

# Index

## A

- Abbas, Ferhat, 381–82
- Abdul Hamid bin Haji Jumat, 428
- Abdul Karim Ghani, 122
- Abdul Rahman, Tunku
- attitude to merger, 366, 377–78, 419, 426–27, 433, 459, 470, 481
  - Baling peace talks, 398–99
  - Confrontation with Indonesia, 478
  - fear of Chinese majority, 378
  - hard line against communists, 453–54, 478–80
  - Malayan Communist Party and, 389
  - media control and, 468–69
  - merger talks, 425–27, 530n26
  - PAP and, 192, 193, 198, 255, 288, 467
  - political style, 423
  - postponement of Malaysia Day, 500–501
  - push for independence, 283
  - Raja on, 162–63, 423
  - staff members, 116, 192, 193
  - Sukarno and, 500
  - view of Singapore, 442, 494, 504, 535n41
  - warning on Causeway closure, 442–43
- Abdul Razak, 423, 425, 467, 469–70, 533n11
- Abdullah Ahmad, 469, 470
- Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee, 384
- Abyssinia, 33, 35
- Acton, John Emerich Edward Dalberg, Baron, 177
- Addison, Christopher, Viscount, 87
- Africa, 184, 304, 382, 422, 429
- African nationalist movement, 40, 47–49, 63, 83
- Ahmad Ibrahim, 215, 327, 331, 405, 523n45, 526n26
- Aidit, D.N., 418, 478
- Aik Hoe Rubber Factory, 121
- Albania, 109
- Algeria, 381–83
- Ali, Ahmed, 46, 71
- All-Indian Progressive Writers' Association, 45–46, 71
- All-Party Constitutional conference, 235, 236, 237, 242, 266
- Aminah binte Mohamed, 122
- Analects of Confucius, The*, 53
- Anand, Mulk Raj
- editor of *Indian Short Stories*, 76
  - fiction, 70, 71, 72, 77
  - George Orwell and, 79
  - India League and, 42
  - marriage, 54
  - Raja and, 44, 45
- Aneka Ragam Rakyat*, 321, 325, 456–57
- Angkatan Revolusi Tentara Islam Singapura (Artis), 329
- Animal Farm*, 178

- Annammah (mother)  
     birth of Raja, 4  
     birth of Seevaratnam, 6  
     family background, 9–10, 29  
     marriage, 4, 9  
     official name, 509n2  
     Piroska and, 272  
     relationship with Raja, 11–12, 272  
 Anson constituency, 379, 389, 394–98, 401, 461  
 Anti-British League (ABL), 124, 125, 127, 150, 485  
 Anuar, Hedwig, 355, 356  
 Arasu, V.T., 318–19, 322, 340, 357  
 Armstrong, Henry, 305  
 Aron, Raymond, 203, 521n17  
 Artis (Angkatan Revolusi Tentara Islam Singapura), 329  
*Asia*, 72, 80, 87  
*Asia and the Americas*, 72  
 Asian Socialist Conference (ASC), 184, 520n22  
 Associated Papers of Ceylon, 242  
 Attlee, Clement, 83  
 Australian High Commission, 55, 100, 413  
 Austria, 34, 65  
 Awbery, S.S., 114  
 Aw Boon Haw, 118, 119–20, 180, 186, 292  
 Aw Cheng Taik, 119, 158, 180, 186  
 Azahari, A.M., 379, 416, 477–78, 480, 482  
  
**B**  
 Baharudin bin Mohd Arif, 379  
 Bain, Bruce, 203  
 Baker, Denys Val, 75  
 Bakunin, Mikhail Aleksandrovich, 180  
 Baldwin, Stanley, 35  
 Baling peace talks, 398–99  
 Bani, S.T., 363, 409, 415, 417, 418, 531n11, n17  
 Banishment Ordinance, 238  
 Bao Dai, 139  
 Barisan Sosialis  
     attacks on Raja, 351, 418  
     formation, 403  
     front for communists, 414  
     instigation of unrest, 407, 409, 415, 440  
 Nanyang University and, 446  
     on National Theatre project, 496  
     opposition to merger, 426, 444, 452, 453, 458, 477, 502  
     overseas support against merger, 477, 479, 482–83  
 PAP defections to, 368, 404–6  
     popular support, 426, 492  
     Raja's attacks on, 409–10, 412, 418, 440–44, 454, 464, 475–76, 490  
     referendum on merger, 452, 458, 461, 464–65  
     Singapore Alliance and, 493  
     support for Brunei rebellion, 478, 480–81  
     Tunku Abdul Rahman and, 479  
*Battle for Merger, The*, 414  
 Beamish, H.H., 254  
 Beaverbrook, Max Aitken, Baron, 68–69  
 Békéscsaba, 55, 56  
 Benham report, 152  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 177  
 Bevan, Aneurin, 35, 203  
 Bismarck, Otto Eduard Leopold von, 177  
 Black, Governor Robert, 229  
 Bloodworth, Dennis  
     career as journalist, 193–94

- on Hong Lim by-election, 375, 376
  - on Operation Cold Store, 482
  - on PAP leadership, 196, 375
  - on Raja, 90–91, 126, 138, 274, 337
  - Raja's confidences in, 259, 266, 394, 404, 454
- Board of Film Censors, 346, 475
- Book of Songs*, 62
- Boon Yoon Chiang, 287, 292, 356, 456, 529n39
- Borneo States, 377–79, 419–50, 483, 500, 505
- Bose, Subhas Chandra, 85
- Brahimi, Lakhdar, 383
- Briggs, General Harold, 116
- Britain
  - colonial expansion, 17
  - Colonial Office, 235
  - constitutional talks, 235, 236, 237, 242, 266
  - double standards, 174–75
  - French protest to, 382
  - Labour government, 83, 85, 203
  - merger and, 377–78, 452–53, 478–80, 530n26
  - pro-communist faction and, 394–95, 400–402, 453
  - response to Brunei rebellion, 477
  - Spanish Civil War and, 33–36
  - in World War II, 56, 58, 61, 62, 82, 83
  - see also* British Empire; Special Branch
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 71, 79, 118, 247, 470, 471
- British Communist Party, 35, 48, 49, 50
- British Empire
  - Ceylon and, 16
  - decline, 270
  - decolonisation process, 83, 85, 110
  - ethnic segregation under, 8, 80–81, 107–108, 135–36
  - extent, 4
  - lack of political development under, 421
  - Malaya's place in, 17, 82–83
  - racist attitudes in, 41
  - Singapore's entry into, 301
  - Singapore's role in defence of, 83, 227
- British High Commission, 364
- British Military Administration (BMA), 84, 87
- Brockway, Fenner, 48, 203, 512n18
- Brunei
  - 1962 rebellion, 416, 477, 480
  - anti-merger forces, 501
  - exhibition of art from, 495
  - oil wealth, 430
  - plan for merger with, 377, 419, 430, 431
  - political party, 421, 429
  - racial composition, 378
- Buck, Pearl S., 72
- Burma, 50, 83, 101, 143, 184
- Burnett, Hugh, 470
- Burnham, James, 178
- Butler, Samuel, 37
- Byrne, Kenneth M.
  - communists and, 409
  - Council of Joint Action, 151, 152–53
  - English education, 291
  - formation of PAP, 182–83
  - Malayan Forum and, 144
  - Malayanisation Commission, 231
  - minister for labour and law, 299
  - 1959 elections, 267, 282
  - Ong Eng Guan and, 364, 370

- People's Association, 357  
 Piroška and, 271  
 push for self-rule, 150  
 Raja and, 155, 196  
 Special Branch report on, 184  
 wife, 528n27  
 Byron, George Gordon, Baron, 177
- C
- Caine, Sydney, 226, 523n15  
 Cambridge University, 50, 96, 145, 149  
 Carr, E.H., 177, 179  
 Carrol, Larry, 133  
 Causeway, 442–43, 535n42  
 CEC (Central Executive Committee). *See* PAP Central Executive Committee (CEC)
- Ceylon
- 1911 census, 16  
 under British rule, 16  
 independence, 83, 143, 187  
 Malayan Tamils and, 15, 17–18  
 racial and religious  
     communalism, 304, 318, 438  
     radical students from, 84  
     Raja's birthplace, 4  
 Ceylon Sports Club, 436  
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 177  
 Chamberlain, Neville, 33, 61, 68  
 Chan Chee Seng, 257, 262–63, 295, 409, 524n8  
 Chan, Harry, 175, 236, 519n12  
 Chan Sun Wing, 406  
 Chancery Lane residence, 97, 98, 102, 117, 186, 193, 390  
 Chang, K.S., 130, 132–33  
 Chew Swee Kee, 279, 280, 371  
 China  
     ban on rubber exports to, 175  
     Chinese-educated Malayans and, 221–22, 257, 258, 261  
     communism, 99, 105, 171, 257, 261, 330, 478  
     Dorothy Woodman and, 49–50  
     flag, 314  
     overpopulation in, 92  
     propaganda, 489  
     P.V. Sharma's exile in, 205  
     Raja and, 52–53, 105, 114, 311  
     Singapore and, 378, 391, 442  
 China Campaign Committee, 50, 52  
 China Institute, 51  
 China Relief Committee, 50  
*China to Me*, 117  
 Chinese community  
     bond with China, 221–22, 257, 258, 261  
     demographics, 95, 135  
     Federation proposal and, 104  
     Malayan Union scheme and, 85, 87  
     reactions to war, 80  
     repatriation, 8  
     response to merger, 502  
     role in Malayan economy, 7, 12, 81, 107–108, 135, 166  
     secret societies, 114, 335  
     way of life, 7–8  
     *see also* Chinese-educated community  
 Chinese-educated community  
     anti-yellow culture campaign and, 346–47  
     attachment to China, 257  
     forming majority in Singapore, 188, 270, 296, 298, 346  
     Lee Kuan Yew and, 215–16, 340  
     majority in Singapore, 188, 221  
     People's Association and, 358

- popularity of Ong Eng Guan  
     among, 375  
 pro-communist slant, 277, 400, 407  
 Raja and, 345, 346–47, 351, 437  
 response to merger proposal, 426,  
     444  
 response to PAP, 282, 363, 376,  
     525n2  
 Chinese language, 205, 215–16, 221,  
     262, 264, 358, 375  
 Chinese-language newspapers  
     on Chinese business ban in  
         Indonesia, 341  
     Eu Chooi Yip and, 91  
     focus on China, 95, 339  
     ownership, 119  
     PAP and, 281, 408  
     pro-communist outlook, 339, 408  
     Raja and, 281, 344, 409  
     Workers' Party and, 460  
 Chinese middle schools, 189, 220,  
     263, 407  
 Chinese Students' Union, 219  
 Chin Peng, 98, 112, 127, 389–93,  
     398, 481  
 Choo Hoey, 496–97, 538n35  
 Choy, Sivanandan, 351  
 Chua Chin Kiat, 460  
 Churchill, Winston, 61–62, 83, 328  
 City Council, 230, 260, 264, 296, 325  
 Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal,  
     229  
 Cold War, 109, 174, 280  
 Colored Writers' Association, 40  
 Comber, Leon, 139, 516n49, 518n35  
 Committee of Film Appeal, 346  
 Committee of Privileges, 373  
 Commonwealth, 502  
 Commonwealth Parliamentary  
     Association (CPA), 420, 422, 434  
 Communist International  
     (Comintern), 42, 48, 101  
 Communist North Borneo National  
     Army, 477  
 Communist Party of Australia, 101  
 Communist Party of China (CPC),  
     389  
 Communist Party of India, 46, 71  
 Communist Party of Indonesia  
     (PKI), 418, 432, 438, 478, 482  
 Communist Party of Malaya. *See*  
     Malayan Communist Party  
     (MCP)  
 Communist Party of Pakistan, 71  
 Communist Trade Union  
     International, 47  
 Communist United Front (CUF),  
     481, 484  
*Conduct of Life*, 179  
 Confrontation, 478  
 Confucius, 311  
 Convent of the Good Shepherd, 122  
 Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus  
     (Seremban), 19  
*Coolie*, 44  
 Cooper, Derek, 308  
 Council of Joint Action, 152, 154  
 Country People's Association, 464  
 Criminal Investigation Department,  
     125  
 Cripps, Stafford, 35, 83  
*Crowd, The*, 178  
 Cultural Revolution, 53  
 culture ministership  
     anti-yellow culture campaign,  
         346–51  
     appointment to, 299  
     broadcasting, 306–308, 333–34,  
         457–61, 464, 470–75, 491–92  
     budget woes, 335–37

- civil service training, 351–55  
 conferences and exhibitions, 488–90, 494–97  
 design of state flag, 313–15  
 Enright affair, 327–29  
 fiction-writing career and, 78  
 film censorship, 475–76  
 forging a national identity, 301–30, 498  
 goodwill missions, 430–31  
 leadership style, 357, 456  
 multicultural festivals, 321–22, 325, 456–57  
 national anthem, 325–27  
 National Theatre project, 323–24, 495–97  
 People's Association, 357–59  
 public communications, 331–35, 336–44, 380, 464, 476  
 relations with the press, 338–44  
 Culture Ministry  
 bans and censorship, 340  
 budget, 305, 325  
 campaign for merger, 414, 455–57  
 civil servants in, 292, 319, 356, 359  
 Malaysia Day celebrations, 501–502  
 nation-building programme, 322, 325  
 publications, 414, 434, 488, 489, 491  
 Raja's control of, 456  
 responsibilities, 306, 355  
 Cunard, Nancy, 72
- D**  
*Daily Express*, 68  
*Daily Herald*, 68  
 Dalley, F.W., 114  
 de Cruz, Gerald, 98  
 de Silva, P.P.V., 64  
 Democratic Party, 215, 296  
*Democratic Socialism in Action*, 488, 491  
 Deng Xiaoping, 389  
 Department of Broadcasting and Information, 307, 336  
 Dewan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Kebangsaan, 436  
 Dhanabalan, S., 497, 538n39  
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 177  
 Division of Commerce and Industry, 383  
 Domeni, Nelly, 57–58  
 Dostoevsky, Fyodor Mikhaylovich, 180  
 Douglas-Hamilton, George (Lord Selkirk), 401  
 Dover, Cedric, 40, 438  
 Dover, Maureen, 40  
 Dubash, Jal, 67  
 DuBois, W.E.B., 83  
 Duff, Alex D., 66  
 Dutch East Indies, 65, 110  
 Dutts, Clement, 71
- E**  
 East India Company, 17, 301, 509n10  
 Eber, John, 98, 124, 125, 127–28, 196, 204, 206, 517n20  
 Economic Development Board, 281, 526n6  
*Economist, The*, 363  
 Eden Hall, 401  
 Education Ministry, 305, 306, 355, 407, 415  
 Edwards, Lewis, 20  
 Ee Boon Lee, 158, 287  
 Elections Department, 455

- Elizabeth II, 265
- Emergency  
 atmosphere, 113  
 calls for end to, 207, 216  
 effect on local politics, 141, 182,  
 206  
 imposition and measures, 111–12  
 Malayan Communist Party and,  
 124, 390  
 Raja's changing attitude to, 244  
 Tunku Abdul Rahman and, 479
- English-educated community  
 1959 election results and, 298  
 elite status, 304, 322  
 library services, 233–34  
 mandatory voting and, 278  
 PAP and, 221, 265, 277, 281, 282,  
 290–92  
 political apathy, 200–201, 257,  
 352  
*Straits Times* and, 282, 286  
 view of Raja, 465
- English language, 20, 55, 95, 154,  
 190, 200, 257
- English-language newspapers, 123,  
 200, 278–93, 339
- Enright, D.J., 327–29
- Erewhon*, 37
- Eu Chooi Yip  
 admission of mistakes, 481  
 Anti-British League and, 124, 150  
 communist cause and, 97–98, 99,  
 101–2  
 exile and return, 205  
 exile to Hanoi and Beijing,  
 517n13  
 Malayan Democratic Union and,  
 111, 124  
 MCP base in Indonesia, 389, 390,  
 392  
 persecution and escape, 125–26  
 Raja and, 91, 121, 125–26, 389–  
 90, 486
- Eurasians, 40, 121, 122
- European community  
 Malayan Communist Party and,  
 111  
 Maria Hertogh case and, 122  
 newspapers and, 95, 200, 286–87,  
 290  
 privileged position, 95–96, 151  
 rubber industry and, 6, 11, 12, 16  
*Evening Standard*, 68
- F
- Fabian Society, 204
- Fajar*, 185, 189, 209
- Fang Chuang Pi, 126
- Farrer Park constituency, 215
- Fascist revolution, 170
- Faulkner, William, 75
- Federal Constitution, 134
- Federation of Malaya  
 Alliance party and, 162, 262, 280,  
 290, 299, 467  
 communal politics in, 108, 134,  
 136, 202, 288, 295, 330, 423  
 creation, 102–104, 106, 110–11  
 Emergency, 112, 261  
 ethnic composition, 255  
 foreign ministry, 431  
 independence, 198, 254, 255, 262  
 Internal Security Council and, 363  
 national language, 256  
 PAP and, 192, 255, 366, 377, 415  
 place of Malay-Muslim culture in,  
 108, 110–11, 311, 379, 426,  
 435, 470  
 right-wing, capitalist system, 289,  
 415

- Singapore and, 176, 364, 394, 442, 454, 504  
*see also* merger
- Feedback Unit, 380
- Feher, Karoly (father-in-law), 56
- Feher, Klara (sister-in-law), 56
- Feher, Pirooska (wife)  
 anti-yellow culture campaign and, 347, 528n27  
 birth and background, 55–56  
 courtship and marriage, 14, 54, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66–67  
 health, 55  
 languages, 55, 65  
 life at home, 195, 196–97, 356–57, 472  
 political views, 55–56, 65, 132  
 Raja's career and, 82, 187, 210–11, 271–72, 316, 384  
 Raja's family and, 88, 89–90, 94, 120, 272  
 temperament, 55, 57, 196–97, 271  
 view of Lee Kuan Yew, 197, 211, 271
- Fernandez, Michael, 484, 537n16
- Finance Ministry, 305, 306, 526n6
- Fisher, H.A.L., 249
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 75
- Fong Swee Suan  
 detention, 237  
 instigation of strikes, 218  
 James Fu and, 485  
 Lee Kuan Yew and, 414  
 PAP and, 189–90, 198, 221, 267, 363, 398, 403  
 on Raja, 190, 241, 412  
 trade unions and, 189, 362–63, 531n11
- Foong Choon Hon, 252, 254, 292, 319, 348, 356
- Foot, Michael, 35, 68
- Foreign Ministry, 152, 486
- Forster, E.M., 70–71
- France, 57, 61, 92, 109, 139, 203, 381–82, 486
- Franco, Francisco, 33, 35
- Free Press of India*, 80
- Freedom News*, 98
- French Communist Party, 110
- French Indochina, 64, 110
- French Revolution, 170
- Fu, James, 131, 485–86
- Fyfe, Hamilton, 66
- G**
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 3, 21, 43–44, 85, 104, 160, 487
- Germany, 33, 36, 58, 61, 64, 113, 181
- Ghazali Shafie, 425, 431–32, 453, 467
- Gimson, Franklin, 121
- Gladstone, William Ewart, 177
- Glover, Maurice, 95, 102
- Goh Keng Swee  
 David Marshall and, 155  
 English education, 188, 291  
 Federation politics and, 192  
 finance minister, 299, 305, 335–36  
 formation of PAP, 182–83, 196  
 founding father of Singapore, 2  
 Lee Kuan Yew and, 241, 367, 480  
 Malayan Democratic Union and, 98, 143  
 Malayan Forum and, 143  
 1959 elections, 267, 282  
 on Malayanisation Commission, 236  
 merger talks with Malaya, 424, 425–27  
 Ong Eng Guan and, 361, 369, 371, 373



- PAP political platform, 268  
 push for self-rule, 150, 151, 152–53  
 Raja and, 332, 335–36, 350, 372, 379–80, 437, 489  
 Raja on, 275, 337, 518n2  
 referendum on merger, 457, 458  
 response to communist tactics, 244, 408, 411  
 role in PAP, 275  
 Social Welfare department, 98, 152, 520n28  
 Special Branch reports on, 184  
 temperament, 331  
 on trade with Indonesia, 383  
 wife, 515n19
- Gollancz, Victor, 35  
*Good Earth, The*, 72  
 Goode, William Almond  
   Corrington, 220, 229, 298, 299, 303, 346  
 Gopinath Pillai, 319  
 Gray, Jean Mary, 212–13, 522n35  
 Griffiths, Jim, 203  
*Guilty Men*, 68  
 Gunasekara, Aster, 241, 284–85  
 Gurney, Sir Henry, 128
- H**  
 Hahn, Emily, 117  
*Half-Caste*, 40, 438  
 Han Feizi, 52  
 Han Suyin, 116–17, 157, 206, 256, 516n49, 518n35  
 Harpur, W.A., 102  
 Harrod, L.M., 233–34  
 Hatch, John, 203  
 Hayek, Friedrich, 32  
 HDB (Housing Development Board), 488, 489  
 Heinrich, Reverend J.C., 45  
 Hemingway, Ernest, 75  
 Heren, Louis, 193, 196, 522n24  
 Herring, Robert, 72  
 Hertogh, Maria Bertha, 121–24  
 Hinduism, 11, 13, 23, 45  
 Hino, Ashihei, 30  
 Hitler, Adolf  
   belief in racial purity, 1, 40, 438  
   Churchill and, 61  
   extermination camps, 65, 271  
   Raja's hatred of, 64  
   Revolutionary Catechism and, 180  
   Soviet Union and, 48  
   support of Franco, 36  
   World War II campaigns, 33–34, 59  
 Ho, Robert, 234  
 Hoalim, Philip, Sr., 97  
 Hobbes, Thomas, 37, 422  
 Hobson, John, 37  
 Hock Lee Bus Company, 218–19, 222  
 Hock Lee bus riots, 217, 218–19  
 Hoe Puay Choo, 258, 296, 297, 367–68, 405, 406, 530n11  
 Hoffman, Leslie, 213, 289, 292  
 Home Affairs Ministry, 306, 327, 340, 486  
 Hong Lim constituency  
   by-election, 371, 372, 374–75, 377, 380, 395, 461  
   Lee Kuan Yew rally at, 492  
   Ong Eng Guan and, 362  
 Housing Development Board (HDB), 488, 489  
*Howards End*, 70  
*How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire*, 63  
*Hukbalahap*, 80  
 Hungary, 55, 109

## I

*I Write As I Please*, 80, 159, 169,  
180–81, 190

Ibrahim Yaacob, 184

*Illusion of National Character*, 66

*Imperialism*, 37

Independence of Malaya Party  
(IMP), 161, 162, 202

Independent Labour Party (ILP), 48

## India

anti-colonial movement, 40, 42–  
44, 63–64, 83, 110, 149, 187

economic development, 173

independence, 83, 143

labour movement, 114

Malayan politics and, 101, 184

overpopulation, 92

P.V. Sharma's banishment to, 204

racial and religious  
communalism, 304, 318

Raja as author from, 75

India League, 42–43, 47, 49, 65

## Indian community

attachment to India, 85

demographics, 95, 135

internal exploitation, 166

Malayan identity and, 81

newspapers, 95, 281, 340

Raja and, 319–20, 324, 436–37

role in Malayan economy, 8, 12,  
18, 107–8

during World War II, 80

Indian National Army, 85

Indian National Congress, 134

*Indian Short Stories*, 76

*Indian Writing*, 46, 70

indigenous peoples, 378, 419, 421,  
433, 434

Indochina, 138, 382

Indochina War, 110, 194

## Indonesia

ancient history, 495

ban on Chinese business, 341–42

Barisan Sosialis and, 477

Confrontation, 478, 483

Eu Chooi Yip and, 125

geographical extent, 419

independence, 515n35

Malayan Communist Party base  
in, 389, 390, 392

militant anti-merger forces in, 501

nationalist movement, 103

opposition to merger, 429, 438–  
39, 500

Partai Komunis Indonesia, 418,  
432, 438, 478, 482

Raja's leftist contacts in, 101, 184

Raja's writings on, 104, 113

resistance against Japanese, 50

trade representation in, 383–84

Industrial Court, 229

Institute of National Language and  
Culture, 436

Internal Security Act, 484

Internal Security Council

British and Federation control of,  
268, 363

calls for elimination of, 376, 394,  
395

constitutional talks and, 266

Lee Kuan Yew and, 480

Ong Eng Guan and, 364

Operation Cold Store and, 482

pro-communist detainees and,  
267–68

International Press Institute, 289

International Trade Union

Committee of Negro Workers  
(ITUC-NW), 47

Iqbal Singh, 46, 71, 72, 76

Islam, 122, 249  
 Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, 452  
 Istvan, Kiss (Piroska's brother-in-law), 56

## J

Jaffna, 4, 5, 13, 15–16, 18, 29–30  
 Jaffna Tamils, 10–11, 14, 15, 16, 26, 29–30, 90  
 Jakarta, 184, 383–84, 478, 491  
 James, C.I.R., 47  
 Jamit Singh, 150, 256, 518n13, 531n11  
*Jana*, 242  
 Japan, 30, 64, 82, 92, 114, 173, 184, 472  
 Japanese Occupation  
   end, 82, 301  
   ethnic communities' responses to, 80  
   interruption of British rule, 325  
   Lim Hong Bee and, 86  
   Lim Kean Chye and, 96  
   Malayan Communist Party and, 99  
   Maria Hertogh case, 121–22  
   myth of European superiority and, 84  
 Jayakumar, S., 205  
 Jek Yuen Thong, 374–75, 409–10, 529n30  
 Jemima rubber estate, 5–6, 8  
 Jesselton, 428, 431, 483, 501  
 Jews, 55, 56, 65, 271  
 Jockel, Gordon, 450  
 John, Dominic, 26  
 Johore, 86, 112, 535n42  
 Jones, Creech, 203  
 Josey, Alex, 116–17, 138, 184, 193–94, 212, 214

## journalism

  anti-colonial stance, 110, 131–32  
   on apartheid in South Africa, 132–33, 448  
   *Asia*, 80, 87  
   on the Asian revolution, 169–75  
   beginning of career in, 78–79  
   on Chinese civil war, 105  
   on communal politics, 105–109, 133–37, 165–68  
   on communists, 120–21  
   on Dato Onn, 161–62  
   on Dutch policy in Indonesia, 113–14  
   on ethnic divisions in Malaya, 80–82, 87  
   on expatriate pay scheme, 152  
   on Indochina, 138–39  
   *Jana*, 242  
   on labour movement, 92, 213–14, 222–26  
   *Malaya Tribune*, 92, 95, 101, 102, 113, 117  
   Marxist outlook, 39  
   *Observer*, 242  
   on Philippine independence, 104  
   on political leadership, 159–60  
   political satire, 208–209, 279–80  
   on postal strike, 146–49  
   *Raayat*, 199–211, 285  
   radio, 247–54  
   on Singapore Labour Party, 163–65  
   *Singapore Standard*, 119, 149, 158, 180, 186  
   *Straits Times*, 211–15  
   on Tanjong Malim raid, 129–30  
   work habits, 115–16, 158–59  
   *see also Petir*  
 Joyce, James, 75

## K

- Kafka, Franz, 75  
 Kalimantan, 419, 477, 482  
 Kampong Glam constituency, 258,  
     296, 358, 406, 437, 451, 486  
 Kanda Pillay (uncle), 215  
 Kendall, R.C., 286  
 Kennard, Arlington, 213, 214  
 Kenya, 49  
 Kenyatta, Jomo, 49, 83  
 Keynes, John Maynard, 32  
 Khaw, Ambrose, 147, 149, 287  
 Khir Johari, 439, 470  
 Kikutake, Kiyonori, 489  
 King George V School, 25–26, 29  
 King James Bible, 19–20  
 King's College London, 29, 32, 43,  
     54, 59  
 Kipling, Rudyard, 177  
 Koh, Tommy, xiii, xvii, 94, 256  
 Kuala Lumpur  
     exhibition of paintings from, 495  
     Malayan Socialist Conference, 417  
     merger talks in, 493, 501  
     MSCC meeting, 432  
     proximity of Tanjong Malim to,  
         129  
     Raja's education in, 27  
     Raja's search for support in, 416–  
         17  
     rival of Singapore, 363  
     seat of government, 130, 193, 280,  
         290, 419, 504  
     *Straits Times*, 192, 288, 469  
     University of Malaya, 311, 469  
 Kuching, 430, 431, 432, 504  
 Kuomintang, 3, 105, 111, 280

## L

- La Salle Christian Brothers, 19  
 Labour Exchange, 228, 523n19

- “Labour and Trade Union  
 Organisations” report, 114  
 Labour Party (Britain), 68, 83, 85,  
     203  
 Lane, Allen, 43  
 Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 64, 513n18  
 Lansdowne, 8th Marquess of  
     (George Petty-Fitzmaurice),  
     480, 533n11  
 Lascaux, 109  
 Laski, Harold, 33, 42, 43, 44, 100  
 Lawrence, D.H., 75  
 Le Bon, Gustave, 178  
*Le Figaro*, 203  
 League of Nations, 36  
 Lee Khoo Choy  
     blockade by middle school  
         students, 415  
     career as journalist, 214, 238  
     parliamentary secretary to Raja,  
         307, 321, 326, 337  
     on Raja, 214–15, 292, 320  
     recruitment by PAP, 277  
 Lee Kong Chian, 119  
 Lee Kuan Yew  
     Alex Josey and, 117  
     on British manipulation of pro-  
         communists, 400–401  
     Chinese language abilities, 215–  
         16, 375  
     civil service and, 351–55  
     communists and, 206–207, 219,  
         398, 406, 407, 453–54, 457–  
         58, 466  
     consultations with Raja, 241, 244  
     Council of Joint Action and, 152  
     David Marshall and, 155–57  
     election as prime minister, 299,  
         301  
     formation of PAP, 182–83, 187,  
         195

- founding father of Singapore, 2  
 impressions of Raja, 149, 210–11,  
     213, 263  
 Lim Chin Siong and, 189, 191  
 Lim Yew Hock and, 243  
 Malayan Forum and, 144  
 Malayanisation issue, 235–36  
 Malaysia Day and, 501, 503, 504  
 merger talks, 425–27, 439–40,  
     492  
 1955 elections, 215, 216  
 1959 elections, 267, 275, 277, 282  
 Ong Eng Guan and, 265, 361,  
     369–70, 371–73, 375  
 Operation Cold Store, 481  
 postal strike and, 144–50, 276  
 the press and, 196, 282, 287–88,  
     339–40  
 push for self-rule, 150, 152–53  
 on Raja as politician, 293, 331,  
     343, 357, 412, 505  
 Raja on, 275, 410  
 on Raja's courage, xii, 321, 408,  
     410, 466  
 on Raja's editing of *Petir*, 259  
 on Raja's efforts in North Borneo,  
     420, 439  
 referendum on merger, 457, 458,  
     459, 461  
 relationship with Raja, 246, 320,  
     370, 393, 410–11, 413, 470–  
     71  
 stand against Chinese  
     chauvinism, 340  
 state flag and, 313  
 Tanjong Pagar constituency, 215  
 Tunku Abdul Rahman and, 469,  
     479, 480, 533n11  
 University Socialist Club and,  
     183, 185–86  
 visit to Indonesia, 342
- Lee Siew Choh  
   on defections from PAP, 406  
   denial of communist affiliation,  
     414  
   formation of Barisan Sosialis, 403  
   on Ong Eng Guan, 368  
   opposition to merger, 426, 458  
   PAP membership, 277, 403  
   Raja and, 418, 459, 461, 486, 491,  
     499  
   support for Lim Chin Siong,  
     531n17  
   view of PAP intra-party  
     dynamics, 365, 441
- Lee Siew Yee, 97, 138, 212, 213,  
     522n35
- Lee Siow Mong, 306, 349
- Left Book Club  
   D.N. Pritt and, 185  
   influence of communism within,  
     47  
   influence on Raja, 34–37, 39, 100  
   Piroska and, 54  
   post war, 82  
   prominent members, 43, 44, 83
- Legislative Assembly  
   A.P. Rajah and, 32  
   Barisan Sosialis and, 351, 418  
   complaints about Raja, 359–60  
   debate on role of communists,  
     400–402  
   Enright affair, 328  
   issue of press freedom, 340–41  
   Lee Kuan Yew and, 235, 353, 400–  
     401, 425, 503  
   Lim Yew Hock and, 243  
   low level of debate in, 384  
   Mohd Ali bin Alwi and, 315  
   1959 elections, 266, 298  
   Ong Eng Guan and, 361–65, 368–  
     74

- Political Study Centre and, 353  
 Raja's speeches on race, 308–309,  
 330  
 renaming of library and museum,  
 304  
 Rendel Report and, 155  
 support for Algerian  
 independence, 382  
 Thio Chan Bee and, 315  
 Legislative Council (Singapore), 111,  
 163  
*Lenin on Trade Unions and  
 Revolution*, 440  
 Lenin, Vladimir Il'ich  
 anti-colonialism and, 344  
 Raja's familiarity with writings of,  
 49, 245, 400, 409, 440  
 Revolutionary Catechism and, 180  
 Woodhull's adherence to, 150, 363  
 Lewis, P.R., 305  
 Liberal Socialist Party, 264, 269, 291,  
 297, 298, 525n20  
 Liberty Cabaret, 96, 98, 143  
*Life and Letters and the London  
 Mercury*, 72  
 Lim Chin Siong  
 A.M. Azahari and, 478  
 Anson by-election and, 393–94  
 Barisan Sosialis, 403, 414  
 break with PAP, 398, 403  
 British and, 401  
 communist proclivities, 363, 399  
 detention, 237  
 instigation of strikes, 218  
 invitation to join PAP, 189  
 James Fu and, 485  
 leadership of PAP rival faction,  
 191, 259, 397  
 militant approach, 363  
 Ong Eng Guan and, 376  
 Operation Cold Store, 481  
 oratory, 189, 216, 264  
 Raja's charge of Chinese  
 chauvinism, 416  
 Samad Ismail on, 221  
 stand against merger, 394, 458  
 trade unions and, 189, 362–63,  
 394, 407  
 Tunku Abdul Rahman and, 453  
 Woodhull and, 392  
 Lim Chong Eu, 50–51, 512n20  
 Lim Chong Yah, 227, 234  
 Lim, Dr Maggie, 96  
 Lim Hong Bee, 50, 51, 86, 91, 96–97,  
 127, 514n23, n4  
 Lim Kean Chye  
 Anti-British League and, 127  
 communist involvement, 99, 101–  
 102, 121, 126  
 Malayan Democratic Union and,  
 96–97, 111  
 Raja and, 91, 125  
 Lim, Peter, 214, 283, 284  
 Lim Yew Hock  
 criticisms of the PAP, 476  
 David Marshall and, 156  
 portrayal as “colonial stooge”, 243,  
 266  
 Singapore Alliance, 467  
 Singapore People's Alliance, 269,  
 278, 372  
 tenure as chief minister, 237–38,  
 239, 240, 302, 374, 395, 401  
 Lindner, Robert, 179  
 Lingam, S.V., 365, 405  
*Little Reviews Anthology*, 72  
 Locke, John, 37  
 London  
 Afro-Caribbean community, 42,  
 47, 63, 149

- anti-colonial movements, 42–43, 47–50
- Blitz, 59–61, 62
- Ceylonese students in, 84
- Chinese students in, 51–52, 144
- ÈmigrÈ* circles, 65
- literary scene, 43–46, 62–63, 79
- Malayan students in, 143–44
- political scene, 32–33, 42–43
- racial discrimination in, 41, 438
- Royal Academy, 496
- London Communist Party, 47
- London Evening Standard*, 80
- London Philharmonic Orchestra, 496
- London School of Economics (LSE), 32, 33, 42, 44, 143
- Low Por Tuck, 418, 466
- M**
- MacDonald, Malcolm, 155, 423–24
- Machiavellians, The*, 178
- MacNeice, Louis, 40
- Mahabharata*, 5, 13
- Mahmood Latiff, 296, 298
- Mahmud bin Awang, 228–29, 395
- Majulah Singapura*, 325–27
- Makonnen, T.R., 47, 64
- Malacca, 85, 185, 249, 458
- Malam Malaysia*, 434
- Malan, Daniel, 132–33
- Malay community
- antipathy towards communism, 99, 268, 330
  - aristocracy, 103, 108, 110, 192
  - attitude to merger, 295
  - demographics, 95, 135
  - economic position, 107–108, 329
  - Federation and, 103, 104
  - Malayan Union scheme and, 85
  - newspapers, 95, 281, 340
  - PAP and, 258, 505–6
  - political apathy, 80–81
  - political leadership, 103, 184, 427
  - privileged position, 135, 202, 255, 435, 488
- Malay language, 190, 256, 258, 346
- Malay Nationalist Party (MNP), 87, 103, 106, 112, 182
- Malaya
- anti-colonial movement, 99, 101, 110–113, 124, 143, 161
  - ban on rubber exports to China, 175
  - British rule, 4, 8, 16, 17, 131
  - civil service, 85, 151–55
  - decolonisation, 85, 87–88
  - ethnic composition, 95, 135, 255
  - ethnic segregation, 8, 80–81, 107–108, 135
  - immigrant experiences, 7, 8, 15, 18, 93
  - resource economy, 7, 17, 82–83, 105–6
  - World War II and, 64, 80, 84
  - see also* Emergency; Federation of Malaya
- Malaya Tribune*
- demise, 120
  - Frank Sullivan and, 116
  - political stance, 103–104, 113
  - popular appeal, 91–92
  - Raja and, 92, 95, 101, 102, 113, 117
- Malayan Chinese Association (MCA)
- alliance with UMNO and MIC, 135, 198, 427
  - civil servants' study of, 353–54
  - formation, 119

- Singapore branch, 134, 467, 493  
 Tan Cheng Lock and, 198, 202  
 Malayan Communist Party (MCP)  
   armed struggle against British,  
     101, 111, 261, 268  
   ban on, 112, 241, 391  
   Chinese-educated supporters,  
     188–89, 262  
   Chinese press and, 339  
   effect on merger talks, 377  
   Eu Chooi Yip and, 98, 125–26,  
     205, 389–92  
   Fang Chuang Pi and, 126  
   front organisations, 100, 414,  
     521n18  
   Gerald Templer and, 129  
   labour movement and, 91, 222  
   Lim Hong Bee and, 51  
   Malayan Democratic Union and,  
     99, 111  
   PAP and, 267, 280, 390–91  
   political platform, 201  
   propaganda, 330  
   P.V. Sharma and, 204–205  
   Raja and, 84, 86, 87, 161, 389–93  
   terrorist tactics, 100, 111, 120,  
     522n24  
   underground operations, 124,  
     182, 376, 389–93  
   Wu Tian Wang and, 86  
 Malayan Democratic Union (MDU)  
   boycott of Legislative Council  
     election, 111, 183  
   cooperation with MCP, 99  
   dissolution, 112, 182  
   Goh Keng Swee and, 143  
   John Eber and, 127  
   left-wing, anti-colonial stance, 87,  
     101  
   Lim Hong Bee and, 86  
   Lim Kean Chye and, 96–97  
     members, 98, 124, 204  
   Pan-Malayan Council of Joint  
     Action and, 103, 106  
 Malayan Forum, 143–44  
 Malayan Indian Congress (MIC),  
   134–35, 427, 493  
 Malayan People's Anti-Japanese  
   Party (MPAJA), 86, 522n24  
 Malayan Socialist Conference, 417  
 Malayan Union, 85, 87, 102, 110,  
   513n22  
 Malayanisation Commission, 153,  
   229–36, 306  
 Malaysia  
   constitution, 500, 506  
   control of media in, 468–69  
   expulsion of Singapore from, 3,  
     154, 309, 384, 440  
   geographical extent, 419  
   propaganda on, 412, 414, 433–35,  
     450, 456–61, 468, 488–92,  
     495  
   Raja's vision of, 3, 193, 309, 393,  
     416, 427–30, 433–35, 505–  
     506  
   Singapore Alliance and, 467  
   Singapore's role in, 425–26, 458–  
     59, 494, 498–99, 504–506  
   *see also* merger  
 Malaysia Day, 470, 500–505  
 Malaysia Grand Prix, 495  
 Malaysia Solidarity Consultative  
   Committee (MSCC), 422, 427–  
     28, 430–32, 433, 438–39  
 Malaysian Solidarity Convention,  
   440  
 Malthus, Thomas Robert, 177  
*Man and Society in an Age of  
 Destruction*, 178–79



- Managerial Revolution*, 178
- Manila, 477, 500, 501
- Mannheim, Karl, 178–79
- Many-Splendoured Thing*, 116–17
- Mao Zedong, 52, 100, 175, 245, 363
- Markandan, P.S., 186
- Marshall, David
- 1955 election victory, 216–17
  - ambassador to France, 486
  - Anson by-election, 395, 397, 398
  - attempts to form socialist party, 155–57, 165
  - communists and, 398–99
  - impressions of Raja, 116–17, 413
  - Jewish ethnicity, 271
  - marriage to Jean Gray, 213
  - on PAP, 183, 220
  - referendum on merger, 458, 459–60
  - Singapore Labour Front and, 157
  - tenure as chief minister, 219, 226, 235–36, 237, 398–99, 523n15
  - Workers' Party and, 264, 459–60
- Martin, Kingsley, 35, 36, 39, 43, 203
- Marx, Karl
- in anti-colonial and labour movements, 222, 344
  - Bertrand Russell's critique of, 38
  - Raja's interest in, 36–37, 177, 195, 400, 437
  - in relationship of MCP with unions, 222
  - Woodhull's adherence to, 150
- Marxism
- Chinese communists and, 268, 311
  - economic discontent and, 105
  - Left Book Club and, 34
  - Raja's politics and, 36–37, 38, 100, 172, 344–45
- Mass Work Bureau, 332
- Matter of Policy*, A, 333
- Maugham, Somerset, 75
- Mboya, Tom, 49
- MCA. *See* Malayan Chinese Association (MCA)
- MCA-UMNO Alliance, 135, 161, 198, 201–203, 262, 283, 427, 493
- McNeice, Percy, 230, 234–35
- McNicol, D.W., 299
- MCP. *See* Malayan Communist Party (MCP)
- Mencius, 52, 177
- Menon, Krishna, 42, 43, 65
- Menzies, Robert, 378
- merger
- Barisan Sosialis and, 403, 405, 414–15, 426, 442–44, 452, 477, 478
  - Borneo States and, 379, 414, 419–50
  - Britain and, 377–78, 452–53, 477–80, 530n26
  - Chinese community's attitude to, 262
  - common market talks, 363, 442, 454, 503
  - Federation leaders and, 280–81, 290, 299, 377, 452
  - Lim Chin Siong and, 376, 394
  - Malayan Communist Party and, 389–90, 393, 412
  - Malay community's attitude to, 256, 258, 268, 295, 414
  - Malcolm MacDonald and, 423–24
  - national anthem and, 326
  - Operation Cold Store and, 478–83
  - PAP position on, 268, 276, 282, 346, 366, 413, 417

- political imperative for, 2, 378,  
421–22
- postponement of, 500–505
- the press and, 290, 443
- pro-communists and, 263, 297,  
394, 398, 400, 404, 432, 440
- race relations and, 256, 288, 342,  
378, 426–27, 433, 444
- Raja's views on, 104–105, 176–77,  
255–56, 294, 309, 427, 433,  
438
- referendum on, 452, 455–61
- regional opposition to, 419, 429,  
432, 438, 478, 480–81
- talks on, 422–33, 439–40, 454
- Tunku Abdul Rahman and, 255,  
288, 377–78, 419, 433, 442–  
43, 479, 500
- see also* Malaysia
- MIC (Malayan Indian Congress),  
134–35, 427, 493
- Middle Road unions, 189, 219, 228
- Mill, John Stuart, 206, 248, 343–44,  
437
- Mirror, The*, 72
- Modern International Short Stories*,  
75
- Modern Reading*, 72
- Mohd Ali bin Alwi, 315, 435
- Monkey*, 52
- Moore, Philip, 453, 478
- Moore, Thomas, 37
- Moscow, 101, 171
- MSCC (Malaysia Solidarity  
Consultative Committee), 422,  
427–28, 430–32, 433, 438–39
- Mumford, Lewis, 179
- Museum of Modern Art, 489
- Mussolini, Benito, 33, 35, 36
- N
- Nadarajah (paternal uncle), 10
- Nagalingam, C. (maternal  
grandfather), 4
- Nair, Devan
- arrest for ABL activities, 125
- detention, 237
- disenchantment with  
communists, 268
- efforts on merger, 417
- leadership of NTUC, 463
- Lee Kuan Yew's circle, 154
- 1955 elections, 215–16
- 1959 elections, 267–69
- opposition to Rendel  
Constitution, 183
- P.V. Sharma and, 204
- Raja and, 101, 150–51, 529n30
- Nair, Nalini, 271, 521n3
- Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, 91, 126
- Nantah. *See* Nanyang University
- Nanyang Siang Pau*, 147, 214, 238,  
344
- Nanyang University, 256, 263, 444–  
47
- Narayan, R.K., 71
- Narayanan, P.P., 167–68
- Nathan, S.R., 151–52, 437, 486,  
528n27
- National Alliance, 135, 161
- National Library, 303, 306, 334, 336,  
355, 489–90, 498
- National Museum, 303, 306, 334, 336
- National Theatre, 322–23, 495–97
- National Trades Union Congress  
(NTUC), 405, 463
- Nationalist Party (South Africa), 132
- Naval Base Labour Union, 484,  
518n13

- Nazis, 33–34, 36, 48, 56, 65–66, 113, 170
- Nechayev, Sergei, 180–81
- Negri Sembilan, 5, 17, 505
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 3, 21, 43, 85, 177, 253, 276
- Nehru, Motilal, 21
- Netherlands, 103, 110, 113, 249
- New Democratic Youth league, 87
- New Society, The*, 179
- Ng Teng Kian, 365
- Nicoll, Sir John, 148  
1984, 178
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 49, 83, 253
- North Borneo, 377, 419–50
- NTUC (National Trades Union Congress), 405, 463
- O**
- Observer, The*, 90, 193, 194, 242, 375, 482
- One Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, 52
- Ong Eng Guan  
anti-yellow culture campaign and, 350  
cabinet post, 526n26  
campaign for merger and, 458, 459  
George Thomson and, 353  
invitation to join PAP, 264–65  
political histrionics, 265, 278  
rebellion against PAP leadership, 361–65, 368–76, 530n15
- Ong Eng Liang, 296, 297
- Ong Kee Hui, 379, 420, 432, 439
- Ong Kim Leong, 358–59
- Ong Pang Boon, 332, 346, 347, 369, 371, 480, 526n26
- Ong Soo Chuan, 359
- Ong Yoke Lin, 432
- Orngkili, James, 428
- Onn bin Jaafar, Dato, 161–62, 202
- Operation Cold Store, 481–82, 485, 486
- Opium War Through Chinese Eyes, The*, 53
- Orwell, George, 79–80, 133, 159, 178, 206
- Othman Wok, 140, 242, 258
- Oxley Road, 149
- P**
- Padmore, George  
marriage, 54  
name, 511n10  
political activism, 42, 46–49, 65, 83, 511n14, n16  
publications, 63–64, 69  
stance on communism, 52, 511n15
- Pan-African Congress, 83
- Pan-African Federation, 47, 49, 65, 83
- Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action (PMCJA), 103, 106, 110, 111, 112, 515n26
- Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions (PMFTU), 100, 103, 106
- Pan-Malayan Road Transport Operators' Association, 202
- Pan-Malayan Writers' Conference, 494
- PAP Central Executive Committee (CEC)  
control of, 259, 368  
Ong Eng Guan and, 265, 364, 365

- pro-communists on, 241, 244,  
     246  
 Roslan bin Hassan, 295  
 Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI),  
     418, 432, 438, 478, 482  
 Partai Rakyat Brunei, 379, 416, 429,  
     477, 533n7  
 Partai Rakyat Singapura, 414, 416  
 Party Negara, 202  
 Party Negara Sarawak, 533n7  
*Passage to India, A*, 70  
*Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought*,  
     179  
 Peking, 171, 389  
 Penang, 17, 50, 85, 96, 185, 458, 505  
 People's Action Party  
     charge of being anti-Chinese, 444  
     communist elements, 220, 243–  
         46, 259–60, 262–63, 297, 358  
     communist infiltration, 297, 363,  
         403–406  
     core leadership style, 365–66, 397  
     democratic socialism, 300, 302,  
         381, 488, 505  
     Devan Nair and, 204  
     formation of, 32, 98, 102, 182–83,  
         187–88, 520n17  
     freedom of speech and, 373  
     hardline image, 329, 367, 403, 484  
     Hong Lim by-election, 374–77  
     international relations, 382–84  
     launch, 197–99, 255  
     on living wage report, 226  
     manifesto, 190–91, 256, 275–77,  
         278  
     1955 elections, 215–16  
     1959 elections, 1, 176, 266–68,  
         269, 275–300, 407  
     position on merger, 282, 433, 438,  
         459, 461, 468, 480  
     propaganda, 238, 258–59, 278,  
         334, 375, 455, 490  
     Raja's history of, 264  
     Raja's role in, 229, 241, 260, 461–62  
     rival factions, 191, 259, 263, 365,  
         369–70, 390, 397–98  
     split with pro-communist faction,  
         403–407  
     trade unions and, 189, 220–21,  
         295–96, 362, 441  
     voter feedback, 379–80  
 People's Association (PA), 357–59,  
     406, 407  
 People's Republic of China (PRC),  
     53, 280, 485  
 Pereira, Ananda, 471  
 Pereira, M.S., 115  
*Petir*  
     campaign for merger through,  
         262, 416  
     Hong Lim by-election, 377  
     Ong Eng Guan and, 369, 370  
     PAP newsletter, 259  
     party ideology in, 260, 396  
     Raja's philosophical pieces in,  
         385–87  
     satire on other parties, 279–80  
     warnings to pro-communists, 374  
 Philippines, 75, 80, 104, 429  
 Piercy, W.M., 286  
 Pizer, Dorothy, 47, 63  
 PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia),  
     418, 432, 438, 478, 482  
 Plato, 37, 195, 437  
 Plen, The, 126  
 PMCJA (Pan-Malayan Council of  
     Joint Action), 103, 106, 110,  
     111, 112, 515n26  
*Poetry and Career of Li Po, 701–762*  
     *A.D., The*, 52

- Political Study Centre, 352–55, 358  
 political views  
   anti-colonial, 63, 81, 84, 101,  
     113–14, 162, 171–72  
   in boyhood, 24, 27–28  
   on capitalism, 107, 172–74, 519n4  
   on censorship, 348, 475–76  
   on communalism, 123–24, 133–  
     34, 135–37, 165–68, 171,  
     250–51  
   on communism, 99, 170–71, 206,  
     222, 262  
   on culture and religion, 14, 15,  
     310–11  
   on democracy, 179, 333–34, 343–  
     44, 396  
   on democratic socialism, 114,  
     261, 295, 302, 487, 488, 491  
   formation of, 32–52, 60, 64–65, 343  
   on freedom, 484  
   on the good society, 344–45  
   on human rationality, 380, 385–  
     88, 397, 447–49  
   on labour movement, 92–93,  
     100–101, 114–15, 139–42,  
     153–54, 167–68, 222–26  
   on language, 307, 317, 385–87  
   on leadership, 159–60, 367, 373–  
     74, 410  
   on Malayan identity, 3, 248–53,  
     255–58, 276, 293–96, 434  
   on merger, 2, 176–77, 191, 261,  
     364, 426, 427  
   on multiculturalism, 1, 28, 39,  
     81–82  
   on nationalism, 8, 40, 63, 66, 88,  
     248–49  
   on the nature of politics, 402–  
     403, 447–49  
   on press freedom, 241, 338–43  
     on propaganda, 465, 476, 490–91  
     on race, 40–42, 66, 166–67, 208,  
       310, 434–36  
     on Singaporean identity, 3–4, 437,  
       498  
     on Singapore's role in the  
       Federation, 416, 425, 430,  
       494, 499, 504  
     on socialism, 172–73, 262, 343–  
       44, 381  
     on tripartism, 92, 93, 222–23  
     on women, 276, 307  
*Possessed, The*, 180  
 Postal and Telecommunications  
   Uniformed Staff Union, 144,  
     146  
*Power, A New Social Analysis*, 38  
 Prem Chand, Munshi, 45  
 Prescott Commission, 445  
*Prescription for Rebellion*, 179  
*Princess Kwei Ying*, 324  
 Pritt, D.N., 185, 186, 189  
 Progressive Party, 32, 123, 155, 182,  
   190, 199, 216  
 Progressive Writers' Association, 45  
*Psychology of a Suppressed People,*  
*The*, 45  
 PUTERA-AMCJA, 182  
 Puthukey, Dominic, 466, 531n11  
 Puthukey, James, 150, 237, 267,  
   268–69, 399, 414, 481, 529n30
- R**  
*Raayat*, 199–211, 242, 285, 292,  
   521n11  
*Radio and Television Singapore*, 485  
*Radio Malaya*, 1, 118, 193, 194, 247,  
   252, 433  
*Radio Singapore*  
   ban on horse racing, 474

- Caldecott Hill site, 471  
 campaign for merger, 414, 465  
 commercial programming, 473  
 dispute between Raja and Marshall, 460  
 Malayan focus, 306, 307  
 staff members, 193, 319, 348  
 Raffles Institution, 27  
 Raffles Library, 233–34, 303, 336, 355  
*see also* National Library  
 Raffles Museum, 303, 336  
*see also* National Museum  
 Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford, 301, 303, 304  
 Rahim Ishak, 326, 349, 529n30  
 Rai Srivastana, Dhanpat, 45  
 Raj, C.R. Dasaratha, 163–65  
 Rajagopal, 167–68  
 Rajah, A.P., 31, 32, 313, 510n1  
 Rajah, T.T., 245–46  
 Rajaratnam, Sinnathamby  
 abandonment of law studies, 54, 59, 90  
 acting minister for education, 445  
 Anson by-election, 395–98, 461  
 badminton games, 138, 449  
 birth and childhood, 4–13, 21–26, 437–38  
 committee on living wage, 226–28  
 dealings with MCP, 121, 206–7  
 death, xvii  
 departure for London, 29–30  
 on dying with dignity, xvi–xvii  
 education, 7, 19–28, 54  
 experience of racism, 41  
 family, 9–10, 13, 18, 29–30, 59  
 fiction, 1, 2, 13, 16, 27, 68–78, 79, 247–54  
 foreign minister, xiii, 30, 53, 152  
 formation of PAP, 182–83, 187–88, 190–91, 197–98  
 health, xv, 449–50, 451, 498  
 Hong Lim by-election, 461  
 intellect, 175, 207–208, 387, 431  
 international relations, 382–84  
 journalists' union, 140, 154, 212, 230, 238, 374  
 labour minister, 153  
 linguistic abilities, 20, 221, 258, 270, 293  
 love of children, 94  
 loyalty in friendship, 126, 128, 205, 486  
 Malayanisation Commission, 229–36  
 name, 4–5, 69, 102  
 1959 elections, 266, 269–71, 272–74, 275–300  
 Ong Eng Guan affair, 361–65, 368–76  
 PAP political bureau, 258  
 PAP propaganda chief, 53, 238, 258–59, 334, 375, 470  
 personal habits, 67, 195, 208  
 personal humility, 228, 257, 359  
 personal impressions of, 116–17, 149, 193, 239, 437, 486  
 photography, 66–67, 195, 489–90  
 postal strike, 144–50, 276  
 preferred attire, 194, 348, 356  
 public intellectual, 114, 229  
 racial minority status, 313, 420  
 rallies, 293–96, 461  
 relationship with father, 12–13, 22, 26, 90, 272–73  
 relationship with mother, 11–12, 272  
 religious views, 11–12, 23, 30  
 residences, 5, 31, 66, 96, 97, 120

- return to Malaya, 89–90  
 showdown with pro-communist  
     faction, 400–418  
 social circle, 193–94  
 student days in London, 31–54,  
     437–38  
 tastes in popular culture, 349  
 temperament, 6, 21, 23, 45, 265,  
     270, 331, 447  
 wartime experiences, 58–62  
*see also* culture ministership;  
     Feher, Piroska (wife);  
     journalism; political views;  
     reading interests
- Ramayana*, 13  
 Ramlee, P., 349  
 Rationalist Press Association, 24  
*Rawalpindi*, 29  
*Readers News*, 38  
 Readers Union, 37–38  
 reading interests  
     China, 52–53  
     humour, 195  
     literature, 45  
     politics, 37, 40, 66, 178–79, 248  
     psychology, 45  
     range, 37, 177, 437  
     religion and philosophy, 21, 24–  
         25, 37  
     science fiction, 21  
*Rediffusion*, 474  
*Red Star over China*, 50  
 Renan, Ernest, 248  
 Rendel Commission, 154  
 Rendel Constitution, 183  
 Rendel Report, 154–55  
 Revolutionary Catechism, 180  
*Reynolds News*, 69  
 Ridzwan Dzafir, 384  
 Ritson, Sir Edward, 153  
 Roslan bin Hassan, 295  
 rubber industry, 5–6, 12, 17, 83, 105,  
     175, 223, 516n4  
 Rural Dwellers' Association, 464  
 Russell, Bertrand, 24, 38, 437  
 Russia, 64, 104, 170, 173, 180–81,  
     196, 442
- S
- Sabah, 378, 379, 419–21, 429, 439–  
     40, 495, 501, 504  
*Sabah Times*, 420  
 Sabapathypillay (paternal  
     grandfather), 9  
 Sahorah Ahmat, 403  
 Said Zahari, 416  
 St Paul's Institution, 19, 20, 25, 26  
 Sajjad Zaheer, 45, 71  
 Samad Ismail  
     Anti-British League and, 124, 125  
     on communist comrades, 481  
     Lee Kuan Yew's circle, 154  
     P.V. Sharma and, 204  
     on Raja, 102, 126, 187, 221, 245–  
         46, 392  
     Rendel Constitution and, 183  
 Sandys, Duncan, 501  
 Sarawak  
     ancient history, 435  
     anti-merger forces, 477, 501  
     cultural exhibits, 495  
     Malaysia Day celebrations, 504  
     Malaysian Solidarity talks, 430–32  
     plan for merger, 377, 419, 423  
     political parties, 421, 432, 477  
     racial composition, 378  
     Raja's efforts on merger with, 420,  
         439–40  
 Sarawak United People's Party  
     (SUPP), 379, 420, 432, 533n7

- Sarma, Ravi, 205
- Sarma, Remya, 205
- Sartre, Jean-Paul, 75
- Satan Never Sleeps*, 475–76
- Savage, Hugh, 158
- Savage, Victor, 158
- Scarne, John, 94
- Schooling, Anthony, 193, 521n3
- Seah Yong, 238–41, 284
- Seevaratnam (brother), 6, 22–23, 26, 88, 89, 272
- Selangor, 129, 505
- Selkirk, 10th Earl of (George Douglas-Hamilton), 401, 453, 479, 530n26, 535n41
- Selwyn-Clarke, Lady Hilda, 144
- Senathyrajah Kanagasabai (first cousin), 89
- Seremban
  - location and economy, 5
  - Raja's early childhood, 4, 5, 19
  - Raja's family in, 9, 10, 13, 15, 29, 59, 89–90, 256
  - Raja's idea for PAP branch in, 505
- Seth, K.A., 286
- Sharkey, Lawrence, 101
- Sharma, P.V., 98, 101, 125, 204–205
- Shaw, George Bernard, 37, 177
- Shelvankar, K.S., 44, 71
- Short Story International*, 75
- Siao Chang, 389–90, 531n1
- Sihanouk, Prince, 496, 507
- Simmons, A.C., 286, 288
- Sin Chew Jit Poh*, 119, 147, 341–42
- Singapore
  - under British rule, 17, 82, 87, 266, 394
  - civil service, 290, 351–55
  - Constitution, 435, 453, 532n29
  - demographics, 255, 304
  - economy, 87, 223, 226–28
  - Emergency, 112
  - foreign policy, 383–84
  - founding fathers, 2, 3
  - international image, 342
  - Malayan Union scheme and, 85, 87
  - multiculturalism in, 1
  - national symbols, 313–15, 318, 325–27, 326, 527n16
  - pledge, xii–xiii, 2, 309, 438
  - port, 17, 82, 454
  - post-war conditions, 96
  - racial riots, 2, 121–24, 506
  - small size, 2, 488
  - social unrest, 218–20, 440, 483
  - during World War II, 64
  - see also* merger
- Singapore Alliance, 467, 493
- Singapore Association of Trade Unions (SATU), 405, 414, 466
- Singapore Bus Workers' Union, 189
- Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 442
- Singapore Chinese Middle School Students Union, 447
- see also* Chinese middle schools
- Singapore Council for Adult Education, 229
- Singapore Factory and Shop Workers' Union, 189
- Singapore General Employees' Union, 362–63
- Singapore Improvement Trust, 230
- Singapore Journalist*, 289
- Singapore Labour Front, 157, 216–17, 219, 228, 264, 269, 525n20
- Singapore Labour Party, 156, 157, 162, 163–65, 182, 190
- Singapore Malayan Indian Congress (SMIC), 467



- Singapore Muslim League, 122
- Singapore People's Alliance (SPA)
- American funding for, 279
  - candidates, 296
  - Federation leaders' preference for, 280–81
  - formation, 264
  - merger option, 452
  - new incarnation, 467
  - 1959 elections, 298
  - Ong Eng Guan affair, 371, 372, 374
  - PAP vs., 278, 291
  - Raja on, 269, 280
- Singapore Senior Officers' Association, 231
- Singapore Socialist Party, 155–57
- Singapore Standard*
- Alex Josey and, 194
  - attack on editor-in-chief, 132–33
  - Devan Nair and, 151
  - launch, 118, 119–20
  - Maria Hertogh case, 122, 123
  - PAP and, 281–85, 290, 339
  - on postal strike, 146–48
  - Raja and, 119, 149, 158, 180, 186, 211, 292
  - Seah Yong case, 241
- Singapore Story, The*, 148
- Singapore Symphony Orchestra, 497
- Singapore Teachers' Union, 101, 204, 521n18
- Singapore Traction Company
- Employees' Union, 228, 395
- Singapore Trade Union Congress (STUC), 142, 147, 229, 237, 394, 395, 405
- Singapore Unemployment Society, 228, 230
- Singapore Union of Journalists (SUJ)
- formation, 140
  - Gunasekara's leadership, 285
  - push for multilingual policy, 154
  - Raja's leadership, 230, 274, 374
  - Seah Yong case, 238–41, 284
  - Straits Times* and, 212
- Sinnathamby, Sabapathy Pillai (father)
- career, 4, 6, 9, 12–13, 17, 18
  - family background, 9–10
  - family role, 13, 14
  - marriage, 9
  - Raja and, 5, 12–13, 22, 26, 90, 120, 272–73
  - temperament, 12
- Sin Pao*, 131, 374, 485
- Sivapragasapillai, C. (nephew), 29–30, 510n8
- Smith, Adam, 177
- Snow, Edgar, 50
- Sochon, Major W.L.P., 231–33
- Socialist International, 184
- Soong Sisters, The*, 117
- South Africa, 132–33, 229
- Southeast Asia Cultural Festival, 496–97
- Soviet communism, 34, 36, 170–71, 174
- Soviet Union, 47, 48, 109, 280, 391, 478
- Spain, 33, 34, 35–36
- Special Branch
- Foong Choon Hon and, 356
  - labels for Raja, 46, 64, 83–84, 100, 115, 132
  - Lee Kuan Yew and, 184, 185
  - Leon Comber and, 139
  - on Lim Chin Siong and Azahari, 478
  - on *Raayat*, 207

- on Raja's radio journalism, 254  
 Raja's support for John Eber and,  
 127–28  
 Raja's support for P.V. Sharma  
 and, 204–5  
 Raja's support for unions and,  
 140, 228  
 on Said Zahari, 416  
 on *Singapore Standard*, 118, 186–  
 87  
*Spectator*, 76  
 Spencer, Herbert, 24  
 Spitz, David, 179  
 Sreenivasan, B.R., 230, 235–36  
 Sri Balathandayuthapani temple, 11  
 Sri Senpaga Vinayagar Temple, 436  
 Stalin, Joseph, 34, 174, 180  
 Steinbeck, John, 75  
 Stephens, Donald, 379, 420, 422,  
 428, 432, 439, 533n7  
 Strachey, John, 36, 43, 83  
 Straits Chinese, 102  
*Straits Times*, *The*  
 on Causeway closure warning,  
 443  
 competitors, 120  
 exchange of letters between Raja  
 and Marshall, 460  
 Lee Siew Yee and, 97  
 on Malaysia agreement, 503  
 on Nanyang University, 446  
 PAP and, 211–12, 214–15, 282–  
 90, 339  
 Peter Lim and, 214  
 pro-British slant, 91, 147  
 Puthuchear's letter to, 399  
 Raja and, 211–15, 216–17, 222,  
 247, 270, 274, 292  
 on Raja's departure for London,  
 29  
 support for Progressive Party, 199  
 support for Seah Yong, 239–40,  
 241  
*Straits Times*, *The* (Kuala Lumpur),  
 192  
*Suara Singapura*, 336  
 Subasingha, T.B., 64  
 Subramaniam, A., 71  
 Subramaniam, M., 437  
*Suicide of the West*, 178  
 Sukarno, 110, 160, 341, 419, 477,  
 500  
 Sullivan, Frank, 116  
 Sum Chong Heng, 460  
*Sunday Standard*, 285  
*Sunday Times*, 198, 199  
 Swathi Thirunal, Sree, 324  
 Switzerland, 55, 57, 58
- T**  
 Tagore, Rabindranath, 37, 45, 75,  
 437  
*Takung Pao*, 52  
 Tamil community  
 class consciousness, 10–11, 16, 26,  
 90  
 cultural norms, 9, 29–30, 54, 76  
 newspapers, 95  
 repatriation, 8  
 rubber industry and, 6, 10–11, 12  
 settlement in Malaya, 15, 17, 18  
 South Indian, 5, 6, 10, 16  
*see also* Jaffna Tamils  
 Tamil language, 5, 10, 11, 270  
 Tamilnadu, 6  
 Tan, C.C., 123  
 Tan, T.H., 119  
 Tan Cheng Lock, 91, 102–103, 112,  
 198, 202, 255  
 Tan Chong Kin, 245  
 Tan Lark Sye, 445–47  
 Tan Meng San, 23

- Tan Siew Sin, 202–203, 467, 521n16
- Tandoc, Cecilia, 94, 357
- Tanjong Malim, 128–30
- Tanjong Pagar constituency, 215
- Television Singapura*, 471–74
- Templer, Lietenant General Gerald, 128–31, 517nn24–25
- Tentera Nasional Kalimantan Utara (TNKU), 477
- Thamotharam Pillay (paternal uncle), 7
- Theosophical Society, 21
- Thinkers' Library, 24
- Thio Chan Bee, 230, 315
- Thomas, Dylan, 40
- Thomas, Francis, 156–57, 305
- Thomson, George, 352, 353
- Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*, 52
- Thurber, James, 195
- Time Machine, The*, 21
- Times, The*, 193, 288
- Toh Chin Chye
- 1959 elections, 282
  - deputy prime minister, 299, 301
  - design of state flag and crest, 313
  - on difficulties of self-rule, 373
  - English education, 188, 291
  - formation of PAP, 182–83, 196
  - founding father of Singapore, 2
  - Lee Kuan Yew and, 185, 241, 367
  - Malayan Forum and, 144
  - Malaysia Day celebrations, 504
  - national anthem and, 325
  - Ong Eng Guan and, 265, 369
  - PAP political platform, 268
  - push for self-rule, 150
  - on Raja, 506, 518n15
  - Raja and, 184, 332, 493
  - reluctance to crack down on communists, 479, 480
  - role in PAP, 275
  - Singapore People's Alliance and, 279
  - split with pro-communist faction, 398
- Tolstoy, Leo, 37
- Tomanaga, 23, 28, 30
- Tomlinson, Frederick, 242
- Tory, Geofroy, 479
- trade unions
- leadership, 189, 218, 299
  - PAP policy on, 295, 362, 529n3
  - Raja's support for, 139–42
  - Singapore Unemployment Society and, 228
  - strikes and unrest, 218–20, 222, 440–41
- Tribune*, 35, 68, 80, 159, 203
- Trotskyism, 47, 64, 83–84
- Twilight in Delhi*, 71
- U
- UMNO. *See* United Malay National Organisation (UMNO)
- Ungku Aziz bin Ungku Abdul Hamid, 137–38, 518n33
- Unitary State of Kalimantan Utara, 477, 482
- United Democratic Control (UDC), 49
- United Kingdom. *See* Britain
- United Malay National Organisation (UMNO)
- alliance with MCA and MIC, 135, 198, 427
  - break with Malay Nationalist Party, 103
  - communal politics, 106, 108, 110, 112
  - founding, 85, 161
  - Malay culture and, 312

Raja and, 469–70  
 Singapore politics and, 134, 314,  
 467, 493  
 Tunku Abdul Rahman and, 162  
 United National Kadazan  
 Organisation (UNKO), 420,  
 533n7  
 United Nations, 113, 133, 500  
 United Pasok-Momogun Kadazan  
 Organisation (UPKO), 379  
 United People's Party, 374  
 United States, 56, 64, 80, 104, 109,  
 279, 280  
 University College London, 32, 44  
 University of Bristol, 59  
 University of London, 26, 79  
 University of Malaya  
 D.J. Enright and, 327  
 Lee Kong Chian and, 119  
 left-wing activists, 127, 150  
 Nanyang University and, 446  
 S.R. Nathan and, 151  
 Sydney Caine and, 226  
 Ungku Aziz and, 137  
 Wang Gungwu and, 311  
 University of Malaya Socialist Club,  
 183, 184, 185, 209, 256, 319,  
 518n13  
*Untouchable*, 44  
*Utopia*, 37  
*Utusan Melayu*, 102, 122, 140, 147,  
 230, 325, 416

## V

van Royen, J.H., 113  
 Vasagar, S.M., 436–37  
 Vass, K.S., 186  
 Vattukottai, 4, 29  
 Vellalar caste, 9  
 Victoria Institution, 27

Victoria Memorial Hall, 197, 229,  
 495  
 Victoria Theatre, 322  
*Victorian, The* (school magazine), 27  
 Vidal, Cecile, 58  
 Vietnam, 50, 92, 101, 139, 193, 196,  
 496  
 Vijayalakshimi Thambiah (sister-in-  
 law), 89

## W

Wachuku, Jaja, 83  
 Wages Council Ordinance, 227  
 Waley, Arthur, 52, 62  
 Walsh, Richard, 72  
 Wang Gungwu, 252, 311, 313  
 Warner, Denis, 439  
 Webb, Frances, 66  
 Wells, H.G., 21  
 West Berlin, 289  
*Wheat and Soldier*, 30  
 Wignesan, T., 77  
*Wind and Rain in Rubber Estates*, 330  
 Wolfe, Thomas, 75  
 Wong, Francis, 238  
 Wong Lam Ho, 486  
 Wong Soon Fong, 406, 531n17  
 Woodhull, Sandrasegeram  
 detention, 237, 267  
 militant stance, 363  
 Operation Cold Store arrest, 481  
 Political Study Centre committee,  
 529n30  
 postal strike campaign and, 150  
 Raja and, 268–69, 392, 486  
 split from PAP, 398, 403, 531n11  
 University of Malaya Socialist  
 Club, 150, 518n13  
 Woodman, Dorothy, 35, 49–50, 52,  
 54, 57

Workers' Party, 264, 371, 372, 395,  
398, 459–60  
Works Brigade, 297, 406, 407  
*World of Great Stories, A*, 75  
World War I, 36  
World War II, 29, 30, 53, 56, 58–62,  
438  
Wu Cheng'en, 52  
Wu Shiaw, 296  
Wu Tian Wang, 86, 97, 514n23

**X**

Xiao Qian, 52–53

**Y**

Yaacob bin Mohamed, 364  
*Yang di-Pertuan Negara*, 303, 369, 502  
Yap Chin Kwee, 192–93, 423  
Yap Seong Leong, 297, 406  
Yong Nyuk Lin, 22, 98, 282, 331,  
445, 526n26  
*Yuan Mei: Eighteenth Century  
Chinese Poet*, 53  
Yusof Ishak, 230, 325

**Z**

Zubir Said, 325–27