

CHAPTER 6

How did the Japanese Establish control in Singapore?

Methods used to control Singapore

Using Force

Meting out harsh punishments
Imprisoning allied Soldiers
Carrying out operation Sook Ching
Coercing the Chinese Community

Winning loyalty

using propaganda
Providing benefits to the locals
Imposing Japanese Culture

Using Force

Meting out Harsh Punishments

- Imposed on Criminals or Enemies of the Japanese
 - To put an end to the looting happening just after the British surrendered, the Japanese executed those who were caught.
 - Heads of those executed were displayed at public places such as open area outside the Cathay Building
 - Created fear and served as a severe warning to the people about the consequence of crossing the Japanese
- Kempeitai- Japanese Military police
 - Arrested those who were suspected of being anti-Japanese
 - Food or cash rewards were offered to encourage people to inform authorities of anyone they suspected of being anti-Japanese. ---> No trust between people
 - Those suspected of being anti-Japanese were tortured or even executed.
 - People learnt to go about their business quietly and not appear disobedient

Imprisoning Allied Soldiers

- Imprisoned the British, Australians and Allied Europeans in Singapore, including women and children

- The POWs were forced to march in public from Bukit Timah Road to Changi Prison and the Barracks nearby
- Many civilians passed the POWs food and money, despite the risk of being punished

Carrying Out Operation Sook Ching

- Aimed to identify and eliminate anti-Japanese elements across the Chinese population
- Brutal purge of members of the Chinese community
- When Japan was invading China, they faced strong resistance from Chinese communities outside of China.
- The Chinese community in Singapore called for a boycott of Japanese goods and contributed funds to China's efforts against Japan.
- All Chinese men aged 18-50 had to assemble mass screening centres examined by the Japanese.
- Informants would identify people who were suspected of being anti-Japanese and pass on the information to the Kempeitai. Those who were not identified as anti-Japanese were allowed to go home. They would receive a stamp on smth which meant that they had been examined. Those who were not were executed. Estimates range for deaths is 600-5000.

Coercing the Chinese Business Community

- Targeted Chinese businessmen
- Due to their generous contributions to the China Relief Fund, supporting the Chinese resistance against Japan.
- The Overseas Chinese Association (OCA) was created to act as a channel between the Chinese community and the Japanese government.
- The Japanese demanded 50 million Straits dollars to the Japanese Administration 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.

Winning Loyalty

Using Propaganda

- Influence the minds of the people and gain their loyalty
- Portrayed themselves as liberators to free Asians from colonial rule

- Tried to convince 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. The vision pressed for a united Asia that would benefit from sharing resources equally.
- Messages were spread through posters and radio broadcasts
- Get Indian Community to look upon Japanese Rule favourably
 - Japanese promised to help free India from the British
 - The Indian National Army(INA) was formed to fight against the British in India, led by Subhas Chandra Bose, a prominent Indian politician who campaigned for India's independence from the British.
 - However, many were still not loyal to the Japanese, but many of them who remained loyal to the British were imprisoned.

Providing Benefits to Locals

- Provided schooling and accommodation at no cost
 - School textbooks were provided free of charge to 20,000 students in 1944.
- Appealed to certain ethnic groups
 - The Malay Nationalist organisation Kesatuan Melayu Muda(Union of Malay Youth or KKM) responded positively to the Japanese propaganda that promised better lives for Malays under Asian Power.
 - Malays were treated less harshly by the Japanese government. They 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.

Imposing Japanese Culture

- Teaching the Japanese language
 - Taught to speak and write Japanese in place of English
 - Lessons were conducted daily over the schools' broadcasting systems.
 - Japanese education authorities published a series of Nippon-go readers for beginners and the books were filled with praise for Japan
 - Adults also had to learn Nippon-go.
- Cultivating the Japanese Spirit
 - Students had to Sing 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
 - Daily mass exercises were introduced to the locals.

- Broadcast with instructions and rhythmic music. The Japanese emphasised physical education to instil discipline and promote fitness.
- Selected youths also received training in traditional Japanese martial arts such as Kendo or Judo to propagate the Japanese Spirit in schools.

What was daily life like under the Japanese?

Survival

- Dealing with shortages
 - War disrupted trade; most of the limited resources were channelled to Japan's war effort rather than to the people. Resulted in a shortage of food and essentials
 - 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.
 - Shortage of items resulted in prices increasing.
 - As A Result, prices of essential goods increased rapidly over time, causing drastic inflation.
 - The black market flourished due to ^^^, the Japanese government began printing more money, resulting in the drop of the value of the banana money. By the end of the JO, they became worthless.
- Disease and death
 - Healthcare and sanitation, which was not a concern for the colonial government only worsened during JO. The local population was also weak due to the food shortages. The death rate between this time is 130,000.
 - Primary causes of death were
 1. Beriberi
 2. Pneumonia
 3. Dysentery
 - POWs and to deal with acute overcrowding (space meant for 600 fitted 5000)
 - Led to poor hygiene and spread of diseases
 - POWs were also forced labour- made to clear any war damage, bury the dead and build Japanese memorial shrines.
 - Many POWs were made to work on the “siam-Burma Railway” where 16000 died due to horrific conditions.
- Relocations
 - Encouraged to strive for self-sufficiency by growing their own foods.
 - When this failed, the Japanese resorted to moving people from Singapore to increase Agricultural output.
 - The Chinese were encouraged to move to the Endau Settlements in Johor, The soil was rich and the water supply was ample, making it suitable for

agriculture. It became a town with a small chapel, a bank and several coffee shops. However, attacks by bandits and anti-Japanese guerrillas later disrupted the peace

- They then created the Bahau settlement for Eurasians and Chinese Roman Catholics. However the land was too hilly and the soil was too poor to support agriculture. Some resorted to eating maggots and rats, and many perished.

Leisure and Entertainment

- Introduced radio programmes
 - Consists of Japanese Songs, Malay music and news in Hokkien and Cantonese
 - Japanese movies and documentaries at cinemas and free open-air screenings of propaganda shows.
- Encouraged sports and cultural activities
 - To reduce the stress of wartime conditions on the local population
 - Notices of football, baseball, tennis and badminton matches appeared almost everyday in the media.
 - Boxing matches took place at Kim Seng Road, and the police band performed at the Botanic Gardens.
- POWs trying to keep spirits up
 - They organised and participated in social, religious and sporting activities
 - They published a newspaper, organised theatrical performances, church services and painting murals at Changi Chapel

How did the locals Respond to Japanese Rule?

Collaboration

- Sought the support of the Malays in administering Japanese Rule.
 - Policing and being part of neighbourhood associations that would report on suspected hostile activity against the regime
- Other groups were also enlisted to assist the Japanese in establishing order
 - Includes some Chinese who became informants for the Kempeitai during Operation Sook Ching.

Resistance

- Not everyone cooperated with or accepted Japanese Rule
 - Seven senior officers of the Malaya regiment refused to pledge loyalty to and fight for Japan. They were executed

- Joined Resistances such as the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) and Force 136.
 - Both groups were attempting to drive the Japanese out of Singapore and actively worked with the British to do so
 - MPAJA would carry out sabotage attacks on Japanese officers and their men. Also aroused anti-Japanese sentiments by distributing anti-Japanese newspapers and posters.
 - Force 136 was set up by the British to gather Information about the Japanese and also organise sabotage activities.

- Lim Bo Seng
 - Local business man
 - When the war between Japan and China began, he organised anti-Japanese Activities such as the boycott of Japanese Goods. After Singapore fell, he became an agent for Force 136. However, in march of 1944, he was captured and tortured for information
 - He did not reveal any information to his captors and eventually died in Prison on 29 June 1944

- Elizabeth Choy
 - Worked as a canteen operator where she and her husband secretly delivered food, money and medicine and messages from family to the British POWs.
 - She was imprisoned and tortured by the Japanese at the Kempeitai headquarters for approximately 200 days

What problems did the people face immediately after the Japanese Surrender?

After Germany surrendered to the Allies, the Allies focused their resources to defeat Japan. On 6 and 9 August, The Allies dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese Cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This resulted in Emperor Hiroshito announcing Japanese surrender.

Upon the Japanese surrender, huge crowds jeered at them. The returning British on the other hand were greeted with Cheers.

The MPAJA took revenge on those who had collaborated with the Japanese. This includes the informants for operation Sook Ching, and the Malays who served as police for the Japanese.

The British Military Administration(BMA) was established and took control of the Administration for Malaya and Singapore. Its aim was to maintain law and order and

help with the immediate reconstruction of Singapore. However, they faced many problems.

Food Shortages

- Rice producing countries like Thailand could not make enough food to sell. It was difficult for rice from other countries to reach Singapore as a large number of merchant ships were destroyed. Sunken ships blocked the harbour and various warehouses were not available for storage
- The BMA gradually cleared the harbour and controlled the price of essential items such as sugar, salt, fresh fish and vegetables and provided free meals for children under 6 years old.

Economic difficulties

- The BMA declared that banana notes were no longer the official currency. This meant that those who had not kept the strait dollar would have to borrow from others to survive
- To ease the situation, the BMA issued special grants to the locals. However, they often were not enough for large families to make ends meet.

Schooling disruptions

- Despite the Japanese promising greater educational opportunities, the war disrupted the schooling for many people. The BMA reopened schools quickly for everyone including overaged children who received little to no education during the Japanese occupation. They also provided grants to children from needy families.

Chapter 7

How did external developments influence the people's response to British rule after WW2?

Weakening of colonial rule

- Before WW2
 - Anti-colonial sentiments had risen due to the suffering caused by European Colonial rule
- During WW2
 - The defeat of European forces by an Asian power, the Japanese Empire, the subsequent Japanese occupation further accelerated the growth of anti-colonial feelings

After the Japanese surrender, people in different places saw their chance to rise against their colonial leaders. India gained independence from the British in 1947. Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch in 1949. In 1954, the Vietnamese overthrew their French colonial masters.

Growing influence of communism

At the end of World War 2, a new conflict emerged called the Cold War. It was a conflict between the US and Soviet Union due to their difference in ideology.

	United States	Soviet Union
Ideology	Democracy/ Capitalism	Communism
Who should have control	Democracy: Believed in free elections which could be contested by more than 1 political party.	Dictatorship: Upheld the one-party rule: only the Communist Party was allowed.
How should wealth be created and shared	Private Ownership: Upheld private enterprise	Government Ownership: Believed goods should be

	and property ownership: people could own businesses and buy and sell goods	allocated to people according to their needs. Thus, the government would control all resources needed to produce these goods, such as factories and farms.
How important are people's interest compared to society's overall interest	Individual before community: Valued individual freedom	Community before individual Regarded individual freedom as less important than the benefit of society.

Communism opposed colonial rule for its exploitation of people. It found many supporters in European colonies like Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaya.

In Singapore the Malayan Communist Party(MCP) had considerable support. The MCP had helped the resistance in the Japanese Occupation. Now that the war was over, the MCP turned its attention to ending British rule and establishing communist governments in Malaya and Singapore.

The MCP worked to influence trade unions and Chinese-medium schools, stirring up anti-colonial feelings among the workers and students. They attacked rubber plantations and tin mines in Malaya, many which were owned and managed by the British

When 3 European rubber planters in Malaya were murdered in June 1948 due to the MCP, the British took action against them. A state of Emergency was declared throughout Malaya and the MCP was declared illegal. The Malayan Emergency lasted from 1948 to 1960. By the time it ended, the conflict had killed and wounded several thousand civilians and military personnel.

The British concern over communism deepend with the victory of the Communist Party of China(CPC), led by Mao Zedong in the Chinese Civil War. The world's most populous country had entered the communist bloc. Since the vast population of Malaya and Singapore were immigrants from China, the British feared that the appeal of communist ideas would grow on them.

How did the British attempt to win local support?

Needed to win support to ensure that Singapore wouldn't become a communist state.

Housing Challenges

- Much Housing had become run-down or destroyed and Singapore experienced a post-war baby boom.
- Resulted in many people living in increasingly overcrowded conditions and a lot of the population living in slums.
- Singapore Improvement trust (SIT) accelerated its building program. Between 1947-1959, it built 20,907 housing and shop units which worked out to be 1742 units a year, far below the goal of 10000 units a year required to meet the needs of the growing population. As such, many still lived in cramped conditions in the 1950s

Addressing food shortages

- Growing population + war disrupting shipping + neighbouring rice-producing countries not having enough rice= Food Shortages
- Resulting in wartime food rationing to continue and Malnutrition being widespread
- Wages could not keep up with rising food prices
- The British established the people's restaurant to provide affordable meals.

Managing Industrial Unrest

- Unsatisfactory working conditions + housing and food shortages = wave of strikes—> 300 in a year lasting up to weeks
- Majority of strikers were members of trade unions
- Communists were suspected of stirring up anti-colonial sentiments.
- Thus laws were passed to control trade unions such as the registration of all the trade unions and they were no longer allowed to raise funds for strikes and protests.

Rebuilding the economy

- Without the revival of the economy, people would have no jobs or income
- Rebuilt ports and processed and exported raw materials from Malaya and Indonesia such as oil, tin, rubber and timber.

Allowing Local Political Participation

- The British held an election in 1948 allowing the people in Singapore to vote for who represented them on the legislative council.
- The election process:

People who have similar ideas on how a country should run form a group, called a political party. Some candidates also contest elections as independents.

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Parties and candidates hold campaigns to share their ideas and win support

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On Polling day, voters vote for the candidate whose idea they most agree with

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The candidate with the most number of votes in an area is selected as the representative of that area in the government.

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The party with the most elected candidates wins the election. In SG at that time, there were only 6 representatives

The elections were the first step to democracy. However, participation was very low. Only approximately 22k ppl were eligible to vote out of 960k ppl and only 14k ppl actually showed up.

Only 1 party, the Singapore Progressive Party(SPP), contested in the elections. It won 3 out of the 6 seats, with the other 3 being won by independent candidates.

Why were there riots in the 1950s?

Maria Hertogh Riots

- First of the riots which took place in the 1950s. It was based off of a custody battle over a 13-year-old girl named Maria Hertogh
- She was born in 1937 to Dutch Catholic parents. When Maria's father was imprisoned during the Japanese occupation, Maria's mother left her in the care of Che Aminah. Maria was renamed to Nadra and raised in Muslim faith. After the war, they moved to Malaya.
- In 1950, Maria's mother tried to reclaim her daughter by making a case to the court of Singapore. The British judge ruled that Maria be returned to her biological parents. Maria's mother put Maria in a catholic convent whilst

waiting to move to the Netherlands. Meanwhile, Che Aminah appealed against the Judge's decision.

- While the case was under appeal, some newspapers published an article about the issue. The case was viewed as a clash between religions of Islam and Christianity. Many Muslims were upset as they felt their religion was being disrespected.
- The judge rejected Che Aminah's appeal. Feeling that the British had unfairly sided with the Dutch, the locals were unhappy with the colonial government for being insensitive to Maria's personal choice to be Muslim and place her in the setting of another religion. They also ruled Maria's marriage void.
- As such, riots broke out from 11-13 December. Supporters of Che Aminah overturned any car on the street and set them on fire. They attacked anyone of clear European descent. Troops were sent into the scenes, but the riots continued. A curfew was also imposed. In the end, 18 people were killed and 173 were injured.
- In the end, Maria was returned to her birth Parents.

Anti-National Service Riots

- The post-war British government felt that the responsibility of defending Singapore should be spread more evenly among the population. The Emergency also increased the urgency of improving the defence of Singapore.
- The National Service Ordinance was passed in 1953 requiring all males between the ages of 18 -20 to register to National Service by May 1954. Those who did not would be jailed or fined
- The announcement was very unpopular among secondary students from Chinese Medium Schools as many of them were old enough to qualify for NS as the war disrupted their education. If they had to register again for NS, their studies would be disrupted again.
- Schools Included:
 1. Chinese High School
 2. Catholic High School
 3. Cheng Cheng High School
 4. Nanyang High School
 5. Nan Chiou Girls School
- More Reasons they did not want to join NS
 1. The students felt that the British discriminated against Chinese Education as the colonial government provided little support for Chinese-medium schools. There were limited higher educational opportunities and they generally had poor job aspects
 2. The British banned people who visited China from returning to Singapore.

- In their unhappiness, about 500 students held a protest march on 13 May 1954. The British government deployed riot police equipped with batons and shields.
- The peaceful demonstrations turned violent resulting in 26 students being injured. The next day, the British called for all Chinese-medium schools to be closed but it only increased the protests.
- The British government was forced to postpone the NS recruitment and the Chinese students formed the Singapore Chinese Middle School Student's Union (SCMSSU).

Hock Lee Bus Riots

- Members of the Hock Lee Amalgamated Bus Company (HLABC) joined the Singapore Bus Workers' Union (SBWU) or the Hock Lee Bus Employees' Union (HLBEU)
- Workers from the SBWU, led by Fong Swee Suan, went on strike as they believed that they were unfairly treated due to the/their:
 - Not granted early leave to tend to union matters
 - The British did little to protect workers' interest
 - The British did not address the workers' concerns about the working conditions.
- HLABC fired 220 workers, which soon camped outside of the company's gate to prevent buses from leaving
- 10,000 students from Chinese-medium schools supported the workers on strike by offering them food and singing songs for them
- The Hock Lee riots from the 12-13 May 1955
- Transportation services were disrupted
- 4 dead and 31 injured End result
- Workers were re-employed after government intervention in the negotiations between the rioters and the Hock Lee Bus Company

Chinese Middle School riots

- Lim Yew Hock wanted to succeed where David Marshall had failed. To win the approval of the British, he followed their demands and was determined to control the communists which the British saw as a threat
- This would convince the British to grant Singapore more autonomy
- Lim Yew Hock shut down the Singapore Chinese Middle School Student's Union (SCMSSU) due to alleged communist activities resulting in 5000 students seizing control of their schools and demanding the 're-registration' of the SCMSSU
- Reinstatement of the SCMSSU

- Riots died down after government-issued warnings
- 142 students expelled from schools 2 weeks after the initial riots
- All were on suspicion of partaking anti-government activities
- Camped in Chung Cheng High School and The Chinese High School
- Lim Yew Hock issued a warning to the students to vacate school premises by 8pm on the 25th of October (warning issued on 24th October)
- Unions supported the students, acting as an ego booster, resulting in Students were more adamant in their decision to fight to the bitter end to re-register the SCMSSU
- Mob outside Chung Cheng confronted the police, leading to a 3-day-long riot where Malayan troops were called in to restore order. Riots ended on 28th October which resulted in 13 deaths, 120 injured
- Lim Chin Siong, Fong Swee Suan and other union leaders detained
- The British were pleased with Lim Yew Hock's handling of the riots, strengthening his position in the 2nd Merdeka Talks. However, In the eyes of the locals, LF seemed like a 'running dog' of the British

British Response to the changing attitudes of the People

- With the unrest of the early 1950s, the British knew things had to change. They decided to transfer more power to the people.

Rendel Constitution

- Formed a commission in July 1953 to review the constitution of Singapore. It was chaired by Sir George Rendel and the task of the Rendel Commission was to find out how the local people could play a more active role in the government.
- The commission submitted its report in 1954, recommending limited self-governance for Singapore. As a result, in 1955, the Rendel Constitution was introduced.
- There would now be a council of ministers headed by the governor and composed of the Chief Minister and five other local ministers and 3 British ministers.
- The six local ministers were given the roles of Education, Healthcare, Housing, trade and industry. The 3 British ministers were given the more important tasks of law, finance, external affairs, external defence and internal security.

This meant that an election was due for the role of the 6 ministers.

1955 Elections

- This election aroused a great amount of attention and generated more interest and much political activity
- The people were encouraged by the greater degree of self-government promised in the Rendel Constitution. Eligible voters were also automatically registered to vote making it easier to vote. Those eager to press for change held discussions as more political parties emerged as a result.
- Two of these local political parties which gained prominence were the PAP (People's action Party) and LF(labour front).

Labour Front	People's Action Party
People: Led by David Marshall and some key members were Lim Yew Hock and Francis Thomas. Multiracial party comprised mostly low-income and English educated members of the trade unions.	People: Lee Kuan Yew, Dr Goh Keng Swee, Dr Toh Chin Chye, S. Rajaratnam and Kenneth Michael Byrne. Mainly english educated lawyers, journalists and Trade unionists
Supported immediate Independence for Singapore. Prioritised improvements for workers rights and working conditions. Fought to extend Singapore Citizenship to China born Immigrants.	Multiracial Party that opposed British rule and wanted immediate independence for Singapore. It sought to win the support of workers, trade unions and students in Chinese-medium schools.

The parties campaigned hard to raise political awareness among the locals and win their support. They visited houses, distributed newspapers and held rallies. They also gave speeches to crowds hungry for change.

The LF and PAP convinced many that they could end British rule and gained the support of the people unlike the SPP(winners of 1949 election). They also promised to improve workers' conditions.

A total of 79 candidates came to contest 25 seats in the legislative assembly. That was about 5 times more than the no. of candidates in the 1951 elections. About 160k ppl came to vote which was a bit more than 50% of the total number of voters.

On 2 April 1955, the results of the election were announced. The LF had won the election and the SPP had lost.

Party	Number of seats
LF	10
SPP	4
Alliance party	3
PAP	3
Democratic party	2
Independents	3

The results shocked the British as they had expected the SPP to win.

Singapore's Attainment of self-governance

- Having the most seats, the LF formed a coalition to head the government. David Marshall became Singapore's first chief Minister and worked under the governor.
- However, the governor and his British officials only saw Marshall as a leader by name and did not offer him full support. They were not eager to cooperate with the LF government which was a party committed to ending colonial rule.

First Merdeka Talks (1956)

- Before the first Merdeka talks, the Hock Lee Bus Riots happened. David Marshall tried to settle the dispute but the 2 parties could not reach an argument.
- The British were not impressed with Marshall's handling of the Riots. He refused to call in British troops to handle the riots as he did not want to appear to be siding with the British. To the British, the LF government seemed weak due to Marshall's reluctance to take stronger action against those involved in the riots and his willingness to negotiate instead.

In April 1956, David Marshall led a mission to London to press for Singapore's self-government.

- In London, David Marshall demanded full internal self-government for Singapore by 1957. He had vowed to resign as chief minister if the negotiations did not succeed.
- The talks did not go well after the British saw the way Marshall handled the riots. They doubted the LF's ability to maintain law and order and rise against

the threat of communism. As such, they returned empty handed and Marshall resigned.

Second Merdeka Talks (1957)

- The Chinese Middle school riots happened. As he had called in British support, the British were pleased with Lim Yew Hock (2nd chief commissioner after Marshall). This strengthened his position with the British for the second Merdeka Talks.
- He was able to gain full internal matters over the government handed to him except for internal security, for the concern of the communist threat. The external matters were also handed to the British. As such, the Second Merdeka talks had succeeded.

1959 Elections

- As the second Merdeka Talks were a success, another election had to happen.
- Singapore was divided into 51 constituencies. Voters in each constituency would vote for a representative from different parties and independents. 13 political parties took part and 194 candidates stood for election.
- The parties used radio broadcasts, newspapers and pamphlets to spread their ideas. Rallies also happened to gain support from the locals
- The Citizen Ordinance Act of 1957 enabled 320k ppl in Singapore to become Singapore citizens and gave them the right to vote. Compulsory voting was also introduced.
- The election results were out on 31 May. The LF, renamed to the Singapore people's alliance (SPP), did poorly only winning 4 out of the 39 seats they contested due to the way they handled the Chinese Middle school riots. On the other hand, the PAP won 43 out of the 51 seats they contested.

Timeline of stuff

British trying to win local support → Allowed for some control for Singapore over the country → Maria Hertogh Riots → Anti-NS riots → Rendel Constitution → 1955 election → Hock Lee Bus riots → First Merdeka Talks → Chinese Middle school riots → Second Merdeka talks → 1959 elections

Chapter 8

Singapore's reasons for merger

- **Economic Survival**- Malaya produced the raw materials that keeps the show-window economy going. Without merger, Singapore's economic position would get worse. It lacked natural resources and has a rapidly growing population in need of jobs. Neighbours wanted to direct their exports through their own ports, resulting in the decline of the entrepot trade. Tariffs were implemented on goods from Singapore which made them more expensive and less desirable. With merger, the tariffs would be removed allowing for the common market. There were insufficient jobs for the people in Singapore. With merger, the entrepot trade would not suffer as there would be a bigger market allowing for more job opportunities.
- **Political Independence**- During the cold war, the British feared that SouthEast Asia would fall under the communist control. The British sought to provide greater political stability through a new federation comprising Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei.
- **Independence from the British** - Through merger, the British would allow Singapore to be independent from British rule as Malaya can take over and allow for communism as a threat to decline.

What were Malaya's reasons for merging?

- At first, Malaya did not want to merge with Singapore due to their combined population leading to the Chinese outnumbering the Malay. The Tunku also suspected that the Chinese in Singapore had sympathies with the Communists.
- **Fear of an independent, Communist-Influenced Singapore**- Malaya has a representative on Singapore's internal security Council. If Singapore became an independent state, Malaya would no longer have a representative on the internal security Council and thus influence over security matters in Singapore. It could make the threat of communism harder to contain. The tunku feared that if Singapore became an independent country that turned communist, it could influence others to consider a communist government as an alternative.
- **Hong Lim By-election**- PAP's Ong Eng Guan won a seat in the legislative assembly in 1959. He fell out of favour with PAP. He was expelled from the PAP because of this. This resulted in the Hong-lim election. As an independent candidate, he won 73.3 percent of the votes. This showed the increasing divide between PAP(democracy vs communism). He was worried that the radical group would gain control of Singapore and become a base to spread communist ideas in Malaya.

Agreement on proposed merger

- Formation of Malaysia- Brunei, North Borneo, Sarawak, Malaya and Singapore
- Terms of the merger
 - Singapore would have its own Head of State
 - Singapore citizens would be given the title of “Federal Nationals” instead of “Federal citizens”
 - Singapore could hold its own elections and its citizens would only be able to vote in Singapore’s elections
 - Singapore would collect its own revenue and pay Kuala Lumpur an agreed-upon sum(40%)
 - Singapore would have control over its education, labour matters and civil service
 - The federal government Stationed in Kuala Lumpur would oversee Singapore’s Defence, internal security and dealings with foreign governments.

Result of the battle for merger:

Who opposed the merger?

- **Barisan Sosialis**- Most PAP leaders were in favour of the proposed merger, some like Fong Swee Swan and Lim Chin Chong opposed it. They felt that the terms were unfavourable to the people of Singapore and tried to get support from other PAP members. They did not succeed and were expelled from the PAP. They later established a new party, the Barsian Sosialis Singapura, where Dr Lee Siew Choh became Chairman of the party while Lim was its secretary-General. They opposed it due to:
 1. Singaporean citizens would only be known as federation nationals and could only vote in Singapore elections.
 2. The allocations in the federal parliament. In exchange for having control over its education and labour, Singapore would only have 15 seats, while North Borneo and Sarawak would have more seats despite it having smaller populations. It felt that the under-representation of Singapore in the Malaysian Parliament was a sign of its second-class status.
- **The Philippines**- They did not recognise Malaysia as it insisted that it has a rightful claim to North Borneo and broke off relations with Malaysia in 1963.
- **Indonesia**- Through the konfrantasi who bombed the Macdonalds House killing 3 and several other bombings.

The PAP’s Campaign-

- The PAP embarked on a year-long campaign to convince the people of the need for a merger.
- From September to October 1961, Lee Kuan Yew hosted a series of radio talks known as 'The Battle for Merger'
- These talks were delivered on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at 6.45pm in Mandarin, at 7.30pm in English, and at 9.00pm in Malay and were later re-broadcasted in Tamil, Hokkien and Cantonese.
- The talks were able to allow Lee Kuan Yew to reach people not only in Singapore, but also in Brunei, Malaya, North Borneo (Sabah) and Sarawak
- Exhibitions to Highlight Merger Benefits
- Malaysia Exhibition during Malaysia Week (Early 1962)
- The event was held at the then Victoria Memorial Hall, or the present-day Victoria Concert Hall. jointly organised by different governments of the territories that would be part of the new federation. The goal was to showcase the close cultural and social ties between the people in the different territories which provides exposure to the lives and cultures of the people, as well as the aspects of trade and commerce of the various territories.

Referendum

- Purpose of the referendum was what type of merger people in Singapore wanted.
- PAP's preferred option A while the Barsian Sosialis opposed all 3 options and urged people to cast blank notes.
 - 70.8% Option A
 - 1.7% Option B
 - 1.4% Option C
 - 25.7% Blank notes
 - 0.4% Rejected and Uncertain Papers

This Showed that People wanted a merger which aligned to the goals of the PAP.

Weakening of the Barisan Sosialis

- On 2 February 1963, the internal security council detained more than a hundred people including 24 Barsian Sosialis members. They were accused of attempting to sabotage the formation of Malaysia.
- Weakened by this arrest, the group lost the 1963 elections winning 13 out of 51 seats while the PAP won 37 out of 51 seats

Separation

Reasons for Separation	
Political Differences (Citing details including who, when, what, why, how, where)	Economic Disagreement (Citing details including who, when, what, why, how, where)
<p>Issue/Event</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Political parties and ideologies-</u> Singapore's major political parties such as the PAP were multiracial and sought to represent the interest of all companies and felt that everyone, regardless of race, should be given an equal opportunity to succeed. Meanwhile, the Federal Government of Malaysia was formed by the alliance party, which comprised 3 communal parties based on race, the United Malays National organization(UMNO), Malayan Chinese Association(MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress(MIC). These parties seek to improve and look after the interests of their respective ethnic communities. <p>The federation Government of Malaysia gave special privileges in employment, business and education to the Malays with the aim of improving their economic and social position. A certain number of jobs in the government were reserved for the Malays. However, in Singapore, the government felt that everybody regardless of race should be given an equal opportunity to succeed and believed that the best way to enable Malays to gain better employment opportunities was by providing free education.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Participating in each others elections-</u> During the merger, it was agreed that they wouldn't interfere in each other's political matters. However, both Singapore and Malaya broke that rule. 	<p>Issue/Event</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Common Market issues-</u> Before the merger, part of the deal included that a common market would be set up. In reality, there was a delay. The tariffs on Singapore imposed goods would be removed but they continued to be imposed to protect some of Malaya's industries. <p>It was never set up as Malaysia was reluctant to open her markets to Singapore with the fear of competition. Only 2 pioneer certificates were approved against 69 applications. There was stiff competition between Singapore and Malaysia's industries instead of collaboration. High taxes were placed on Singaporean governments. We did not gain any economic benefits.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Contributing revenue-</u> Before the merger, it was mutually agreed upon that Singapore would contribute 40% of its revenue to the federal government. However, the federal government increased Singapore's contribution to 60% as spending had risen due to the Konfrontasi. Singapore felt that the decision was unfair.

In September 1963, a state election was held in Singapore. The United Malays National organization(UMNO), Malayan Chinese Association(MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress(MIC) joined forces with the Singapore People's alliance(SPA) to form the Singapore Alliance party(SAP). With the backing of the alliance party in Kuala Lumpur, the SAP contested the election and sought to win more seats in the Singapore Legislative Assembly. However, the SAP performed poorly. They failed to win a single seat while the PAP won 37 out of the 51 seats. This was disappointing as every one of the seven seats held by the SPA and the UMNO- Singapore has been lost to a PAP candidate. Moreover, Malay candidates from the SAP in three constituencies with Malay majorities had lost their seats to Malay PAP candidates. The PAP decided to participate in the 1964 federal election, further straining the relationship between the PAP and the alliance party in Kuala Lumpur. During this, the PAP questioned the way the Alliance Party governed Malaysia and promised to build a Malaysia that would not be governed by racial lines. Though the alliance party won the election with the PAP winning 1 seat, the alliance leaders were upset with the PAP for contesting the election.

1. Name the three political parties that made up the alliance party that was the ruling party in Malaysia
 - The alliance party that ruled Malaya was made up of three parties, the MCA, MIC and UMNO alliance.
 - Malays held pol. power(must keep!)
 - Doubted the Chinese community

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protective of Malay(old order rights/ birth rights) <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Explain whose interests the 3 parties represented. 3. Contrast these parties with the PAP <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Led by the PAP • Mostly chinese • Multi-racial party • Meritocracy society—> equal opportunity 4. Explain what the Malays in Malaysia enjoyed 5. Explain what the PAP believed in and advocated how each ethnic group could improve itself 6. Explain what the PAP did in May 1965 7. <u>Events</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>1963 SG elections</u> • <u>1964 Malaysia general elections</u> • <u>Kampong resettlement to HDB(not major)</u> • <u>Racial riots July + September</u> • <u>MSC- Malayan Solidarity Convention- May 1965</u> <p><u>Explanation later</u></p>	
<p>As a result...(Explain how the effects of this issue/event that led to the separation)</p>	<p>As a result...(Explain how the effects of this issue/event that led to the separation)</p>
<p>Issue/Event</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Political parties and ideologies-</u> Singapore wanted all races to have a fair chance to succeed but in Malaysia, special rights are given to the Malays to give them an unfair advantage to succeed due to the numerous benefits Malays in Malaysia get. • <u>Participating in each others</u> 	<p>Issue/Event</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Common market issues-</u> Tariffs still continued despite the agreement being that for the common market tariffs would not be imposed hurting singapore's economy. • <u>Contributing revenue-</u> Due to the Konfrantasi in Indonesia, spending on the defence had risen up and as such, Malaysia wanted Singapore to give 60% of

<p><u>elections</u>- This could result in the slow takeover of the country should the other country win the elections. It may spread distrust among the community that the current government can be replaced by the other country's government to enable better facilities.</p>	<p>its revenue. Singapore did not want to and believed that the original contribution was sufficient. Thai resulted in tension forming as they did not follow the pre-stated rules of the merger.</p>
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Events causing merger:

1. 1963 SG elections
2. 1964 Malaysia general elections
3. Kampong resettlement to HDB(not major)
4. Racial riots July + September
5. MSC- Malayan Solidarity Convention- May 1965

1963 SG elections

- In September 1963, a state election was held in SG. The Singapore Branches of UMNO, MCA and MIC joined forces with the Singapore People's Action party (SPA) to form the Singapore Alliance Party (SAP). The SAP contested the election and sought to win more seats in the Singapore legislative Assembly.
- However the SAP failed to win a single seat. In contrast, the PAP won 37 out of the 51 seats contested. All 7 of the seats held by the SPA and UMNO-Singapore had been lost to a PAP candidate and Malay candidates with Malay majorities had lost their seats to Malay PAP candidates.

1964 Malaysia General elections

- PAP decided to participate in this election. PAP questioned the way the Alliance party governed Malaysia and promised to build a Malaysia that would not be governed along racial lines. Though the alliance party won and the PAP only won 1 seat, they were upset that they had even contested the election.

Racial riots July + September

- Some UMNO members accused the PAP of neglecting Malay Interests in Singapore. Through the Malay Press, anti-PAP sentiments were spread. Allegations that Singapore was treating Malays as second class citizens flew fast and furious. The Press also accused the PAP of putting greater emphasis on Chinese Education and not on Malay education.
- On 12 July 1964, the secretary general of UMNO, Syed Ja'afar Albar, made a fiery anti-PAP speech in SG which raised even more tensions. At the place where he was giving his speech, chants from the crowd of killing Othman Wok, the only Malay in the PAP's cabinet, and Lee Kuan Yew. Due to Wok's association with the PAP, he was depicted as an "anti-Malay tool" of the state.

- Trying to ease tensions, Prime minister Lee and Othman organised a meeting with 100 non-political Malay Organisations on 19 July 1964. They assured more than 900 Malay representatives that the Singapore government would help the Malays from education to housing and that all races are treated equally.
- Despite that, *Utusan Melayu* continued to print articles accusing the PAP government of unfairly treating the Malays in Singapore leading to racial riots.
- On 21 July 1964, around 20k Muslims gathered at the Padang to commemorate Prophet Muhammad's birthday. However, clashes broke out in several areas. As news of these clashes spread, so did the riots. This resulted in the loss of 23 lives and 454 people were injured. A curfew was then put in place.
- About 6 weeks later, riots broke out triggered by the murder of a Malay trishaw rider. Another curfew was imposed. By the time it had been lifted, 13 people had died and 106 were injured.

MSC- Malayan Solidarity Convention- May 1965

- The violence which ensued prompted the PAP and the Alliance Party in Kuala Lumpur not to raise matters racial in nature. They also were to not challenge each other in elections for the next 2 years.
- In October 1964, 1 month after the agreement, the SAP announced that the party would be contesting and intended on winning the next Singapore election. This served as a direct political challenge to the PAP.
- A year later in May of 1965, the PAP brought 4 other Malaysian opposition parties to establish the Malaysian Solidarity convention(MSC) which was to campaign for a Malaysian Malaysia, where all would be treated equally, regardless of their race or religion.
- This upset the party as it threatened the rights held by Malays.

Call for separation

Singapore became independent.

Chapter 9

Security Challenges faced Internally

- Lack National Identity
- Lack of sense of belonging.
- Small local battalions
- Lack of faith(too small to protect ourselves)

Security challenges faced externally

Konfrantasi

- Policy pursued against the formation of Malaysia, where President Sukarno opposed the federation of Malaysia.
- Due to fear of the territories in the federation. He also had ambitions for uniting the Malay Archipelago under him
- 42 attacks at schools and estates to terrorise the population and disrupt the lives of Singapore. Example is the Macdonald house bombing

Communist terrorism

- The MCP(Malayan Communist Party) had split into smaller groups, posing a danger to internal security.
- Police raids against the group revealed a large amount of weapons such as pistols and grenades.
- Examples; killing of 7 year old girl in Changi 1970, bomb in Katong 1974, Attempted assassination of Commissioner of police in 1976.

International terrorism

- Foreign terrorists hijacked the ferry boat and held crew members hostage. After days of negotiation, the hijackers released hostages in exchange for safe passage from SG to Kuwait.

Vietnam War

- Communist vs non-communist (North vs South). The US helped the south to ensure that Communism doesn't spread to other countries.

Cold War

- Between the USA and Soviet Union. Battle for Capitalism vs Communism. The Vietnam war was caused due to the cold war.

British Military Withdrawal

- The British announced in 1967 that it would withdraw its defence forces from Singapore. By 1971, the majority of British forces left, and the withdrawal was completed in 1967.

How did Singapore overcome its security challenges?

They had a 2 pronged approach:

1. Deterrence
2. Diplomacy

Deterrence

1. National Service(NS)

- Building up a credible and loyal defence force of our own through conscription
- In 1954, The British attempted to conscript young men to serve in the military but the resistance and the unpopularity towards it resulted in it never being carried out.
- However, the Singapore government deemed that conscription was the only way it could have a credible defence force and thus introduced NS in 1967.
- Thousands of men were conscripted for at least 2 years and they were liable for at least for reservist duties.
- It was received with uncertainty as men were expected to find a job quickly upon leaving school and contribute to the household income. With NS, their entry into the job market would be delayed and families would lose out on income. It was also unfamiliar for a vast majority of Singaporeans and they had to adapt to the disciplined lifestyle of the military. Families were anxious about the well-being of their son.
- The government had send off dinners and reassured the families about NS.

2. Home Grown Industry

- Needed to equip the men with equipment
- The British had inherited supplies from the British but most of it was obsolete and inadequate for the growing needs of the Singapore armed forces (SAF).
- It could acquire supplies from other countries like France and the US, but if supply from other countries stopped then Singapore would have no equipment.
- As such, defence minister Dr Goh Keng Swee decided to develop Singapore's defence industry to provide the SAF with locally made equipment and supplies which would enable the SAF to operate if other countries stopped selling equipment.
- Companies made for the defence industry to thrive:
 1. Chartered Industries of Singapore- set up by the Singapore government in 1967. manufactured ammunition for the military, designed weapons
 2. Defence Science and Technology Agency- responsible for performing acquisitions management, systems management, systems development Singapore Ministry of Defence.
 3. Defence Science Organisation- national defence research and development organisation developing technological solutions for defence and national security.

3. Strengthening military cooperation with other countries

- Singapore built on its existing relations with commonwealth countries like Britain, Malaysia and Australia and established new ties with countries such as the United States.
- These friendly relations allow the SAF to buy equipment from them and train and learn from other more experienced armed forces.
- In 1971, Singapore, Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand and Britain established the Five Power Defence arrangements (FPDA) allowing them to have a regular combined military exercise and provide a platform to enhance defence corporations.

Diplomacy

1. Established diplomatic relations with other countries
 - Allowed Singapore to be recognised by different countries.
 - Without this, hostile countries could claim Singapore had no right to exist and threatened or invade it.
 - Ensure Singapore had friends that recognised its independence and had an interest in keeping it safe and secure
2. Growing bilateral relationships
 - Established relations with the US and other commonwealth countries.
 - PM LKY went to China and sg cultivated relationships with as many countries as possible, even those far away and which did not have direct interest in the region and regardless of their stance in the cold war
 - It also sought to improve ties with countries which it had tensions with like Indonesia by scattering flowers on the 2 soldiers who bombed the Macdonald House.
3. Joining International and regional organisations
 - Important to join international organisations that would recognise its existence as an independent country. Singapore joined the United Nations.
 - Singapore became a founding member of ASEAN, an organisation formed to prevent the spread of communism during the cold war and promote Economic, Social and cultural development within the countries.