

# INTRODUCTION

## What is Merger?

- two entities coming together as one egs., two depts., two companies, two organisations, two states or even two countries



# Key Issues to consider when merging

Who came up with the idea?

Why?

Do both parties agree to merge?

Who has the bigger say?

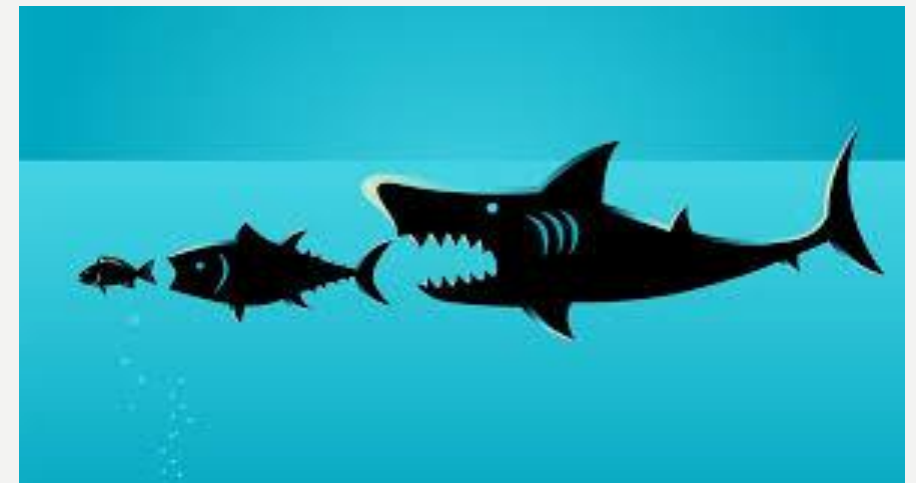
Will it benefit both parties (equally)?

What is the process like?

What are the issues at stake?

What will the result look like?

- Do mergers always work?



# So, what's your take on mergers, especially between states and countries?

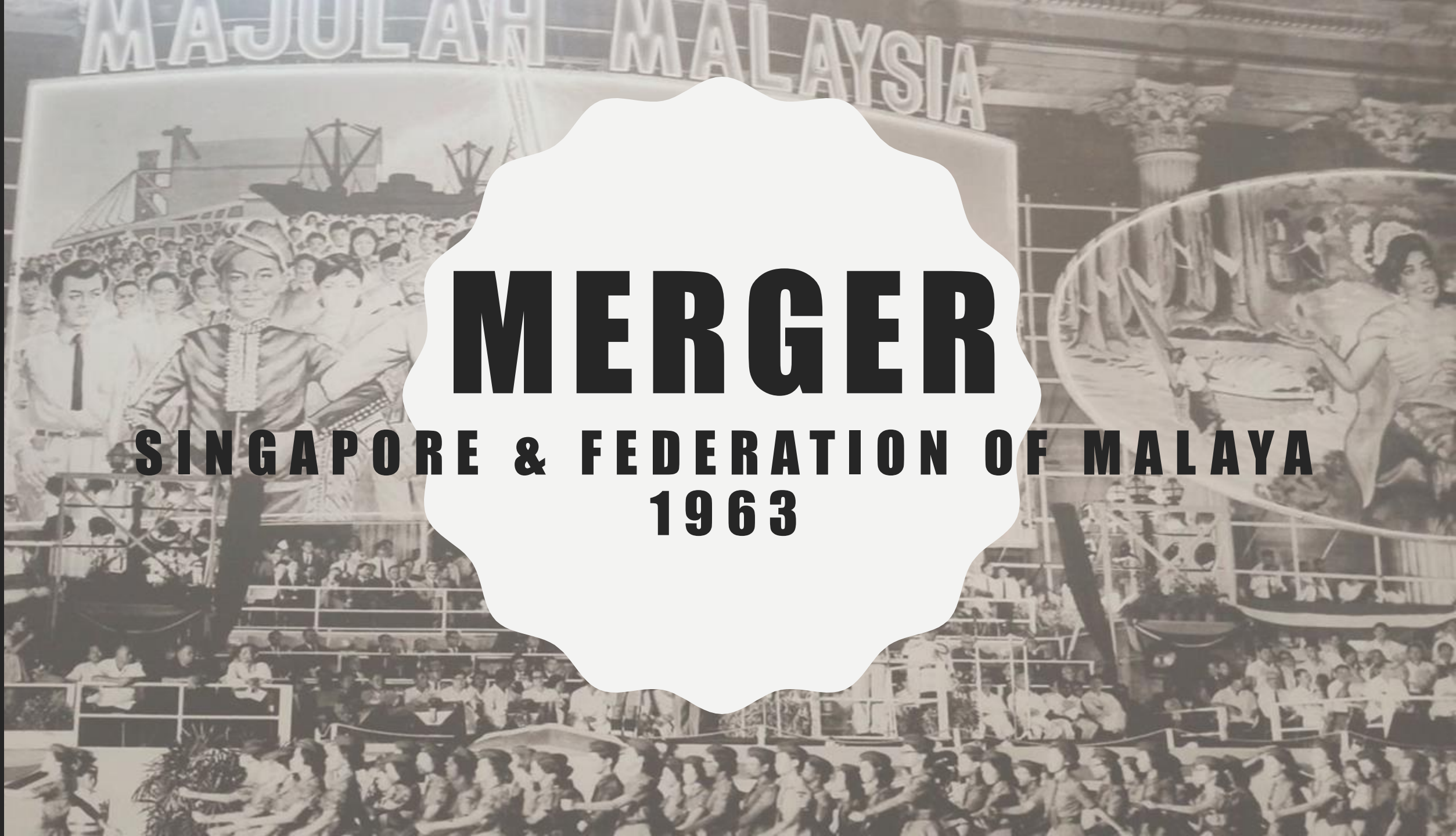
**Mergers are -----**



**MAJULAH MALAYSIA**

# **MERGER**

**SINGAPORE & FEDERATION OF MALAYA  
1963**





# SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS TOPIC?

“We used to rush home from wherever we were to listen to him argue his case.” he says, referring to a series of radio broadcasts made in 1961 by then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew exposing the communist menace in Singapore and urging people to back the merger.”

“An awareness of the larger issues at stake filtered down even to the students at Raffles Institution, where he taught history and general paper from 1959-1966....And this was not limited to heated discussions over coffee in the teachers’ common-room: Mr Wijesingha remembers one of his history students, a 17 or 18 year old Goh Chok Tong, writing an article in the school magazine analysing the political situation..”

“The trauma of those years, when Singapore entered and then was expelled from Malaysia --- left a deep impact on Singaporeans.”

*The Straits Times, 15 July 1998 (an interview with Mr Eugene Wijesingha on the occasion of the NE exhibition, The Spore Story)*

# SINGAPOREANS TO DEBATE RE-MERGER

“For a second time in less than six months, Singapore’s leaders have spoken of re-merging with Malaysia.”

Why then are Singapore’s leaders talking of re-merger at all? Mr Goh Chok Tong put the issue in perspective. “If Singapore falters in the struggle for survival, it will have no choice but to ask to be re-merged with Malaysia, on Malaysian terms”, he told the rally. That is the condition – if Singapore falters.”

*From V. Jayanth, The Hindu Main Menu, International News, 27 Aug 1996*

# **KEY QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER:**

## **1. Why Merge?**

- **S'pore's perspective**
- **Malaya's perspective**

## **2. Challenges and obstacles to merger**

- **sequence of events**
- **what was the final agreement?**

## **3. What were the results of merger?**

- **following lesson**

# **WHY MERGER?**

## **(SINGAPORE'S PERSPECTIVE)**

### **A. FOR ECONOMIC SURVIVAL**





**A STUNNING VICTORY FOR THE PAP AT  
THE 1959 ELECTIONS – *BUT WHERE DO  
WE GO FROM HERE?***

# WHAT WERE THEIR CONCERNS?

**BRAINSTORM NOW !**



# A QUOTE FROM AN INDIAN BUSINESSMAN IN SINGAPORE, 1959

*"I always thought of Singapore and Malaya as one country. The division was **artificial**, just a result of history. This tiny island, only half a mile, three-quarters of a mile from the mainland (of Malaya), closer than Tasmania to Australia, no natural resources of its own, how could it be a separate country?"*

What does this quote tell you about how people felt about Singapore's future in 1959?

**“ It is as inevitable as the rising and setting of the sun. The two territories are so intertwined and so interwoven in their economic, political and military complex that no man can keep up the artificial barrier at the causeway for long ..... Without merger ..... our economic position will slowly and steadily get worse ..... We cannot survive alone.”**

***Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew during a talk broadcast over Radio Singapore, 13 Sep 1961***

# WHY DID THE PAP WANT MERGER?

## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACED BY SINGAPORE IN 1959

- Lack of natural resources
- A rapidly growing population as a result of the post-war baby boom



# WATER RATIONING IN SINGAPORE, 1961





# THE SCHEDULE

HERE is the weekly water rationing schedule:

MONDAY: 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. Zones One and Four, 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. Zones Five and Six;

TUESDAY: 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. Zones Two and Three, 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. Zones Four and Seven;

WEDNESDAY: 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. Zones Five and Six, 2 p.m. to 8 p.m. Zones One and Two;

THURSDAY: 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. Zones Three

AVERAGE DAILY CERTIFIED SALE EXCEEDS 100,000

## The Straits Times

ESTD. 1845

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1942

15 CENTS

# RAIN SOON—OR RATIONING

Appeal to public to cut consumption

# WATER CRISIS

SINGAPORE  
Monday

WATER rationing will be



\$20,000  
grab  
by three



FOUR MORE

No more  
top-level  
talks on  
N. Borneo

7 MIL. GALLONS CAN BE CONSERVED—WITH CARE

# Rationing today—and an urgent appeal to 'save water'

## RUBBER FREIGHT ROW: 'MERIT' IN WEIGHT PLAN

SINGAPORE, Monday. The government, after announcing water rationing from today, urged the people to exercise the utmost economy in the use of water.

That the Teluk River improved slightly over the last 24 hours after rain over the upper reaches of the river.

The normal supply of water at various points in Singapore was expected to be maintained.

Tomorrow, however, the river fell to 5 feet 4 inches and the supply declined to 27 million gallons.

The river is expected to fall still more unless there is rain within the next three or four days.

Water is being rationed in zones.

Water is being rationed in zones.

Water is being rationed in zones.

Water is being rationed in zones.

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Water is being rationed in zones.

SINGAPORE, Monday. Representatives of five organizations covering practically every operation in the Malayan rubber industry, together with manufacturers, met here today to discuss the freight rates dispute.

Union is praised for fire fund gift

SINGAPORE, Mon. — The Acting Minister for Labour, Mr. Chua Pang Suan, today described a gift of \$1,500 from the Singapore Bank Employees' Union to the Red Cross Fire Relief Fund as "concrete evidence of the nationality, stature and identification with the cause of the nation."

High rates

The government said the recent increase in the price of rubber was due to the increase in the price of rubber.

- Increasing unemployment
- Slow economic growth as a result of a decline in entrepot trade
- Declining trade with Malaya due to tariffs introduced by the Malayan government

**Singapore's (PAP) strategy to solve these economic problems  
was INDUSTRIALISATION!**

Industrialisation can help to :      create jobs and reduce  
dependence on entrepot trade

To industrialise means you need : raw materials and resources and  
a ready market to sell your  
manufactured products.

# HOW COULD MERGER WITH MALAYA HELP?

- **Raw Materials**

- Malaya had many raw materials such as rubber and tin (water too)
- These raw materials could be imported into Singapore and be made into finished products, before being exported to other countries(including Malaya).

- **Establishment of a Common Market**

- To have a common market meant that there would **no longer be any import/export taxes** on goods flowing between Singapore and Malaysia.

*How do you think the introduction of a common market would benefit Singapore?*

## *HOW DO YOU THINK THE INTRODUCTION OF A COMMON MARKET WOULD BENEFIT SINGAPORE?*

- A common market would allow Singapore to sell the goods at a lower price (no more tariffs to be paid) and become more competitive.
- More competitive will result in more goods being produced which means more people needed to work in the industries thus creating employment.

### **Hence, Malaysia as our Hinterland!**

A **hinterland** is the region served by a central place (e.g., a port, a city, a village and so on). ... The **hinterland** is such a necessity to the **city** that it is surrounding because it has the ability to attract mass amounts of buyers to that **city**. The large amount of interest in the products that the **city** has, makes a big profit and benefits the area as a whole.

# **WHY MERGER?**

## **(SINGAPORE'S PERSPECTIVE)**

### **B. FOR POLITICAL SURVIVAL**





# SINGAPORE'S SITUATION IN 1959

- The British had granted Singapore with full self-government, but not independence
- Many in Singapore aspired that Singapore would become a **fully independent and sovereign** state
- However, the British would not grant full independence to Singapore.
- Meanwhile, the Federation of Malaya had already been granted its independence in 1957

***Why do you think the British were so unwilling to grant Singapore full independence?***



# POLITICAL REASONS FOR MERGER – THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

- Lee Kuan Yew and the PAP had **promised** the electorate that he would fight for full independence from the British
- Failure to do so could result in the PAP losing **popular support**
- However, the British were only prepared to grant Singapore full independence if it merged with Malaya

# POLITICAL REASONS FOR MERGER – THE COMMUNIST THREAT

- While the Communists had been largely defeated in Malaya, they remained a significant political force in Singapore
- Merger with Malaya meant that control of Singapore's internal security would be in the hands of the Federal Government in Malaya, which was **strongly anti-Communist**
- Lee hoped that through merger, the Communist movement in Singapore could be crushed once and for all

*(Further detailed discussion of the communist threat in later slides)*

# WHY MERGER?

## (MALAYA'S PERSPECTIVE)

- For Malaya, the reason for merger with Singapore was more **political** than economic.

“Merger is inevitable, either by free will or force. I agree with Tunku Abdul Rahman that **communism is our common enemy**. To keep the communists down, a strong central government and a happy and prosperous Singapore are needed..... The future of Singapore and Malaya is intertwined. There is no other way for us and no other way for them.”

*Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Prime Minister, 1961*

- Fear of Singapore falling into the hands of the communists esp after PAP's loss in the 1961 by-elections
- Merger would allow KL to take direct control of the internal security of Singapore and weed out the communist elements.

## **ECONOMIC REASON**

- Merger with Singapore will give Malaya ready access to Singapore's ports for the export of its primary products.

# CHALLENGES & OBSTACLES TO MERGER



Lee Kuan Yew  
First Prime Minister of Singapore



Tunku Abdul Rahman  
First Prime Minister of Malaya



# CHALLENGES & OBSTACLES TO MERGER

- Singapore achieved self-rule in 1959, LKY reiterated its call for independence through merger with Malaya.
- However, Tunku Abdul Rahman was not keen on merger before 1961.

# THE TUNKU'S VIEW OF MERGER BEFORE 1961

“First, Singapore has about one million Chinese. The inclusion of these Chinese will upset the racial balance of power in the Federation. Second, Singapore has too many pro-communists who are supported by the Chinese in Singapore.”



# ESTIMATED NO. OF MALAYS AND CHINESE IN 1960

RACE	FEDERATION OF MALAYA (BEFORE MERGER)	FEDERATION OF MALAYA, INCLUDING S'PORE
MALAY	3.1 MILLION	3.4 MILLION
CHINESE	2.3 MILLION	3.6 MILLION

# WHY WAS THE MALAYAN GOVERNMENT INITIALLY SO RELUCTANT TO CONSIDER A MERGER?

- Singapore's population was dominated by the Chinese, who made up 70% of the total population.
- With a merger, the Malays would form only 50% of the total population of Malaya and Singapore combined.
- Why would this be a problem for the Malayan Government?

# THE UNITED MALAYS NATIONAL ORGANISATION (UMNO)



# WHY WAS THE TUNKU INITIALLY RELUCTANT TO CONSIDER A MERGER WITH SINGAPORE?

- The United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) was the ruling party in the Government of Malaya.
- It advocated a Malaya based on Malays having special rights.
- Many UMNO members feared that, should Singapore merge with Malaya, the special position and rights of Malays in the new Malaysia would be threatened as they would no longer be the majority
- As the leader of UMNO, the Tunku could not afford to ignore these concerns



**MAY 1961,  
THE TUNKU  
CHANGES  
HIS MIND...**



# THE TENGKU'S SPEECH AT A MEETING OF FOREIGN JOURNALISTS IN SINGAPORE, MAY 1961

- “Malaya today as a nation realises that **she cannot stand alone and in isolation.** Sooner or later Malaya should **have an understanding** with the peoples of **Singapore**, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak. It is premature for me to see how this closer understanding can be brought about but it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this objective and think of a plan whereby these countries can be **brought closer together in political and economic co-operation.**”
- **Why do you think the Tunku made this speech?**

# ESTIMATED NO. OF MALAYS AND CHINESE IN 1960

Race	Federation of Malaya (Before Merger)	Federation of Malaya, including S'pore	Federation of Malaya, including S'pore, Sabah & Sarawak
Malay	3.1 million	3.4 million	4.0 million
Chinese	2.3 million	3.6 million	3.7 million

# SOMETHING WAS HAPPENING IN SINGAPORE...WHY WOULD THIS BE A CONCERN TO THE TUNKU?

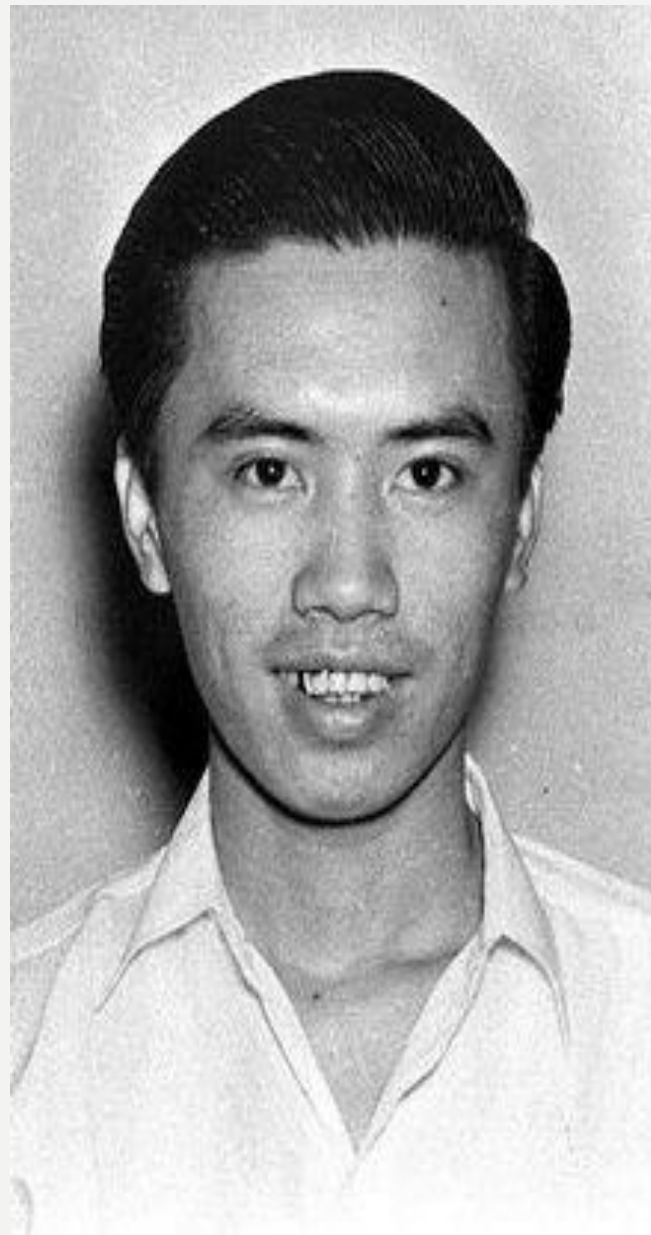
- The ruling party of Singapore, the PAP, was made up of two factions – the moderate, English educated faction and the left wing, Chinese educated and pro-Communist faction
- This was an **uneasy partnership**
- In 1961, disagreements over policy meant that the partnership was starting to crack
- It began when **Ong Eng Guan**, a member of the PAP's **Chinese-educated faction** and one of its best speakers, decided to quit the party and **challenge the PAP in a by-election**

**THE ENGLISH-  
EDUCATED  
MODERATES  
OF THE PAP –  
LKY, TOH  
CHIN CHYE, S.  
RAJARATNAM**





**THE LEFT-WING,  
CHINESE  
EDUCATED  
MEMBERS OF  
THE PAP: LIM  
CHIN SIONG,  
ONG ENG GUAN  
AND LEE SIEW  
CHOR**



# THE TWO BY- ELECTIONS OF 1961

- Hong Lim by-election, April 1961 – Ong Eng Guan, now an independent candidate, defeated the PAP candidate in a **landslide victory**
- Anson by-election, 15 July 1961; another PAP candidate suffers a shock defeat to David Marshall (who ran as the leader of the Workers' Party)







爭取本邦完整獨立，一個有效率的反對黨，  
請投工人黨馬紹爾一票

## WORKERS PARTY

MARSHALL for MERDEKA

EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION

We stand for

- \* Complete independence preferably within, if necessary without, the Federation.
- \* Unity of all honest citizens in genuine peaceful struggle to end colonialism.
- \* Genuine Democracy Freedom from Dictatorship and Arrogance of Authority.
- \* A just social structure with full respect and dignity for the Worker.
- \* Freedom from War and trade with all the World.
- \* INTER-RACIAL RESPECT and CO-OPERATION.

DAVID MARSHALL



# THE PAP'S REACTION TO THE BY-ELECTION DEFEATS





# THE IMPACT OF THE BY-ELECTION DEFEATS AND THE FORMATION OF THE BARISAN SOSIALIS

- During the July 1961 Anson b-elections, Lim Chin Siong persuaded 8 PAP members to denounce the Party
- He also led the left-wing faction of the PAP to denounce the PAP and throw its support behind David Marshall
- Following its defeat at the Anson by-election, the PAP called for an emergency meeting of the Legislative Assembly to debate on a **motion of confidence** for the Government.
- Nearly half (25 out of 51) of the PAP's members voted against the motion or abstained.
- Those who did so were expelled from the party. They decided to form their own party, known as the **Barisan Sosialis**, which was registered on 13 August 1961



# OPPOSITION TO THE MERGER

- The Barisan Sosialis strongly opposed merger on the grounds that the people of Singapore would not enjoy the same rights as the people of Malaya
- As the Barisan Sosialis were also **pro-communist**, they were also concerned for their own survival in the event that the Tunku, being a strongly anti-communist politician, were able to take over Singapore

# THE EMERGENCE OF THE BARISAN SOSIALIS



# **LIM CHIN SIONG, ONCE HAILED BY LEE KUAN YEW AS “THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE”**



# THE REACTION IN MALAYA

- The Tunku was shocked by developments in Singapore
- The PAP's defeat created a very real possibility of a **Communist takeover** of Singapore's Government led by the Barisan Sosialis
- From this point onwards in 1961, the Tunku began to **throw his support** behind the PAP's campaign for merger

# SO, WHO NEEDED MERGER MORE?(SINGAPORE OR MALAYA?)

- Ultimately, though Malaya needed Singapore, it was Singapore who needed Malaya more, and the one who pressed harder for the merger.
- Malaya only needed Singapore politically, as Singapore had not much economic benefits to Malaya and having Singapore would have been an economic burden to Malaya as it had to forsake taxation for exports into Singapore. In fact, Malaya desired Borneo, not Singapore and Malaya was self-sufficient with natural resources. For Singapore, its economy was suffering from unemployment and waning entrepot trade, and a lack of resources – direly needed to merge with Malaya for its resources to channel into industrialisation in order combat its economic problems.
- Even politically, Malaya was already independent and its political concerns were mostly just security, with merger as a pre-emptive strategy against communism and not so much a case for survival. For Singapore who was still under British rule, merger was the only viable way for independence, and this was absolutely necessary for the PAP to stay in power and retain political stability in Singapore as it needed to fulfill what it had promised in the electorate.
- Thus, in terms of scale Malaya only needed Singapore politically, whilst Singapore needed Malaya for both economic and political reasons at deeper intensities (one being security whereas the other being independence from a colonial power).
- In terms of time, the urgency for Singapore to merge was higher as Singapore needed to address its immediate needs that would jeopardise its political and economic survival. For the case of Malaya, its decision to merge was mainly a preemptive measure rather than addressing a communist problem that had already split into Malaya.



# THE MALAYSIAN “GRAND DESIGN”



- The Tunku told the British and the PAP that he would only agree to the formation of Malaysia if the Borneo territories of Brunei, Sabah and Sarawak were also included.
- This would ensure that the Malays retained their position as the predominant ethnic majority in the new Malaysia
- Furthermore, the Borneo territories were also known to have vast oil reserves

# THE BORNEO TERRITORIES OF SABAH AND SARAWAK







# **SINGAPORE'S REACTIONS**

## **The 1962 Referendum**

# THE 1962 REFERENDUM

- The PAP called for a referendum for merger. This referendum was to be held on 1 September 1962.
- The Barisan Sosialis worked hard to discredit the PAP's push for merger, as they knew that they would have no chance of setting up a Communist state in Malaya and Singapore, should merger proceed.



# WHAT IS A REFERENDUM?

- A direct vote by the **people of the country** to decide on a particular issue, instead of having the government to make the decision.



# THE PAP'S "CAMPAIGN FOR MERGER"

- The PAP launched a year-long campaign to convince the people of Singapore about the need for merger.
- This campaign included 12 radio talks given by Lee Kuan Yew" on the benefits of merger
- The PAP also held exhibitions to explain the benefits of merger to the people.

Video (LKY Radio Talks):

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGMKiv8.](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGMKiv8)



# THE MERGER REFERENDUM BALLOT: YOU HAVE 3 OPTIONS: YES, YES AND YES

## THE SINGAPORE NATIONAL REFERENDUM ORDINANCE 1962

(No. 19 OF 1962)

SECTION 18.

Printed by Lee Kim Heng, Government Printer, Singapore.

**A**

Saya sokong perchantuman yang memberikan kepada Singapura kuasa otonomi dalam perkara buruh, pelajaran dan perkara lain yang di-persetujui, sabagaimana yang terkandung dalam Kertas Perintah No. 33, Tahun 1961, dan dengan sendiri-nya warganegara Singapura menjadi warganegara Malaysia.

我支持合併，星加坡應根據一九六一年所發表議院文件第三十三號由皮書所開列的建議，獲得勞工、教育及其他議定事項的自主權，同時星加坡公民將自動成為馬來西亞公民。

கட்டளைத் தாள் 33/1961-ல் விவரிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளவாறு சிங்கப்பூருக்கு கல்வி, தொழிலாளர் துறை, இன்னும் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட விஷயங்களில் தன்னதிகாரம் அளிக்கின்றதும் எல்லா சிங்கப்பூர் பிரஜைகளும் தன்னியக்கமாகவே மலேஷியா பிரஜைகளாகிவந்ததுமான இணைப்பை ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.

I support merger giving Singapore autonomy in labour, education and other agreed matters as set out in Command Paper No. 33 of 1961, with Singapore citizens automatically becoming citizens of Malaysia.

**B**

Saya sokong perchantuman penuh yang tidak bersyarat bagi Singapura sebagai negeri yang sama taraf-nya dengan sa-belas buah Negeri Bahagian menurut sharaat Perlembagaan Persekutuan Tanah Melayu.

我支持全部及無條件的合併，星加坡應以一州的地位，根據馬來亞聯合邦的憲法文件，與其他十一州在平等的基礎上進行合併。

கட்டளையில் அரசியலமைப்பு பத்திரங்களுக்கிணங்க மற்றப பதினொரு ராஜ்யங்களுக்குச் சமமான அடிப்படையில் சிங்கப்பூர் கட்டள்கடன் முழு அமையாவும் சிங்கப்பூர் மூன்றையும் இணைவதை நான் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.

I support complete and unconditional merger for Singapore as a state on an equal basis with the other eleven states in accordance with the Constitutional documents of the Federation of Malaysia.

**C**


Saya sokong penyertaan Singapura ka-dalam Malaysia dengan sharaat yang tidak kurang daripada sharaat yang di-berikan kepada wilayah Borneo.

我支持星加坡加入馬來西亞，條件應不遜於婆羅洲地區所獲得者。

பேரறிவிப்பு பிரதேசங்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்படும் சலுகைகளுக்கு எவ்வகையிலும் குறைவற்ற முறையில் சிங்கப்பூர் மலேஷியாவில் சேர்வதை நான் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.


I support Singapore entering Malaysia on terms no less favourable than those given to the Borneo territories.

Bendera Negara Singapura  
新加坡邦旗




சிங்கப்பூர் தேசியக் கொடி  
Singapore State Flag

Bendera Negeri Pulau Pinang  
檳城州旗

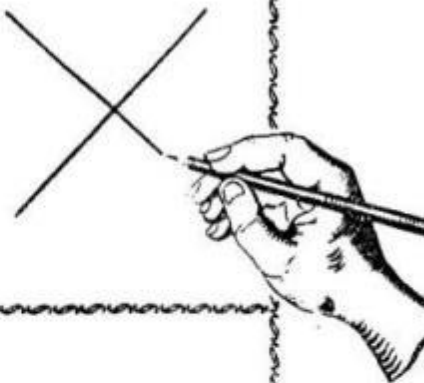


பிளங்கு தேசியக் கொடி  
Penang State Flag

Lambang atas bendera Sabah dan Sarawak  
北婆羅洲及砂朥越旗幟上的徽章



வடபேரறிவிப்புப் பிரதேசங்களின் சின்னம்  
Badges on the Flags of North Borneo and Sarawak



This government referendum poster was the basis of an opposition accusation that the government was going to distribute marked ballots

# OPERATION COLD STORE

- The Barisan Sosialis was further weakened when the Internal Security Council (ISC) launched island-wide arrest of those believed to be communist
- BS leaders + members of trade unions were arrested & detained
- Accused of trying to sabotage the formation of Malaysia and planning to launch uprising in SG



**A**T least 107 left-wing politicians and trade unionists in Singapore were arrested to-day in the biggest and "most important" security operation since the Emergency. The operation is continuing.

The swoop, aimed at preventing subversives from establishing a "Communist Cuba" in Singapore and mounting violence just before Malaysia, was carried out by the Singapore police assisted by men from the Federation.

Those picked up include big names in the Barisan Sosialis and other politicians like:

- **LEE CHIN SIONG**, secretary-general, Barisan Sosialis;
- **S. WOODHULL**, vice-chairman, Barisan Sosialis;
- **PONG SWEE SUAN**, secretary-general SATU and executive committee member.



DATU JERMAL

## A 'Cuba' threat

SECURITY COUNCIL WAS UNANIMOUS

THE Communists have always intended to dominate and rule the whole of Malaya and Singapore. But the purpose of the merger programme has driven them to oppose Malaysia and to try and set up a Communist Cuba in Singapore. The arrests are directly aimed at individuals—not political parties.

# 107 HELD IN SINGAPORE DAWN DRIVE

By FELIX ABISHEGARADER:

Kuala Lumpur, Saturday



LAWYER Mr. T. T. Rajah, is stopped by police from entering the Singapore General Employees Union.

**Azahari date**  
 Rebel chief may meet Soekarno

JAKARTA, Sat. — There was strong speculation to-day that the Indonesian Government would order the arrest of the rebel leader, Azahari, after his arrival from Malaya. Azahari was tonight still being held in the Federal Territory of Singapore, where he arrived after his arrival from Malaya. Several reliable sources said he was being held in a secret place, and that he was being kept in a secret place, and that he was being kept in a secret place. The Indonesian Government is said to be planning to arrest him after his arrival from Malaya. The Indonesian Government is said to be planning to arrest him after his arrival from Malaya. The Indonesian Government is said to be planning to arrest him after his arrival from Malaya.

**Sounding out**  
 The police said it was likely that Azahari would try to organize a rebellion in Malaya. The police said it was likely that Azahari would try to organize a rebellion in Malaya. The police said it was likely that Azahari would try to organize a rebellion in Malaya.

## The swoop began at 3 a.m.

By JACKIE SAM, EE BOON LEE, MUSHKIND ALL, R. CHANDRAN, R. PESTANA and LEE KIT SIANG

**SINGAPORE, Sat.** — The massive crack-down on anti-Malaysia elements began at three this morning. The arrests were directly linked with the Christmas Indonesian intervention in British Borneo. The arrests were directly linked with the Christmas Indonesian intervention in British Borneo. The arrests were directly linked with the Christmas Indonesian intervention in British Borneo.

Among the "big names" in custody are: Lee Chin Siong, Secretary-General, Barisan Sosialis; Pong Swee Suan, Secretary-General, SATU; and Tan Teck Wah, President, Singapore General Employees' Union.

Woodhull, the Police, and other officers are all there to the Federation. All are of Federation origin. And, the headquarters from Singapore was a specific order of the Internal Security Council which met last night in Kuala Lumpur.

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## 44 names on the list

STUDENTS, UNION MEN AMONG THOSE DETAINED

SINGAPORE, Sat. — By 5 p.m. to-day, the list of names of those arrested in the dawn drive was 44. The names of the people arrested included: Lee Chin Siong, Pong Swee Suan, Tan Teck Wah, and others. The names of the people arrested included: Lee Chin Siong, Pong Swee Suan, Tan Teck Wah, and others. The names of the people arrested included: Lee Chin Siong, Pong Swee Suan, Tan Teck Wah, and others.

★ See Page 10—Col. 5



# THE OUTCOME OF THE REFERENDUM

- 71% voted for Option A – full merger with Singapore being given special autonomy in Education and Labour policy
- Options B and C <2% each. 26% Blank votes.
- The Barisan had unwisely first asked voters to support joining Malaysia on an equal basis, and then asked them to cast blank votes instead.

**AVERAGE DAILY CERTIFIED SALE EXCEEDS 100,000**

# The Straits Times

Estad. 1945

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10

### 3.5. CONCLUSIONS

Malaya  
National  
Newspaper

**PATEK PHILIPPE**  
is the only watch manufacturer  
whose sales collection of their  
valuable master, designed in  
every important, his office  
is in the town of Calais.  
The watchmaker's attention of  
the company is "GENEVE".

**H. SENA, LTD.**  
HIGH CLASS JEWELLERS

## WHACKED! Barisan-led-don't-put-X-on-your-ballot-paper group

# MERGER 'YES'

# Only 25 p.c. heed blank votes call: 397,000 back Alternative A Tengku:

## How they voted

Electorate: 624,000; Votes cast: 561,529  
Marked votes: 417,482; Blanks 144,077

**Alternative A: 397.626**

Alternative B: 9,422; Alternative C: 7,911  
'Uncertain': 2,370; Rejected: 163

BY SA BUREAU L-56, JAMES E. BUREAU, L-100 BUREAU THE COMMISSIONER OF THE NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS

**SINGAPORE, Sunday**

**THE** Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, wept with joy today as he spoke of "the clear and decisive verdict" of the people of Singapore for merger and Malaysia, and "the awful moment of truth" for Communists.

**THE TIME:** A quarter past eleven this morning.  
**THE PLACE:** The Singapore Badminton Hall in  
Mural Road.

**THE OCCASION:** Just after the announcement of the Government's smashing victory over the Barikan Socialised call to cast blank votes in the referendum yesterday.

The voting was 71 per cent (397,626 votes) in favour of Alternative 'A' (the Government's merger proposals) against just over 28 per cent (144,077) blank votes. Total votes cast were

## AUSTIN IS AHEAD AGAIN!

## THE NEW AUSTIN SUPER SEVEN

The New Austin Super Seven is an Austin Seven phenomenon on the wheels and axles. Superb economy of styling as well as economy in coupling with a shock absorber system. The most panels are obtained in attraction, hard-wearing, available form which can be used for many, many other uses. Austin Super Seven is a super machine.

**AUSTIN LOOKS YEARS AHEAD** 



**Tengku:**  
**Just as I**  
**predicted**  
**it**

**KUALA LUMPUR** —  
**ADAM L. BALAN** is  
 "very happy" over the  
 result of the Singa-  
 pore referendum.  
 He said today: "I  
 am glad I had no  
 drink as the whole  
 scene of the people of  
 Singapore would be  
 "How is that even  
 true  
 "I am very happy  
 over the result.  
 He bid the Singapore  
 people welcome into  
 Malaysia.

**STOP PRESS**

WOMAN STARRS

SINGAPORE, Jan. 11.—  
 Mrs. H. Kanaka,  
 residing in the same  
 was admitted into the  
 hospital tonight. Her condition  
 is very serious.

**Two pictures that tell the story...**

A HAPPY Mr. Lee (above) leads the cry for "Merdeka Malaysia" at the entrance of the Singapore Stadium on March 19. Glimpsed Wood after the marathon count ended with a decisive victory for Alternatives "A." Below, the Sarbanas Socials walked from the Hall after protesting against racism. From left: Dr. Lee Siang, Dr. Lim Guan Eng, and Dr. Lim Guan Eng.

the meeting proceedings and calling for a recess. From left: Dr. Lee Siu Chai, Mr. Lim Chin Sang, Dr. Sheng Nam Chai (head) and Mr. S. T. Bao.

[illegible]A black and white photograph of three men standing side-by-side, smiling. The man on the left is wearing a light-colored shirt. The man in the center is wearing a dark shirt and has his arm around the man on the right. The man on the right is wearing a light-colored shirt. They are all looking towards the camera.

**MORE  
FUN  
AHEAD**

### Sparkling Drinks



# OTHER REACTIONS

HOW DID OUR NEIGHBOURS REACT TO  
THE IDEA OF SINGAPORE AND MALAYA  
MERGING ?

# REACTIONS OF INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

## INDONESIA: **KONFRONTASI**

- Originally no objections- but President Sukarno voiced opposition by the beginning of 1963.
- Launched confrontation (Konfrontasi) mostly in the form of harsh words.
- Felt that Sabah & Sarawak should come under the control of Indonesia instead.

## PHILIPPINES: OBJECTIONS ABOUT SABAH


- Objected to formation of Malaysia
- Claimed that Sabah rightfully belonged to them
- Not enough evidence to prove this.

# REACTIONS IN SABAH, SARAWAK & BRUNEI

- Cobbold commission (Headed by Lord Cobbold) set up by Malayan and British governments to find out people's opinions in Sabah & Sarawak.
- August 1962- report stated that only 1/3 of the people were NOT in favour of joining Malaysia
- Brunei: Both sides could not agree on terms.







## Proclamation

WHEREAS it is the inalienable right of a people to be free of foreign domination, to be independent and to form a government of its own choice;

AND WHEREAS in a Referendum held on the 1st day of September, 1962, the people of Singapore expressed their desire to seek this independence through federation with Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak to form an independent state of Malaysia;

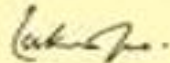
AND WHEREAS an Agreement was reached in London on the 9th day of July, 1963 between the Governments of Singapore, Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak and the United Kingdom that Singapore shall on the 31st day of August, 1963 join with the existing States of the Federation of Malaya, and the States of Sabah and Sarawak in a State of Malaysia;

AND WHEREAS for diverse reasons the said federation did not come into being on the 31st day of August, 1963, whereupon Singapore asserted her right to freedom and took over powers over defence and foreign affairs;

AND WHEREAS on the 11th day of September, 1963 Singapore agreed to join Malaysia on the 16th day of September, 1963;

AND WHEREAS a new constitution for the State of Malaysia and the State of Singapore has been established as the supreme law thereafter;

Now, I, Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, do hereby proclaim and declare, on behalf of the people of Singapore, that as from today, the 16th day of September, 1963, Singapore shall be forever a part of the sovereign democratic and independent State of Malaysia, founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of her people in a more just and more equal society.



Malaysia - constituting the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak - was officially formed on 16 September 1963. Singapore became part of Malaysia with the signing of the Proclamation (in English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil) by the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, on behalf of the people of Singapore. It decreed that Singapore would be "a part of the sovereign, democratic and independent state of Malaysia, founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of her people in a more just and equal society".



# MAJULAH MALAYSIA



# THE FINAL AGREEMENT (NOV 1962 – SEP 1963)

- Singapore could hold elections to decide its own state government.
- Singapore would have control over its own **education** and **labour policy**
- Singapore will give up control of the armed forces, police and foreign relations to the Central Government in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

# ISSUES NOT RESOLVED

1. Fundamental rights of citizens (e.g. voting rights, interference in each other's political developments, elections etc.)
2. Financial matters (taxation, revenue collection & contributions, Common market etc.)
3. Ideological and personality differences (between Lee Kuan Yew & Tunku Abdul Rahman)



# MERGER IS LIKE A MARRIAGE...

