

INDEX

Note: Pages numbers followed by “n” refer to notes.

A

Abdul Razak, Tun, 57, 91
abstract communism, 25
Afro-Asian Student Conference, 66n77
Ahmad Boestamam, 101
Aidit, D.N., 99
All-Malaya Council of Joint Action (AMCJA), 31
All-Party Mission, 51
Alternate constituency, 13, 15–17, 19, 29, 32, 106, 111, 112n5, 124, 126, 131, 136, 139
elements of, 5–7
Alternates' views
on Coldstore, 86–89
contradictions within, 13–14
“not-security-but-politics” stance, 130
postmodernist-inclined, 132–34
AMCJA-PUTERA coalition, 87
anti-British independence struggle, 32
Anti-British League (ABL), 31, 32
anti-colonial Chinese-educated milieu, 120
anti-colonial international opinion, 90, 105
anti-colonial movement, 105

anti-colonial Progressive Left movement, 23, 84
anti-colonial sentiments, 98
anti-colonial united front, 46
Anti-Japanese League, 31
anti-merger campaign in Singapore, 59
anti-National Service registration disturbances, 37, 40, 45, 46
agitation, 40, 78
violence, 87
Awang, Mahmud, 59–60
Azahari, A.M., 86, 98, 99

B

Baharuddin bin Mohamed Ariff, 59
Baling Peace Talks, 28, 48
Bandura, Albert, 83n36
Bani, S.T., 52, 59
Barisan Sosialis Singapura (BSS), 62, 87, 90, 96, 97, 110, 121, 122, 125, 126, 131
CPM penetration of, 106, 125, 131
origins, 62
Barr, Michael, 2, 3, 24, 131
Battle for Merger, The, 76
Beauty World speech, 80
Bloodworth, Dennis, 12, 13, 16

- Boestamam, Ahmad, 101
 Bogaars, George, 52, 94
 Bolshevik Revolution, 25
 Borneo Territories, 5
 Brezezinski, Zbigniew, 123
 British Labour Party, 94
 British policy on Malaysia, 4
 Brunei Revolt, 5, 102
 Brunei volunteers, 99
 bureaucracy, 15, 17
 “bureaucratic scholar” argument, 15–17
- C**
- capitalism, 25
 Carew Hunt, R.N., 25
 Chan Chee Seng, 124–25
 Chan Hock Wah, 58, 70n178
 Chew, Melanie, 73
 Chia Ee Tian, 42, 49, 67n107, 75
 Chia Thye Poh, 122
 Chiam Chong Chian, 36, 65n74
 Chin, Aloysius, 12, 29, 76
 Chin, C.C., 39, 40, 47, 130–31
 Chin Peng, 24, 28–34, 45, 48–49, 59, 87, 100, 104, 121, 125
 Chinese Brass Gong Musical Society, 42
 Chinese Communist Party, 27
 Chinese High School, 32, 36, 42, 43, 74, 75, 77
 Chinese immigrants, 2
 Chinese-majority Singapore, 106, 110
 Chinese minority in Federation, 110
 Chok Kok Thong, 97
 Chong Lon Chang, 39
 Chow Kwang, *see* Comrade D
 Chung Cheng High School, 32, 36, 42, 43
 Civil Rights Convention, 42, 43
 classic communist theory, 25
 Cold War, 12, 125, 136, 139
 conflict, 27
 Coldstore, *see* Operation Coldstore
- Comintern, 25, 26
 communication theory, 134
 Communism, 24, 25, 41, 51, 120–26, 136
 in Asia, 13
 Communist conspiracy, 91
 Communist Front groups, 44–45
 Communist-manipulated BSS
 government in Singapore, 110
 Communist movement, 15, 41
 Communist operational tradecraft, 105
 Communist Party of Malaya (CPM), 3, 15, 23, 26, 29, 36, 87, 120–26, 130, 131
 Anti-British League, 31–32, 44, 46, 74–75, 78, 88, 89
 Communist United Front in theory, 24–26
 Communist United Front strategy in Singapore, 26–29
 left-wing adventurism, 44, 46, 81, 87, 97, 108
 Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), 31, 33, 48, 49
 Malayan People’s Anti-British Army (MPABA), 31
 Malayan People’s Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA), 26, 30, 38
 New Democratic Youth League, 30, 31, 73–74
 origins, 26, 37
 Singapore Town Committee (CPMSTC), 30–40, 57–59, 73, 74, 87, 89, 104, 105
 Communist Terrorists (CTs), 124
 Communist theory, 26, 87
 Communist threat, 2
 materialization of, 91
 Communist United Front (CUF), 4, 6, 24, 62, 84, 87–89, 94, 110, 120, 125
 1954–56, 34–45

1956–61, 45–62
 “constitutional United Front tactics”, 88
 modus operandi of CUF, 28
 origin, 26–29
 in Singapore, 14–15, 30–34
 Comrade D, 33–35, 37, 45, 46, 65n73, 66n74, 75
 Corridon, Richard, 90
 CPM Central Committee, 28, 32, 33, 45, 89
 CPM-linked activists, 122
 CPM South Malaya Bureau, 33
 CPMSTC, 32, 44, 57, 73, 74, 87, 89, 104, 105
 violent campaign in Singapore, 33
 CPMSTC Students’ Committee, 35
 CPMSTC Workers Movement Committee, 37
 CPMSTC Trades Committee, 33
 Criminal Law (Temporary Provisions) Ordinance, 41, 108
 Crossman, Richard H.S., 123
 “crypto anti-communist”, 51
 “crypto-communist,” 51

D

democracy, Singapore Story, 136–40
 District Committee of CPMSTC, 31, 65n71
 Drysdale, John, 12, 16

E

“Eden Hall tea party”, 60–61
 educational institutions, Singapore history, 128
 Elton, G.R., 14–15, 19
 Emergency Regulations, 35, 37, 39, 41
End of History thesis, 136
 Eu Chooi Yip (ECY), 32, 45
 Evans, Richard J., 14, 18, 61
 Eyal, Jonathan, 127

F

Fang Chuang Pi, 24, 34, 45, 50, 56, 58, 76, 89, 120
 Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern, 26
 Federation Director of Police Affairs, 91
 Fenner, Claude, 93
 Fernandez, Michael, 23
 Fong Chong Pik, *see* Fang Chuang Pi
 Fong Swee Suan, 38, 40–44, 47, 50–52, 61, 72, 75, 77, 85–86, 93, 95, 98–99
 Foreign Correspondents Association of Southeast Asia, 58
 Foucauldian approach, contradictions within, 18–20
 Foucauldian-inclined scholars, 19
 Foucault, Michel, 17–18
 “four-class alliance” of workers, 27
Freedom News, 32, 34, 36, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 75, 87, 142n47
 Fukuyama, Francis, 136

G

Gaitskell, Hugh, 94, 115n48
 Guo Ren Huey, 33
 Generation Y, 128, 134–36, 141n34
 global Communism, 120–26, 136
 Goh Keng Swee, 2, 52–54, 91, 93, 105, 108
 Goode, William, 36, 90, 107, 110
 government-linked think-tanks, 15
 government sources
 Alternates’ complaint about, 12–13
 usage, 14–15
Grand Failure, The, 123

H

Hamilton, Alexander, 119n131
 Harper, T.N., 12, 23, 24, 101
 Hastings, Peter, 72, 88
 Hayter, Adrian, 126

Healey, Denis, 109
 Hickley, Pamela, 110
 “history from below” approach, 128
 Hock Lee, 78
 bus strike, 38
 management, 38
 riots, 40, 45, 87
 Hola Camp massacre, 90
 Hong Lim, 55–57
 Hong Lysa, 3, 5, 13, 16, 18, 60,
 65n72, 130, 133, 146n100
 Hor Lung, 33, 46
 Hough, Jerry, 139
 Housing and Development Board
 (HDB), 54

I

Indonesian Communist Party (PKI),
 98
 Internal Security Act, 137
 Internal Security Council (ISC), 3,
 14, 51, 55, 58, 59, 86, 90–96,
 100–106, 111
 Tripartite Working Party, 102
 Internal Security Department Heritage
 Centre (ISDHC) of Singapore,
 6, 130
 Iraq
 sectarian bloodbath in, 138
 tribal political cultures of, 137
 Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS),
 124
 ideology, 127–28
 terror network, 127
 Ismail Abdul Rahman, Dr, 104

J

Japanese Occupation, 26, 27
 Jek Yuen Thong, 56
 Jockel, G.A., 88
 Jones, David Martin, 15
 Jones, Matthew, 70n169, 112n5,
 116n81

K

Kausikan, Bilahari, 130
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 27
 King, Martin Luther, Jr., 124
 Kok Thong Eng, 75, 82n16
Konfrontasi, policy of, 103
 Koo Young, 70n178

L

Labour Front, 37, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49,
 53, 56, 78, 111
 labour movement, 62
 Lau, Albert, 2
 Lau Kwong, 31
 Lee Cheng Leng, 94
 Lee, Edwin, 98
 Lee Hsien Loong, 1
 Lee Khoo Choy, 124
 Lee Kuan Yew, 2–4, 6–7, 13, 23,
 46–50, 52, 54–55, 59–60,
 72–73, 76, 85, 87–88, 91–92,
 99, 104–107, 109, 110, 112n7,
 120–21, 124–26, 131, 137, 139
 Lee Siew Choh, 58, 60–62, 101,
 121–22
 Lee Ting Hui, 12, 14–16, 27, 31, 35,
 44, 57–58, 77, 80, 103
 left-wing adventurism, *see* Communist
 Party of Malaya
 Legislative Assembly, 35, 55, 56, 61
 Lenin, Vladimir, 25
 liberal democracy, 136, 137, 139
 “liberal paternalism,” 135–36
 Lim Ah Liang, 39
 Lim Chin Joo, 50
 Lim Chin Siong, 2–7, 13, 16, 37–44,
 47, 50–52, 55, 60, 62, 85, 86,
 88, 89, 93, 97, 98, 100, 103–
 106, 108, 110
 Alternate history of, 72–73
 Alternate interpretations of his
 arrest under Coldstore, 73, 75,
 78, 80

- Beauty World speech controversy, 78–81
 communism, 120–26
 CPM background, 73–77
 evolving ideological beliefs by 1980s, 80, 106
 political career in 1950s, 4–5
 psychiatric treatment, 121–22
 in United Kingdom, 121–22
 on violence, 77–78
- Lim Hock Koon, 36, 65n71, 77
- Lim Kean Siew, 101
- Lim Kim Chuan, 36, 65n72
- Lim, Raymond, 70n165
- Lim Woon Kiat, 82n17
- Lim Yew Hock, 42–45, 49–52, 55, 61, 68n127, 78, 79, 89, 92, 95, 97, 106, 113n14
- Loh Kah Seng, 3, 17, 23, 131, 138
- Loo Yeh Shing, 75, 120
- Low-Beer, Ann, 128
- Lumumba, Patrice, 77
- M**
- Macmillan, Harold, 57
- Mahmud Awang, 59–60
- Maintenance of Religious Harmony Act, 137
- Malayan Civil Service, 90
- Malayan Democratic Union (MDU), 30, 31
- Malayan General Labour Union (MGLU), 30, 37
- Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), 30, 31
- Malayan Labour Party, 101
- Malayan National Liberation Army, *see* Communist Party of Malaya
- Malayan National Liberation League (MNLL), 65n60
- Malayan People's Anti-British Army, *see* Communist Party of Malaya
- Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, *see* Communist Party of Malaya
- Malay Nationalist Party (MNP), 30
- Malaysia, British policy of, 4
- Malaysian Federation, 2, 4, 24
- Malaysia Plan, 99–100
- Mao Zedong, 27
- Marshall, David, 37, 40–42, 47, 48, 59–61, 73, 80, 95, 106–107, 109, 111, 125
- Marx, Karl, 24, 123–24
- May 13th Generation, The*, 65n72
- Media Development Authority (MDA), 129–30, 142n46
- Merger Referendum, 5, 86, 94, 95, 97–98, 101, 106–107, 116n93
- Mohamed Ariff, Baharuddin bin, 59
- Moore, Philip, 57, 76, 85–93, 87–89, 96, 98, 101, 102, 105, 108–109, 112n7, 131
- MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, 30–31
- “multi-perspectivalism” strategy, 128–29
- multi-perspectival pedagogical approaches, 128–32
- N**
- Nair, Devan, 2, 42, 44, 47, 49, 51, 78, 106, 111, 125
- Nanyang Communist Party, 26
- Nanyang University, 46, 89, 123
- Nath, Kamal, 138
- “national bourgeoisie,” 27
- National Education (NE) programme, 1
- national security-related scholarship in Southeast Asia, 16
- national security think-tanks, 13, 15
- National Service Bills, 35
- National Service Ordinance, 35
- National Trades Union Congress (NTUC), 62
- “new democratic revolution”, 27
- New Democratic Youth League, *see* Communist Party of Malaya

“New Emerging Forces”, 99
 New Singapore History, 2–3, 5–6,
 8n10, 9n14, 12, 18, 72, 86, 87,
 126–27, 129, 131, 133, 139
 “Ng Heng” letter, 48
 Ng Meng Chiang, *see* Comrade D
 Ng Meng Keong, *see* Comrade D
 non-Communist leaders, 47
 non-Communist organizations, 26
 non-Communist PAP, 58
 Not Allowed for All Ratings (NAR)
 guidelines, 142n46

O

October Revolution, 44–45, 49, 81,
 87–88
 Ong Eng Guan, 53, 55–57, 59, 61,
 101–103, 108
 Ong Pang Boon, 2, 94, 111
Online Citizen website, *The*, 78
 Operation Coldstore, 12–14, 16, 18,
 19, 120, 123, 125, 126, 133
 “Alternate” interpretations, 19
 dragnet, 96, 100
 “maximalist” interpretation of threat
 to public order, 93, 103, 106,
 108, 110
 “minimalist” interpretation of threat
 to public order, 91, 92, 96,
 107, 108
 origins, 3–4
 Our Singapore Conversation (OSC),
 135

P

pah mata issue, 79
 Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade
 Unions (PMFTU), 30, 31, 37
 Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), 86, 98
 Partai Rakyat Singapura (PRS), 47,
 98, 99, 101

Party Corps, 30
 peace agreements, between CPM and
 Thai and Malaysian governments,
 123
 People’s Action Party (PAP), 2–7, 47,
 49–51, 53–54, 56, 61–62, 76,
 77, 86, 89, 96, 111, 113n14
 Big Split in, 87, 89–90, 105, 124
 cabinet, 54, 55
 Central Executive Committee
 (CEC), 49
 government, 2–4
 non-Communist leadership, 85
 Old Guard, 124, 126
 victory, 54, 56, 86, 109
 People’s Democratic Republic of
 Malaya, 32
 “people’s history” approach, 128
 Pinker, Steven, 133, 134
 Plen, The, *see* Fang Chuang Pi
 “politics-and-not-security” argument,
 84–86
 postmodernist approaches, 126, 129
 postmodernist commentators, 127
 postmodernist-inclined Alternates,
 129, 130, 132–34
 postmodernist-inclined historians, 18
 post-1965 PAP government policy, 3
 Poulgrain, Greg, 13
 Preservation of Public Security
 Ordinance (PPSO), 41, 44,
 65n73, 66n89, 67n107, 75, 90,
 108, 111, 146n100
 guidelines, 90, 91
 pro-Communist
 BSS, 101
 elements, 50
 faction, 55
 leaders, 52
 unions, 101
 pro-Communist Partai Rakyat
 Singapura (PRS), 98

- pro-Communist Singapore Womens' Federation, 42
 Progressive Left, 87
 in Singapore, 4
 pro-labour left-wing movement, 4
 Protection Corps, 33
 Public Complaints Bureau, 54
 Public Security Legislation, 41
 Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (PUTERA), 30
 Puthuchery, Dominic, 23, 52, 59, 69n146, 84, 94, 95
 Puthuchery, James, 42, 44, 51, 60, 69n139, 95, 106
- Q**
- Queensbury Rules, 93, 94, 106, 107, 110, 114n44
- R**
- Raffles, Stamford, 1
 Rajakumar, M.K., 6, 109
 Rajaratnam, S., 2, 13, 56, 94
Rakyat, 98
 Referendum on Merger, *see* Merger Referendum
 Rendel Commission, 35
 Rendel constitutional reforms, 37
 Revolutionary Armed Struggle, 34
 Revolutionary Masses Movement, 34
 Rural Committee of CPMSTC, 31
 Russian Communists, 26
- S**
- Said Zahari, 9, 98–99, 122
 Sandys, Duncan, 57, 109
 Santayana, George, 7
 Schmid, Alex, 16
 security threat, 91, 96
 maximalist conception of, 92
 maximalist interpretation of, 93, 106–108
 Sediton Act, 137
 Seet Chay Tuan, 75, 78
 Selkirk, Lord, 53, 60, 61, 85–88, 90–93, 96, 101, 102, 105, 107–109, 131
 Siao Chang, 34, 45, 59
 Singapore, 32
 anti-colonial Progressive Left movement in, 23
 BSS government in, 125, 126
 Communist United Front in, 14–15
 CPMSTC's violent campaign in, 33
 CUF evolution and actions, 30–34
 1954–56, 34–45
 1956–61, 45–62
 CUF origins and overall strategy in, 26–29
 ideological bulwark for political change in, 6
 “main CUF vehicle” in, 87
 Merger Referendum, 5, 86, 94, 95, 97–98, 101, 106–107, 116n93
 political system, 11n32
 post-1965, 3
 Progressive Left in, 4
 Singapore Association of Trade Unions (SATU), 62
 Singapore Bus Workers' Union (SBWU), 38, 47
 Singapore Chinese Middle School Students' Union (SCMSSU), 36–37, 41, 42, 44, 66n77, 67n104, 87, 89
 Singapore Country People's Association (SCPA), 89
 Singapore Factory and Shop Workers' Union (SFSWU), 37–38, 40–44, 87
 Singapore Farmers' Association (SFA), 43–44, 89
 Singapore Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU), 30, 31, 37

- Singapore General Employees' Union (SGEU), 52, 69n146
- Singapore Harbour Board (SHB), 40–41
- Singapore Harbour Board Staff Association (SHBSA), 40
- Singapore People's Anti-British League (SPABL), 44
- Singapore Rural Residents' Association (SRRA) activist, 123
- Singapore Special Branch, 13, 94
- Singapore Spring, 6
- Singapore Story, 1
 - Alternate criticisms, 13–14
 - key themes of, 2
 - PAP-driven narrative of, 2
 - response to Alternates, 6–7
- Singapore Story 2.0, 8
 - adopting multi-perspectival pedagogical approaches, 128–32
 - balance between input and output legitimacy, 134–36
 - “Singapore-style” democracy, 136–40
 - systematic pluralization of, 126–28
- Singapore Traction Company Employees' Union (STCEU), 38, 59
- Singapore Trade Union Congress (STUC), 52
- Singapore Trade Union Working Committee (STUWC), 41
- Singh, Jamit, 42, 52, 59
- Siu Cheong, 76
- Smith, Michael L.R., 15
- Snowden, Edward, 14
- social media, use of, 18
- socialism, 25
- socialist revolution, 27, 77
- Societies Ordinance, 31
- Soon Loh Boon, Robert, 36, 42, 47, 66n77
- Southeast Asia, national security-related scholarship in, 16
- Soviet Communism, 139
- Soviet Union, 125
- Special Branch, 13, 32, 41, 60, 73, 74, 76–79, 84, 94, 96, 98, 99, 101, 121
- Stalin, Joseph, 75
- “state of exception” argument, 110, 118n131
- Students' Committee of CPMSTC, 31, 32, 35
- Sukarno, 98, 99
- Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP), 48
- Symonds, Gene D., 39
- Syria
 - ISIS ideology, 127–28
 - ISIS terror network, 127
 - sectarian bloodbath in, 138
- T**
- Tan Jing Quee, 5, 65n72
- Tan Swee Hiong, 33
- Tan Tai Yong, 127
- Tate, Nicholas, 127
- Tay Ah Meng, 33
- Tay Thiam Meng, 116n93
- Tek, Lai, 30
- Thai-Malaysian border, 123
- The Plen, *see* Fang Chuang Pi
- think-tanks, 14, 16
 - government-linked, 15
 - national security, 13, 15
- Thompson, George, 94
- Thum Ping Tjin, 3–4, 17, 23, 39, 60, 78, 129, 146n100
- Toh Chin Chye, 2, 49, 54, 56, 59, 61, 72, 92, 95, 103
- Too, C.C., 94, 109
- Tory, Geofroy, 57, 90, 93, 104, 107
- To Singapore With Love* documentary, 129

Trade Disputes Ordinance, 41
Trade Union Bill, 52
Trade Union Ordinance, 31
Trade Union Working Committee, 41
Trades Committee of CPMSTC, 31,
33
Trocki, Carl, 2, 3, 24
Tun Abdul Razak, 57, 91
Tunku Abdul Rahman, 48, 56

U

United Malays National Organization
(UMNO), 48
United People's Party (UPP), 101–103
University of Malaya Socialist Club
(UMSC), 69n139
University of Singapore Law Society,
107
U.S. Central Intelligence Agency
(CIA), 77

V

Vasil, Raj, 111, 124
Volunteer Special Constabulary, 39

W

Wade, Geoff, 8, 10n26, 14, 103, 131,
143n55

Waller, James, 125–26
Wang Ming, 75
Wikileaks, 14
Williams, Maurice L.B., 84–85, 88,
90, 98, 114n30
Wilson, E.O., 131–32
Wilson, Harold, 109
Women's Federation, 30
Wong Mau Choong, 33, 75
Wong Meng Keong, *see* Comrade D
Woo Chong Poh, 36, 65n73
Woodhull, S., 44, 47, 48, 51, 52,
59–61, 68n127, 68n128
“worker-peasant alliance”, 27
Workers' Party, 47, 59, 61
Workers' Protection Corps, 33

Y

Yeo Kim Wah, 74
Yeong Kwo, 28, 33, 46
Yong Koh Kim, 38
Yuen Puay Koon, 116n93
Yuen Yau Phang, 39

Z

Zahari, Said, 9, 98–99, 122
Zhang Lingyun, *see* Siao Chang
Zhang Taiyong, 77
Zhou Guang, *see* Comrade D