

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Raja's private notebook, author's collection. This entry was probably written in 1990, when he was 75.
2. While Raja's mother was known as Annammah to her family and other relatives, her official name, as recorded on Raja's birth certificate, was Annappillai d/o Nagalingam.
3. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: *Shin Min Daily News*, 1991).
4. *The Straits Times*, "Where Tigers Used to Roam", 6 December 1992.
5. For background and history of the rubber industry in Malaya, see John H. Drabble, *Malayan Rubber: The Interwar Years* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Academic and Professional, 1991); Peter Tamas Bauer, *The Rubber Industry: A Study in Competition and Monopoly* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1948); and James C. Jackson, *Planters and Speculators; Chinese and European Agricultural Enterprises in Malaya, 1786–1921* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1968).
6. Given the complicated relations arising from the pattern of intermarriage, "uncle" was used commonly as a term of address for older male relatives, and "auntie" for female ones.
7. Rajakrishnan Ramasamy. *Sojourners to Citizens, Sri Lankan Tamils in Malaysia, 1885–1965* (Kuala Lumpur: R. Rajakrishnan), p. 96.
8. Speech on 17 August 1975, at the dance debut of Roshni Pillay Kesavan, a relative in Singapore. He said there was no contradiction in being both a Tamil and a Singaporean. Tamils such as Roshni would feel a stranger in India or Ceylon, but she is a Tamil and became one by learning its cultural art forms rooted in Hinduism.
9. *Indian Writing*, Vol. 1, August 1941.
10. The next important milestone was the acquisition of Singapore in 1819 to establish a second fortified trading post for the East India Company.
11. *Asia*, "The Changing Malay People", August 1942.

Chapter 2

1. Unfinished article, "Straight From the Heart", 1991, private papers, author's collection.
2. Chan Heng Chee and Obaid ul Haq, eds., *The Prophetic and the Political* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1987), p. 481.
3. "My Days at St Paul's", *Pauline Magazine* of St. Paul's Institution, 1993.
4. Ibid.
5. Speech at the official opening of the National Library, 12 November 1960.
6. Interview with Yong Nyuk Lin, 31 August 2005.
7. Singapore's official biography put the date as 1937, but records obtained from King's College showed that he entered the college in October 1935. This was confirmed by his name on the passenger list of the ship, the *Rawalpindi*, in 1935.
8. Interview with C. Sivapragasapillai, 8 September 2006. Many years later, when Raja earned a more stable salary, he would support Siva's daughter through her university education in India. She was not the only one — throughout his adult life, he would help to fund the further education of various relatives.

Chapter 3

1. Rajah, who was seven years older, was also a Seremban boy who had studied in St Paul's in Seremban and Raffles Institution in Singapore before heading off to Britain for his law degree in 1929. His law studies were disrupted by the Great Depression in 1932 during which his family called him back to Malaya. He returned to Oxford in 1937 to complete his studies, which he did in 1939.
2. Interview with V. Kanda Pillay, 9 January 2007.
3. Victor Gollancz, who ran the Left Book Club with John Strachey and Laski, stated that the club's aim was to help "in the terribly urgent struggle for World Peace and against fascism by giving to all who are determined to play their part in this struggle such knowledge as will immensely increase their efficiency". He argued for a peace alliance with Russia as the best means to avert war.
4. Chan Heng Chee and Obaid ul Haq, eds., *The Prophetic and the Political* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1987), p. 481.
5. Speech at the official opening of the National Library, 12 November 1960.

6. They include *The Problem of Philosophy* (1932), *History of Western Philosophy* (1948), *Authority and the Individual* (1949), *Mysticism and Logic and Other Essays* (1953), *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth* (1962), and *My Philosophical Development* (1975).
7. Speech at the launch of the book, *Singapore Eurasians: Memories and Hopes*, 18 July 1992.
8. Ibid.
9. He described this experience in his column in *Malaya Tribune*, published on 5 August 1947. In that article, "Europe over Asia", he argued that Asia's impulse for freedom must be understood by Europe, and criticised Europeans for their sense of superiority over Asians.
10. His birth name was Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse. It was widespread practice at the time for communist activists to adopt alternative names. In his political capacity, he used the name George Padmore.
11. The Malayan Forum, an anti-colonial group set up by Malayan students in London, such as Lee Kuan Yew and Toh Chin Chye, was formed only after the Second World War.
12. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/1955, March 1955.
13. *The Straits Times*, 6 December 1992.
14. Padmore knew Krishna Menon of the India League well and, like Raja, was also embraced by the Indian nationalists in London in their activities. As a Marxist at the time, however, Padmore pointed out their limitations and of the Indian National movement, which was under the dominant influence of the Indian bourgeoisie.
15. Padmore believed that the communist struggle would involve a double revolution: first was a racial revolution aimed at white imperialists, during which the Communist Party would collaborate with the local national bourgeoisie; the second was a class-based one after the local rulers had been put in power. For a good account, read James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism* (New York: Praeger, 1967).
16. He established the International African Service Bureau that connected Caribbean political activists, trade unionists, and intellectuals with their African counterparts. He started the journal *The International African Opinion*. His ideas of Pan-Africanism influenced many of the African leaders who subsequently came to power after the war — Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Nyerere. Padmore died in September 1959, without realising his ideal of Pan-Africanism.
17. George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa* (London, Dobson, 1956).

18. Fenner Brockway, a journalist-turned -politician, later chaired the Movement for Colonial Freedom.
19. Among Lenin's labyrinthine works that Raja had studied carefully was New Data for V.I. Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, which he obtained in April 1939. Over his lifetime, he would collect at least 13 books on Lenin.
20. Lim was president of the Malayan Chinese Association briefly in 1958. Because of severe political differences, he then left MCA to form the United Democratic Party in 1962, and subsequently, Gerakan, in 1968.
21. Interview with Lim Chong Eu, 6 July 2005. Raja was also interacting with Lim's sister, Lim Siew Lan, who was studying at the London School of Economics at the time.
22. Speech at the centenary celebration of the Maghain Aboth Synagogue, 9 April 1978.

Chapter 4

1. Report by A.H. Borthwick, first secretary, Australian Commission in Singapore, to Canberra. 12 June 1959. NAS file no. 3024/2/10 Part 2.
2. Interview with Kiss Istvan, 8 September 2005.
3. King's College records.
4. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: *Shin Min Daily News*, 1991).
5. *Ibid.*
6. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/1955, March 1955.
7. Letter from Jal Dubash to Pirooska, 26 June 1989, S. Rajaratnam Papers, ISEAS.

Chapter 5

1. *Indian Writing*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1941, pp. 211–16.
2. Forster, Edward Morgan, Mary Lago, Linda K. Hughes, Elizabeth MacLeod Walls, P. N. (FRW) Furbank. *The BBC Talks of E. M. Forster, 1929–1960: A Selected Edition* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2008).
3. At the proof stage, Raja's story was apparently named "A Practical Joke", but it was changed to "The Famine" for publication.
4. *Life and Letters and the London Mercury*, 1941. These two stories were also later reprinted in *Life and Letters Today*, Vol. 32, No. 55, March 1942.
5. Reginald, Moore, ed. *Modern Reading*, No. 5, 1942. According to current Singapore literary history, "The Tiger" was first published in the *Span*, edited by L. Wigmore in Melbourne in 1958 (Edwin Thumboo, ed. *The Fiction of Singapore*, Vol. 2, p. 525). This is incorrect.

6. Central Office of Information, London. *Mirror*, Vol. 1, No. 6, 1948.
7. First published in *Life and Letters and the London Mercury*, Robert Herring, ed., *Life and Letters Today*, Vol. 32, No. 55.
8. Hiram, Haydn, and John Cournos, eds. *A World of Great Stories: 115 Stories, the Best of Modern Literature* (New York: Crown, 1947).
9. Sylvia, Tankel, ed., *Short Story International*, Vol. 14, No. 79, April 1990 (New York: International Cultural Exchange, 1990).
10. *The Spectator*, 26 September 1947, p. 410.
11. "Famine", "The Locusts", "What Has To Be".
12. *The Malayan Times*, "Rajaratnam, His Land & Rural Folk Themes", 6 May 1962.
13. More recently, academic Philip Holden discussed some of Raja's stories in terms of laying the foundations for a "national imaginary". *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2006). "Rajaratnam's Tiger: Race, Gender and the Beginnings of Singapore Nationalism."
14. Denys Val Baker, ed., *Modern International Short Stories*, 1947. Raja's "The Terrorist" was the first of eight stories from writers all over the world featured in this edition. It was the only one categorised under "India".
15. There was some confusion among several scholars when Nigerian poet Christopher Okigbo, a founding figure in modern literature in Africa, acknowledged a certain Raja Ratnam and his story "At Eight-fifteen in the Morning" in the introduction of his collection of poems first published in 1963. An essay in the journal *Research in African Literatures* (Vol. 35, No. 3, Fall 2004) speculated that it was Singapore's Raja, but confessed that that specific short story could not be traced. The scholar was mistaken. It was another man, a T.K. Raja Ratnam, who wrote "At Eight Fifteen in the Morning" which was published in *United Asia: International Magazine of Afro-Asian Affairs* in 1961.
16. *The Tribune*, 19 July 1946, p. 9. Also quoted in *Tribune 40: The First Forty Years of a Socialist Newspaper* (London and New York: Quartet Books, 1977).
17. K.M. Shrivastava, *News Agencies from Pigeon to Internet* (New Delhi: New Dawn Press, 2007).
18. The Ceylonese Trotskyists founded the modern labour movement and set up the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in Ceylon.
19. Special Branch files.
20. All along in his concept of "Malaya", Singapore was in it.
21. Speech at pre-U seminar at the National Junior College, 18 June 1984.
22. The Malayan Union was formally inaugurated on 1 April 1946, with Singapore starting its existence as a separate British colony. Taken aback by the strong Malay protests, the British scrapped the scheme barely three

months later and began negotiations with UMNO leaders in June 1946 to find an acceptable solution to the objections to the Malayan Union. The outcome of these negotiations was the signing of the Federation of Malaya Agreement in 1948.

23. Lim Hong Bee and Wu Tian Wang were the prime movers in forming MDU, which was fronted by Philip Hoalim Sr., a lawyer, who became its chairman. See Philip Hoalim Sr., *The Malayan Democratic Union: Singapore's First Democratic Political Party* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1973).

Chapter 6

1. Interview with Vijayalakshimi Thambiah (or Mrs Seevaratnam), 2 October 2004.
2. Interview with Senathyraja Kanagasabai, 17 June 2006.
3. Private article by Dennis Bloodworth, dated 5 November 1983, sent to the author.
4. As Hong Bee did not finish his law studies, he returned to London in 1947 to continue them. However, in London, he threw himself into his new duties as the representative of Putera-AMCJA and turned into a communist intellectual, writing for the British Communist Party. He then abandoned his studies altogether.
5. S. Rajaratnam, Oral History, NAS.
6. Eu Chooi Yip, Oral History, NAS.
7. Ibid. Chooi Yip's own account also contradicted another urban myth perpetuated in various news reports — that he never rode a rickshaw on principle.
8. *Malaya Tribune*, 9 May 1947
9. *Malaya Tribune*, 16 May 1947.
10. *Malaya Tribune*, 29 May 1947.
11. Interview with Cecilia Tandoc, 4 October 2005. Cecilia served Raja and Pirooska as their domestic help from May 1985 until both passed away.
12. Interview with Tommy Koh, 12 June 2006.
13. Interview with Dennis Bloodworth, 12 February 2005.
14. Raja evoked these vivid images of life in early Singapore in his speech at the pre-university seminar, "*Birth of a Nation: Singapore in the 1950s*", 18 June 1984.
15. Kean Chye left for Christ College in 1935, while Hong Bee went there in 1937.
16. Philip Hoalim Sr., *The Malayan Democratic Union, Singapore's First Democratic Political Party*, 1973. Lim Kean Chye was Hoalim's nephew.

17. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*, p. 238.
18. Chin Peng, *My Side of the Story*, p. 279.
19. Goh's wife, Alice, then worked at MDU's Cooperative Store, located above the Liberty Cabaret. That provided another reason for Goh to drop by the cabaret and talk politics with the MDU leaders over beer.
20. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*, p. 239.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
22. In Raja's mind, Malaya included Singapore.
23. Report by A.H. Borthwick, first secretary, Australian Commission in Singapore, to the Department of External Affairs, Canberra. 12 June 1959, NAS.
24. In June 1948, laws were introduced to require federation of unions to be confined to unions catering for workers in similar occupations or industries, and for officials of union, except for the secretary, to have had 3 years' experience in the industry of their union.
25. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
26. In August 1947, the PMCJA changed its name to the All-Malaya Council of Joint Action (AMCJA) — the Chinese Chambers objected to "Pan-Malayan" as it suggested communist domination, while the Malayan Nationalist Party objected to "Malayan" as it was often used by Malays to refer to only non-Malays.
27. *Malaya Tribune*, 19 July 1947.
28. In another piece on China a year later, headlined "Deeds, not Dollars, will Save China", dated 16 July 1948, Raja pointed out that the Nationalists faced two foes — the Communists and rising inflation. "The inflation has succeeded in 'proletarianising' large sections of the Chinese who have now nothing to fear from the Communists." His warning: The Nationalists must carry out reforms and curb profiteering and graft — if they dither, "they will be handing the future of China into Communist hands in the long run".
29. Exports of Malaya's two greatest raw materials — rubber and tin — depended heavily on the fluctuating American market and provided the sterling area with its greatest source of dollar earnings.
30. *Malaya Tribune*, 10 July 1947.
31. *Malaya Tribune*, 26 July 1947.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Malaya Tribune*, 30 August 1947.
34. *Malaya Tribune*, 27 September 1948.
35. In the face of international pressure, the Dutch formally recognised Indonesian independence in December 1949.
36. Chin Peng, *My Side of History*, p. 155.

37. *Ibid.*, p.199.
38. *Malaya Tribune*, 26 April 1949.
39. *Malaya Tribune*, 16 August 1947.
40. *Malaya Tribune*, 9 November 1948.
41. The colonial government invited the British authors over to Malaya for two months to do research for the report.
42. *MSS Political Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/48, 15 February 1948.
43. *The Business Times*, 6 October 1988.
44. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*, p. 6.
45. As told by his son, Ananda Pereira, in an interview, 26 March 2009.
46. Alex Josey, Oral History, NAS.
47. David Marshall, Oral History, NAS.
48. *Ibid.*
49. In 1952, Han Suyin married Leon F. Comber, a British officer in the Malayan Special Branch, and moved with him to Johore, Malaya.
50. Emily Hahn, who wrote for *The New Yorker*, was based in New York. She also wrote *Raffles of Singapore*, a biography of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1946).
51. David Marshall's diary, 8 August 1963, ISEAS.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Alex Josey, Oral History, NAS.
54. Letter from assistant managing editor, Lim Keng Hor, to Raja, dated 24 February 1948. The increases were paid retrospectively.
55. *MSS Political Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/48, 15 February 1948.
56. Also known as the *Singapore Tiger Standard*.

Chapter 7

1. Raja's private papers, author's collection.
2. The rent was \$175 for the house and \$25 for the furniture.
3. Raja's private papers, author's collection.
4. The communists attacked rubber plantations, factories and warehouses as most were owned by Europeans, a sign of colonial power. In 1950, Malaya's rubber and tin mining industries were the biggest dollar earners in the British Commonwealth. Rubber accounted for 75 per cent of Malaya's income.
5. *Singapore Standard*, 29 July 1950.
6. *Singapore Standard*, 5 December 1950.
7. *Singapore Standard*, 15 December 1950.

8. Ibid.
9. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 19 December 1950.
10. Kean Chye fled to China.
11. S. Rajaratnam, Oral History, NAS.
12. In his Oral History, Chooi Yip recalled that the maid had coincidentally also worked in his elder brother's house previously.
13. Years later, he was arrested and later deported to Hanoi, finally winding up in Beijing in 1967, a year after the Singapore Government issued a ban on his re-entry.
14. *The Straits Times*, 21 November 1990.
15. Ibid.
16. Dennis Bloodworth, "Sinnathamby Rajaratnam: An appreciation by Dennis Bloodworth", 5 November 1983.
17. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
18. Chin Peng, *My Side of History*, p. 278.
19. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/1955, March 1955.
20. Eber was subsequently banned from re-entry into the Malayan territories by the governments in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur.
21. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/1955, March 1955.
22. *Singapore Standard*, 28 March 1952.
23. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*, p. 40.
24. In this column, headlined "Who Are These Wicked Men of Hatred!", a defiant Raja called on Templer to declare who were the "wicked men" whom he had referred to in a speech at the Legislative Council. Templer had warned of wicked men who fostered hatred against the colonial powers. Raja asked him to clarify if these included people opposed to the official line on the question of Malayan independence.
25. While Raja might disagree with some of Templer's methods and views, he later credited the general for his effective and decisive moves that eventually turned the once seemingly unassailable communist tide.
26. Written communication with James Fu, 11 April 2008.
27. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/1955, March 1955.
28. *Singapore Standard*, 17 September 1950.
29. As usual, he included Singapore when talking about "Malaya". Hence, these numbers took into account Singapore's population as well.
30. *Asian Horizon*, No. 3, "Malaya: A Nationalism in the Making", New Delhi, 1950–51.
31. *Asian Horizon*, No. 3, "Malaya: A Nationalism in the Making", New Delhi, 1950–51.

32. *Singapore Standard*, 27 August 1950.
33. Interview with Ungku Aziz, 2 September 2005. Ungku Aziz left Singapore in 1961 to head the economics department of the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, and seven years later in 1968, was promoted to its vice-chancellor.
34. Dennis Bloodworth, "Sinnathamby Rajaratnam: An appreciation by Dennis Bloodworth", 5 November 1983.
35. Email interview with Leon Comber, 9 March 2009. Comber was married to Raja's writer friend Han Suyin from 1952 until they divorced in 1959.
36. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/1955, March 1955.
37. Interview with Othman Wok, 13 June 2005.
38. The SUJ president at the time was D.E. Stewart, a journalist who lacked Raja's high profile.
39. *History of the Labour Movement: Interview with S. Rajaratnam*, 1994.

Chapter 8

1. Tan Siok Sun, *Goh Keng Swee: A Portrait* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2007).
2. In his oral history, Raja credit Goh as the first person to have planted the seed of Malayan nationalism among the Malayan students in London.
3. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Interview with Ambrose Khaw, 26 May 2008.
6. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*.
7. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
8. Interview with Ambrose Khaw, 26 May 2008.
9. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
10. *Malaya Tribune*, 30 May 1952.
11. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
12. Woodhull, Oral History, NAS.
13. In 1953, Woodhull and other student leaders started the University of Malaya Socialist Club, an alumni which became a hotbed of left-wing politics. By this time, Lee, his hands full with unions, appointed Woodhull to the Naval Base Labour Union as their secretary, while Jamit Singh was posted to the Singapore Harbour Board Staff Association. Lee was adviser to these unions.
14. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore* (Singapore: Resource Press, 1996).
15. Toh Chin Chye highlighted Raja's role as a leader in the Joint Action Council in a speech at the PAP party conference in 1960.

16. Legislative Assembly Debate, 20 July 1959.
17. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*.
18. Speech at the working session of the NTUC delegates seminar on “Modernisation of the Labour Movements”, 17 November 1969.
19. David Marshall’s Diary, 30 December 1953, ISEAS.
20. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*, p. 153.
21. Francis Thomas, *Memoirs of a Migrant*, p. 65.
22. David Marshall’s Diary, ISEAS.
23. Interview with Victor Savage, 21 June 2006.
24. *The Sunday Tiger Standard*, 11 October 1953.
25. Ang Swee Suan, ed. *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Singapore Standard*, 16 August 1953.
28. *Singapore Standard*, 19 April 1953.

Chapter 9

1. *Singapore Standard*, 22 November 1953.
2. *Singapore Standard*, 13 September 1953.
3. *Ibid.*
4. In his column, “There are Limits to Foreign Capital”, on 8 November 1953, he cited the example of Russia in bringing together all major enterprises under the strict control of the state. The savings that would have normally been acquired by the capitalists were invested by the government, not on the basis of which enterprises would yield handsome profits to the investor, but according to whether they would accelerate the growth of the national economy.
5. *Singapore Standard*, 29 March 1953.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Singapore Standard*, 1 November 1953.
8. *Singapore Standard*, 22 March 1953.
9. *Singapore Standard*, 15 March 1953. Raja wrote this column shortly after the death of Stalin on 5 March that year.
10. *Singapore Standard*, 1 November 1953.
11. *Singapore Standard*, 15 November 1953.
12. Interview with Harry Chan, 28 March 2008. Chan would become Raja’s permanent secretary in the Foreign Affairs Ministry in 1968.
13. *Singapore Standard*, 6 December 1963.
14. *Singapore Standard*, 20 September 1953.
15. *Singapore Standard*, 10 January 1954.

16. People's Action Party's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*. 1964, p. 205.
17. Raja's account was that it was Lee who proposed the idea of forming the PAP. This contradicted that of Toh Chin Chye, who later took credit for suggesting the formation of a political party in an interview published in Melanie Chew's "Leaders of Singapore".
18. David Marshall's Diary, ISEAS.
19. Interview with Toh Chin Chye by Sonny Yap, 2002.
20. Special Branch files.
21. Alex Josey, Oral History, NAS.
22. The ASC, which held its first meeting in 1953 in Rangoon, brought together socialists from nine countries of Asia with fraternal delegates from the Socialist International, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, and several representatives from African freedom movements, among others. This linkage between socialist parties from Asia and Africa played a fundamental role two years later in the development of the Bandung Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement. The ASC was dissolved in 1960.
23. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 3/1955, March 1955, and Special Branch files.
24. *Fajar*, "Acquisition of Malaya — Peaceful?", June 1954.
25. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 8/1954, 31 August 1954.
26. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
27. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
28. A survey of the urban incomes and housing between 1953 and 1954, written by Goh Keng Swee, then assistant director of social welfare (social research), found that the average income per household was \$168 a month. For the individual, the average earnings was \$140 a month. Among the employees, the earnings ranged from \$82 by factory workers, to \$215 for clerks. Teachers, nurses, and various professions earned an average of \$194 a month. As for housing, the survey found that 84 per cent of households in the city limits occupied one room or one cubicle or less. Over half lived in cubicles with an average size of 103 sq ft. Overcrowding was a problem. One third of these cubicles had no window or proper sanitation.
29. Interview with Fong Swee Suan, 4 June 2009.
30. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
31. Interview with Fong Swee Suan, 4 June 2009.
32. People's Action Party's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*, p. 204.

33. People's Action Party's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*, p. 205.
34. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.

Chapter 10

1. Interview with Yap Chin Kwee, 4 September 2005.
2. Ibid.
3. Anthony Schooling was married to Nalini Nair, sister of S. Devan Nair, another founding member of the PAP.
4. Written communication with Bloodworth, 12 February 2005.
5. Ibid.
6. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
7. Bloodworth, Oral History, NAS.
8. Louis Heren, *Growing Up on The Times* (London: H. Hamilton, 1978).
9. Written communication with Bloodworth, 12 February 2005.
10. People's Action Party's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*, 1964.
11. *Raayat* is Malay for "citizen" or "the people".
12. Email interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 17 June 2006.
13. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 1, "We believe..." 13 December 1954.
14. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 3. "Beware of Little David". 27 December 1954.
15. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 5. "Malay Capitalists". 10 January 1955.
16. Tan Siew Sin took over as MCA president in November 1961 and became minister of finance from 1959 to 1974.
17. Raja had met Aron in London when the French intellectual fled to London in 1940 to escape German occupation in France. During his exile in London, he edited the newspaper, *France Libre* (Free France).
18. The STU was an open front organisation of the Malayan Communist Party.
19. The S. Rajaratnam Papers, ISEAS.
20. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 7, March 1955.
21. Ibid.
22. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 13 December 1954. It also published an article by Purcell on this issue which echoed Raja's views: "Among those who wish to see Malaya rapidly attain self-government, there is a strong feeling that unless the Emergency regulations are removed or substantially modified together with the present out-of-date sedition laws, the atmosphere necessary for the conduct of free elections is unlikely to exist."
23. Lee discovered later, to his chagrin, that the roaring applause at these rallies was not as spontaneous as it seemed, but orchestrated by the pro-communists for effect. *The Singapore Story*, p. 192.

24. Even prior to this, Raja believed that the communists had conceded defeat in their guerilla campaign and knew the futility of using violence. In 1952, Louis Heren, his friend from *The Times*, had shared notes from a classified document, dated September 1951, which said as much. The directive from the Politburo of the MCP admitted that violence had not won popular support and ordered the state and district committees to end hostilities. But the war was to drag on because the MPAJA did not have radio transmitters, and the directive had to be delivered by messengers. The number of terrorist incidents did fall from 6,100 in 1951 to 1,100 by the end of 1953, leading Heren to conclude that the directive had taken effect. Approvingly, Raja had reproduced Heren's scoop in *The Standard*.
25. *The Singapore Story*, p. 192.
26. Special Branch files.
27. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 7. March 1955. Letter by a "T.S.L."
28. *Fajar*, 30 December 1954, No. 14.
29. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 5.
30. *Raayat*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 13 December 1954.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
33. *Singapore Standard*, "Growls, Barks and Bites", 25 April 1959.
33. Mary Turnbull, *Dateline Singapore, 150 Years of The Straits Times* (Singapore Press Holdings, 1995).
34. *The Straits Times*, "Repeating the Facts", 15 February 1954.
35. This was confirmed by Mrs Lee Siew Yee in an interview with the author. Although there was another account, mentioned by Raja himself in his later years, that it was David Marshall who was responsible for the job offer, Jean Marshall believed this was highly unlikely given that Marshall's persona was anathema to the *Straits Times*. Jean Marshall's interview with author, 19 March 2008.
36. Interview with Jean Gray, 19 March 2008.
37. Turnbull, C.M., *Dateline Singapore*, p. 179.
38. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
39. This view was repeated in *Dateline Singapore*.
40. Alex Josey, *Trade Unionism in Malaya* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1958), p. 61.
41. Email interview with Peter Lim, 21 July 2006.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Interview with Lee Khoo Choy, 20 June 2005.
44. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.

45. The calculation was that, since the Naval Base workers had the decisive vote, Ahmad would get better support from the Malays and Indian workers, if he was not identified with the radical PAP.
46. *The Straits Times*, 11 April 1955.

Chapter 11

1. 135,000 days in 1954.
2. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*, p. 206.
3. Speech of William Goode, Singapore Legislative Assembly debates, 16 May 1955.
4. Speech of David Marshall, Singapore Legislative Assembly debates, 16 May 1955.
5. The PAP's Tenth Anniversary Celebration souvenir, *PAP's First Ten Years*, 1964.
6. Interview with Fong Swee Suan, 4 June 2009.
7. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
8. Ibid.
9. *The Straits Times*, 27 October 1955.
10. *The Straits Times*, 27 October 1955.
11. *The Straits Times*, 25 October 1955.
12. *The Straits Times*, 24 October 1955.
13. *The Straits Times*, 25 October 1955.
14. *The Straits Times*, 24 October 1955.
15. David Marshall announced earlier at a Legislative Assembly meeting on 21 November 1955, that an Economic Advisory Unit had been set up, with Sir Sydney Caine as the economic adviser. The purpose of the unit was to give advice to the government on general economic policy, the programme of capital investment, and the broad economic aspects of social policy.
16. The committee also drew from the expertise of G.J. Brocklehurst, a specialist on social security from the International Labour Office, and Walter B. Wilson, from the Department of Labour in Australia.
17. *Petir*, February 1957. (*Petir* is the PAP's newsletter.)
18. Interview with Lim Chong Yah, 3 May 2007.
19. Many unemployed did not register with the Labour Exchange as they lived too far away or had little hope of getting a job through the Exchange, run by the Labour Department.
20. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 7/1956, Appendix B, 31 July 1956.
21. Interview with Mahmud Awang, 8 November 2009.

22. The verbatim notes of the meetings of the Malayanisation Commission are available at the NAS.
23. Interview with Lim Chong Yah, 30 June 2006.
24. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 20 July 1959.
25. Interview with Seah Yong, 11 April 2008.
26. *Singapore Standard*, “The News As it Strikes Me”, 22 October 1956.
27. Interview with Fong Swee Suan, 4 June 2009.
28. Interview with Othman Wok, 13 June 2005.
29. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
30. Speech delivered by Goh Keng Swee at the Establishment Dinner on 25 September 1984. Also reproduced in Goh Keng Swee, *Wealth of East Asian Nation*, p. 145.
31. T.T. Rajah, Oral History, NAS.
32. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
33. Lim Yew Hock had another reason to act — his own mass base at STUC was also on the verge of being captured by the pro-communists.
34. A new class of members — cadres — were introduced, separate from ordinary branch membership. Only they could elect the CEC, and in turn, the CEC selects the cadres.

Chapter 12

1. The radio script can be found in *The S. Rajaratnam Papers*, ISEAS.
2. Interview with Foong Choon Hon, 15 June 2005.
3. Email interview with Wang Gungwu, 23 June 2009.
4. Transmission on 28, 30, and 31 October 1957.
5. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 7/1958, 31 July 1958.
6. *SPF Police Intelligence Journal*, No. 4/1957, 30 April 1957.
7. *Petir*, “National Language and Culture”, May 1957.
8. Chan became a founder member of the PAP in 1954 and a PAP city councillor in 1957.
9. Interview with Chan Chee Seng, 10 April 2008.
10. Interview with Hoe Puay Choo, 30 May 2008.
11. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
12. These terms are found in the reports filed by the British and Australian High Commissions during that period.
13. Bloodworth, Oral History, NAS.
14. *Petir*, “Left-Wing Adventurism”, October 1957.
15. *Petir*, “An Independent, Democratic, Non-Communist Socialist Malaya”, October 1957.

16. Ibid.
17. Interview with Chan Chee Seng, 10 April 2008.
18. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
19. Rajaratnam, PAP's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*, p. 208.
20. Lim Yew Hock's Labour Front won only four out of the 16 contested. The Liberal Socialist party, which had repeatedly called for the removal of the PAP from the political arena, won seven out of a total of 32 contested.
21. Toh at the PAP meeting on 26 June 1960 which took the decision to expel Ong.
22. Dennis Bloodworth, Oral History, NAS.
23. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*.
24. PAP's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*, p. 209.
25. Interview with Nalini Nair, 28 September 2006.
26. *Asia Magazine*, 15–17 September 1989.
27. *The Straits Times*, "Newman Quits Job to Work for the PAP", 29 March 1959.

Chapter 13

1. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore* (Singapore: Resource Press, 1996).
2. This increase was because of the new citizenship laws. The PAP leaders were reasonably confident that they had the support of the working class, having established their credentials with them, but were uncertain of the new Chinese voters who recently came from China, given their instinctive loyalties to their motherland and their pro-communist proclivities.
3. *The Straits Times*, "Lee: Justice for All is PAP Aim", 16 April 1959.
4. *Petir*, "The Rojak Party and the Menace of Real Democracy", February 1959.
5. Fong Sip Chee, *The PAP Story: The Pioneering Years, November 1954–April 1968: A Diary of Events of the People's Action Party: Reminiscences of An Old Cadre* (Singapore: Times Periodicals, 1980), p. 70.
6. *Singapore Standard*, "Lest We Forget", 30 April 1959.
7. *The Straits Times*, "PAP attacks the Straits Times", 16 April 1959.
8. Email interview with Peter Lim, 21 July 2006.
9. *The Straits Times*, 21 April 1959.
10. Email interview with Peter Lim, 21 July 2006.
11. Interview with Ee Boon Lee, 20 May 2008.
12. Interview with Ambrose Khaw, 1 June 2008.
13. *The Straits Times*, "Fancy and Fact", 30 April 1959.
14. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*, p. 298.

15. A.H. Borthwick, first secretary, Australian Commission in Singapore, to the Department of External Affairs, Canberra. 12 June 1959.
16. *The Times* of London, 4 June 1959.
17. Lee Kuan Yew, in his letter to *The Straits Times*, 22 May 1955.
18. *The Straits Times*, 29 May 1959.
19. Interview with Ambrose Khaw, 1 June 2008.
20. Interview with Lee Khoon Choy, 20 June 2005.
21. Email interview with Peter Lim, 21 July 2006.
22. Interview with Boon Yoon Chiang, 4 June 2008.
23. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*.
24. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*.
25. Dennis Bloodworth, *The Tiger and the Trojan Horse* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1986), p. 192.
26. The others in the nine-man cabinet were Yong Nyuk Lin as education minister, Ong Pang Boon as home affairs minister, Ahmad Ibrahim as health minister and Ong Eng Guan as national development minister.
27. D.W. McNicol, Australian commissioner in Singapore, to minister for external affairs, R.G. Casey, in Canberra, 12 June 1959.
28. William Goode, the U.K. Commissioner in Singapore, to the secretary of state for the colonies, 26 June 1959.

Chapter 14

1. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 12 December 1959.
2. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 13 December 1959.
3. Dennis Bloodworth, *An Eye for The Dragon*, p. 297.
4. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 29 November 1960.
5. *Sunday Mail*, “Malayan Culture: A Reply to Sceptics”, 27 September 1959.
6. Of this amount to the Finance Ministry, \$20 million was for setting up the Economic Development Board to create jobs.
7. *The Straits Times*, “Radio: The New Order”, *The Standard* “Minister of Culture knocks the rock”, 10 June 1959.
8. Notes of discussion held in the office of the minister of culture, 11 June 1959.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Speech on “Malaya’s Changing Cultures”, at a luncheon hosted by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, 27 February 1960.
12. Email interview with Wang Gungwu, 23 June 2009.

13. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 13 December 1959.
14. Radio broadcast of a talk on Malayan Culture by Raja, 27 February 1960.
15. Email interview with Wang Gungwu, 23 June 2009.
16. Toh was overseas for a conference when the cabinet approved the final design and when Raja took it through the Legislative Assembly. In his oral history, recorded in 1989, Toh said that, in his original recommendation, he was against using red and white — white above red is the flag of Poland while red above white is that of Indonesia.
17. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 13 December 1960.
18. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*.
19. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S. Rajaratnam*.
20. Radio broadcast for the series *A Matter of Policy*, 13 June 1960.
21. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 13 December 1959.
22. Speech to Menorah Club, 25 July 1960.
23. Speech to the University Socialist Club, 26 August 1960.
24. V.T. Arasu, Oral History, NAS.
25. Interview with Foong Choon Hon, 15 June 2005.
26. Interview with Gopinath Pillai, 6 November 2008.
27. Speech at the Tamils' festival at the Happy World, 13 January 1960.
28. Speech at the Combined School Variety Show at the Singapore Chinese YMCA, 5 December 1960.
29. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
30. Ibid.
31. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 12 December 1959.
32. Interview with Lee Khoo Choy, 20 June 2005.
33. V.T. Arasu, Oral History, NAS.
34. Raja referred to the letter in his speech at the opening of the seminar on Malay music, 24 December 1960.
35. Ibid.
36. Speech to establish the National Theatre Trust to manage the National Theatre at the Legislative Assembly, on 16 November 1960.
37. The concert at the Victoria Theatre was in aid of the National Theatre Fund and the Jesuits Foundation fund.
38. *The Straits Times*, "Malaysian Touch — by Minister", 2 May 1963.
39. Speech at the opening of the seminar on Malay Music, Cultural Theatre, 24 December 1960.
40. Ang Swee Suan, ed., *Dialogues with S Rajaratnam*.
41. D.J. Enright, *Memoirs of a Mendicant Professor* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969).

42. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 29 November 1960.
43. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 11 January 1961.

Chapter 15

1. Interview with Yong Nyuk Lin, 31 August 2005.
2. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
3. Ibid.
4. Cabinet paper (59) 17, dated 13 June 1959.
5. Radio broadcast on 26 February 1960, translated into Chinese.
6. Minutes of cabinet meeting, 5 October 1959.
7. Cabinet paper (59) 17, dated 13 June 1959.
8. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 15 December 1960.
9. Minutes of the 16th Ministerial Policy Committee meeting on 6 October 1959.
10. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*, p. 143.
11. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
12. Ibid.
13. *Nanyang Siang Pau*, 15 June 1959.
14. *The Straits Times*, “Role of the Press in New Malaya — by Rajaratnam”, 27 July 1959.
15. Ibid. See also *The Straits Times*, 13 March 1962, “Journalism for all in Varsity, he urges”.
16. Speech at the opening of the seminar on journalism at the University of Singapore, 12 March 1962.
17. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
18. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 15 December 1961.
19. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 12 December 1959.
20. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
21. Speech at a dinner hosted by the Foreign Correspondents’ Association of Southeast Asia, 17 June 1986.
22. Talk titled “The Cultural Approach to Politics”, delivered to the University Socialist Club on 26 August 1960.
23. *Nanyang Siang Pau*, 15 June 1959.
24. Letter from William Goode, the *Yang di-Pertuan Negara* and U.K. commissioner for Singapore, to London, dated 26 July 1959, Public Records Office (PRO), Kew.
25. *The Straits Times*, “Radio: The New Order”, 10 June 1959.
26. Ibid.; *Singapore Standard*, 10 June 1959.
27. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 17 September 2009. When Nathan’s family turned up on the ship to bid Pirooska *bon voyage*, she was surprised that

- they knew about her departure and instructed them to keep it a secret. K.M. Byrne, the Minister for Law and Labour, also sent his European wife, Elaine Margaret, abroad during this period.
28. Ibid.
 29. Siva Choy, Oral History, NAS.
 30. The members of Raja's committee included Puthuchery, Devan Nair, Woodhull, Jek Yeun Thong and Rahim Ishak.
 31. Gok Keng Swee revealed this in a Singapore Legislative Assembly debate, on 11 December 1961.
 32. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 11 December 1961.
 33. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 12 December 1960.
 34. Speech delivered at the induction course for the government public relations officers at the Civil Service Institute on 17 May 1982.
 35. Ibid.
 36. Raj K. Vasil, *Governing Singapore* (St Leonards, N.S.W., Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2000).
 37. Interview with Hedwig Anuar, 7 October 2005.
 38. Speech at opening of the Southeast Asia room in the National Library on 28 August 1964.
 39. Boon Yoon Chiang worked in the Culture Ministry as press officer/reporter from 1960 to 1964, and then as editor (English) Broadcasting Department (*Radio Television Singapura*) until 1967.
 40. Interview with Foong Choon Hon, 15 June 2005.
 41. Interview with Cecilia Tandoc, 4 October 2005.
 42. Lee Kuan Yew's eulogy at Raja's state funeral, 25 February 2006.
 43. V.T. Arasu, Oral History, NAS.
 44. Inside File PM 049/59 — People's Association General 1959–62.
 45. Interview with Ong Kim Leong, 1 June 2005.
 46. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 14 June 1963.
 47. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 15 June 1963.

Chapter 16

1. Undated and unfinished typewritten article, Raja's private papers, author's collection.
2. The constitution was up for review in 1963.
3. Under the Industrial Relations Ordinance passed in February 1959, an industrial arbitration court was set up with arbitration of industrial disputes made compulsory. A Trade Union Bill was also hurried through to tighten government control of the trade union movement.

4. Woodhull, Oral History, NAS.
5. Bloodworth, *The Tiger and The Trojan Horse*.
6. Telegram from U.K. Commissioner (Singapore) to secretary of state (Colonial Office), 21 June 1960.
7. *The Times* of London, 22 June 1960.
8. Speech at the Anglo-Chinese Junior College pre-University seminar at the Jurong Town Hall, 1978.
9. Interview with Hoe Puay Choo, 30 May 2008.
10. In her letter to Lee Kuan Yew then, Hoe said she wanted to resign because she had not been consulted on important policy decisions.
11. Her exit was a blow to the party which at that time held the majority by just one member. With her departure, PAP members in the House were reduced to 25, against the combined opposition's 26. The party suddenly found itself running a minority government. This happened just three days before the crucial vote on the referendum bill on 6 July which paved the way for merger between Singapore and Malaysia the following year.
12. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*, p. 124.
13. The critical articles of Ong were in the 14 July 1960 issue of *Petir*.
14. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 5 August 1960.
15. The motion was to condemn Ong's dishonourable conduct as unbecoming of an elected representative "in that he repeatedly used his privilege in this Assembly as a cloak for spreading malicious falsehoods to unjustly injure innocent persons both inside and outside this Assembly".
16. *Petir*, PAP's 25th anniversary issue.
17. *Petir*, "Double-thinking leads to Double-talking", 14 November 1960.
18. *Sunday Times*, 12 March 1961, "It's PAP v Ong in Hong Lim".
19. *Petir*, Truth and Falsehood, 4 March 1961.
20. Interview with Jek Yeun Thong, 2 September 2005.
21. Bloodworth, Oral History, NAS.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *The Straits Times*, "Party Told: Analyse setback", 10 May 1951.
24. People's Action Party's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*, 1964
25. *Sunday Times*, 28 May 1961. Tunku's speech was made at the luncheon by the foreign correspondents of South-east Asia at the Adelphi hotel.
26. His reading of the situation would turn out right, as declassified British records later showed, although Selkirk had publicly said at the time that the inclusion of the Borneo territories was Tunku's idea and no one else's. The British knew that any taint of the proposal for merger and Malaysia as being British-inspired at the time would have immediately sunk it as a colonial

plot and opened Tunku and Lee to the debilitating charge of being pro-colonial stooges.

27. Submission from Menzies to Cabinet, Canberra, 11 August 1961.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *The Straits Times*, 10 July 1961.
30. Toh Chin Chye, “The Ways and Means”, *Petir* 25th anniversary issue. The Feedback Unit was renamed Reach in 2007.
31. Cabinet approved Goh’s paper on 11 July 1960.

Chapter 17

1. Siao Chang, who was relaying party instructions to senior party cadres in Singapore and Malaya from his base in Peking, would lead the MCP armed struggle at the front line at the Thai-Malaysia border.
2. Chin Peng, *My Side of the Story*, p. 437.
3. Lim Cheng Leng, *Story of a Psy-Warrior* (Batu Caves, Selangor Darul Ehsan, Malaysia: Lim Cheng Leng, 2000), p. 198.
4. Chin Peng, *My Side of the Story*, p. 438.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
6. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
9. Chin Peng, *My Side of the Story*, p. 438.
10. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
11. They were Fong Swee Suan, S. Woodhull, S.T. Bani, Dominic Puthuchear, and Jamit Singh. Together with Lim, they were dubbed the “Big Six”.
12. Bloodworth, Oral History, NAS.
13. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 21 July 1961.
14. *Petir*, 17 June 1961.
15. *Petir*, “Democracy On Trial”, 13 July 1961.
16. *Ibid.*
17. The eight were Lee Siew Choh, Wong Soon Fong, Tee Kim Leng, Tan Cheng Tong, Teo Hock Guan, S.T. Bani, Lim You Eng, and Fung Ying Ching.
18. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 21 July 1961.
19. Interview with Fong Swee Suan, 4 June 2009.
20. *The Straits Times*, “Marshall: I don’t believe Chin Peng leads Malaya’s Reds”, 30 December 1955. In his memoirs, Chin Peng gave short shrift to Marshall’s powers of analysis.

21. Speech at a students' forum, 14 August 1987.
22. *The Straits Times*, 21 August 1961.
23. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 21 July 1961.
24. Speech on 27 July 1985.
25. The PAP Tenth Anniversary Celebration souvenir, *PAP's First Ten Years*, 1964, p. 214.
26. Ibid.
27. Bloodworth, Oral History, NAS.
28. *The Straits Times*, 22 August 1961.
29. Learning from this experience, they changed the Constitution in 1963 to disallow a person voted into parliament on a party ticket to retain his seat if he ceased to be a member of that party, or was expelled, or resigned from his seat.
30. People's Action Party's 10th Anniversary souvenir, *Our First 10 Years*.
31. Interview with Hoe Puay Choo, 30 May 2008.
32. Ibid.
33. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 23 November 1961.
34. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore*, p. 124.
35. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story*.
40. Lee Kuan Yew in his eulogy for Raja, 25 February 2006.
41. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 20 March 1962.
42. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 14 June 1963.
43. Alex Josey, Oral History, NAS.
44. Interview with Chan Chee Seng, 10 April 2008.
45. Interview with Jek Yeun Thong, 2 September 2005.
46. *Petir*, PAP's 25th anniversary issue.
47. Lee Kuan Yew in his eulogy for Raja, 25 February 2006.
48. Goh Keng Swee, *Wealth of East Asian Nation*, p. 147.
49. Speech at the launch of the first National Youth Conference, 16 July 1982.
50. Speech at the 15th anniversary dinner of the Institute of Public Relations, 15 March 1986.
51. Raj Vasil, *Governing Singapore*, p. 42.
52. Interview with Fong Swee Suan, 4 June 2009.
53. Telegram from the Australian High Commission, Singapore, to the Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, Canberra, 2 June 1962.

54. David Marshall, Oral History, NAS.
55. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
56. *Democratic Socialism in Action, June 1959–April 1963*.
57. Malay language issue of *Petir*, August 1961 issue.
58. Said Zahari, *Dark Clouds at Dawn: A Political Memoir* (Kuala Lumpur: Insan, 2001).
59. “Working paper outlines basis for socialism in Malaysia”, published in *Petir* on 7 March 1962.
60. *Sunday Mail*, 28 January 1962.
61. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 18 April 1962.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 1 December 1961.

Chapter 18

1. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Telegram from the British commissioner in Singapore to the secretary of state for the colonies, dated 25 July 1961.
4. Speech at the business session of the Eighth CPA Regional Conference in Singapore, 22 July 1961.
5. Speech at the business session of the Eighth CPA Regional Conference in Singapore, 24 July 1961
6. The low level of political development in the North Borneo states at the time is well documented. Read especially J.P. Ongkili, *The Borneo Response to Malaysia, 1961–1963* (Donald Moore Press, 1967).
7. The two parties in Sarawak were the Sarawak United People’s Party and the Parti Negara Sarawak. The Brunei party was the Parti Rakyat. Sabah had its first political party only in August 1961, with Donald Stephen’s United National Kadazan Organisation.
8. Speech at the closing session of the CPA Conference, 26 July 1961.
9. Telegram from the British commissioner in Singapore to the secretary of state for the colonies, dated 25 July 1961.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Lord George Lansdowne, U.K. minister of state for colonial affairs, and chairman of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Malaysia, quoted Razak as telling him this during a long talk alone with him. They were discussing the deteriorating relationship between the Tunku and Lee. Telegram from Lansdowne to secretary of state for commonwealth relations, 17 December 1962.

12. "A Tribute". In tribute to Tunku Abdul Rahman on his 60th birthday, 8 February 1963.
13. Ibid.
14. Interview with Yap Chin Kwee, 4 September 2005.
15. Anthony J. Stockwell, ed., *Malaysia. British Documents on the End of Empire*, Series B, Vol. 8 (London: Stationery Office, 2004), p. xxxvii. Also see Allen M. Healy, *Tunku Abdul Rahman (1957–1970)* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1982), pp. 20–21.
16. Anthony Shome, *Malay Political Leadership* (Routledge, 2002), p. 78.
17. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
18. Ibid.
19. Ghazali Shafie, *Memoir on the Formation of Malaysia* (Bangi, Malaysia: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan, 1998).
20. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
21. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 30 July 1963.
22. *The Straits Times*, 24 August 1961.
23. J.P. Ongkili, *The Borneo Response to Malaysia, 1961–1963* (Donald Moore Press, 1967). Ongkili later became Sabah deputy chief minister, among other political appointments.
24. Minutes of the meeting of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, 24 August 1961.
25. Cabinet Paper No. (61) 432, 16 October 1961.
26. *The Straits Times*, "\$40,000 culture tour by S'pore goodwill mission", 14 April 1962; "Mission to show the identity of culture in Borneo and Singapore", 24 April 1962; "Singapore Culture goes to Borneo — by air", 25 April 1962.
27. Shafie, Ghazali, *Memoir on the Formation of Malaysia* (Bangi, Malaysia: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan, 1998).
28. Ibid., p. 159.
29. Memorandum from the British governor of Sarawak to London, 11 December 1961.
30. The radio forum was broadcast over *Radio Singapore* on 10 January 1962, and reported the next day, 11 January 1962, in the newspapers.
31. Denis Warner, "The Second Fall of Singapore", *The Reporter*, 9 September 1965.
32. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 26 April 1961.
33. S.M. Vasagar, Oral History, NAS.
34. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 17 September 2009.
35. S. Subramaniam, Oral History, NAS.

36. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.
37. Denis Warner, "The Second Fall of Singapore", *The Reporter*, 9 September 1965.
38. PAP press statement on 1 November 1961.
39. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 19 March 1962.
40. Statement issued by the Ministry of Culture, 27 April 1962.
41. As reported in a British telegram to London, dated 4 May 1962, Selkirk had asked the Tunku whether it was necessary for him always to refer to Singapore as a headache. The Tunku replied that this was understood by the oriental mind. "If you were nice to people, they got too cocky."
42. The Causeway carries a road and railway between the island of Singapore and the southern tip of the Malayan peninsula, Johor.
43. *The Straits Times*, 28 March 1962.
44. *The Straits Times*, 28 March 1962.
45. Statement issued by the Ministry of Culture, 4 April 1962.
46. Speech at the third convocation of Nanyang University, 30 March 1962.
47. *The Straits Times*, 4 April 1962.
48. The first article, "Three Approaches to Politics", was published in the 31 May 1962 issue of *Petir*, while the second was published in the June–July 1962 edition.
49. Aide-memoire from Toh Chin Chye to Lee Kuan Yew, 30 May 1962. It stated that Raja had been hospitalised since 9 May 1962.
50. Gordon Jockel to secretary, Department of External Affairs, 19 May 1962.
51. This comment was possibly written by the minister or a high-level official at the Department of External Affairs in Canberra upon reading the telegram. The Australian minister for external affairs at the time was Garfield Barwick.

Chapter 19

1. *The Straits Times*, 11 June 1962. His speech was read out by PAP assemblywoman Hoe Puay Choo.
2. U.K. commissioner, Kuala Lumpur, to Commonwealth Relations Office, 17 March 1962.
3. Acting U.K. commissioner, Singapore, to the secretary of state for the colonies, 4 May 1962.
4. Ghazalie Shafie, *Memoir on the Formation of Malaysia*.
5. Bloodworth, Oral History.
6. Interview with Boon Yoon Chiang, 4 June 2008.
7. Raj K. Vasil, *Governing Singapore*, p. 42.

8. British paper presented to the Tunku on 4 May 1962.
9. *The Straits Times*, 6 September 1962.
10. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 10 April 1963.
11. Cablegram to Canberra, 4 September 1962, reproduced in Moreen Dee, ed., *Australia and the Formation of Malaysia, 1961–1966* (Australia: Dept of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2005).
12. *Petir*, “Verdict of the People”, January 1963.
13. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 10 April 1963.
14. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 31 July 1963.
15. Speech at a mass rally organised by the NTUC at the Victoria Memorial Hall on 18 Sept 1962, SR/4/13a.
16. *The Straits Times*, 19 September 1962, “Display of Afro-Asian unity highlights victory rally”, p. 20.
17. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 31 July 1963.
18. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 9–10 April 1963.
19. *The Straits Times*, 5 December 1962.
20. *The Straits Times*, 18 March 1988.
21. Interview with Dominic Puthuchery, 23 September 2009.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Interview with Low Por Tuck, 22 September 2009.
24. Moore’s telegram to Ian Wallace in the Colonial Office, 5 December 1962.
25. *The People*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 22 July 1963, p. 1.
26. Interview with Abdullah Ahmad, 7 August 2008.
27. *The Straits Times*, 16 February 1963.
28. Interview with Ananda Pereira, 22 March 2009.
29. *The Straits Times*, 25 March 1963.
30. Speech on 15 January 1964.
31. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 14 June 1963.
32. Speech at the fifth anniversary celebration of Kampong Glam Community Centre, 12 June 1965.

Chapter 20

1. Tory to secretary of state, 16 October 1962.
2. Selkirk to secretary of state, 10 December 1962.
3. Selkirk to secretary of state, 16 December 1962.
4. Note of United Kingdom Delegation meeting on 25 July 1962, under the chairmanship of Lord Landsdowne.
5. Selkirk to secretary of state, 16 December 1962.

6. Landsdowne to secretary of state, 17 December 1962.
7. Chin Peng, *My Side of History*, p. 439.
8. Interview with Samad Ismail, 3 September 2005.
9. Bloodworth, Oral History, NAS.
10. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 10 April 1963.
11. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 10 April 1963.
12. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 25 July 1963.
13. *The Straits Times*, 17 February 1963.
14. Ibid.
15. Among his activities was leading a month-long, 10,000-strong strike at the Singapore Naval Base in October 1963.
16. Email interview with Michael Fernandez, 30 January 2009.
17. Speech at a mass rally on the City Hall Padang on 28 September 1963.
18. Raj Vasil, *Governing Singapore*, p. 7.
19. Ibid., p. 8.
20. Email interview with James Fu, 11 April 2008.
21. Ibid.
22. Interview with Wong Lam Wo, 1 June 2005.
23. Interview with S.R. Nathan, 26 September 2005.
24. The second phase, which he spoke about in 1964, involved more hard work — saving and increasing national wealth. This meant creating “more tools of production, like factories, learn new skills to work the factories, and make more goods for us to use and to export”. At the same time, more social assets would be produced. As progress was made, “the individual incomes and standards of life of our people will also begin to rise gradually, especially if there is justice in distribution of the national wealth”. Speech at Ponggal Festival at the Tamilian Association, 14 January 1964.
25. Speech at the opening of the Visionary Architecture and Singapore Housing exhibition, broadcast on Radio Singapore, 18 March 1963.
26. Memo from Goh to Raja, dated 27 November 1962.
27. Memo from Raja to Goh, 29 April 1963.
28. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 14 June 1963.
29. *The Straits Times*, 19 February 1963.
30. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 8 April 1963.
31. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 31 July 1963.
32. One was a bill to provide for the elections of 15 representatives for Singapore to the Central Parliament. The other was to raise the limit to borrow money by the issuing of Treasury Bills.
33. *The Straits Times*, 16 April 1963.

34. *The Straits Times*, 10 October 1962.
35. Choo Hoey was born in Indonesia, but was educated in Singapore from the age of 13.
36. Minutes of meeting, 4 April 1963.
37. Minutes of meeting, 7 May 1963.
38. Speech on 8 August 1963.
39. Email interview with S. Dhanabalan, 12 August 2009. Before taking over the National Development Ministry, Dhanabalan was minister for foreign affairs (1980–88), minister for culture (1981–84), and minister for community development (1984–86). When the National Theatre was torn down in 1986, the minister for national development was Teh Cheang Wan.
40. National Day message, June 1963.
41. Unfinished article titled, “Political Trends in Malaysia”, private papers, author’s collection.
42. *The Straits Times*, 9 August 1963.
43. *Malayan Times*, 23 August 1963.
44. *The Straits Times*, 31 August 1963.
45. Singapore Legislative Assembly, 31 July 1963.
46. *The Straits Times*, 7 September 1963.
47. Ibid.
48. *The Straits Times*, 17 September 1973.
49. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 8 July 2005.
50. Speech “Concept and Implementation of a Malaysian Malaysia” at a political forum of the Malaysia Solidarity Convention, 7 June 65.
51. Melanie Chew, *Leaders of Singapore* (Singapore: Resource Press, 1996), p. 95.
52. Interview with Lee Kuan Yew, 4 May 2009.