know. This is the problem of the second generation leadership."*

*"So we are confronted, now, with this problem of succession. The first generation, whatever the reasons which motivated them have got rid of the past and the people who ruled and ordered that society. But have they got it in them now to create a situation, a system, in which succeeding generations can build upon what they have. This is the problem. Any society needs leadership. The established ones have their system. I am most familiar with the British system because that is where I had most contacts. It had a ruling elite, with public schools, universities designed to bring forth qualities of leadership. How do you create it in this area, without tradition, without a past to fall back on? Can it be created? Can you talent scout? Can you infact prejudice twenty or thirty years before a man matures that he is likely to make a more - than -above average contribution?"*

*"No president of the Oxford union or Cambridge union debating societies has in the past twenty years became Prime Minister of great Briton. Theirs were not the qualities that were required. Wit and witticism have their uses, but not in looking after the destiny of a people. What is it then? This is the problem with Asia."*

"How do we ensure succession? Not on the basis of I like A, therefore I groom A for leadership. You have to create a self continuing not a self perpetuating but a self continuing power structure Human being should be equal. But they never are. Some can do more. Some can give more of themselves than others."

"The problem is that the human being is unable yet to assess this thing called character. You can assess a man's intelligence get him, tests them, rate his I.Q. It is amazing the number of highly intelligent persons in the world who make no contribution at all to the well being of their fellowmen. And it is as yet unascertainable or rather as yet immeasurable quality called, character, which plus your mental capacity of knowledge or discipline, makes for leadership."

"Obviously people like Nehru and Gandhi must have believed passionately in what they wanted to do, to have gone through what they did and survived it and succeeded. How do they ensure that an unending stream of such people is brought forth?"

"Hence you go back all the time to youth. Because that is the age of idealism you are then fired by what you think to be right and just. But many will fall by the wayside because of personal ambition, personal weaknesses desire to compromise and to temporize. The problem of all countries in Asia is, how to establish some system which will bring forth an unending stream of people with character."

"In Britain, U.S., large parts of Western Europe even in Australia, all their leadership comes from a broad spectrum of people who have gone to universities. It is so much better, if as well as being an infant, terrible like Khrushchev, a person also goes through a systematic course of discipline, learns all the basic norms, what history has to offer and human experience has to offer and then takes over that leadership. But there are large parts of Asia, where this is not the case. The idealism that fired a leader in his early stages instead of staying with him to the end and making him want to pass the torch on to a younger generation is corrupted and debased in the process, the leaders lose interest in the future beyond lifetimes. When you pass from a leadership, endowed at least with some political motivations, to one which is there as of might, then the future becomes extremely problematical, unless there are other ravaging influences which can counteract the corrupting tendencies of power."

"This is the problem with many of the political leadership in this area. You start with idealism you should end up in maturity with a great deal of sophistication giving a gloss to that idealism But what usually happens is a great deal of erosion by the soft and baneful influence of power, leaving almost nothing of the idealism behind and only the professionalism of political leadership without its leavening values."

"That is not good enough. We have to give our own people the orders. And you have to throw up a whole generation capable of that leadership. Conscious of its responsibilities, jealous of its rights, not allowing any one to bully us and push us around, prepared to stand up and fight and die. That kind of a generation will endure till the end of time. And that is what we can do and will do."

"The way we solve our multi racial situation here, our multi racial problems, will influence what happens in the rest of the countries in South East Asia which are faced with similar multi racial problems. And if we make a success and in

*ten, fifteen years time throw up a generation of leaders, men trained with a modern scientific outlook and not only Chinese and Indians but also Malays and others, then we would have pointed the way to the future. And others must inevitably pick up the lessons from us."*

*"There are two types of individuals, who emerge in positions of leadership. If your country is developed, then inevitably the people who emerge in position of leadership, are people with a very firm grasp of the bolts and nuts of life, of standards of living and the economics of life."*

*"How do we ensure that this society will always offer all its citizens a meaningful, purposeful existence? That is what should engage your minds. I am not interested in ideas and as ideas themselves; however much of an esoteric thrill these can give you by way of intellectual stimulation. I am interested in ideas in so far as they can galvanize both our society, which means you and I, in a way which will enable us eventually to move our neighbours or those of our neighbours who matter to us, in the right direction. And to do that you need law. You need the panoply of justice. You need the free play of ideas. But most important of all you need a very strong referee who in this case, must have a gun, because the contestants are often prove to using the gun. And the referee must not only have a gun, but must know when judiciously to use it. If he does well, then the pianist will never be shot and you will always here some music."*

*"I would like to believe that as with me, so with you, as you pass the torch on to the next generation, you pass it on, not only to capable hands but to good minds and good hearts."*

*"There are certain basic ingredients necessary for any economic and technological progress. There must first be the willingness to work and learn and to reshape the social structure of one's society to fit in with the needs of the industrial technology. Second There must be capital either through enforced accumulation of massive loans. If I am to sum up these two ingredients in one phrase, it is the will and capacity. To provide large masses untrained and unskilled peasants with the incentive for prolonged effort and sacrifice as industrial workers at private levels, you must offer better life, which alone makes suffering bearable. This in turn makes it vital to have a leadership which can give them confidence that the sacrifice would not be in vain. There must be high standards of integrity, if not dedication amongst those entrusted with the power."*

*"These populations have shown in the course of the past few thousand years, not few hundred years, that given the right social administrative frame work and the political leadership, they are societies capable of high endeavour."*

## 5.1 The Makings of a Leader

"You need, besides determination, all the other attributes that will push a project along. You must have application; you must be prepared to work hard. You must be prepared to get people to work with you. You have got to enthuse them with the same fire and the same eagerness that pushes you along. I think that's a very big factor in leader ship."

"You must read. It's one way of getting information. But you have got to read what is relevant, not only what you are interested in. You must not overlook the importance of discussions with knowledgeable people. Because in a short exchange, you can abstract from somebody who has immense knowledge and experience the essence of what he had gained. In a one hour exchange over dinner with some people who are knowledgeable in certain fields, you get them long of a particular problem."

"What matters is the quality of your manpower or quality of the team work behind the managers and your infrastructure."

"Make your name at the law first, and make your fortune, then go into politics, which was what people of this generation (50-60) did. That was conventional wisdom. You make a name at the law, you make your fortune, and then you go into congress politics, as in India."

"Something dramatic had happened to my generation that making a fortune, playing safe, doesn't add up when the system is wrong. I was dead set against the system. But going into the politics meant a hazardous peril - fraught career. It's not a career, it's a vocation. You are taking a plunge, no return. And if you fail, you pay for it with your life."

"My philosophy, I'm not sure whether it is valid today, but it was valid in my generation. If you have got an education, if I give my children a good education, the rest is up to them. Get yourself a profession. Be educated. Then even if you are poor, you will make your way up."

"In many cases, it cannot be helped. I don't consciously go out to make enemies of people. But when we are on opposing sides, we have to fight. You fight for your cause, I fight for mine, it cannot be helped. But you shouldn't extend that beyond the person involved. I've got used to that and I think I'm pretty sensitive in discerning who's on the level and who's wanting to get something out of me. One of the qualities that you need to have, to last as a leader is, you must be good at that; otherwise, you get, taken for a ride. You must be able to smell people, out. It is good to do with being able to interpret body language. Watch the chap, his voice. Whether he is dissimulating, what's his real position or whatever? You can see into a person and through a person. The purpose is not just to be righteous. The purpose is to create a system, which will carry on because it has not been compromised."

"I was the product of the times. That Japanese occupation brought the whole world crashing down. I understood what power was about from that, it all happened, at that time I felt such a compelling need to do something."

"I would do a lot personally for a friend, provided what we set out together to do is not sacrificed we set out to get this place up. If I sacrifice that now, we are doing harm to what we've been trying to do; that cannot be done."

## 5.2 Student Leadership

"The unrest demonstrations and agitation inevitably end up with the adults, the 40 plus, in authority, and in the end, asserting their will. However out of this broad category of those who are better equipped mentally or have that high glandular activity that make them activists, or drive or push or interest. Out of this broad category some would go on to be adult leaders. Therefore I want to encourage student movements. But I want widest participation. I am not altogether convinced that, out of the next generation of leaders for Singapore or for any part of south and south East Asia, will emerge. Was Mao a student leader? Lie was a librarian at Peking University. He spends a lot of time thinking problems out. Was Kennedy a student leader? Was Kurushchev? Was De Gaulle? Can you imagine him leading students down Champs Elysees?"

"You must take yourself seriously. If you don't, what is the purpose of all this. But do not take yourself too seriously. You are young. In ten to twenty years, when you have developed the cunningness and an understanding of the crafty ways of men struggling to get into power positions, you would have become much more worldly wise. But I hope you will still be inspired by the ideals of equality, equal opportunity, the ideals of the brother hood of all human beings particularly those within your own community and the ideals of a better life for all. If you can retain these ideals-one to two decades from now and acquire in the mean time a lot of the other attributes that make us for national leadership, then my visit this evening would not have been in vain."

"Quite a number of countries, after gaining independence, had failed economically and collapsed socially. They lacked one essential quality: self discipline, either in their leaders, or more often both in their leaders and their people. It required self discipline "to budget and live within your means, when you can just print more money". It required self discipline to sustain the integrity efficiency of government and to punish and keep down corruption especially in high places. Self indulgence soon led to personal wealth and security for the few, the political leaders, the military chieftains and the principal administrators. Whatever the evils of British or French or Dutch colonial administrations they provided firm rigid frame works within which constructive endeavour was rewarded. Seldom were colonial budgets ever in deficit. They invariably spent less than what they got out of each colony for colonies were intended to provide profits, not incur losses. They kept the discipline and stable conditions, sound currencies, good sanitation and healthy condition. It is sad to see how many countries national heroes have let their country slide down the drain to filth and squalor corruption and degradation."

**Where the kick-back and the rake off is a way of life and the whole country sinks in self-debasement and despair.”**

**“Mrs. Gandhi, was the head of a government which represented a people, who had given Singapore, a part of ourselves and more than a part our inspiration.”**

**“This would give time to the second generation leaders of Southeast Asia who have learnt from the mistakes of the past time to put things back on a constructive track to modernise their societies and through regional co-operation between themselves and with the developed countries achieve economic growth and a better quality of life for their peoples. Then there would be greater social stability making for more security in the area leading to higher investment flows, more economic growth and so a climb up the face of the cliff to higher eves of civilization. Not unnaturally as a practitioner, I must take the more optimistic view.”**

**“Lee argued that the total performance of any society depended on the quality of its top one to two percent. The general level of the average digits, their physical and mental attributes, was inherited and at any one time was relatively fixed. But it could be improved by careful nurturing. The physical capacity could be increased with good food, training, health and medical attention. As for the brain power, while an IQ was fixed, a good environment, education, the imparting of knowledge and skills, the inculcation of values and the forming of new habits could raise performance. Given the human attributes of a given population and the training skills, knowledge, education and discipline of a people, it is left to the one to two percent of the population who are in positions of leadership to make the population give of its best. This means organisational coherence and that spirit of keenness which is necessary for high performance. When this one to two percent of a people in positions of leadership is completely committed to the whole community to share in their successes and failures in their triumphs or defeats, then and only then, will this leadership have that moral strength to arouse in their people that enthusiasm and drive to excel and to achieve.”**

**“Only a small portion of those who had received tertiary education would assume positions of leadership. The majority had to play their part in the administrative or corporation machine. On the other hand, many who had not been to institutions of tertiary education would in fact play decisive leadership roles. But with universal education it meant that the majority of the people in positions of leadership would have had tertiary education. The broader the base of people with twelve-plus years of education naturally the better the quality of this one to two percent. One of the problems of the newly independent countries like Singapore was that independence was usually preceded by a mass movement, in which everyone’s expectations were raised. Independence was also usually accompanied by a system where, one man was given one vote regardless of his educational standard. This meant that after independence the political leaders had to face pressures to level down and narrow the differentials in rewards between people with unequal qualifications and ability, people who made unequal contributions to the economy. This could result in a brain drain. Those with internationally recognized qualifications had the mobility to cross national frontiers in search of better jobs. So when standards of education, medical, health and recreational facilities were lowered as a result of a rapid and vast expansion, to cut for the needs of everybody social and economic conditions might drop to a level where it was no longer possible for intelligent people**

to believe that these standards would ever go back to what they were, let alone to rise to what they are in the developed countries of the west. When personal rewards, professional satisfaction and expectations of a better life for their children, cannot reinforce or sustain, loyalty to the group then considerations of personal or family survival, override duty and obligation to the community."

"We were prepared to face the facts and we knew that there is no substitute for hard work. People get the government they deserve. If people are prepared to face their problems, and have political leadership prepared to put before them realistically programmes and sacrifice, can resolve the basic difficulties, you have the ingredients of progress and success. But if a people wish to escape from realities because the realities are unpleasant and painful to contemplate and you have competing political party leadership trying to out bid each other in offering sweet panacea which cannot resolve the basic difficulties then you have the ingredients of more trouble. People who believe that there is an easy way to prosperity and happiness, with little work and no effort, will find themselves in serious trouble."

"Given vigorous leadership, our peoples can be stirred to action and their enthusiasm and energies mobilized for economic and social advance."

"It required courageous leadership to eradicate those values which hampered the advance of a people into the higher sciences and to inculcate new values and attitudes which would quicken the pace of change. Rapid acquisition of knowledge in the science and technology, higher manipulative skills management expertise and marketing know how were not congruent with a relaxed culture. The second major contradiction which was to be resolved was that of language."

"Lee is both Chinese and western in his attitude towards leadership. He understands the feeling of the people and their need for a leader. He abhors dictatorship and believes fervently in the open society and public argument. In the cabinet Lee Kuan Yew is the chairman and the first among equals. He considers him-self to be a part of a collective leadership. He does not always have his own way in the cabinet but he usually does because his thinking his arguments has their own force of appeal. He believes that a government must govern and that a Prime Minister must also be a leader in an Asian sense in Asian situation."

**Leadership: -** Is Combination of

1. Courage
2. Determination
3. Commitment
4. Character
5. Ability

### **Selection of Candidates for PAP**

Panel of Selection by

1. Psychologist
2. Psychiatrist



Tested For 2 Hours

- 1) Character Profile
- 2) Intelligence
- 3) Personal Backgrounds
- 4) Values

Tests helped to 1) Eliminate unsuitable (obvious)  
2) Were an advance on gut reactions.

Selection criteria

Currently estimated Potential (Shell formula of selection)

Power to analyse

1. Imagination
2. Sense of reality

Introduce this system for Public service selection replacing the inherited public service.

Constantly studying

- (1) How to make things work ?
- (2) How to make them better ?
- (3) Never a prisoner of any theory or dogma.
- (4) Guided by     a) Reason  
                      b) Reality
- (5) Acid Test applied to Theory/Scheme/Project-would it work  
[Golden Thread]
- (6) No wasting time and resources on
  1. Un workable issues/projects/schemes
  2. Poor results performers programmes
- (7) Learn from the mistakes of others.

Find:

- 1) Who else had met and solved (similar) problems, we faced ?
- 2) How they had tackled them ?
- 3) How successfully they had solved ?
- (8) Learn to ignore criticism and advise from
  1. Experts
  2. Quasi Experts (Academic of Social and Political sciences)
  3. Foreign correspondents (Western media)
- (9) Tried to be correct – Not politically correct.
- (10) Needs are same as those of any large country, domestically and internationally.

- (11) Responsibility gave me (Lee) to acquire.
1. Wide Perspective of human society
  2. A world view.
- (12) To survive we had to be
1. Better organised
  2. More efficient
  3. Competitive than the rest of the region
  4. Role as a model point between the advanced and the developing countries.
- (13) Decision based on
1. Analysis and arguments
  2. Gut instinct of what would work
- (14) Reason for success
1. United and determined group of leaders
  2. Backed by a practical and hard working people who trusted them
- (15) What made progress
1. A reflection of the advance of the industrial countries.
  2. Their inventions
  3. Their Technology
  4. Their Enterprises
  5. Their Drive
  6. Mans search for new fields to increase his wealth and well being.
- (16) Personal Trait
- Is there any central theme which guided him through the year ?
- Answer – No & Yes
- No : He is not an ideological or dogmatic person.
- Yes : What matters to him is whether a thing works or not for best tests.

### Very Harsh experiences and results

1. Japanese occupation and escape death  
1942-1945 - Created Politician
2. The battle with communists  
1950-1960 - Hardened Politicians
3. Merger with Malaysia – 1963
4. Unceremoniously booted out  
of Malaysia – 1965. - Opportunity to govern Singapore the way he has and fashioned a new model.

## 5.3 Working Language

*“English as our working language has prevented conflicts arising between our different races and given us a competitive advantage because it is the international language of business and diplomacy, of science and technology. Without it, we would not have many of the world’s multinationals and over 200 of the world’s top banks in Singapore. Nor would our people have taken so readily to computers and the internet.”*

*“So when people say, Oh, ask the people! It’s childish rubbish. We are leaders. We know the consequences. You mean that ice-water man knows the consequences of his vote? Don’t tell me that. That’s what western journalist writes. No Japanese journalist believes them. No, these are realities. But the West is creating myth, in order that, we will follow them. But they haven’t got the Japanese to follow them. They will never succeed in persuading the Chinese to follow them. Taiwan will never be like America. Nor will South Korea. Not even Hong Kong.”*

*“They say people can think for themselves? Do you honestly believe that, the Chap who can’t pass primary six, know the consequence of his choice when he answers a question viscerally, on language, culture and religion.”*

*“But we know the consequences. We would starve, we would have race riots. We would disintegrate.”*

*“There is an inherent defect in working that system. (Of oneman-one vote) when one has to engage in a protracted period of economic growth; and if you had worked this one man-one vote in England in the 18th century, you would never have got your industrial revolution.”*

*“To take off economically, what these countries needed was firm, decisive government, with the staying power to see through its policies. Where a government is weak and has not got a clear majority or depends on coalition parties, then the system breaks down.”*

*“He who exercises authority has got to exercise it with firmness, competence and fairness and what is most important, with a degree of continuity. People expect the state of affairs to develop, change gradually, progress, and then they make their calculations accordingly.”*

*Three basic essentials for successful transformation of any society*

- 1) *A determined leadership.*
- 2) *An administration which is efficient.*
- 3) *Social discipline.*

*“If you don’t have those three, nothing will be achieved. And that is one of the fatal defects of democratic system.”*

*“This business of seasonal change and your civil servants get rattled. They say, “My God! I will be in trouble, I’d better succumb. Why not look for something for myself, then whatever happens, I am all right. It is all these creeping doubts, this wavering, this wishing to cushion one self from trouble, that brings a complete*

*sagging of the whole machinery and helps to bring about chaos and collapse. Politicians, out do each other in popularity. It's the easy way out."*

*"What was interesting to me, in all these countries, was the fact that there was an effective leadership. These were men in authority who had tremendous worth. They were not men who were diffident about what they were about to do, no did they lack the nerve to do it. Nehru, Nassar, Tito - they are completely different men but they had these common characteristics."*

*"Good government was not so much, about fine liberal slogans and championing the rights of the People, but more a practical matter of strong leadership which would deliver material progress and improve the people's lot."*

*"Men's minds turn to revolution, when things are getting worse, not when things are getting better. That is fundamental. What we want to do here is to make things get better."*

*"All peoples, of all countries need good government. A country must first have economic development, then democracy may follow. With a few exceptions, democracy has not brought good government to new developing countries. Democracy has not led to development because the governments did not establish the stability and discipline necessary for development. What is a good government? This depends on the values of a people. Asian value may not necessarily be what Americans and Europeans Value."*

*"As an Asian of Chinese cultural background, my values are for a government which is honest, effective and efficient in protecting its people, and allowing opportunities for all to advance themselves in a stable and orderly society, where they can live a good life and raise their children to do better than themselves."*

*"One idea he floated was a return to the system of restricting the vote to those who were in a better position to exercise it wisely. Given his way, he would have assigned the vote or additional votes, to those who contributed most, economically, in a society. They, after all, were the ones who generated wealth, paid taxes and kept governments in operation. They were the ones who would have more say over who formed the government."*

*"How do people get a good government in a developing country? I believe we can learn a valuable lesson from the property and educational qualifications the U.K and U.S had in their early stages of democracy. This can work in towns, where most people are educated more over; it will encourage people to get educated. Such an approach can be criticised as elitist, but the chances of getting a good government will be better."*

*"I would restrict the vote to the level of your contribution to the economy. If you are making no contribution to the economy, you are in no position to demand all this. Who makes what contribution? British and Americans built up infrastructure and their capital in the years when they had the restricted votes. They did not have universal suffrage until late in this century."*

*"In Britain, married women did not get votes till 1948. If you are a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, you could vote for an extra M.P. That system worked."*

*“But there was pressure not from the masses but from the liberal thinkers, who thought this unfair. Let’s all be equal, when we are not equal and do not make equal contribution.”*

## 5.4 Shell System of Choosing People

*“Helicopter quality”. “You must have power of analysis, which are demonstrated by your examination results. You must have imagination and a sense of reality. You must have then the qualities of leadership and natural ability to enthuse people.”*  
*“Power of analysis, logical grasp of facts, concentration on the basic points, extracting the principles.”*

*“Another basket case of the third world managed to make economic transition to first world status in thirty years is the success story of the region, if not the world. Its economic transformation is the most remarkable, and one which even its most critics accept in 1965, Singapore.”*

*“You also must have idealism to succeed, to make people come with you. You must have that vision of what is at the bottom of the rainbow you want to reach. But you must have the sense of reality to feel when this vision is not practical, that will ruin us.”*

*“A leader without the vision, to strive to improve things is no good. Then, you’ll just stay you want progress.”*

## 5.5 Meritocracy

*“Herrnstein Co-authored the Bell Curve which set out the data that showed intelligence to be inherited.”*

*“For the exceptionally bright, we tried to “green harvest”. An American corporate practice of offering jobs even before graduation, on the basis of their performance before their final examination.”*

*“Meritocratic system makes the process simpler, and more straight forward than it otherwise might have been.”*

*“The first requirement is a successful career. This usually applies to those who had excelled academically just class honours or a good second class degree, many with a doctorate or master’s degree. Selection by PAP leaders is done through a systematic round of “tea sessions” and interviews, including psychological tests.”*

*“No body ever remains in power for long unless he’s good at seeing through people and judging them. You must be able to know the real man regardless of what his words are telling you. Assess him. Can this chap do it? Is he just flannelling away or does he know his stuff?”*

## 5.6 What Lies Behind?

*Development of an export driven economy relying mainly on foreign direct investments for capital and technology, and trading openly with rest of the world.*

*Other important ingredient that have been identified by bodies such as the world bank, and which have also been said to account for much of the East Asian Economic Miracle, are a high planning rate, a rigorous education system, a hard working people and critical government intervention in key industrial sectors. Indeed the principles that have been distilled from the Singapore experience - Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea - are now the accepted wisdom of the day.*

*It is a story of how a group of men led by Lee worked against the conventional wisdom of the day, which at the time eschewed foreign investments as being exploitative in nature.*

*Lee's role in economic transformation*

- 1) *How he saw the problem in early years.*
- 2) *His analysis of how it could be solved.*
- 3) *His assessment of the nature of Singapore society and what was needed for it to move up the economic ladder.*

***"We were not ideologues. We did not believe in theories as such. A theory is an alternative proposition intellectually. What we faced was a real problem of human beings looking for work to be paid, to buy their food, their clothes, and their homes and to bring their children up. So whatever the final outcome, we had the immediate responsibility of getting the economy going and getting jobs and income."***

***"We were sufficiently practical and pragmatic enough to be cluttered up and inhibited by theories."***

***"We had no raw materials for them to exploit. All we had was the labour. Nobody else wanted to exploit the labour, so why not, if they want to exploit our labour. They are welcome to it. And we found that whether or not, they exploited us, we were learning how to do a job from them, which we would never have learnt. We were learning on the job and being paid for it. We were in no position to be fussy about high-minded principles. We had to make a living and this was a way to make a living."***

***"It was quite simply whether a thing worked or not. Has it worked elsewhere? What benefits? Drawbacks did it bring?"***

***"Lee started off with low-skilled multiracial limited population. How to make a living? How to survive? It was a matter of life and death. How this to be achieved, by socialism or free enterprise. The answer turned out to be free enterprise, tempered with socialist philosophy of equal opportunities for education, jobs, health, and housing."***

## 5.7 Asia's Fast Beginning

***“Leaders of the societies are expected to lead. They were looked up to, and granted a high degree of respect and deference in recognition of their role in providing for their people and improving their lives. Good, honest leaders who were able to deliver the goods were considered worthy of the people’s support. Those who were corrupt, ineffective, or unable to assert their authority were dismissed.”***

*“He was firm. He once remarked that if he found an obstacle in the way of a policy or goal he thought needed to be achieved, he would not hesitate to run a bulldozer to clear the way.”*

*“The nature of leadership and how this related to the needs, desires and aspirations of a people were matters, Lee pondered from his early years in politics.”*

***“I often wonder whether the foreign journalist or the casual visitors like you, has fathomed or can fathom the mind of an oriental. What is inside is different.”***



## EDUCATION

*“The Japanese believed that for such a centre (knowledge & Information) to succeed, the people had to be reliable and trust worthy we took their advice to heart. We redoubled our emphasis on the teaching of the sciences, mathematics and computers in all school. We computerised the whole government administration to set the pace for the private sectors. It seeded our plans for an “intelligent island” completely linked up with fibre optics and directly connected with all the main centres of knowledge and information in Tokyo, New York, London, Paris, and Frankfurt and also our neighbours Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Bangkok and Manila.”*

*“I believe that the greatest influence on a child’s values is the first 12 to 15 years of his life. Sound values if rooted early in life could later resist contrary influences and pressures.”*

*“Lee’s socialism consists mainly of a firm belief that the state must equip all, with an education which will permit them to make the fullest use of their talents and abilities. Lee has never believed that all men are equal. But he insists that all men and women must be given an equal chance to make the fullest use of their own talents.”*

*“By English educated I do not mean just somebody who can speak, read and write the English language. I refer to that group of people who have gone through the government or mission schools. They are not merely English speaking. They have also acquired certain definite characteristics, as a result of going through the English schools. The other English educated, not only do they speak with different standards of behaviour, different scales of values, different characteristics from the Malayan English educated.”*

*“Another strange thing was that the English educated from China, from Malaya found that he had more in common with the English educated non Chinese from Malaya than with the English educated Chinese from Mauritius, the West Indies or China.”*

*Their characteristics are*

- (1) Think as Malays
- (2) Loyal to the community
- (3) Homogeneous
- (4) Honest
- (5) well behaved
- (6) Too obedient to colonial authority.

*“Weak points in the case of Chinese and Indians are that they are devitalised almost emasculated, as a result of deculturalization. The syllabus in the English*



*schools in pre war Malaya had pumped in, a completely English set of values and ideals. They have not taken to those but they have lost their own sets of values and ideals own cultures, there is certain loss of confidence in themselves.*

*“Next, and this is a serious disadvantage in a democratic system, the English educated have lost touch with the mass of their own people who speak the vernacular languages.”*

*“I have not yet come across a Malay who is unable to speak or read and write in Malay. But I have come across many Chinese and Indians who are educated in English, but are unable to read and write or even speak Chinese or Tamil or Malayalam or whatever their native tongues may be, of course there are exceptions.”*

*“What is the future of this class? In the past they have been, those most favourably placed and treated in colonial Malaya. The British un-naturally preferred to deal with people who could speak their language, and who understood their manners and mannerisms. Therefore the English educated had risen to the highest positions, both in government service and in the professions as doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers and in trade and commerce. They were the elite - the elite of the colonial society. They got the best jobs in the commercial firms. They were paid more in the English commercial firms than their counterparts were paid in the Chinese or Indian firms. In government service only the best of the English educated were admitted.”*

*“I suggest that the role of the English educated leadership in Singapore and Malaysia is the role it is playing in India. It is for them to carry the social revolution one step further by extending the rights and privileges that they have wrested from the British to the mass of their own people, the majority of whom are not English educated.”*

*“But I suggest to you that the English speaking student who will emerge in ten or twenty years time from today from the English, Chinese, Malay or Tamil schools will be a completely different person from the English educated person of the past.”*

*“He (English educated) will not be deculturized or devitalized. He will have vitality and confidence and a sense of dedication to his country and people. So in a way the present English educated type will disappear and a new English speaking group with different characteristics will emerge.”*

*“This is the historical process of Asians who first become western, learned western languages, techniques and sciences but remain Asians and are proud to be Asians. What the English educated of today must do is to help create a people who are Malayan educated but are also proficient amongst other things, in the English language. That is the way to the future.”*

*“In the end, it is what the graduates of the university do, in the outside world and by way of research in the university which will determine its status in the eyes of all people. Ultimately it is what Nanyang graduates are really worth, and not what the Govt says they are worth, which counts.”*

## 6.1 Academic Freedom

1. *The teacher was a technical expert in his field.*
2. *His thirst for truth and knowledge was, disinterested*
3. *The teacher did not only transmit knowledge to successive generations, but also they were expected to advance the frontiers of human knowledge and widen the domination of man's mind.*

*“Academic freedom (Encyclopedia of social sciences) It is the freedom of the teacher or research worker in higher institutions of learning to investigate and discuss the problems of this science and to express his conclusions. Whether through publication or in the instruction of students without interference from political or ecclesiastical authority or from the administrative officials of the institution in which he is employed unless his methods are found by qualified bodies of his own profession, to be clearly incompetent on contrary to professional ethics. The freedom of opinion, speech and publication claimed for the university teacher is not in extent significantly different from that usually accorded to other citizens in modern, liberal states. And the reasons for maintaining it are, in part the same. It is peculiar, chiefly in that the teacher is, in his economic status, a salaried employee, and that the freedom claimed for him implies, a denial of the right of those who provide or administer the funds, from which he is paid to control the content of his teaching.”*

*But his (Foreign - Academician) special status did not extend to fields where he was not the competent, disinterested explorer. And one of those fields was the heat and dust of the political arena. Of course there was nothing to prevent him from going into this arena if he was a citizen and so entitled.”*

*“His freedom of enquiry, research and exposition on the subject of which he was a competent and disinterested explorer and mentor should not be challenged by either governmental or even university authority. Within his province, his freedom was supreme.”*

*“Academic freedom was founded upon three principles. First - that the teacher was a technical expert in his field. Second - that his, quest for truth and knowledge was disinterested. Third, those teachers in a university did not just transmit knowledge to successive generations, they were expected to advance the frontiers of human knowledge and widen the dominion of man's mind. His freedom of inquiry, research and exposition on the subject of which he was a competent and disinterested explorer and mentor should not be challenged by either governmental or even university authority. Within his province, his freedom was supreme. But his special status ( Foreign - Academician) did not extend to fields where he was not the competent, disinterested explorer. And one of those fields was the heat and dust of the political arena. Of course there was nothing to prevent him from going into this arena if he was a citizen and so entitled.”*

*“Education must serve the people in their plans and their hopes to develop the nation's economy. What is the value of a university to the targets or the objectives, which I would like to achieve? What does it cost? Could I achieve the same targets*

by sending men abroad at perhaps less cost? The net result is that the acquisition of a university degree, is deemed, a status symbol of immense political magnitude in all these newly - independent countries. The argument is, if my leader is, what he is, it must have been because he went and imbibed knowledge, and if I can similarly imbibe knowledge, I can therefore similarly emerge. Hence the great desire of all institutions of tertiary education in all these newly independent countries to award university degrees."

"Is the university degree a symbol or proof that a man has imbibed knowledge or is it a certificate that the man has gone through certain disciplines which will enable him to do critical analysis in search of the truth and which will enable him to be capable of creative thought."

"The faculties that have been established invariably are the easier faculties to establish the arts and the humanities. Very few have had science and technology faculties. So they all inherit more or less a situation such as ours, where we have established a more or less educated elite in the sense that they can write, they can read, they can compose their thoughts, they can perhaps become administrators, they can alleviate suffering as doctors or help discharge the administration of justice as lawyers they can infact increase our population and our capacity to consume, but they are unable to increase the things that the people want to consume. Our men who can produce our modern industrial society our industrial chemist, our technocrats are missing. So far as the first stage is concerned, our problem is accentuated and not solved. I think there is considerable truth in the proposition that the more you persist in producing men who are educated but unable to increase productive capacity the more you are heading for an unstable situation."

"The biggest dearth of talent in the university in a situation such as ours is not just a lack in the skills in the technologies required for a developed society or an industrial community but even more important and more urgent the crops of informed thinking to lead, formulate, and guide national thought, on constructive lines. It is when this is lacking, those military leaders can take over."

"New sort of education, had to produce a multi racial generation, which made up in quality what it lacked in numbers. It depends on the education we give them, the training they receive, the values that they are taught, what is good and what is bad. What should be done; what should not be done. Whether we should have a rugged, robust, disciplined effective society, a hard society, a tough rugged society."

"The system that we inherited from the British was lop-sided. Too much emphasis was laid on the examination and the paper qualification. We were, therefore rearing a whole generation of softies, who were clever, who wore spectacles, who were weak from want of enough exercise, enough sunshine and with not enough guts in them. That was all right for a British colony because the officers came from England who had the unnecessary brawn and toughness. It was easy they who gave the orders and our people just executed them."

"Lee said it was most important that the problems of language and education be resolved by the free will of the parents, not by the orders of the government. It is

our duty to point out the road to national unity by offering equal opportunities of learning all mother tongues while encouraging the learning and use of the national language. Then it is up to the fathers and mothers of community to decide how their children should be taught and trained."

"It is not only in communist countries where the mass media is used to produce the closed mind, because the closed society must produce the closed mind."

*"There is tranquillity, poise and confidence and it is a confidence born out of the knowledge that there are very few problems which we cannot overcome, given the frame work of honest and effective administration. For in this framework, our people's natural industry and talent will continue to blossom and flourish and generate prosperity for all. Together we will create a present and a future worthy of a people who have come from very ancient cultures and civilizations. We are pioneers in this region."*

*"It was in schools like Raffles where the different communities learnt to be one people that the future lay and eventually all schools in Singapore would comprise within their classroom more than just one ethnic group. This would take some time, but in the long run, we will not have any school where pupils are put together on the basis of just one race and one language. The mono-linguist is a bigot, because he does not know that there are other languages and other cultures as great, if not greater than his own. A bi-linguist has an aperture, a window, open in his mind into other worlds and when all of Singapore understand that, and all of them have windows opening, on to each other's worlds, then we will have a truly more tolerant, more understanding, and for that reason a more peaceful and prosperous future."*

*"Singapore, was a small country and it was imperative that the emphasis must be quality, not quantity. We must nurture, train and educate our people and so organise our society, to enable us - a nation of two million to match the performance and capacity of countries larger than us. To achieve this, the key is education. Every school, primary, secondary or university all must train and educate our youth to bring out their best a rugged and robust generation. They must have the capacity to contribute to national security and social order and help the growth and development of our economy."*

*"By Afro-Asian standards, Singapore had a high percentage population going on to tertiary educational institutions. But it was not high compared to American, West European or Japanese standards. In America over thirty five percent of the secondary level students go through to tertiary level as against thirteen percent for Singapore."*

*"Perhaps one of the first qualities necessary for progress is a willingness to face the youth individuals; Singapore scientists can be as good as any in the world. But their opportunities to get to the top in any of the frontiers of discovery is limited by the wealth, in men and resources, which Singapore society can put at their disposal. Modern technology, whether in space travel, space communications, or nuclear power, demands such vast investments that only the super-powers can afford them. When results of such research are applied for the enrichment of human life, there must be massive markets, so that the research and development cost can be so spread as not*

to exceed twenty percent of the price of the commodity produced in order to be economically competitive between the researching giants."

"It is madness to aspire to the esoteric heights of original research in the pure sciences, and then put these discoveries to application in manufacturing and marketing for human needs. Singapore was a useful centre for the marketing, distribution and servicing of established innovations, those which could play an economic role in the development of the region."

"Because the particular field which Singapore would find most profitable could not be accurately pre-determined flexibility and versatility must be built into the teaching of sciences in schools, the polytechnics and universities."

"We must avoid narrow specialization. The esoteric specialists we shall always have to borrow. On the other hand, our scientist and engineers must be management orientated. In spite of rapid expansion in the secondary schools and the universities, there was a shortage of executives and technologists in Singapore - men, trained to analyse problems, investigate alternative solutions, assess the implications of each possible solution, and then make a decision."

"Today we have more jobs requiring people with judgement and decisiveness than there are the people with these attributes. So, the value for our scientists and engineers, having business management training."

"Ideally, all men should be equal. But they are not. For this reason, some become scientist; many are just workers by hand. The differences between human societies are as great as differences between the humans within a society. So long as we are able to maintain the quality of our population trained disciplined, skilled workers, with scientists and executives to form the sharp cutting edge, so we shall always have that extra, to maintain life at a comparatively higher level, with the amenities and services comparable to that of the most advanced societies."

"It is generally believed that a large territory with a large population meant automatic progress. When exploitation by a colonial power was ended, this is now known to be too facile, a proposition in economic development. The attributes of different societies vary. Now it is reluctantly acknowledged that, attributes are a crucial factor in any transformation from backwardness to the modern technology. Moreover, it takes a long time to develop and transform an agricultural to an industrial economy, because it takes a long time to educate and train a whole population and to adapt to the different styles of working and living in an industrial society."

"We have had universal primary education for over a decade. Today we have a literate society. One test of an educated man is his ability to continue reading and learning throughout his life."

"Pride in one's past is necessary for self confidence and morale. These are essential ingredients of success. In order to get access to this new knowledge, especially in the applied sciences men must be prepared and sent abroad to study in developed countries. This requires learning of the languages of these developed countries. The contradiction between pride in one's own language and the mastery of a foreign language can be reconciled. The foreign language, the less developed have inherited over the decades can be modernized and enriched, by extensively borrowing

ideas and words, and eventually developing its own modern literature. The best reason for keeping up the learning and use of English or French is that professors and experts from advanced countries can visit the universities and institutions of the less developed and instruct much larger numbers of students than can be sent abroad."

"The assiduous learning of the languages of an advanced country and the fostering of one's own language were complementary not inconsistent policies. On the other hand the deliberate stifling of a language, which gives access to superior technology, can be damaging beyond repair. Sometimes, this is done not so much to elevate the status of the indigenous language, but to take away a supposed advantage a minority has already gained, a greater competence in the foreign language. This can be most damaging. It is tantamount to, blinding the next generation to the knowledge of the advanced countries. Worse, it leads to an exodus of the bright and the promising who do not intend themselves or their children to be blinded from new knowledge. Whilst national pride requires that the indigenous language be revived and expanded for modern day use, to deliberately drop the teaching and use of English or French, and depend upon translations of scientific materials into an, as yet inadequate language, is unnecessarily to maim themselves in their search for new knowledge."

"Another problem for many of the less developed countries was, that they had to raise not only levels of knowledge and skills but also levels of intelligence, ability and dexterity. But if it turns out that nature as much as nurture decides the level of achievement, then some system of incentives and disincentives must be found to make sure that with each succeeding generation standards of education and skill, levels of performance and achievement will rise as a result of both nature and nurture. The quality of life will rise as levels of education and performance are raised."

"Professor Wolf-gang Franke, then visiting professor of Chinese studies at the university of Malaya in an article in the Malaysian journal of education (Vol-2, No-2, December, 1965) advanced the theory that the main result of English education in Singapore and Malaysia, if not coupled with a fairly through Chinese education, at home Chinese humanistic tradition. The English education, even if it lasts thirteen years, usually remains superficial. Only a number of outstanding in a few eminent schools are able to penetrate to the basic values of western culture and to acquire a genuine western humanistic education to replace the lost Chinese one. But the majority were adrift spiritually on the waves of material comfort without having any fized cultural or moral standards. There are, however not a few of them who become sooner or later aware of their uprooted, floating position. They realize their lack of cultural identification. Physically and emotionally they are Chinese, but culturally, they are neither Chinese nor English or Malay. They do not know themselves, what they are."

"When a group medical student raided the women's hostel, stole the girl's underwear and wrote "dirty words" on the wall, Lee reacted angrily as a father as much as the Prime Minister did."

"As the Prime Minister he told them that the university student owes it to the community (which spends thousands of dollars of public money on him each year), to be a decent, patriotic, hardworking, effective individual and not a rake and a flop. As a father he added: "And they thought it was funny' I did not think it was funny. If my son had been involved I would have been ashamed. And had my daughter lived in

*the hostel where these things happened I would have been very angry indeed". Ragging is now prohibited in the colleges and universities. Civil servants have been told to get their hair cut. Youths wearing long hair are not employed as caddies at the golf courses where Lee swings his clubs.*



## GROWTH / DEVELOPMENT

*"I gradually crystallised my thoughts and settled on a two pronged strategy to overcome our disadvantages. The first was to leapfrog the region as the Israelis had done. Second part of my strategy was to create a first world oasis in a Third world region. Then it would become a base camp for entrepreneurs, engineers, managers and other professionals who had business to do in the region."*

*"We have studiously avoided the practice of welfare state. We saw how a great people reduced themselves to mediocrity by leveling down."*

*"I should have known that, it does not pay to yield to popular pressure beyond our capacity to deliver."*

*"After observing how differently people maintained their own apartments as against rented ones, I believed that a deep sense of property was instinctive in a person. I was strengthened in my resolve to give every family solid assets which I was confident they would protect and defend, especially their home, I was not wrong."*

*"We chose to redistribute wealth by asset – enhancement, not by subsidies for consumption."*

*"Watching the ever increasing cost of the welfare state in Britain and Sweden, we decided to avoid this debilitating system. In the 1960s, and 1970s the failure of the European welfare state was not yet self-evident. It took two generations for the harm, to work its way through and be seen, in lowered performance of individuals, sluggish growth rates and growing budget deficits."*

*"I can best explain the need for balance between individual competition and group solidarity by using the metaphor of the oriental yin and yang symbol, two fish-like shapes forming a circle. Yin represents the female element, yang, the male. The more yang (male) competitiveness in society, the higher the total performance. If winner takes all, competition will be keen, but group solidarity weak. The more yin (Female) solidarity, with rewards evenly redistributed the greater the group solidarity, but the weaker the total performance because of reduced competition."*

*"In Singapore's Asian society, parents want their children to have a better start in life than they themselves had."*

*"Our policies kept people keen to achieve their best. Monetary stability a balanced budget and low taxes encouraged ample investments and high productivity."*

*"By avoiding wasteful expenditure, we kept inflation low and did not need to borrow foreign funds."*



***"We moved from taxing income to taxing consumption."***

***"Better to attract educated and skilled immigrants to enlarge our talent pool and increase both GDP and revenue."***

***"I sensed a fundamental change in the attitude of the people. Politics was now no longer a game of mass rallies and demonstrations. It had become a matter of life and death. We brought in higher-quality, better-qualified MPs, many of them Chinese educated Nan yang university graduates. They helped to move the Chinese speaking towards the political centre."***

***"The basic factors for wealth and growth have remained unaltered through centuries, First, natural resources, second human resources and third the technological skills and capital equipment which are available, to the human resources, to exploit the natural resources. In other words, the creation of goods and services which today is popularly known as the gross national product of a particular country is determined by these three factors."***

***"Even more difficult it is to accumulate capital, because the less, there is to put away. But, unlike the first and second factors, natural resources and human resources, the third technological skills and capital equipment, can either be loaned or be given and if receiver is not inhibited by charges of being thereby made effect as a result of being loaned the technological talents which he has not yet produced or the capital equipment which he has not yet accumulated, then he will be able to make more rapid and effective use of his natural and human resources."***

***"It is with these as the basic digits, that, I discuss the differences between the different modes of human organisation to exploit the natural and human resources. Feudalism, capitalism, socialism, communism; what difference does it make whether we choose one or the other of these paths. I would suggest that the difference lies in the manner in which these different systems mobilize human resources, mobilize the talent energy and creative capacity of human beings in large groups for collective effort in order to create a better life for all. For the manner of the mobilization of the human resources determines the speed with which we can acquire the different technical skills and can also determine the rate of capital accumulation."***

***"I believe in socialism because I believe it is one of the most effective ways of mobilizing human resources. Give equal opportunities to all regardless of rank, race, religion, sex in a given nation and you are likely to draw the best from each of your nationals. Give him the best opportunity to educate himself, in order to use his talents and, if you throw your net wide enough to cover your whole population, the chances are you will have ever so much talent will emerge at the top. And in a society based on equal opportunity, if rewards are correlated to the effort and output of the man and not to his possession of wealth or status, then it is likely to draw the best from each of your nationals. Give him the best opportunity to educate himself in order to use his talents and, if you throw your net wide enough to cover your whole population, the chances are you will have ever so much more talent that will emerge at the top. And in a society based on equal opportunity, if rewards are correlated to the effort and output of the man and not to his possession of wealth or status, then it is likely that you will give your people the incentive to strive for themselves and for their community."***

*"But there is already a developed and prosperous non communist world. So the chances of democratic socialism succeeding in these under developed countries should not be that slender. It is possible, through trade and the borrowing of technological and capital resources, for democratic socialism with less ruthless methods of human organisation to match and even outpace the rate of economic change which communist systems can bring about in under developed countries."*

*Factors determining the well being of a nation.*

1. *Natural resources at its disposal.*
2. *Human resources it can marshal.*
3. *Technological and scientific skills it can exploit in order to bring out the best in its natural and human resources.*

*"I would like those who, from time to time, doubt the capacity of a people of about two million to survive under arduous and perilous circumstances to remember that two million New Zealanders were able to produce men who pioneered the world in science. The first atom and its mysteries were discovered by a man called Rutherford, a New-Zealander."*

*"And it is against this background, make a contribution to the growth of the kind of open democratic societies, which offer a meaningful life meaningful intellectually, culturally and materially. This challenge for change will be answered not by democratic socialist alone."*

*"Lean and rugged society" to create the mood is our people to be prepared to sacrifice, to make the afford to respond to a harsher situation. It is not just physical and psychological ruggedness alone which is required. When we talk of leanness, it means that we carry no passengers, must either pull his weight or he deserves to perish either as individuals or together as a community. I am sanguine enough to believe that, there are enough of us prepared to pull our weight and able to make this community prosper, and to offer some encouragement to those around us, who are faced with not dissimilar problems.*

*" We will get what we can earn and earn what we strive for. This must be on correlating rewards to performances. Very simple, it means a revamping of the methods and values by which we get high performance. No two persons are equal not even identical twins No two persons will give of their best, if you pay them equally for unequal work."*

*"We must recognise this urge, the instinct in our people to perform and give of his best only, if he is rewarded better than the other who did not do as well. More and more, we must make this a corner stone of our drive, for high performance. It is not just the capitalist or free enterprise, world that has had to recognise this hard fact. They understood that uniformity."*

*"There is a certain inevitable dynamism about the progress in the growth of nations."*

*Lee said "that he and his fellow socialists in power in Singapore still sought to bring their people equal opportunities and a fruitful, meaningful life, but have*

abandoned youthful illusions of creating a luxury paradise on earth. We gave that up a long time ago. We cannot afford it, we work or die, basic beliefs don't change, but methods do. You have to take human being, for what they are. If you want high performance you must give high pay."

"Economics, Industrialization and technological development are the bolts and nuts of industrial strength, and industrial strength is what the military capacity and well being of each nation is built on. Whatever the ideology, the thoughts, the beliefs which can enthuse stimulate and galvanise people, we have still to count the hard units that make up industrial strength and growth that is to say the technological capacity and skills and sophisticated capital equipment which is economically feasible only if there is a vast market to serve. Further there is a correlation between the educated and skilled digits of a community and its gross national product."

"May I add that a grouping of industrially developed nations makes for very great industrial strength and added prosperity for each? But a grouping of countries all industrially undeveloped, economically not affluent, and technologically backward only means greater poverty to share the little prosperity co-operation can create. That is why Singapore seeks association and co-operation with technologically advanced and industrially developed partners. We welcome the Japanese, Australians, British, Americans, Germans and Russians to Singapore, whether shipbuilders, ship repairers, tyre manufacturers, assemblers of transistor radios, television sets, steel tubes, motor scooters, motor cars and so on. In non communist Asia, Japan alone has the capacity to supply us with, what we lack the manufacturing skills, the technological and management expertise, without which, we may be back in the rice fields and planting bananas or waiting for the coconuts to drop. Two qualities, the capability, knowledge and skills of the population and the quality of their leadership determine the efficiency of their social economic and political organisations. For only then, can they utilize to the maximum, the limited human and natural resources available. Hence the super powers are recognising the fallacy of the number, "number games". It does not mean that because a country has a large population and land area therefore they are better off than a country with a smaller population and less land area. Those who watch with baleful eyes what is going in Vietnam know that one South Vietnam government is not the same as one Vietcong. The motivation is different hence the difference in discipline and effectiveness."

"Americans weighed business risks. They looked for political, economic and financial stability and sound labour relations to make sure that there would be no disruption in production that supplied their customers and subsidiaries around the world."

## 7.1 Economic Co-Operation - Problems

"Any discussion, of economic and political co-operation in south and Southeast Asia, as in any other region of the world, must include an evaluation of the stability and security of that region. Without stability and security, economic co-operation is an exercise in collective soliciting for aid from the developed countries. It was only after several hundred years of warring had proved the futility of advancing nationalist interest through force of arms that the six in

the European Economic Community got together. They had to overcome deep seated national prejudices."

"Although the second generation leaders in south and south East Asia realise these hard facts of new technological age, co-operation in economic and political matters has been slow. Fear that such economic and political cooperation may lead to subversion and absorbing of the smaller partners by the larger is one reason. The sluggish pace of advance in meaningful economic regional co-operation reflects the suspicions sometimes justified but more often ill-founded, that such co-operation may lead to subjugation. And even when subjugation is not likely, the larger country may not be not too willing to co-operate with smaller countries because the smaller partners, being more efficient may get more out of it."

"One hundred and fifty years ago, when Stamford Raffles came to Singapore on 19<sup>th</sup> February 1819, the archives of the East India Company bear evidence to 120 Malays and some 30 Chinese being in what was fishing village. Today Singapore sustains two million people highly urbanised and increasingly industrialized to provide a standard of living second in Asia, second only to Japan. A hundred years ago the Japanese were a feudal community. But 100 years after the Meiji restoration Japan is moving from fourth to perhaps third position in the world in industrial production and strength. Up to 1949, China was one chaotic conglomeration of war-lording provinces. In 1964, she exploded the atomic bomb. Nothing could reverse this."

"We must not forget that co-operation between developed industrialized and affluent nations like those in the EEC means greater wealth and prosperity to be divided amongst already prosperous communities. But co-operation between educationally not advanced and industrially under developed countries can only produce minuscule economic gains to be divided between large numbers of poor and hungry people. So up till now co-operative arrangements that have been established in south and southeast Asia, have been arrangements to please developed donor nations, so that gifts, or aid, may be more generally given to the co-operators."

"Only a practical approach will provide the step by step advancement, first in economic co-operation, then into political fields, and finally on to collective security. To make progress, which can be more quickly felt by the people, the under developed countries of south and south east Asia, must be associated with the more industrially advanced and prosperous, to borrow on fairly generous terms not only the capital and equipment but also the expertise in management, technological and industrial techniques, education and training methods."

"Today people take for granted the stability the social cohesion, the orderliness, the willingness to work, the awareness of the problems of our people. These are the factors which determine our economic progress. And in 1959, when my colleagues and I first took office these factors were not much in evidence. They were confounded because they did not give adequate weight to one vital factor. The human drive, that verve in a determined and a resourceful people who know the terrible consequence of failure."

"We must cut out unnecessary stoppages of work over the years, each cultural religious group had holidays added onto the annual list. We were well on the way to having the highest number of public holidays per year for office workers

*in Asia. Now we shall go back to eleven public holidays a year which is what it has always been for industrial workers. In the essential services work will carry on, holidays and Sundays notwithstanding providing more jobs for our Unemployed. Singapore will be kept clean and green. Shops and restaurants can open on Sundays and public holidays the whole year round if they find it profitable so that they can, better cater, for their customers or for tourist. But workers will get one rest day per week and double pay for a public holiday if the employer wants them to work. But if it is the employee who wants to work on the public holiday then he gets only single pays.*

*“Thrift was just an old fashioned word to describe the process of capital formation, a necessary ingredient of economic development.”*

*“Nothing brought out the importance of the human factors more vividly than when comparing the spectacular results of investment in the ruined economies of Western Europe, as against the negligible returns from aid and development in new countries. Then there was the phenomenal recovery of two defeated countries. After their defeat both West Germany and Japan were shrunk in area and resources. But both had populations highly educated, an abundance of scientists, engineers, technicians and managers all disciplined and easily reorganised. The new countries on the other hand, had largely uneducated populations, most of peasant stock, unaccustomed to the discipline and skills required on the factory floor. The speed with which Hong Kong, a territory without natural resources, had industrialised was the result of the influx of refugee capital and expertise. A cadre of ready - trained engineers and technicians the product of over thirty years of painful development in China since the 1911 revolution gave Hong Kong their start.*

*“Without adequate security forces of our own to make a significant contribution, to joint security arrangement investments may slow down. If people believe that we are weak and defenceless, even our wealthy citizens will move part of their capital abroad. Participations of our ablest, in our defence forces, are a necessary part of the process of changing patterns of education and training, to meet different circumstances. Those who have made the universities owe a more than average duty to enhance our security and enrich our future. As we move to more sophisticated equipment. So our armed forces will require and train more technologists and technicians. Military technology is often more exacting and advanced than its civilian counterpart. But this in turn will help our economic growth as this will increase the reservoir of people trained in modern technology, essential for our industrialization. It was not easy to predict what particular manufacturing or servicing industry would become profitable in Singapore. Hence the importance of flexibility in the education and training of the young.”*

*“The growing industrial sector is our future. The higher the skills and expertise the greater the value that is added to the materials processed. The greater the, “added value”, the higher wages. Value added was very low when labour was used in industries, low capital and technological content. Value added was high in science based industries with high capital and technological content. With passage of time, what was once considered high technology could become low technology?”*

*“We enter the 1970s with confidence. As with individuals so with nations, confidence was the touchstone of success. Ten years ago we were, so many individuals each seeking his personal or family salvation. Now there is social cohesiveness. We have learned to think and to act as a people to protect and advance our group interest. We have trained and educated our young people. We have increased their ability to use the instruments of modern technology to create wealth.”*

*“Another valuable asset brought forward from the 60s was, the confidence other people had in Singapore’s viability, readability and capacity for intense effort. If we do not allow anything to upset this assessment of our potentials, investment will continue to flow in, generating more and better jobs and increasing revenue to pay for better social amenities.”*

*“Much had been done by organisation, ingenuity and work discipline. Much more would be achieved. Investments, construction, and progress had a habit of gathering momentum. We deserve to succeed if we can match this progress by a similar effort in security and defence. We shall remain on top of our problems only if we stay trained and alert, flexible but determined. Everyone wants a prosperous new year. Work for it and ours will be, the preconditions that have already been set.”*

*“It was more than probable that ethnic and cultural factors do affect the group performance of various communities. But if it was all due to ethnic factors, then the outlook or a narrowing of the performance gap between the different ethnic groups was bleak. I do not take such a pessimistic view. By the nature of my work, I am inclined to be more optimistic of what is possible with a change in values and in cultural patterns, with improved diet and health conditions, with better education and training. It takes some time perhaps decades or generations for peasants to learn commercial and industrial habits.”*

*“The old idea of import substitution of a national frontier behind which the flow of manufactured goods from outside was cut off and these goods manufactured domestically had been found to be of little help. The Americans, and now the Japanese and even the west Europeans and Germans in particular those whose labour costs are high, had now moved into a new type of export. They no longer export just the finished commodity: they exported whole industries. All this meant that socialism in slowly developing countries was faced with several agonizing contradictions. The pledge was to create, a more just, a more equal society. In order to develop the technology and the skills, the wage differentials had to be widened between the people who could emigrate, because he had professional skills as against the unskilled semi skilled and skilled worker, who could not emigrate. This unjust system had to be sustained for a considerable length of time, before moving into a more developed situation, which enabled a levelling out.”*

*“Let us never forget that the development takes place under vastly changed conditions. The Russians and the Chinese close their societies. They pay an engineer what they think the engineer is worth and the engineer cannot emigrate. He is sent to where his services are needed most. They pay their workers, their*

*foreman in accordance not with their needs, which is the socialist ideal - but with their worth and that worth is gauged by what they think is right. So, when we seek development in under - developed situations with very little or no education prior to independence running a system of one man one vote in which popular appeals during election time must mean more to the mass of the unskilled and semiskilled and soaking the rich means, really chasing out the few digits that you have, the system comes to a grinding halt, unless you are able to re-educate rapidly the whole population. I have seen it happen in several countries. I have seen adaptations modification's attempted. And so, whilst we all seek our own separate roads to our socialist goal or utopia - which is a very necessary ingredient of development that enthusiasm and idealism that fires a people and makes them strive - let us never forget that these are the realities of the situation: that nobody gives you anything for free, that every arrangement, an under developed country comes into with a developed country, is often an unequal arrangement."*

*"The galloping pace of technological change confronts us with an acute challenge. Twenty five years ago, the Germans and the Japanese were prostrate, their industries in ruins after the Second World War. Today their GNPs are third and forth in the world, It is a spectacular recovery, made possible first by their infra structure of knowledge and skills, and second by the rapid transfer, by way of American loans and investments of capital equipment and new expertise under patent and licensing. It had little to do with ideology. And in the case of Japan it was a miracle accomplished with no basic material resources like iron or oil. It had a great deal to do with human resources, a hard-working and disciplined people with high skills technological competence managerial ability and marketing know how."*

*"We have to make our own decisions on how we can keep up with these technological and scientific breaks through resulting from the inventiveness and creativity of men in the advanced countries. These researches were often aided by exceptional brains, drained from the less developed. If we can get effectively together, in constant consultation and co-operation, we can work out a strategy to make less onerous, the terms on which we can get from the developed countries high technology, equipment, expertise, and skills."*

*"More relevant is the question why, in group performance as nation states, most of the east so far have not been able to organise themselves, maintain effective administration ensure political stability, provide proper sanitation, clean portable water, constant electric supply, control population growth and widen the base and raise the levels of education, training and expertise. Only then, he added, can they buy, the use of machinery and equipment, they can buy from west make the technological economic and social progress to equal the west."*



## TRADE UNIONS

*“Trade union movement:- It become a protest movement. In nature of things it broke down two things, discipline and efficiency. Now we have to re-educate not only our trade union leaders but also even more important the leaders that this can no longer be. Slowly we have to educate, a whole generation understand this will not increase their wealth or well-being and what has happened in their countries has helped in the education. So there is support for rational policies.”*

### To - unions & workers

*“We have to move away from outmoded practices to reach out for new targets. During the next four or five years Singapore trade unions would face this problems. How to keep union morale and memberships up, while “there is no agitation for more pay without showing increased productivity. We need a lot of rethinking on how to have better organisation high productivity and more modern methods of work. So you have to provide, other activities meaningful to your members, to keep them together. You have to grow up, just as Singapore has to grow up. We live in a dangerous part of the world and if we don’t grow up. You are moving into an age where modern technology is altering the whole landscape of international transportation, whether it is jumbo jets or containerised centre. If we are going to be that, we have to have up to date expertise, an open keen mind, and a willingness to learn new ways of doing the job.”*

*“Similarly in the trade unions, you must produce a continuous flow of capable and practical leadership. I am a realist. I am asking you to tick the labour movement into shape, cutting out restrictive practices which are no longer relevant, and stopping abuse of fringe benefits which leads to lower productivity. You and I know that on average of thirty two days sick leave being taken by a daily rated worker in the public sector, just means malingering. The average worker cannot be sick for thirty two days every year. Look at our workers: are they sickly and underfed? Yet the records show that, since they are entitled to forty four days sick leave for a year, they are sick for thirty two days. Cut all these evils (stoppage of work, slow work, leading to low productivity off, jack up productivity, cut out abuse of privileges and create a new image of a thinking hard-headed labour movement - high morale at home and confidence abroad-and-we will boom.”*

*“In spite of the complications of compounding the trade union movement with political freedom movement, work discipline had been maintained. Workers found their new dignity in freedom, and were able to look the employer and the whole world in the eye, without cringing and fawning. At the same time excesses had been avoided which could have led to*



insubordination and a breakdown in discipline and order in the work force, which would have brought chaos."

"The price for success was more effort and efficiency, the expunging of excessive fringe benefits and their abuse. The overriding consideration is for greater economic growth and more job opportunities. Government and unions and enterprise together can achieve this. However, if the trade union movement opts out and leaves it all to the government, then the movement will not grow and develop in sophistication and strength of leadership. Then we would not have educated our workers to the facts of life and they would not know how a protected trading community transformed itself into a self supporting industrial, commercial and communication centre. And if our society is that ignorant and gullible then the ground will always be susceptible to communists and anarchist blandishments. We are young community with no deep social or class divisions. Whether coolie or millionaire, our children go to the same schools, with equal opportunities for advancement to higher education, to leadership roles. Rewards correspond to merit and performance. We must keep it that way, and prevent the divisive influences of class hatred and class exploitation. From worker to trade union leader, from union leader to executive and management promotions, this social mobility must be encouraged."

"The union leader who could only feel strongly about the needs of his workers and who was anti-boss, but without comprehending the economic realities on which his fellow workers livelihood depends would become as out dated as the dinosaur. "Our trade union leaders must be as up to date in thinking, methods and techniques, as the best on the management side". It is the intention of the government to provide the opportunities to develop this quality of leadership. It is up to the unions and their leaders to seize these opportunities and go on to higher standards and greater sophistication, but without losing the inner fire, the zeal to create a more equal and just society, where no man should be able to exploit his fellow men."

"And from 1959 to 1963 we reacted to communist pressures. This led to competition at trade union level. We were conscious of what we were doing. We held it within bounds, prevented the polity from breaking and splintering, introduced innovations, the industrial arbitration court, and new legislation. We tried to isolate those unions that went on political strikes and punished them demonstrating to their followers that political strikes did not pay."

"The assumptions made in the 50's and 60's by the trade unions and their advisors were that the workers wanted more leisure to enjoy their pay. These assumptions were based on British practices, which were and are completely irrelevant to our social conditions. Our workers want work, and more money for more work, not more leisure to spend the inadequate sums they earn."

"In the early stages of the labour movement, the trade union often become a place of refuge for the inefficient, the slack, the lazy, and anti social. As happened elsewhere, these people were the first to join the union to seek protection, against the natural tendency of any employer to be rid of bad workers. I am not asking our union leaders, in an open society to take on the role, of management. But I

**do urge them, with the help of these new laws to stop giving cover to those who do not pull their weight. We must avoid slipping into a situation where trade unionism is the practice of protecting the slowest worker and with everybody being paid the same wage; no worker will have any incentive to work harder than the weakest and slowest.**

*“With less hidden benefits, and more open rewards with higher incentives for higher performance when industries and enterprises prosper. So wages would grow up. So would bonuses. Legislation was also designed to help improve management discipline and establish a sensible relationship between unions and management.”*

*“On the Prime Minister’s return to Singapore his attention was drawn to the fact that certain gangs in the first and second shift of the port of Singapore authority have been deliberately going slow and cargo handled had on the average dropped from fourteen and a half to eleven and a half tons per gang-hour. Investigations have disclosed that although the PSA union leaders have expressed their disapproval of these tactics in some section’s, some workers and some groups are deliberately going slow in order to work with contract labour on the third shift, which is the best paid per hour. The going slow is sometimes deliberately to create work for this third shift.”*

***“The Prime Minister has discussed the matter with union leaders and management this afternoon. He has stressed, the fact that Singapore was doing well economically, and that employment figures having gone up, and unemployment down, did not, repeat that mean, that we could afford to slacken in our efforts to increase productivity. With the support of the union, instructed the chairman of the PSA to discipline whole gangs, by dismissals if necessary, where they are caught out engaged in such malpractices. Dismissal will include, their vacating PSA quarters. So those who choose to work with contractors for higher pay on the third shift, will have to look for their own accommodation. The Prime Minister takes a serious view of those gang leaders, who believe that in this way they can increase their take home pay. They are sabotaging Singapore’s rating as the fourth biggest and one of the most efficient ports in the world; He considers such activities high treason. Offenders who persist, will meet their just deserts. A few workers were disciplined. Later the Prime Minister announced that cargo handled on the average exceeded fourteen and a half tons per gang hour.”***

*“Tribute to our workers and their unions: A year and a half ago, the employment act was passed. It was designed to stop abuses of fringe benefits and to make workers keener and more productive.”*

***“We demonstrated to hard-headed industrialists both in Singapore and overseas in the developed countries, that we had the will to put our own house in order. Our workers and our unions have entered into the spirit of the employment act. There were few strikes last year. This year there have been none at all. “Investments have flowed in”. This “superb response”, from workers and their union leaders, together with capital and enterprise industrial expertise and management know how, made it possible for Singapore to achieve its high economic rate of growth of about nine percent last year. Our workers must always be willing to give of their best. And because they are intelligent, dexterous and***

hard-working they learn new skills quickly. They are willing to put in intense and sustained effort, so entrepreneur have found it profitable to base their operations in Singapore. Our economic strength will grow as long as the government, workers and management are all pulling in the same direction, with the minimum of friction and maximum of reasonableness and accommodation."

"There was a school of thought that for rapid industrialization for an under-developed country it was better not to have trade unions. This school of thought cited Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea in support of this theory."

"But Singapore's objective was not just industrialization. The development of the economy was very important. But equally important is the development of the nature of our society. We do not want our workers submissive docile to a dying up, to the foreman, the foreman to the supervisor, and the supervisor to the boss for increments and promotions."

"To survive as a separate and distinct community we have to be proud and rugged people or we fail. You can neither be proud nor rugged if you have not got self-respect. Self respect is what our trade unions have and will give to our workers, that protection for a man's right to his own dignity, his dignity as a human being as a citizen. He may be an unskilled worker but he is one of us. He must be prepared to fight and die for Singapore. He will neither be able nor willing to do this, if he is a cringing coward."

"There were two recent lessons of what happened to a people, their economy and their standard of life when workers and the unions took liberties with their country. The French unions went on the rampages in May 1968. A year later, the French franc was devalued. The French economy was still not out of trouble. The British unions with their unofficial and wild cat strikes could not absolve themselves from blame for the devaluation of the pound in November 1967. On the other hand, it was because of the German workers and their unions that their industrial managers did such a magnificent job. The German mark was revalued by nine point three per cent that is the purchasing power of the mark, in terms of foreign goods, went up. There were pressures for the revaluation of the Japanese yen. If the Japanese workers and their unions were as destructive as Japanese students the yen would not be in happy position of being thought to be worth more than the official rate of exchange."

"Employment act and Industrial relations (amendment) Act of 1968 restored to management the right to hire and fire to promote and transfer functions, the unions had encroached upon during the years of industrial strife. They laid the foundation for industrial peace."

"We made it illegal for a trade union to take strike or industrial action without a secret ballot. If it did so, the union and its officers would be liable for prosecution. They stopped the practices of voting by an open show of hands where dissenters were intimidated into acquiesces. But ultimately it was the trust and confidence they had in me, gained over long years of association, that helped transform industrial relations from militancy and confrontation into co-operation and partnership. Teng Cheong established an institute of labour studies to teach industrial relations and leadership development. They (British Trade Unions) taught them all bad habits and practices of how to squeeze employers for more pay and benefits regardless of consequences to the company. Abandon them which had ruined the Britain's economy."

"I told our union leaders that they must not kill the goose whose golden eggs we need. "Come with me to freedom and I will give you what the British employer gives to the British workmen". That promises we must now fulfil, but to do so, we had to re-establish, "supervision discipline, and working norms", to get efficiency. We need new attributes – Pay, must with performance, not with time spent on the job. These off the record meetings made them understand why I had to get a new frame work in place; one would make for a train and lean work force. I spot lighted the "selfishness of the established labour".

"To maintain the symbiotic relationship between the PAP government and the NTVC, I encouraged the NTVC to get some MPs, to work full time with the unions and to appoint others as advisors to various unions. These MPs raised union issues in parliament. Such additions to the unions, man power capabilities made a qualitative difference. Without their discipline intellectual impact and their easy access to ministers the case for the unions would not be put across in a way that command attention and from time to time bring about revision of policies we have put in place a fair frame work to govern industrial relations. Restrictions and union's excesses are balanced by consultative and arbitration procedures through which the unions can protect the interest of the workers. The key to peace and harmony in society has a share in the fruits of our progress."

### Taming the unions

Two Periods –1959 to 1963.

#### Turning Point I

*People realised that if we want to be out of the communal grip, we have got to put our house in order. We can't go back to the old ways, and then we will be ruined.*

#### Turning Point II

*In 1968, British decided to withdraw. We had to work hard and build up our own defences. And I think from then onwards, something happened in the population they recognised that they were in trouble.*

"From then onwards, we either made it or we didn't, and we made it. So I was able to move fundamental laws – giving right to hire and fire, to manage, to promote, to transfer – back to employers because the unions has captured all those rights. I changed the structure to make sure that unions were a complementary part of the production process, not a disruptive part."

*"Fortunately an answer was possible, given the favourable economic conditions of the world in the 1960s, a hard working people, willing and not slow to learn new tasks; given a sense of common purpose, clear direction, and leadership, these were the ingredients that turned adversity to advantage."*

"We have never suffered from any inhibitions in, borrow up, capital, and know how, managers, engineers and marketing capabilities. Far from limiting the entry of foreign mangers, engineers, and bankers, we encouraged them to come. Singaporeans were smart enough to recognise those more enterprising, than themselves. That was the key to our rapid development [1978]."



# FRIENDS

## 9.1 Lessons Learnt

*“The strangest thing about countries is, your best friends are never your immediate neighbours. They get too close and your neighbour’s grows and infringes on your part of the garden and branch of his fruit tree covers your grass and your roses do not get enough sun shine and so many things happen. And therefore our best friends, as has happened with so many other countries are those who are farther, and with whom we can talk objectively.”*

## 9.2 America

*“Knowledge, in academia, at the age of 45, after ten years in office. They readily hosted dinners for me to meet interesting people including economist John Kenneth Galbraith, Japan specialist and former US ambassador to Japan Edwin Reischauer, China specialist John Fairbank, MIT political science teacher Lucien Pye, who had done research on guerrilla communism in Malaya in the 1950s, and MIT’S Paul Samuelson, famous for his economics textbook, who explained to me why Americans still kept low value-added industries like textiles. My most valuable discussions were with Ray Vernon of the Harvard Business School. He gave me such practical insights into the workings of the contemporary economies of Hong Kong and Taiwan that I returned every few years to learn more from him.”*

*“I found many other fresh ideas and picked the brains of other highly intelligent people who were not always right. They were too politically correct. Harvard was determinedly liberal. No scholar was prepared to say or admit that there were any inherent differences between races or cultures or religions. They held that human beings were equal and a society only needed correct economic policies and institutions of government to succeed. They were so bright I found it difficult to believe that they sincerely held these views, they felt compelled to espouse.”*

*“But an industrial society required a well-educated total population, not just the brilliant few. The elite (China) could not know each other as well as their counterparts did in Europe, Japan, and United States. America may be a continent, but the population is not as large, and excellent communications allowed their elite to meet and interact regularly.”*

*“Harvard faculty members, I met across a dinner table, were sharp, witty and stimulating, even though I did not always agree with them. Galbraith had the*

*most acerbic tongue of all. At one dinner, I met Henry Kissinger. It was pure serendipity that at that dinner where many liberal Americans voiced strong criticisms of the Vietnam War, I took the contrary view and explained that America's stand was crucial for the future of a non-communist Southeast Asia. Kissinger was circumspect in his choice of words to justify American intervention. Surrounded by doves, he was Careful not to appear a hawk. Speaking slowly in his heavy German-accented English, he gave me the impression of a man who was not going to be swept along by the mood of the moment.*

*"I spent several weeks at University of British Columbia (UBC) and Harvard, in 1968. At Harvard's Eliot House, where I stayed with some 200 students and 10 fellows, I had an immersion course on American culture. Neustadt had arranged for me a wide exposure to American scholars in various fields, mainly American government, and politics, development economics, motivation and productivity."*

*"I was struck by the easy informality between teachers and students. The students were extremely bright, one teacher confessed that, it could be quite unnerving to argue with some of them."*

*"The forte of the British academics was in rigorous study of the past, not of present or the future which involved conjecture. They did not have the direct interaction with business and industry which the Harvard Business School provided. The Americans, unlike the British, did not confine themselves to a critical examination of the past. Investigating the present to predict the future is the strength of American scholarship. Their think tanks have made futurology a respectable subject under the title "futuristic studies"."*

*"I was a curiosity in Harvard, an Asian Politician taking time off to recharge his batteries and seek knowledge in academia at the age of 45, after ten years in office."*

*"I learn that, like me, Nixon had the habit of making notes after a serious discussion."*

*"Well being of society takes precedence over individual rights. The issues that Americans put at the top of their agenda in the 1990s were human rights and democracy, and western values versus Eastern values."*

*"American corporations lead the world in the use of computers and information technology. They have exploited the digital revolution to restructure and flatten their organisations and increased productivity to previously unheard of levels, while keeping inflation low, increasing profits and staying ahead of the Europeans and Japanese in competitiveness. Their strength is in their talent, nurtured in their universities, think-tanks, and in the R & D laboratories of their MNCs. And they attract some of the brightest minds from the world over, including many from India and China, to new, high-growth sectors like Silicon Valley. No European or Asian nation can attract and absorb foreign talent so effortlessly. This gives America a valuable advantage, like having a magnet to draw in the best and brightest from the world."*

*"The cost of this high performance-high system, is an American Society."*

### 9.3 Japan

*“Japanese workers were more skilled and were multi skilled, more flexible and adoptable, has less job hopping and absenteeism. They accepted the need for life-long learning and training. All workers considered themselves, grey collar workers, not white or blue collar. Technicians, group leaders and supervisors were willing to soil their hands.”*

*“Japanese worker would cover his workmate who had to attend to other urgent business; the Singapore worker, looked only after his own job. There is clear division in Singapore between the rank and file and the officer cadet, which was the British system, where a polytechnic or university graduate, came straight into the officer grade. This was not so in Japan.”*

*“The Germans and the Japanese were able to stay within their boundaries and grow through trade and investments. They Co-operated and competed with other notions and were able to prosper and flourish without wars.”*

*“The Japanese workers were disciplined, hard working, united and efficient.”*

*“Japanese executives and engineers start work on the factory floor. They had to understand the low-level workers to lead them effectively before they could rise from the ranks. The British dockyard executive sat in his carpeted office and did not visit the men on the shop floor or in the dockyards. That was bad for morale and productivity. They could not erase the widely held stereo type, that the Japanese worked like ants, lived in rabbit hutches, closed their markets and exported an endless flow of steel, cars and zero-defect television sets and electronic products.”*

*“I (Lee) learnt from the Japanese the importance of increasing productivity through worker-manager cooperation, the real meaning human resource development.”*

*“In every major city I visited in China and Vietnam, the major Japanese trading companies had stationed representatives to study what could be purchased and sold to other parts of the world, and what goods these places needed,,which Japan could bring in from elsewhere. They learned away assiduously and kept Japanese companies well informed. Singapore companies, on the other hand, have trouble getting young executives to man hardship posting in developing countries like China and Vietnam.”*

*“High Japanese standards of responsibility, reliability and professionalism and competence in the Japanese language, made for hurdles difficult to cross. This is changing, but slowly. They do not absorb non Japanese easily into their corporate system. In a global economy, the Japanese will be at a disadvantage, unless they can change and become more like Americans and Europeans and absorb foreigners into their corporate cultures.”*

*“Their agenda was energy conservation and electronic products agenda by moving to creating knowledge industries. Vision for the 1980s was of a technology based Japan that embarked on the continuous acquisition and exploitation of new knowledge to serve the needs of men and societies.”*

"I learnt how they continuously rejuvenate their enterprises with fresh investments. In order to compete world wide, they set out to acquire the most advanced technology for their industries. What impressed me most was their emphasis on investing in the people, who work these machines and manage the company. To make the best use of state of the art machines, they have continuous training and retraining of their staff. This philosophy ensured that they would not always be out in the forefront."

"The fundamental strength of any enterprise lay in its people. Hence they invested in their workers who had life-long employment."

"In spite of my experience during the Japanese occupation and the Japanese traits, I had learnt to fear, and now I respect and admire them. Their group solidarity, discipline, intelligence, industriousness and willingness to sacrifice for the nation, make them a formidable and productive force. Conscious of the poverty of their resources, they will continue to make that extra effort to achieve the unachievable. But they will have to change enough to fit into the world of many people with many different cultures."

"Mean while in the 1990's the American economy transformed, itself through downsizing, restructuring and exploiting the digital revolution, especially the internet. Japan has to embrace digital revolution. Many time-honoured practices such as life-time employment will have to change. But I have seen the strength of the Japanese people and the quality of their education. While they may not have encouraged as many entrepreneurs in new start-ups, as Americans have done, their young men and women do not lack imagination, creativity and innovative ideas. Within five to ten years, the Japanese will come fighting back."

"Korean employers and unions never achieved the co-operative relationship that Japanese companies and their unions enjoy. Japanese unions never damaged their companies competitive position, however sharp their disputes with their employers over who get what."

"Thorough and careful before deciding to invest, after that decision they went all out to ensure its success. Productivity is a marathon with no finishing line".

"I now respect and admire them. Their group solidarity, discipline, intelligence, industriousness and willingness to sacrifice for their nation make their formidable and productive force. Conscious of the poverty of their resources, they will continue to make that extra effort to achieve the unachievable."

## 9.4 Hong Kong

"To the world at large, Hong Kong and Singapore are two similar Chinese cities. Only in 1965, after we were asked to leave Malaysia, did we face as bleak as future. But unlike Hong Kong we did not have a million and a half refugees from the mainland. Perhaps if we had, and with them, had come some of the best entrepreneurs and the most industrious, resourceful and energetic people, we would have gained that extra cutting edge, indeed a similar refugee inflow from the mainland in 1949 also helped Taiwan. Without it, Taiwan would not have had the top talent that had governed China until 1949. Their administration, with



American aid, transformed Taiwan. When all this happened in 1949, I did not understand the importance of talent, especially entrepreneurial talent, and that trained talent is the yeast, that transforms a society and makes it rise. How they handled their difficulties, and whether there were any lessons, I could learn from them, I saw Hong Kong as the source of inspiration, of ideas, of what was possible, given a hard-driving society."

"As pioneers in modernisation, Hong Kong and Singapore can act as catalysts to accelerate the transforming of traditional agricultural societies around them. I hoped that they may become dissemination points, not simply of the sophisticated manufacture of the developed world, but more vital, of values and disciplines, of skills and expertise. I had seen the advantage of having little or no social safety net. It spurred Hong Kong's people to strive to succeed."

"But the Singaporeans cannot match the Hong Konger in drive and motivation. In Hong Kong when a man fails, he blames himself or his bad luck, picks himself up and tries again, hoping his luck will change. He prefers job security and freedom from worry. He blames the government, since he assumes, its duty is to ensure that his life gets better. He expects the government. Expects M.P. s and ministers to distribute whatever prizes there are."

"The Singaporeans lacks that entrepreneurial drive, the willingness to take risks, succeed and be a tycoon. In recent years there have been encouraging signs of change. When the region was enjoying rapid growth, more young professionals and executives ventured out, first as salaried managers with incentive share options, and later on their own, when they knew the risks and were confident of making it. Their media believed Singapore wanted to cream off their talent, but it was in our interest to fame, Hong Kong succeeded after it returned to Chinese sovereignty. A thinning Hong Kong will be a continuing source of business and benefits. Negated the meaning of "Functional constituencies" because he has widened it beyond these functional groups of professionals or business men for whom they were intended, to include all workers employed by them."

## 9.5 Taiwan

"From the 1960s out of some 4500 graduate students who went to America for PhDs every year, only 500 would return. As Taiwan rose in the economic league tables, Li set out to attract some of their best to return, those who had worked in top research laboratories and in the big electronic multi nationals."

"The 2-3 million mainlanders who came over with general Chiang Kai Shek's forces, had included a thick layer of intellectuals, administrators, scholars, and entrepreneurs. They were the catalyst that transformed Taiwan into an economic power house."

## 9.6 CHINA & DENG XIAO PING

"I concluded, one reason they wanted me to visit (China) was, their desire to meet me, face-to-face and asses my character and attitudes. Many of them had petitioned to be allowed to return to Singapore. These people had been thoroughly disillusioned

***with China and communism, and would have been our best inoculation against the virus of Maoism.”***

***“Small countries like Singapore could only take note of these world trends but could not influence the outcome. They were behaving in an irrational way with no feeling for their own people.”***

***“I found many other fresh ideas and picked the brains of other highly intelligent people who were not always right. Even if all the books were burnt by Mao the proverbs and sayings would survive in the folk memory of the people. Mao was doomed to fail.”***

*“Deng Xiao Ping 1979, (D.X.P) went to Singapore to study how they utilized foreign capital. Singapore benefited factories set up by foreigners in Singapore. First, foreign enterprises paid 35 percent of their net profits in taxes which went to the state; second, labour income went to workers; and third, it [foreign investment] generated the service sectors. All these were income for the state.”*

*“As Deng had predicted, the Soviet Union was saddled with the burden of supporting Vietnam, which they did for 11 more years until 1991, when the Soviet Union disintegrated. When this happened, the Vietnamese agreed in October 1991 to withdraw from Cambodia – after 12 years of costly and futile occupation.”*

*“Soviet objectives were to control oil resources and sea lanes, including the straight of Malacca, in order to strangle Japan and Western Europe, and to some extent the United States. The collaboration between the Soviet Union and Vietnam was not one of fortuitous expediency but a strategic collaboration. He said Malaysia and Indonesia could never win over Vietnam, away from the Soviet Union unless, either Vietnam renounced regional hegemony, in which case, it would not need the Soviet Union, or the Soviet Union renounce global hegemony, in which case, it would not need Vietnam.”*

*“All sought to preserve their traditional values of thrift, hard work, emphasis on scholarship and loyalty to family clan and wider nation, always placing community interest above individual interest. These, Confucian values had resulted in social cohesion, high savings, and investments, which led to high productivity and growth.”*

***“What China needed to change was, its over centralised system of administration and attitudes and mind set of people, so that people would be more receptive to new ideas, whether Chinese or foreign, and be willing to test them out, and adopt them to china’s circumstances. This, the Japanese had done successfully.”***

***“Deng was a realist, practical, pragmatic, not ideological. But he came back to power to same China. Twelve years before Soviet Union collapsed he had known that the centrally planned economy did not work. Deng was the only leader in China with the political standing and strength to reverse Mao’s policies. He built the new China, using free enterprise and the free market “with Chinese characteristics”. Twenty years after Deng’s open-door policy, China shows every promise of becoming Asia’s largest and most dynamic economy. If it avoids disorder and conflicts, either domestic, international, it will become a giant economy in 2030. Deng, left the Chinese people a huge and promising legacy.”***

*“Deng was courageous and strong enough in the party and notion to admit openly that China had lost many years in pursuit a revolutionary utopia. It was a refreshing thing of open minds and enthusiastic progress, a radical change from the years of wild slogans and disastrous campaigns. Deng initiated the fundamental changes that laid the foundations for China to catch up with the rest of the world.”*

*“Unfortunately, while language was no problem, our business cultures were totally different. Singaporeans take for granted the sanctity of contracts. When we sign an agreement, it is a full and final undertaking. We depend on laws and systems. They were guided by official directives. However, the most pernicious problem is corruption. Deng’s open door policy in 1978 enlarged the opportunities for corruption.”*

## 9.7 Cambodia

*“I remember Cambodia as that oasis of peace and prosperity of the 1960s, and Prince Sihanouk, who maintained a precarious balance between the communists and the west.”*

*“Cambodia is like a porcelain vase that has been smashed into Myriads of Shards. To put them together will be slow and laborious task. As with all mended porcelain, it cannot with stand much pressure. Pol pot had killed ninety percent (90%) of Cambodia’s intelligentsia and trained personnel. The country lacks a coherent administration. The people have been accustomed to lawless conditions for a long, that they are no longer law-abiding. Only gun is feared.”*

*“The people of Cambodia are the losers. The country is crushed, its educated class decimated, its economy devastated. Cambodia had had 27 years of war since 1970 coup. Its present leaders are the products of bitter, relentless struggles in which opponents were either eliminated or neutralised. They are utterly merciless and ruthless, without humane feelings. History has been cruel to the Cambodians.”*

## 9.8 Vietnam

*“1991 - Prime Minister of Vietnam Vovan Kiet asked me, whether I would help Vietnam, by becoming their economic advisor. I agreed for brainstorm, ideas on their change to free market economy. Communism had prevailed in the north for 40 years, but only 16 years in the south. I suggested that they study the process through which Taiwan and South Korea had transformed themselves from agricultural into newly, industrialising economics. He said the past was over. Vietnam was opening a new page. He thanked me for my friendship in coming to help them.”*

*“In 1975, Ho Chi Minh City could vie with Bangkok. Now (in 1992) it lagged more than 20 years behind. I felt that for the time being, the people had lost confidence in their leaders, and the leaders had lost confidence in their system. However, they were an energetic and intelligent people, confucianist at the*

*grassroots. I believed they would bounce back in 20 to 30 years. Every meeting had started and ended punctually. Their leaders were serious men."*

*"A foreign banker in Ho Chi Minh City told me that because of their grievous brain drain, they suffered from a dearth of trained talent."*

*"When he asked how he could increase the flow of investments, I suggested they should abandon the habits they learnt in guerrilla warfare. He sighed and said Vietnam would have been a developed, modern country like Singapore had it not been for the war."*

*"For the lesson East Asia had learnt from the last 40 years, was, that war did not pay, there had been no victors, only victims. Do M-uoï sadly agreed."*

*"To treat investors with fixed assets in Vietnam, as captives, was the surest way to drive others away. Their officials deal with investors, as they had, deal with American soldiers as enemies, to be led into Ambush and destroyed. Instead investors should be treated as valued friends, who needed guidance, through the maze of their bureaucracy with its landmines and other traps."*

*"The Vietnamese will take some time to shake off their communist strait jacket and more freely and flexibly. Once they have done this, I have little doubt they can make the grade."*

## 9.9 India

*"As a young student, I admired Nehru and his objective of a secular multiracial society. I had read his books and his views and sentiments struck a resonant chord in me. I had wondered in 1950s whether India or China would become the model for development."*

*"I explained (to Nehru) the demographics of Singapore and of Malaysia, and told the communists hold on the Chinese population because of their enormous success in transforming China from a corrupt, decadent society into a disciplined, clean and dynamic, if regimented one. But communism was totally unsuited to South Asia. Nehru was pleasantly surprised to find a Chinese so determined not to have Singapore under communist control and the influence of Beijing. (Nehru was a man of ideas, concepts he had polished and repolished – Secularism, multi culturalism, Right or wrong, he was a Thinker."*

*"In 1959 and 1962, when Nehru was in charge, I thought India showed promise of becoming a thriving society and a great power. By the late 1970s I thought it would become a big military power because of its size but not an economically thriving one because of its stifling bureaucracy."*

*"1961, I visited India to thank Mrs. Gandhi, and to the interest her government has in Southeast Asia. A young, energetic and optimistic Indra Gandhi met me at the Airport, was frank and friendly."*

*"In 1980 I met Indra Gandhi. She had lost some steam. India's basic policies had not got off the ground. Its alliance with the Soviet Union prevented any close collaboration with the United States and Europe. This, plus a system dominated*

*by inefficient state enterprises, not many private sector enterprises and little foreign investment had made India's economy limp along. Its achievement was to feed its huge population, growing faster than China's."*

*"It was sad to see the gradual run down of the country. There was a hypocritical pretence at public egalitarianism, with political leaders wearing home spun clothes to identify with their poor, while they quietly amassed wealth. This undermined the morale of the elite officers civil and military."*

*"When India in 1980, condoned the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia by recognising the Vietnamese - installed regime, we became contestants at international conferences. We were on opposite sides of an issue crucial to peace and stability in Southeast Asia. Despite this sparring, because of our long association and good personal relations, there was no personal animus between us."*

*"Indra Gandhi was the toughest women prime Minister I have met. She was feminine but there was nothing soft about her. She was more determined and ruthless a political leader than Margaret Thatcher, Mrs. Bandaranayake or Benazir Bhutto: Once into the flow of an arrangement, there was that steel in her that would match any Kremlin leader. She was unlike her father. She was practical and pragmatic, concerned primarily with the mechanics of power, its acquisition and its exercise."*

*"Rajiv Gandhi was a political innocent who had found himself in the middle of a minefield. Only a well - meaning prime minister. His intensions had been good."*

*"Rao became the prime minister in 1991 and for the first two of the five years carried out radical economic reforms. Nara Simha Rao's finance Minister, Man Mohan Singh, and his commerce Minister P. Chidambaram, were clear on how to improve India's economic growth and knew what had to be done. The problem was, how to get it done with an opposition that was xenophobic on free enterprise, free markets, foreign trade and investment. The most difficult obstacle was the mindset of Indian civil servants towards foreigners that they were out to exploit India and should be hindered. If he wanted foreign investments to flow into India freely as in China, they must change their mind sets and accept that it was their duty to facilitate, not regulate, the activities of investors. He invited me to visit for a brainstorming session, on the obstacles that blocked India's path to higher economic growth."*

*"With slow economic but high population growth, India is not about to be a wealthy nation for some time. It has to solve its economic and social problems before it can play a major role in Southeast Asia. It is in Asian's interest to have India grow stronger and help maintain peace and stability on the Indian Ocean side of Southeast Asia."*

*"There is less insistence now on meritocracy by examinations for entrance into top schools and universities, the professions and the Indian civil service (ICS). It has allowed the high standards the British left them to be lowered. The ICS in British days was selected from the creme de la creme of all India. An Indian had to be outstanding to be admitted into this elite British service. Populist pressures*

*had lowered standards of recruitment and had also led to poorer communications within the service. It was a gradual slide in quality of a once elite service, now caught up in the throes of a social and economic revolution which had reduced living standards."*

*"Perhaps the fault lies in the system. India has wasted decades in state planning and controls that have bogged it down in bureaucracy and corruption. A decentralised system would have allowed more centres like Bangalore and Bombay to grow and prosper. Another reason could be their caste system. It has been the enemy of meritocracy – each caste demands its quota in all institution, A third reason is the endless conflicts and wars with Pakistan that make both poorer."*

*"India is a nation of unfulfilled greatness. Its potential has lain fallow, under-used."*

## 9.10 Sri Lanka

*"My first visit to Sri Lanka was in April 1956, on my way to London. It was a better city than Singapore because Singapore had three and a half years of Japanese occupation and Colombo was the centre or head quarters of Mountbatten's Southeast Asia command. And they had large sterling reserves. They had two universities. Before the war, a thick layer of educated talent. If you believe what American liberals or British liberals used to say, then it ought to have flourished."*

*"In the year 1956, Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike won the election as leader of the new Sri Lanka Freedom Party and became prime minister. He had promised to make Sinhalese the national language and Buddhism the national religion. English was out and Sinhalese was in."*

*"He was a brown "pukka sahib" English-educated and born a Christian; he had decided on nativism and converted to Buddhism, and had become a champion of the Sinhalese language. It was the start of the unraveling of Ceylon. A dapper little man, well-dressed and articulate, Bandaranaike was elated at having obtained an election mandate from the Sinhalese majority to make Ceylon a more nativist society. It was a reaction against the "Brown Sahib" society – the political elite, who on inheriting power had modeled themselves on the British, including their lifestyle. Sir John Kotelawala, the prime minister whom Bandaranaike succeeded, went horse riding every morning. Bandaranaike did not seem troubled, that the Jaffna Tamils and other minorities would be at a disadvantage now, that Sinhalese was the national language, or by the unease of the Hindu Tamils, the Muslim Moors and the Christian Burghers (descendants of Dutch and natives) at the elevated status of Buddhism as the national religion."*

*"He had been president of the Oxford Union and spoke, as if he was still in the Oxford Union debating society. I was surprised when, three years later, he was assassinated by a Buddhist monk I thought, it is ironic that a Buddhist monk, dissatisfied with the country's slow rate of progress in making Buddhism the national religion, should have done it."*

*"In the election that followed, his widow, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, became prime minister on the sympathy vote. She proved to be a less voluble but much tougher leader, when I met her. Tamils got quotas in two universities, Tamils who were active and intelligent fellows and worked hard and got penalized. And English was out."*

*"In Ceylon in August 1970, she was a determined woman who believed in the nonaligned ideology. Ceylon favoured the withdrawal of all US troops from South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and a Nuclear-Weapons Free Zone in the Indian Ocean, free of big power conflicts. As a younger man, I patiently explained my different foreign policy objectives, that Singapore would be gravely threatened if South Vietnam were to fall into the hands of the communists, threatening Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. The insurgency would spread into Malaysia, with serious consequence for Singapore. We could not subscribe to this high-minded ideology when it had serious consequences for our future. Other great powers in the region, China and Japan, would in time expand their naval build-up."*

*"Ceylon was Britain's model Commonwealth country. It had been carefully prepared for independence. After the war, it was a good middle-size country, with fewer than 10 million people. It had a relatively good standard of education, with 2 universities of high quality, a civil service largely of locals, and experience in representative government, starting with city council elections in the 1930s. When Ceylon gained independence in 1948, it was the classic model of gradual evolution to independence."*

*"Alas! It did not work out. During my visits over the years, I watched a promising country go to waste. One-man-one-vote did not solve a basic problem. The majority of some 8 million Sinhalese could always outvote the 2 million Jaffna Tamils who had been disadvantaged by the switch from English to Sinhalese as the official language. From having no official religion, the Sinhalese made Buddhism their national religion. As Hindus, the Tamils felt dispossessed."*

*"In October 1966, on my way back from a Prime Ministers' conference in London, I visited Colombo to meet Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake. He was a gentle, if resigned and fatalistic elderly man."*

*"At dinner, a wise and sad-looking elderly Sinhalese, explained that what had happened was inevitable with popular elections. The Sinhalese wanted to be the dominant race; they wanted to takeover from the British as managers in the tea and coconut plantations, and from the Tamils who were the senior civil servants. They had to go through this tragedy of making Sinhalese the official language for which they had paid dearly, translating everything from English into Sinhalese and Tamil, a slow and unwieldy process. The universities taught in three languages: Sinhalese to the majority, Tamil to the Jaffna Tamils, and English to the Burghers. At the University, in Kandy, I had asked the Vice-Chancellor, how three different engineers educated in three languages collaborated in building one bridge. He was Burgher, and wore a Cambridge University tie, so that I would recognize, he had a proper PhD. He replied, "That, Sir, is a political question for the Ministers to answer!" I asked about the books. He replied, that basic textbooks were translated from English into Sinhalese and Tamil, always three to four editions late, by the time they were printed."*

*"The tea plantations were in a deplorable condition. The locals who had been promoted were not as good supervisors as their British predecessors. Without strict discipline, the tea pluckers were picking not only young shoots but also full-grown leaves which would not brew good tea. Their coconut plantations had also suffered. It was said, the old Sinhalese, the price people had to pay to learn how to run the country. I did not visit Ceylon for many years, not until I had met their newly elected Prime Minister, Junius Richard Jayewardene. in 1978 at a CHOGRM (British Commonwealth Conference) in Sydney. In 1972 Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike had already changed the country's name, Ceylon, to Sri Lanka, and made it a Republic. The changes did not improve the fortunes of the country. Its tea is still sold as "Ceylon" tea."*

*"Like Solomon Bandaranaike. Jayewardene was born a Christian, converted to Buddhism and embraced nativism to identify himself with the people."*

*"In his 70-odd years, he had been through the ups and downs of politics, more downs than ups and become philosophical in his acceptance of lowered targets. He wanted to move away from Sri Lanka's socialist policies that had bankrupted it. After meeting me in Sydney, he came to Singapore, he said, to involve us in its development. I was impressed by his practical approach and was persuaded to visit Sri Lanka in April 1978. He said he would offer autonomy to the Tamils in Jaffna. I did not realise that he could not give way on the supremacy of the Sinhalese over the Tamils, which was to lead to civil war in 1983 and destroy any hope of a prosperous Sri Lanka for many years, if not generations."*

*"He had some weaknesses. He wanted to start an airline, because he believed it was a symbol of progress. Singapore Airlines (voted as the Best Airline Year 2000 in the Fortune Magazine's recent issue) employed a good Sri Lankan captain. Would I release him? Of course, but how could an airline pilot run an airline? He wanted Singapore Airlines to help. We did. I advised him that an airline should not be his priority, because it required too many talented and good administrators to get an airline off the ground, when he needed them for irrigation, agriculture, housing industrial promotion and development, and so many other projects. An airline was a glamour project, not of great value for developing Sri Lanka. But he insisted. So we helped him launch it in six months, seconding 80 of Singapore Airlines' staff for periods from three months to two years, helping them through our worldwide sales representation, setting overseas offices, training staff, developing training centres and so on. But there was no sound top management. When the pilot, now chairman of the new airline, decided to buy two second-hand aircraft, against advice, we decided to withdraw. Faced with a five-fold expansion of capacity, negative cash flow, lack of trained staff, unreliable services and insufficient passengers, it was bound to fail. And it did."*

*"It was flattering to have Sri Lanka model their country after Singapore. They started a housing programme in 1982 based on ours, but there was no adequate financing. They set up a free trade zone, only slightly smaller area than the area of Singapore which might have taken off but for the Tamil Tigers whose terrorist tactics scared investors away."*



*"The greatest mistake Jayewardene made was over the distribution of reclaimed land in the dry zone. With foreign aid, he revived an ancient irrigation scheme based on "tanks" (reservoirs), which could store water from the wet side of the mountains. Unfortunately, he gave there claimed land to the Sinhalese, not the Tamils who had historically been the farmers of this dry zone. Dispossessed and squeezed, they launched the Tamil Tigers. Jayewardene's private secretary, a Jaffna Tamil, loyal to him, told me this was a crucial mistake. The war that followed, caused 50,000 deaths and even more casualties, with many leaders assassinated. After more than 15 years, it shows no sign of abating."*

*"Jayewardene retired in 1988, a tired man. He had run out of solutions. Ranasinghe Premadasa who succeeded him, was a Sinhalese chauvinist. He wanted the Indian troops out of the country, which was not sensible. They were doing a nasty job for Sri Lanka. When the Indian troops left, he was in a worse position. He tried to negotiate with the Tamil Tigers and failed. He was not willing to give enough away. I met him on several occasions in Singapore, after he became President and tried to convince him, that this conflict could not be solved by force of arms."*

*"A political solution was the only way, one considered fair by the Tamils, and the rest of the world; then the Tamil United Liberation Front, the moderate constitutional wing of the Tamil home rule movement, could not reject it. I argued that his objective must be, to deprive the terrorists of popular support by offering the Tamils autonomy, to govern them, through the ballot box. He was convinced, he could destroy them. In 1991 and 1992, he sent the Sri Lankan army to fight major battles, against the Tamil Tigers. They did not succeed."*

*"In 1993, at a May Day Parade, a suicide bomber approached him in a street procession. He and many others died. His successor, Mrs. Bandaranaike's daughter, President Chandrika Kumaratunga, tried negotiation and war. She recaptured the Jaffna peninsula but did not destroy the Tamil Tigers."*

*"The fighting goes on and now they have become fanatical tigers. And the country will never be put together again. Somebody should have told them – change the system, loosen up or break off. And looking back, I think the Tunku was wise. I offered a loosening up the system. He said, "clean cut, go your way". Had we stayed in, and I look Colombo and Ceylon or Sri Lanka. I mean changing names, sometimes maybe you deceive the gods, but I don't think you are deceiving the people who live in them. It makes no great difference to the tragedy, that is being enacted. They failed because they had weak or wrong leaders, like Philippines."*

*"It is sad that the country whose ancient name Serendip has given the English language the word "serendipity" is now the epitome of conflict, pain, sorrow and hopelessness."*



## FUTURE

"The second half of the twentieth century, is the age of rapid change and advance, ideas and ideologies more with fantastic rapidity. We have to move as fast as events around us are moving. We have to ensure that we are not overtaken by events, and that our future is what we wish to be. We must provide the leadership to solve our own problems before they become intractable."

"What can make or mar our future, make it by accommodation and tolerance or mar it by throwing a tantrum every time we do not get our way. We have to learn that the world does not owe us a living and that tantrums do no pay. Nations like men can be divided broadly into groups, the elite consisting of the workers by brain, possessing the scientific and technological skills which give them, in return high standards of living."

"There are a series of possibilities which could happen in the next ten, fifteen, twenty years. In more of these possibilities must be foreclose and say, I abjure this particular alternative. But it is not for us to close options. And in fact, it is our duty to consolidate to make quite sure that more options are at our disposal. And never believe that, because you have a geographically small area and a numerically limited number of people, we therefore do not count. History has not been made that way. There are any number of very small states, which because mainly of the quality of human organisation, vis a vis their neighbours and secondly by the accident of geography, have played key roles in the development of the whole region."

"We must learn to adopt, to adjust. The world is changing. Values are changing. The basic assumptions on which all these prognostications have been made, are constantly undergoing shifts in evaluation of the factors involved."

"History could be a burden, not to do away. Indra Gandhi told Lee, "you are fortunate" you start with nothing to hold you back. You have only a bright future to beckon you forward."

"There must be certain ideals, certain standards, certain norms, which are desirable and which should be striven for. Then relate that, to your existing society, your existing circumstances, what is achievable in this given situation? The crucial thing is, do not be afraid to innovate."

"We should sit back and ask ourselves, what kind of future we will be giving to the young children, we have brought into this world. What will happen? (In 2025) What kind of Asia will it be; what kind of world will it be (in 2025) 25 yrs from now? Very frankly no body knows, because there are too many factors, too many imponderables. But one thing that I can tell you for certain, that if we don't organise ourselves and anticipate, quite a member of these problems which in

*turn are coming, then whatever else may happen to the rest of the world, there will be a lot of unhappiness for the children that we have brought into Singapore."*

*"We must build into our young, that sprit of togetherness. Through common training and common experience we must inculcate the quality, valour, comrade ship, discipline, common social purpose, pride in themselves and in their community. Only then, will all that we have built be safe for posterity, a relatively advanced urban community with one of the highest standards of living in the region. If we do not have this, we will be brought down to the filth and squalor, the degradation and corruption, the poverty and misery, which prevail in large parts of the newly independent countries."*

*"We are in a state of flux and change. What is to happen to Asia. Have we learnt from the past, can we passively co-exist or better still, actively co-operate the big with the small, the hardy with the gentle, the intense and the easy going and let time and circumstances slowly reshape these communities and nation groups into viable societies each moving at a tempo which suits the temperament, character and aspirations of each particular society? Or is it impossible for the big to resist the temptation of doing in the small, will the hardy always acquire a bigger share of the resources available as against the gentle? Must the intense inevitably out pace and eventually out do the easy going. These are riders the answers to which I do not know. But I do know that whilst we can learn from the past it will be a mistake to allow our policies and our thinking to be prisoners of the past."*

*"Singapore is keen to learn and equip its people with the attitudes, aptitudes, training and discipline to lift itself into the modern world community. We are not shy to ask about what we do not know. We are not afraid to try new ways of making our economy bigger and better. We make no apologies for maintaining antiseptic conditions of public administration to keep the endemic disease of corruption down. We are not unhopeful that in quiet collaboration with industrial powers in Asia, around the Pacific Basin and beyond. We can make a contribution to our own well being and by giving a little stimulus to the economies of those around us, consolidate our security."*

*Lee said there were people in every one of the communities in Asia "who want to feel that sense of achievement, self respect, to try to catch up with the modern world."*

*"He did not believe that with a little time and no discern identify, the modernising groups and there various communities and stimulate, help, propel those forces that want to bring their communities into the twentieth century into the direction they want to go."*

*"The two leaders (Ping & Lee) reviewed recent development in East Asia in the context of the universal desire of all peoples of the world to achieve a peace that respects liberty, human dignity and provides more equal opportunities for all peoples to achieve better and higher standards of life which the application of science and technology to industry has now made possible."*

*"Modernising forces, obscurantist, reactionaries, the ones who want to go backward and not forward."*

*"A generation is growing up, in all the new countries of Asia, no longer interested in the slogans of the old generation, about anti colonialism, the white versus the yellow, or the brown or the black. More and more of the thinking ones, are no*

*longer convinced that is the way to a prosperous and future, lies in nationalism which ends up in chauvinism and communalism. A generation will emerge educated and aware, that it is their, our efforts in a dynamic education, economic and social policy which alone can bring their people forward, with the rest of the industrial world, into the great to technological age, we may have in the twenty first century."*

*"It is my hope that eventually all in non industrialized Asia, will work out the arithmetic of the technological age, and rapidly acquire the skills knowledge and expertise and accumulate and acquire the capital equipment. Then in co-operation and collaboration, we can move forward with both the western and the eastern blocks. If we learn this lesson in time, perhaps we might hold up our heads and move at more or less the same tempo with them into the space age of the twenty first century. For, let no one forget that whilst the white Americans were not even in America, 1300 years ago and their forebears were living in caves in Europe, you and I, our ancestors had already discovered and developed methods of production, that made possible, cultivated and civilized ways of living. Let us hold our heads up with some pride and renew our determination that what we have lost in the past 1300 years, we will make up for in less than the next 1300 years."*

*"He felt confident his government could continue to encounter and checkmate communists and communalists. But at the same time, we must all be constantly alive to the dangers of being the same person, too long in the same office. We are all creatures of habit and the creating and imaginative parts in the human being are stifled by the repetition of the same thought or speckle patterns. In the long run as a government, we shall be judged not just by our own performance but by, whether we have provided for continuity in the quality, and verse of political leadership for our society. Younger talent there is and always will be. And we must pass on to that talent, the knowledge the know how, the tried and proven methods of good government. Only then, can new ability, dedication and sincerity of purpose find expression and relevance in the necessarily different mood of a younger generation. For it will be a different world. And it may require a different style to carry off, with good grace and sustained strength a different posture and a revised and up to date set of political economic and social policies which the continued survival and increasing prosperity of our multiracial society may require of its leadership."*

*"It is among the men and women of disciplined talent and ability, with the freshness, enthusiasm and idealism, which every new generation brings to its tasks, people now in their twenties and early thirties, that we must seek the possible leaders of a robust and rugged generation. It is not in the nature of things, in an open competitive society such as ours, to nominate one's heirs and successors. But it is within our capacity to ensure that long before that time comes there is available, a whole cohort of younger people who have been equipped and steeled for tasks of political leadership. To them, we should have passed on the valuable experiences of the past time, decades the esoteric knowledge of men, and the affairs of men, to which we have gained an insight in this strange corner of Asia."*

*"God helps only those who help themselves. And to help ourselves, we have to trim, healthy and alert, ready to tackle every problem, and seize every opportunity that comes our way. Next year, we face a fresh challenge to our capacity, to adjust and adopt. More important is that, we help ourselves."*

*"The super powers have learned to co-exist and sometimes even to co-operate in fields like research in Antarctic and in the formulation of a just nuclear, Non proliferation treaty. It is not too much to hope that the similar countries in south East Asia, will learn before it is too late, that there is much to be gained by co-existence and co-operation, cooperation of a realistic basis of mutual benefit and the common good."*

*"We shall find out whether, as a community, we are like a creeper or a sapling. Both need support. But unlike a creeper a sapling does not need support as it grows older and stronger. It will grow into a tree and dispense with the supporting stake. No amount of aid and assistance grants and loans technical assistance and training can do the job that we must do for ourselves. A people who by nature are creepers must, when the stake they are leaning on is removed, fall and crawl on the ground. If we are that sort of a society, then all the brave talk by leaders and encouraging noises by observers, and all the fine words of comfort and promise of aid, will find us still crawling on the ground. However the manifestations of the last decade, point to a sapling growing sturdier and stronger as it matures into an upright tree. The stake, which the British presence provided has enabled sapling Singapore, to grow straight and tall without being too buffeted by the winds, while it is still young and fragile. We must have that spirit of self reliance, and self respects, as a community if we are to be compared to a tree. To join the growing number of countries, we beg, for alms from the developing countries, will destroy our pride, and undermine our self confidence."*

*"And the idea of sinking money, into an anonymous corporation run by professionals, over whom they have no direct personal control, is foreign to them. They are both to make this change. So we have to accelerate this process. Business management is a professional's job and we need professionals to run our business effectively, and easy social mobility."*

*"One of the reasons contributing to Japanese and German recovery was that their defected capitalists, managers, executives, engineers and their defected workers, all suffered defeat, and they were fired with a singleness of purpose, to put their country back on its feet. That made the miracle of recovery. If the Japanese worker and the of German worker, had felt that his job in life was to defeat his employer's son going to a public school, and acquiring all those graces in life, which was denied the worker's son, then he was bound to go sluggish and inefficient. With these long term aims in view, we have formulated a bill designed to achieve certain immediate targets. But it is no use achieving these targets if we are to lose the longer term objective."*

*"In this period of industrial tranquillity, we must rethink our policies, and reshape our instruments, to implement those policies. As of now, the communists unions are absolutely inert. The initiative is with us. This may not be so in ten year's time. But if we do the right things now, in ten year's time they will not have a*

*chance to create mischief. What is the target? Rapid economic growth, what for? For you, higher profits. I concede that. I was happy to hear, your president talk about sacrifice. But to be frank and honest, if you don't make profits, you won't be here. That is the basis, on which I do my negotiations, with the unions and with the employers. I want the greatest economic expansion, to produce two things. Higher GNP, and so higher revenue, and next more jobs. New laws will be passed. Do not believe, that this is done, for the benefit of just more profits. I want to ensure your profits, in order that Singapore will have a good reputation, and investment accelerated, more capital, more machinery, higher economic growth, more jobs, more revenue. What we do with revenue, by way of defence, education, health, social amenities, to equalise opportunities, is another matter. First, we must have higher revenues. Any practice, any agreement, which hinders this objective will have to be unscrambled."*

*"Employers want more profits for the purpose, I hope of expanding their industries, to make further profits. The workers must respond in the knowledge, that unless this happens, there will not be enough revenue, and therefore not enough security, and in turn not enough further investments, and no more jobs. Our interests are different, but at least we appreciate, what it is, we want out of each other. You want maximum effort from the workers, to produce you the goods, at lowest cost which you can sell for maximum profits. The worker sometimes believes, that what he wants is, to give the minimum of work, for the maximum of returns. However, that has been proven in many parts of the world, to be ruinous for the country as a whole. And so, it cannot be good for Singapore. The worker must put in the maximum effort, in order to get the maximum possible, in the circumstances. And what he can't get by way of direct reward in wages, we as a government will ensure that, he gets by way of housing, health, education, social benefits and so on. That is the purpose of the government."*

*"If our two million people, were made up of people, from the highly developed countries, like the workers from Japan with their intensity of purpose and high skills, technicians and engineers from Germany, with their efficient and specialised apprenticeship training, scientist and technologists from Britain, with their sophistication and imaginative research, and executives from America, with their well developed disciplines in business administration and management and their hand sell approaches."*

*"The problem therefore was, how to educate and train Singapore to reach the standards of these technologically advanced people as quickly as possible. First, we must ask of our people here, otherwise this will be a vain and futile exercise. From the record of the past nine years, since we started to manage our own affairs, believe nearly all our people, have got the stuffing in them to make the grade."*

*"The more practical economical and productive way is to import, outside expertise to manufacture or assemble or set up the serving organisation for which there is a demand. With in service training, our workers will develop higher and higher skills. The final performance depends upon the ability, stamina, skills, knowledge, expertise and discipline of our population. What they need are the opportunities*

*and the training. One way to educate our young people, to higher degrees of technical skill, is to send them abroad. But this is only for a few, since it is costly. And we need more blue and less white-collar workers.*

*This is a legacy of the education policies of the past, when it was never envisaged that, we would be other than a dependant people, assisting in the lower ranks of a trading and administrative capital, of one part of a vast empire."*

*"It was clear that the old fashioned, family type businessmen, had no conception of the wider and longer-term relationship between, management and labour in an age of, educated and organised workers, who were conscious of their indispensable role, in the production of the wealth, of the whole community. These employers, would have to be educated, and taught, the facts of present-day industrial life. We call upon every one, for improvement and effort. This is our duty as government. No one is asked to sacrifice, for the benefit of the privileged and the corrupt, nor will revenue go, in wasteful and extravagant expenditure. With higher performance, and greater output, there will be more industries, and more jobs, better artisans, technicians, engineers and executives. From the higher GNP, will come greater revenue? From this revenue, will flow improved standards of education, health services, social amenities and housing for all."*

*"We shall be judged by results. These results depend among other things, up on the morale and enthusiasm of the people and the pace set by their leaders in the house and outside. If we were a soft community, then the temptation would be to leave things as they are, and hope for the best. Then, only good fortune can save us, from unpleasantness, which will be ahead. But we are not easy going people. We cannot help thinking calculating and planning for tomorrow, for next year, for the next decade, for the next generation. And it is because, we have restless minds, forever probing, and testing, seeking new and better solutions, to old and new problems, that we have never been, and I trust, never shall be tried and found, wanting."*

*"Mean while the whole pattern of world trade between the developed countries themselves, and between the developed, and under developed countries, was undergoing constant change. This, more than any other single factor, was the cause for post-independence revolutions, and up heavals. Preconceived ideas, of what a political nationalist leadership could do, to give the good life to its followers, made things worse, for the new nations. They tried to do, what the colonial power had been seen doing, without understanding, that different social values, attitudes, and motivation (an achievement oriented cultural pattern) must be inculcated, into a people to equip them, for the process of modernization."*

*"At the same time, the developed countries, between themselves, had undergone a fantastic transformation, into post-industrial society, into the age of computers, electronics, nuclear, and space science. Economics of scale of modern technology, gave the advantage, to the vast continental land mass with good communication, vast populations of 200 million, and above all, brought within one frame work. They and it seems only they, can reach out for the moon and the stars."*

*“But, this is a far cry from demonstrating, that countries with low cultural levels have the capacity, for group discipline, sustained application, high skills, intense concentration, all necessary for transforming a tribal rural community, into a modern industrial community. The process, if properly and intelligently entered into might take one, two or more decades. But unless intelligently attacked, it might take one, two or more decades; it may take three or more decades. But unless intelligently attacked, it may take three or more generations, with disastrous consequences, in the mean time, on administrative efficacy, planning and economic development. To make full use of their natural and human resources for economic growth, these new countries, must be able to induce, outside skills and expertise, scientists, technologists, managers and administrators to come and help, as catalysts in economic development. This depends, upon the capacity of the political leadership, in the new countries, to create conditions, which make it, politically possible for them, to employ such experts, and professional digits and upon the attractiveness of these new countries, to these experts.”*

*“But instead of peaceful conditions, and national development, most new countries, revived old feuds or made new enemies. This led to rapid and costly expansion of their armed forces, and the build-up of an officer cader, with no tradition of constitutional government, and acceptance of political leadership.”*

*“The long-term future of Southeast Asia, will be determined, as much by the policies of the major powers outside the region, as by the initiatives of the governments, within the region. It is an area, which could produce great wealth, as the European powers proved, during the centuries they were in control. If helped, these new national governments, could learn to build that firm frame work, of effective administration, sound currency, orderly social conditions and work discipline, as making labour productive, enterprise profitable, and revenue more or less equal to the budgetary needs, of a developing economy.*

*There were two views, one could take of the future, of the region. One was a pessimistic view, projecting the dismal record of the past two decades, into the next two, one was reluctantly forced to the view, that in very few places, in the region, were people being welded into viable nation groups ,and now here, had freedom, realized its promise. Democracy was preached, but never practiced, on the other hand, old feuds had been revived, and new ones were being conjured up and pursued. Barely submerged, animosities against the migrant groups, Chinese and Indians had surfaced, and new citizens were being added, to badly fragmented societies.”*

*“The other, was a cautiously optimistic view. For although this is not a well demarcated area of contest, like that between communist and non communist world in western and Eastern Europe, nevertheless from the lessons of Vietnam, all contending parties may recognise, the dangers of war of national liberation, enlarging themselves into far more perilous conflicts. Nation’s may learn to sublimate, their irresistible impulse to ascendancy and an expansion of their influence, by a competition on the economic and ideological planes.”*

*“Development economists, were discovering, that the crucial factor, was the quality of human resources, which decided the pace at which poor backward,*



agricultural, and illiterate or semi-educated communities were propelled into thriving industrial communities, of well educated skilled and trained professionals, technocrats and technicians. They had been perplexed, at the wide difference, and discrepancies in the development rate of the LDC'S, (Less developed countries) a euphemism for backward communities. The irresistible conclusion was, that whilst material resources, capital investment, mineral, oil, timber, fertility of soil, and abundance of water supply, determined the population density per square mile, or what a country could sustain in an agricultural economy, the uneven economic growth rates, could only be explained by the difference in human endowment and the cultural values and patterns through which these innate qualities were nurtured, cultivated and groomed to best advantage. The conclusion was that it was social values and social organisations which determined total group performance, that some of the most important factors for rapid growth are the efficacy of the administrative machine the number of professionally and technologically trained digests and the mettle or quality of the political leadership."

"The past was a good indicia of innate ability. It was also a good teacher of future relationship. The past also recorded the mutual advantage found in joint adventure. British administration and enterprise, plus local sweat, drive, skills and ingenuity had created, what Singapore now had. We look forward to British industry and technology continuing, to make a valuable contribution to our growth and progress in the next 150 yrs."

"What of the future? Our future is what makes of it, and we will use to best advantage, the factors in our favour. First, the strategic. As long as the balance of geo-political forces in south southeast and East Asia remain, as they are then Singapore's strategic value will continue, undiminished. Second our contribution to world trading, shipping and servicing will continue to grow and expand whilst we add an ever bigger industrial sector to our economic base. Third and most important the ability and industry of our young people willing and eager to learn prepared to work hard and pay their way in the world finding pride and pleasure in constructive endeavour. But in any case, they are also disciplined, and determined to defend, what their ingenuity and effort have created."

"In a less serious tone the Prime Minister remarked that, with the rapid advance in medicine and in surgical techniques, perhaps, not just for transplants but also replants, it was not beyond belief, that there would be many, beside young students present that evening, who in the year 2019, would recall "this memorable occasion"."

Lee said; "those of us who will be present then, can look back on 2000 years and say how right it was that, we worked and sweated on the assumption, that no one owed us a living, that we strove so hard, and nurtured so rugged, and robust so resilient, and resourceful, a generation. Without this physical and spiritual ruggedness, all the fruits, the results of our labour, even in concrete and steel could end, literally in ruins - ruins for the delectation of tourists in the year 2019, as they rummage in the rubble, and dustbins of Singapore's past. And they would wonder, how, under such adverse climatic conditions, a thrusting and striving society built, such a thriving city, with all the grace of cultivated living.

*And they would be perplexed and saddened, by the unexpected and unexplainable destruction, when a dogged defence, could have saved it. But we are not going to let that happen. Your children, and grand children and mine, will be here to welcome all visitors to Singapore, and offer them more excitement, in present and future achievement, than, by goggling at past glory, in ruins. When visitors come in twenty first century, they will find Singapore, an open and hospitable city, to all those who come as friends or visitors, a Singapore, strong and confident, and thus at ease, in offering, the traveller a warm, comfortable and memorable welcome."*

*"She will cause for satisfaction to all, those who chart man's progress, and who will find corroboration in Singapore's performance, that this climb up the face of the cliff, to a higher level of civilization, to a better life, in a more gracious world depends on man's constant and ceaseless striving, for new and higher goals and on man's restlessness organised and unending urge for perfection."*

*"Lee Kuan Yew thought, it got bogged down in a great deal of problems, with which it started, namely lack of trained administrators, technocrats, and entrepreneurs, with sufficient drive and creativity. Different ethnic groups, brought into one economic whole, by a European overlord, did not hold together, once power was handed over, to indigenous majorities. They attempted to stay in office and prove legitimacy, through the popular vote, by making appeals to ethnic, religious and linguistic loyalties. They were, some of the easiest of appeals to make. In short, Asian Revolution got bogged down, with the mechanics of administration -or lack of it - and the plain facts of life and economics of development."*

What should be done to get the Asian Revolution going again?

*"Lee thought, there should be a move into a new phase. Not a revolution, in the sense of sudden political change, of getting rid of one set of rulers, and a system of government, to establish another set of rulers and another system. That had already been done. The question now was, how to fulfil the expectations of a people, that had been mobilized to get rid of European Colonial regimes? They had been mobilized, on the basis that once the white man was gone, they would occupy all the big houses, the big desks, and the big motor-cars of the European. Well, that was fine. "But unless you know, how to run the economy... you can get aid, for some time. But in the long run, you have got to pay for these things. And that means, getting your economy, going. From a purely agricultural to plantation-mining economics, to commercial economics, on to higher levels of industrial production and higher technology. This means, educating the population into higher skills. Without discipline, you cannot, even begin the education and training. Once, you have chaos, riots and civil commotion, people do not go to school and teaches, training colleges close. So the teachers are not produced and so on. You can tie yourself, up into a knot."*

*"He said the business of government, was to ensure, that the rule of law, must be seen to prevail, and not thwarted. This meant that, the administration of justice, must be carried out, fairly and justly, and that, the law did take its course. When making changes, to existing practice, "we ask ourselves whether the change*

*we are introducing, will be for the better. Having spent a decade, in the practice of the law, with some experience in the criminal courts, and another decade in government, having to provide for the machinery of justice, the police, and their investigations, public prosecutors, and the courts, Lee said, had little doubt, that this was a change, which in Singapore's circumstances, would ensure that, justice was the more likely to be done, and seen to be done."*

*"It was necessary, particularly after the comparatively mild troubles in Singapore, "will and must, ensure security and fair play to all, regardless of race, religion or language". If, said the Prime Minister, "we had not acted with complete impartiality, but, had allowed some vicious hooligans and gangsters of Chinese ethnic descent, for their reasons to get away, with bullying and murdering some Malays, because Malays are a minority in Singapore, then today it would have become a different Singapore". Once basic trust in a government, that it would act impartially, and protect every citizen was destroyed, it would never be the same again. "We meet tonight, in a secure and relaxed atmosphere because people of all ethnic groups understand that, the rule of law will be upheld. It will protect you, whether you are Malay, Indian, Ceylonese, Eurasian or Chinese. That you are a Chinese does not allow you to flout the law. Similarly an injured party, whether from a majority or minority ethnic groups, was not entitled to take the law into his own hands. There were policeman and National Serviceman to back up the law enforcement agencies. Our young men in special constabulary or in the vigilante corps or in the uniform of our armed services are ordinary citizens. They share in your happiness and success or your trials and tribulations. They must and will always conduct themselves with decorum and courtesy. The future is, what we make of it. And we must resolve particularly, after the unhappy events in May and June, that despite the misadventures, we, in Singapore will continue on the path of sanity, a fair deal for everyone, and fair share, for all. That is our way forward, to a better life."*

*"However, if a people have had to break with their past, they will also have shaken off the debris of past beliefs, habits and inhibitions. Then in a new environment, they can more easily adopt attitudes and values which enable speedier acquisition of industrial-technological knowledge, skills and techniques."*

*"Of all the leavening influence at work, the one most likely to leave most lasting impact on the future, was education. The imparting not only of knowledge, but more important of the spirit of curiosity and inquiry was what made for innovation and enable science based industries to grow. For the mass consumption society of abundance, there must be ample numbers of competent engineers. They must be supported by large armies of technicians. Then production and marketing must be efficiently conducted by men trained in business management. This could come only with the education of the population, from which meritocracy could emerge."*

*"Lee Kuan Yew believed that Hong Kong and Singapore could reinforce and back each other to mutual advantage. Industrial expansion in one was not necessarily at the*

*expense of the other. It could be beneficial for temporary shortages of capital, managerial, professional or technical skills to be made up by borrowing without any detriment caused to the Lender. Before and immediately after the war, Hong Kong university trained doctors for Singapore. Today, Singapore was happy to return the compliment and have Hong Kong recruit doctors from Singapore. Hong Kong had international marketing expertise for light industrial products. Singapore's net-work in Southeast Asia facilitated the distribution of these products. She also gathered the raw materials, like timber, rattan and tropical produce, which Hong Kong needed for her manufacturers. The two could supplement each others net work."*

*"White Head, the British mathematician and Philosopher pointed out that, "those societies which cannot combine reverence for their symbols with freedom for their revision must ultimately decay, either from anarchy or the slow atrophy by useless shadows. Any social order that could not revise' and reaffirm its aspirations and values, and continuously re-structure its institution's to achieve its purposes, would be beset by increasing unrest and disorder. New countries were faced with acute problems of change in their modes of life and in arranging new systems for settling their public affairs. Their models of representative government borrowed from the west often ran into troubles. On the other hand, in the west itself, there models were considered out of date. Social scientists were questioning whether their systems of representative and collective decision making were adequate, for the new social situations, that had been brought about, by technological progress. New communications, technology the television, relays through earth satellites, created simultaneous interaction between large numbers of people, not possible before. People expressed the need for greater participation in deciding the affairs of their country. An American social scientist in a symposium on the year 2000, stressed the urgent need for a new political theory for Americans to replace the one which they formulated in the eighteenth century which he said, "has become cumulatively inadequate and frustrating for the present and an impediment for the future"."*

*"I have a feeling that the future belongs, more to those who are ever willing and ready to meet new problems, adjust, adapt and accommodate and so overcome new situations ,created by innovation and progress."*

*"The world had become too small for all. It would become even smaller, with the jumbos the supersonics the hydrofoils and the hovercraft. It was becoming even more economically inter-dependent. But we shall be disappointed, if we believe that this, dissolving of prime-evil prejudices, will happen overnight. Behind the intellect, is the primordial nervous system reacting involuntarily with fear and prejudices to the strange and the unaccustomed. Worse, this is reinforced in so many ways by the portraying of inferiority of certain ethnic groups in literature, on television and even idols. In a multitude of ways, this conference has mirrored in miniature some of the irreconcilable. It will become too costly, and painful for man kind, if these conflicts are not tempered by the spirit of common brotherhood."*

*"We in Singapore, spring from four great civilizations, civilizations that go back thousand years ago, there were no Anglo Saxons, because the Saxons had not yet gone over to Britain. One thousand years ago, they were still wearing animal -skins: your people in the Deccan had by then already created a literature and so had my ancestors in China. But that is the past. It should only give us confidence that, given that same determination and will, and collective endeavour, we should be able to succeed here."*

**“He declared, that Singaporeans “are a hard-headed people. If we maintain group discipline, if everyone contributes his fullest share of physical and intellectual effort to the fulfilment of our plans, we shall not fail. We can and we shall build up an adequate defence force before 1972. We can counter recession expand our economy, train and educate the artisans, technicians and technocrats for our growing industrial and servicing sectors... with imaginative and intelligent leadership and stiff standards of honest and just administration, we, can make maximum use of our not slender resources. We shall have a prosperous thriving multiracial Singapore. And nothing is more infectious, than success. In the long run, Singapore will be the light that radiates hope throughout the region for similar successes of other multiracial communities into modern industrialized and efficient societies... The future belongs to the most adaptable the most intelligent and the best organised. We can be counted amongst them”.**

Empires of the future are empires as the mind

- Churchill.

It is no longer resources that limit decision. It is the decisions that make the resources. This is the fundamental revolutionary change – Perhaps the most revolutionary man has ever known.

-U.Thant

People feel powerless and alienated because they cannot effect change in their environs. The sense of belonging will reform if people have a chance to help right, the wrongs that exist in their communities. The sense of community is weakening everywhere.

All the tools we use to make and enforce collective decision, are absolute and about to be transformed. A Third wave civilization (Techtronics age) cannot operate with a Second wave (Industrial Civilization) political structure. Just as the revolutionaries who created the industrial age could not govern with the left over apparatus of feudalism, so today, we are faced once more with the need to invent new political tools. This is the political message of the third wave – Techtronics age.

- Alwin Toffler

The rise of a new system for creating wealth based no longer on muscle but on mind. Information age focusing on the 21<sup>st</sup> century, while the end of industrialism concept was dismissed with a shrug in the United States, it was welcomed and embraced by Japanese decision makers, in business, Politics, and the media – knowledge they concluded, was the key to economic growth in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

It was the impact of the western modernization that provided the impetus for change.



## ETHNIC

*“A population explosion had increased the burden on resources. Inter-ethnic place, which had been enforced by colonial overlord, was difficult to maintain after independence with power in the hands of an ethnic majority.”*

*“Previously, the majority of the Chinese did not regard this country as their permanent home. They regarded this country, as a place to earn a living, make money, to send back to China, to buy land, farms, build houses; schools and so on. After the war, travel restrictions between Malaya and China were imposed. This forced the Chinese to decide which of the two places they regarded as their permanent home and the object of their loyalty.”*

*“Unlike communism whose dialectics have to be taught and learned before loyalties to it can develop. Communalism makes, a direct primitive appeal to emotional loyalties, whose response can be immediate and spontaneous.”*

*“For the Christians who are confronted with milieu in south and Southeast Asia, it is an extremely difficult task. First, they are a minority in a largely Non Christian region. Second, because Christianity is closely identified with the west and Europe, they are therefore except for very special situations in certain parts of Southeast Asia – suspect”.*

*“Broadly speaking, the old anti-colonial phase is over. Now all the differences in our people’s differences which were muted, in the common desire to fight for freedom, have come back into their own. For all the main issues, have been brought out into the open. Issues not clearly defined before, are now presented to the people in clear terms - the problems of nation building, and industrial progress in a multiracial, multilingual and multicultural society. The first time, the question of national language, Malayan culture, Malayan - centred loyalties have been posed to the people not as theoretically desirable ideas in the distant future, but as immediate issues which can become literally matter of life and death. Both desire a national, not a commercial solution to it. For that reason we can look confidently to the problem being tackled is a firm and courageous manner on both sides of the causeway. If we succeed them, there will be no headlines for the foreign press. But, these are the headlines, we can afford to miss.”*

*“Within this democratic system, everyone has the right to compete, to preach his political views, but the competition must be for the purpose of working the system, not destroying it. That is fundamental and basic, or the powers will have destroyed the purpose for which they were forged. If in using these powers, you in fact, negate the purpose, for which you made them, and then you will end up with a situation where force, and more force will become increasingly necessary. These powers can only provide, a temporary damper against those, who set out to wreck the democratic state.”*

*"All around us, in southeast Asia are example of countries ,where the local peoples, having wrested power from their colonial rulers, and obtained the right to govern themselves, have decided to root out or suppress the Chinese distinctiveness in language and culture of the Chinese immigrants, who have come to reside in these countries. Throughout the whole of S.E. Asia, where about fifteen million Chinese are scattered, they are being discriminated against, because they are considered as having remained distinct and separate, from the local communities both in the use of their language, and in the observance of their customs, habits and culture."*

*"It is dangerous to be cynical, for there is a point at which ritual and reality must meet. Chinese believe that tears are mere manifestation of uncontrollable emotion. They are legitimately, the recognised expression of patriotism, loyalty or filial piety."*

*"Multiracialism in Malaysia looked like being a lost cause, almost before the ink was dry, on the merger agreement and Lee fought like a tiger, to preserve this concept, because he passionately believed in it, and because logic repudiated any other enduring solution to the problem of a plural society. Whatever the Tunkus real purpose behind Malaysia, Lee believed then, that Singapore alone was not viable, was seriously threatened by a communist take-over, possibly through the ballot box and could if part of Malaysia, contribute a great deal towards multiracialism and to Malaysia's prosperity. But Lee could never accept a concept which visualized Malay domination: that was not multiracialism and neither could Malay domination lead to multiracialism, because he did not believe it, to be in the nature of any group to be willing to surrender dominance, once power was in their hands. Lee thought the Malays understood, what the population figures meant: that no race could dominate another that it would be madness for any group to try."*

*"A loss of honour is a blemish on the skin, while a loss of face is a smudge on the make up... A Chinese may perform an honourable action, not because it is dictated by his sense of honour but because it will give face. Conversely when a man is sued for a discreditable action, it is his loss of face, not his guilt that worries his family. A gentleman however thinks not only of his own face, but of the face of others. He does not crush an opponent in public argument, leaving him with nothing to say, and looking very much of a fool. He is content to let the man know that he could do this, if he chooses. Chinese feels entitled to believe that, his most precious possession is, a sense of shame. But he has no sense of sin, for a sense of sin, the Chinese will say is the product of laws. And Chinese have, as regard for man-made laws, as they have for god made morality. Life is therefore lived at two layers, and for the Chinese the one that counts is the one underneath."*

*"Lee Kuan Yew is unable to compromise with basic principle or with a logical inevitable conclusion. He believed, multiracialism, fundamental for the survival of Malaysia, and he was convinced that sooner or later anything other than multiracialism, must end racial conflict. On these matters, he was not prepared to compromise, and Singapore and Malaysia in consequence separated. But that does not preclude Singapore, as a neutralist republic from exercising the great Chinese gift of devising compromises, and of bargaining especially bargaining in wider fields in Southeast Asia "The Chinese people", remarked professor C.P. Fitzgerald in Pacific Affairs in 1963, "are among the most courteous in the world but this often conceals the fact that they are also the most arrogant". Fitzgerald said that for many years weakness imposed a restraint upon the expression of this characteristic, it nonetheless remained and was easily discerned." remained and was easily discerned."*



## Culture

*“Traditional methods of choosing marriage partners had been ruptured by universal education.”*

*“Owning assets, instead of subsisting on welfare, has given people the power and the responsibility to decide what they want to spend their money on.”*

*“If you want to succeed, that is the kind of society, you have to be.... What ever you do, to the best of your ability. They (Japanese) have succeeded.”*

*“Lee had long pondered why some people, or societies, were better-more skilled, hard driving, and predisposed to success, than others. Why, indeed were some communities able to program faster? How it is certain ethnic groups were more driven in the pursuit of material wealth. What explained the dominance of some races, in the upper echelons in societies or in certain professions? Why did they emerge ahead of other ethnic groups in multiracial settings? Was it in the gene, a product of history or both?”*

*“He believed that any government that was interested in achieving better standards, of living for its people would also have to face these issues-squarely, touchy and thorny through they may be.”*

*“Why are the Jews, so extra ordinarily smart, and are the European Jews smarter than the Arab Jews? Explanation was that from 10th to 11th century in Europe, in Ashkenazim, the practice developed of the rabbi, the most desirable son-in-law, he is usually the brightest in the block. He can master Hebrew, he can master the local language and he can teach it. So he becomes the Son-in-law of the richest and the wealthiest. He marries young, is successful, probably bright. He has large numbers of children and the brightest of his children and he will become the rabbi and so it goes on. It has been for nine or ten centuries. The same thing did not happen among the Sephardic, they did not have this practice. So had a different pattern of procreation from the other, and so we have today’s difference. That was (Jewish Mystique) the explanation.”*

*“You look for societies, which have been more successful, and you ask yourself why? One was looking for a soft life, the other was rebuilding and pushing.”*

*“The Japanese, yes, I disliked their bullying and their hitting people and torturing people [during the Japanese occupation], a brutal way of dealing with people. But they have admirable qualities. And in defeat I admired them. Shirtless, in their dirty trousers, but doing a good job. You want me to clean up? Okay, I clean up, that’s my job. None of this reluctance, you know, and humiliated shame. Tag, job is to clean up. All right, I clean up; I think that spirit, rebuilt Japan. It was a certain attitude to life. That assured their success.”*

*“Throughout East Asia, because they were influenced by China, and probably not just by culture alone, there must have been a lot of similar genes, similar*



*stock, probably the physical make up was not very different, so they were very intense types, hard-driving, hard striving people. Where as if you go to India, you will find Sadhus, holy men, people who abjure the world, who go around giving land away or begging from the rich to give to the poor. It's totally different culture. There is the sort of Gandhi saintliness. It is not the model of China. In China the model is, the kind of hero who forms a robber band and kills off wealthy people. You don't go begging from the wealthy, to give to the poor. You just kill wealthy and take from them."*

*"So it is, a completely different philosophy, to guide a man in life. The Indians have a more tolerant, and forgiving approach to life. More, next worldly. If you do good, then in the next world, you will get rewarded. Lee concluded, nature Vs nurture debate, culture was a key determinant of the success of certain groups over the years. In this regard, not all men or cultures were equal."*

*"We have what sociologists call, a highly "achievement orientated" type of society. A good striving, hardy people cannot be kept down."*

*"I think, you must have something in you, to be, a "have" nation. You must want. That is the crucial thing. Before you have, you must want to have. And to want to have means, to the able first, to perceive, what it is, you want the industrial sinew of our modern economic base, and the grit and the stamina, which means cultural mutations. Genetics and history interact."*

*"I believe a definite majority in Singapore, is aware that our future, our destiny, depends on our ability to discern our collective interest and this protect these interests."*

*"The Chinese seem to regard success as being the improvement of their economic position even if this requires fundamental change or innovation. The reluctant conclusion that we have come to after a decade of the free education policy is that learning does not begin in school. It starts in the home with the parents and the other members of the family. Certainly the adoption of values come more from the home, the mother, than the teacher."*

The great epics in different language inspiring biographies, reflections and observations of Master minds and stories and poems which have a rich ethical content and enable the mind constitute books for all time. They are the precious life blood of a nation. Their appeal is universal and their message is valid for all time. They never grow stale. The more we study them, the wiser we grow. We like to turn to them ever and ever for instruction or inspiration.



## Malaya Separation

*"But many suspect, there were large forces at work, than just the random explosion (at 5 P.m.) of anger and hatred between Chinese and Malays in Singapore. According to Lee Kuan Yew, then the prime minister, who went on the air that night, to appeal for calm."*

*"Lee, was at the forefront of it all, first leading the campaign for merger, and then at the centre of the conflict which led to expulsion. To this day, Lee counts the failure of merger with Malaysia as his biggest political regret. But he also believes that, without the experience of merger and the subsequent expulsion, Singapore would not have survived, the early test of nationhood. The experience, he has, no doubt made Singaporeans, acutely conscious of the difficulties ahead, of the unique circumstances surrounding the unplanned birth of independent Singapore, and made them want to put in the extra effort to make it alone."*

*"It was a costly experience, of this, there can be no doubt. It not only brought the two major races in Singapore into conflict, it pitted the political leadership of Singapore, against that of the federal government in Kula Lumpur. But whatever the trust and forms of events in the immediate present, the relentless logic of geography and the force of historical, ethnic and economic forces must prevail. You know, if we are farsighted 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."*

*"You want – if one of these days, and god forbid, there is an 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. On his side (Tunku's side), he was quite happy to run everything, except police and army. But in the negotiations, his finance minister wanted our money, his post and telecom minister wanted this. So at the departmental ministerial level, they wanted to take over everything. Whereas the bargain between him (Tunku) and me was; "you are the New York, you do exactly what you like; don't me give me trouble, in internal security and foreign affairs and defence, you are New York, don't worry". But his ministers or the civil servants and particularly Tan Siew Sin, the finance minister, wanted to put his finger into every pie in Singapore, so there was endless argument and bargaining."*

*"There were disputes over how much of its revenue, Singapore should contribute towards the entity, and heated exchanges ensued, when federation asked for 60% and not 40%, as originally agreed."*

*"It is not easy, because their interest meant that they would want investments all over, development, education, to be spread out. So, it would be a gradual process which may take 20, 30 or more years. And we are prepared for that."*

***“In retrospect – this is with six – by six vision hind sight – what the Tunku never made explicit, but which his aides made after Malaysia: you can persuade non Malays inside Malaysia, but you are forbidden to touch the Malays, that is against the role.”***

***“Indeed, they went one step further; even the Malays in Singapore, we cannot persuade. We must lay off the Malays. That was never made explicit. But it becomes explicit, once we started campaigning... It was their way of ensuring, Malay supremacy. Make the Malays feel different. They will vote differently. They are a different block. Nobody should interfere. Non- Malays cannot interfere in this block. And until we come along, there were no effective parties making an appeal to the Malays. And we presented an alternative.”***

### **Not accustomed to Malay rule**

*“Not so long ago in June, they tested our mettle-openly, in parliament in Kuala Lumpur. They got a prominent backbencher to move the address of thanks to the king’s speech. He said, “The trouble with Singapore is that it is not accustomed to Malay rule – very fierce words, to tell us, face to face in parliament”.”*

*“And that was, a moment of truth, for us. They stared us, in the eye and said, ‘you are not accustomed to Malay rule, and you are going to get it.’”*

***“Had we melted, I say it would have been lost. We stood up on our hind legs and we said, “You show me where we agreed to Malay rule. We have never been accustomed to it and do not intend to become accustomed. We will fight.”***

*“Their leaders reacted with the horror and alarm because it was so radical, it was so disturbing. It broke all the taboos, you know, that you should not make an appeal to the Malays and so on, making a direct appeal to help. Having seen that (Direct appeal to Malays’) they had established very clear rules in Malaya. You can’t make that appeal to the Malays. It’s off-limits. Every time you do that, there’s a not.”*

*“For Lee, the need to improve the live standards of all in Malaysia (before separation) meant, taking hard headed decisions which – and this was perhaps at the heart of the problem – meant, changing the old way of doing things. The PAP was a revolutionary party, determined to, alter the existing social and political structure of Singapore.”*

*“It was unenlightened. It does not build for the future. For the country which wants to go far, which wants to remove poverty, ignorance, you have to invest heavily in education, in health, increase your infrastructure, get investments, and get growth.”*

***“And if I could choose one example, it would be a sort of encapsulation of problem. Every where I went with Tunku, I was seeing new mosque being put up to consolidate, his position in Malaysia. One day, I said to him, we were quite friendly, so I said, Tunku, why not build polyclinic? There are enough mosques, but they need doctors for little ailments coughs, whooping coughs, inoculation and soon. He told me, “Kuan Yew, you don’t understand. The Malays are a different people; they are a very simple people. Their demands are very small. Just give them what they want, and they will be happy. Don’t disturb their way of life. So he saw the future as a continuation of what he knew in his youth; the Malays as rice farmers, the Chinese as traders, and the sultans as rulers and the Indians as rubber tappers. That was not possible.”***

*“For two million people, moving forward faster and quicker, we abandoned eight million; abandoned them and left them in a slow and sluggish situation. And the Tunku did not want to see Dr. Toh. He would recall to the authors the moment of anguish.”*

*“Having spent so much time bringing about Malaysia, I felt very strongly, that we should not leave the Malaysia under the pressures of strong emotions on both sides. That the rational thing was to disengage, get a looser federation, and then we leave them alone for the time being, they leave us alone. We carry on as a kind of confederation. But don’t leave it. Don’t leave, don’t break it up. Then when things have cooled down, we can re engage. I put that to the Tunku. He didn’t want it. He knows what he wanted. And what he wanted was quiet and peace, and none of this multiracialism running around disturbing his peace of mind.”*



# HISTORY

*"We should not take history for granted. It was inevitable, the emancipation of man from slavery. It is inevitable, the emancipation of nations from colonialism. But it is not inevitable, that we shall all progress towards a more prosperous, a more equal and a more just society. We cannot take that for granted. For in several parts of the world, societies have moved backwards, not forward to freedom, equality and justice, but backwards to tyranny, to greater injustice between human beings in a community, and to greater poverty to all."*

*"But whilst the political structure of the Asia has changed, the basic characteristics of the ethnic groups, their cultures, their values, their philosophies, their way of life, the passions, that move them to greater effort, have not changed. And so we marvel."*

*"History is a long and unending process. History bears witness to the ascendancy of the more fit and more adaptable. But whatever happens in Southeast Asia and in the wider world beyond, we must use the time given to us to grow sturdy and strong. Our people have in abundance the capacity to learn and to adjust to changing circumstances. The future belongs to the most adaptable the most intelligent and the best organised. We can be counted amongst them."*

*"The many reasons why regional economic co-operation had been limited and slow were discussed by Lee Kuan Yew in a talk; he gave, to a group of business men. He enumerated them. First the back-ground and the thinking of the first generation independence leaders the Nehru's, Jinnahs. Aung Sons, Sukarnos. Most were educated in the metropolitan centres of Europe between the two world wars and some even before the First World War. They absorbed the political thinking and philosophy of the 1920's and 1930's. Every European metropolitan power wanted to be a self sufficient unit unto it. So political and economic anarchy was a goal desirable in itself. Next modern industrial technology and what it means in massive research and massive markets were just beginning to dawn on the second generation independence leaders. India was the first colony to obtain its freedom, after the war. Many assumed that this huge land mass with a large population would enable it to become a second USSR. There were many reasons why this did not happen. The belief in national self sufficiency influenced the thinking and the attitudes of a whole generation of freedom fighters. Now twenty three years after the world war two, the second generation leaders though intellectually convinced of the need for a large base for economies of scale, are emotionally still caught by the thinking of the 1920's and the 1930's."*

*“Nearly, every transfer of power from colonial governors to indigenous popular leaders, had been accompanied by an economic decline. There were certain common factors which caused this. The new political leaders fought for and obtained power, on the basis of indigenous ethnic nationalism. They, then had to maintain economic unity and social order. But colonial administrations, to be better developed natural resources, had brought together different racial groups with complementary skills, expertise managerial and professional talent to supplement and help colonial administrators and entrepreneurs and so better development, the economy. In the course of decades, some times centuries of colonial rule, originally primitive and backward economies were developed through technological, professional administrative expertise, provided by Europeans, dependent at intermediate levels on Non European immigrant skills and labour. The Indians, the British, west to Africa and east to Burma and Malaya, they provided an intermediate group of entrepreneur skills and junior administrative talent and disciplined labour. Meanwhile indigenous nationalist leaders, in order to wrest power, expounded to their followers the proposition that they were economically and socially down, because they were being kept down. They promised that, when political power was won, they the leaders would displace not only the European administrators, but all the intermediate non-indigenous groups and place their indigenous followers, in economically and socially superior positions. Often this happened, regardless of economic realities with disastrous results.”*

*“Decolonisation, was usually, supposed to mean, orderly dismantling of an empire. Conversely, viewed from the position of the subject peoples, it should mean a restoration to freedom and nationhood. But several hundred years of empire, had created, civilized communities, where none previously existed. When Stanford Raffles argued 150 years ago, there was no organised human society in Singapore, unless a fishing village could be called a society. There were now, over two million people, with the second highest standard of living in Asia. We thought the national and orderly way forward was to build a nation out of the conglomeration of the British colonies and dependencies in Southeast Asia.”*

*“History is a valuable guide to the future. It provides insights into the nature and potentials of various peoples, because both the innate qualities and the cultural characteristics of a people do not change easily or quickly. A hundred and fifty years ago, Raffles could not have prophesied, what Singapore would be today, an independent nation state, a busy centre of trade, servicing and manufacturing. But, he had foresight. He knew the value of Singapore’s strategic location for trade and communications. Then, by establishing the principle of, free trade and free competition, he attracted the adventurous, the resourceful, and industrious. In less than three years, a few thousand traders had left Benecoolen, Malacca and Penang, to establish their business in Singapore. While it was not inevitable that Singapore would succeed, the ingredients for success were present almost from the beginning.”*

# 15

## THE NATURE OF HUMAN SOCIETY

"Human intelligence is largely transmitted genetically. The uproar in the west, he believed, stemmed from a stubborn refusal of its politically correct intelligentsia to accept the facts which nature had decreed. The result: policies based on wrong premises, which were doomed to disappointment; grand hopes of levelling society failed to deliver results, because, they went against the grain of the inherent inequalities, in ability, among men. The Bell curve is a fact of life."

"The cabinet believed initially, that equalising opportunities would narrow the gap between the haves and have-nots in society. But over two years, many among them were drawn to the conclusion that equality of opportunities alone would not always lead to equality of results". The more intelligent and hard working you are, the higher your educational levels, the higher your income. Supposing, we had hidden the truth and taken the American approach and said, all men are equal, then they will demand more equal treatment. These ideas evolved, as a result of his experience, and reading over the years. They were convinced that inequalities in society, stemmed largely from unequal opportunities. With human beings, you can give everybody equal opportunities, but the results will not be equal, because they are of unequal abilities. We did not know about this Bell curve, that it existed in every population from time immemorial. Although the higher-educated groups are only 20 percent of the population, they provide us with 70 percent of the scholars. It is a fact of life and you can't change it.

### Diamonds in the population

"He concluded that all societies displayed sign to what he termed a "population diamond" at the centre was the bulk of the people, of average intellect and abilities. Above this, I.Q. and competence level rose to an apex. Below the centre, and in about equal proportion to the apex at the top, abilities tapered off down to the educationally subnormal and mentally retarded. Despite the difference in ability, he felt that all men were entitled to be treated equally and fairly, and accorded the same dignity and respect as citizens. The government role was to train each individual to his maximum ability."

"The most able in society would have to be drawn into the top range, given the most important jobs to through a strictly meritocratic system. This group at the top he guessed that they made up between 5-10% of the population in any society. These people would have to be thrown up by a meritocratic system- or sought out by the society's leaders and nurtured from a young age. To them would fall the responsibility of the top jobs, both in government and the private sector."

## 15.1 Pragmatists Vs Ideologues

*“When we were faced with the reality that, infact, equal opportunities did not bring about more equal results. We were faced with another, ideological dilemma. What is it that you want? Equal results or equal opportunities? Between the two, we felt in Singapore, if we were to survive, we could not go the way of equal results; we had to give rewards, accordance with your effort.”*

*“Equal pay, for unequal work is a sure-fire way to kill productive instincts, on the contrary; a worker is motivated to work when he can earn more, if he puts in the effort.”*

*“I am an unrepentant socialist. But in my own state, I have to concede that, because it takes a long time, to inculcate the high values of public duty and sense of service to the community. Performance has been the best, only when workers are offered high incentives, for high performance.”*

*“No man should exploit his fellow man. In order to get economic growth we have had to base our policies, on the principle.”*

1. From each his economic best.
2. To each of his economic worth.

*The ultimate ideal*

1. From each his best.
2. To each his need.

*“I have developed a deep aversion to welfarism and social security, because I have seen, it stifles the dynamism of people to work their best, what we have attempted in Singapore, is asset enhancement, not subsidies. Welfare policies had undermined the work ethic, giving rise to a culture of dependency among the people, when benefits become entitlements and the desire for equal opportunities was turned into a demand for equal results.”*

*“I believe in equal opportunities, I believe the human being, wants an equal chance with his fellow human being, regardless of his father's wealth or status, in order that he can do his best, in order that he can compete and climb up to the top. They say “Ah, that's elitism!”, competitive examinations, the creaming of the best, into special institutions, where they are made to go faster, become high achievers and high performers, for the society. They are penalised. Net result, the country suffers. Why should you try? In order that will pay penalising taxes to keep the daybook happy.”*

*“The big idea of altruism, when resources are scarce - that counts for nothing. But, the genetic drive to protect your own offspring, is a very powerful one. What is the ideal product? Is the student, the university graduate who is strong, robust, rugged, with tremendous qualities of stamina, endurance, and at the same time, with great intellectual discipline, and most important of all, to serve, whether God or King or country or if you like, just his community.”*



“Where are the beggars in Singapore? Show me. I take pride in that. Has anybody died of starvation? Anybody, without a home, left to die in the streets, to be collected as corpses?”

“Because we came to the realistic conclusion that, the human being is motivated by instincts, that go down to the basic genes life? And the first basic instinct is to protect yourself, and stronger than that, to protect your offspring, so that there is the next generation. You will kill that link, you have killed off mankind. They have killed that link in China, by removing children from parental control, to the communes, and disaster followed. We went with the instinct of the individual.”

“I am proud of the others, with which, we have infused a younger generation of Singapore. We have given them the chances to stand up, be self reliant, be enough of a team of a nation, so that all can perform at their best, and the whole groups including the losers, will not perish. And that is achieved, by going with human instincts, going with basic culture, and making adjustments along the way, for those who would otherwise lose.”

## 15.2 Human Relationship - Confusions

- 1) Love between father and son
- 2) Duty between ruler and subject
- 3) Distinction between husband and wife
- 4) Precedence of the old over the young
- 5) Faith between friends

“In other words, the family is absolutely the fundamental unit in society. From family to extended family, to clan, to nation. A society able to do so, would find half its problem solved, and would not require government, with its use widely bureaucracy and its tendency to succumb to corruption and lobby groups to intervene. Indeed, he would place blame for much of the social ills of the west on the break-up of the family unit.”

“Western critics have attributed this collapse to what they term, “Asian values: cronyism, guanxi, corruption, backdoor or under-the-counter practice. There are many different value systems in Asia – Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Confucianist. I am able to discuss only, Confucian value. A Confucian gentleman’s duty, to family and friends, presumes that he helps them, from his personal and not official resources.”

“Lee therefore moved to enshrine the family as the “basic building block in society” and as one of the Singapore’s shared values.”

“We have just got out of one trouble, and Chinese chauvinism and Malay chauvinism and you want to land into another? Religious intolerance? It’s just stupid. Stay out of politics. The religious harmony act, was passed after that, (conversion) it subsided.”

“Well, it’s part of the law, and it will be enforced, if anybody breaks it. But if you ask the human rights groups, that are a violation of human rights, we should allow every body to do what they like. Free speech, and free conversions,

then you will have an enlightened society. I do not accept that, as the happy conclusion or outcome."

"He thought it best to reinforce the Confucian tradition, that a man is responsible for his family – his parents, wife and children."

"Confucian societies, believe that, the individual exist in the context of the family, extended family, friends and wider society, and that the government cannot and should not take over the role of the family."

### First order, then law

"Vandals and other criminals had to be taught, not to repeat their mistakes. Better yet, if they were deterred from committing their anti-social acts through, certainly that the law would seek them out relentlessly, and inflict tough justice. This include mandatory death penalty, for drug trafficking, murder, armed robbery, or kidnapping, and caving for vandalism, violent rape and molest, and the unlawful possession of weapon. Lee was unapologetic, about this tough-minded approach. This, he asserted, was how he had managed to keep Singapore's once gangster-ridden streets safe."

"You know, that if you come to Singapore, your life, body, limb, properties will be quite safe. One was given 15 strokes for gang rape. The offender had said that, "every stroke was a stroke of hell". Would he do it again? "Never in my life", the criminal had replied. Lee concluded, "The punishment is not fatal". It is not painless. It does what it supposed to do, to remind the wrong doer, that he should never do it again. And it does work."

"Tough measures had to, and would be enforced by the authorities, to maintain order in society. He believed instead, in the old fashioned ideas of guilt and responsibility. Deterrence, was to be a key aspect of the legal system he fashioned for his fledging state."

"He dismissed theories, of kind nature, and gentle, forgiving and compassionate, and that only, the evil system made them vicious and criminal."

"Lee, was well aware of the economic and social price, that his people would pay if such a system failed. Foreign firms, he argued, would withdraw their investments, at the first sign of disaster in the streets. Singaporeans too might send their money, and their families to safer heavens abroad."

"This would also assure investors of the country's stability and security. Asian culture, in oriental societies, people looked to the authorities to establish "Order under the heavens". Good rulers were those who could do so effectively and fairly. The people conferred on their leaders, a moral authority, to act in the community's collective interest. Leaders who failed to do so, or who acted unfairly or arbitrarily risked losing, than moral sway with the people."

"The importance of maintaining its authority in the eyes of the people was stressed several times by Lee."

**“You train the people in a proper way, from small. I compare Singapore to Britain and found we were very ill- behaved, ill-trained. They were well trained, they were polite, they were honest; we did not have 300 years of cultivated living and training. But now, it is a different Britain, partly because of different education, no discipline at home, in the schools, and partly because immigrants have come in, and the whole atmosphere has changed, and the people have changed.”**

### **Corruption - a way of life**

**“Lee took a very tough stand against corruption, especially the taking of bribes by officials, for favours. He made clear that no one, not even top government officials or ministers was immune from investigations into their financial dealings. To fight corruption, civil servants and political leaders, would have to be paid well, so that there would be less likelihood of their succumbing to temptation.”**

**“Government leaders, have to set an example. They would have to be above board, and seen to be so. They should not indulge, in lavish living. We need a civil service, that was responsive to our goals. The most important thing was, to make sure that they stayed honest. A civil service that is dishonest, is a disaster to us. We have to set an example, not only in being incorrupt, but also being thrifty and economical, and not travelling in grand style. We wanted to trim, the cost of government, so we ran, a very Spartan government. No wastage, no lavish entertainment. No big offices. We set the tone, the example, they followed. They responded to it.”**

**“We had, the corrupt practices investigations bureau, already set up in the 1950s, and I know it was an effective organisation. We know that this outfit was an important way, to ferret out and punish, those who broke the rules. So we helped, fund it, and built it up.”**

**“My practice of the law, has influenced my approach. Training of the law has led the British, what they call, “the redemption theory”. Let’s redeem the criminal, quite forgetting the harm, he has already done to the victim, who demands some justice be done.”**

**“But, what I saw of the criminals whom I defended, when I saw them in the prisons, When I used to see them on remand, let me in no doubt at all that to deal, With these people you have to be quite strong and firm or they’ll draw the circles around you. I know the whole story, and the real story, and I had to defend some body, who was in wrong. And I know that this chap, unless properly punished, is bound to repeat it.”**

**“We have a society, which, unfortunately I think, understands only two things - the incentive and deterrent. A fine, will not deter, the type of criminal we are facing here... but if he knows, we are going to get there of the best; I think he will lose enthusiasm.”**

## 15.3 The Jury is out

"I never forget my first case, when I was assigned to defend four murderers. These four men were accused of killing a Royal Air Force officer and his wife and child. I was assigned - I had no choice. My job, was not to ask them whether, they were guilty or not, because I know what the position was, and so did they. All I did, and it was my first case - was to work on the weakness, of the Jury, their biases, their prejudices, their reluctance, really to find four Muslim men [Muslims] guilty of killing in cold blood, or in a heat of great passion, religious passion, an RAF officer, his wife and child. I did simple tricks of, advocacy contradictions between one witness and another, contradiction between a witness and his previous statement to the police, and the preliminary enquiry and often a long submission by the judge, the four were acquitted."

"The judge was thoroughly disgusted. I went home feeling quite sick, because I knew I'd discharged my duty as required of me, but I know, I had done wrong. I decided, when we became the government, we will not allow this foolish, completely incongruous system, which will never take root here, because, no juror will take upon himself the onus of saying, yes, he will go to jail."

"In a settled and established society, law appears to be a precursor or order. Good lead, to good order, that is, form that you will learn. But the hard realities of keeping the peace, between the man and man, and between authority and individual, can be more accurately described if the phrase were inverted to, "Order and Law" for without order, the operation of law is impossible. Order having been established, and the rules having become enforceable, in a settled society, only then, it is possible to work out, human relationship, subject and subject, and the subject and state, in accordance with predetermined rules of the law."

"And when a state of increasing disorder, and defiance of authority, can not be checked, then, existing, new and sometimes drastic rules, have to be forged, to maintain order, so that the law, can continue to govern human relations. The alternative is, to surrender order, for chaos and anarchy. So, it is that we have to allow to use extra ordinary powers of detention, first in case of political offenders, under the PPSO [preservation of public security order] and next in the case of secret societies, gangsters, under the criminal law (temporary provision) ordinance. Concerned about crime rates, the government amended penal code in 1973, to introduce stiffer sentences for various crimes. More recently, apart from stiffening sentences, further, the government has also taken steps, to help the courts convict criminals. Apart from tough laws, it is also likelihood, that the criminals will be pursued and punished, that has served as a strong deterrent against crime. The result: low and even falling crime rates in Singapore. In a survey in 1994, 99%, polled said, they felt safe living in Singapore."

"Lee, battled the communist and communalist in 1960s, to establish order and internal security. He also told the MPs, that the best counter, to communist attempt to instigate unrest, was through economic growth, and the spread of material property to the masses."

"American society was so successful, for so long not because of these ideas, and principles, but because of certain geopolitical fortune, an abundance of resources

**and immigrant energy, a generous flow of capital and technology from Europe, and two wide oceans that kept conflicts of the world from American shores. It is the sense of cultural supremacy, which leads the American media, to pick on Singapore and beat us up, as authoritarian, dictatorial; an, over-ruled, over restricted, stifling and sterile society. Why? Because, we have not complied with their ideas of, how, we should govern ourselves. We can ill afford, to let others experiment, with our lives, in this small island. There was a sad imbalance in the sense of moral priorities, a distortion of one's distinction between right and wrong.**

**“For Lee then, the art of government, which included maintaining law and order in society, was a question of balancing the interest of individual, with collective good of society. Good governance, even today, requires balance between competing claims by upholding fundamental truths: that there is right and wrong, good and evil. Those who work a wholesome society, where young girls and old women can walk in the street at night, where the young are not preyed upon by drug peddlers, will not follow the American model. Lee espoused, where governments laid down clear laws, and enforced them firmly, but fairly, was better designed to help, achieve a stable society, as well as, go some way towards moulding a responsible citizenry, it works.”**

**“Now, if in a developed society, they can have such disorders, aggravated, if not partly caused by the mass media, commentators and journalist in developing countries, should not unthinkingly, pours poison and pollution into the pool.”**

**“That spectacle of television theatre, was to reinforce Lee’s view of the power of the media, to, so adroitly and cavalierly mock and debase a political leadership that had just been elected by the people. Who were these pundits to scoff at the people’s chosen leader and his team? On whose authority did they speak? Who gave them the mandate? He wondered.”**

## 15.4 Reaching for the Knuckle – Dusters

**“Over the years, Lee would keep close track of the outpourings of the press, domestic and foreign, watching for such poison being tossed into the political pool in Singapore. He noted the line they were pushing, the social trends they backed, the causes they upheld.”**

**“Every morning my task begins with reading five, four, newspapers, I note the scurrilous, the scandalous. I combine, accommodate with that. But when a newspaper pours, a daily dose of language, cultural or religious poison, I put my knuckle-duster on. Do not believe that you can beat the state.”**

**“But that notwithstanding, his attitude towards the press was based firmly on the view that, being unelected and bearing no responsibility to the people, journalist, columnist and commentators, had neither a role, nor the right to lead the country, in directions contrary to that envisioned by its elected leaders. Many a time, he would have journalist or their editors at the courts, or take the newspapers to tasks.”**

**“Bitter experience had shown what happened when, unwittingly or otherwise, the media had swayed popular sentiment and roused political passions. Issues of race,**

language and religion, all of which smouldered beneath the surface, especially in Singapore's early years, were easily stoked. Several times, these had tooled, over spilling blood in the streets."

*"These passions would have to be managed, and the ethnic communities in Singapore made aware, that their lot lay with Singapore, not elsewhere."*

*"From British times, the Singapore press, was never the fourth estate. And in Singapore's experience, because of our volatile racial and religious mix, the American concept of the "market place of ideas", instead of producing harmonious enlightenment, has time and again led to riots and blood shed. Foreign press, could be manipulated, by foreign powers out to influence developments, in the country."*

*"My colleagues and I, have the responsibilities to neutralise, their intentions. In such situation, freedom of press, freedom of news media, must be subordinated to the Singapore, and the primary purposes, of the elected government."*

## Confucius

Politics is only an extension of morals: Provided that the ruler is benevolent, the government will naturally work towards the good of the people. For Confucius, as for the whole of the Chinese tradition, politics is only an extension of morals. Provided that the ruler is benevolent, the government will naturally work towards the good of the people.

Confucian values, talk about the loyalty to the state, the attribute of hard work, but no one talk about profit from Confucian ethical point of view. We in Asia want to speak credibly for Asian values, we must be prepared to also champion those ideas which are universal and which belongs to humanity as a whole. Confucianism instills value of hard work. The success of the East Asian Economics has given Confucianism a good name.

Confucianism is not simply the advocacy of abidance to government but also accountability of government.

Confucianism builds a well-ordered society from the ground up, rather than the top down, stressing moral obligations of family life as the basic building block of society. The bonds within the family take precedence over higher sorts of ties, including obligations to the political authorities. Chaos undermines development and progress and the Chinese will do anything to preserve stability.

# 16

## MEDIA

*“It took many years, before a younger generation of journalists in the 1980s, recognised that the political culture of Singapore was, and will stay different from the western norm.”*

*“The freedom of the press, was the freedom of its owners to advance their personal and class interest. Freedom of press, freedom of news media, must be subordinated to the overriding needs of Singapore, and to the primacy of purpose of an elected government.”*

*“I needed media, “to reinforce, not to undermine, the cultural values and social attitudes being in-culcated in our schools and universities. The mass media can create a mood in which people become keen to acquire the knowledge, skills and disciplines of advanced countries. Without these, we can never hope to raise the standards of living of our people”.*

### Media – Taken to task

Time magazine	1986	Misreporting Restricted sales
Asian wall street Journal	1986	Restricted sales.
Far Eastern economic Review	1987	Restricted sales.
Times	1990	
Economist	1993	Restricted sales.

*“Through these cases, Singaporeans realised that, what the foreign press wanted was to sell their papers to our growing English reading public. They did this, by being tendentious at the expense of the facts. Naturally they did not like their slanted articles, straightened out when they discovered that if they twisted our arm, we could tweak their noses in reply, biased reporting, became less frequent. If we do not stand up to, and answer our critics, from the foreign media, Singaporeans, especially journalists and academics, will believe that their leaders are afraid of or unequal to the argument, and will lose respect for us.”*

*“Far from oppressing the opposition or the press, that unjustly attacked my reputation, I have put my private and public life, under close scrutiny whenever I appeared as a plaintiff in court.”*

*“Wrong ideas have to be challenged, before they influence public opinion and make problems. Those who try to be clever, at the expense of the government should not complain, if my replies are as sharp as their criticisms.”*

*“It was Singapore’s elected leaders, who bore responsibility for the well being of its people. The people backed the government, to improve their lot. His government, in turn,*

to honour the people's trust, and meet their expectations, was not one to hesitate to clear any roadblocks in its way, including querulous and interfering media, whether foreign or local."

"The newspaper and printing presses act of 1974 provided the legal framework for greater government control. These actions were to set the bounds, within which the media both local and foreign, would have to operate. Lee would grant the pressmen, a fair deal of freedom, but clearly on his terms."

## 16.1 Media's Role

"We want the mass media to reinforce, not to undermine, the cultural values and social attitudes, being inculcated in our schools and universities. The mass media can create a mood, in which people become keen to acquire, the knowledge, skills and disciplines of advanced countries. Without these, we can never hope to raise the standards of living of our people. The importance of education, the need of stability and work discipline, the acquisition of Skills and expertise, sufficient men trained in the sciences and technology, and their ability to adapt this knowledge and techniques, to fit the conditions of their country, these are vital factors for progress. But, when the puritan ethics of hard work, thrift and discipline are at a discount in America, and generally in the west, the mass media reflecting this malaise can, and does, confuse the young, in new countries. To take in western science, technology and industry, we find that we cannot completely exclude, the undesirable ethos of contemporary west. This ethos flakes off on Singaporeans. So we must educate Singaporeans not to imitate, the more erotic behaviour of the west. Whatever the side effects of importing western science and technology, not to do will be worse."

"The U.S. Model, is not a universal standard. The media in other countries play different roles. These roles have grown, out of their different historical experience, political systems and national temperaments. They represent, equally valid functions, which the press fulfils in different environments."

"A more appropriate model for the Singapore media would be the B.B.C world services, which reports events impartially, but provides an interpretation from a definite perspective, the western liberalism."

"Another model is the Japanese media, which also stay out of partisan politics, but go beyond plain reporting to shape public opinion, to help build up a national consensus on important issues."

"Singapore's domestic debate is a matter for Singaporeans. We allow American journalists in Singapore, in order to report Singapore, to their fellow countrymen. We allow their papers to sell in Singapore, in order to report Singapore, to their fellow countrymen. We allow their papers to sell in Singapore, so that we can know, what foreigners are reading about us. But we cannot allow them, to assume a role in Singapore, that the American media play in America, that of invigilator, adversary and inquisitor of the administration. If allowed to do so, they will radically change the nature of Singapore society, and I doubt if our social glue is strong enough to withstand such treatment."



*"If a mighty nation (USA) of 240 million finds such safeguards necessary, what about a plastic, unformed society like Singapore?"*

*"The most dangerous part of the mass media is, its power of suggestion. People are imitative."*

*"The media slams, sloshes, jabs me, and pokes me. You expect me to enjoy it and be passive, and roll over like a cocker spaniel? Or, do you think, from time to time, using words, not using violence, I turn the probe on them. The moment they recognize that, I have the right of reply, they lose their sharpness, they lose their willingness to give that slight twist, because they know, that I'll put it right. I think that's fair."*

*"He was also to acquire, a formidable reputation, for taking errant journalists and publishers to court, to put right articles, which impugned his integrity, and that of the system in Singapore. He believed that any suggestion of that sort, had to be squashed, if it was not to take root insidiously."*

*"If, I had not taken him to court, and asked him to prove what he said, and offered my self as a plaintiff, and a witness for him, to throw his accusation to my face, I would not be able to, look at my voters, my electorate, in the face."*

*"How do you prove, one side is right and the other side wrong? You know the fundamental rule of proving the truth. You, meet face to face, you confront face with fiction, truth with lies, and the judge, or the jury decides."*

*"If you don't challenge it, there are number of craggy, idiotic, vicious people who are out, to get me down, who are going to spread it and say. Read this, he is doing nothing about it."*

*"It must be true. But, I have done something about it, and the story can't take off. I have sued 15 or 20 times over the last 30 years, and they came back with the same story, that I have been plundering the place, I have enriched my self, and if I had not stopped it, each time and its tracks, I would not have survived or enjoyed the reputation, that I think I do enjoy, that I'm prepared to stand up and be scrutinized."*

*"He argued that, a free press in it eagerness, to fault and check its leaders and institutions, as well as its drive to boost its sales, by whipping up public controversy and political intrigue, had overstepped itself. The result was, a general debasing, even demolition, of the very institutions, which these liberal commentators claimed to champion."*

*"I have access to any of the leaders, I would like to meet, in Europe, in Asia, and indeed, in America. And, I think, we should have the courage, to with stand their assaults, only because we are open to scrutiny and will withstand microscopic examination. We shall proceed, and in the end, I believe we will be able to justify ourselves to the world."*

# 17

## ASSESSMENT ABOUT MYSELF

"I have to be taken seriously. I would say that, I'm very determined, when I set out to do something. First I've got to decide, whether something is worth doing. Well, I'm not prepared to spend the time over it, to make the effort. Then I just cost along, it doesn't matter, whether it succeeds or doesn't succeed, it's of no consequence. But, if I decide that something is worth doing, then I'll put my heart and soul into it. I will give everything, I've got to make it succeed. So I would put my strength, determination and willingness to see my objective, to its conclusion. Whether I can succeed or not, that's another matter, but I will give everything, I've got to make sure, it succeeds. If I've got to change tack, I will change tack. But the objective is the same. The presentation may change... If you have decided something is worth doing, you've got to remove all obstacles to get there."

"I think, a leader who is concurred or obsessed with opinion polls, or popularity polls, is a weak leader. If you are concerned with, whether your rating will go up or down then, you are not a leader. You are just catching the wind, you will go where the wind is blowing. And that's not what I am in this for. Between being loved and being feared, I have always believed Machiavelli was right. If nobody is afraid of me, I'm meaningless. When I say something, to make it easier for me to govern, I have to be taken very seriously. So, when I say "please don't do that, you do it, I have to punish you, because, I was not joking, when I said that. And when I punish, it's to punish publicly. And people will know the next time, if you want to do that, when he said 'no' don't do it, you must be prepared for a brutal encounter."

"The whole ground can be against, but if I know this is right, I set out to do it, and I am quite sure, given time, as events unfold, I will be over the ground. My job as a leader, is to make sure that, before the next elections; enough has developed and disclosed itself to the people, to make it possible for me to swing them around. That's the business of a leader, not to follow the crowd. That's a wash out. The country will go down the drain. It is important for leaders, to read and be interested in, how other societies function."

### HANDING OVER – SUCCESSION

"My experience of development in Asia, has let me to conclude that, we need good men, to have good government. It was simply that the pre-conditions, for democratic system of government did not exist, civic society with an educated electorate. Cultural tradition of acceptance of the authority of a person because of his office. Loyalties to leaders, they must be honest and not self-serving or the country is likely to fail."

*“The single decisive factor that made for Singapore’s development was, the ability of its ministers, and the high quality of the civil servants, who supported them. When I had the right man in charge, a burden was off my shoulders. I need only to make clear, the objectives to be achieved, the time frame within which he must try to do it, and he would find a way to get it done.”*

*“Leadership is more than ability. It is a combination of courage, determination, commitment, character and ability, that makes people wiling to follow a leader.”*

*“They helped me to stay objective and balanced, and saved me from any risk of megalomania, which could so easily come, with long years in office.”*

**18**

## STEPPING ASIDE TRANSFORMATION - CONTINUITY

*"I had prepared for it, for a long time, so I was impatient for it, to take place. The western press, they write up these things projecting their reactions into me, that to give up power was a disastrous loss of authority and so on, whereas my approach was totally different."*

*"I had a job to do. I had come to the conclusion, by about 1976, that my most important job, was to get a team that could carry on the work, otherwise one would fail."*

*"We had been trying, since 68, to get capable successors. You need more than a capacity, to write treaties or argue logically, you need practical minds, tough characters, that will push a policy through."*

*"The Americans has a succession system in place. At 65, you're out, and you've got to find a successor before, then for the board, to confirm, so they were looking around, and watching the younger team. They are watching you too, 'he said to me, you are still okay, he said, but', you know, they are looking beyond your to admit defeat. Nationalism has come to stay in Asia."*

*"A Tory government determined, like the French government in Indo-China, to thwart the nationalist aspirations of the people, will send all moderate nationalist over to the communists – and this indeed is, what has happened in Indo-China."*

*"The indefinite continuance of the subjugation of one race over another is only possible, where the subject race is inherently, both mentally and physically, inferior. Anthropologists are unable to prove, any innate superiority of one race over another. This scientific fact and the historical fact, that no empire has been able to last more than a thousand years, is, I think, no mean coincidence."*

*"We must break down the belief that we are inferior and will always remain inferior to the Europeans. If every returned student makes known his convictions to his own immediate circle, the cumulative effect will be tremendous; a small pebble dropped in a pond, can cause extensive ripples."*

# 19

## MISCELLANEOUS

### 19.1 International

*"In fact, I fear the problem is, that there is arrogance, also natural, with ancient peoples, but without power to match years yet. This gives us time, we in non communist Asia, must use this time, to consolidate our positions. The relative peace and security, your effort in Vietnam provides, as a by product to us, must be turned to our advantage, so as to avoid us being churned by similar techniques of terror subversion and international propaganda as in Vietnam."*

*"We also have Malay's Indians, Pakistanis, Ceylonese, Eurasians, British and others. I think, if I or my successor begin to, want to, represent only Chinese, then, we have put the clock back, not only for Southeast Asia, but for what we must try to achieve in this world over growing smaller, and therefore ever demanding, if not alone and understanding, at least tolerance and forbearance."*

*"On the contrary he had a very high regard for American technology, gadgetry, drive, marketing, management skills and so many other things connected with the industrial and technological society in which we live."*

*"I confess to a great admiration for American technology, the programming, and methodology in research, and development. Targets are defined and a time table for achieving them is set. In space technology, this has brought forth, maximum effort and maximum results."*

*"At the miraculous recovery of Japan, from the ashes of defeat in less than a quarter of a century only, because we have forgotten that, it was this same Japanese grit and stamina, industry and discipline, ingenuity and inventiveness that made Japan, the only non European military, and industrial power in the world, before second world war."*

*"We will tackle these problems, when the time comes". Lee is on record as saying, "Mean while we will follow a policy, of making the maximum number of friends and the fewest number of enemies. We aim to be an island of neutrality, in the region."*

## 19.2 Soldiers

"It also requires, that those we put in uniform, shall always have high standards of moral rectitude, and personal courtesy, to win the respect and affection of the people. Too often with the new armies of new countries, the soldier becomes a brigand. From his original role as protector of the people, he degenerates into their tormentor, and preys on them, in the midst of growing chaos. Our soldier, must and will be different."

"We made a study of, what smaller countries surrounded by large neighbours with big populations do, for their own survival. The study eventually led us to compare, three such tightly knit communities. Switzerland, Finland and Israel as a result of this study, there are a quite a number of Asians, in Singapore who know, what a tough and rugged process every Swiss male goes through for more than twenty two years, in the service of his nations. In the end, Singapore opted for the Israeli pattern, for in our situation, it appears necessary, not only to train every boy, but also every girl, to be a disciplined and effective digit in the defence of their country."

## 19.3 Religion

"I am not sure whether there is a god or there is no God, I'm not sure whether the world was created by God or by an accident. But, don't go around knocking other people's Gods, and other people's culture. Even, if there is no God, this group of people have been held together, and sustained through all their tragedies and all their sorrows by a belief, by certain belief that they are all together. Under one God... therefore they share certain things in common. Why should you go and demolish that. I disagreed with (Atheists and communists) that, profoundly."

### Meditation.

"I took the advice of a friend, who is a Buddhist, and a western trained doctor to practice meditation. I learnt to do it, only for half an hour at a time. Later, I made it a daily routine. It has been more beneficial than tranquillizers."

# 20

## Addendum

*“Whenever there is a decline of Dharma  
and a rise of Adharma*

*I incarnate myself for the protection of the good,  
destruction of the wicked,  
and for the establishment of Dharma,  
I come into being from age to age.”*

Lord Krishna -Gita-

### 20.1 Religious Person - Definition

*Who is my true devotee? Shri Krishna will tell, **“He is my true devotee, who is strong and fearless and makes others also strong and fearless. He doesn’t use his strength to destroy other people. He doesn’t frighten the world, and he, who is not frightened, by the world, that is his character”.***

*“A very strong person can frighten the world. This is not high virtue. But have strength and fearlessness and inspire the same thing, in others as well. – That is ideal humanity. This is the essence of Indian Sanatana Dharma literature.”*

#### **Politician – Kshatriya – Soldier - Administrator**

What is his work?

- 1) To protect the people
- 2) Nourish the people
- 3) Serve the people
- 4) They handle power
- 5) Power is for the service of the people.

*"For pleasure you are at the back, for enterprise you are at the front."*

*"For efficient work, calm, silent, steady work is what brings about permanent results."*

*"Inner stabilization – out of which will come great energy, tremendous response to the human situation. When one gets tremendous inner strength, he or she becomes calm and steady and turns out more work than other persons. We can become great workers, changing the world around us in the right direction."*

*"That is called creative work. Try to keep the mind as calm and balanced as possible. Some great thing is coming out of it. Not only the good work outside, but also a perpetration in word, towards your own nature; that needs that wonderful calmness and balance of mind."*

*"Buddhi, is essentially reason, but not dry intellectual reason. Reason which has been, motivation comes from emotions, and feeling, not from intellect."*

*"The success of any democracy depends upon, more and more people, developing the capacity for thought, and for love and service."*

*"But in a very stable democracy, more of the quality, in human beings, "thinking people". All progress in society comes from capacity to think."*

## 20.2 Present Day Politics and Democracy

*"Those who lived in uncontrolled emotion and frenzy of action, which now characterise most of our politics, they can destroy our democracy."*

*"We have a great culture, but added, that others also have great ideas, and we should accept them, with humility."*

*"Even democracy itself, can become a mobocracy. A democracy that, condemned Socrates to death in Athens, becomes a mobocracy. The then Athenians, couldn't understand the higher level of life. So, they condemned this great man to death. That made Plato, tremendously, hater of democracy. Plato said, democracy is absolutely mobocracy. There is nothing high in it. If you want democracy to succeed, this element of ethical, moral and spiritual growth must come to the people."*

*"So in Vedanta, you will find, in the context of modern science, modern techniques, modern socio political processes, this great spiritual orientation given to human life and human development."*

*"The world is changing; people are seeking for guidance, a philosophical guidance. They don't get it from mere political leaders."*

*"They (west) are, all in search of this complete philosophy. That is why the word **holistic** again and again in western literature today."*

*"A hero's teaching to hero: that is Gita."*

*"The people must be made, the centre of democracy. Many of our politicians are fond of the cheap kind of religion; But, for doing the work that is given to order, and for raising the nation from its sufferings and privations, they don't have the will to do. That is*



*why, inspite of politics, there is so little human development, human welfare. The cry of distress comes from more and more hearts everyday."*

*"Today, our politicians want to use the people to get power. All political parties are engaged in using the people, making use of them as cattle, purchasing their votes for five rupees or hundred rupees. That is, where the Gita teaching has to come to help us, to correct our politics and administration. There is so much political strength, democratic strength in its teaching."*

*"Thought is action in rehearsal."*

*"We need to develop decent human beings inspired by ethical values, humanistic values, who love other people, who try to lift up common people - that is the long range plan."*

*(Bhagawat Gita, Swami Ranganathananthaji,  
President, Ramakrishna Mission, Kolkata, India.)*

"It took Years of relentless integrity before Gandhi was trusted by his own People and finally by the world. He won this trust, not only by his complete honesty, in thought and action, but also by a unique frankness".

Pearl. S.Buck

# GANDHI THE LEADER

*By*

*Pearl S. Buck*

*Courtesy*

*Bhavan's Journal*

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# Tough Mind & A Tender Heart

*By*

*Martin Luther King*

**SOME MEN SEE THINGS,  
AS THEY ARE AND  
ASK WHY?**

**WE DREAM OF THINGS,  
THAT NEVER WERE, AND  
ASK WHY NOT?**

## 20.3 GANDHI THE LEADER

INEVITABLY, leaders appear in our violent modern world. Leaders' self appointed or chosen: With the need for leadership, a leader always appears, and in his person he epitomizes the struggle of his people. He becomes a symbol and by the power of his influence he shapes the struggle into revolution, violent or nonviolent. He could not become a leader, did not the people ask for leadership. Yet conversely, were he not a born leader, the need of the people could not make him one. A strange powerful instinct works between leader and people. I have seen this happen again and again in my own lifetime. living as I did through decades of revolution in China leadership on a local scale or on a national scale. There was a strange relationship, an instinctive one, between leader and people. The people need him and they find him to their demand. He responds, and in turn shapes them to his demand. Once found, the people follow their leader blindly as sheep and sometimes to their mutual destruction, as in the case of Hitler, and others before him and after him. Or they follow to their success and triumph, as in the case of Gandhi. What makes the Hitler, leading his people to destruction? What makes the Gandhi, leading his people to triumph? The answer lies in the quality of leadership and the quality leadership depends upon the quality of the leader. The people are not always wise. They can and often do choose the wrong leader, a man with magnetism, perhaps, but without the principles upon which true leadership deepnds. It is these principles which I propose to explore here.

And **what are the principles of leadership?** I venture to say that, first of all, every potential leader is and of necessity **must be a dreamer**, one who dreams of what should be and could be, it -

A world that could be better, if -  
A life that could be fuller, if-  
A people who could be happier, if-

Most people do not dream big dreams. They hope, they wish they have fragments of dreams, a better house, a big car - or a smart small one these days - clothes, food, prestige, business success, travel - these are all good little dreams that have no significance beyond themselves, enough perhaps to induce little dreams that to work harder, earn more, enjoy their individual lives. All good, but these are not, the capacity to feel, the energy to pursue the vision. Dreams I mean, the big dream, the universal dream of mankind for mankind. The person who can envision the big dream must have the conceptual mind, the synthesizing mind, the creativity thinking mind. Essentially, of course, this is the mind of the artist, living in the internal search for meaning, for beauty for order, for understanding, for universal happiness. Essentially, this mind express the very nature of the artist, the capacity to feel the energy to pursue the vision. Instinctively the people, in search of a leader, are drawn to one who is superior to them they think, one who sees beyond what they can see, one who is willing to work for the dream and so for them. He is, above all, able to express the dream in terms which they can understand, a dream of enough to eat, a steady job, freedom from oppression, freedom to think, to speak, to write just to be free. He puts into words what people want and in terms simple enough so that they can grasp it and they come to believe that he knows how to make the dream come true. He promises, and they follow.

This **capacity for dreaming** is an essential part of the leader's nature: it is imagination, it becomes a longing, which grows acute in him when he sees the needs of those who surround him and their dependence upon him, their hope in him. He is under obligation to them to prove himself. He is compelled by his belief in himself and in his dream, and in the power of his own promise. He believes that he can make the dream come true. He is now the chosen one. Will he fulfill the promise and deserve the faith? Let us see: let us proceed.

The next principle I think is that of **genius, abetted by talent**. It is very easy to dream. In one way or another, as I have said, each of us has his dream. Whether we can fulfil the dream the extent to which we can fulfil it, determines the quality of leadership. I do not hesitate to attach the word genius to this quality. The flair, the vision, the conceptual thought, all are part of genius. You will notice that I also attach the word talent. Genius and talent are two different attributes. Genius is the quality, the principle: talent is the ability to express the genius and to make the application. I think in this regard particularly of Sun-Yat-Sen of China whose lifetime was partly my lifetime. There is a man who certainly was a dreamer and certainly had the quality of genius in a strange sort of way but had no talent what ever so that he had no means, no technique, to make the dreams come true. He had no ability to work out in practical terms his own hopes. I might say then that genius is art and talent is craft. The difference between art and craft, and the relationship between art and craft is the difference, the relationship, between genius and talent. The potential leader may have genius, but unless he has the talent for its practical expression, he will fail as a leader, and when he fails the people, those whom he has led will either follow other leadership or they become quite ruthless towards the leader who failed. They will not only reject him, they will put him to death because they cannot forgive him. He has betrayed them, not by intention, but by lack of talent. He has been able to conceive, but not to organize, he has promised but he has not produced. One has only to study the history of revolutions in this world to understand the necessity of talent in leadership as well as genius. Rarely if ever has the first revolutionary leader remained free and alive. Others of little genius but more talent take over.

Mahatma Gandhi, in contrast, I think, to Sun-Yat-Sen, had the same genius but he had also a remarkable talent for its practical application. He was a politician and social craftsman as well as a genius. His dreams were solid, anchored firmly to the needs of his people. His concepts were not only of a Utopia, but also of how to achieve it. He knew his people. He knew what they were able to understand and what they were able to do, and he led them only as fast as they could go but as fast and in ways that they understood. How much laughter there was in high places when he talked of salt and of the spinning wheel and of non-violence: But these were the ideas which his people the simplest of them, could grasp. Salt was a daily need, the spinning wheel gave them a symbolic freedom from the machines of empire and non-violence was a part of their ancient religion. Gandhi would have failed completely had he not used such means. The people understood what to do when he told them, and therefore they could take their part in bringing the dream to reality. Through action suited to their understanding they were able to see the dream more clearly. The dream itself would have faded had Gandhi been less skilled as a craftsman in his leadership. Had he talked only of the dream without telling people what to do about it, he would have failed as their leader. He never failed his people, for what he asked of them he first did himself. He practiced what he told them to practice. And all the time he maintained the dream. He knew what he was working for. He never lost that vision the end to which all else was the means.

Genius and talent in the simplest terms that I have tried to express them and this brings me to the next principle, integrity. **There is a difference, you know, between honesty and integrity.** People can be quite honest but not have integrity. Honesty is being honest and telling the truth to the best of your ability, being fair and so on, but integrity is being honest when no one can know about it. **Integrity is honesty carried through the fibers of the being and the whole mind, into thought as well as into action, so that the person is complete in honesty. That kind of integrity I put above all else, as an essential of leadership.** There are, as you know, good and honest persons of the utmost integrity who nevertheless cannot be leaders because they have not the qualities of conceptual thought, which I call vision, and who possess no genius and talent. But genius and talent without integrity are not enough. **Integrity is the soul of leadership.**

**I cannot, however, put one quality above another in this matter of the principle of leadership. They are equally important.** Without each the whole cannot be achieved and all must be found in the same person before we have the potential leadership which we need.

What is integrity again? It is loyalty in triplicate - loyalty to the dream, loyalty to one's best self and the people one knows, and loyalty to the people one serves. A clear and similar example of integrity might be Gandhi's visit to England at the height of his career, before his success was assured. He was already successful in his own country, but whether his leadership would be recognized abroad was as yet unknown. You will remember that not able visit, how he arrived in London wearing his costume or homespun cotton, and although the weather was gray and chill, his only wrap was his hand woven woolen shawl. He fed on goat's milk, and he slept on a mat. Among the dignified and amply dressed Englishmen, he seemed an odd figure and there was much laughter and many cartoons blossomed on the pages of magazines and newspapers. But Gandhi was unmoved by laughter and criticism. He knew what he was doing. I do not doubt that he had thought out carefully every step of his way, how he would dress now, he would behave, his talent was at work. Of course he could have worn English formal dress with the best of them, but had he done so, his people would have doubted him. They would have feared that he was yielding to the British in some secret way of which perhaps he might scarcely be sure, he had to identify himself with those whom he served. He would eat no better food, wear no better or different garments from those he and his followers had worn in India.

He dramatized millions of Indian peasants in his own small rather insignificant person but he did this not only for the sake of drama. Drama alone would not have served. But I am sure that, had he gone to England dressed otherwise we would not have seen the India, that he wanted us to see. He did it first I believe for integrity's sake. This is, I, he said in effect, and in this man whom you behold, you see millions, of other men, my people, of whom I am only one. When the people of India studied his photograph in their newspapers they did not laugh or make fun. You may be sure their devotion swelled to greater heights than ever before. This man was their man. He had given himself to them. He did not betray them, when he went to rich foreign countries. He walked the handsome streets of London looking exactly as he did on the dusty roads of the Indian country side. They recognized him as thousands of miles away. He was always the same. They trusted him.

**“Truth” Gandhi once said, “is not merely a matter of words. It is really a matter of living the truth”**

**This trust did not come about in an hour or a year. It took years of relentless integrity before Gandhi was trusted completely by his own people and finally by the world. He won this trust not only by his complete honesty in thought and action, but also by a unique frankness.** He bared his private life to his people. He described his own struggle with temptation. He told of his own failures and whom, when he failed he began over again, refusing to be discouraged. He was weak as other men are weak and he taught his weakness: His frankness at times was embarrassing. Some called it exhibitionism. But it was not. He was stripping himself naked, so that his people could see him as he was, and seeing him, recognize themselves. And because he had conquered himself he gave them hope for themselves.

For Gandhi, this integrity meant a self-revelation, where there could be nothing secret or hidden in his life and thought. All that he did was open and before the eyes of others. Even the simple rites of eating and sleeping, the habits of work and communication, were there, for all to see. Everybody knew everything about him except, perhaps, in his weekly days of silence, when for one day he shut himself away into himself to commune again with his own dream and renew his own vision. On that day he wanted to hear no human voice, not even his own. For the rest, he belonged to the people and they belonged to him.

There were times, of course, when this complete identification, the result of complete integrity became somewhat irritating. Gandhi could be so identified with people, especially those closest to him, that he took part in their most private affairs and gave advice where it was not always wanted or let us say appreciated. His people had to become accustomed to his directions or advice in personal matters of marriage, or health habits, or politics, or anything. But I think they forgave him everything because it was love and interest that prompted this help. Nothing was sacred to Gandhi or rather, everything was sacred, and therefore open to his inspection and participation. When his advice was not followed, or when he was opposed he had the annoying habit of immediately punishing himself instead of the other person. There is, of course, no more subtle revenge than the direction of Jesus when he advised his followers to turn the other cheek when struck—a concept by the way, to be found in Hindu scripture, in a poem which says, **“To give a drink of water in return for a drink of water is nothing. To do something one must return good for evil”.**

Any act disconcerting to the enemy could scarcely be devised than the turning of the cheeks. Just what does one do, when the other's cheek is offered? The most callous conscience must be pricked or at least confused, or even angered by such a retort. Come on, they say gently, hit me again if you are wicked enough. To hit again is to acknowledge the wickedness and extend it to proof beyond dispute. Also what is the use of hitting someone who asks to be hit? Gandhi applied the technique by going on fast and such was his will power that time and again he continued almost until death. Perhaps he was so completely one with his people that he knew nothing could terrify them, more, the loss of him, their leader, and, always the recalcitrant one, in triumph he sipped his fruit juice and returned to life. There was a great deal of humor in Gandhi and at times a child-like mischief which his people perfectly understood and enjoyed. It was Sarojini Naidu, I believe, that woman of wit and intelligence, who loved Gandhi with utter devotion, who said, one day, something to the effect, that, it cost the people a great

deal to maintain Gandhi in his simple poverty. This, I was told, was a comment upon a visit by Gandhi to one of his millionaire friends and he was not proud for he made friends among millionaires as well as among untouchables - when he insisted upon having the furniture and carpets and decoration removed from a handsome room in the mansion and caused a great deal of trouble so that he could live in his usual poverty and simplicity.

Whatever the humor and the drama of his life, and that is a part of a good leader which he frankly enjoyed. The people enjoyed it, too. They laughed at him, they revered him, trusted him. And in return he never asked them to do, what he knew, they could not do, if they were inspired-and he could inspire them. **He never asked them to do anything ignoble or dishonest or unworthy of the high cause for which he gave his life. And, I repeat whatever he asked them to do, he did first.** When he bade them give up untouchability, he adopted as his own daughter a girl belonging to the untouchables. When he gave the name of Harijan, or "Own" to the untouchables, led his people gently towards the green pastures and the still waters of non-segregation. **He did not force them beyond their power to perform, but he led them. This is intergrity. This is loyalty to the vision. This loyalty to the highest self. This is loyalty to the highest in people. His own intergrity roused in response, the intergrity of those whom he led. And I assure you this never fails.**

**Mahatma Gandhi was a leader who succeeded in bringing about his dream. He fulfilled his vision. Genius and talent combined in him and when he died his revolution was not taken over by lesser men. And their is very important lesson to be learned from that. It is when the leader fails that lesser men take over, but if the leader does not fail, the revolution is not lost.** Instead, men like Prime Minister NEHRU, who were his followers, took up the challenge of his leadership. Their has been a different leadership in method, perhaps, and even in talent, but the genius has been the same. They have not departed personally from the principles that Gandhi established. India, therefore, has not suffered the waste and lost that most countries suffer after revolution. Her progress has been steady. And the greatest tribute of all perhaps, to the success of that leadership is the fact that the British them selves have acknowledged. **Its quality and now all over the world people are beginning to understand the quality of the leadership that has followed Mahatma Gandhi.** Gandhi would not allow in himself the luxury of personal enmities. He rebelled steadfastly, of course, against colonialism and lived and died for the freedom of his people. Yet he was, warmly, friendly, towards the individuals who administered that which he wished to put away. Lord and Lady Mount Batten were his personal friends and admirers and the dignity and mutual respect which attend the granting of independence to India was unique in human history. We must attribute to this primarily the nobel leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the manner in which he conduct-the long struggle.

Among these basic principles of leadership which I have tried to describe to you, I considered adding one more that of fearlessness. Then I decided against it. **For fearlessness, is the inevitable fruit of the capacity for the dream, accompanied by genius and practical talent, infused and empowered by intergrity.** Such a person by consequent nature is inevitably fearless. Certainly Gandhi was fearless, of jail, of ridicule, of poverty, of death itself.

It was strangely fitting that Gandhi should have died suddenly one day at the hand of one of his own people. I am sure we often think of the great drama of that death. It usually happens that a man of such stature approaches heights intolerable to certain lost souls. Christ

always has his Judas. The dualism of our universe manifests itself in many ways. Gandhi died while was triumphant in leadership. He did not sicken and weaken as lesser men might do. He simply was sent on his way to, what beyond, we do not know. How can one imagine immortality? When I think of the world immortality, I am reminded of the simple explanation, I once heard an American mother give to her child. We cannot know what happens to people after they die, she told the child, because we aren't breathing the same air any more. See that dragon fly, yonder, on the lake's edges? Once it was a water creature, living under water. Then one day it felt the necessity of going to the surface of the water. I didn't know why it had to go, but it just seemed time to do it. So up it went and, there on the surface, suddenly it found itself changed. It had wings, and it could fly. But it was never able to return again under the water or find the other creatures there, who had not wings yet, and who had to live under the water. And those creatures, I suppose said to one another, in their way, I wonder where he went, and why we don't see him any more .... They think he is lost, the mother said to the child, but he isn't. He's flying on wings in another world.

So, perhaps, we may say of Mahatma Gandhi, in remembrance. He is flying on wings somewhere in another world.



## 20.4 A TOUGH MIND AND A TENDER HEART

By. Martin Luther King

*Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Matthew 10:16*

A French philosopher said, "No man is strong unless he bears within his character antitheses strongly marked." The strong man holds in a living blend strongly marked opposites. Not ordinarily do men achieve this balance of opposites. The idealists are not usually realistic, and the realists are not usually idealistic. The militant are not generally known to be passive, nor the passive to be militant. Seldom are the humble self-assertive, or the self-assertive humble. But life at its best is a creative synthesis of opposites in fruitful harmony. The philosopher Hegel said that truth is found neither in the thesis nor the antithesis, but in an emergent synthesis which reconciles the two.

Jesus recognized the need for blending opposites. He knew that his disciples would face a difficult and hostile world, where they would confront the recalcitrance of political officials and the intransigence of the protectors of the old order. He knew that they would meet cold and arrogant men whose hearts had been hardened by the long winter of traditionalism. So he said to them. "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves." And he gave them a formula for action, "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." It is pretty difficult to imagine a single person having, simultaneously, the characteristics of the serpent and the dove, but this is what Jesus expects. We must combine the toughness of the serpent and the softness of the dove, a tough mind a tender heart.

Let us consider, first, the need for a tough mind, characterized by incisive thinking, realistic appraisal, and decisive judgment. The tough mind is sharp and penetrating, breaking through the crust of legends and myths and sifting the true from the false. The tough-minded individual is astute and discerning. He has a strong, austere quality that makes for firmness of purpose and solidness of commitment.

Who doubts that this toughness of mind is one of man's greatest needs? Rarely do we find men who willingly engage in hard, solid thinking. There is an almost universal quest for easy answers and half-baked solutions. Nothing pains some people more than having to think.

This prevalent tendency toward soft mindedness is found in man's unbelievable gullibility. Take our attitude toward advertisements. We are so easily led to purchase a product because a television or radio advertisement pronounces it better than any other. Advertisers have long since learned that most people are soft minded, and they capitalize on this susceptibility with skillful and effective slogans.

This undue gullibility is also seen in the tendency of many readers to accept the printed word of the press as final truth. Few people realize that even our authentic channels of information—the press, the platform, and in many instances the pulpit—do not give us objective and unbiased truth. Few people have the toughness of mind to judge critically and to discern the true from the false, the fact from the fiction. Our minds are constantly being invaded by legions of half-truths, prejudiced, and false facts. One of the great needs of mankind is to be lifted above the morass of false propaganda.

Soft minded individuals are prone to embrace all kinds of superstitions. Their minds are constantly invaded by irrational fears, which range from fear of Friday the thirteenth to fear of a black cat crossing one's path. As the elevator made its upward climb in one of the large hotels of New York City, I noticed for the first time that there was no thirteenth floor—fourteen followed floor twelve. On inquiring from the elevator operator the reason for this omission, he said, "This practice is followed by most large hotels because of the fear of numerous people to stay on a thirteenth floor." Then he added, "The real foolishness of the fear is to be found in the fact that the fourteenth floor is actually the thirteenth." Such fears leave the soft mind haggard by day and haunted by night.

The soft minded man always fears change. He feels security in the status quo, and he has an almost morbid fear of the new. For him, the greatest pain is the pain of a new idea. An elderly segregationist in the South is reported to have said, "I have come to see now that desegregation is inevitable. But I pray God that it will not take place until after I die." The soft minded person always wants to freeze the moment and hold life in the gripping yoke of sameness.

Soft mindedness often invades religion. This is why religion has sometimes rejected new truth with a dogmatic passion. Through edicts and bulls, inquisitions and excommunications, the church has attempted to prorate truth and place an impenetrable stone wall in the path of the Bible is considered by the soft minded as blasphemous, and reason is often looked upon as the exercise of a corrupt faculty. Soft minded persons have revised the Beatitudes to read, "Blessed are the pure in ignorance: for they shall see God."

This has also led to a widespread belief that there is a conflict between science and religion. But this is not true. There may be a conflict between soft minded religionists and tough minded scientists, but not between science and religion. Their respective worlds are different and their methods are dissimilar. Science investigates; religion interprets. Science gives man knowledge which is power; religion gives man wisdom which is control. Science deals mainly with facts; religion deals mainly with values. The two are not rivals. They are complementary. Science keeps religion from sinking into the valley of crippling irrationalism and paralyzing obscurantism. Religion prevents science from falling into the marsh of obsolete materialism and moral nihilism.

We do not need to look far to detect the dangers of soft-mindedness. Dictators, capitalizing on soft mindedness, have led men to acts of barbarity and terror that are unthinkable in civilized society. Adolf Hitler realized that soft mindedness was so prevalent among his followers that he said, "I use emotion for the many and reserve reason for the few." In *Mein Kampf* he asserted:

By means of shrewd lies, unremittingly repeated, it is possible to make people believe that heaven is hell - and hell, heaven. . . .  
The greater the lie, the more readily will it be believed.

Soft mindedness is one of the basic cause of race prejudice. The tough minded person always examines the facts before he reaches conclusions; in short, he post judges. The tender minded person reaches a conclusion before he has examined the first fact; in short, he prejudges and is prejudiced. Race prejudice is based on groundless fears, suspicions, and misunderstandings. There are those who are sufficiently soft minded to believe in the superiority of the white race and the inferiority of the Negro race in spite of the tough minded research of anthropologists who reveal the falsity of such a notion. There are soft minded

persons who argue that racial segregation should be perpetuated because Negroes lag behind in academic, health, and moral standards. They are not tough minded enough to realize that lagging standards are the result of segregation and discrimination. They do not recognize that it is rationally unsound and sociologically untenable to use the tragic effects of segregation as an argument for its continuation. Too many politicians on the South recognize this disease of soft mindedness which engulfs their constituency. With insidious zeal, they make inflammatory statements and disseminate distortions and half-truths which arouse abnormal fears and morbid antipathies within the minds of uneducated and underprivileged whites, leaving them so confused that they are led to acts of meanness and violence which no normal person commits.

There is little hope for us until we become tough minded enough to break loose from the shackles of prejudice, half-truths, and downright ignorance. The shape of the world today does not permit us the luxury of soft mindedness. A nation or a civilization that continues to produce soft minded men purchases its own spiritual death on an installment plan.

But we must not stop with the cultivation of a tough mind. The gospel also demands a tender heart. Tough mindedness without tenderheartedness is cold and detached, leaving one's life in a perpetual winter devoid of the warmth of spring and the gentle heat of summer. What is more tragic than to see a person who has risen to the disciplined heights of tough mindedness but has at the same time sunk to the passionless depths of hardheartedness?

The hardhearted person never truly loves. He engages in a crass utilitarianism which values other people mainly according to their usefulness to him. He never experiences the beauty of friendship, because he is too cold to feel affection for another and is too self-centered to share another's joy and sorrow. He is an isolated island. No outpouring of love links him with the mainland of humanity.

The hardhearted person lacks the capacity for genuine compassion. He is unmoved by the pains and afflictions of his brothers. He passes unfortunate men every day, but he never really sees them. He gives dollars to a worthwhile charity, but he gives not of his spirit.

The hardhearted individual never sees people as people, but rather as mere objects or as impersonal cogs in an ever-turning wheel. In the vast wheel of industry, he sees men as hands. In the massive wheel of big city life, he sees men as digits in a multitude. In the deadly wheel of army life, he sees men as numbers in a regiment. He depersonalizes life.

Jesus frequently illustrated the characteristics of the hardhearted. The rich fool was condemned, not because he was not tough minded, but rather because he was not tenderhearted.

Life for him was a mirror in which he saw only himself, and not a window through which he saw other selves. Dives went to hell, not because he was wealthy, but because he was not tenderhearted enough to see Lazarus and because he made no attempt to bridge the gulf between himself and his brother.

Jesus reminds us that the good life combines the toughness of the serpent and the tenderness of the dove. To have serpent like qualities devoid of dovelike qualities is to be passionless, mean, and selfish. To have dovelike without serpent like qualities is to be sentimental, anemic, and aimless. We must combine strongly marked antitheses.

We Negroes must bring together tough mindedness and tenderheartedness, if we are to move creatively toward the goal of freedom and justice. Softminded individuals among us feel that the only way to deal with oppression is by adjusting to it. They acquiesce and resign themselves to segregation. They prefer to remain oppressed. When Moses led the children of Israel from the slavery of Egypt to the freedom of the Promised Land, he discovered that slaves do not always welcome their deliverers. They prefer the "than flee to others that they know not of. They prefer the "fleshpots of Egypt" to the ordeals of emancipation. But this is not the way out. Soft minded acquiescence is cowardly. My friends, we cannot win the respect of the white people of the South or elsewhere if we are willing to trade the future of our children for our personal safety and comfort. **Moreover, we must learn that passively to accept an unjust system is to cooperate with that system, and thereby to become a participant in its evil.**

And there are hardhearted and bitter individuals among us who would combat the opponent with physical violence and corroding hatred. Violence brings only temporary victories; violence, by creating many more social problems than it solves, never brings permanent peace. I am convinced that if we succumb to the temptation to use violence in our struggle for freedom, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and our chief legacy to them will be a never-ending reign of chaos. A Voice, echoing through the corridors of time, says to every intemperate Peter, "Put up thy sword." History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations that failed to follow Christ's command.

A third way is open to our quest for freedom, namely, nonviolent resistance, that combines tough mindedness and tenderheartedness and avoids the complacency and do-nothingness of the soft minded and the violence and bitterness of the hardhearted. My belief is that this method must guide our action in the present crisis in race relations. Through nonviolent resistance we shall be able to oppose the unjust system and at the same time love the perpetrators of the system. We must work passionately and unrelentingly for full stature as citizens, but may it never be said, my friends, that to gain it we used the inferior methods of falsehood, malice, hate and violence.

I would not conclude without applying the meaning of the text to the nature of God. The greatness of our God lies in that fact that he is both tough minded and tenderhearted. He has qualities both of austerity and of gentleness. The Bible, always clear in stressing both attributes of God, expresses his tough mindedness in his justice and wrath and his tenderheartedness in his love and grace. God has two outstretched arms. One is strong enough to surround us with justice, and one is gentle enough to embrace us with grace. On the one hand, God is a God of justice who punished Israel for her wayward deeds, and on the other hand, he is a forgiving father whose heart was filled with unutterable joy when the prodigal returned home.

I am thankful that we worship a God who is both tough minded and tenderhearted. If God were only tough minded, he would be a cold, passionless despot sitting in some far-off heaven "contemplating all," as Tennyson puts it in "The Palace of Art." He would be Aristotle's "unmoved mover," self-knowing, but not other-loving. But if God were only tenderhearted, he would be too soft and sentimental to function when things go wrong and incapable of controlling what he has made. He would be like H. G. Wells's lovable God in *God, the Invisible King*, who is strongly desirous of making a good world, but finds himself helpless

before the surging powers of evil. God is neither hardhearted nor soft minded. He is tough minded enough to transcend the world; he is tenderhearted enough to live in it. He does not leave us alone in our agonies and struggles. He seeks us in dark places and suffers with us and for us in our tragic prodigality.

At times we need to know that the Lord is a God of justice. When slumbering giants of injustice emerge in the earth, we need to know that there is a God of power who can cut them down like the grass and leave them withering like the green herb. When our most tireless efforts fail to stop the surging sweep of oppression, we need to know that in this universe in a God whose matchless strength is a fit contrast to the sordid weakness of man. But there are also times when we need to know that God possesses love and mercy. When we are staggered by the chilly winds of adversity and battered by the raging storms of disappointment and when through our folly and sin we stray into some destructive far country and are frustrated because of a strange feeling of homesickness, we need to know that there is Someone who loves us, cares for us, understands us, and will give us another chance. When days grow dark and nights grow dreary, we can be thankful that our God combines in his nature a creative synthesis of love and justice which will lead us through life's dark valleys and into sunlit pathways of hope and fulfillment.

**21****FUNDAMENTALS**

**Innovate.**

**No excuses**

**Meritocracy**

**Multi Ethnic**

**No corruption**

**Multi Religious**

**Nothing is predestined**

**Prepared to co-operate**

**All are equal before Law**

**No manifesto to socialism**

**Dispel growing intolerance**

**Resist temptation of moment**

**Good government by good people**

**No leaders without a body to lead**

**Always ask? : Is this relevant to me**

**Singapore democracy for Singapore**

**One would be for all, and all for one**

**No body to lead if there is no cohesion**

**From each of his best, to each his needs**

**Commonsense, reasonable and sensible**

**Abolish the unjust, inequalities of wealth**

**Halt this drift to perdition (Spiritual ruin)**

**Believe in open society – Not to be abused**

**Best government is the best administration**

**No constitution can stay unchanged for all time.**

**Human factor is capable of change. It does change**

**Each nation to develop according to its own genius.**

**Irresponsible communal leadership will bring disaster.**

**Equal opportunity for all to achieve the highest targets.**

**In this system of democracy, ideas compete for ascendancy.**

**I am for a policy of great resolution and immense restraint.**

**Malays & Chinese custom is to the dictum (wisdom) of elders.**

**First business of a government, is to govern firmly and wisely.**

**Rule of Law, would work, as long as the top people practice it.**

**Good things of life, can only come, by hard work, over a long time.**

**Give the people faith in the future and in each others good intentions.**

**Orthodox political society which resist change, the world will pass by.**

**I am not intellectually convinced that –One – Man – One vote is the best.**

**What is required is, resolute, highly trained, highly disciplined community.**

**Men are rewarded on the basis of merit and effort in an equal and just society.**

**To eradicate poverty one had to eradicate ignorance and banish obscurantism.**

**Democracy may be adjusted to fit the needs and requirements of Asian people.**

**Nature of society will change, external environment will change. We have to change.**

**World consists of more classification and permutation, than just the capitalist, the communist and the socialist.**

**Matters of state could not be settled by consulting the people through referenda or opinion polls.**

**22****BIBLIOGRAPHY & ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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### Let My Country Awake

Where the mind is without fear and the  
head is held high;  
Where knowledge is free;  
Where the world has not been broken up into  
fragments by narrow domestic walls;  
Where words come out from the depth of truth;  
Where tireless striving stretches its arms  
towards perfection;  
Where the clear Stream of reason has not  
lost its way into the dreary desert sand  
of dead habit;  
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever  
widening thought and action -  
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father,  
let my country awake.

This is my prayer to thee, my lord -  
Strike, strike at the root of penury  
in my heart.

Give me the strength lightly to bear my joys  
and sorrows

Give me the strength to make my love  
fruitful in service.

Give me the strength never to disown the poor or  
bend my knees before insolent might.

Give me the strength to raise my mind  
high above daily trifles and

Give me the strength to surrender my  
strength to thy will with love

## CHANGE – 21st. CENTURY

Change is painful, yet  
Change is progress  
Change is permanent  
Change where rational  
Change for better  
Change for creativity  
Change for prosperity  
Change is inevitable

21<sup>st</sup> century problems require  
21<sup>st</sup> century solutions  
Discarded institutions,  
Machines and devices  
Methodologies and inputs  
Breeds inefficiency  
Obsolete past not be  
Dead weight on the future  
Remove shackles for forward march.

Cultivate Magnanimity  
Nurture Compassion and Love  
Have faith in you  
Lead clean life  
Seek refuge under the lotus feet  
Think of Karma and Dharma  
Do what the nobles do  
Meditate, Meditate, Meditate

By Arunachalathan





## Author

**Dr. Sivam** was inculcated with values, practices and systems, at Home, and Sivagurunatha Gurupeedam, Mahadeva Ashram, Kandermadam, and at Jaffna Hindu College, Jaffna, Sri Lanka.

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Organized "Ootru" Science Magazine, published in Tamil, which had a longevity of 14 years, was responsible for creation of "Ootru" organization, with the objective of Socio Economic Development, and had worked full time, as a volunteer, for more than a decade.

Recreated, "Hindu Board of Education, NGO, which was responsible for the creation of 200 schools and Teacher Training College, during pre independent times of Ceylon, from dormancy to active work.

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