

Bibliographical Note

The standard general history is C.M. Turnbull, *A History of Singapore 1819–1988* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989). A rounded study of Singapore in the nineteenth century, rich in detail, is the same author's *The Straits Settlements 1826–67: Indian Presidency to Crown Colony* (London: Athlone Press, 1972).

John N. Miksic and Cheryl-Ann Low Mei Gek, eds., *Early Singapore 1300s–1879: Evidences in Maps, Texts and Artefacts* (Singapore: Singapore History Museum, 2004) unearths fresh material for reconstructing the Temasek era.

On economic history in the colonial era, the most important study is W.G. Huff, *The Economic Growth of Singapore: Trade and Development in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

The bases of politics and culture in Singapore before the Second World War were ethnic and religious, as they were to be after the war also, with heightened ethno-nationalist fervour. On the Chinese community, useful studies are C.F. Yong, *Tan Kah-kee: The Making of an Overseas Chinese Legend* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987); Yen Ching-Hwang, "Hokkien Immigrant Society and Modern Chinese Tradition in British Malaya" in Michael W. Charney, Brenda S.A. Yeoh and Tong Chee Kiong, eds., *Chinese Migrants Abroad: Cultural, Educational and Social Dimensions of the Chinese Diaspora* (Singapore: Singapore University Press and World Scientific, 2003); and David L. Kenley, *New Culture in a New World: The May Fourth Movement and the Chinese Diaspora in Singapore, 1919–1932* (London: Routledge, 2003). On the Malay and Muslim community, see W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); Anthony Milner, *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Ulrike Freitag, "Arab Merchants in Singapore: Attempt of

a Collective Biography”, and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, “Conflicting Loyalties of the Arabs in Malaya before World War II”, both articles in Huube De Jonge and Nico Kaptien, eds., *Transcending Borders: Arabs, Politics, Trade and Islam in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002). The Indian community is treated in S. Arasaratnam, *Indians in Malaysia and Singapore* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979), and R. Ampalavanar, *The Indian Minority and Political Change in Malaya 1945–1957* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1981). On the Eurasian community, see Myrna Braga-Blake, ed., *Singapore Eurasians: Memories and Hopes* (Singapore: Times Editions, 1992).

Political change after the Second World War is treated in L.A. Mills, *Malaya A Political and Economic Appraisal* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), and very thoroughly studied in Yeo Kim Wah, *Political Development in Singapore 1945–55* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1973). There is an important new book: T.N. Harper, *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; paperback, 2001), which introduces the theme of late imperial nation building and the collapse of this scheme. Although Harper does not say so, the collapse had far reaching consequences for Singapore. For it meant that the advocates of Malayan unity there, who believed the destinies of Singapore and Malaya to be inextricably intertwined, were chasing an impossible dream.

On the English-educated activists involved in the Communist movement, see Cheah Boon Kheng, *The Masked Comrades: A Study of the United Front in Malaya, 1945–48* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1979), Yeo Kim Wah, “Student Politics in the University of Malaya, 1949–51”, in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 23, no. 2 (September 1992), and the same author’s “Joining the Communist Underground: The Conversion of English-educated Radicals to Communism in Singapore, June 1948–January 1951”, in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 67, Pt. 1, no. 266 (1994); and Dominic J. Puthuchery and K.S. Jomo, eds., *No Cowardly Past: James Puthuchery Writings, Poems, Commentaries* (Kuala Lumpur: Insan, 1998). Tan Jing Quee and K.S. Jomo, eds., *Comet in Our Sky: Lim Chin Siong in History* (Kuala Lumpur: Insan, 2001) is about the most prominent activist, who was, however, Chinese-educated.

The dilemmas of Singapore's first Chief Minister are described by himself in David Marshall, "Singapore's Struggle for Nationhood, 1945–1959", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 2 (September 1970), by his colleague, Francis Thomas, *Memoirs of a Migrant* (Singapore: University Education Press, 1972); by his biographer, Chan Heng Chee, *A Sensation of Independence: A Political Biography of David Marshall* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984); and by Albert Lau, "The Colonial Office and the Singapore Merdeka Mission, 23 April to 15 May 1956", *Journal of the South Seas Society* 49 (1994); and James Low, "Kept in Position: The Labour Front-Alliance Government of Chief Minister David Marshall in Singapore, April 1955–June 1956" (based on the same author's MA thesis), *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 1 (February 2004).

The inside story of the PAP's collaboration and competition with the communists, and the linkage to the conflict over merger in Malaysia, is told in John Drysdale, *Singapore: Struggle for Success* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1984); Dennis Bloodworth, *The Tiger and the Trojan Horse* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1986); and above all in Lee Kuan Yew, *The Singapore Story: Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew* (Singapore: Times Editions, 1998). But there is also a lesser known important work by a historian who was given access to the archives of the Internal Security Department, Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore. (Drysdale and Bloodworth also had access to security documents). This is Lee Ting Hui's *The Open United Front: The Communist Struggle in Singapore 1954–1966* (Singapore: South Seas Society, 1996), a monograph based on his PhD thesis.

Two more historical monographs appeared around the time *The Singapore Story* was published. Matthew Jones, *Conflict and Confrontation in South East Asia, 1961–1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) paralleled Lee Kuan Yew's account of the troubled internal and external dimensions of the merger process. Albert Lau, *A Moment of Anguish: Singapore in Malaysia and the Politics of Disengagement* (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1998), furnishes a wealth of archival evidence on the fateful decisions and consequences in *The Singapore Story*.

The well-documented studies by Lee Ting Hui, Matthew Jones, and Albert Lau offer the welcome chance to see the extent to which they corroborate

the account given in Lee's memoirs. Additionally, it is possible to see in the Jones study whether there was a British viewpoint which differed from that embodied in *The Singapore Story*. The Malaysian viewpoint is clearly discernible in Cheah Boon Kheng, *Malaysia: The Making of a Nation* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002), and the same author's "Ethnicity and Contesting Nationalisms in Malaysia" in his edited book *The Challenge of Ethnicity: Building a Nation in Malaysia* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International, 2004).

The first-generation PAP leaders who stood with Lee are depicted in Lam Peng Er and Kevin Y.L. Tan, eds., *Lee's Lieutenants: Singapore's Old Guard* (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1999).

Coming in from the cold are Chin Peng, *My Side of History* (Singapore: Media Masters, 2003), and C.C. Chin and Karl Hack, eds., *Dialogues with Chin Peng: New Light on the Malayan Communist Party* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004). These volumes tackle the issues that historians have puzzled over for a long time, but do not dispel all mystery, and in any case, have little to say about the communist network in Singapore, though this in itself may be a significant revelation.

The PAP started nation building from the moment it took office in June 1959, and simply went on at a more fervid pace, under greater pressure and urgency, when Singapore was suddenly independent in August 1965. Lee Kuan Yew's autobiographical sequel *From Third World to First: The Singapore Story, 1965–2000* (Singapore: Times Editions, 2000), conveys the grit and the will of the Prime Minister to make independence stick, and to build a nation by (in his words) "getting the basics right". Chan Heng Chee and Obaid ul Haq, eds., *The Prophetic and the Political: Selected Speeches and Writings of S. Rajaratnam* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1987, reprinted, Graham Brash and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007), includes his expositions on communal versus national culture. The speeches of the Prime Minister and other Ministers are obviously very important. I have turned to them frequently. I have also used the *Straits Times*, *Singapore Herald*, and *Business Times*, and where necessary, the *Hansard*. All the above sources have been my mainstay, particularly in the chapters on the merger 1961–63, national service, education, the universities, home ownership, political succession, and the Goh Chok Tong Administration.

The economy is central to Singapore's nation building. The architect of the Singapore economy himself has put his thoughts in writing: Goh Keng Swee, *The Economics of Modernization* (Singapore: Federation Publications, 1972), *The Practice of Economic Growth* (Singapore: Federal Publications, 1977), and *Wealth of East Asian Nations: Speeches and Writings*, arranged and edited by Linda Low (Singapore: Federal Publications, 1995). The administrators who carried out the economic policies are studied in E.H. Schein, *Strategic Pragmatism: The Culture of Singapore's Economic Development Board* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1996), and have told their own stories in Chan Chin Bock, *Heart Work* (Singapore: Singapore Economic Development Board and EDB Society, 2002).

The impact of globalization is dealt with in Linda Low, "Sustaining the Competitiveness of Singapore Inc. in the Knowledge-based Global Economy" in Ramkishen S. Rajan, ed., *Sustaining Competitiveness in the New Global Economy: The Experience of Singapore* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2003); Winston T.H. Koh, "Singapore's Economic Growth Experience"; and Augustine H.H. Tan, "The Economic Challenges Facing Singapore", both articles in *The Economic Prospects of Singapore*, edited by Winston T.H. Koh and Robert S. Mariano (Singapore: Addison-Wesley Pearson Education, 2006).

The key official documents concerned with globalization are *Report of the Committee on Singapore's Competitiveness*, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Republic of Singapore (Singapore: SNP Security Printing Pte. Ltd., 1998), and *New Challenges, Fresh Goals: Towards a Dynamic Global City* Report of the Economic Review Committee, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Republic of Singapore (Singapore: SNP SPrint Pte. Ltd., 2003).

The economic scenario after the Islamist attack on the World Trade Center in New York on 11 September 2001 has been the focus of study by certain political economists who published essentially the same account in different works. The best account as regards Singapore is Garry Rodan and Kevin Hewison, "Neoliberal Globalization, Conflict and Security: New Life for Authoritarianism in Asia?" in *Empire and Neoliberalism in Asia*, edited by Vedi R. Hadiz (London: Routledge, 2006).

Nation building under the PAP is, as the title of Kernial Singh Sandhu and Paul Wheatley's monumental edited tome suggests, *Management of*

Success: The Moulding of Modern Singapore (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989). This is an all-encompassing reference work topped by the editors' magisterial summation.

The politics of culture, ethnicity, and identity have assumed vital prominence everywhere in the contemporary world, modernization and globalization notwithstanding. What more in a place like Singapore? The books discussing this question include Chew Sock Foon, *Ethnicity and Nationality in Singapore* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1987); David Brown, *The State and Ethnic Politics in Southeast Asia* (London: Routledge, 1994); Michael Hill and Lian Kwen Fee, *The Politics of Nation Building and Citizenship in Singapore* (London: Routledge, 1995); Raj Vasil, *Asianising Singapore: The PAP's Management of Ethnicity* (Singapore: Heinmann Asia and Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1995); and John Clammer, *Race and State in Independent Singapore 1965–1990: The Cultural Politics of Pluralism in a Multiethnic Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998).

The articles to note are Geoffrey Benjamin, "The Cultural Logic of Singapore's 'Multiculturalism'" in Riaz Hassan, ed., *Singapore Society in Transition* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1976); Sally Borthwick, "Chinese Education and Identity in Singapore" in Jennifer Cushman and Wang Gungwu, eds., *Changing Identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese since World War II* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1988); Sai Siew Yee, "Post-Independence Educational Change, Identity and *Huaxiaosheng* Intellectuals in Singapore: A Case Study of Chinese Language Teachers", *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 25, no. 2 (1997); James Gomez, "Consolidating Indian Identities in Post-Independence Singapore: A Case Study of the Malayalee Community", *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 25, no. 2 (1997); Verne A. Dusenbery, "Diasporic Imagings and the Conditions of Possibility: Sikhs and the State in Southeast Asia", *SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 12, no. 2 (1997): 226–60; Alexius Pereira, "The Revitalization of Eurasian Identity in Singapore", *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 25, no. 2 (1997); and Chua Beng Huat, "Racial Singaporeans: Absence after the Hyphen", in *Southeast Asian Identities: Culture and the Politics of Representation in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand*, edited by Joel S. Kahn (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998).

Singapore and Malaysia mirror each other very compellingly in the matter of language, culture, education, and identity. It struck me that what the mirror showed was asymmetrical when I began reading Wang Gungwu, "Reflections on Malaysian Elites" in the same author's *Community and Nation: China, Southeast Asia and Australia* (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin [new edition] 1992); Tan Liok Ee, "Dongjiaozong and the Challenge to Cultural Hegemony 1951–1987", in *Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia*, edited by Joel S. Kahn and Francis Loh Kok Wah (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992); and Tan Liok Ee, "Baggage from the Past, Eyes on the Future: Chinese Education in Malaysia Today", in *Ethnic Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia: A Dialogue Between Tradition and Modernity*, edited by Leo Suryadinata (Singapore: Times Academic Press, 2002).

Politics in post-independence Singapore has been described as an anomaly. Some political scientists explain it with reference to a middle-class culture and values system of a distinctively East Asian character. See David Brown and David Martin Jones, "Democratization and the Myth of the Liberalizing Middle Classes", in *Towards Illiberal Democracy in Pacific Asia*, edited by Daniel A. Bell, David Brown, Kaniska Jayasuriya, and David Martin Jones (London: Macmillan, 1995); and Lam Peng Er, "Singapore: Rich State, Illiberal Regime", in *Driven By Growth: Political Change in the Asia Pacific Region*, edited by James W. Morley (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe and Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999).

Diane K. Mauzy and R.S. Milne, *Singapore Politics under the People's Action Party* (London: Routledge, 2002), is the sterling standard work.

The emigration and foreign talent issues challenging the Singapore nation are discussed in the reports of consultative committees, *Singapore 21 Together We Make the Difference*, Singapore 21 Committee c/o Prime Minister's Office [Public Service Division] 1999, and *Changing Mindsets, Deepening Relationships: The Report of the Remaking Singapore Committee* (Singapore: Lancer IMC for the Government of Singapore, 2003). See also S. Gopinathan and V. Saravanan, "Education and Identity Issues in the Internet Age: The Case of Indians in Singapore", in *Asian Migrants and Education: The Tensions of Education in Immigrant Societies and among Migrant Groups*, edited by Michael W. Charney, Brenda S.A. Yeoh, and Tong Chee Kiong (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003); and Brenda Yeoh and Shirlena Huang,

“Foreign Talent in our Midst: New Challenges to Sense of Community and Ethnic Relations in Singapore”, in *Beyond Rituals and Riots: Ethnic Pluralism and Social Cohesion in Singapore*, edited by Lai Ah Eng (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International, 2004).

The emergence of national identity is essayed in Wang Gungwu, *Community and Nation: China, Southeast Asia and Australia* (St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin [new edition] 1992); the same author’s *Bind Us in Time: Nation and Civilisation in Asia* (Singapore: Times Media Pte Ltd, 2003); and David Brown, *Contemporary Nationalism: Civic, Ethnocultural and Multicultural Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000).

The use of history to undergird national identity and national values is examined in Hong Lysa and Huang Jianli, “The Scripting of Singapore’s National Heroes: Toying with Pandora’s Box”, in *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History*, edited by Abu Talib Ahmad and Tan Liok Ee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), and the same authors’ “History and the Imaginaries of ‘Big Singapore’: Positioning the Sun Yat Sen Nanyang Memorial Hall”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 1 (February 2004). The official histories presented have not gone uncontested, in particular, by Chinese-educated and post-65 generation bilingual intellectuals, as Hong Lysa and Huang Jianli observe.

Albert Lau, “Nation-Building and the Singapore Story: Some Issues in the Study of Contemporary Singapore History”, in *Nation-Building: Five Southeast Asian Histories*, edited by Wang Gungwu (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005), notes the controversy generated by the Singapore Story and national education objectives, viz. the rebuttals from former opposition politicians and the general public in Singapore, and from Malaysian leaders, angry with the PAP for reopening old wounds. Albert Lau’s own stand is that while total objectivity is unattainable, the importance of sticking to the archival evidence and of being honest should be emphasized. Wang Gungwu, the editor and contributor to the volume, and the other authors who are country/region specialists like Wang, reflect on the concerns and approaches that the nationals in their respective Southeast Asian countries of specialization bring to the writing of nation-building history.