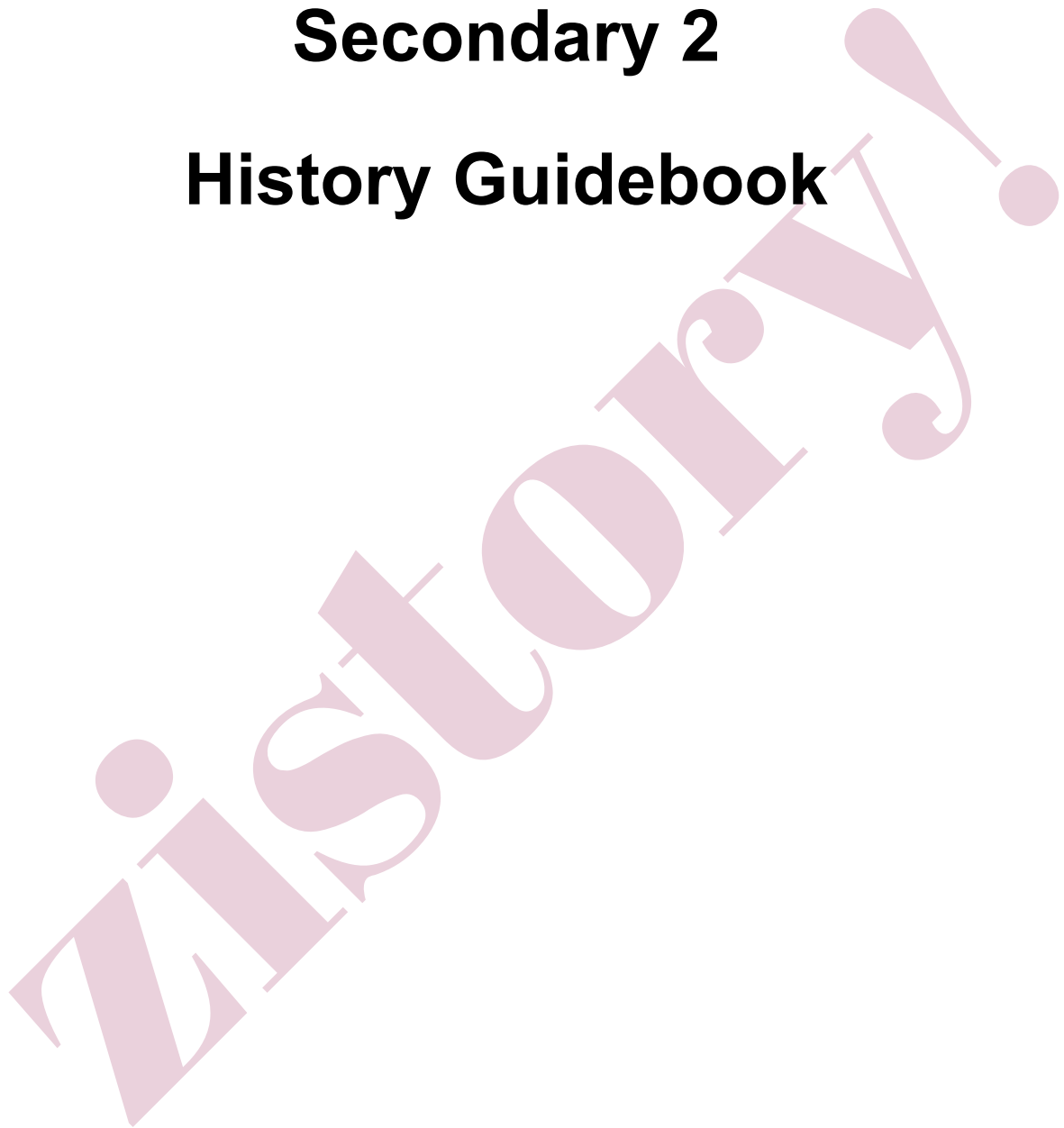




# **Secondary 2**

## **History Guidebook**



## Chapter 6: What Did the People in Singapore Experience During the Japanese Occupation?

### Key Knowledge

- Repression and resistance
- Economic hardships and resilience

### By the end of this chapter, I can...

- Describe people's experiences during the Japanese Occupation.

### *How did the Japanese attempt to forcefully secure power in Singapore?*

#### 1. Meting out harsh punishments

Throughout the Japanese Occupation, harsh punishments were imposed on criminals and other people seen by the Japanese as their enemies. For example, to put an end to the looting that happened just after the British surrender, the Japanese executed those who were caught looting. The heads were displayed publicly in places such as the open area outside the Cathay Building, and on bridges across the Singapore River. **Such harsh punishments created fear and served as severe warnings to the people about the potential consequences of going against the Japanese. This made people conform to Japanese rule, thus increasing the Japanese's grip over Singapore.**

#### 2. Imprisoning allied soldiers

When the Japanese took control of the island, they had plans to deal with the Allied troops and the people in Singapore. One of the first things that the Japanese did was to imprison the British, Australians and Allied Europeans in Singapore, including women and children. The Allied prisoners of war were forced to march in public from Bukit Timah Road to Changi Prison and the barracks nearby, where they would be imprisoned. **This would greatly reduce the chance of the allied soldiers resisting the Japanese rule of Singapore, hence reducing the threat of a military uprising against the Japanese government. This further consolidated Japanese power in Singapore.**

### 3. Carrying out Operation Sook Ching

Soon after taking control of Singapore, the Japanese forces carried out Operation Sook Ching which aimed to identify and eliminate anti-Japanese elements among the local population. It was a brutal purge of members of the Chinese community who were suspected of being anti-Japanese. The Kempeitai was placed in charge of this operation. The Chinese population was targeted as they were viewed by the Japanese as a potential source of opposition and threat to their rule. This was because when the Japanese invaded China in 1937, they faced strong resistance from the Chinese, including Chinese communities living outside China. For instance, the Chinese community in Singapore called for a boycott of Japanese goods and contributed funds to China's efforts against Japan. Some even returned to China to join in the fight against the Japanese. In Operation Sook Ching, all Chinese men aged 18 to 50 were to report to mass screening centres to be examined by the Japanese. The Chinese men went before a Japanese officer who sat at a table in a heavily guarded barbed wire enclosure. Informants would identify people who were suspected to be anti-Japanese and pass on the information to the Kempeitai. The informants would find people in secret societies or former Chinese civil servants and journalists more suspicious to be resistant to the Japanese. Those not identified as anti-Japanese were allowed to go home whereas those who did not pass the screening were transported to beaches in Punggol and Changi to get executed. **This made the locals fearful of the Japanese as they might be suspected of being anti-Japanese and get executed just like the Chinese who were killed in Sook Ching, thus preventing the locals from resisting the Japanese. This further solidified Japanese control over Singapore, which strengthened the government's power.**

### 4. Coercing the Chinese business community

The Japanese also targeted the Chinese businessmen in Singapore because of their generous contributions to the China Relief Fund, supporting China's resistance against Japan. The Overseas Chinese Association (OCA) was created to act as a channel of communication between the Chinese community and the Japanese government. The Japanese government demanded that the OCA give 50 million Straits dollars to the Japanese administration. **This was to punish the Chinese community in Malaya and Singapore for supporting anti-Japanese war activities in China as well as British war efforts in Malaya and Singapore, serving as a warning to the locals to not oppose Japanese power. This increased the cooperation that locals showed towards the Japanese as they conformed to the Japanese government.**

### ***How did the Japanese attempt to win loyalty in Singapore?***

#### **1. Using propaganda**

One way they did so was through propaganda to influence the minds of the people in Singapore and gain their loyalty. The Japanese portrayed themselves as liberators who had come to free Asians from colonial rule. For instance, they tried to convince the locals to accept their vision of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in which Japan would free Asian nations from the control of Western colonial powers. This vision also pressed for a united Asia that would benefit from sharing resources collectively. These messages were spread through various channels, such as posters and radio broadcasts. **This would then help the Japanese to leave a good impression on the locals that they were the locals' "heroes" who had come to save them from the British's ineffective rule, thus being able to win loyalty from the people in Singapore.**

#### **2. Providing benefits for the locals**

In their attempt to win local support, the Japanese provided certain benefits, such as schooling and accommodation, at no cost. For example, school textbooks were provided free of charge to 20,000 students in 1944. The Japanese also appealed to some ethnic groups by giving them favourable treatment. The Malay Nationalist organisation Union of Malay Youth responded positively to Japanese propaganda that promised better lives for Malays under an Asian power. This resulted in Malays being treated less harshly by the Japanese. For instance, the Japanese distributed rice, sugar and salt to the less fortunate for Hari Raya Puasa. Malays and Indians were also charged lower fees than the Chinese to cross the Causeway. **This would then help the Japanese to leave a good impression on the locals that they were good and empathetic rulers who were willing to reach out a helping hand for the locals, thus being able to win loyalty from the people in Singapore.**

#### **3. Imposing Japanese culture**

The Japanese sought to win loyalty by immersing the locals in the traditions of Japan. For example, the Japanese promoted their culture through the teaching of the Japanese language, alternatively known as Nippon-go. Students were taught to speak and write in Japanese in place of English. These lessons were conducted daily over the schools' broadcasting services. To help students learn the Japanese language, Japanese education authorities published a series of Nippon-go readers for beginners. The books were full of praise for the beauty and greatness of Japan. The introduction of the Japanese language went hand in hand with the promotion of the Japanese spirit to foster a sense of loyalty and identity. During morning assembly in schools, students had to sing "Kimigayo", the Japanese national anthem, and bow before the picture of the Japanese Emperor before the day began. They were also taught to sing Japanese folk songs. **This would then make the people in Singapore have a stronger sense of connection with the Japanese, thus allowing the Japanese to be able to win loyalty from the people in Singapore.**

### ***What were the impacts of the Japanese Occupation on Singapore?***

#### **1. Resource shortage**

One problem faced was the shortage of food and essential items. After the first few weeks of the Japanese Occupation, essential food items such as rice, salt and sugar were strictly rationed. The locals were limited to a fixed quantity of essential items that they could obtain using ration coupons. The shortage of items drove prices up as shops did not have enough goods to cater to the needs of the people. The prices of essential goods increased rapidly over time, causing drastic inflation. As a result, the black market flourished. People had to pay extremely high prices for basic necessities. The Japanese government responded by printing more money, resulting in massive drops in the value of the banana notes. By the end of the Japanese Occupation, these notes had essentially become worthless. **The locals did not have access to basic necessities which they require, hence negatively impacting their daily lives.**

#### **2. Disease and death**

Healthcare and sanitation was another problem that people faced. Between 1942 and 1945, 130,000 deaths were officially recorded. This was more than double the number between 1937 and 1940. The primary causes of death were beri-beri, pneumonia and dysentery. **This was due to the poor living conditions that the Japanese offered the people. Also, the Japanese harshly treated them and made them work as hard labour such as in the Death Railway, thus disease and death was one major problem the people had to face.**

#### **3. Relocation**

Relocation was another problem that people faced. (Point) Due to the food shortage problem faced during the Japanese Occupation, people were encouraged to strive for self-sufficiency by growing their own food, which included vegetables, tapioca and sweet potatoes. However, this failed to ease the food shortage, so the Japanese resorted to relocating people from Singapore to increase agricultural output. Mamoru Shinozaki was tasked to oversee the resettlement projects to rural areas outside Singapore. The Chinese were encouraged to move to the Endau settlement in Johor. The soil there was rich and the water supply was ample, making it suitable for agriculture. The settlement was proclaimed a great success as it was self-sufficient. In addition, the settlement had street lights, a small chapel, a bank and several coffee shops. **However, attacks by bandits and anti-Japanese guerrillas later disrupted the peace in Endau, thus making relocation a problem to the people.** On the other hand, the Japanese saw the success of self-sufficient Endau and also created the Bahau settlement, also in Malaya, for Eurasians and Chinese Roman Catholics. **However, the land was too hilly and the soil was too poor to support agriculture. As a result, some people even resorted to eating rats and maggots while many perished, thus making relocation a problem to the people.**

#### 4. Building a stronger sense of national identity

The Japanese occupation exposed Singaporeans to hardship, which fostered a sense of shared experience and unity among the population. For example, the Japanese conducted the Sook Ching massacre, targeting Chinese males suspected of being anti-Japanese. The brutality of these mass killings left a deep scar, fostering a shared trauma that united Singapore's diverse communities against external oppression. **This shared adversity laid the foundation for a stronger, more resilient national identity. Post-occupation, there was a strong desire for self-governance and independence, which eventually fueled the movement toward decolonisation and independence from the British.**

#### 5. Development of local infrastructure

The Japanese undertook several urban development projects to improve the infrastructure in Singapore, including roads and port facilities, to support their military and administrative needs. For instance, the Japanese initiated several infrastructure projects to facilitate their control and movement of goods. For instance, they improved the port facilities in Keppel Harbor, which were crucial for the transportation of resources and military supplies. Furthermore, to maintain communication across Malaya and Singapore, the Japanese maintained and in some cases upgraded railway and telecommunication networks. **These improvements served Singapore's economic growth when they were repurposed for post-war commerce. Some of these projects benefitted Singapore in the long term by providing a base for future infrastructure planning and development after the occupation.**

### Chapter 6 Checkpoint

1. Explain **four** ways through which the Japanese attempted to forcefully secure power in Singapore.
2. Explain **three** ways through which the Japanese attempted to win loyalty in Singapore.
3. "The Japanese Occupation was harmful for the local people." How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

## Skill Build-up 6: How do we assess the reliability and usefulness of sources? (Extension from Skill Build-up 4)

Previously, in Skill Build-up 4, we have covered the fundamental skills we often use to check the quality of sources for our historical investigations. In this Skill Build-up, we will be learning how exactly we can apply these fundamental skills to historical sources.

### Establishing usefulness

- For a source to be useful, we would be able to use this source for a certain investigation.
- We can use a set of criteria to evaluate whether we can use a source:
  - Reliability: Is the source **trustworthy** such that we can use it for our investigation?
  - Comprehensiveness: Does the source **cover sufficiently diverse perspectives** for us to form a multifaceted understanding of the issue at hand?
  - Insightfulness: Does the source **present well-thought and unique arguments** that serve as new insights for our investigation?
- Even if a source meets all three criteria above, we cannot say that it is 100% useful. Likewise, even if a source does not meet any of the three criteria above, we cannot say that it is 100% useless. Each historical source has its own merits and limitations that we have to consider. e.g. While a Japanese propaganda poster about the Greater East Co-Prosperity Sphere may be highly unreliable, it is still useful in a sense that it provides insights on how the Japanese had tried to gain loyalty from the people during World War II.

### Establishing reliability

- For a source to be reliable, we would find the source trustworthy.
- We can use two main methods to test the reliability of sources:
  - Corroboration: Do(es) other source(s) support or contradict this source?
  - Credibility: Does this source have questionable origins that may have caused false or biased claims in its content?
- When we do corroboration, it should be noted that we must cross-reference to other **reliable** sources. e.g. We cannot cross-reference a Japanese propaganda poster to a Japanese propaganda newspaper article to prove reliability.
- We may also use **enhanced reliability** for certain sources. (see below)



### Note of caution

Schools may often teach students that a reliable source is a useful source. This is a severe misconception that may lend you to the lower levels of the LORMS. As such, think in a nimble manner. The source is reliable, and hence useful in some aspects, however, is the source useful in terms of its comprehensiveness and insightfulness?

### Let's learn: What's enhanced reliability?

Let's say there's a Japanese official criticising the Japanese government in Singapore about Operation Sook Ching. How reliable is this source?

I would say, highly reliable! This is because of **enhanced reliability**.

For enhanced reliability, we need to consider two parts:

1. Based on the provenance of the source, what would be the **expected perspective / attitude / stance / tone / purpose** of the source?
2. In actual fact, what is the **perspective / attitude / stance / tone / purpose** of the source?

If these two parts contradict each other, we can consider the source to exhibit enhanced reliability.

How can we phrase enhanced reliability in response to our exam questions?

*e.g. Source: A Japanese official's comment that Sook Ching was brutal, 1943.*

Based on **enhanced reliability**, the source is highly reliable. (Topic Sentence)  
Owing to the source's origin being a Japanese official, I would **expect** the source to sing praises for the Japanese government in Singapore during the Japanese Occupation, and to show support to actions that the government had taken such as Operation Sook Ching. (Expected perspective) **However**, the source showed a highly critical tone in describing Operation Sook Ching, blaming the Japanese government for its brutal actions. (Actual tone) This makes the source **even more reliable** as it would likely serve the **overall purpose** to criticise the Japanese government for Operation Sook Ching so that the government can reconsider its brutal policies in Singapore and consolidate power in the Asia-Pacific region through more effective means. (Overall actual purpose) As such, the Japanese official would try to be **more truthful** in depicting the actual implications of Operation Sook Ching, so his claims would be **more trustworthy**, making the source **highly reliable**. (Link back to address how this makes him **Reliable**)



### Worked Example 1: Reliability

How reliable is Source A as evidence of Japanese rule in Singapore? Explain your answer using the source and your own knowledge.

**Source A:** *An article from a Japanese newspaper printed in Singapore during World War II.*

'Saturday, March 14<sup>th</sup>, brought to a close the first month of Japanese rule over Syonan\*. A complete transformation has taken place, and we now see a smiling, clean and fresh-looking city, looking forward to a greater period of prosperity under Japanese rule. The greatest gift to the people of Syonan during the month has been the continuation of electricity, water and food supplies. Conditions will soon be back to pre-war times. Today we are free and equal members of a new Asian society, a society that offers freedom and equal opportunities to all.'

\* Singapore was renamed Syonan-To, Light of the South, during the Japanese Occupation.

**Source B:** *A comment from a website on the Japanese Occupation.*

The Japanese had told the people of Singapore that they had come to set them free from British rule. However, the people of all races found that they were not freed. Instead, they had new masters. In fact, they lived in fear of their new Japanese rulers. Barbed wire was put across the roads to form roadblocks. Japanese guards then bullied the people passing by, sometimes making them kneel on the roadside for hours. Those caught looting were beheaded and their heads displayed in public places.

**Source A is unreliable as evidence that Japanese rule was beneficial to the lives of people in Singapore.** (Topic Sentence: Stance + Message of Source A) It states that "A complete transformation has taken place, and we now see a smiling, clean and fresh-looking city, looking forward to a greater period of prosperity under Japanese rule." This suggests that Japanese rule brought peace and happiness to the people, highlighting its effectiveness in serving the needs of the people. (Evidence + Elaboration) **However, this is contradicted by Source B, which claims that Japanese rule had harmed the lives of many.** (Topic Sentence: Stance + Reasoning + Message of Source B) This is evident in "Hardly any victim survived and most Chinese families believed their lost relatives were imprisoned or sent away as labourers." This suggests that the Japanese, who had conducted Operation Sook Ching, caused the sufferings of not only targeted individuals of the Chinese community, but had also resulted in long-term social and psychological impact on the people close to these victims. (Evidence + Elaboration) **Therefore, since Source B contradicts Source A, Source A is less reliable.** (Link)

*(continued on next page)*

**However, Source A is somewhat reliable, when cross-referenced to my contextual knowledge.** (Topic Sentence: Stance + Reasoning) From what I know, in their attempt to win local support, the Japanese provided certain benefits, such as schooling and accommodation, at no cost. For example, school textbooks were provided free of charge to 20,000 students in 1944. The Japanese also appealed to some ethnic groups by giving them favourable treatment. For instance, the Japanese distributed rice, sugar and salt to the less fortunate for Hari Raya Puasa. Malays and Indians were also charged lower fees than the Chinese to cross the Causeway. Overall, while Japanese rule was generally brutal towards anti-Japanese forces and the Chinese community, the Japanese rulers still treated the other groups with good will. (Evidence + Elaboration) **Since my contextual knowledge corroborates Source A, Source A is more reliable as evidence that Japanese rule was beneficial to the lives of people in Singapore.** (Link)

**Nonetheless, Source A is not so reliable due to its provenance and purpose.** (Topic Sentence: Stance + Reasoning) Source A was an article from a Japanese newspaper printed in Singapore during World War II. (Provenance) As evident in the words used such as “smiling”, “clean”, “fresh-looking”, and “prosperity”, the author adopted an optimistic tone, singing praises for the Japanese regime. (Tone → Perspective) This points to the overall purpose of this article, which was to convince the local population in Singapore that Japanese rule was beneficial to their lives. This work of propaganda would thus be created to win the genuine support and loyalty of the people to Japanese rule, creating a more obedient and cooperative population that would not resist the Japanese. (Purpose) **Since Source A has a vested agenda, coupled with its biased claims, the source is less reliable as evidence that Japanese rule was beneficial to the lives of people in Singapore.** (Link)

*Note: Due to time constraints in exams, only attempt **one** cross-reference. However, if you can neither detect provenance and purpose nor enhanced reliability, you can attempt **two** cross-references, one to support the source, the other to contradict the source. Cross-reference to accurate, relevant and detailed contextual knowledge will generally be preferred. Do not cross-reference to clearly unreliable sources.*

### Worked Example 2: Usefulness

How useful is Source A as evidence of the British military's capability? Explain your answer using the source and your own knowledge.

**Source A:** *Interview with Lady Brooke-Popham, wife of British Air Commander-in-chief of the Far East about life in Singapore in 1941.*

I was struck immediately by the deadly sluggishness of the British population. They were utterly unwilling to face up to the reality of Japanese military power. For instance, when I asked the ladies to give me two hours' help on Air Raid Precaution practice, they told me they were awfully sorry but they had already entered for a tennis tournament. It was parties, playing cards and dancing as usual.

**Source A is useful as evidence that the British military was underprepared for war.** (Topic Sentence: Stance + Message of Source A) This can be seen from the source saying that “They were utterly unwilling to face up to the reality of Japanese military power” and “It was parties, playing cards and dancing as usual.” This shows us that the British were complacent towards the Japanese military power as shown in the source which says that instead of preparing for the war, they were still partying and having fun, thus showing their unpreparedness for war. (Evidence + Elaboration) **This is further supported by my contextual knowledge.** (Topic Sentence: Stance + Reasoning) From what I know, the British forces were made up of soldiers from different parts of the British Empire, including colonies like India, which meant that they were trained differently and could not communicate well due to language and cultural barriers. Many soldiers were also not driven enough to sacrifice themselves to defend the British colonies abroad. They were poorly trained and poorly equipped, which made them unprepared to fight jungle warfare, especially in a tropical climate that some were not accustomed to. Hence, even though British forces outnumbered the Japanese, they were no match for the well-trained Japanese soldiers. (Evidence + Elaboration) **Since my contextual knowledge corroborates Source A, Source A is more reliable as evidence that the British were underprepared for war, making Source A more useful.** (Link)

**Moreover, Source A is useful as evidence that the British military was underprepared for war due to its provenance.** (Topic Sentence: Stance + Reasoning) This was an interview with Lady Brooke-Popham, wife of British Air Commander-in-chief of the Far East about life in Singapore in 1941. As such, she would have good knowledge of the British military during the pre-war years. This makes Source A, which is a firsthand account, **accurate** in its depiction of the British military’s situation at that time. (Provenance + Elaboration) Also, as the source was from the wife of British Air Commander-in-chief of the Far East, I expect the source to speak positively about British military efforts prior to the Japanese invasion, pinning the blame for the fall of Singapore to other factors. However, Lady Brooke-Popham made claims that were exactly the opposite. She heavily criticised the British military for its complacency and thus underpreparedness for war. Therefore, she did not have much vested incentive, making her words credible and thus, Source A is **reliable**. (Provenance + Enhanced reliability + Elaboration) **Since Source A is largely accurate and reliable, I find Source A very useful as evidence that the British were underprepared for war.** (Link)

*Note: Due to time constraints in exams, only attempt **one** cross-reference. However, if you can neither detect provenance and purpose nor enhanced reliability, you can attempt **two** cross-references, one to support the source, the other to contradict the source. Cross-reference to accurate, relevant and detailed contextual knowledge will generally be preferred. Do not cross-reference to clearly unreliable sources. Always be mindful that **reliability ≠ usefulness**. While reliability is a factor that influences usefulness, these two terms are not interchangeable. As such, if you are using the reliability approach to test usefulness, you must clearly state this reasoning in your answer. (see the Link portion of the two paragraphs above: I explained that since the source is reliable and accurate, it is useful.)*

## Chapter 7: How did the People in Singapore Respond to British Rule After World War II?

### Key Knowledge

- Overview of the impact of post-war global and regional developments on Singapore
  - Decline of colonial powers and impact of rivalry between USA and USSR, and the emergence of Communist China
- British plans and their impact on post-war Singapore
  - Economic recovery and increasing opportunities for local political participation
  - Political and social unrest (strikes and riots)
  - Political developments from 1955 to 1959 (Rendel Constitution and 1955 elections, Merdeka Talks and 1959 elections)

### By the end of this chapter, I can...

- Describe the impact of global, regional and local developments on post-war Singapore.
- Illustrate how people responded to British rule in post-war Singapore.
- Identify the key political parties, groups and individuals that played a role in the struggle for independence.

## ***How did external developments influence people's responses towards British rule after World War II?***

### **1. Rise of communism**

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union, being the two global superpowers at that time, had a conflict with each other because of their differences in ideology. This is known as the Cold War. As communism opposed the exploitation of people, this ideology gained support in European colonies, such as Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaya, before their independence. Britain, being an ally of the United States in the Cold War, did not want its colonies, such as Malaya and Singapore, to fall under communist control in their fight for independence. In Singapore, the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) was popular among the Chinese community as it helped fight against the Japanese during World War II. After the war, the MCP aimed to end colonial rule and establish communist governments in Malaya and Singapore. The MCP would influence workers and students in trade unions and Chinese-medium schools to develop anti-colonial feelings. It also attacked rubber plantations and tin mines in Malaya owned mainly by the British. The British declared a state of Emergency after three European rubber planters were killed in Malaya in 1948. It also declared the MCP as an illegal party. The Malayan Emergency lasted from 1948 to 1960. When the Chinese Communist Party of China (CPC) won the civil war in China after 1949, the world's most populous country, China, became a communist country too. This event further heightened the worry of the British over growing communism in Malaya and Singapore as there were many Chinese immigrants here who remained close ties to China. **Because of the rising popularity of communism as an alternative to British rule, locals were encouraged to support this ideology as a means to gain independence from their colonisers. As a result, there was an increased need for British policies that catered more towards the needs of the local people in order to regain their support after the war and to prevent a swing of support towards the communists.**

### **2. Wave of decolonisation abroad**

The rise of anti-colonial sentiments in many places became stronger after World War II because of the defeat of the Western forces by an Asian power, the Japanese Empire. Many places had successfully gained control of their own countries from European powers. India and Indonesia had gained independence from the British in 1947 and the Dutch in 1949 respectively. Vietnam overthrew French rule in 1954. **These external events made locals more confident that they could also gain independence from the British. They were even more determined in their nationalist movements to decolonise Singapore from British rule.**



### ***How did the British attempt to win local support?***

Food for thought: What was the impact of these British measures on the extent to which locals supported colonial rule after World War II?

#### **1. Solving housing shortage**

Many houses were destroyed or became run-down during wartime. Also, a post-war baby boom had resulted in an increasing population. This had led to people living in overcrowded conditions. Many people lived in slums.

The Singapore Improvement Trust (SIT), set up by the British in 1927, expedited the building of 20,907 houses and shop units for the people between 1947 and 1959. However, the SIT still failed to provide enough housing for the growing population. Many people still had to live in cramped conditions throughout the 1950s.

#### **2. Solving food shortage**

Singapore experienced a growing population after the war. Also, the war had disrupted the shipment of food into Singapore. Neighbouring rice-producing countries did not produce enough rice to sell to Singapore. Therefore, the food rationing policy continued and people suffered malnutrition. People also did not earn enough money to cope with increasing food prices.

The British set up People's Restaurants to provide affordable meals to the locals. "Nutrition experts" from the King Edward VII College of Medicine also ensured that each meal was "not only tasty, but good." For a paltry 35 cents, the customer received roughly 700 calories of rice, meat and vegetables, or a third of his daily nutritional needs, with coffee or tea.

#### **3. Preventing industrial unrest**

Many strikes took place due to unsatisfactory working conditions as well as the shortages of food and housing. Many workers who joined the strikes were members of trade unions. The members of trade unions included English-educated individuals such as Devan Nair, Jamit Singh and Sidney Woodhull. These members carried out strikes to demand immediate improvement on working conditions.

The British passed laws to control trade unions because they did not want the communists to stir up anti-colonial feelings within trade unions that led to the occurrence of strikes. From 1947, the government required the registration of all trade unions to monitor their membership. The laws also restricted the unions from using their funds to organise strikes and protests against the government.

#### 4. Rejuvenating the stagnated economy

The war had disrupted the economy of Singapore. Without the recovery of trade and industry, people would not have jobs to earn their living. The government would collect less tax revenue to help improve people's welfare.

The government carried out a clearance of the harbour, removed sunken ships and sea mines so that ships could enter the port. In this way, Singapore could be an important trading centre in the region again. As trade grew, together with greater control of trade union activities and abundant food harvests in 1948, Singapore ended its worst shortages and hardships.

#### 5. Addressing local opposition towards the British

The locals started to feel discontented with the British after the Japanese Occupation. They felt that the British were unable to defend them and rule them properly.

The British allowed people to choose their candidates to represent them in the Legislative Council by having the 1948 elections. However, the 1948 elections failed to generate people's interest to vote due to many people being ineligible to vote and voting being not mandatory. This caused poor attendance as only 14,000 out of 960,000 people in the population turned up to vote in this election.

#### ***How did the riots before 1955 affect Singapore?***

##### Background Information of the Maria Hertogh case

Maria Hertogh was born to Dutch Catholic parents. When Maria's father was imprisoned during the Japanese Occupation, her mother, Adeline Hertogh, left her in the care of Che Aminah. The British judge ruled that Maria be returned to her natural parents. Adeline placed Maria in a Catholic convent before making their way back to the Netherlands. Che Aminah appealed against the judge's decision.

##### Causes of the Maria Hertogh Riots, 1950

After the newspaper published sensationalised stories about Maria's life in the convent, the custody case soon turned into a religious issue between Islam and Christianity. The Muslim community was offended as they felt that their religion was not being respected. The judge also rejected Che Aminah's appeal. This angered the supporters of Che Aminah as they felt that the British sided with the Dutch and were insensitive to the feelings of the Muslim community.

##### Immediate Consequences of the Maria Hertogh Riots, 1950

The supporters attacked any Europeans and Eurasians in sight. They overturned cars and set them on fire. Troops were sent to control the riots. The riots lasted three days. A curfew was imposed to restore law and order. 18 people were killed and 173 were injured in this incident.

### Background Information of the National Service Ordinance

After the war, the British government wanted the responsibility of defending Singapore to be shared evenly among the locals. The Malayan Emergency also emphasised the need for improving the defence of Singapore. As a result, the National Service Ordinance was passed in 1953.

### Causes of the Anti-National Service Riots, 1954

The National Service Ordinance required all males aged between 18 and 20 to register for National Service by May 1954. Those who did not register would be jailed or fined. The secondary school students from Chinese-medium schools were not willing to serve National Service for two reasons. Firstly, they felt that this National Service would disrupt their education again, just like the war as they were already old enough to register for this National Service. They also did not want to defend the colonial government which had been ignoring the Chinese students' interests before the war.

### Immediate Consequences of the Anti-National Service Riots, 1954

About 500 students held a protest march to show their unhappiness on 13 May 1954. The peaceful demonstration turned violent when the riot police were sent to disperse the crowd. Subsequently, the British government ordered the closure of all Chinese-medium schools but failed to stop the unrest. On 22 May, many students locked themselves in classrooms at Chung Cheng High School in protest. They even went on a hunger strike. The British government decided to postpone the registration for National Service.

### Impact of the Riots before 1955

The riots in the early 1950s had signalled to the British government the discontentment of the local people towards them. They decided to grant more political power to the local people to win their hearts and minds. The Anti-National Service Riots also made the Chinese-educated students become more politically active. They formed various student groups such as Singapore Chinese Middle School Students' Union (SMCSSU).

#### **Did you know?**

From 1948 to 1960, Malaya experienced the Malayan Emergency which was a communist insurgency against the British. The British employed the use of the "hearts and minds" policy to win support from the local people in order to weaken the influence of the communist forces. The policy was largely successful, and this success partially contributed to the British's use of a similar policy of granting political involvement to the people in Singapore.

### ***How was the Rendel Constitution significant in helping Singapore attain self-government?***

In July 1953, Sir George Rendel, a British diplomat, led a commission to recommend possible changes to the constitution known as the Rendel Constitution.

Features of the Rendel Constitution include:

- There would be a Council of Ministers led by the Governor. It comprises the Chief Minister and five other local ministers, and three British ministers.
- The Legislative Council was renamed Legislative Assembly.
- It recommended limited self-government. This means that only less important areas of the government would be controlled by the local representatives in the Legislative Assembly after they won the 1955 election. These areas were housing, health, trade and industry, and education.
- The British government still held onto the more important areas of government such as internal security, external defence, law, finance, and external affairs.

The Rendel Constitution served as an important step to self-government in Singapore as many more local people were involved in the governance of Singapore.

### ***How were the 1955 elections significant in Singapore's journey towards self-government?***

- There were more political parties formed to participate in the 1955 elections.
  - Labour Front (LF)
    - Formed in July 1954
    - Led by David Marshall, Lim Yew Hock and Francis Thomas
    - Made up of people with low income and English-educated trade union leaders
    - Wanted immediate independence
  - People's Action Party (PAP)
    - Formed on 21 November 1954
    - Founded by Lee Kuan Yew, Goh Keng Swee, Toh Chin Chye, S.Rajaratnam and K.M. Byrne
    - Wanted immediate independence
  - Both LF and PAP targeted to win the support from the Chinese community.
    - LF wanted to extend Singapore citizenship to China-born immigrants.
    - PAP wanted to win the support of workers, trade unions and students in Chinese-medium schools.
  - They promised the people that they could end British rule in Singapore.
  - They also promised to improve workers' welfare.

- In the 1955 elections, 79 candidates contested for the 25 elected seats in the Legislative Assembly.
- Unlike the 1948 elections, the 1955 elections garnered more interest from the people.
  - This election promised a greater degree of self-government.
  - This election had a greater number of political parties involved.
  - This election had an increased number of eligible voters.
- These different political parties carried out intensive campaigning, which focused on the issue of anti-colonialism, to arouse the public interest in the election and to gain their votes. They promoted their parties to the public through various means.
  - House-to-house visits
  - Rallies
  - Newspapers and pamphlets
  - Public speeches
- A mass turnout of 160,000 people showed up on polling day to cast their votes.
- LF was the biggest winner by winning 10 out of 25 seats. As such, David Marshall became Singapore's first Chief Minister to lead the Legislative Assembly.
  - Many Singaporeans were impressed by LF's strong anti-colonial stand.
  - The leader of LF, David Marshall, was a lawyer and strongly supported the need for self-rule.
- PAP which had 4 candidates contesting in the elections managed to win 3 seats. The 3 candidates who won the elections were Goh Chew Chua, Lee Kuan Yew and Lim Chin Siong.
- The outcome of the 1955 elections caught the British government by surprise. The British government expected the SPP to be the biggest winner in this election. Instead, the SPP only won 4 seats.
  - People voted for the political parties which showed strong anti-British rule.
  - The majority of the working-class Chinese had expressed discontentment with British rule and did not vote for the political parties which were pro-British and conservative.

### ***How did David Marshall's government form?***

Although LF won the 1955 elections, the number of seats attained was not enough for LF to form the government. Therefore, LF formed a coalition (an alliance between two or more political parties) to form the government. The British were not willing to offer any support to David Marshall as LF advocated anti-colonialism. They restricted David Marshall's power and his government was under the control of the Governor.

### ***How did the Hock Lee Bus Riots affect Singapore?***

#### **Background Information of the Hock Lee Bus Riots**

The Hock Lee Amalgamated Bus Company was a small company. The workers of this company joined two different unions, the Singapore Bus Workers' Union (SBWU) and the Hock Lee Bus Employees' Union.

#### **Causes of the Hock Lee Bus Riots, 1955**

In April, the workers from the SBWU, led by Fong Swee Suan, went on strike to demand for fair treatment and better working conditions. The bus company then sacked 229 workers who joined the strike.

#### **Immediate Consequences of the Hock Lee Bus Riots, 1955**

In response to the company's action, the workers went on a hunger strike and gathered at the bus depot at Alexandra Road to block the gates so that the buses could not leave the depot. The police were called in to end the strikes. The workers threw stones at the police and the police used their batons to disperse the crowd. As a result, 15 people were injured. Over the next few days, many students from the Chinese-medium schools came in lorries bringing food and sang and danced to show support for the workers. David Marshall tried to settle the dispute between the bus company and SBWU. Unfortunately, both sides failed to reach an agreement and the strikes continued. As the strikes continued, more bus workers from other companies joined in. The police used water hoses to disperse the workers and students. On 12 May 1955, the strike became a riot when the workers started to attack the police with bricks, stones and bottles. The riot finally ended on 14 May 1955 after the government helped to resolve the issue between the bus company and the unions. The workers who had been sacked by the company got their jobs back. This riot had killed 4 people, including a police detective and a 16-year-old student, and injured 31 people.



### Impact of the Hock Lee Bus Riots, 1955

The British lost confidence in David Marshall's administration as he was unwilling to make any arrest and imprison the communists that were involved in this riot. When David Marshall led a delegation to London to request for full internal self-government in 1956, which was the First Merdeka Talks, the British were reluctant to grant permission to his request and the talks failed. This was because the British government felt that David Marshall could not protect the British interests. They were also worried that the LF government could not maintain law and order and deal with communist threats effectively.

### ***How was Lim Yew Hock significant in Singapore's steps towards independence?***

When the First Merdeka Talks failed, David Marshall kept his promise by resigning from the post of Chief Minister in 1956. Lim Yew Hock took over the post of Chief Minister after David Marshall had resigned. He showed a tough stance towards the communists. Unlike David Marshall, Lim Yew Hock did not believe in threatening the British. Instead, he took a soft approach by working cooperatively with the British government to control communist activities so that he could gain the confidence of the British to grant full internal self-government. Another riot, known as the Chinese Middle School Student Riots, took place during the administration of Lim Yew Hock.

### ***How did the Chinese Middle School Student Riots affect Singapore?***

#### Causes of the Chinese Middle School Student Riots, 1956

Lim Yew Hock banned the Singapore Chinese Middle School Students' Union (SCMSSU) to curb its communist activities. About 5000 students protested to demand the re-registration of this union. However, the protests died down after stern warnings from the government. Two weeks later, 142 students from a few schools, such as Chung Cheng High School and The Chinese High School, were expelled from schools for allegedly carrying out anti-government activities.

#### Immediate Consequences of the Chinese Middle School Student Riots, 1956

In response to the government's actions, the students retaliated by camping in the schools. On 24 October, Lim Yew Hock demanded the students to leave the premises by 8 o'clock through a radio broadcast. With the support of the unions, the students became more defiant and ready to fight for their cause. At the same time, more and more people gathered outside the schools. The demonstrations turned violent when a mob outside Chung Cheng High School clashed with the police. The riots went on for three days. The government asked the troops from Malaya to restore order. 13 people were killed and more than 120 people were injured in this event.

### Impact of the Chinese Middle School Student Riots, 1956

After the riots, the government of Lim Yew Hock arrested some union leaders, such as Lim Chin Siong and Fong Swee Suan, quickly. The British showed confidence in Lim Yew Hock's administration as he managed to suppress the riots successfully.

### ***How did the Second Merdeka Talks succeed?***

Lim Yew Hock led his delegation to London for the Second Merdeka Talks in 1957 to re-negotiate with the British for full internal self-government. The negotiation was successful. Lim Yew Hock wanted to obtain full control of all internal matters of government but was willing to compromise on the issue of internal security, external affairs and external defence. The proposals of the Marshall mission of 1956 were used as the basis for the talks. This led to the November 1958 Constitution. Upon his return, he announced that Singapore would have full internal self-government with an election held in May 1959 to enforce a new constitution. The new constitution would change Singapore from a colony into the State of Singapore with control over all domestic issues except internal security. A Head of State, or Yang Di-Pertuan Negara, would replace the British Governor.

Branch of government (Made up of local representatives only)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Executive<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Head of State or Yang Di-Pertuan Negara</li><li>○ Prime Minister</li><li>○ 8 other local ministers</li></ul></li><li>• Legislative Assembly<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ All 51 members to be elected in 1959 elections</li></ul></li></ul>
Areas of responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Internal self-government<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Trade and industry</li><li>○ Health</li><li>○ Education</li><li>○ Housing</li><li>○ Law and labour</li><li>○ Finance</li></ul></li><li>• Under the British<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ External affairs</li><li>○ External defence</li></ul></li><li>• Shared responsibility between the internal self-government and the British and Malayan representatives<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Internal security</li></ul></li></ul>

### ***How were the 1959 elections significant in Singapore's journey towards self-government?***

- Singapore was divided into 51 constituencies in the 1959 elections.
- There were about 13 political parties which took part in this election with a total of 194 candidates contesting for 51 seats in the Legislative Assembly.
- The 1959 elections were very significant to Singapore as:
  - It was the first fully democratic election. All the members in the Legislative Assembly were elected by the people.
  - Voting was made compulsory to make sure people took part in the elections and elect the government officials they wanted.
  - The Citizenship Ordinance of 1957 allowed some 320,000 residents, including those who were not born in Singapore, to become citizens. It helped increase the number of voters to 525,000.
- Like the 1955 elections, each political party carried out intense campaigning to lobby for more support through various means.
  - Door-to-door visits
  - Communication media such as newspapers and radio
  - Pamphlets
  - Rallies
  - Vehicles with loudspeakers

### ***What was the outcome of the 1959 elections?***

- LF was renamed Singapore People's Alliance (SPA) in 1958. It performed poorly in the 1959 elections and only won 4 out of 39 seats they had contested. This was because many Chinese voters were unhappy with the way they handled the Chinese Middle School Student Riots in 1956. They perceived the SPA to be the 'running dogs' of the British, trying to please the British.
- PAP was the biggest winner. They won 43 out of the 51 seats. It formed the new government as it garnered a large majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly.
- The features of the PAP government:
  - Leader of the PAP, Lee Kuan Yew, became the first Prime Minister.
  - Yusof bin Ishak became the Head of State or Yang Di-Pertuan Negara
  - State symbols were installed. Thus, Singapore had its own State National Anthem, State Crest and State Flag. Zubir Said composed the State National Anthem, "Majulah Singapura".

### **Chapter 7 Checkpoint**

1. Explain **two** external developments that had given rise to anti-colonial sentiments in Singapore after the Japanese Occupation.
2. Explain **five** strategies the British adopted to win local support after World War II.
3. Describe the Maria Hertogh Riots, discussing the causes, immediate consequences, and impact of the incident.
4. Describe the Anti-National Service Riots, discussing the causes, immediate consequences, and impact of the incident.
5. Describe the Rendel Constitution with reference to its key features and significance in Singapore's journey towards self-government.
6. Explain **two** reasons why the 1955 elections were significant.
7. Describe the formation of David Marshall's government.
8. Describe the Hock Lee Bus Riots, discussing the causes, immediate consequences, and impact of the incident.
9. Describe the role of Lim Yew Hock's government in Singapore's steps towards self-government.
10. Describe the Chinese Middle School Student Riots, discussing the causes, immediate consequences, and impact of the incident.
11. Describe the Second Merdeka Talks.
12. Explain **two** reasons why the 1959 elections were significant.
13. Describe the outcome of the 1959 elections.

## Skill Build-up 7: How do we use sources to test a hypothesis?

Previously, in Skill Build-up 6, we learnt about how to test a source's reliability and usefulness. But, what's the point of doing so? We evaluate sources to see how well they are able to serve as evidence in our inquiry, and this inquiry is often in the form of a hypothesis. In this Skill Build-up, we'll learn how to use sources to evaluate a hypothesis.

At the GCE O-Levels standard, you will only be required to handle sources **individually**. This means that you will deal with one source at a time, and you will **not** need to treat the sources as a set. **Do note that most schools will not teach this skill at Secondary 2. This skill build-up is to equip you with the Evaluation SBQ skill that schools most commonly teach at Secondary 3 for Social Studies and/or History.**

Let's try an Evaluation of Hypothesis source-based question now!

### **Study all sources.**

"The government handled the Hock Lee Bus Riots well." How far do all sources prove this view? Explain your answer using the sources and your own knowledge.[8]

**Did the government handle the Hock Lee Bus riots well?**

**Source A:** *A historian's view on David Marshall's role in the Hock Lee Bus riots.*

The Chinese community supported Marshall. Most condemned the excessive force used by the police, while a minority blamed the trade unions. However, everyone backed Marshall's honest attempts to mediate, preferring it to unrepentant repression. They understood that the government, including the police, was still controlled by the British to a great degree...

Within the Chinese community, Marshall emerged from the Hock Lee Bus strike with his standing enhanced. His moderation and attempt to mediate between the various parties positioned him as an honest broker who could negotiate with his ministers and the British on behalf of the people. The riots were generally seen as not Marshall's fault, but a symptom of a problem he inherited from the colonial regime.



**Source B: A photograph taken at the scene where the Hock Lee Bus riots took place.**



**Source C: An account of the Hock Lee Bus Riots by Mr Othman Wok, who was a journalist with Malay newspaper, Utusan Melayu.**

There were demonstrations and riots in Alexandra area where the bus depot was. At the circus, the students put up road blocks and they stood around in a mass. Some of them moved forward... throwing stones, daring the police to retaliate. This went on for about half an hour I think. Then suddenly, there was a fire... word came through the loudspeakers that they had overturned a car... they were burning the car and attacking the passengers!

**Source D: An excerpt from Mr William Goode's diary entries on the last two days of the Hock Lee Bus Riots. Mr William Goode was the Colonial Secretary of Singapore.**

13<sup>th</sup> May 1955

Individual police were subject to booing and stoning and bands of young hooligans wandered about throwing stones and smashing motorcars...

14<sup>th</sup> May 1955

That evening, the Chief Minister succeeded in getting a settlement of the Hock Lee bus strikes. There was a marked lessening of tension and workers later reported for work. We are now left with only a comparatively small number of genuine industrial disputes. The tension has eased but the government should realise clearly and face the hard fact that we still have a potentially dangerous situation, which at any time may require the firmest possible measures to support law and order.



**Source E:** An excerpt from an interview done with Mdm Ng, recounting her experience at the Hock Lee Bus riots when she was a student.

We felt sorry for them. That's why my group of friends and I gathered students from other classes and discussed how we were able to help them. We went down to console the workers and gathered rations for them. We also sang and danced for them to boost their morale... there was this one time when my father would come to drag me home, they were afraid of me getting caught by the police and eventually get expelled. But I didn't care so much so I still continued to participate when I had the chance.

When approaching an Evaluation SBQ, we can generally follow a three-step framework:

1. Assess if the source's overall stance proves or contradicts the hypothesis.
2. Use relevant source evidence to support this claim and substantiate with some elaboration.
3. Critically evaluate the source's sufficiency / reliability as evidence for or against the hypothesis. (In History, you will have to use contextual knowledge for this part to attain up to bonus 2 marks. You get bonus 1 mark per source that you apply contextual knowledge to evaluate.)

### Typical Levels of Response Marking Scheme (LORMS)

Level	Descriptor
1	Writes about hypothesis without valid source use. (1 mark)
2	Uses sources to support <b>or</b> challenge the hypothesis. (2 to 4 marks) 2 marks for 1 Yes/No, 3 marks for 2 Yes/No, 4 marks for 3 Yes/No
3	Uses sources to support <b>and</b> challenge the hypothesis. (5 to 7 marks) 5 marks for 1 Yes + 1 No, 6 marks for 2 Yes/No + 1 No/Yes, 7 marks for 2 Yes + 2 No (cap at 6 marks for candidates who attempt 3 Yes/No + 1 No/Yes i.e. unbalanced evaluation)  <i>Award up to +2 marks for valid use of contextual knowledge to question or establish source reliability/sufficiency, 1 mark per source. (i.e. +1/+1) <b>No double credit will be given, meaning that critical analysis of source(s) for earlier question(s) regarding reliability/usefulness/surprise etc. will not count towards the bonus marks.</b></i>  <i>The total score for this question will not exceed 8 marks.</i>

### Exam tip!

Under exam conditions, you are advised to follow a similar structure as below:

Paragraph 1: A source that supports the hypothesis

Paragraph 2: A source that challenges the hypothesis

Paragraph 3: Another source that supports the hypothesis

Paragraph 4: Another source that challenges the hypothesis

(If time permits, in any of the 4 paragraphs above, include CK to challenge/support the source's reliability/sufficiency.)

Note: Contextual knowledge is **NOT** copying from the Background Information or paraphrasing the source itself. Contextual knowledge is **YOUR** own knowledge of historical details about this event that **ADDS ON** something that is **NOT** mentioned in the source-based case study.

Let's try crafting a complete answer to the question!

The hypothesis is: "The government handled the Hock Lee Bus Riots well."

**Source A proves this view** because it claims that Marshall's administration was perceived to be effective in its attempt to address the Hock Lee Bus Riots. (Yes + Overall message of the source) **This can be seen in** "[Marshall's] moderation and attempt to mediate between the various parties positioned him as an honest broker who could negotiate with his ministers and the British on behalf of the people." **This suggests that** he was successful in the process of coordinating the various stakeholders in the government to address the needs and interests of his people amidst the chaotic situation. (Apt use of source evidence + Elaboration) **This is further supported by my contextual knowledge.** From what I know, on 12 May 1955, the strike became a riot when the workers started to attack the police with bricks, stones and bottles. However, within just a few days' time, the riot ended on 14 May 1955 after the government helped to resolve the issue between the bus company and the unions. This stands to show the effectiveness and efficiency of Marshall's government in quickly bringing an end to the Hock Lee Bus Riots. **Therefore, Source A is reliable and hence able to prove this view.** (Use of **specific, concrete, and accurate** contextual knowledge to establish source reliability)

**Source B does not support this view** because it claims that the Hock Lee Bus Riots amassed widespread support from the local people. (No + Overall message of the source) **This can be seen in** the photograph showing masses of protestors gathered on the streets under the leadership of a man standing tall in the crowd. **This suggests that** the government failed to handle the riots well as many local people continued supporting the movement, causing greater disorder and chaos in society at that time. (Apt use of source evidence + Elaboration)

**Source D proves this view** as it claims that the government was efficient in resolving the disruption caused by the Hock Lee Bus Riots. (Yes + Overall message of the source) **This is evident in** Mr William Goode's diaries which showed that on 13<sup>th</sup> May 1955, there was still chaos at the riot scene while the next day, "the Chief Minister succeeded in getting a settlement of the Hock Lee bus strikes. There was a marked lessening of tension and workers later reported for work." **This highlights** the effectiveness of the government in reducing the hostility of the situation, and its efficiency in addressing this threat to domestic instability at that time within just a few days. (Apt use of source evidence + Elaboration)

**Source C does not support this view** as it claims that the Hock Lee Bus Riots caused widespread damage and chaos to society. (No + Overall message of the source) **This is evident in** "Some of them moved forward... throwing stones, daring the police to retaliate... they had overturned a car... they were burning the car and attacking the passengers!" **This suggests that** the rioters caused not just chaos but also possibly a direct threat to the safety of other civilians, and this highlights the government's failure to protect the people's safety during such turbulent times. (Apt use of source evidence + Elaboration)

#### In summary...

1. For Evaluation questions, alternate your PEEL / IEE paragraphs in the structure: Yes → No → Yes → No. This is a precautionary measure to ensure you can at least get L3/5m if (touch wood) you run out of time halfway through the question.
2. Magic number is 2. 2 Yes and 2 No. No more, no less.
3. For each PEEL / IEE paragraph, include: Yes/No + Message of source / Inference from source + Source evidence + Elaboration to ATQ.
4. Only use CK to evaluate **one** source. If not, you may be wasting precious time.
5. If you are unfamiliar with the topic at hand, just skip the CK portion. You do not want to waste time on writing meaningless stuff that will not gain you any marks.

## Chapter 8: How did Singapore become an independent nation?

### Key Knowledge

- Reasons for and opposition to proposed merger with Malaya, 1963
- Reasons for Singapore's separation from Malaysia, 1965

### By the end of this chapter, I can...

- Distinguish the reasons for and against the proposed merger with Malaysia.
- Explain the reasons for the separation of Singapore from Malaysia.

### ***Why did Singapore want to merge with Malaya?***

#### 1. Economic reasons

Singapore lacked natural resources and a hinterland. It experienced a rapid population growth that would need sufficient job opportunities for the people eventually. **Malaya was rich in natural resources, so Singapore would be able to have access to these vital resources and benefit its economy if a merger between these two countries took place.**

It also faced problems of a declining entrepot trade and growing unemployment. **Singapore needed the Malayan hinterland to provide for a bigger common market for its industries. This common market could be set up through the merger.**

The Malayan government imposed trade tariffs on goods exchanged between these two territories. Tariffs are taxes imposed by the government on imported and exported goods in and out of a country. Trade tariffs reduce profits earned by companies and businesses as part of the revenue collected is used to pay taxes. **In the common market, goods could be sold and bought freely without being taxed. This would help increase trade, expand the industries and create more job opportunities for Singapore to solve the rising unemployment.**

## 2. Political reasons

The British were worried that the communists would take over Singapore, so the British would not be likely to grant independence to Singapore in order to protect their interests. **The Singapore government understood that the British would only let Singapore to gain political independence if it merged with Malaya. The British believed that when a new federation, consisting of Singapore, Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei, was formed, there would be greater political stability in these territories to prevent the spread of communism and safeguard their interests.**

If the PAP did not fulfil its promise in the 1959 elections to gain independence from the British, the PAP government's reputation would be tarnished. **The PAP had to gain independence from the British through the Merger. This would ensure that the people would still trust the PAP government in the future.**

### ***Why did Malaya initially refuse to merge with Singapore before 1961?***

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, was concerned that the predominantly Chinese community in Singapore would be less keen to accept a Malay Sultan as their Head of State, use Malay as the national language or accept Islam as the state religion.

Malaya was not keen to merge with Singapore as it would disrupt the racial balance. Tunku was worried that there would be more Chinese than Malays in this new federation.

Tunku was also concerned about the spread of communism to Malaya. The pro-communist Chinese in Singapore might influence the Chinese in Malaya and disrupt the security in Malaya.

### ***Why did Malaya want to merge with Singapore after 1961?***

Tunku was worried that Singapore would not be able to contain communist threats. Malaya had a representative on Singapore's Internal Security Council. Tunku was afraid that if Singapore was not part of the Federation when it became an independent state, Malaya would lose its representative in this council to have a say over security matters in Singapore. The absence of both the colonial government and the Malayan representative would not be able to contain communist threats in Singapore easily. **Hence, Tunku wanted to contain communist threats in Singapore. If Singapore became part of Malaysia, it would be easy for the government in Malaysia to deal with communist elements in Singapore. If Singapore became independent with a communist government, it would also influence others to consider this type of government.**

Tunku was worried that Singapore would be controlled by radicals. Ong Eng Guan was a PAP member who served as Mayor of Singapore's City Council and represented the Hong Lim area. He won a seat in the Legislative Assembly in the 1959 elections and became Minister for National Development. By 1960, he started to have conflict with the PAP. When he openly challenged the PAP leadership in one of the party's conferences in June 1960, he was suspended as Minister and expelled from the party. He was then asked to resign his seat in the Legislative Assembly. This gave rise to the Hong Lim by-election. On 19 April 1961, after being expelled by the PAP, Ong Eng Guan contested as an independent candidate in the Hong Lim by-election. He defeated the PAP candidate successfully by winning a large margin of the votes. **This development in Singapore made Tunku worried as he feared that the split between the PAP would weaken the moderates and allow the radicals (those who were pro-communist members) to control the party. These radicals would take over the PAP and turn Singapore into a communist country forcefully. When this happened, the communists could use Singapore as a base to spread communism to Malaya.**



### **How did Singapore and Malaya agree on the proposed merger?**

- On 27 May 1961, Tunku made a speech to suggest the possibility of a merger between Malaya and Singapore.
- To solve the racial imbalance when merging with Singapore, the creation of the new federation would include other British colonies such as North Borneo (Sabah), Sarawak and Brunei. With the inclusion of these colonies, Tunku would ensure that the Chinese would not be the dominant ethnic group in the new federation.
- Lee Kuan Yew supported Tunku's suggestion. They discussed terms that allowed the formation of the Federation of Malaysia to take place.
- However, radicals within the PAP opposed the merger as they did not want the federal government in Malaya to eliminate them once Singapore became independent through merger. As a result, these radicals sabotaged the PAP by influencing the voters and helping the opposition party to win the Anson by-election successfully in 1961. This event further heightened Tunku's commitment to form Malaysia.
- The broad terms of merger were agreed by Lee Kuan Yew and Tunku on 24 August 1961.
  - Singapore would have its own Head of State.
  - Singapore could hold its own elections to elect its own state government.
  - Singapore citizens would be given the title of 'federal nationals' instead of 'federal citizens'.
  - Singapore would collect its own revenue and pay an agreed sum of money as taxes to Kuala Lumpur every year.
  - Singapore could exercise control in the areas of education and labour as well as its own civil service.
  - Singapore would allow the federal government in Kuala Lumpur to be in charge of its defence, internal security and foreign affairs.

### **How was the proposed merger opposed?**

- There were some PAP members who opposed the proposed merger, such as Lim Chin Siong and Fong Swee Suan, as they felt that the terms were not in favour of the people in Singapore.
- These people were expelled after they challenged Lee Kuan Yew's leadership unsuccessfully. They then formed a new political party called the Barisan Sosialis Singapura (Socialist Front of Singapore).
- In this new political party, Lee Siew Choh became the Chairman and Lim Chin Siong became the Secretary-General.
- The Barisan Sosialis opposed the proposed merger due to two main reasons.
  - The Barisan Sosialis members opposed the merger due to the status of the Singapore population within the new federation.
    - They were concerned that Singapore citizens would not be granted citizenship automatically in the new federation after the merger.
    - The Singapore population would be only known as 'federal nationals' and could only vote in Singapore elections.
  - The Barisan Sosialis members opposed the merger due to the allocation of seats in the federal government.
    - In exchange for having control over its education and labour, Singapore was given fewer seats than North Borneo and Sarawak even though it had a larger population than them.
    - The Barisan Sosialis members thus felt that Singapore only had second-class status as it was under-represented in the Malaysian parliament.
- The Barisan Sosialis started a campaign in September 1961 to oppose the merger. They debated the merger issue in radio forums and organised student demonstrations and labour strikes.

### ***How was the opposition against the proposed merger counteracted?***

#### **1. The Battle for Merger**

Lee Kuan Yew gave a series of radio talks called The Battle for Merger from September to October 1961 that reached the people living in Singapore, Brunei, Malaya, North Borneo and Sarawak. The radio talks were aired on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in three main languages, Mandarin, English and Malay, in different time slots. The talks were then re-broadcasted in Tamil, Hokkien and Cantonese.

## 2. Exhibitions

The PAP organised exhibitions to highlight the benefits of a merger. For example, the governments of Singapore and other territories that were to form the new federation jointly organised the Malaysia exhibition, which was part of Malaysia Week in early 1962, at the Victoria Memorial Hall, to show the lives and cultures as well as trade and commerce of the territories. This exhibition helped the visitors to understand the close cultural and social ties among these territories.

### ***What was the outcome of the Referendum?***

The PAP conducted a referendum on 1 September 1962 at the end of its campaign. The people in Singapore were given three options for the type of merger they wanted. This was deemed as unfair by many as there was no 'no' option which meant that all options provided in the Referendum expressed support towards the merger. The PAP preferred Option A that allowed Singapore to have its own control in labour, education and other agreed matters as well as converted Singapore citizens into citizens of Malaysia automatically. The Barisan Sosialis was against all three options and urged the people to cast blank votes. However, almost 71% of the voters voted Option A. **This showed that the majority of the people supported the government's position and did not agree with the Barisan Sosialis to sabotage the referendum.**

### ***How was the Barisan Sosialis eventually weakened?***

On 2 February 1963, the Internal Security Council launched Operation Coldstore to arrest those who were suspected of being under communist influence. More than 100 detainees included key Barisan Sosialis leaders and some members of the trade unions such as Lim Chin Siong and Fong Swee Suan. They were accused of trying to sabotage the formation of Malaysia and planning to stage an uprising in Singapore. Their arrest weakened the Barisan Sosialis.

### ***What were external reactions towards the formation of Malaysia?***

#### 1. Support towards the formation of Malaysia

The Cobbold Commission, led by Lord Cobbold, was made up of 3 British officials and 2 Malay representatives from Sabah and Sarawak. It was set up by the Malayan and British governments in January 1962 to find out if Sabah and Sarawak wanted to merge with Malaysia. The findings showed that more than two-thirds of people favoured merger. To corroborate the findings of the Cobbold Commission, Tunku allowed a United Nations Commission to visit Sabah and Sarawak to find out their views about the merger issue. After completing their findings in September 1963, it was clear that 70% of the population in both places favoured merger.

## 2. Opposition towards the formation of Malaysia

However, Indonesia and the Philippines strongly opposed the merger and broke off relations with Malaysia in 1963. Indonesia wanted North Borneo and Sarawak to join Indonesia instead of Malaysia. The Philippines claimed that North Borneo belonged to the Philippines. In Indonesia, the protesters who opposed merger launched a policy of Konfrontasi (Confrontation) on 20 January 1963 to create disorder in North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore by bombing public places. Brunei opted not to join Malaysia due to disagreement over economic issues.

Eventually, on 16 September 1963, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak joined the Federation of Malaysia. Hence, Malaysia was made up of 14 states.

### ***Why did Singapore separate from Malaysia?***

#### 1. Economic issues

Malaya delayed the establishment of the common market. Tariffs were still imposed on Singapore-produced goods exported to Malaya. This move protected the factories in Malaya for their own Malayan market but was **disadvantageous for Singapore**.

The federal government also decided to introduce new taxes on Singapore by increasing Singapore's revenue contribution from 40% to 60% as the event of Konfrontasi had increased defence spending. However, Singapore only took up 17% of the total population in Malaysia. The revenue contribution Singapore had to make was very disproportionate to its population percentage in Malaysia. **Thus, the Singapore leaders felt that it was unfair and that its original contribution was sufficient. This caused discontentment of the Singapore leaders to the federal government.**

#### 2. Political issues

There were also great differences in the political ideologies of the two governments. The political parties in Malaysia were formed along racial lines. The ruling party in Malaya, the Alliance Party, was formed by three communal parties — the UMNO led by the Malays, the MCA led by the Chinese and the MIC led by the Indians. Each communal party aimed to look after the interests of its own party. However, the major political parties in Singapore, such as the PAP, were multiracial in nature. The federal government rules Malaysia on the basis of communal politics, unlike Singapore which emphasises multiracial politics. The PAP aimed to build a Malaysia that was not along racial lines and everyone would be given equal opportunities to succeed. **This bred disagreements over the way to govern Malaysia as the federal government wanted a Malay Malaysia while the Singapore government wanted a Malaysian Malaysia, giving rise to heated debates in the political scene.**

There was also tough political contestation between the two governments. In the 1963 state election in Singapore, the SAP, formed by SPA with Singapore branches of UMNO, MCA and MIC, was supported by the Alliance Party in Kuala Lumpur to win more seats in the Legislative Assembly. However, the SAP failed to win any seats but the PAP won 37 out of 51 seats, including the areas of predominantly Malay constituencies. The PAP then decided to participate in the 1964 federal election to establish itself as a Malaysian political party. The Alliance Party won the majority of the seats in Parliament whereas the PAP only won one seat. Nonetheless, the Alliance leaders in Kuala Lumpur were upset with the PAP for taking part in the federal election. **Both parties were unhappy at each other for openly challenging each other in the political scene. This political contestation further strained the relationship between Singapore and Malaysia.**

The treatment of different races was also a key issue that divided the leaders of the two governments. Some UMNO leaders started to organise anti-PAP campaigns through the Utusan Melayu. They criticised the PAP and printed articles in this newspaper to arouse feelings of dissatisfaction among Singapore Malays towards the PAP government. They accused the PAP of failing to look after the interests of the Malays in Singapore. They also alleged that the PAP treated Singapore Malays as second-class citizens. They also claimed that the PAP placed greater emphasis on Chinese education at the expense of Malay education. **These campaigns, accusing the PAP of mistreating the Malays, caused the Malays to be dissatisfied towards the PAP. This led to growing racial tension in Singapore, evident in the 1964 Racial Riots. As a result, the relationship between Singapore and Malaysia further strained.**

### **Chapter 8 Checkpoint**

1. Explain **two** reasons why Singapore wanted to merge with Malaya.
2. Explain **two** reasons why Tunku refused merger with Singapore before 1961.
3. Explain **two** reasons why Malaya wanted to merge with Singapore after 1961.
4. Describe how Lee Kuan Yew and Tunku eventually reached an agreement for merger.
5. Describe terms of the merger agreement.
6. Explain **two** reasons why Barisan Sosialis opposed merger.
7. Explain **two** methods the PAP adopted to counteract Barisan Sosialis' opposition to the proposed merger.
8. Describe the controversies regarding the Referendum and its eventual outcome.
9. Describe the eventual weakening of the Barisan Sosialis in 1963.
10. "The formation of Malaysia was well-supported by external powers." How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.
11. Explain **two** reasons why Singapore separated from Malaysia.



## Skill Build-up 8: How do we construct stronger historical arguments? (Extension from Skill Build-up 5)

To write a strong argument, we should meet the following criteria:

1. Objective: Did you consider different perspectives of the issue?
2. Credible: Is your argument supported by credible evidence?
3. Convincing: Is your argument convincing enough?

**Do note: Most schools do not teach weighing at Lower Sec, and may choose to solely focus on explaining factors for Lower Sec History.**

An example of an *Essay Question* would be as such:

“The Japanese Occupation was harmful for the local people.” How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. (*Chapter 6 Checkpoint, Question 3*)

To be Objective, we should consider the different perspectives of this statement:

- Yes, I agree with the statement because the Japanese Occupation was harmful...
- No, I disagree with the statement because the Japanese Occupation was beneficial...

To be Credible, we should include relevant supporting details for each side of the coin. We could consider adopting the PEEL structure for each body paragraph, or any writing style that suits ourselves best.

To be Convincing, we could consider ending our essay with a powerful conclusion that strongly addresses our stance:

e.g. Overall, I disagree with the statement because...

The Conclusion is what we call *Weighing*. There are some guidelines we can use when *Weighing* the relative importance of factors. The following is a non-exhaustive list that only aims to provide you some fundamental ideas for *Weighing*:

1. Historical significance (Recall: Skill Build-up 1)
2. Types of causes (Recall: Skill Build-up 2)
3. Types of impacts (long-term vs short-term, affects the majority vs affects only the minority etc.)

We usually write 3 paragraphs for History “How far do you agree” essays at secondary school:

- Paragraph 1: Given Factor / View / Perspective
- Paragraph 2: Other Factor / View / Perspective
- Paragraph 3: Weighing Conclusion

For the first two paragraphs, treat it as your “Explaining factors” essay that we have learnt in the Sec 1 Guidebook, Skill Build-up 5. Let’s use Chapter 6 Checkpoint Question 3 as an example!

Sample Essay:

*Explaining Given View: Yes, harmful.*

**Yes, I agree** with the statement because the Japanese Occupation was **harmful** to the local people due to **the poor living conditions that many had to suffer from**. (Point) One problem faced was the shortage of food and essential items. After the first few weeks of the Japanese Occupation, essential food items such as rice, salt and sugar were strictly rationed. The locals were limited to a fixed quantity of essential items that they could obtain using ration coupons. The shortage of items drove prices up as shops did not have enough goods to cater to the needs of the people. The prices of essential goods increased rapidly over time, causing drastic inflation. As a result, the black market flourished. People had to pay extremely high prices for basic necessities. The Japanese government responded by printing more money, resulting in massive drops in the value of the banana notes. By the end of the Japanese Occupation, these notes had essentially become worthless. (Evidence) The locals **did not have access to basic necessities** which they require, hence negatively impacting their daily lives. (Explanation) Healthcare and sanitation was another problem that people faced. Between 1945 and 1945, 130,000 deaths were officially recorded. This was more than double the number between 1937 and 1940. The primary causes of death were beri-beri, pneumonia and dysentery. This was due to the poor living conditions that the Japanese offered the people. Also, the Japanese harshly treated them and made them work as hard labour such as in the Death Railway. (Evidence) Thus, **disease and death** was one major problem the people had to face. (Explanation) This inevitably **made life difficult** for many local people, resulting in **devastating impact on their livelihoods**. (Link)

*Explaining Other View: No, not harmful.*

**No, I disagree** with the statement because the Japanese Occupation was **beneficial** to some local people due to **Japanese efforts to win loyalty from the local community**. (Point) In their attempt to win local support, the Japanese provided certain benefits, such as schooling and accommodation, at no cost. For example, school textbooks were provided free of charge to 20,000 students in 1944. The Japanese also appealed to some ethnic groups by giving them favourable treatment. The Malay Nationalist organisation Union of Malay Youth responded positively to Japanese propaganda that promised better lives for Malays under an Asian power. This resulted in Malays being treated less harshly by the Japanese. For instance, the Japanese distributed rice, sugar and salt to the less fortunate for Hari Raya Puasa. Malays and Indians were also charged lower fees than the Chinese to cross the Causeway. (Evidence) While such acts of goodwill were based on the agenda to garner support from the masses, these **improved the standards of living** of certain communities, some even **beyond pre-war levels** as they received **proper education** and **a better living**. (Explanation) This **made life better** for certain communities, thus proving the Japanese Occupation **beneficial to some local people**. (Link)

*Weighing Conclusion*

Thought Process

Which type of weighing criterion should we use in our conclusion? This is how I would weigh the two opposing views in my essay:

- I will consider **types of impacts** as this essay is ultimately on the impact of Japanese rule on the local people.
- I can consider comparing **long-term vs short-term** or **minority vs majority** for this essay.

Possible Argument using **Minority vs Majority**

In conclusion, I agree with the statement. Challenges that Japanese rule posed to the lives of the local people were more widespread, evident in severe problems like food shortage and disease outbreak **plaguing the masses**. In contrast, **only a minority** of obedient non-Chinese that were of value to Japanese interests in Singapore experienced benefits that the Japanese rulers had provided them in exchange for cooperation. As such, the harmful impact of the Japanese Occupation was **more far-reaching** than the positive impact, so I agree with the statement.

## Chapter 9: How did Singapore safeguard its independence after 1965?

### Key Knowledge

- Developments that threatened Singapore's security
  - Impact of regional tensions (Konfrontasi, Vietnam War)
  - Impact of British military withdrawal
- Establishing a national defence force
  - Introduction of National Service in 1967
  - Establishing a home-grown defence industry
  - Reactions to, and experiences of serving National Service
- Strengthening diplomatic relations with the world
  - Bilateral relations
  - Membership in multilateral organisations (ASEAN and the UN)

### By the end of this chapter, I can...

- Identify the impact of regional tensions on Singapore as a nation-state.
- Describe the impact of the security challenges facing newly independent Singapore and its people.
- Explain how Singapore dealt with these challenges.

### ***What were the security challenges Singapore faced after independence?***

#### 1. Konfrontasi

Indonesia launched a policy of Konfrontasi (confrontation) to oppose the formation of the Federation of Malaysia. During Konfrontasi from 1963 to 1966, Indonesia fought with the Malaysian and Commonwealth forces along the long land border shared between Malaysia and Indonesia. It also carried out acts of sabotage in Malaysia. Indonesian President Sukarno opposed the Federation of Malaysia because he believed that this new federation would continue to allow the British to control the territories in the federation and he wanted to unite the Malay Archipelago under his leadership.

Konfrontasi was a serious security threat to Singapore. The Indonesian saboteurs carried out as many as 42 bombings in Singapore. They not only targeted military facilities and public utilities but also bombed public places. On 10 March 1965, a bomb exploded along Orchard Road at MacDonald House. It killed three people and injured 33 as well as destroyed nearby buildings and vehicles. It was the deadliest incident during Konfrontasi. When two Indonesian soldiers were arrested and found guilty of the MacDonald House bombing, they were sentenced to death. This case triggered the angry Indonesian students to attack the Singapore embassy and homes of Singapore diplomats in Jakarta. **This destabilised Singapore by causing public panic and a stronger sense of insecurity as people were afraid of the imminent threat that the Konfrontasi forces would pose to Singapore's public places, hence posing a great security challenge to the newly formed government.**

## 2. Rising communist threat

Singapore continued to face threats from communist groups that carried out acts of terrorism even when the Malayan Emergency was over in 1960. Even when the size of communist groups had scaled down, they still posed an internal security threat in Singapore in the 1970s. Some of their acts of violence included the killing of a seven-year-old girl in Changi in 1970, a bombing in Katong in 1974 and the attempted assassination of Singapore Commissioner of Police in 1976.

The communist problem was even more serious due to the Vietnam War in the region. In 1954, the French and Vietnam signed a peace agreement to end the conflict in the country. The country thus split into two independent states — communist North Vietnam and non-communist South Vietnam. In 1956, the French left Vietnam and it was the end of the French colonial rule in the country. However, a conflict arose between both sides of the governments as each of them wanted to reunify the country under its own rule despite this peace agreement. This conflict was known as the Vietnam War. The United States and other non-communist countries in Asia were concerned about this conflict in Vietnam. They feared that communism would spread to the whole region eventually if North Vietnam won the war as there were already many pro-communist movements established in other Southeast Asian countries such as Malaya, the Philippines and Laos during the 1950s and 1960s. To prevent the victory of North Vietnam, the United States allocated vast military resources to support South Vietnam. **Singapore was affected by this event as the country had just gained independence during the escalation of the Vietnam War. The Singapore government feared that the effect of the Vietnam War would ripple to the rest of the region and destabilise Singapore.**

## 3. Transnational terrorism

Singapore experienced its first international terrorism on 31 January 1974 when foreign terrorists hijacked the ferry boat Laju and held crew members hostage. Before that, these terrorists had attacked the Shell oil refinery on Pulau Bukom as they wanted to disrupt the oil supply from Singapore to South Vietnam. This event was finally over when the terrorists were promised a safe passage from Singapore to Kuwait in exchange for hostages. **Transnational terrorism was a severe threat as it not only put Singapore's security at stake, but also its economic interests especially when these terrorists destroyed critical infrastructure in the nation. This was a great challenge especially to a newly conceived nation like Singapore.**

#### 4. Withdrawal of British military

Singapore had been relying on the British forces to help it defend against external threats since 1819. However, in the 1960s, the British started to face fund and resource constraints to maintain its military presence in the region. This caused the British to decide to withdraw its defence forces from Singapore in 1967. Singapore had no defence system after the withdrawal of British forces. There were only two battalions of regular infantry of 50 officers and about 1000 men each at the point of independence. During Konfrontasi, about 50,000 servicemen were needed to defend against the threat from Indonesia. **This meant that Singapore's defence fell far below adequate to fend off possible invaders and individuals or groups with ill intentions towards Singapore. Singapore now became vulnerable to any external attack that could possibly arise especially during such a turbulent period of time.**

#### ***How did Singapore practise deterrence to overcome its security challenges?***

##### 1. Introducing National Service (NS)

After independence, the only way Singapore could build a strong defence force was by conscription. As a result, the Singapore government introduced NS in 1967. Conscription is the compulsory enrolment of people for military service. Many males were conscripted for at least two years of full time NS. After they had completed NS, these people would become reservists who would be called up for short training periods to refresh their military skills and pick up arms in times of emergency. The NS helped to expand the defence force rapidly known as the SAF. By the end of the 1970s, the SAF had evolved into a sizable defence force consisting of an army, an air force and a navy. The People's Defence Force (PDF) was formed to supplement the SAF. It was made up by part-time volunteers including Ministers such as Goh Keng Swee, Members of Parliament and senior civil servants. Both of them formed a large size of forces to meet Singapore's defence needs.

**With the introduction of NS, Singapore today has a sizable force that can be mobilised to defend the country in times of emergency. National servicemen form the bulk of the fighting force in the SAF who contribute to Singapore's peace and stability. Therefore, NS remains critical to Singapore's continued survival and success because it is the foundation of Singapore's national defence.**

**NS also plays an important role in fostering a national identity among the people of Singapore as it creates loyalty and national consciousness amongst people that take part in the country's defence system.**



## 2. Establishing a home-grown defence industry

The military equipment left behind by the British was mostly obsolete and inadequate to meet the growing demand of the SAF.

Singapore had to buy equipment from other countries, such as the United States and France, to meet its demand. However, it would be a weakness to rely on foreign countries to supply all its military equipment.

Therefore, Defence Minister Goh Keng Swee put in effort to develop Singapore's defence industry to produce locally made equipment and supplies to the SAF. **This would ensure that the SAF could continue to function even when the supply of equipment from foreign countries were disrupted.** In 1967, the Chartered Industries of Singapore (CIS) was formed to produce ammunition and weapons for the SAF. One of the earliest weapons made by CIS was the M16S1 rifle. It was an American design but produced locally to supply to the soldiers. Singapore also trained defence engineers and scientists to design and create new technology that was catered specifically to Singapore's defence needs.

## 3. Strengthening military cooperation with other countries

Singapore continued to maintain relations with Commonwealth countries such as Britain, Australia and Malaysia. It also formed new ties with other countries like the United States. **This friendly relation allowed the SAF to either buy equipment from them or train with and learn from these countries with more experienced armed forces.**

In 1971, the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA) was signed by Singapore, Australia, Britain, New Zealand and Malaysia to offer assistance to one another in times of threats or attacks from other countries. These five countries were part of the former British Empire and members of the Commonwealth and had common interests in the region. **The FPDA allowed these countries to carry out regular combined military exercises. It thus provided a platform for them to enhance defence cooperation. This platform was particularly crucial in the 1970s and 1980s when many armed conflicts took place across parts of Southeast Asia. The FPDA is still a relevant and defensive arrangement that safeguards regional peace and stability.**

### ***How did Singapore practise diplomacy to overcome its security challenges?***

#### **1. Establishing diplomatic relations with other countries**

This measure was important because it would ensure that other countries recognised Singapore as an independent country. **Therefore, no country would claim that Singapore had no right to gain independence and might threaten, coerce and even invade it. When other countries recognised Singapore as an independent country, they would also help to keep the country safe and secure.**

Besides having close ties with many Commonwealth countries at the point of independence, Singapore also needed to form new bilateral relationships with other influential countries.

Singapore established a bilateral relation with the United States, one of the most economically and militarily important countries that had shown interest in Asia. In 1976, Lee Kuan Yew paid his first visit to China to start a process of engagement with Chinese leaders as the ties between China and Southeast Asia were expanding.

Singapore also tried to improve the bilateral ties with countries that it had tensions with, such as Indonesia. The bilateral ties between Singapore and Indonesia were further strained during Konfrontasi after Singapore executed two Indonesian soldiers who were responsible for bombing the MacDonald House in 1968. In 1973, Lee Kuan Yew visited Indonesia and scattered flowers on the graves of the two soldiers. This allowed the bilateral ties between these two countries to improve.

#### **2. Joining international and regional organisations**

**By joining international and regional organisations, it would help to cement the status of Singapore as an independent country. When Singapore became a member of these organisations, it could take part actively in international and regional affairs. This allowed its voice to be heard by the world.** On 21 September 1965, Singapore became the 117th member of the United Nations (UN) after it had separated from Malaysia. In 1967, Singapore became a founding member of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN). The formation of ASEAN helped to prevent the spread of communism during the Cold War and promote the development of social, economy and culture in the Southeast Asian region through multilateral cooperation. ASEAN has introduced measures to increase trade among its members. It aims to promote peace and stability among member states and external partners. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978, ASEAN worked with the UN and other major countries such as the United States and China to get Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia.

### **Chapter 9 Checkpoint**

1. Explain **four** security challenges Singapore faced after independence.
2. Explain **three** methods through which the Singapore government practised deterrence to overcome its security challenges.
3. Explain **two** methods through which the Singapore government practised diplomacy to overcome its security challenges.



## Chapter 10: To What Extent Did People's Lives Change After Independence?

### Key Knowledge

- Uncertainty over Singapore's survival as a nation
  - Economic concerns (Loss of Malayan hinterland, growing unemployment)
  - Social concerns (Inadequate housing and public services, need for cohesion and sense of belonging)
- Meeting the needs of the people
  - Diversifying the Singapore economy (export-oriented industrialisation)
  - Providing housing, education and healthcare
- Impact of policies on peoples' lives
  - Changes in standard of living
  - People's sense of belonging and national identity

### By the end of this chapter, I can...

- Describe the impact of the domestic challenges facing newly independent Singapore and its people.
- Explain how Singapore dealt with these challenges.
- Explain the impact of post-independence national policies on the lives of Singaporeans.

### ***What economic challenges did Singapore face after independence?***

#### **1. Critical Shortage of Natural Resources**

Upon gaining independence in 1965, Singapore had no significant natural resources to support its industrial growth. Essential raw materials such as rubber, which was vital for the automobile industry, and tin, used in canning and other industries, had to be imported. Unlike its neighbors Malaysia and Indonesia, which had abundant resources like rubber plantations and oil reserves, Singapore had to rely on trade and external sources for these commodities. **This lack of natural resources constrained the country's ability to develop resource-based industries, making economic self-reliance a significant challenge.**

## 2. Overdependence on Entrepôt Trade

For decades, Singapore's economy revolved around its strategic location as a trading hub. The entrepôt trade model relied on the import and export of goods without much local processing. While this made Singapore a key trading center for the region, it left the economy highly vulnerable to external shocks, such as global recessions or shifts in international trade patterns. For instance, the British military withdrawal in 1971 threatened to reduce Singapore's economic activity, as the British bases previously accounted for about 20% of Singapore's GDP. **Diversifying the economy became a pressing priority to reduce the risks associated with overdependence on trade.**

## 3. High Unemployment and Rapid Population Growth

In 1965, Singapore had an unemployment rate of approximately 10% amid a population of around 1.9 million, which was growing at an annual rate of about 2.5%. The job market struggled to absorb the growing workforce, leading to widespread underemployment. Many families were large, often with multiple dependents, which placed immense financial strain on households. **Additionally, the lack of industrial development at the time meant there were limited avenues for employment, leaving many citizens to rely on low-income or informal jobs.**

### ***What social challenges did Singapore face after independence?***

#### 1. Inadequate housing and poor public services

Inadequate housing and poor public services contributed to the uncertainty over Singapore's survival as a nation in the immediate post-independence period. In the 1960s, Singapore faced a severe housing crisis, with many people living in overcrowded and unhygienic slums or squatter settlements. The 1961 Bukit Ho Swee fire highlighted the gravity of the problem, as it destroyed over 2,800 homes and left more than 16,000 people homeless. This exposed the lack of proper housing and public services, such as sanitation and clean water. **Such incidents caused social instability and eroded confidence in the government's ability to address the people's basic needs. Without stable housing and essential services, national unity and progress were at risk. Therefore, the inadequate housing situation, exemplified by the Bukit Ho Swee fire, contributed to the uncertainty over Singapore's survival as a nation by threatening social stability and public confidence in the immediate post-independence period.**

## 2. Need for cohesion and sense of belonging

The need for cohesion and a sense of belonging was crucial to addressing Singapore's uncertainty over its survival as a nation in the immediate post-independence period. Following independence in 1965, Singapore faced significant challenges, including racial tensions from the 1964 riots, economic struggles due to high unemployment, and the loss of its economic hinterland after separation from Malaysia. Additionally, Singapore was geopolitically vulnerable, surrounded by larger and more powerful neighbours. **These challenges created deep uncertainty over Singapore's future as a stable and independent nation. Without a shared sense of national identity and unity, the country risked being divided by ethnic and communal tensions, which could threaten social harmony and economic progress. Therefore, fostering cohesion and a sense of belonging was vital in overcoming the immediate challenges post-independence and ensuring Singapore's survival as a united and stable nation.**



### ***How did the Singapore government address the economic challenges?***

1. Providing incentives for multinational corporations (MNCs) from other countries to set up factories and subsidiaries in Singapore

The government attempted to brand Singapore as a stable, low-cost manufacturing export centre to attract MNCs to invest here. This promoted export-oriented industrialisation, where factories were set up to manufacture goods for export. **This created jobs for the unemployed, hence solving the unemployment problem.**

2. Transforming Singapore into a more organised and efficient country in the region  
The government ensured that Singapore had high standards of public services like health, security, education, transportation, and telecommunications.

- Airport: Developed and expanded the international airport → **Increased ability to handle bigger aircraft and cargo**
- Port: Set up Port of Singapore Authority (PSA) → **Oversaw, managed and developed port operations to improve efficiency**
- Banking and finance: Set up banks → **Provided financial support needed to promote Singapore's industrialisation**
- Electrical, water and gas supplies: Set up Public Utilities Board (PUB) → **Coordinated supply of water, gas and electricity to people**
- Telecommunications: Installed an average of 10,000 telephones per year in the 1960s → **Ensured that Singapore remained part of the bigger world**
- Economic Development Board: Set up in 1961 → **Handled and directed the development of new and existing industries** e.g. developed Jurong Industrial Estate for industries and factories

By 1985, Singapore had become a modernised city-state with a vibrant diversified economy. From 1964 to 1985, Singapore experienced an average economic growth of 12.5% per year. **This fostered a stable and inviting economic environment that had not only attracted foreign capital but also served as the basis for future economic development in the long run.**

## ***How did the Singapore government address the social challenges?***

### **1. Providing housing**

The government set up the Housing Development Board (HDB) to provide public housing for the increasing population of Singapore.

- 1<sup>st</sup> Five Year Plan
  - To build as many flats as quickly and cheaply.
  - To efficiently resettle people living in slums to better areas.
  - To realise the 'neighbourhood' concept → Each neighbourhood will be self-contained with shops, schools, clinics, community centres, and playgrounds.
  - e.g. Tiong Bahru, Queenstown, Toa Payoh
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Five Year Plan
  - To improve the quality of the housing programme.
  - To improve the designs of houses and estates.
  - To incorporate more open spaces between buildings.
  - To build better facilities like carparks and playgrounds.
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Five Year Plan
  - To provide housing that can suit the needs of the middle-income households who wanted bigger flats but could not afford private properties.
  - Housing and Urban Development Company (HUDC) was formed in 1974 to design flats that could cater to the needs of these people.

As a result, people could afford to own their homes, hence providing a stake for everyone which increased their sense of ownership and thus sense of belonging to Singapore. This also promoted a sense of national pride and identity among Singaporeans. The HDB scheme also helped to encourage social stability through social mixing as different races interacted in their neighbourhoods, promoting interracial harmony.

## 2. Providing education

In 1959, different education systems were integrated in an attempt to increase Singaporeans' literacy levels. Government schools incorporated practices such as daily flag-raising and pledge-taking ceremonies. Civics Education was also made compulsory for students. There was also the large-scale recruitment of teachers so as to maximise the number of students who can attend school.

Another policy was bilingualism where all students had to learn two languages, English and their Mother Tongue language. English was the language that the modern business world used, thus learning English would equip students for the future. English also acted as a common language among the different races, encouraging racial harmony. Learning Mother Tongue also reminded students about their ethnic roots.

The education policy that the Singapore government had undertaken was to a large extent successful. **It equipped new members of the workforce with technical skills to ride on the opportunities brought about by the globalisation of the economy. The education system also changes regularly over the years to meet the evolving needs of the nation. The bilingual policy was particularly effective in the long run.**

## 3. Providing healthcare

The Singapore government provided healthcare to meet the needs of its people in the immediate post-independence period to improve public health and stability. To ensure access to medical services, the government built public hospitals and clinics across the island. Affordable healthcare initiatives were introduced so lower-income groups could receive treatment. Preventive healthcare was also prioritised, with public health campaigns addressing issues such as sanitation, hygiene, and infectious diseases like tuberculosis. For example, investments in clean water supplies and proper sewage systems helped to reduce the spread of diseases. **These measures were critical in improving the health and well-being of Singaporeans, ensuring a healthier population capable of contributing to economic development. By addressing the people's healthcare needs, the government also helped to restore public confidence and reduce uncertainty over Singapore's future as a nation. Therefore, the Singapore government's efforts in providing healthcare played a key role in improving living standards and ensuring the population was healthy and productive during the immediate post-independence period.**

### ***How did Singapore's post-independence policies impact people's lives?***

#### **1. Changes in standard of living**

Singapore's immediate post-independence policies significantly improved the standard of living for its people. The government prioritised large-scale public housing through the Housing and Development Board (HDB), which built affordable and modern flats to tackle overcrowding and poor living conditions. For example, by the mid-1970s, the HDB had provided housing for over 50% of the population, replacing slums and squatter settlements with clean, safe homes equipped with basic amenities like clean water and proper sanitation. **These policies greatly improved living conditions, reduced poverty, and enhanced health outcomes. Better housing, infrastructure, and access to clean water helped create a healthier and more stable population, contributing to economic productivity and overall well-being. Therefore, the government's policies brought about significant improvements in the standard of living by addressing housing and basic needs, which laid the foundation for a better quality of life.**

#### **2. People's sense of belonging and national identity**

Post-independence policies helped to foster a sense of belonging and national identity among Singaporeans. Policies such as National Service (NS), introduced in 1967, required young men to serve in the armed forces, promoting unity and shared responsibility for the nation's defence. Additionally, initiatives like the National Pledge, recited in schools, emphasised racial harmony, loyalty, and a shared identity as Singaporeans. Public housing policies also contributed by integrating people of different ethnicities into the same neighbourhoods, fostering social cohesion. **These policies instilled a sense of shared purpose and identity in the population, uniting people of different ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds under a common national vision. National Service, in particular, strengthened loyalty to Singapore as young men bonded over a shared experience in service to the country. Therefore, the government's post-independence policies were effective in fostering a sense of belonging and national identity, helping to unify Singaporeans during a critical period of nation-building.**

### **Chapter 10 Checkpoint**

1. Explain **three** economic challenges Singapore faced after independence.
2. Explain **two** ways through which the Singapore government addressed its economic challenges in the immediate post-independence period.
3. Explain **two** social challenges Singapore faced after independence.
4. Explain **two** ways through which the Singapore government addressed its social challenges in the immediate post-independence period.

# Summary of SBQ Techniques

In the Sec 1 and Sec 2 Guidebooks, we have covered the following skills:

## 1. Inference

*Good Practice for all Inferences we make: SACR Inference*

From Source A, I can infer that **British rule** was **beneficial** for Singapore as **it enabled Singapore to achieve prosperity**.

- S: Subject (who?)
- A: Aspect (what?)
- C: Claim (how?)
- R: Reason (why?)

Our inference will be incomplete (and likely a sub-message) if...

### **common error 1: SAC only**

British rule was beneficial for Singapore.

### **common error 2: SCR only**

The British were beneficial for Singapore as they enabled Singapore to achieve prosperity.

### **common error 3: SAR only**

British rule enabled Singapore to achieve prosperity.

## a. General inferences

*e.g. What can you infer... What can you learn... What does the source tell you...*

Rule of thumb → 4 marks: 1 supported inference, 5 marks: 2 supported inferences

Follow the PEEL / IEE structure:

**Inference** — What can you *deduce* from the source? Do not use vague words like *good*, *bad* etc. Use specific terminology e.g. *hardship*, *harsh circumstances* etc.

**Evidence** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the source had mentioned. Extend beyond the source to answer the question (ATQ) directly. You may choose to use *some* contextual knowledge to make a stronger argument.

b. Inference of message / attitude / stance (most schools choose to teach this only at Sec 2)

e.g. *What is the message... Do you think the author is a supporter of... What is the author's attitude...*

One insightful inference would suffice.

Follow the PEEL / IEE structure:

**Inference** — What can you *deduce* from the source? Do not use vague words like *good*, *bad* etc. Use specific terminology e.g. *hardship*, *harsh circumstances* etc.

Always answer the question directly here, before writing the message of the source to substantiate your response to the question. Refer to the examples below.

- What is the message? → The message of the source is that...
- Do you think the author is a supporter of...? → I think the author is / is not a supporter of... because the message of the source is that...
- What is the author's attitude? → The author has a... attitude towards... because the message of the source is that...

**Evidence** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the source had mentioned. Extend beyond the source to answer the question (ATQ) directly. You may choose to use *some* contextual knowledge to make a stronger argument.

c. Inference of purpose (most schools choose to teach this only at Sec 2)

e.g. *What is the purpose... Why was the source published?*

One insightful inference will suffice.

Follow the VAMEECO structure:

**Verb** — Use a strong verb to describe the writer's intent. Some examples include:

Neutral verbs → Convince, persuade, remind

Positive verbs → Glorify, encourage, praise, applaud

Negative verbs → Criticise, mock, blame, warn, condemn

**Audience** — Who is the source targeted at? Be specific.

e.g. ❌ the public ✅ the **German** public

**Message** — What can you *deduce* from the source? Do not use vague words like *good*, *bad* etc. Use specific terminology e.g. *hardship*, *harsh circumstances* etc.

**Evidence** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the source had mentioned. Extend beyond the source to answer the question (ATQ) directly.

**Context** — What were the circumstances at that point of time which led to the publishing of this source?

**Outcome** — What does the author want the audience to do after seeing the source? Be specific, keeping in mind the context in which the source was published.



## 2. Comparison

Rule of thumb → 1 similarity + 1 difference

Exceptions: Questions such as “How are both sources similar/different...” and “In what ways are both sources similar/different...” → 2 similarities/differences

Exam tip: Use connectors in between the analysis of two sources in the same paragraph for clear signposting, e.g. *Similarly, Likewise, In contrast, However.*

Preferred similarity paragraph structure:

**Common criterion** — What is the *common inference* you can make from **both** sources? Do not use vague words like *good, bad* etc. Use specific terminology e.g. *hardship, harsh circumstances* etc.

**Evidence from 1<sup>st</sup> source** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the source had mentioned. Extend beyond the source to answer the question (ATQ) directly. You may choose to use *some* contextual knowledge to make a stronger argument.

**Evidence from 2<sup>nd</sup> source** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the source had mentioned. Extend beyond the source to answer the question (ATQ) directly. You may choose to use *some* contextual knowledge to make a stronger argument.

Alternative similarity paragraph structure:

**Common criterion** — What is the *common inference* you can make from **both** sources? Do not use vague words like *good, bad* etc. Use specific terminology e.g. *hardship, harsh circumstances* etc.

**Evidence from 1<sup>st</sup> source** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Evidence from 2<sup>nd</sup> source** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the sources had mentioned. Extend beyond the sources to answer the question (ATQ) directly. You may choose to use *some* contextual knowledge to make a stronger argument. Explain **both** sources' arguments as a set to ATQ.

Difference paragraph structure:

**Common criterion** — What is the *basis of comparison* you are using to compare **both** sources?

**Inference from 1<sup>st</sup> source** — What can you *deduce* from the source? Do not use vague words like *good*, *bad* etc. Use specific terminology e.g. *hardship*, *harsh circumstances* etc.

**Evidence from 1<sup>st</sup> source** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the source had mentioned. Extend beyond the source to answer the question (ATQ) directly. You may choose to use *some* contextual knowledge to make a stronger argument.

**Inference from 2<sup>nd</sup> source** — What can you *deduce* from the source? Do not use vague words like *good*, *bad* etc. Use specific terminology e.g. *hardship*, *harsh circumstances* etc.

**Evidence from 2<sup>nd</sup> source** — Quote directly from textual sources. Briefly describe key details from pictorial / graphical sources. Do not overwrite, keep this part to about 1 to 2 lines.

**Elaboration** — Do not just paraphrase what the source had mentioned. Extend beyond the source to answer the question (ATQ) directly. You may choose to use *some* contextual knowledge to make a stronger argument.

### 3. Reliability

There is no one-size-fit-all approach, but some possible arguments to test reliability include:

- Cross-reference: Do other sources support or contradict this source? Support = Reliable, Contradict = Unreliable
- Provenance and purpose: Does the source have an agenda? If so, then it is unreliable.
- Enhanced reliability: Does the source discuss matters in a manner that contradicts its own stance? e.g. Pritam Singh criticising Workers' Party. If so, then it is reliable.

### 4. Usefulness (most schools teach this at Upper Sec, so this is just FYI for now)

- Reliability: Is the source reliable? If so, then it is useful.
- Relevance: Does the source answer your query? If so, then it is useful.
- Comprehensiveness: Does the source cover various perspectives? If so, then it is useful.

### 5. Evaluation (most schools teach this at Upper Sec, so this is just FYI for now)

# Sec 2 Revision Paper 1

Suggested Duration: 1 hour 15 minutes

## Section A: Source-Based Case Study

*Adapted from O2012 Paper 1.*

**1 (a)** Study Source A.

Why do you think the Central Executive Committee issued this policy statement in January 1961? Explain your answer using the source and your own knowledge. [5]

**(b)** Study Sources B and C.

How far would both sources agree about the reasons for merger? Explain your answer. [6]

**(c)** Study Source D.

How credible is Lee Siew Choh about whether Barisan Sosialis supported merger? Explain your answer. [6]

### Why did Singapore join Malaysia in September 1963?

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In September 1962 a referendum was held in Singapore on merger with Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak. The people of Singapore voted strongly in favour of merger, and in September 1963 the new state of Malaysia was joined. However, within two years the merger had collapsed and Singapore had withdrawn from Malaysia. Why, then, had merger occurred in the first place?

**Source A: A policy statement by the Central Executive Committee of the PAP, January 1961.**

An independent Singapore, once established, would create a situation whereby Chinese *chauvinist*\* feelings would openly and aggressively come to the fore. At present these are being slowly reduced because of the objective of independence through merger.

*\*Chauvinism is a belief in the superiority of one's own race.*

**Source B: A historian's opinion of why the Tunku accepted the idea of merger in 1961.**

In Singapore the Communist-front organisations and trade unions gathered strength. By 1961 the Tunku was alarmed that Singapore looked as though it might be taken over by the Communists exploiting the democratic system of government. He feared a Communist outpost on his doorstep. He therefore proposed that Singapore should become part of a multi-racial concept to be known as Malaysia.

**Source C: Tunku Abdul Rahman in an interview in 1982.**

Naturally we did not want Singapore. Merger would give the Chinese a million majority over the Malays in Malaysia. But Kuan Yew was keen. He knew what he would get when he joined Malaysia. The least he would get was independence for Singapore. The British did not want Singapore to be independent on its own. They didn't think that Singapore would be strong enough to control the Communists.

**Source D: From an article written by Lee Siew Choh, President of the Barisan Sosialis, during the Assembly election campaign, September 1963.**

The Barisan Sosialis stands for genuine reunification of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya. We support the principle of self-determination for all territories. We oppose Malaysia because it merely prolongs colonial domination and exploitation of our country. In the phoney merger, Singapore is given unjust and unequal terms. Only with the creation of a socialist Malaya will the problems of poverty, disease, ignorance and want be solved. We shall certainly work with the government to bring about a united, independent socialist country with Singapore playing its rightful role.

### **Section B: Structured Essay Question**

- 2** Explain why people in Singapore found life during the Japanese Occupation challenging. [8]

# Sec 2 Revision Paper 2

Suggested Duration: 1 hour 15 minutes

## Section A: Source-Based Case Study

1 (a) Study Source A.

Why was this poster distributed? Explain your answer. [5]

(b) Study Sources B and C.

How different are Sources B and C? Explain your answer. [6]

(c) Study Source D.

How reliable is this source as evidence of the Japanese's attitude towards members of the anti-Japanese resistance forces during the Japanese Occupation? Explain your answer. [6]

**What were the experiences of the people who participated in anti-Japanese resistance?**

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Even before the fall of Singapore on 15 Feb 1942, a small number of people in Singapore had participated in anti-Japanese actions to protest Japanese aggression in Asia. This included donating money to war efforts in China, boycotting Japanese goods, and volunteering to fight for the British military. With the fall of Singapore and the Japanese Occupation, even more locals in Singapore and Malaya turned anti-Japanese, inspired to end the hardships of war. These individuals either joined or supported anti-Japanese movements to do their part against Japanese war efforts. One of the most prominent resistance movements was Force 136, led by Lim Bo Seng who personally recruited many members from Singapore and Malaya.

Study the following sources to find out more about the experiences of those who participated in anti-Japanese resistance.



Source A: A poster distributed by the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) during the Japanese Occupation.



*The Chinese caption on top reads: Join the guerilla forces!*

*The Chinese caption at the bottom reads: Fight the Japanese devil!*



**Source B: An interview with a Force 136 member, Tham Sien Yen, in 1983.**

We knew that as international spies, if we were to be captured by the enemy, they would surely interrogate us and force a confession. No matter how rigorous a training you undergo, there is no way your body can withstand the torture. We came up with our own preventive solution—a suicide pill. We had this determination to sacrifice ourselves even if we did not succeed. If we were captured by the enemy, we would rather die for our country. We were not the least bit afraid. At the farewell party, everyone's spirits were high. It was as if we had abandoned all thoughts of death since we were leaving for a dangerous place. Everyone let loose...those who couldn't drink started drinking, those who couldn't sing were also singing. The British were also celebrating together with us.

**Source C: A written account by Tan Chong Tee, a Force 136 agent, published in 1994.**

The British arranged for us to undergo a one-month training course, which covered shooting skills, assassinations, raid attacks, canoeing, explosives and bombings, map reading and more. Shooting and bombing were the two more important topics. We had practical sessions almost daily. A party was then held to celebrate the end of the training course. Being uncertain about their future, the students attended the function with mixed feelings. Those who were setting off on the mission looked either excited and confident or despondent. Some turned up with reluctance. The gathering turned out to be a depressing occasion. It was a pity that we had to spend the eve of our departure under a cloud of sorrow.

**Source D: From an article published on the Syonan Shimbun, the official newspaper by the Japanese for people in Singapore, 28 Feb 1942.**

We will punish all members of anti-Japanese movements whoever they may be. On the other hand, rest assured, the peace-loving citizens will be protected to the fullest extent – they will be allowed to carry on their daily business, whatever it may be. All the people of Syonan who indulged in anti-Japanese movements, cooperating with Britain and China, and those who carried out espionage activities against Japan or did actions to profit the enemies of Japan should rightly be killed. We embrace all peace-loving men. Only traitors who disturb the peace of Syonan Island – the common enemy of all – will be killed by Japan's divine sword. But this same sword which kills is also the saviour of thousands.

**Section B: Structured Essay Question**

- 2** Explain why defence was an urgent priority for the Singapore government in the immediate post-independence period. [8]

# Sec 2 Revision Paper 3

Suggested Duration: 1 hour 15 minutes

## Section A: Source-Based Case Study

1 (a) Study Source A.

Why was this source circulated amongst the Chinese students? Use the source and your own contextual knowledge to explain. [5]

(b) Study Sources B and C.

How similar are both sources in discussing the introduction of National Service in Singapore? Explain your answer. [6]

(c) Study Source D.

Do you trust Source D as evidence of why the Chinese students started the Anti-National Service Riots? Explain your answer. [6]

## The 1954 Anti-National Service Riots

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 1954, the colonial government passed a law stipulating that all males between the ages of 18 and 20 had to register for part-time National Service. This was part of the process of preparing Singapore for self-government. National Service was not popular with students from Chinese schools because they felt that it served British interests. Communist elements incited these students to boycott the registration teams. On 13 May 1954, nearly 1,000 students from Chinese schools gathered in front of Government House (the present-day Istana) to protest against National Service. When they failed to disperse, the riot squad was summoned. Over 20 people were injured and 48 students were arrested. Many felt that they had been unfairly treated by the police when they had simply been trying to express their unhappiness with government policy. Study the sources to examine the local response to the introduction of National Service in Singapore.

**Source A: A photograph circulated amongst the Chinese student body during the height of the Anti-National Service Riots, taken on 13 May 1954.**



How can we forget this scene?

**Source B: A historian's account on the introduction of National Service**

National Service was unpopular among the Chinese. If agitation could be mounted against it, there was a distinct chance that the students could be mobilized. In fact, even the parents of the students would be stirred up to take a stand against the government. When the protest campaign first started, students from the Chinese schools refused to turn up for registration.

**Source C: A government's report on the introduction of National Service**

In the initial stage, the middle (i.e. secondary) Chinese students protested against the government. Only three out of the four hundred mainly Chinese youths drafted to the Singapore Military Forces disobeyed their call up notices, and there had been no disobedience since or hint of discontent. On the contrary, the recruits have proved to be interested and enthusiastic, and a most encouraging sign is that though they have been educated in all types of school, they soon form a united body.

**Source D: Extracted from the public statement of a Chinese pro-Communist, published in 1968. He engaged in communist activities in 1954 and was arrested in 1966.**

When I was in Tuan Mong school, I worked diligently and my results were not bad. In 1954, however, the Communists incited Chinese middle school students to oppose the National Service Ordinance. I was then 18 years old, and eligible for civil defence training. Fong Lai Wah, a pro-Communist classmate, persuaded me to take part in a camp-in launched by the pro-Communist student Delegation for Exemption from National Service, because, he alleged, the British imperialists were sending students to be cannon fodder. Without thinking, I took part in the camp-in at Chinese High School. I was put in a group of over 20 students; under the leadership of Tan Kok Sim, we studied the May 13th Incident and the political situation at home and abroad. We also sang Communist songs like "Unity is Strength", "Do not be soldiers", "May 13 Song", "What Does Imprisonment matter?"

### **Section B: Structured Essay Question**

- 2** Explain why Singapore's immediate post-independence policies could lay the foundations for its future growth and development. [8]

# Suggested Answer Scheme

## Revision Paper 1

1 (a) Study Source A.

Why do you think the Central Executive Committee issued this policy statement in January 1961? Explain your answer using the source and your own knowledge. [5]

**L1: Describes or lifts from source. OR Misreading of source. [1]**

**L2: Sub-messages (i.e. missed the main idea of source). [2]**

**L3: Answers based on the main message. [3-4]**

Award 3 marks for unsupported answers, 4 marks for well-supported answers.

**L4: Answers based on the main purpose. [4-5]**

Award 4 marks for unsupported answers, 5 marks for well-supported answers.

Complete purpose = Audience + Message + Outcome + Context (where appropriate)

*e.g. The Central Executive Committee issued this policy statement to **urge** the **Singapore government** (A) that **merger was necessary for Singapore to remain a stable society** (M). [3] This was to encourage the PAP government to **take swift action in materialising the merger concept** (O). [4] This can be seen in "At present these (Chinese chauvinist feelings) are being slowly reduced because of the objective of independence through merger." This suggests that merger would ensure racial harmony, promoting a cohesive society in Singapore. [5]*

(b) Study Sources B and C.

How far would both sources agree about the reasons for merger?  
Explain your answer. [6]

**L1: Describes or lifts from sources. OR Uncritical comparisons of provenance. OR Unsuccessful comparisons (i.e. false matching). OR Not answering the question. (How far... agree?) [1]**

**L2: Explains similarities or differences. [2-4]**

2 marks: State 1 similarity/difference, 3 marks: State 2 similarities/differences or Explain 1 similarity/difference, 4 marks: Explain 2 similarities/differences

**L3: Explains similarities and differences. [5-6]**

5 marks: Weakly support 1 similarity and 1 difference, 6 marks: Strongly support 1 similarity and 1 difference

*e.g. Both sources would agree that the fear of the communist threat was a key reason for merger. [2m] Source B says that "By 1961 the Tunku was alarmed that Singapore looked as though it might be taken over by the Communists exploiting the democratic system of government. He feared a Communist outpost on his doorstep." This suggests that the Tunku wanted merger to contain communist threats in Singapore so as to preserve regional security and stability which would have been in the best interest of Malaya. Likewise, Source C states that "The British did not want Singapore to be independent on its own. They didn't think that Singapore would be strong enough to control the Communists." This suggests that Singapore wanted merger because the British would not have granted Singapore independence without merger due to the British fear of the communists that Singapore alone would not have been able to contain on its own. [3m]*

*Both sources would disagree in terms of whether Tunku wanted merger with Singapore. [5m] Source B claims that Tunku wanted merger, as seen in "He feared a Communist outpost on his doorstep. He therefore proposed that Singapore should become part of a multi-racial concept to be known as Malaysia." This suggests that the urgent communist threat that had put Malaya's security at risk led Tunku to be more eager on the idea of merger. In contrast, Source C claims that Tunku did not want merger, as evident in "Naturally we did not want Singapore. Merger would give the Chinese a million majority over the Malays in Malaysia." This suggests that merger would have caused a severe racial imbalance in Malaysia which would have resulted in a challenge to the Malay superiority, thus Tunku was not keen on merger. [6m]*



(c) Study Source D.

How credible is Lee Siew Choh about whether Barisan Sosialis supported merger? Explain your answer.

[6]

**L1: Reliability based on provenance/typicality. OR Not answering the question. (How credible) [1]**

**L2: Reliability based on content. [2-3]**

Award 2 marks for unsupported answers, 3 marks for supported answers.

**L3: Reliability based on cross-reference. [4-5]**

Award 4 marks for reliable OR unreliable, 5 marks for reliable AND unreliable.

**L4: L2 + Reliability based on developed provenance and purpose. [5-6]**

Award 5 marks for answer lacking any one of the following: audience, message, purpose, intended outcome, contextual knowledge.

Award 6 marks for a fully developed answer, including audience, message, purpose, intended outcome, contextual knowledge.

*e.g. Lee Siew Choh is not credible in his claim that the Barisan Sosialis supported merger. [2m] His claim is evident in "The Barisan Sosialis stands for genuine reunification of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya... We shall certainly work with the government to bring about a united, independent socialist country with Singapore playing its rightful role." This highlights that the Barisan Sosialis was very supportive of merger and would play an active role in contributing to a successful merger. He further states that "We oppose Malaysia because it merely prolongs colonial domination and exploitation of our country", highlighting that the Barisan Sosialis' initial resistance to merger was out of good intent to protect and promote Singapore's national interests. [3m] L2 However, this is contradicted by my contextual knowledge. Based on my knowledge, the Barisan Sosialis started a campaign in September 1961 to oppose the merger. They debated the merger issue in radio forums and organised student demonstrations and labour strikes. They cited two main reasons for their opposition to merger. Firstly, they were concerned that Singapore citizens would not be granted citizenship automatically in the new federation after the merger. The Singapore population would be only known as 'federal nationals' and could only vote in Singapore elections. Secondly, they were unhappy about the allocation of seats in the federal government. In exchange for having control over its education and labour, Singapore was given fewer seats than North Borneo and Sarawak even though it had a larger population than them. The Barisan Sosialis members thus felt that Singapore only had second-class status as it was under-represented in the Malaysian parliament. Therefore, I know that the Barisan Sosialis had put up great opposition against merger, and this contradicts Lee Siew Choh, making him less credible. [4m] L3*

Moreover, Lee Siew Choh is not credible in his claim that the Barisan Sosialis supported merger because of the provenance and purpose of this source. This was an article written by Lee Siew Choh, President of the Barisan Sosialis, during the Assembly election campaign in September 1963. At that time, the Barisan Sosialis was known for its fierce resistance to merger, given its intense campaign leading up to the referendum and the eventual merger. However, its battle against merger failed, clearly evident in the successful proclamation of Malaysia. Nonetheless, the Barisan Sosialis had to move forward as a political party and attain future growth as part of the Federation of Malaysia. Therefore, Lee Siew Choh published this article to **convince the voters in Singapore and Malaysia that the Barisan Sosialis would cooperate with the government to serve the better good of the people and society.** This would have been to encourage more voters to **vote for the Barisan Sosialis in the upcoming Assembly Election.** Since Lee Siew Choh had an agenda in writing this article, he would have been overly biased and one-sided, making him less credible as evidence that the Barisan Sosialis supported merger. [6m] L4

- 2 Explain why people in Singapore found life during the Japanese Occupation challenging. [8]

**L1: Describes the Japanese Occupation without focusing on the question.**  
[1-2]

Award 1 mark for each detail, up to 2 marks.

**L2: Identifies or describes reasons. [3-4]**

Award 3 marks for description of 1 factor, 4 marks for 2 factors.

**L3: Explains reasons. [5-8]**

Award 5-6 marks for explaining 1 factor, 7-8 marks for 2 factors.

**Sample paragraphs (content can be found in the Chapter 6 summary)**

One reason why people found life to be challenging under Japanese rule was because of the use of fear to control the population, **which created a sense of helplessness and atmosphere of distrust.** (Identify) The Kempeitai was known to use violence indiscriminately to terrorise the population, even for minor offences. This was meant to create a loyal and obedient population. The Kempeitai was also actively on to lookout for people who were suspected of being anti-Japanese, and they actively encouraged people to spy and inform on one another. People thus had to be careful about their actions, which could be regarded as anti-Japanese and punished accordingly. In particular, the Chinese community was targeted through Sook Ching, where males aged 18 to 50 had to report to screening centres. The screening process was arbitrary and indiscriminate and there were rumours that those taken away would be killed. (Describe) **All of these created much fear and also despair for families of those taken away without explanation. Hence, the rule of fear by the Japanese proved challenging for the people, creating psychological stress within the population who had to constantly be on guard to avoid punishment or death.** (Explain)

Another reason why people found life to be challenging under Japanese rule was because it was a time of deprivation and hardship in daily life, **with many struggling just to survive.** (Identify) War had disrupted trade, limiting the import of goods into Singapore from overseas. This meant shortages of food, as well as vital day-to-day supplies like medication. People had to get by with meagre rations, or resort to searching for food substitutes or buying items off the black market. The situation was worsened by the decreasing value of the banana currency, which quickly became worthless. (Describe) **Hence, these conditions of scarcity proved challenging for the people as it pushed people to seek desperate measures to ensure that they and their families could survive the Occupation, with much uncertainty about the future.** (Explain)

## Revision Paper 2

1 (a) Study Source A.

Why was this poster distributed? Explain your answer.

[5]

**L1: Describes or lifts from source. OR Misreading of source. [1]**

**L2: Sub-messages (i.e. missed the main idea of source). [2]**

**L3: Answers based on the main message. [3-4]**

Award 3 marks for unsupported answers, 4 marks for well-supported answers.

**L4: Answers based on the main purpose. [4-5]**

Award 4 marks for unsupported answers, 5 marks for well-supported answers.

Complete purpose = Audience + Message + Outcome + Context (where appropriate)

e.g. This poster was distributed to convince the Chinese locals under Japanese rule in Singapore and Malaya (A) that they were capable of destroying the Japanese occupiers to fight for their own country (M). [3] This was to encourage more Chinese locals to volunteer for the guerilla forces and participate in underground warfare against the Japanese, so as to defend their own country (O). [4] This can be seen in the poster showing a significantly larger character representing a Chinese local, clenching his fist and appearing confident while a Japanese soldier was stabbed in the background. The caption reads "Join the guerilla forces! Fight the Japanese devil!" This suggests that the locals could put up a fierce fight and successfully expel the Japanese forces out of Singapore and Malaya. [5]

(b) Study Sources B and C.

How different are Sources B and C? Explain your answer. [6]

**L1: Describes or lifts from sources. OR Uncritical comparisons of provenance. OR Unsuccessful comparisons (i.e. false matching). [1]**

**L2: Explains similarities or differences. [2-4]**

2 marks: State 1 similarity/difference, 3 marks: State 2 similarities/differences or Explain 1 similarity/difference, 4 marks: Explain 2 similarities/differences

**L3: Explains similarities and differences. [5-6]**

5 marks: Weakly support 1 similarity and 1 difference, 6 marks: Strongly support 1 similarity and 1 difference

*e.g. Sources B and C are similar as both state that the nature of resistance work was dangerous. [2m] Source B suggests that resistance work was risky as it could mean the danger of being captured, as seen from “as international spies, if we were captured by the enemy, they would surely interrogate us and force a confession” and “we came up with our own preventative solution—a suicide pill”. This suggests that participating in resistance entailed a mortal risk as one would either die by torture or by suicide to avoid interrogation. Similarly, Source C suggests that resistance work involved a lot of risky missions. From Source C, “The British arranged for us to undergo a one-month training course, which covered shooting skills, assassinations, raid attacks...explosives and bombings”. This suggests that the work of Force 136 involved missions where one had to be prepared to kill or be killed, showing the grave danger involved. [3m]*

*Source B and Source C differ about the mindset / attitude of agents about their mission. [5m] Source B states that the mindset of the agents was positive, as seen from “we were not the least bit afraid. At the farewell party, everyone’s spirits were high.” And “everyone let loose...those who couldn’t drink started drinking, those who couldn’t sing were also singing”, which suggests that the agents were mentally prepared for their missions and were able to approach it with optimism. However Source C states that the mindset of the agents were negative, as seen from “Being uncertain about their future, the students attended the function with mixed feelings...some turned up with reluctance. The gathering turned out to be a depressing occasion.” This suggests that the agents were less optimistic and less mentally prepared, and there was significant fear about their missions. [6m]*

(c) Study Source D.

How reliable is this source as evidence of the Japanese's attitude towards members of the anti-Japanese resistance forces during the Japanese Occupation? Explain your answer. [6]

**L1: Reliability based on provenance/typicality. [1]**

**L2: Reliability based on content. [2-3]**

Award 2 marks for unsupported answers, 3 marks for supported answers.

**L3: Reliability based on cross-reference. [4-5]**

Award 4 marks for reliable OR unreliable, 5 marks for reliable AND unreliable.

**L4: L2 + Reliability based on developed provenance and purpose. [5-6]**

Award 5 marks for answer lacking any one of the following: audience, message, purpose, intended outcome, contextual knowledge.

Award 6 marks for a fully developed answer, including audience, message, purpose, intended outcome, contextual knowledge.

*e.g. The source is reliable as evidence that the Japanese would not tolerate any anti-Japanese resistance, and would be ready to eliminate any threat to the regime at that time. [2m] From Source D, "we embrace all peace-loving men. Only traitors who disturb the peace of Syonan Island – the common enemy of all – will be killed by Japan's divine sword. But this same sword which kills is also the saviour of thousands." This means that anti-Japanese activities will not be tolerated by Japanese, who would be willing to kill for what they perceive as the greater good for the rest of Syonan. [3m] L2 This is further supported by my contextual knowledge, as I know that a Singaporean teacher and volunteer nurse, Elizabeth Choy was arrested by the Japanese for aiding Allied prisoners of war. She was imprisoned for 193 days and subjected to brutal interrogation and torture, including electric shocks and other physical abuse. Another key figure in the resistance, Lim Bo Seng led the Force 136 network, which conducted espionage and sabotage against the Japanese. He was captured in 1944, interrogated, and subjected to severe torture in a Japanese prison. Lim Bo Seng eventually died in captivity due to the harsh conditions and mistreatment. Evident in these examples, the Japanese were ruthless in their treatment of anyone who went against their rule, hence this supports Source D, which makes Source D reliable as evidence of the Japanese's intolerable attitude towards the anti-Japanese resistance forces. [4m] L3*



Moreover, the source is reliable as evidence of the Japanese's intolerable attitude towards members of the anti-Japanese resistance forces during the Japanese Occupation because of its provenance and purpose. This was from an article published on the Syonan Shimbun, the official newspaper by the Japanese for people in Singapore on 28 February 1942, just days after the fall of Singapore. As such, the Japanese published this because they wanted to **warn the people of Syonan-to that any form of anti-Japanese threat will be eliminated to ensure the stability and security of Syonan-to**. Given that the Japanese had just occupied Singapore for two weeks and people may not have welcomed them, the article was created to **spread fear** so that **the people of Syonan-to would be subdued and loyal to the Japanese occupiers, avoiding any acts of resistance towards military rule**. Evident in the purpose of this source, the Japanese were willing to take drastic action against the anti-Japanese forces, making the source reliable in its claim that the Japanese would not tolerate any anti-Japanese resistance. [6m] L4

\*This question is a good example of how to be **nimble** in the way you approach different sources. Just because the source has a purpose does not mean it is unreliable. It depends on the question focus and/or the claim you're trying to test — in this case, the Japanese's strong intolerance of the anti-Japanese forces. The purpose of this source is to warn the people of Syonan-to that the Japanese were intolerable of the anti-Japanese forces, and this purpose proves the point very directly, making the source reliable in this aspect.

- 2 Explain why defence was an urgent priority for the Singapore government in the immediate post-independence period. [8]

**L1: Describes Singapore's post-independence defence without focusing on the question. [1-2]**

Award 1 mark for each detail, up to 2 marks.

**L2: Identifies or describes reasons. [3-4]**

Award 3 marks for description of 1 factor, 4 marks for 2 factors.

**L3: Explains reasons. [5-8]**

Award 5-6 marks for explaining 1 factor, 7-8 marks for 2 factors.

**Sample paragraphs (content can be found in the Chapter 9 summary)**

One reason was Konfrontasi, which posed a great threat to Singapore's security. (Identify) The Indonesian saboteurs carried out as many as 42 bombings in Singapore. They not only targeted military facilities and public utilities but also bombed public places. On 10 March 1965, a bomb exploded along Orchard Road at MacDonald House. It killed three people and injured 33 as well as destroyed nearby buildings and vehicles. It was the deadliest incident during Konfrontasi. When two Indonesian soldiers were arrested and found guilty of the MacDonald House bombing, they were sentenced to death. This case triggered the angry Indonesian students to attack the Singapore embassy and homes of Singapore diplomats in Jakarta. (Describe) **This destabilised Singapore by causing public panic and a stronger sense of insecurity as people were afraid of the imminent threat that the Konfrontasi forces would pose to Singapore's public places, hence posing a great security challenge to the newly formed government. This made defence an urgent priority as a strong and credible defence force would be a strong deterrent against the Indonesian saboteurs while boosting the confidence of the Singaporean public amidst such turbulent times.** (Explain)

Another reason was the rising communist threat in the region, which also impacted Singapore's security and stability. (Identify) Singapore continued to face threats from communist groups that carried out acts of terrorism even when the Malayan Emergency was over in 1960. Even when the size of communist groups had scaled down, they still posed an internal security threat in Singapore in the 1970s. Some of their acts of violence included the killing of a seven-year-old girl in Changi in 1970, a bombing in Katong in 1974 and the attempted assassination of Singapore Commissioner of Police in 1976. The communist problem was made even more serious due to the Vietnam War in the region. In 1954, the French and Vietnam signed a peace agreement to end the conflict in the country. The country thus split into two independent states — communist North Vietnam and non-communist South Vietnam. In 1956, the French left Vietnam and it was the end of the French colonial rule in the country. However, a conflict arose between both sides of the governments as each of them wanted to reunify the country under its own rule despite this peace agreement. This conflict was known as the Vietnam War. The United States and other non-communist countries in Asia were concerned about this conflict in Vietnam. They feared that communism would spread to the whole region eventually if North Vietnam won the war as there were already many pro-communist movements established in other Southeast Asian countries such as Malaya, the Philippines and Laos during the 1950s and 1960s. To prevent the victory of North Vietnam, the United States allocated vast military resources to support South Vietnam. (Describe) **Singapore was affected by this event as the country had just gained independence during the escalation of the Vietnam War. The Singapore government feared that the effect of the Vietnam War would ripple to the rest of the region and destabilise Singapore. This made defence an urgent priority as defence would establish Singapore as a strong, sovereign state, deterring the communist states from spreading their ideology into Singapore by brute force which would have severely threatened Singapore's sovereignty.** (Explain)

Another reason was the threat of transnational terrorism which severely impacted Singapore's security. (Identify) Singapore experienced its first international terrorism on 31 January 1974 when foreign terrorists hijacked the ferry boat Laju and held crew members hostage. Before that, these terrorists had attacked the Shell oil refinery on Pulau Bukom as they wanted to disrupt the oil supply from Singapore to South Vietnam. This event was finally over when the terrorists were promised a safe passage from Singapore to Kuwait in exchange for hostages. (Describe)

**Transnational terrorism was a severe threat as it not only put Singapore's security at stake, but also its economic interests especially when these terrorists destroyed critical infrastructure in the nation. This was a great challenge especially to a newly conceived nation like Singapore. As such, defence was an urgent priority as defence would be able to address transnational terrorism cases should they occur, and also serve as a strong deterrent against terrorists looking to launch attacks in Singapore. They would have to think twice due to the strong and credible defence force that Singapore was well-equipped with. (Explain)**

Another reason was the withdrawal of the British military which left Singapore additionally vulnerable amidst this turbulent climate. (Identify) Singapore had been relying on the British forces to help it defend against external threats since 1819. However, in the 1960s, the British started to face fund and resource constraints to maintain its military presence in the region. This caused the British to decide to withdraw its defence forces from Singapore in 1967. Singapore had no defence system after the withdrawal of British forces. There were only two battalions of regular infantry of 50 officers and about 1000 men each at the point of independence. During Konfrontasi, about 50,000 servicemen were needed to defend against the threat from Indonesia. (Describe) **This meant that Singapore's defence fell far below adequate to fend off possible invaders and individuals or groups with ill intentions towards Singapore. Singapore now became vulnerable to any external attack that could possibly arise especially during such a turbulent period of time. As such, defence was an urgent priority as defence would deter invaders from attacking Singapore due to the strong credible defence force that Singapore would be well-equipped with. Moreover, this would strengthen public confidence in the sovereignty of Singapore especially in its nation-building years despite the withdrawal of the British military, as Singapore would no longer need to depend on an external force to protect itself. (Explain)**

### Revision Paper 3

1 (a) Study Source A.

Why was this source circulated amongst the Chinese students? Use the source and your own contextual knowledge to explain. [5]

**L1: Describes or lifts from source. OR Misreading of source. [1]**

**L2: Sub-messages (i.e. missed the main idea of source). [2]**

**L3: Answers based on the main message. [3-4]**

Award 3 marks for unsupported answers, 4 marks for well-supported answers.

**L4: Answers based on the main purpose. [4-5]**

Award 4 marks for unsupported answers, 5 marks for well-supported answers.

Complete purpose = Audience + Message + Outcome + Context (where appropriate)

e.g. This photograph was circulated to remind the Chinese students (A) that the British's implementation of the National Service (NS) Ordinance was unjustified (M). [3] This was to encourage them to continue resisting the British colonial government in a bid to fight for their own cause and hinder the implementation of NS (O). [4] This is evident in the photograph showing many local rioters being violently suppressed by the police. The caption says, "How can we forget this scene?" This suggests that the Chinese youths, who were just trying to express their discontentment towards the British government's implementation of the NS Ordinance, were very cruelly dealt with by the police. This scene was captured and further distributed in order to stir up negative sentiments amongst the student community. The intent of this was to make the local population view the British's NS Ordinance in a more negative light given the harsh and ruthless methods that the British adopted to coerce the youths into conforming to the new policy. [5]

(b) Study Sources B and C.

How similar are both sources in discussing the introduction of National Service in Singapore? Explain your answer. [6]

**L1: Describes or lifts from sources. OR Uncritical comparisons of provenance. OR Unsuccessful comparisons (i.e. false matching). [1]**

**L2: Explains similarities or differences. [2-4]**

2 marks: State 1 similarity/difference, 3 marks: State 2 similarities/differences or Explain 1 similarity/difference, 4 marks: Explain 2 similarities/differences

**L3: Explains similarities and differences. [5-6]**

5 marks: Weakly support 1 similarity and 1 difference, 6 marks: Strongly support 1 similarity and 1 difference

*e.g. Both sources are similar in showing that the Chinese students reacted negatively to the introduction of National Service. [2m] Source B states that "National Service was unpopular among the Chinese" and "students from Chinese schools refused to turn up for registration" which showed their unwillingness to join National Service. Similarly, Source C states that "In the initial stage, the middle (i.e. secondary) Chinese students protested against the government", showing their unwillingness to join National Service. [3m]*

*However, both sources have differing opinions on the success of the introduction of national service. [5m] Source B states that the introduction of national service was a failure, evident in "National Service was unpopular among the Chinese" and "students from the Chinese schools refused to turn up for registration" showing that people took a strong stand against the government. Such opposition revealed little success in the introduction of national service. In contrast, Source C states that the introduction of national service was a success, as seen in "Only three out of the four hundred mainly Chinese youths drafted to the Singapore Military Forces disobeyed their call up notices" and "recruits have proved to be interested and enthusiastic", showing that majority of the people, especially the Chinese youths, welcomed National Service. Such willingness displayed showed the success of the introduction of National Service. [6m]*



(c) Study Source D.

Do you trust Source D as evidence of why the Chinese students started the Anti-National Service Riots? Explain your answer. [6]

**L1: Reliability based on provenance/typicality. OR Not answering the question. (Do you trust) [1]**

**L2: Reliability based on content. [2-3]**

Award 2 marks for unsupported answers, 3 marks for supported answers.

**L3: Reliability based on cross-reference. [4-5]**

Award 4 marks for reliable OR unreliable, 5 marks for reliable AND unreliable.

**L4: L2 + Reliability based on developed provenance and purpose. [5-6]**

Award 5 marks for answer lacking any one of the following: audience, message, purpose, intended outcome, contextual knowledge.

Award 6 marks for a fully developed answer, including audience, message, purpose, intended outcome, contextual knowledge.

*e.g. I do not trust Source D in its claim that the Chinese students started the anti-National Service (NS) Riots due to the influence of the communists. [2m] This can be seen in "When I was in Tuan Mong school, I worked diligently and my results were not bad. In 1954, however, the Communists incited Chinese middle school students to oppose the National Service Ordinance." This suggests that it was not of the Chinese students' intent to oppose the NS Ordinance but rather, the communists' influence that had brainwashed the students to start the riots. [3m] L2 However, this is contradicted by my contextual knowledge. From my knowledge, the Chinese students themselves were unwilling to serve NS in the first place. Firstly, they felt that NS would disrupt their education again, just like how World War II had affected their studies, as they were already old enough to register for NS. Moreover, they did not want to defend the colonial government which had been ignoring the Chinese students' interests before the war. They viewed the British to be using them as cannon fodder for the colonial government's interests, while the Chinese community would continue being unfairly treated by the British. Therefore, the Chinese students' unwillingness to serve NS was the root cause and main reason why they started the anti-NS riots. As such, this contradicts Source D, so I do not trust Source D. [4m] L3*



Moreover, I do not trust Source D because of its provenance and purpose. This was from a public statement made in 1968 by a Chinese pro-communist who participated in communist activities in 1954 and was arrested in 1966. Given that this public statement was made after his arrest, he would wish to rid himself of any responsibility he had in the communist activities of 1954, including the anti-NS riots, so that he would not have to face severe consequences from the government. This makes the source biased, as he had the agenda to **convince the Singapore government that Chinese students like himself were under heavy influence by the communists to orchestrate the anti-NS riots of 1954.** This would have been in an attempt to **receive lighter punishment for the role he played in the communist activities of 1954.** Therefore, the source would have been overly biased and one-sided in its claims, making it less reliable, so I do not trust Source D as evidence that the Chinese students started the anti-NS riots due to the influence of the communists. [6m] L4

- 2 Explain why Singapore's immediate post-independence policies could lay the foundations for its future growth and development. [8]

**L1: Describes Singapore's post-independence policies without focusing on the question. [1-2]**

Award 1 mark for each detail, up to 2 marks.

**L2: Identifies or describes reasons. [3-4]**

Award 3 marks for description of 1 factor, 4 marks for 2 factors.

**L3: Explains reasons. [5-8]**

Award 5-6 marks for explaining 1 factor, 7-8 marks for 2 factors.

**Sample paragraphs (content can be found in the Chapter 10 summary)**

One reason was the effective post-independence economic policies that **transformed Singapore into a more organised and efficient country in the region.** (Identify) The government ensured that Singapore had high standards of public services like health, security, education, transportation, and telecommunications. Singapore developed and expanded the international airport, which increased the nation's ability to handle bigger aircraft and cargo. The government also set up the Port of Singapore Authority (PSA), which oversaw, managed and developed port operations to improve efficiency. Moreover, banks were set up, providing financial support needed to promote Singapore's industrialisation. The Public Utilities Board (PUB) was also set up which coordinated supply of water, gas and electricity to people. The government also installed an average of 10,000 telephones per year in the 1960s, ensuring that Singapore remained part of the bigger world. The Economic Development Board (EDB) was set up in 1961, which handled and directed the development of new and existing industries. For example, the EDB developed Jurong Industrial Estate for industries and factories. By 1985, Singapore had become a modernised city-state with a vibrant diversified economy. From 1964 to 1985, Singapore experienced an average economic growth of 12.5% per year. (Describe) **This fostered a stable and inviting economic environment that had not only attracted foreign capital but also served as the basis for future economic development in the long run.** (Explain)

Another reason was the effective post-independence social policies that **had managed to overcome immediate challenges that society had faced while setting the foundation for sustainable improvements to the people's quality of life in the long run.** (Identify) The government set up the Housing Development Board (HDB) to provide public housing for the increasing population of Singapore. HDB built as many flats as quickly and cheaply in its early years, before equipping later neighbourhoods with more facilities and a wider variety of housing options to cater to the needs of more Singaporeans. (Describe) **As a result, people could afford to own their homes, hence providing a stake for everyone which increased their sense of ownership and thus sense of belonging to Singapore. This also promoted a sense of national pride and identity among Singaporeans, hence encouraging Singaporeans to remain active citizens of their nation. The HDB scheme also helped to encourage social stability through social mixing as different races interacted in their neighbourhoods, promoting interracial harmony which was much needed for a cohesive social fabric which was vital for further growth in the long run.** (Explain)

Another reason was the effective post-independence social policies that **had managed to overcome immediate challenges that society had faced while setting the foundation for sustainable improvements to the people's quality of life in the long run.** (Identify) In 1959, different education systems were integrated in an attempt to increase Singaporeans' literacy levels. Government schools incorporated practices such as daily flag-raising and pledge-taking ceremonies. Civics Education was also made compulsory for students. There was also the large-scale recruitment of teachers so as to maximise the number of students who can attend school. Another policy was bilingualism where all students had to learn two languages, English and their Mother Tongue language. English was the language that the modern business world used, thus learning English would equip students for the future. English also acted as a common language among the different races, encouraging racial harmony. Learning Mother Tongue also reminded students about their ethnic roots. (Describe) **The education policy equipped new members of the workforce with technical skills to ride on the opportunities brought about by the globalisation of the economy. The education system also changes regularly over the years to meet the evolving needs of the nation. The bilingual policy was particularly effective in the long run. This ensured that the future workforce was well-equipped with skills and knowledge that were necessary in continually contributing to Singapore's building in the later years, hence ensuring Singapore's growth and development in the long run.** (Explain)

Another reason was the effective post-independence social policies that **had managed to overcome immediate challenges that society had faced while setting the foundation for sustainable improvements to the people's quality of life in the long run.** (Identify) The Singapore government provided healthcare to meet the needs of its people in the immediate post-independence period to improve public health and stability. To ensure access to medical services, the government built public hospitals and clinics across the island. Affordable healthcare initiatives were introduced so lower-income groups could receive treatment. Preventive healthcare was also prioritised, with public health campaigns addressing issues such as sanitation, hygiene, and infectious diseases like tuberculosis. For example, investments in clean water supplies and proper sewage systems helped to reduce the spread of diseases. (Describe) **These measures were critical in improving the health and well-being of Singaporeans, ensuring a healthier population capable of contributing to economic development. By addressing the people's healthcare needs, the government also helped to restore public confidence and reduce uncertainty over Singapore's future as a nation. These encouraged Singapore's growth and development in the long run.** (Explain)

*\*For this question, it would be best to discuss **one** economic policy and **one** social policy to ensure breadth in your arguments.*