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DIRECTOR'S COLUMN

Implicit in the recording of human experiences has always been the paradox of the public and the private.

The desire to note down the particularities of our experiences or to find similarity or otherness in the experiences of others is one that crosses all temporal and cultural boundaries to locate itself at the centre of the human condition.

It is in this spirit that Kwa Chong Guan approaches *Remembering Dr Goh Keng Swee (1918-2010),* our Spotlight article for this issue. Deconstructing the many facets of Dr Goh's life, Kwa draws on the complex relationship we have with public figures to go beyond the persona of Dr Goh that has been captured by history. Painted is a holistic and comprehensive portrait of Dr Goh, reflecting both his penetrating insights into government policy as well as his social relationships and human concerns. The dimension we see of Dr Goh's character in his willingness to look critically at situations rather than defer to politically correct standards is one that is both progressive and inspiring.

Continuing on this tack, *Education for Living: Epitome of Civics Education?* homes in on a key civics education programme in the 1970s that the Dr Goh-led Education Study team was especially critical of. The *Education for Living* programme was an initiative developed to inculcate social discipline, national identity, and civic and moral values in schoolchildren. Revealingly, the existence of such a programme in the 1970s reflects the fact that citizen solidarity has long been the focus of the Government imperative to forge a sense of national identity. Though a sense of belonging is one that we now often take for granted, one can trace its roots to now-defunct programmes such as *Education for Living*.

From a healthy mind to a healthy body; in the second part of Physical Education and Sports in Singapore Schools, Wee Tong Bao discusses how the implementation of a sports and games curriculum in the Singapore education system has contributed to our understanding of the importance of health and wellness as well as nurtured competitive sportsmanship among the youth. Such programmes are emblematic of the persistence of certain ideals to this very day, as evidenced by the excitement generated by Singapore's hosting of the first Youth Olympic Games 2010. This interaction between Singaporean and international youth athletes has granted Singapore its greatest rewards — a sense of nationhood on the world's stage and the beginnings of an enduring relationship with the international community.

The influence that nations and their diverse systems of belief have on each other is one that is well documented in Oiyan Liu's *The Educational Movement in Early 20th Century Batavia and its Connections with Singapore and China*. In this essay, Liu expounds on the circulatory nature of teaching and learning in the context of the diasporic Chinese in the colonial and imperial port cities of the 1900s. These connections illustrate the dynamic relationship between academic, political and socio-cultural belief systems in geographically or ethnically related locations. Our awareness of the ever-shifting relationship between people, institutions and nations lends itself to the impetus for documentation, the collection of which is the heart of the National Library Board's mission.

Finally, we highlight some of the materials in the National Library's vast collection: a selection of publications relating to Dr Goh Keng Swee; and *Willis' Singapore Guide (1936)*. These collection highlights are an open invitation to you, dear readers, to come and explore the library. Perhaps within these walls you may find something which speaks to your experience of the world. the world.

Happy reading!

Ms Ngian Lek Choh
Director
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Remembering Dr Goh Keng Swee
(1918–2010)

By **Kwa Chong Guan**
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Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong declared in his eulogy at the state funeral for Dr Goh Keng Swee that "Dr Goh was one of our nation's founding fathers.... A whole generation of Singaporeans has grown up enjoying the fruits of growth and prosperity, because one of our ablest sons decided to fight for Singapore's independence, progress and future." How do we remember a founding father of a nation? Dr Goh Keng Swee left a lasting impression on everyone he encountered. But more importantly, he changed the lives of many who worked alongside him and in his public career initiated policies that have fundamentally shaped the destiny of Singapore.

Our primary memories of Dr Goh will be through an awareness and understanding of the post-World War II anti-colonialist and nationalist struggle for independence in which Dr Goh played a key, if backstage, role until 1959. Thereafter, Dr Goh is remembered as the country's economic and social architect as well as its defence strategist and one of Lee Kuan Yew's ablest and most trusted lieutenants in our narrating of what has come to be recognised as "The Singapore Story". Dr Goh's place in our writing of our history will in larger part have to be based on the public records and reports tracing the path of his career.

As a public figure, Dr Goh has left behind an extensive public record of the many policies which he initiated and that have moulded present-day Singapore. But how did he himself wish to be remembered? Publicly Dr Goh displayed no apparent interest in how history would remember him, as he was more concerned with getting things done. Moreover, unlike many other public figures in Britain, the United States or China, Dr Goh left no memoirs. However, contained within his speeches and interviews are insights into how he wished to be remembered.

The deepest recollections about Dr Goh must be the personal memories of those who had the opportunity to interact with him. At the core of these select few are the members of his immediate and extended family.

Dr Goh and Mr Lin You Eng touring the fire-ravaged Kampong Tiong Bahru area immediately after the disaster in 1961.
Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

In contrast to their personal memories of Dr Goh as a family man are the more public reminiscences of his friends and colleagues. Many of these memories have become part of the social memory of the institutions that Dr Goh was at the helm of during the course of his career in public service.

FROM THE OPEN PUBLIC RECORDS

Dr Goh's public career is amply documented in the open public records. His accomplishments after assuming office as Singapore's first Minister for Finance in 1959 were also recorded comprehensively. His pronouncements as a Member of Parliament for Kreta Ayer Constituency from 1959 to 1984 are contained in Hansard. His policy statements during his various tenures as Minister of Finance, Defence and Education are necessary reading for an appreciation of Dr Goh's analyses of the challenges he perceived as

Then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew with Dr Goh and members of the opposition parties taking part in a radio Singapore forum on merger referendum, 1962.
Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

confronting Singapore and his arguments to support his views. Dr Goh's policy pronouncements are essential for any assessment of his contribution to the making of government policy. But this is not what most people will recall or identify him with. The proceedings of Parliament that are transcribed in Hansard do not make for enthralling reading. Neither the *Report on the Ministry of Education 1978*, issued by Dr Goh and his Education Study Team in 1979, nor Dr Goh's earlier 215-page 1956 *Urban Income and Housing: A Report on the Social Survey of Singapore 1953–54* make easy reading. Different remembrances of Dr Goh emerge depending largely upon which of the open public records one chooses to read and emphasise and how critically and closely one examines the record for what it reveals or does not reveal.

However, many of the official public records of Dr Goh's contributions to policy making remain classified. These are the Cabinet papers that were tabled in his name or which he initiated. A deeper understanding of Dr Goh's role as a major policy maker who shaped post-1965 Singapore would be possible if these very significant Cabinet memoranda were to be declassified and made available for public consultation.

In the absence of any indication that the archival records of the major policy decisions and their implementation are being made public, we are left with only the recollections of those who helped Dr Goh draft these memoranda or who were at the receiving end of his file notes and minutes. S. Dhanabalan recalls one such memorandum that he was involved in drafting in 1960 when he was a rookie at the Singapore Industrial Promotion Board (SIPB). Dr Goh had assigned him the task of drafting the covering memorandum to seek Cabinet approval for the establishment of an "Economic Development Board", as Dr Goh coined it. As Dhanabalan recalls,

> "I spent an entire evening at home thinking about and drafting out the paper. It set out compelling arguments to explain the economic rationale for industrialisation and for the establishment of the EDB and what it would do. The paper came up to four glorious pages. I was proud of my draft and felt that this would be a historic document since it would mark an important milestone in Singapore's history. I then sent the paper to Dr Goh for clearance.
> When the paper got back to me, I discovered that Dr Goh had crossed out the entire first part of my masterpiece. That was why the paper began rather abruptly with the words: 'The EDB shall ...'" [1]

Dhanabalan's anecdote captures Dr Goh's legendary preference for short, terse and elliptical minutes and memoranda. Some of his cryptic comments in the margins of memoranda he reviewed have achieved legendary status.

FROM HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH AND POLITICAL CHANGE

The public records that refer to Dr Goh are part of a larger national archive, which documents Singapore's post-1945 and especially post-1965 development. Singapore was not expected or supposed to survive separation from the Malaysian hinterland. The fact that Singapore not only has, but even gone on to achieve global city status, has therefore become the subject of a continuing series of studies seeking to understand and explain this success. The emerging narrative explaining Singapore's success has two themes. The first is an economic theme of modernisation and growth from a 19th century colonial trading post to the post-industrial global city it is today. The second theme of political change and struggle has been well summarised by Dr Goh himself: "the power struggle waged between the leaders of the People's Action Party (PAP) and the underground Singapore City Committee of the Malayan

Communist Party. The struggle began in 1954 when the PAP was captured by its United Front Organisation virtually from the day it was founded and ended in 1963 when the stranglehold was finally broken."[2] The success in achieving the latter created the political climate for the PAP to initiate its policies for economic modernisation and growth, which ultimately led to the nation's success.

Dr Goh's contribution to laying the foundations of Singapore's economic growth through prudent public finance, export-oriented industrialisation, equitable industrial relations and entrepreneurship, and human capital development have been well documented, as has the wider relevance of Singapore's economic growth model to East Asia. The 1985 invitation he received to become an advisor to the State Council of the People's Republic of China broadens our perception of Dr Goh as an economic architect. The issue is how we will continue to remember or forget Dr Goh as we review the basics of the economic foundation he laid and decide what aspects of it we can continue to expand upon, or perhaps reconstruct, for Singapore's continuing economic growth and development in the 21st century.[3]

Dr Goh's role in Singapore's political development will probably be remembered in the context of how he was able to envision the impact that politics could have upon Singapore's economic development and how it should then be managed for economic growth. Unlike his colleagues, Dr Goh did not seem as active in the vanguard of the ideological charge against colonialism or communism. He will be remembered more as the back-room strategist, planning Singapore's long political futures to complement the economic growth he was driving. Dr Goh's rationale for joining Malaysia was largely, if not entirely, an economic imperative of a common market for Singapore's economic survival. He will now be remembered as leading the initiative for separation as it became increasingly clear that a common market in Malaysia was not going to be forthcoming.

Post 1965, Dr Goh's role broadened to include the defence and education portfolios and he displayed his versatility as not only an economic architect, but also a social architect[4] who laid the foundations of Singapore's identity as a city-state. As in the pre-1965 era, Dr Goh's capacity for the lateral thinking of Singapore's future as a city-state and its place in a tumultuous region is what many of us recall. We also remember Dr Goh's ability to go beyond solving the immediate problem of how to start-up the armed forces or restructure the education system, instead conceiving defence as more than a military issue or understanding education as being about knowledge generation rather than rote learning.

Dr Goh Keng Swee meeting 1st and 2nd Singapore Infantry Regiments, 1965. Source: Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts.

The discussion of how we are to remember Dr Goh as the economic and social architect of Singapore's transformation, as a problem solver and as Lee Kuan Yew's ablest lieutenant will continue as more information from the public records becomes available, and more importantly, as we look into Singapore's future and decide whether the policies Dr Goh put in place continue to be relevant or not. Dr Goh's speeches are also key to an understanding of what he attempted to accomplish.

FROM HIS PUBLIC SPEECHES

Dr Goh's speeches to a wide variety of audiences differ from the terse minutes and papers he drafted. As Dr Goh has noted, he and his PAP colleagues "may be the few remaining members of a vanishing breed of political leaders" who write their own speeches. In the preface to his first collection of speeches published in 1972,[5] he lay emphasis on how "we have our ideas as to how societies should be structured and how governments should be managed. We prefer to express these ideas our way. This habit of self-expression we formed during our undergraduate days…." Dr Goh explained that the intent of these speeches was to remind Singaporeans of "the riotous episodes of the past two decades" and to outline the challenges "we experienced in our quest for a decent living in a none too hospitable environment," which he compared "to the biblical journeys of the children of Israel in their search for the promised land. And like Moses, [Dr Goh and his PAP colleagues] had to explain, exhort, encourage, inform, educate, advise — and to denounce false prophets." Dr Goh published a second volume of his speeches in 1977.[6] A third volume arranged and edited by Dr Linda Low was published in 1995 and reprinted in 2004.[7]

Upon reading and re-reading Dr Goh's speeches, one arrives at rather different conclusions about the man and his legacy. In his foreword for the 2004 reprint of *The Economics of Modernization,* Professor Chua Beng Huat notes that the volume "remains one of the resources I go to whenever there is a need to find out the early thoughts behind how Singapore was organised and governed." For Professor Chua, what is amazing in a present-day reading of the old essays is their prophetic insights. For example, Dr Goh's vision of China's successful industrialisation by the 21st century and

its impact on the rest of Asia, or the fundamental role of cities in the modernisation process. Wang Gungwu in the foreword to *Wealth of East Asian Nations* "was struck ... by how the bureaucrat not only turned into a dynamic politician who tackled some daunting economic challenges but also one who could write about what was done in such a cool and scholarly manner." Dr Linda Low concurs that Dr Goh "always tries to be informative [in his speeches], and takes the time to provide the background before he rallies round to his chosen theme. Such overviews, although highly intellectual and analytical, are easily digestible and understood." Dr Low speculates that there is in Dr Goh "an instinctive urge ... to teach and inform, never really given the presence to blossom, [which] surges to the fore and makes its presence felt in his speeches." Dr Low observes that Dr Goh's speeches are a world apart from his succinct and elliptical notes and memoranda in the classified records. Through his speeches we glean a rather different impression and understanding of Dr Goh and his legacy. Re-reading Dr Goh's speeches may give us new insights into how we want to remember Dr Goh in future.

HOW DR GOH WISHED TO BE REMEMBERED

Another set of memories of Dr Goh — of how he wished to be remembered — emerge from his speeches and interviews. His choice of speeches worthy of reprint and the titles of the two volumes of his speeches provide an insight into how Dr Goh viewed himself and perhaps what he wanted to be remembered for. In the preface to the second collection of his essays, Dr Goh reiterated the metaphor of Moses: "Singapore's political leaders had often to assume the role of Moses when he led the children of Israel through the wilderness in search of the Promised Land. We had to exhort the faithful, encourage the faint-hearted and censure the ungodly."

Another recurring theme in Dr Goh's speeches is their accentuation on practice and disavowal of theory. Towards this end, Dr Goh titled his second collection of essays *The Practice of Economic Growth* to emphasise this stand. However, Dr Goh appears slightly apologetic when he then goes on to write that he has "delved more deeply into theory in chapter 7 (of *Some Unsolved Problems of Economic Growth*) than a practitioner should, the object of the exercise was to assess how far theory conforms with practice in the real world." Clearly, Dr Goh wanted to be remembered as a practitioner and not a theoretician. But that raises the question of what it was that ultimately motivated Dr Goh's practice? It was clearly not the mundane political issues of the day which drive most other politicians and Dr Goh was scornful of ideological commitment to any form of socialism.

Ironically, Dr Goh's practice was actually driven by theory. "The practitioner," Dr Goh declared, "uses economic theory only to the extent that he finds it useful in comprehending the problem at hand, so that practical courses of action will emerge which can be evaluated not merely in narrow economic cost-benefit terms but by taking into account a wider range of considerations." Thus not only chapter 7 of Dr Goh's *The Practice of Economic Growth* is concerned with economic theory, but a large number of other essays refer to Max Weber, Joseph Schumpeter or Peter Bauer at the expense of Keynesian economic theory. Dr Goh's preference of seeing the world through the spectacles of economic theory has its beginnings at the London School of Economics. In 1956, he had submitted a highly technical analysis of the problematic nature of estimating national income in underdeveloped countries, with Malaya as a case study, for his doctorate degree. Perhaps this adds to our paradoxical memory of Dr Goh — a practitioner driven not by politics or ideology, but by theory.

Dr Goh at the opening of the Singapore Zoological Gardens in 1973.
Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

How are practitioners to be judged? In Dr Goh's own words, "a practitioner is not [like the theoretician] judged by the rigour of his logic or by he elegance of his presentation. He is judged by results." By 1972, "Singaporeans knew that they could make the grade. While we had not reached the mythical Promised Land, we had not only survived our misfortunes but became stronger and wiser in the process. As a result we

came to believe we understood the formula for success, at least in the field of economic growth."

Dr Goh and his colleagues' response to separation as a Kuala Lumpur initiative gives us a glimpse of the politician as a successful practitioner. In an oral history interview with Melanie Chew for her large format book *Leaders of Singapore,*[8] Dr Goh revealed a rather different recollection of the events leading up to separation. This portion of the transcript merits quotation:

> *Melanie Chew:* When did you feel that Malaysia was going to break up? Was it a surprise to you?
>
> ***Dr Goh:*** Now I am going to let you into what has been a state secret up to now. This is a file, which I call Albatross.
>
> In the early days there were a lot of discussions about changing the terms of Malaysia by the Prime Minister, Rajaratnam, and Toh Chin Chye. It got nowhere. They discussed all types of projects. Was Singapore to be part of Malaysia, but with special powers, or with no connection with Malaysia?
>
> Now on the 20th of July 1965, I met Tun Razak and Dr Ismail. Now this is the 20th July 1965. I persuaded him that the only way out was for Singapore to secede, completely.
>
> (reading) "It should be done quickly, and before we get more involved in the Solidarity Convention."
>
> As you know, Rajaratnam and Toh Chin Chye were involved in the Solidarity Convention. Malaysia for the Malaysians, that was the cry, right?
>
> *Melanie Chew:* This Solidarity Convention, you felt, would be very dangerous?
>
> ***Dr Goh:*** No, not dangerous. I said, "You want to get Singapore out, and it must be done very quickly. And very quietly, and presented as a fait accompli."
>
> It must be kept away from the British. The British had their own policy. They wanted us to be inside Malaysia. And, they would have never agreed to Singapore leaving Malaysia. Now, the details, I won't discuss with you.
>
> *Melanie Chew:* How did Tun Razak and Dr Ismail react?
>
> ***Dr Goh:*** Oh, they themselves were in agreement with the idea. In fact, they had themselves come to the conclusion that Singapore must get out. The question was, how to get Singapore out?
>
> *Melanie Chew:* So the secession of Singapore was well planned by you and Tun Razak! It was not foisted on Singapore!
>
> ***Dr Goh:*** No, it was not.
>
> (There followed a long silence during which he slowly leafed through the secret file, Albatross. Then he shut the file, and resumed his narrative.)
> Now then, independence. The first thing an independent state must have is a defence force …

We can speculate as to why Dr Goh chose to reveal this in 1996. Was it that in 1996, when Singapore was taxiing towards economic take-off to global city status, it could finally be revealed that separation was a blessing in disguise?

National Day Parade at the Padang, 1966. Dr Goh receiving then President Yusof Ishak.
Collection of Yusof Ishak, courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

FROM THE PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF HIS PEERS

The Oral History Centre that Dr Goh was instrumental in establishing in 1979 has been systematically interviewing the political cast of characters, both PAP and non-PAP, for their memories of the political struggles in the 1950s. Not everyone who was invited by the Oral History Centre has responded positively. This is because of the subjectivity of the interview process in allowing the interviewee to determine the extent to which he would like to reveal his memories to a network of family, friends, associates and others in order to establish an archival record for posterity. Restated, the issue is not whether the interviewee is able to remember a person, but rather an ethical issue of whether the interviewee wants to remember that person and, if so, in what form.[9]

Dr Goh, Dr Toh Chin Chye and Lee Kuan Yew have complex shared memories going back to their student days in London and of the formation of the Malayan Forum, of which Tun Razak, among others, was also a member. Understanding these shared memories is critical to understanding the 'journey into nationhood' on which these men were leading Singapore. Dr Goh's PAP colleagues and staff who helped him run the Kreta Ayer Constituency and the numerous civil servants who worked under him all have complex memories associated with him. To get them to reveal these shared memories in formal oral history interviews, one assumes that each of these individuals has an inherent confidence in the relationship and its ability to withstand an ethical decision to divulge one's true sentiments about one

another and Dr Goh. Alternatively, one may suppose that such relationships have, over the years, become more distant and so revealing shared memories of these relationships is less of an ethical dilemma today.

This then is the challenge of recording oral history as narrated by Dr Goh's colleagues and staff.

CONCLUSION

Remembering Dr Goh is not an objective task of merely compiling sources from the different categories in order to derive a composite portrayal of Dr Goh that is comprehensive and as far as possible, true. Rather, it is a complex process in which the different sources interact with and impact each other. Our remembrance of Dr Goh's contributions to the making of "The Singapore Story" may evolve and change if and when the official public records are opened. Our personal memories of Dr Goh are probably the most problematic. On the one hand they are the remembrances that are most likely to change over time and become embellished with other memories and evidence with each recounting. On the other hand, they are of greater significance in helping us to gain an understanding of the finer nuances of a complex public personality than is contained within both the official public records and in Dr Goh's own recorded perceptions of himself. ■

Dr Goh chaired after a 4,413 victory at Kreta Ayer in 1963. Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

For a selection of literature on Dr Goh Keng Swee, have a look at our Collection Highlights article titled *Living Legacy: A Brief Survey of Literature on Dr Goh Keng Swee* on page 29.

ENDNOTES

1. Chan, Chin Bock, *Heart Work; Stories of how EDB steered the Singapore economy from 1961 into the 21st century* ed. Koh Buck Song (Singapore: Singapore Economic Development Board, 2002), p. 23.

2. Dr Goh, in his justification for the establishment of an Oral History Centre to interview and record personal accounts of this "largely unrecorded" fight between the PAP and the Communists, quoted in Kwa Chong Guan, "desultory reflections on the Oral History Centre at twenty-five," in Oral History Centre, *reflections and interpretations, Oral History Centre 25th anniversary publication* (Singapore: Oral History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, National Heritage Board, 2005), pp. 6-7

3 See Gavin Peebles & Peter Wilson, *Economic growth and development in Singapore; Past and future* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2002) for the outline of the issues and challenges.

4. Kwok, Kian-Woon, "The social architect: Goh Keng Swee," in Lam and Tan, eds., *Lee's Lieutenants,* pp. 45-69.

5. Goh, Keng Swee, *The economics of modernization* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish 2004; Reprint of 1972 edition), p. xi.

6. Goh, *The practice of economic growth* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2004; Reprint of 1977 edition).

7. Goh, *Wealth of East Asian nations,* arranged & edited by Linda Low (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2004)

8. Chew, Melanie. *Leaders of Singapore* (Singapore: Resource Press, 1996). The book is a series of 38 life histories of persons Melanie Chew considers to have led Singapore in the post-1945 years. Most of the life histories are reflected as transcripts of oral history interviews with the leaders themselves, except for four early leaders who had passed on. As such, their life histories were reconstructed from interviews with those who knew them.

9. In this context, what we are reading in Chew's transcript of her interview with Dr Goh is not Dr Goh's inability to recall what happened in the weeks leading up to 9 August 1965, but a sieving and shifting of his memories to make moral choices and political judgments of what he believes should be revealed for a revision of Singapore's history. Lee Kuan Yew in his memoirs and funeral oration for Dr Goh also recalls that he, Dr Goh and Tun Razak were key actors in the move to separate Singapore from Malaysia. In doing this, Lee is also reshaping and reworking his memories from his present vantage point.
The oral history interview is therefore not a passive retrieval of information from the interviewee's memory, but an active process of challenging the interviewee to review, and if necessary, reconfigure his memories of his past from the vantage point of his present.

Education for Living:

Epitome of Civics Education?

By **Chia Yeow Tong**
Lee Kong Chian
Research Fellow (2010)
National Library

Forging a sense of national identity has always been high on the agenda of the Singapore Government. Ever since the country's independence, various civics and citizenship education programmes have been set in motion, only to be subsequently discontinued and replaced with other initiatives. Education for Living (EFL) was regarded as the de facto civics education programme in 1970s Singapore. We look at the reasons that led to the emergence of the programme and why it was abandoned.

ADVENT OF EFL

Developed for the purpose of imparting social and moral education, EFL integrated Civics with History and Geography. This was considered necessary to "help pupils to understand and live under the changing conditions" (Chew, 1988, p. 72; Ong, 1979, p. 2).

The objectives of EFL were as follows:

- To help pupils become aware of the purpose and importance of nation building and their duties as loyal, patriotic, responsible and law-abiding citizens.
- To enable pupils to obtain a better understanding of how [Singapore] developed and of [its] geographical environment
- To help pupils to understand and appreciate the desirable elements of Eastern and Western traditions
- To guide pupils to perceive the relationship between man and society and in turn, between society and the world, so that they would be able to live in a multi-racial and multi-cultural society in peace and harmony. (Ong, 1979, p. 3)

It is interesting to note that while the EFL syllabus aimed to introduce students to the best of Eastern and Western values, there was to be a shift in orientation towards the end of the 1970s wherein the west was demonised and the east valorised.

Students of Tanjong Rhu Integrated primary school attending an Education for Living class, 1974. Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

Like Civics, EFL was taught in the mother tongue. The government believed that "Asian moral and social values, and the attitudes such as closeness in family ties, filial duties and loyalty (could) be conveyed and understood better in Asian languages", and that pupils would become more aware of their cultural roots and develop a stronger sense of nationhood "if they knew their own language" (Gopinathan, 1991, p. 279). Christine Han (1996) challenged this assumption:

> The insistence for moral and civic values to be taught in the mother tongue raises questions, first, as to whether there is a necessary link between language and values and, second, as to whether there is a conflict between attempts to build a nation and the fostering of ethnic culture and identity through an emphasis on ethnic values and languages.[1]

Introduced to all primary schools in 1974, the instructional materials for EFL came in the form of 12 textbooks, which worked out to two textbooks per grade level, with accompanying teacher's guides. The themes covered in the syllabus included the following: our family, our life, our school, our culture, our environment, how our people earn a living, our public services, our (role) models, our society, our community, our country, our world, and our moral attitude. The chapters in the textbooks were written in the form of short passages, like previous civics textbooks, with questions for discussion at the end of each passage. Although the EFL syllabus was organised more systematically than the previous primary school civics syllabus, it covered most of the contents of the previous syllabus, including topics associated with history and geography.

Dr Lee Chiaw Meng, the Education Minister went to great lengths to explain why "the teaching of civics and moral education" was not "an examination subject". This was because "[Singapore's] examination system is … too examination-oriented. By adding another subject, we could make matters worse. They might learn it by heart without really wanting to know why certain things ought to be done" (*Parliamentary Debates*, 34, 26 March 1975: Col 1000). Moreover, the subject matter of the EFL syllabus was rather extensive since it incorporated the study of civics, history and geography.

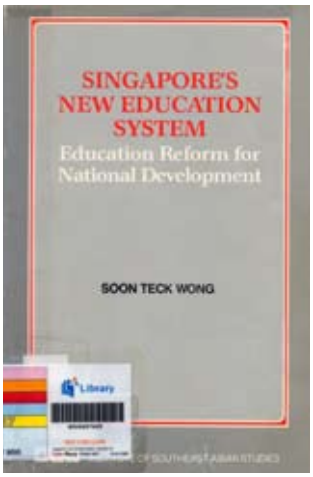
It was clear that the MOE intended EFL to be the epitome of the civics curriculum. This was clearly indicated in the MOE's Addendum to the Presidential Address at the opening of the Fourth Parliament:

> Moral and civics education is mainly taught through the subject Education for Living (which is a combination of Civics, History and Geography) in the pupils' mother tongue. The aim of the subject is to inculcate social discipline and national identity and to imbue in pupils moral and civic values (ibid., 36, 8 February 1977: Col. 40).

The addendum conveniently ignored the presence of the existing civics syllabus for secondary schools, giving the impression that the subject was only taught at the primary level.

Therefore, it came as no surprise when a Member of Parliament suggested that the MOE extend "Education for Living to the secondary schools and that the historical development of Singapore, in particular, the periods of crises and hardships be included in the curriculum … [and] should be taught as a compulsory subject in the secondary schools" (ibid., Col. 90). The Senior Minister of State for Education responded to this by stating that subjects like Civics, History and Geography assumed the role of EFL by imparting values to students at the secondary school level (ibid., 23 February 1977: Col. 390-1).

By 1976, MPs were beginning to raise concerns with EFL during the annual budget and Committee of Supply debates. Chang Hai Ding, who advocated the teaching of history in schools, while acknowledging that "[patriotism] is … included in our Education for Living" (ibid., 37, 20 March 1978: Col. 1226), argued that "the misbegotten subject *Education For Living*" was unable to inculcate patriotism amongst students (ibid., 36, 14 February 1977: Col. 68). Another MP criticised EFL for developing into "neither a civics lesson, nor an *Education for Living* lesson but in many schools, it has become a second language lesson", and called it "a failure" (ibid., 23 March 1976: Col. 830). There was a call for "*Education for Living* [to] be taught by Education-for-living teachers, not by second language teachers" (ibid., 35, 23 March 1976: Col. 821). One MP sarcastically even referred to it as "Education for the Living" (ibid., 15 March 1976: Col. 292). The Senior Minister of State for Education did not address the criticisms of EFL in his reply. He merely reiterated the aims of EFL, "to inculcate moral and ethical values in our young pupils" (ibid., 23 March 1976: Col. 855), and gave an overview of the EFL topics.



The criticisms of EFL by MPs were echoed by Leong in his study on youths in the army, where he argued that the teaching of EFL in Chinese essentially became a second-language lesson rather than a civic one. Students in the English stream of the English-medium schools would be more focused on deciphering the language rather than contemplating the message of the lesson because of their predilection towards English learning. Another reason for the ineffectiveness of the teaching of EFL in Chinese is that only teachers proficient in Chinese could teach it, which could result in the concepts of being taught within a language lesson framework instead of through a civics lesson paradigm (Leong, 1978, p. 9).[2] In short, Leong was highly critical of EFL, contending that "the explanation of aims is couched in generalities", of which "[s]ome of the generalities are nebulous in character" (ibid., p, 8).

DEMISE OF EFL AND CIVICS

Leong's criticisms of EFL found resonance with the report published by the Education Study team, more popularly known as the Goh Report, as the team was chaired by

Dr Goh Keng Swee, then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence:

> Much of the material in the EFL text books, particularly those for lower primary classes, are useful in inculcating useful attitudes such as respect for honesty, hard work, care for parents and so on. A good deal of it, however, is irrelevant and useless. Subjects such as the use of community centres, functions of government outpatient clinics are of little value in inculcating moral beliefs in children (Goh, 1979, I-5).

The Goh Report's observations on the secondary schools' civics syllabus were even more scathing:

> Much of the material taught relates to information, some useful, others of little permanent value. For instance, it seems pointless to teach secondary school children the details of the Republic's constitution, much of which is not even known to Members of Parliament. It is better that children are taught simple ideas about what a democratic state is, how it differs from other systems of Government and what the rights and responsibilities of citizens of a democratic state are (ibid.).

In 1978, the Prime Minister commissioned the Education Study Team to conduct a major review of the problems faced by Singapore's education system. A reading of Singapore's Parliamentary Hansard in the 1970s revealed that many aspects of Singapore's education system were heavily criticised by the MPs during the annual Committee of Supply debates — the criticisms of EFL were but one of many items over which the MPs took issue with the MOE. What prompted the review was the high drop-out rate following the implementation of mandatory bilingual education, which the Goh Report termed as "educational wastage". The major recommendation of the study team was the streaming of students at the Primary Three level according to English language ability. This was to have major implications on Singapore's educational landscape in the years to come. The resultant education structure was referred to as the "New Education System".[3]

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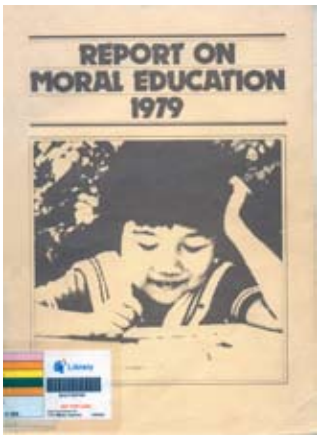
While the Goh Report commented on EFL and the civics syllabus, the teaching of civics was not the primary focus of the Education Study Team. The Prime Minister's open letter to the Education Study Team, which was published in the Goh Report, reflected his thinking on the role of education in general, and on civics and citizenship education in particular. In his letter, the Prime Minister pointed out that he Goh Report did not touch upon moral and civics education. He regarded a good citizen to be "guided by moral principles" and imbued with "basic common norms of social behaviour, social values, and moral precepts which make up the rounded Singaporeans of tomorrow" (Goh, 1979, pp. iv-v). Thus, "[t]he best features of our different ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups must be retained…. No child should leave school after 9 years without having the 'soft-ware' of his culture programmed into his sub-conscious" (ibid., p. v). This is reminiscent of a speech he delivered in November 1966 where he decried the lack of social and civic responsibility in school children. The Prime Minister's main concern was evidently based on the importance of instilling a sound moral upbringing in students, and not so much on teaching the theoretical aspects of civics and democratic values. Moreover, he apparently found the existing civics education programmes wanting in the teaching of moral values.



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In response to the Prime Minister's concerns on moral education, in October 1978, the Deputy Prime Minister appointed Mr Ong Teng Cheong, the Minister for Communications and Acting Minister for Culture, to head a team of parliamentarians to "examine the existing moral education programme in schools" (Ong, 1979, p. i). The objectives of this Committee were as follows:

- To identify the weakness and strengths of the existing moral education programmes in schools.
- To make recommendations on the content of moral education programmes and teaching methods to be used in both primary and secondary schools.
- To make recommendations on the selection of suitable teachers to carry out moral instructions in schools (ibid., p. 1).

Unlike the Education Study team, which had no terms of reference, the Moral Education Committee had specific guidelines. First, it had to determine the best ways in which to instill within students desirable moral values (honesty, industry, respect for family, cleanliness and thrift). Next, it had to reassess the existing Education for Living Program in primary schools and the Civics syllabus in secondary schools. The Committee also had to make recommendations on how to select teachers who could teach the moral education program in schools (ibid.).

In July 1979, the Moral Education Committee released its report, popularly referred to as the Ong Teng Cheong Report or Ong Report. The report observed that "Civics

Press Conference on Moral Education, 1972.
Collection of Ong Teng Cheong, courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

and EFL are two different and distinct programmes handled by two different subject committees", resulting in a lack of continuity and reinforcement of "the inculcation of desirable moral and social attitudes in Primary and Secondary Schools" (Ong, 1979, p. 4). This was because "each committee works on its own, each with a different approach and emphasis" (ibid.).

The Moral Education Committee found the EFL syllabus to be "on the whole quite appropriate and acceptable", apart from these shortcomings:

- Since EFL combines the teaching of Civics, History and Geography, some of the so-called social studies topics and concepts such as the public services and the history and geography of Singapore are irrelevant to moral instruction.
- There is not sufficient emphasis on the more important moral concepts and values.
- Some of the moral concepts dealt with at the lower primary level such as concepts of "love for the school", "service" and "duty", are highly abstract and may pose difficulties for the six-year olds conceptually. They should be deferred to a later stage.
- It was also too early to introduce situations involving moral conflict situations at the primary school level in the manner adopted in the EFL textbooks. It will probably be more effective to tell stories of particular instances of moral conflicts with particular solution or solutions, leaving generalisations to a later stage in the child's intellectual development (ibid., pp. 4–5).

With regard to the EFL textbooks, the committee found that at the lower primary level, EFL textbooks are adequate, although some lessons ought to be replaced with more suitable ones. In particular, more lessons in the form of traditional stories or well-known folk tales should be included in the text to convey the desired moral values and concepts. At the upper primary level, the textbooks are dull and unimaginative, and it is doubtful that they can arouse the interest of the pupils. The link between the moral concepts being conveyed and their relevance in terms of the pupils' experience is tenuous (ibid., p. 5).

Like the Goh Report, the Ong Report was more critical of the secondary schools' civics syllabus:

- It has insufficient content on the teaching of moral values. It includes too many varied subjects which have little or nothing to do with morality … unnecessarily detailed descriptions of trivial topics tend to take up an inordinate amount of time at the expense of other more important areas … key issues such as good citizenry, the need for national service and the inculcation of desirable moral values are not given sufficient coverage and emphasis.

- The subjects and topics are repeated at each level from secondary one to four without any substantial changes or graduation of depth of treatment. This makes the lessons uninteresting and boring … .
- Some subjects are far too advanced and are therefore beyond the comprehension of the students, e.g. topics like the constitution, legislation and international relations (which are introduced as early as Secondary one and two) (ibid., p. 4).

As for the Civics textbooks, they were found to be "generally dull and somewhat factual and dogmatic … . There is also insufficient illustration of the desired moral values … through the use of stories … . Where this is done, it is … boring and unimaginative" (ibid., p. 5).

In short, the Ong Report criticised "[t]he present moral education programme [to be] inadequate and ineffective, particularly in the case of the Civics programme in the secondary schools" (ibid., p. 8). The only saving grace lay with the objectives for EFL and Civics, which were deemed "appropriate and relevant" (ibid., p. 4). In the light of the strong criticisms from the Moral Education Committee, its recommendation came as no surprise:

> It is recommended that the present EFL and Civics programme be scrapped and replaced by one single programme covering both the primary and secondary levels under the charge of a single subject standing committee. The subject should be called "Moral Education" and it should confine itself to moral education and discipline training of the child (ibid., p. 8).

Thereafter, the affective aspect of civics and citizenship would be imparted by moral education, while the more cognitive domains would be covered in social studies and history.

CONCLUSION

Introduced with much promise, the EFL programme was initiated with the objective of combining history, geography and civics, in addition to imparting moral values. However, it was eventually scrapped since the government was more concerned with instilling strong moral ideals rather than offering theoretical lessons in civics and democratic values. Another reason for the programme's failure was the fact that EFL lessons were used to teach Chinese — since the booklets and the accompanying teachers' manuals were published in Chinese. EFL was the epitome of civics education in Singapore in the 1970s, but only for a very short time.

The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of Dr Ting-Hong Wong, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan, in reviewing the paper. ■

ENDNOTES

1. This assumption continues to this day. See also Bokhorst-Heng (1998)
2. Leong was examining the problems faced by the conscript soldiers, and found that the failure of bilingual education was one of the contributing factors. Leong's criticism of EFL meant also that bilingual education was not working as well as it should.
3. For an explanation of streaming and the New Education System, see Soon (1988).

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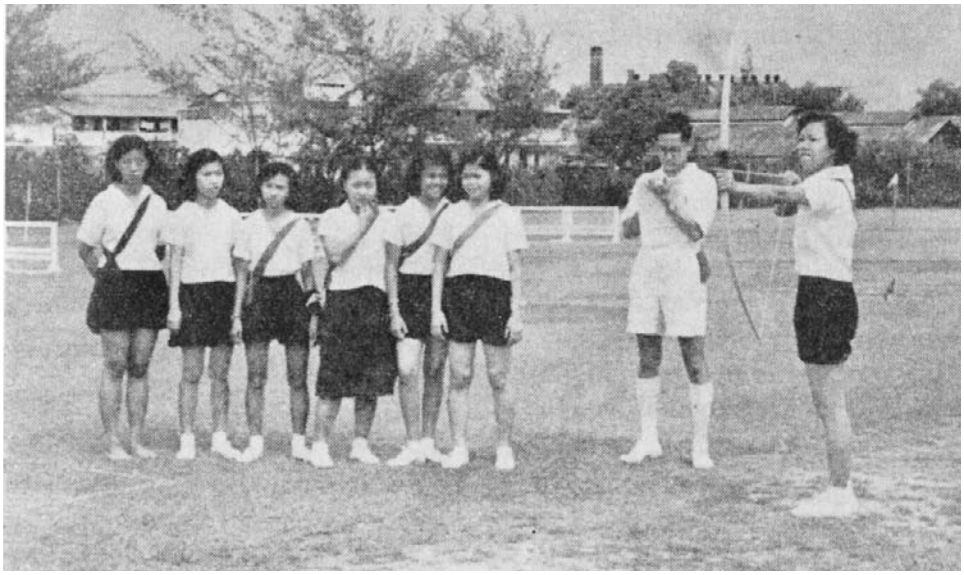
Physical Education and Sports in Singapore Schools (Part II)

Developing National Sports Talents

By **Wee Tong Bao**
Librarian
Lee Kong Chian
Reference Library
National Library

RECOVERY AND REVIVAL

The re-establishment of schools and the education system after World War II was a slow process that gradually gained momentum over time. Similarly, sporting activities in schools also took time to recover. The first part of this article, published in the July 2010 issue, discussed the creation of a national physical education curriculum. This essay will trace the journeys that schools embarked upon to re-establish inter-school sporting events, as well as comment on the initial forays into the international sporting arena.



An archery competition for girls. Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1952.

By 1947, athletic sports started again in schools — "[s]ixteen English schools held School Sports and more than 2,000 pupils from English, Malay and Chinese schools took part in various inter-school competitions" (AR, 1947, p. 62). By 1950, the number of schools holding sports meets increased to 43 (AR, 1950, p. 86), involving all Government and aided schools (37) (ibid., p. 89). From 1953, other inter-school competitions were added to the schools sports calendars. There were the inter-school Chinese swimming championships and inter-school football, swimming, athletics and netball competitions for the junior schools (AR, 1953, p. 51). By 1957, the Malay Schools Sports Council also organised the first annual inter-school netball for Malay schools. Around that period, the Singapore Combined Schools Sports Council (primary and secondary) also organised inter-district competitions, providing students with another arena to compete in besides the inter-school sport meets.

Malay girls practising netball during PE (physical education) lesson. Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1946.

The participation of students in events organised outside Singapore was part of the recovery and revival of sports in schools. After excelling at the school level, students went on to compete in national and regional arenas. In 1950, two girls from Chinese schools represented Singapore at the Malayan Amateur Athletic Championships (AR, 1950, p. 89). Another student from a girls' school was the Singapore Women's Badminton Champion for 1950 (ibid., p. 89). Such participation was repeated the following year, and more achievements in other areas were added. The Education

High jump championship meet at National Stadium, 1975.
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Track and field championship meet at National Stadium, 1975.
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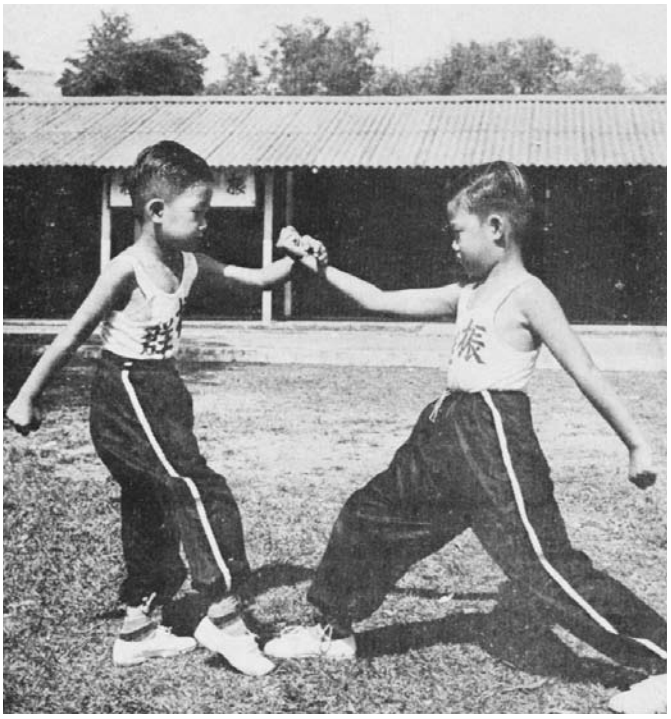
Department proudly noted that "a schoolboy swimmer holds four Colony swimming records." At the 1951 Malayan Athletic Championships in Kuala Lumpur, senior pupils from Singapore schools won five events and created three Malayan records (AR, 1951, p. 89). The best athletes from Singapore Chinese schools also competed against their Malayan counterparts in the Malayan Chinese Athletic Championship Meeting.

Outstanding students went on to pit their skills against the best on the international stage. In 1953, the Colony boxing team that competed in Western Australia included ten boxers from Singapore schools (SSAR, 1953, p. 51). Singapore secondary school students also made their presence felt during the Asian Games held in Djakarta (present-day Jakarta) in August 1962 (the Asian Games was inaugurated in 1949). And at the 6th South East Asian And Peninsular Games (SEAP) in 1965, 18 out of 24 of Singapore's gold medals were won by swimmers — one of whom was 11 year-old Patricia Chan — dubbed "Singapore's Princesses of the Pool". (AR, 1965, p. 10, "Golden Girl Patricia!", *The Straits Times*, 17 Dec 1965, p. 24). At the international level, the Singapore contingent for the 1952 Olympic Games in Helsinki included three students from Singapore schools — a swimmer, a weightlifter and a female athlete (AR, 1952, p. 54).[1] During the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, another six students represented Singapore.



Two students practising self-defence.
Source: Ministry of Education, Triennial Survey, 1955–57.

RAISING THE STANDARDS OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The attainment of self-rule and independence also meant that a national curriculum for physical education that supported nation building was to become the central agenda. Just as technical education was promoted in schools to support the national industrialisation initiative, a structured physical education syllabus was conceived for the purpose of developing a robust nation.

Examples of the national physical education syllabus that are available at the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library collection include *Free Hand Exercise for Primary Schools* (1961) and *Syllabus for Physical Education in Secondary Schools* (1961). In the latter publication, the introduction states "this is a syllabus of Physical Education common for Malay, Chinese, English and Tamil Secondary Schools in Singapore." Such standardisation could also be observed in the *Syllabus & Guidelines for Physical Education Primary 1 and 2* (1971), *Syllabus & Guidelines for Physical Education Primary 3 and 4* (1971).

Training sessions and seminars were conducted to assist the teachers in keeping up with the latest syllabus. As two distinct language systems still existed in Singapore at that time, the Ministry of Education organised a "Chinese Schools Women Teachers Physical Education Training

Souvenir publications for annual athletic championships.
All rights reserved, Singapore Combined Secondary Schools' Sports Council, 1965–1968.

Class" in 1962 with the objective of standardising teaching in all primary schools. The first class saw a total of 500 teachers from 180 Chinese-medium schools participating (*Singapore Women Physical Education Teachers Society,* 1983, p. 29). At the suggestion of the then Minister for Education, Ong Pang Boon, to allow female teachers from non-Chinese-medium schools to benefit from such training as well, the organisation changed its name to the "Singapore Women Physical Education Teachers Society" in 1968.

To enable physical education specialists and administrators to share notes and learn from each other, the Singapore Sports Council (later also partnering with the Singapore Physical Education Association) organised annual seminars from 1974 onwards (*SPEA News*, May 1994, p. 2). For the subsequent seminars, specific themes were set to give focus and enhance learning. For example — 1976: Towards More Meaningful Physical Education; 1977: National Fitness Through Physical Education and Sports; 1978: Innovations in Physical Education; 1979: Physical Fitness Testing in ASEAN Schools; 1980: Trends in Coaching.

This series of seminars led to the genesis of the Singapore Physical Education Association. After the first seminar, many participants suggested forming an association to "encourage and campaign for higher standards of … physical education" among other objectives (*SPEA*, May 1994, p. 2). A Pro-term Committee was formed and the inaugural meeting of the Association took place on 19 July 1975 (*SPEA News*, May 1994, p. 2). As part of the wider effort to promote sporting activities, it was no coincidence that the Ministry of Education started the National Fitness Award in the 1980s.

ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF SPORTS AGENCIES

The achievements in sports competitions and higher standards in physical education would not have been possible without the developments in the administrative structures. The English, Malay and Chinese Schools Sports Councils were already formed before World War II. On 20 May 1947, more than fifty representatives from various sporting associations in Singapore met to deliberate on the founding of a Singapore Olympic and Sports Council (SOSC) (*The Straits Times*, 21 May 1947, p. 8). The Singapore Olympic and Sports Council was officially formed on 27 May 1947 ("Olympic Council is Formed Today", *The Straits Times*, 27 May 1947, p. 12). This was Singapore's first step towards participating in the Olympics.

In 1957, the Indian Schools Sports Council was finally established (AR, 1955–57, p. 34). Immediately, the Council planned the first Inter-Indian Schools Football Competition and the first Inter-Indian Schools Athletics Meet in 1958 (AR, 1957, p. 34). In November 1959, when the Education Advisory Council was set up (AR, 1959, p. 2), one of the standing committees formed was the Committee on Physical Education. Another milestone that occurred that year, was the founding of the Singapore Combined Schools Sports Council (SCSSC, Lembaga Sukan Sekolah-Sekolah Menengah Singapura) with Mr Joseph David, appointed as its first advisor (SSSC, *Celebrating*, p. 16).

The Singapore Combined Schools Sports Council and Singapore Primary Schools Sports Council (SPSSC) were formed in 1959 to replace all the sports councils, which had previously been organised along ethnic lines. With the combined Sports Councils, all primary schools were grouped into eight District Councils, namely, Bukit Timah, City, Geylang, McNair, Newtown, Radin Mas, Telok Kurau and Upper Serangoon (ibid.). As for the secondary schools, they were grouped into five districts: Bukit Timah, City, Katong, Pasir Panjang and Serangoon. The objective of grouping schools into districts was to allow coaches and athletes to share resources and knowledge. In 1979, the Zone Councils replaced the district system. Schools were grouped into four Zone Councils — North, South, East and West (ibid., p. 13 and p. 22). In 1982, in addition to the four Zone Councils, age-group classification was introduced to ensure a

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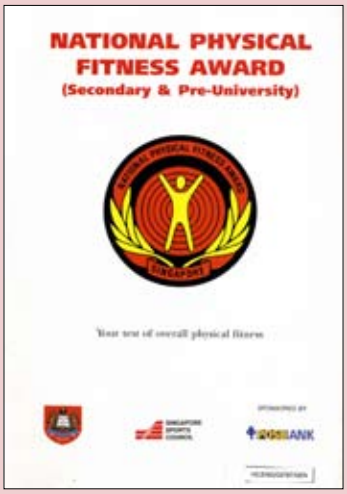


Guidelines for physical fitness scoring and award for primary, secondary & pre-university levels. All rights reserved, Singapore Sports Council, 1981.

level competing field for all athletes — A, B, and C Division (ibid., p. 13). Students between 17 and 20 years of age as of 1 January of each calendar year should compete in A Division; while those between 14 and 17 years of age compete in the B Division and lastly, those under 14 years old compete in C Division (ibid., p. 23).

The Singapore Combined Schools Sports Council also crafted full sports programmes for schools and organised inter-school competitions (AR, 1963, p. 7). In 1968, the Singapore Combined Schools Sports Council organised as many as 15 inter-school meets for secondary schools while the Singapore Primary Schools Sports Council conducted 10 inter-school championships for the primary schools (SSSC, Celebrating, p. 16). In 1970, the Singapore Combined Schools Sports Council was renamed the Singapore Schools Sports Council (ibid., p. 17).

The administration of sports in schools received a boost in 1970, when Mr Ong Pang Boon established the Extra-Curricular Activities Branch (SSSC, *Celebrating*, p. 17). In 1984, the College of Physical Education was set up to ensure that staff conducting Physical Education in schools continued to be professionally trained (ibid., p. 12). To give further emphasis to sports in schools, the Sports Excellence Assistance Programme for Schools (SEAPS) scheme was launched in 1992 and SSSC administered the scheme on behalf of the Singapore Sports Council (SSSC, *Celebrating*, p. 13 and p. 32). The Singapore Sports Council and the Ministry of Education continued to work together to improve the standard of physical education. In 2007, the two agencies collaborated on the "Sports Education Programme" (SEP) in schools (ibid., p. 42).

IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

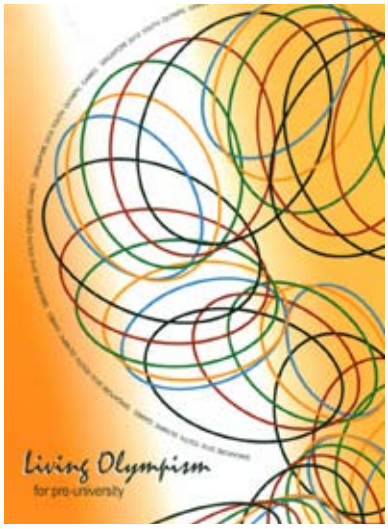
Previously, sports had been conducted as a subject or extra-curricular activity outside the core syllabus in schools. This changed when a full-fledged sports school was set up. As early as 2000, a Committee on Sporting Singapore (CoSS) was formed to "review and make strategic recommendations" (Report of the Committee on Sporting

The Singapore Sports School, a specialised independent school providing training for teenagers aspiring to be sports athletes. Courtesy of Singapore Sports School.

Singapore, 2001, p. 10) on how to further develop sports in Singapore. One of their recommendations was to set up a Sports School "to allow … those who have the inclination for and ability in sports to pursue their athletic goals without sacrificing quality academic education" (Report of the Committee on Sporting Singapore, 2001, p. 10). In April 2000, the Ministry of Community Development and Sports (MCDS) appointed a Sports School Taskforce to explore the possibility of setting up such a School (Singapore Sports School, 2004, p. 18).

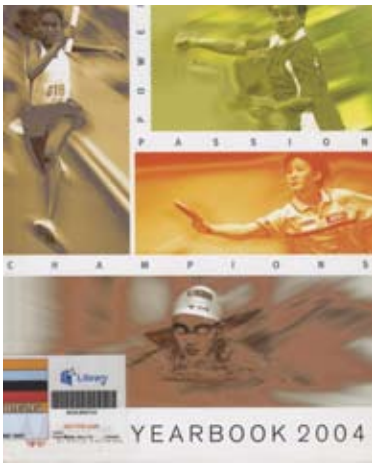
In November 2000, the Taskforce submitted a concept paper, which recommended proceeding with the setting up of a Sports School. A seven-hectare site in Woodlands was picked for the school. The groundbreaking ceremony took place on 11 November 2002. Mr Moo Soon Chong, was named the head of the Sports School in July 2002 ("PM spells out 3 sports goals", *The Straits Times,* 2 July 2001, p. 1*).* He was the principal of Anglican High before he headed the Singapore Sports School and a firm believer that "academic and sports excellence can — and indeed, should mix" ("Paper chase: Flexibility yes, compromising quality, no"*. The Straits Times,* 2 July 2001, p. 2). He retired in January 2008 ("It's Singapore 2010", *The Straits Times*, 22 February 2008, p. 1).[2] The creation of the Singapore Sports School was fully supported by the Ministry of Education, which was prepared to fund the School, as it would have any other secondary school. Further collaboration between the two ministries led to the co-organisation of the first Youth Olympic Games (YOG), held in Singapore from 14 to 26 August 2010.

As far back as mid-2007, the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports led the bid to host the first YOG. As the first Olympic games for youth athletics, it was pitched as a game "for young people, by young people" (Singapore 2010, vol. 1, p. 6). The concept that guided the design and implementation of the Games was to "stage a youth-focused Games that has Olympism at its heart, with integrated sport, educational and cultural programmes" (Singapore 2010, vol. 1, p. 3). The Games was not just for the participating youth athletes but youth in Singapore and other parts of the world (Singapore 2010, vol. 1, p. 4).



***Living Olympism for Pre-University*. All rights reserved, Ministry of Education, 2008.**

After it was announced on 21 February 2008 that Singapore had won the bid to host the first YOG, the Ministry of Education came up with Resource Packs for primary schools, secondary schools and junior colleges. Titled *Living Olympism*, these were to "connect students to the Olympic movement". (*Living Olympism,* p. 1 & "Olympic Education Programme launched", *The Straits Times*, 30 December 2008, p. B10).



Singapore Sports School Yearbook 2004. All rights reserved, Singapore Sports School, 2004.

The objective of these resource packs was to help staff and students "in the study of the history, values and traditions related to the Olympic Games". Each of these packs covered six areas, namely: History of the Olympic Movement; Olympism & Olympic Values; Well-being & Healthy Lifestyle; Social Responsibility, Involving Youth (Careers related to Sports); Sports Context (Career Management); and Risks in Sports. Some schools had in fact implemented their own Olympic education programmes even before the YOG bid was announced in July 2007 ("Getting schools involved", *The Straits Times*, 24 Feb 2008, p. 38). This purpose of these educational programmes was to encourage fair play, integrity and team spirit.

As part of the preparation for the YOG, MOE put in place initiatives for schools and students to get more involved with the event. Students were roped in as volunteers and buddies to the young athletes from the other countries. In addition, a "twinning programme", where schools were paired up with all the 205 National Olympic Committees present was initiated ("Schools on track to ensure student support for YOG", *The Straits Times*, 1 Feb 2010, p. B6).

MOE's efforts in encouraging sports and improving the standard of physical education does not stop at winning the bid to host the Games. In May this year, the ministry inaugurated a Youth Sports Conference and announced a new physical education and sports development framework that covers mass participation programmes, specialised sports programmes and talent development programmes for its students. Its mass participation programmes aim to instil knowledge and the right attitudes in students towards sports so that they will continue to lead healthy lifestyles even after they graduate. The specialised sports programmes are intended to develop students' interests in either coaching, sports science or sports administration, to which they can contribute in future. The last initiative in this framework is to groom potential sportspersons who can represent

Isabelle Li won the silver medal in the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) table tennis girls' singles final.
Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

Abdud Dayyan bin Mohamed Jaffar in action during the mixed team bronze medal archery match against Spain.
Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

Singapore's taekwondo athlete, Nurul Shafinas Abdul Rahman (right), at the semi-final match during the YOG 2010. She won a bronze medal in the girls 55kg competition.
Source: The Straits Times/The New Paper © Singapore Press Holdings Ltd. Reprinted with permission.

Singapore internationally ("Sports for youth", *The Straits Times*, 26 May 2010, p. B10).

CONCLUSION

Since the first physical education lessons were conducted in our schools, the seeds of sportsmanship and the goal of *"Citius, Altius, Fortius"* (Olympic motto in Latin, "Faster, Higher, Stronger") have been planted. The success of the bid to host the Youth Olympic Games is not solely owed to the bidding committee's efforts, nor is it merely due to Singapore's present economic political stability. The long road that Singapore has journeyed to prepare its people to earn the privilege to host the Games can be traced to the inception of sports and games in schools, and to Singaporean's determination to excel.

In the years preceding Singapore's independence, the progress of physical education and sports training in schools had been slow. It was only after independence that a national agenda made it mandatory for all schools to follow a formal Physical Education curriculum. As a result, schools became centres of sports and games development. In some instances, school teams and sportspersons also represented the country on its national team. This historical symbiotic relationship between physical education and sports training in schools, and the national sporting scene has been underscored by the Ministry of Education's involvement in the Youth Olympic Games. In this context, the National Library is privileged to have in its collection many of the curricula text and teachers' guides on Physical Education and programmes for sporting meets. Collectively, they form a documented memory of Singapore's sporting and education history.

The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of Tim Yap Fuan, Principal Librarian, Central Library, National University of Singapore, in reviewing this article. ■

ENDNOTES

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The Educational Movement in Early 20th Century Batavia

and Its Connections with Singapore and China

By **Oiyan Liu**
Lee Kong Chian
Research Fellow (2008)
National Library

"I have observed that in the near future there will spring up one new independent country, the Malay Peninsula, the Straits Settlements. The masters of this new political division will certainly be Chinese … Now is the time for you students to build up your political ability, because the future masters of the Malay Peninsula are you students of this College." [1]

The above quote is an extract from Juin Li's lecture entitled *Chinese Emigrants and their Political Ability* which was delivered at Jinan College in Nanjing, China, on 8 February 1922. Jinan, established in 1906, was the first institution for higher education that was especially opened for overseas Chinese. Functioning under China's central government, the school aimed at integrating the Chinese from Southeast Asia and trained Nanyang Chinese to become agents who would then spread China's political influence overseas. The school, which was established after the educational movements in the Dutch East Indies and British Malaya had been initiated, first approached advocates of the educational movement in Java for institutional integration. Soon thereafter, Jinan also started to recruit students from British Malaya, particularly Singapore.

In this essay, I seek to understand how movements of people, their thoughts and activities across Dutch-ruled Batavia (now Jakarta), British-ruled Singapore and China were related to one another. I analyse the circumstances under which these triangular relations intensified, and the conditions under which this process of integration weakened. More interestingly, I attempt to understand how educational exchanges mutually shaped the political visions of diasporic Chinese. This essay concentrates on the case of Batavia and examines how the educational movement of the Dutch East Indies Chinese was connected to the educational movements in Singapore and China.

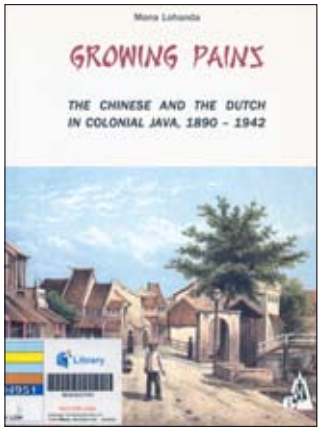
THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN BATAVIA

> "China is so much … larger than Japan! How great could we become if the great China reorganises! We could become the most powerful nation in the world, but first we need education to reach that goal." [2]

This quote is taken from the notes of L.H.W. van Sandick, an inspector at the Domestic Governance Department of the Dutch colonial government, who investigated essays that were written by students of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan school in Batavia. Dating back to 1909, this source reveals that during that period, Indies Chinese students felt that they were and wanted to be part of China. They positioned the status of China and the Chinese, including those residing overseas, and envisioned (by comparing themselves with Japan as inspiration) China becoming the most powerful entity in the world through education.

The movement for modern Chinese education in Batavia started at the turn of the 20th century when Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (中華會館; hereafter THHK), the first pan-Chinese association in the Indonesian archipelago was established in 1900 and opened its school named the "Tiong Hoa Hak Tong" (中華學堂). Founding members included Lee Hin Lin, Tan Kim Sun, Lie Kim Hok, and Phao Keng Hek.[3] The school was funded with an annual support of 3,000 guilders from the Chinese Council, and aimed to provide free education for all children of Chinese descent.[4]

While some studies claim that THHK's educational programme was meant to reform outdated practices within the Chinese community,[5] I believe that the educational movement should be considered a public reaction of the local Chinese towards anti-Chinese colonial policies of the time.[6] Under the new state policy, the Dutch provided education and subsidies for indigenous inhabitants but with the exception of a few Indies Peranakan Chinese, they continued to deny education to the Chinese communities. Criticising the Dutch government for not providing widespread education for children of Chinese descent, THHK made use of funds that had been self-generated by the local Chinese as a political tool to fight for equal rights under the Dutch colonial administration.



THHK was the first Chinese educational institution in Java that raised worries among the Dutch. The association played

an important role in stimulating the educational concerns and political movement in Java.[7] In his pertinent essay *What is a Chinese Movement* written in 1911, Dutch lawyer Fromberg observed that local Chinese desired equal education, equal treatment among races, and equal law in Java.[8] Indies Chinese took the case of Japan as an example to evaluate their own position. It was believed that based on ethnic backgrounds, the Japanese in the Indies should belong to the racial category of "Foreign Orientals" (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*). However, in the late 1890s, the Japanese, as the only Asiatic community that was granted the same judicial status as Europeans, were incorporated in the category of "Europeans" in the Dutch census. It can, therefore, be inferred that "colour" was not the most important parameter for defining "race". Instead, it was the "civilised status" that formed the criterion for racial categorisation. Looking at the Japanese as an example, Indies Chinese believed that education would improve the political outlook for the Chinese in Java in the long run. Hence, even without the support of the Dutch government for education, the Chinese in Java took the initiative to establish their own school which allowed all Chinese children of various social classes to attend.

The first pan-Chinese association, Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan.
Image reproduced from *Yindunixia Huaqiaoshi.*

THE SINGAPORE CONNECTION

It was the educational movements in Singapore and China that had an impact on the shaping of Java's educational movement, which was initiated by the Indies Chinese. Singapore, in particular, played an important role in framing the educational system of THHK in its initial stages. Straits Chinese representatives visited schools in Java regularly and the Chinese in Java declared that "they derived the germ of their ideas on [education] from Singapore."[9] Lim Boon Keng, who started promoting modern Chinese education during the Confucian revival movement in the Straits Settlements at the end of the 19th century, played an important role in the initial stages of the educational movement in Java.[10] A report shows that Lim Boon Keng appointed THHK's first principal.[11] He also appointed a teacher for THHK.[12]

In 1902, on the occasion of celebrating the anniversary of the THHK school, *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, edited by Lim Boon Keng and Song Ong Siang, acknowledged THHK's contribution in awakening the Indies Chinese and praised the spirit of reform in the Dutch East Indies.[13] Although not explicitly stated in published matters, connections between pioneering leaders of the educational movements in the Straits Settlements and the Dutch East Indies proved that both movements were connected. Soon after THHK's foundation, the association extended its reach to Batavia with the institutionalisation of the English school called Yale Institute. Yale Institute was supervised by the THHK, but founded by Lee Teng-Hwee, a Batavia-born Peranakan Chinese who had started an English school in Penang with Lim Boon Keng after his studies at the Anglo-Chinese School in Singapore.[14]

The Dutch colonial government suspected that their subjects, through their connections with the Straits Chinese, would become more supportive of British rule. They were particularly threatened by THHK's influence in fostering the idea that Dutch rule was less favourable than the governance of the British, their imperial competitor. THHK's curriculum was similar to that in schools in the Straits Settlements. These schools taught Chinese and "modern" subjects, e.g., mathematics, physics and (when funding permitted) English.[15] Initially, THHK wanted students to learn Dutch, but it soon proved to be impossible.[16] Hiring Dutch instructors was too expensive, and the Dutch government did not allow the Chinese to learn and speak Dutch because they wanted the language to be synonymous with the rulers and positions of authority.[17] The social stigma and lack of funding to learn Dutch caused THHK to teach English as a European language instead.

INTEGRATING WITH CHINA: JINAN

Connections with political activists from China such as the reformer Kang Youwei and the revolutionary Sun Yat-sen who were active in Southeast Asia further intensified the integrative process among Chinese in Singapore, Batavia and China. Ideological integration with China sprouted in Nanyang through contacts with these political exiles, but educational integration with China officially only started in 1906 when the Qing Empire established Jinan Xuetang (暨南學堂) in Nanjing. Jinan was the first school for *huaqiao* (overseas Chinese) in China, and was intended to be the highest educational institution for all overseas Chinese. Its establishment could be considered a milestone for educational integration by which the Chinese government officially reached out to Nanyang. Jinan's mission was to spread Chinese culture beyond China's territorial borders by nourishing returning *huaqiao* who would then further spread the spirit of Chinese civilisation to other places.[18]

Pioneers from Java

The first batch of students at Jinan came from Java.[19] The Qing Empire and THHK had existing educational exchanges prior to the establishment of Jinan. By way of the Department of Education, it allowed THHK to request qualified teachers with certification from China to teach in Java.[20] The THHK committee also selected students who would be sent to China.[21] In China, these students received further education under the auspices of the Chinese government. The purpose was to nourish ties of Indies born Chinese towards "the motherland", and to keep China's national

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enterprises running. The press reported that the Chinese in the Indies were "stepchildren" who were abandoned by the Dutch Indies government but who were awakened and recognised by their own father (i.e., China) who had been previously "dormant".[22] It would be incorrect, however, to assume that the Nanyang Chinese enthusiastically embraced the Chinese government. It was noted that the Indies Chinese reacted to Qing's outreach to Java with suspicion. One source reported "at first, our association [THHK] did not think of sending our kids to China, because we did not know if we could count on the Chinese state."[23] Questioning the accountability and reliability of the Qing state was understandable, for until 1893 Chinese subjects who left Qing territory without imperial approval were considered traitors of the Chinese state.[24]

On 21 February 1907, the first 21 students went to Nanjing.[25] The Chinese court expanded its educational integration with other Chinese communities in maritime Southeast Asia in the second round of student recruitments. In 1908, Jinan recruited 38 students from Java and 54 students from Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Penang. From 1908 onwards, the Qing regime requested that 45 Straits Chinese be sent to Jinan annually.[26] The first students from Singapore include Lee Kong Chian, who had studied at Jinan for two years before furthering his studies at Qinghua Xuetang.[27] Based on the curricula of Jinan, it can be concluded that the school not only aimed at nourishing national consciousness, but also training students to become leaders in the fields of finance, commerce and education — fields that were considered crucial by both China and Nanyang Chinese in order to compete with the Western imperial powers.

Jinan: 1917–late 1920s

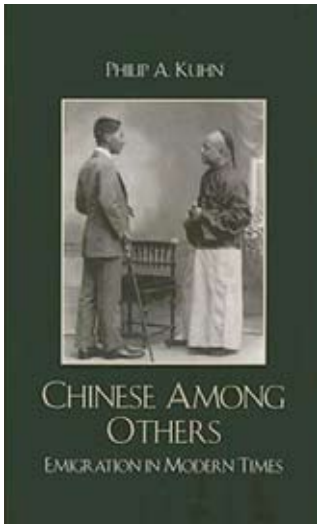
Jinan closed down after the fall of the Qing Empire but reopened in 1917.[28] After its reopening, the school increasingly modelled its curricula to meet the requirements of both the Nanyang Chinese as well as "national needs". During its foundational years, Jinan focused on stimulating nationalistic sentiments. Throughout this period, the school concentrated on equipping students with skills that were needed to prosper in commerce and trade. Although teaching students professional skills was ostensibly a primary role, there was a persistent aim of inculcilating in them a love for "the motherland" (i.e. China). Besides professional skills, Jinan incorporated the national ideology (Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People*) in courses concerning racial issues in its curricula.[29]

Despite the increasing integration with the Nanyang Chinese, Jinan's aim to become a centralising force for all schools in Nanyang did not go smoothly. In 1930, Liu Shimu, an administrator at Jinan and previous principal of a Chinese school in Dutch-ruled Sumatra, felt that *huaqiao* education was not well-coordinated or unified. Liu Shimu believed that self-government of schools in Nanyang obstructed the integration of Nanyang with China. Other factors that caused problems were lack of facilities, insufficient financial means and the presence of unqualified teachers.[30]

COLONIAL PARANOIA AND COUNTER-INTEGRATIVE POLICIES

Although organisational problems and the increasing desire for autonomy among overseas Chinese obstructed China's centralisation project, according to Chinese authorities, integration was mainly hampered by colonial forces. Since the establishment of Republican China, colonial forces had been enforcing stricter measures on educational bodies located in their territories. In the Straits Settlements, for instance, the British Legislative Council launched an education bill for the first time on 31 May 1920. The bill gave the British government official control over Chinese schools. Schools were allowed to continue functioning, but they were obliged to remove their political ambitions and curricula that contained any Chinese nationalistic content.[31]

The Dutch implemented counter-integrative measures a decade earlier than the British. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Dutch were already aware of the political indoctrination of the Indies Chinese through their connections with the Straits Chinese and Jinan. In 1909, Van Sandick reported that "[t]he most pressing issue of this private education [i.e., THHK] for Chinese children is not the instruction of the mandarin-language, not history, nor geography, but *ideas*. Ideas that indoctrinated into the mind of the Chinese youth."[32] The spread of ideas was described as the "yellow peril". Borel, renowned specialist on Chinese matters in the Dutch Indies, expressed the feeling that the National Chinese Reader used in Chinese schools was completely filled with modern ideas and evoked nationalist consciousness. Yellow peril, therefore, does not refer to supremacy of military power, but refers to the threat of modern ideas. He expressed concern, and estimated that by the end of the first decade approximately 5,000 students were influenced by these ideas.[33] It was during this period that the Dutch feared losing their



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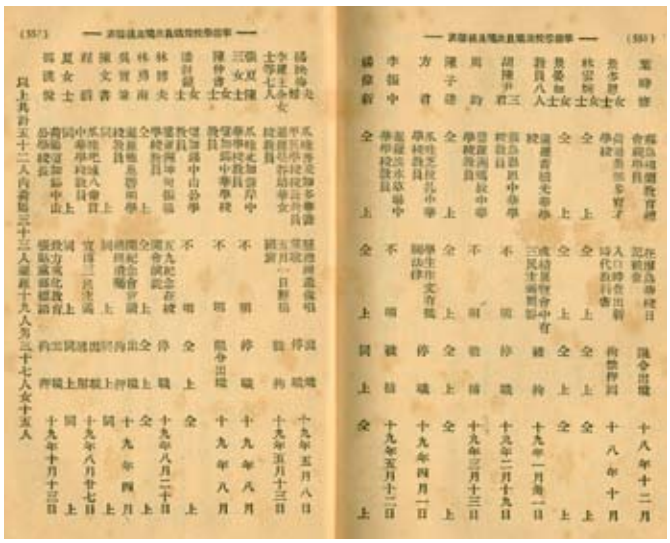
authority over the Indies Chinese. The Dutch press expressed concern that Chinese movements in the Indies would endanger Dutch sovereignty in the Indies, mainly because these movements were nurtured from outside forces, particularly from China. Some Dutch authorities suggested revising the laws to secure political legitimacy over the Chinese. The Dutch were concerned with attracting the loyalty of Chinese settlers because they were regarded as the most industrious residents in the colony.[34]

Dutch paranoia of losing its political authority over its subjects made the colonial government modify its policies. In order for the Dutch to maintain political support of the Indies Chinese settlers, the colonial government competed with the Chinese government to provide state-sponsored education. In 1908, just about one year after pioneering students from Java sailed off to Jinan, the Dutch government established the "Hollandsche Chineesche School" (HCS, Dutch Chinese School) so as to create a setback for the Indies Chinese integrative tendencies towards aligning itself with China. Dutch motives for opening HCS were to compete with THHK and the Chinese government on controlling education. HCS's curriculum aimed at "dutchifying" the Indies Chinese while THHK's curricula promoted sinification.

HCS's foundation helped roll back the integrative process with China but was never successful in completely erasing the impact of Chinese schools on the political orientation of the Indies Chinese. A report on detained and expelled instructors reveals that Dutch paranoia of the threat of Chinese schools still persisted two decades after the establishment of HCS. The document *Huaqiao xuexiao jiaozhiyuan chujing ji beibubiao* reveals that in 1929 the Dutch punished 33 instructors.[35] The list of names included mostly teachers from Java. All instructors were punished for political reasons, including teaching political ideologies (such as Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People*) and using political tutorials.

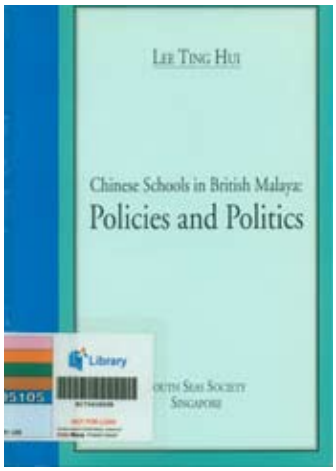


List of names, dates, and reasons of teachers that received colonial punishments.
Source: *huaqiao xuexiao zhiyuan chujing ji beibubiao* in *Nanyang huaqiao xuexiao zhi diaocha yu tongji*, ed. Qian He.

Instructors were mostly expelled from the Indies. In a few cases instructors were detained. Others were forced to stop teaching for unclear reasons. Students were investigated as well, and in one case a teacher was forced to leave his post after it was discovered that a student wrote an essay about judicial equality.[36] These cases show that, even after two decades, the Dutch still struggled with the threat of Chinese schools in the Indies.

AMBIGUOUS MISSIONS

What caused this colonial paranoia to emerge? What visions did institutional exchanges create? In 1927, Jinan released a public announcement, which stated that it wanted to prevent any misunderstanding with the imperial powers. The school stated that its mission followed Sun Yat-sen's political framework that aimed at nourishing generations of Nanyang Chinese with good personalities, knowledge, interest and the capacity to survive. Jinan claimed that its task was to ensure that Chinese settlers and sojourners who were subject to colonial rule would obtain equal political status and economic treatment. Jinan stated: "We want to prevent misunderstanding of colonial governments, that is: we do not want them to think that Jinan's national establishment is aimed at constituting a type of statism or imperialism. We do not want colonial powers to think that we instil students with thoughts of invading territories of others. We do not want them to think that once our students graduate and return to Nanyang, they will disrupt the authority of colonial rule and stir revolutions against colonial governments with indigenous inhabitants."[37]



This document, written in Chinese, was presumably mainly targeted at Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Instead of employing nationalistic terms that Jinan used in its foundational years, Jinan now used imperialistic vocabulary and attempted to distort its imperialistic tendencies by differentiating the Chinese government from Western imperialist powers. Instead of having imperialist and nationalist ambitions, Jinan claimed that the Guomindang's goal was simply to achieve freedom and equality of China and have its *huaqiao* enjoy freedom in international settings. They urged the colonial powers to allow Chinese in Southeast Asia to manage Nanyang society in an autonomous manner.[38]

Despite attempts by the Chinese authorities to invalidate Jinan's imperialist and nationalist tendencies, British intelligence reports revealed that Jinan did stir up anti-colonialist sentiments among its students. The institution was particularly against

Britain, which was considered the greatest colonial power at the time. The British government confiscated correspondence between Nanyang and China. Secret letters from a teacher at Jinan, who previously taught in Batavia, complained that "school registration in Malaya and the 'cruel rules' of the Dutch in Java are examples of foreign oppression which will destroy the foundation of China."[39] Intelligence reports also revealed that Jinan nurtured students with visions of a future government that would be ruled by the Nanyang Chinese. On 8 February 1922, Juin Li, lecturer at Jinan University, expressed the following:

> "Look at the map of Asia; I have observed that in the near future there will spring up one new independent country, the Malay Peninsula, the Straits Settlements. The masters of this new political division will certainly be Chinese. The British power in Egypt and India is crumbling, so the tide of revolt will spread to the East, and the Malay Peninsula will be the first to catch its new influence.... I do not advise you to revolt against the British authority at once, because first you must be prepared yourself to organise a government and conduct political affairs, otherwise even if the British authority should be overthrown, you will be helpless. Now is the time for you students to build up your political ability, because the future masters of the Malay Peninsula are you students of this college." [40]

This shows that educators at Jinan encouraged and prepared its students to become pioneers of anti-colonialism in Southeast Asia. Contrary to its public claim that it did not encourage overseas Chinese to challenge colonial rule, it is evident that Jinan did stimulate anti-colonialism. By the 1920s, this institution intensified its anti-British attitudes and claimed that the Chinese were the first people that developed Malaya before the British took over. Jinan stated that "the Chinese were better off in Malaya before the English came…. We Chinese opened Malaya — it ought to be ours."[41]

In short, even though Jinan publicly claimed that unlike Western colonial powers, China did not aim at encroaching on non-Chinese territory, confidential reports show that it did hope to expand its power by integrating with the Nanyang Chinese whom they stimulated to take over the power of the colonial rulers. China's non-imperialist claim was therefore contradictory, for it hoped to gain control over territories which were not under China's sovereignty through the intervention of overseas Chinese. The colonial powers, therefore, sought ways to counter integration with Jinan, the primary institution that aimed at training students to play key roles in a Southeast Asian society that would not be ruled by the colonial powers.

CONCLUSION

This essay attempts to map out the interconnectivity among educational movements in Dutch Batavia, British Singapore and coastal China. By looking at institutional movements of people, their thoughts and activities across colonial and imperial port cities, the article offers an analysis of how educational exchanges shaped political visions. Singapore played an important role in guiding the initial stages of the movement in the Dutch Indies. Educational movements in Batavia and Singapore also helped shape the educational system for overseas Chinese in China. Jinan, the first post-primary school for overseas Chinese, was opened after the educational movements in the Dutch Indies and British Malaya had started. Jinan launched institutional integration with the Nanyang Chinese and nourished its students with visions of a greater China, anti-colonialism and a future Malaya that was ruled by people of Chinese descent. On the other hand, by attracting the support of the Nanyang Chinese, China continually changed its mission and curricula according to the needs of the Nanyang Chinese that seemed to be more concerned with obtaining more favourable professional benefits than to support China unconditionally.

This study reacts to two dominant approaches in present scholarship on the subject. It distorts the conventional perspective that the Nanyang Chinese uncritically and unconditionally supported the Chinese state. This romanticised view has been questioned by more recent studies that emphasise the autonomy of the Nanyang Chinese ambitions that were separate from China's. Moreover, it illustrates weaknesses of both unidirectional approaches mentioned above. By using Chinese, Dutch, English and Malay sources, this essay concludes that visions of diasporic Chinese were continuously shaped by the dynamic relationship between educational movements in the Dutch Indies, Straits Settlements and China. ■

The author would like to acknowledge the contributions of Professor Eric Tagliacozzo, Associate Professor, Department of History, Cornell University, USA, in reviewing this research essay.

ENDNOTES

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   Charles A. Coppel, *Studying ethnic Chinese in Indonesia,* (Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies, 2002) RCLOS English 305.89510598 COP English 305.89510598 COP

ENDNOTES

6. This is based on primary sources I used. See for instance, *The Straits Chinese Magazine,* "Chinese Schools in Java", Vol 10, no. 2 June 1906, p. 100. The article states: "The Dutch Government has been advised to grant the Chinese the privilege of forming literary societies. Their purpose is to collect funds and to bring the blessings of education within the reach of every Chinese childe, male, or female."

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Call no.: MR 301.45195105 FRO

9. "Chinese Schools in Java", *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, Vol 10, no. 2 June 1906, p. 100.

10. Yen Ching-Hwang, "The Confucian Revival Movement in Singapore and Malaya, 1899–1911", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Mar., 1976), pp. 33–57.

    Song Ong Siang, *One hundred years' history of the Chinese in Singapore,* (Singapore : University Malaya Press), pp. 235–236
    Call no: RCLOS English 959.57 SON

11. Ming Govaars-Tjia, *Dutch colonial education: the Chinese experience in Indonesia, 1900–1942,* (Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2005), p. 55

12. Sandick, p. 251.

13. "Our Batavia Letter" (written on 14 March 1902), *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 21 March 1902, p. 53.

14. Lee Teng-Hwee stayed in Batavia till 1903. He resigned on 1 May 1903, and left Batavia for the US in pursuit of a post-graduate degree in political economy at Columbia University. He was denied entry at the American border because of visa issues, and was deported to China with coolies in July 1903. He stayed in China after his deportation. See: *New York Times*, 20 July 1903, p. 1; *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 21 March 1902, p. 53.

    "Lee Teng Hui, 1872–1947" *Shijie Huaqiao Huaren Cidian* (Beijing: Beijing University Press, 1990), p. 377.
    Call no.: RCO 305.8951 DIC.

    Chua Leong Kian, "*Bendi yinghua shuyuan xiaoyou Li Denghui huiying Fudan daxue*", *Lianhe zaobao* (19 June 2008), p. 5.

    "Lee who? A Chinese intellectual worthy of study", in *Sunday Times* (22 June 2008)

15. Sandick, p. 252.

16. Before the opening of its school, *The Straits Chinese Magazine* announced that THHK-school would be offering Dutch language courses. After its establishment THHK decided to offer English courses instead of Dutch. See: *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, Vol.4, No. 16, December 1900; Vol. 6, No. 21 March 1902.

17. Fromberg (1926) p. 424.

18. 邢济众，暨南大学百年华诞，新加坡校友会六十五周年纪念特刊 (2006), p. 1.

19. Ma Xingzhong, "暨南大学與新加坡" (Jinan University and Singapore)" in新加坡暨南校友会出版委员会 ed. 暨南大学百年华诞，新加坡校友会六十五周年纪念特刊 (2006), pp. 30–33
    Call no.: RSING Chinese 378.51 JND

20. Sandick, p. 251.

21. "Our Java Letter", *The Straits Chinese Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 1, March 1907, p. 34.

22. Fromberg (1926), p. 425.

23. Sandick, p. 252.

24. For a translated section of Xue Fucheng's Proposal see Philip A. Kuhn, "Xue Fucheng's Proposal to Remove Stigma from Overseas Chinese (29 June 1893)" in *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008) pp. 241–243. Call no.: RSEA 304.80951 KUH

25. Sandick, pp. 252–253.

26. On 5 October 1908, 38 other boys from several schools in Java went to Nanjing. In 1909, the number of students from Java since the first dispatching to Jinan totalled 111. See: Sandick, pp. 252–254.

    Ma Xingzhong, "暨南大学與新加坡" (Jinan University and Singapore)" in新加坡暨南校友会出版委员会 ed. 暨南大学百年华诞，新加坡校友会六十五周年纪念特刊 (2006), pp. 30–33.
    Call no.: RSING Chinese 378.51 JND

27. Lee Kong Chian: entrepreneur, philanthropist, educator. He was head of Singapore 'Zhonghua zhongshanghui' (中華總商會) and head of 'Xingma zhonghua Shanghui lianhehui' (星馬中華商會聯合會). He was founder of certain Huaqiao schools and hospitals in Singapore. In the 1930s when Tan Kah Kee's experienced difficulties in his business, Lee Kong Chian donated money to Xiamen University. In the 1930s–40s, Lee also established many primary schools and Guoguang High School in his home province, Fujian. He established the Lee Foundation that supports education.

28. Yuan Shikai, president of republican China at the time was reluctant to re-open the school out of fear that the Guomindang opposition would thrive at Jinan where most students had participated in the 1911 Revolution.

    Lee Ting Hui, *Chinese schools in British Malaya: policies and politics,* (Singapore: South Seas Society, 2006), p. 28.
    Call no.: RSING English 371.82995105951 LEE

29. Liu Shimu (preface), (Jinan University, 1930), *Nanyang Huaqiao xuexiao zhi diaocha yu tongji* (Qian He ed), pp. 1–3.
    Call no.: MR 370.959 CNH.

    Qian He (ed.), *Nanyang Huaqiao xuexiao zhi diaocha yu tongji*, pp. 3; 570–571.
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    Call no.: MR 370.959 CNH.

31. Lee Ting Hui, "Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements 1920," pp. B78–79.

32. Sandick, p. 255. Emphasis added

33. Ibid.

34. Fromberg (1926), p. 431.

35. This report also contained information about punishments by the Siamese government. Dutch and Siamese governments punished 52 Chinese instructors, out of which 19 instructors were penalised by the Siamese government. Generally speaking, Siamese punishments were more severe than Dutch punishments. See *huaqiao xuexiao zhiyuan chujing ji beibubiao* in *Nanyang huaqiao xuexiao zhi diaocha yu tongji*, ed. Qian He. Shanghai: Shanghai Dahua yinshua gongsi, 1930.
    Call no.: MR 370.959 CNH.

36. This fascinating list releases names of detainees and "colonial violators". It also reveals the names of schools where these instructors were employed, their punishments, and reasons and dates for punishment.
Call no.: MR 370.959 CNH.

37. Cai Yuan Pei, 國立暨南學校改革計劃意見書. Minguo 16 (1927). Shanghai Archives #Q240-1-270 (7)

38. Ibid. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

39. NAS, *MBPI* (1 April 1925), pp. 22–25.

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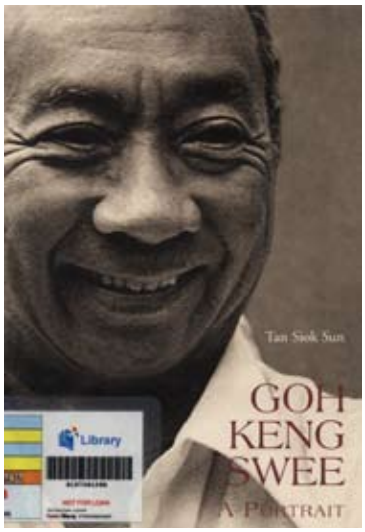
Living Legacy:

A Brief Survey of Literature on Dr Goh Keng Swee

By **Timothy Pwee**
Senior Librarian
Lee Kong Chian Reference Library
National Library

"Anybody who wants to prosper in this world must have an ambition.... Our ambition must be to make ourselves useful to our country, our people and ourselves."

(Goh Keng Swee, *My ambitions*, 1931)



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The passing of Dr Goh Keng Swee has sparked renewed interest in the wealth of literature on this renaissance man.

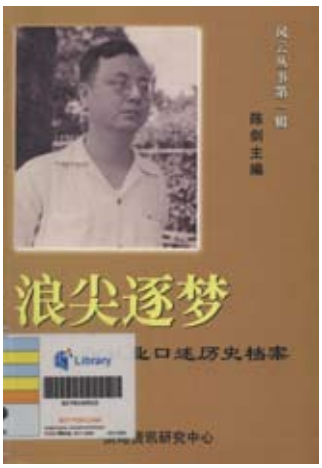
LIFE AND TIMES

To begin with, a person's autobiography would be the obvious place to look for information about a person, or failing that, a biography. In Dr Goh Keng Swee's case, although he declined to write his memoirs, his daughter-in-law, Tan Siok Sun, published a biography of him, *Goh Keng Swee: A Portrait*, back in 2007. Tan's work is a sprinkling of personal vignettes blended into a narrative tracking Goh's career as drawn largely from published sources. This is in contrast with the more journalistic style employed by Asad-ul Iqbal Latif in his 2009 biography of Lim Kim San and, on the other end of the spectrum, Joan Hon's intensely personal 1984 account of her father, Hon Sui Sen.

Another source would be the memoirs or biographies of colleagues and subordinates that mention their relationship with Dr Goh. For instance, Lee Kuan Yew's *The Singapore Story*, Ngiam's *A Mandarin and the Making of Public Policy*, Silcock's *A History of Economics Teaching & Graduates* or the recorded memories of opponents like his friend Eu Chooi Yip: *浪尖逐梦: 余柱业口述历史档案* (2006).

Virtually all histories of post-war Singapore would mention Dr Goh's role in the development of Singapore's economy and many would also cover his development of the Singapore Armed Forces. For instance, Edwin Lee's *Singapore: The Unexpected Nation* (2008) or Turnbull's *A History of Modern Singapore, 1819–2005* (3rd ed., 2009). Many works about post-war Singapore, especially those dealing with Singapore's economic development, mention Dr Goh's role as economic architect. Interestingly enough, one of the compilations about Singapore's leaders made history in its own right: Melanie Chew's *Leaders of Singapore* (1996), which contains the account of her interview with Dr Goh. In this significant account, Dr Goh revealed to her that the separation from the Federation of Malaysia was not initiated by Malaysia as was conventionally believed at the time (p. 147).

For those interested in vignettes of Dr Goh, a good place to look happens to be the various commemorative volumes published by the different organisations Dr Goh touched. A good example of this would be the civil service's commemorative volume, *Pioneers Once More* in which Philip Yeo mentions that Dr Goh, his superior, actually drafted a policy memo for



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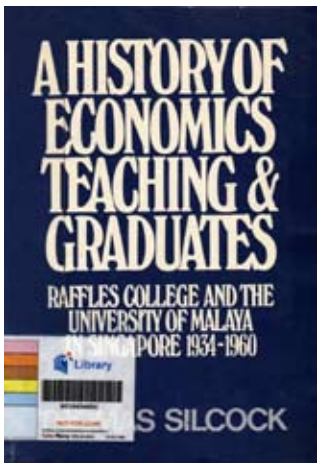

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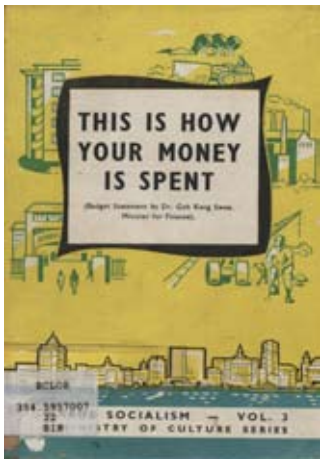
him! (Chua, 2010). ST Engineering's *UnChartered Territory* includes a section by Lai Chun Loong (Kuah, pp. 53–59), better known as the junior engineer who was summoned by Dr Goh to strip down a M16 rifle and separate locally manufactured from imported parts. On a different note, the recently published book on the PAP, *Men in White*, gives a dramatisation of the founding of the Malayan Forum.

The study of Dr Goh's ideas is just begun. One book-length work specifically on Dr Goh's ideas is Austin's *Goh Keng Swee and Southeast Asian Governance*. More comprehensive is the recent book by Dr Ooi Kee Beng, commissioned by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, *In Lieu of Ideology* (Ooi, 2010). An early work examining Dr Goh's policies was published in 1964, regarding the development of Jurong Industrial Estate: *Go-ahead at Goh's Folly: Singapore's Gamble with Industrial Expansion*.

SPEECHES AND PAPERS

Turning to Dr Goh's personal philosophy and thoughts, we can leaf through the various speeches and papers he presented over the decades. Of obvious importance would be the three published compilations, two compiled by him (*The Economics of Modernization* published in 1972 and *The Practice of Economic Growth* published in 1977), and one compiled and edited by academic Linda Low (*Wealth of East Asian Nations* published in 1995). Here one can find a general survey of the depth and breadth of his thoughts on topics ranging from communism and economic growth, to education and building up the SAF. In fact, his preface to *The Economics of Modernization* was used three decades later in 2008 by the then Executive Director of Temasek Holdings, Simon Israel, to explain the core philosophy of Temasek Holdings to an American Congressional Committee:

> "One of the tragic illusions that many countries of the Third World entertain is the notion that politicians and civil servants can successfully perform entrepreneurial functions. It is curious that, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the belief persists." (p. ix–x)



Budget statement presented by Dr Goh as Minister for Finance in 1960. All rights reserved, Ministry of Finance, 1960.

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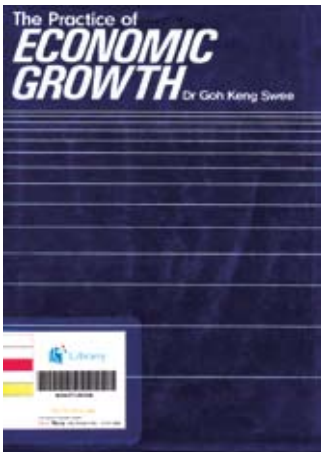

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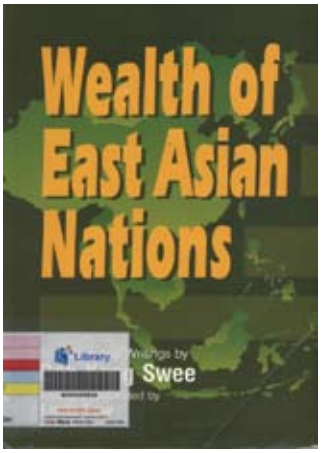

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The writing style of *The Economics of Modernization* also happens to be the most personable of the three works, perhaps because it is largely from the 1960s, when he was still largely addressing lay audiences. The second volume, *The Practice of Economic Growth*, is from the mid-70s when he was Minister of Defence while the last volume covers the late 70s to the early 90s.

Dr Goh's first official report, *Urban Incomes & Housing* (1956), was completed while he was working in the Social Welfare Department. His next was a People's Action Party policy document: *The Tasks Ahead: P.A.P.'s Five-year Plan, 1959-1964* (1959). Another significant report written by him is the *Report on the Ministry of Education 1978*. There are many more reports Dr Goh commissioned, such as the *Report on Moral Education* 1979 whose committee was headed by Ong Teng Cheong; or the 1947 *A Social Survey of Singapore* on which he was a committee member.

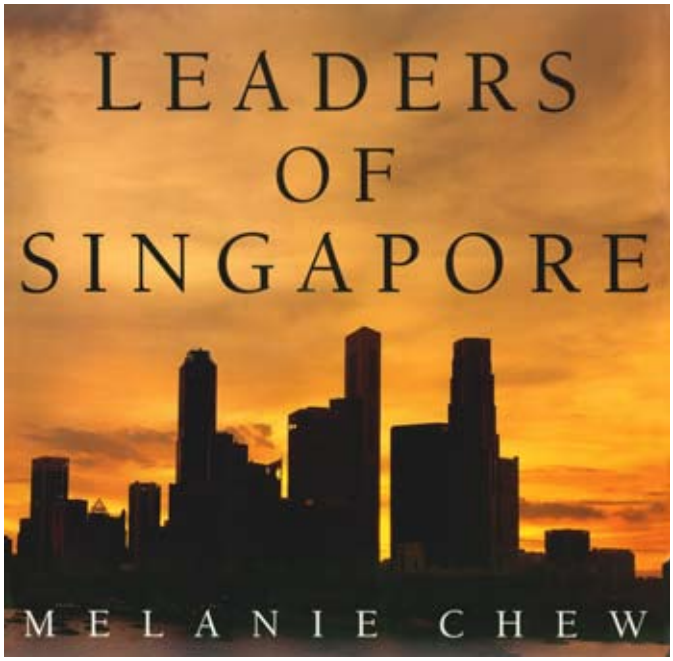
Those interested in tracing the early developments in Dr Goh's life can look to *The Economic Front*, published in 1940 just before the Japanese invasion of Malaya. This was his first academic paper (Silcock, p. 39). Another notable piece is his 1956 London School of Economics PhD thesis, *Techniques of National Income Estimation in Underdeveloped Territories, with Special Reference to Asia and Africa*. Though the original is owned by the London School

of Economics, a microfilm copy resides with the National University of Singapore Library.

However, the earliest known published work by Dr Goh comes from an earlier time: a simple essay written when he was a Standard Five Anglo-Chinese School student who wanted nothing more than "to become an engineer" because "China needs engineers, scientists, inventors and sailors badly ... to help her become one of the best nations in the world." (Goh, *My ambitions*, 1931).

Many of Dr Goh's other speeches and papers can be found on the National Archives' a2o website. Significant speeches have been published separately as is the case with many budget speeches such as his 1960 speech, descriptively titled *This is How Your Money is Spent*; or in the government publication *Speeches: A Monthly Collection of Ministerial Speeches*. His speeches in Parliament can be found within the voluminous official Parliamentary record: *Parliamentary Debates Singapore: Official Record*. One of his most interesting speeches in the *Debates* was made on 13 March 1967 during the second reading of the 1967 Bill making National Service compulsory. Unfortunately, a search of these sources has not yet uncovered the paper *Noah's Ark Progresses Through the SAF*, referred to by Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong in his eulogy at Dr Goh's state Funeral on 23 May 2010 (Lee, 2010).

In addition, the a2o website holds an extensive collection of photographs and archived material shot over the decades by State and Singapore Press Holdings photographers. These photographs show Dr Goh and his colleagues at various official and community functions over the years and are well worth perusing. In five years time, a2o will also give public access to the oral history interviews with Dr Goh. These interviews were conducted with the agreement that they would only be released five years after his passing In the meantime, researchers will have to be content with the many oral history interviews that mention Dr Goh.



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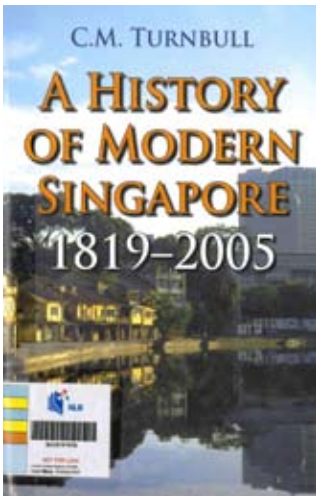

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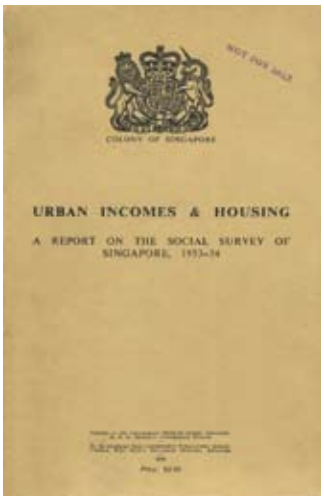

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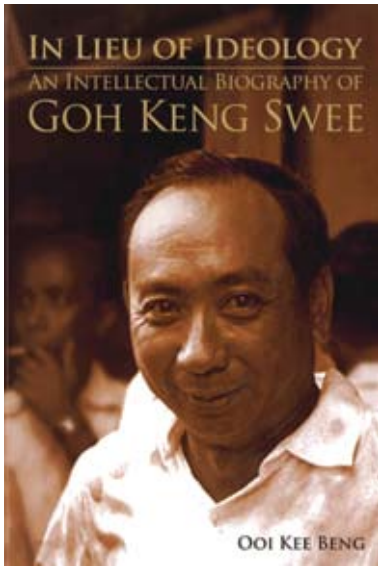
Finally, yet another significant source of information is the newspapers. The most convenient and accessible source of these happens to be The Straits Times as it has been digitised and put online by the National Library at the NewspaperSG (newspapers.nl.sg) website. However, NewspaperSG coverage ends in 2006, and the two-week-outpouring of news articles in The Straits Times starting with Dr Goh's passing on 14 May 2010 is not yet available. For that, one can either use the National Library's microfilm record of the newspapers or depend on the Factiva news database. Factiva is also useful for locating articles published in the foreign press over the past two to three decades.



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It is hoped that this brief survey of published material on Dr Goh will prove a useful starting point for researchers seeking to comprehend the legacy left by Dr Goh.

For further information or assistance, please contact the National Library's enquiry service, Reference Point (ref@nlb.gov.sg) or visit us in person at the National Library Building on Victoria Street (11th floor, 10 am to 9 pm daily).

The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of Azizah Sidek, Principal Librarian, National Library, in reviewing this article. ■

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Errata

We apologise for the following errors in BiblioAsia, Vol 6, Issue 2, July 2010.

1) **p. 13, title:** Title revised to "Physical Education and Sports in Singapore Schools (Part I) — Establishing a Strong Foundation"
2) **p. 21, 2nd last para, p. 23, fn. 10 & p. 23, reference 22:** The name "Winstead" should be spelt as "Winstedt".
3) **p. 33, para 1, line 2 should be:** "These globe-trotters … travelling as far up as Johore's plantations before proceeding to the more exotic Far East."
4) **p. 34, para 3, line 1 should be:** "When on 1 July 1896, the Federated Malay States was inaugurated with Pahang, Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan under British advisors, …."
5) **p. 44, para 2:** "ship-chandling was incorrectly reflected as "ship-handling."
6) **p. 44, 2nd last para and last line:** The publication date of Song Ong Siang's book should be 1923, instead of 1902.

Early Tourist Guidebooks: Willis' Singapore Guide (1936)

By **Bonny Tan**
Senior Librarian
Lee Kong Chian Reference Library
National Library

"There is much that is interesting, novel and exotic to be seen by the intelligent visitor…"

(Willis, 1936, p. 83)

First published in April 1934, *Willis' Singapore Guide*[1] seemed to fly off the printing press, running into three editions within the first year of its publication.[2] By its 6th edition in 1936, it had colour illustrations and was printed on art paper.[3] Its cost invariably increased from 40 cents to a dollar. Each subsequent edition offered new insights into Singapore and its way of life. The fact that it was being distributed for free to visiting merchant ships by the chaplains for The Missions to Seamen certainly helped boost its circulation. A newspaper article promised that this budget guide to Singapore will introduce the "stranger to the city … what to see, where to go, and what is more, the cheapest way to do it."[4] Certainly, its tips for budget stays, cheap travel outside Singapore and local eats made it "the answer to the tourist's desire for finding his way around town."[5] Unlike other turn of the century guides that were often targeted at the wealthy traveller, *Willis' Singapore Guide* was written especially for the well-travelled but less well-to-do sailors to the East.

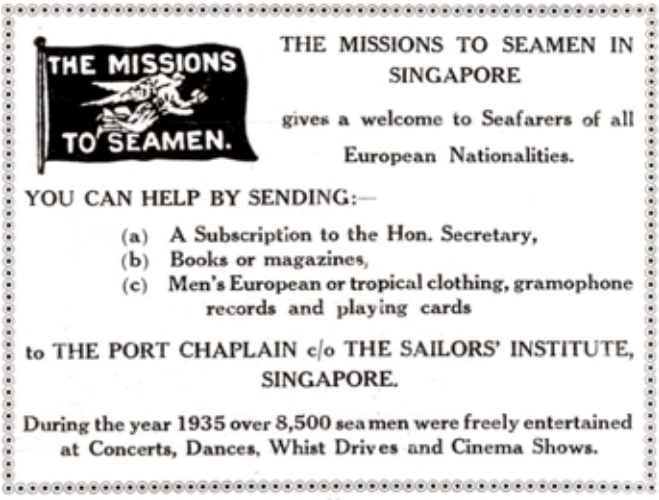
A cigarette vendor (Willis, 1936, p. 39).

THE SAILOR'S WELFARE: THE MISSIONS TO SEAMEN

In the 1930s, Singapore was already considered one of the world's largest ports with its role primarily as a clearing station. It served as an important coaling centre with nearly all of its coal used to fuel visiting ships (Willis, 1936, p. 79). Despite the large number of sailors passing through Singapore on various merchant ships, the welfare of seamen was not always a priority.

In 1926, The Missions to Seamen[6] also known as Flying Angel was established in Singapore, headed by Rev. G. G. Elliot. It sought to become a home away from home for these itinerant seamen, providing everything from a roof over one's head and a warm meal, to attending to stranded, ill or distressed sailors. John Ashley, an Anglican priest, founded the movement in 1837. When he was holidaying off Bristol, Ashley's child inquired as to who ministered to the islanders across the Bristol Channel. The question led the priest to minister to the fishermen on the island and, subsequently, to the sailors on passing ships. In 1858, an Anglican entity named The Missions to Seamen was set up through an amalgamation of various ministries to seamen in Britain. Within six months, a request was made by concerned residents in Singapore for a Chaplain to minister to the spiritual needs of passing sailors.[7] Although there were various forms of institutions and groups that served these sailors across several decades, it was more than half a century later, in 1926, when a monetary gift from a pilot's widow for a Chaplain's salary enabled The Missions to Seamen to take formal shape here.[8]

By 1935, 10,245 sailors had visited The Missions to Seamen.[9] This was because the visits The Missions made



The Missions to Seaman (Willis, 1936, p. 96).

Kota Tinggi Waterfalls (Willis, 1936, p. 156).

to ships totalled 1,310, displaying a more than three-fold increase against 1927 when only 391 ships were visited.[10] Initially, in 1927, attendance for entertainment was 1,500, but the numbers had risen to 10,245 in 1935, portraying close to a ten-fold increase.[11] In 1932, despite the world's trade being "at a phenomenally low level", the chaplain still visited 800 vessels that year.[12]

Located at the famed Sailors Institute at Connell House along Anson Road for several decades, The Missions' facilities in the 1930s included a restaurant, a cinema and even a milk bar.[13] By 1947, it had a dance floor, a reading room, a library and tennis courts. The restaurant served between 7,000 to 10,000 meals a month with a full meal priced at a humble $1.[14] Its hostel could initially accommodate 34 officers and 64 seamen, many of whom were awaiting transfers to other ships assigned to them. The hostel was so popular that by 1938, the Sailors' Institute was known as the Marine Hostel.[15] It was the activities and services that the Marine Hostel offered that kept drawing the sailors back to this, their second home. The recreational activities included not only standard games such as billiards, table tennis, draughts, darts and chess but also other activities which Rev A. V. Wardle summarises succinctly: "At the Marine Hostel officers and men could obtain board and lodging, get good meals at moderate prices, play games and write letters, attend whist drives and dances, where they meet women of their own nationality, see talkie cinema shows at least twice weekly, attend Sunday concerts where they very often hear the best talent in Singapore, and, perhaps best of all, they are certain of a warm welcome, without which bricks and mortar mean so little."[16]

THE MARINE HOSTEL'S STEWARD: A. C. WILLIS

A. C. Willis was a key anchor to this "warm welcome" in his position as Steward of the Marine Hostel and later as Assistant Superintendant. He left his personal stamp on these activities, having served at the Marine Hostel for 21 years until his death in 1951. Willis' success in entertaining the sailors was partly on account of his close identification with the needs of the sailors who visited the hostel as he had worked for more than 14 years previously with the Blue Funnel, rising to the rank of Quartermaster. "We aim to do all we can to make a man feel that this is his home while he is in port and it gives me great pleasure to do what I can for them, being an old sailor myself."[17]

Under his able and fun-loving leadership, there was a "glut of games"[18] amongst visiting seamen. Football proved especially popular with ships wiring messages prior to their arrival so they could be entered into a match.[19] He also loved his food and had prepared 75 pounds of Christmas pudding for around 300 sailors in 1949, the most Christmas pudding prepared in post-war Singapore then.[20] His only other known publication besides the Guide is a book of menus.[21]

Since Willis began work at the Marine Hostel in 1929, he had taken sailors around for tours of the city and beyond Singapore's boundaries.[22] At Johore they would visit

Baggage service advertisement (Willis, 1936, p. 156).

Sunnyside boarding house advertisement (Willis, 1936, p. 36).

pineapple farms, the Gunong Pulai water falls and Pontian Ketchil reservoir.[23] In the 1930s, sometimes as many as a few hundred sailors would take the tour organised by the Seamen's Institute.[24] For example, in 1936, Willis took 700 American sailors from the United States Asiatic Fleet on tour through Singapore and beyond to Johore, Kota Tinggi and Pelepah Valley.[25] Even as late as 1941, he accompanied sailors to Kota Tinggi where enroute, they stopped by pineapple plantations and rubber factories as well as tin mines.[26] Willis' passion and keen interest in travelling around Singapore and the Malay Peninsula gave shape to the *Guide* which he published on his own account.

A SAILOR'S INSIGHT

The guide begins with a brief historical prelude and proceeds to focus on the nuts and bolts of travel through Singapore and Malaya. Besides presenting tedious but essential details for the traveller, such as exchange rates and bank locations, Willis does offer details that are unique to the era and to the appetite of a sailor. It was, after all, written with the visiting seaman in mind, presenting the city to his interests and for his budget.

For example, he highlights the services provided and the role of the authorities that initially board the ship upon berthing. The police are the first to enter and inspect passports. They are followed by Indian money changers whom Willis suggests give better rates than those on shore. Then come hotel runners and baggage porters who offer to take one's luggage safely to one's preferred residence or hotel for a charge of merely 10 cents for each piece of luggage carried off the ship and an added 10 cents to accompany it to its destination.

Adelphi Hotel (Willis, 1936, p. 31).

Satai at the docks (Willis, 1936, p. 149)

Again, with deference to the seaman's perspective and budget, besides a listing of well-known hotels, the guide also recommends several boarding houses like Sunnyside on Oxley Road, Whitehall on Cairnhill Road and Morningside on River Valley. Advertisements of these quaint boarding houses are accompanied by photographs and further details of their proprietors and the services they provide.

A TASTE OF LOCAL CUISINE

Woven through his descriptions of places, Willis, ever the connoisseur of local cuisine, often mentions an eatery, its recommended house dishes and the restaurant's unique ambience. Raffles Place, John Little and Robinsons' were the main shopping haunts but Willis cannot resist noting that "[at] each is a comfortable lounge café, where one may indulge in tea, coffee, ices, alcoholic and other drinks in cool and restful ease. They also supply luncheons and light refreshments." (Willis, 1936, p. 85). Even describing the shops along Battery Road, Willis slips in a note on "G. H." Café, "an excellent place at which to get your luncheon and have that 'one for the road' before returning to the ship." (Willis, 1936, p. 91).

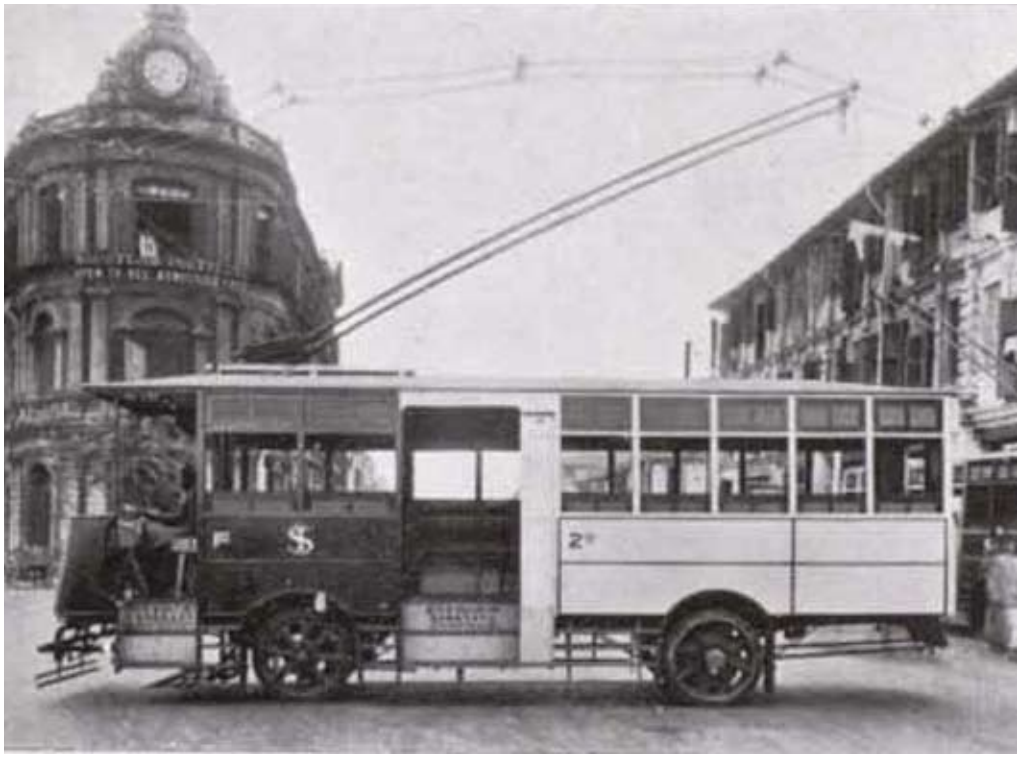
Local food is also highlighted as he recommends the Oi Mee hotel for its good Chinese dinner (Willis, 1936, p. 40).

An entire chapter is dedicated to the Satai (Satay) Club, located along Beach Road between the Singapore Drill Hall and the Marlborough Picture Theatre (Shaw Towers). That it is mentioned in Willis' 1936 guide quashes the commonly held belief that the Beach Road Satay Club was set up in post-war Singapore. This assumption may have arisen when the club relocated to Dhoby Ghaut in the 1950s because of frequent accidents occurring at the nearby Tay Koh Yat Bus Co terminus but poor business at that location led the Satay Club to return to Hai How Road (no longer in existence) where it had originally begun.[27]

California Sandwiche Shoppe advertisement (Willis, 1936, p. 46).

Borneo Motors' advertisement on the Austin Seven (Willis, 1936, p. 119).

Satay was already a popular snack, offered by itinerant vendors.[28] Willis suggests that the term "satae" and the snack itself are of Chinese origin, the term believed to mean "three pieces of meat" in a Chinese dialect (Willis, 1936, p. 145), although at the SatayClub it is mainly Malays who whip up this dish from a simple wooden box. The box carries the ingredients for the dish — sticks of partly cooked chicken, beef or mutton which are then grilled over a charcoal fire. An unending round of satay is dished out until the patron asks to stop. The top of the box is used as a tray with three stools strewn around it. Spicy sauce and a relish with onions accompany the barbecued sticks of meat. Willis gives details of how *satay* is popularly consumed by westerners in these humble circumstances. "After the cinema or when hotels are closed, it is not an uncommon sight to see European ladies and gentlemen in evening dress sitting around these 'Satai' stalls on the open road." (Willis, 1936, p. 147). "When you have finished eating, the Malay (cook) will collect the sticks which have been used, and charge you two cents for each. And when I tell you that I have known people to eat as many as forty, and even sixty sticks of Satai' — and that's a good pound of meat — at one sitting, you will understand that the dish is a popular one amongst Europeans, as well as others." (Willis, 1936, p. 148).



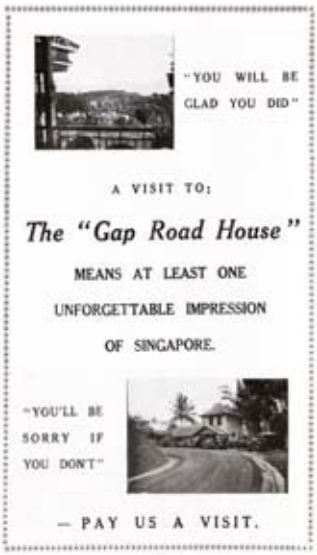
Singapore's first trolley bus in service... 1926 (Willis, 1936, p. 92)

The Singapore Zoo (Willis, 1936, p. 120).

NEGOTIATING TRAFFIC

Describing the type of vehicles in Singapore, Willis keenly observes that "there are still features in [the traffic] which distinguish us from cities such as Tokio [sic] (where the rickshaw has practically been abolished, but where the bicycle seems to do what it likes), and Peking (where the rickshaw still reigns supreme). We have not got a problem which worries Shanghai — the hand-cart menace. Neither have we much slow-moving traffic drawn by horses or bullocks. There is, however, much to look at besides motor traffic: yet in a few years all our slow-moving traffic will have gone. We shall have become like any other great modern city." (Willis, 1936, p. 110).

Unlike the orderly, controlled traffic of today, vehicles in Singapore of the 1930s wended their way through streets according to their own laws. In "places where there is no traffic control at all [y]ou will then appreciate the subtlety and the traffic sense of the Singapore driver. He seems to know instinctively what the rickshaw in front is going to do: he also knows that the wobbling fellow on the bicycle — though on the wrong side of the road — will not attempt to get on the correct side until after you have gone past. One will often think that one is going to be involved in a smash, but no smash has resulted because one's driver and the other fellow seemed to know by instinct exactly what to do."(Willis, 1936, pp. 111–112).



The Gap Road House advertisement (Willis, 1936, p. 156).

Traffic was controlled manually and it was a hot and difficult task. Willis considers how the Traffic constables coped: "You may see a bicycle laden with drinking water and the constables being refreshed there from, and you will approve of this kind thought on the part of the authorities, as one can well imagine what it must be like to stand for an hour or two in the heat of the day with motor cars dashing past one within an inch or so of one's body." (Willis, 1936, p. 113).

SINGAPORE TOURS AND SIGHTS

"A large number of people complain when they go ashore, that Singapore is an expensive place to go round. That is not altogether true; every port of the world is expensive to move about in, especially if it should happen to be your first visit." (Willis, 1936, p. 39).

In keeping with the budgetary needs of his fellow sailors, Willis advises against the norm of travelling by rental cars and taxis and instead suggests travel by trolley buses as "the cheapest way to travel about" (Willis, 1936, p. 39). Besides tramcars, Willis also believes a rickshaw ride gives a good perspective to street life in Singapore although this does not beat the advantages of walking around the city.

For the seamen keen on experiencing "a cheap, comfortable, and very convenient way of seeing a good part of the City." (Willis, 1936, p. 93), Willis promotes the tram route for No. 1 Trolleybus. The journey begins at Keppel Harbour and continues along the main line of the harbour, passing through the railway station, the Tanjong Pagar Police Station, key commercial offices such as that of F&N and Tiger Beer, and the all-important Sailors' Institute at Anson Road for these seamen tourists, before it heads down Collyer Quay past banks and offices through the Anderson Bridge past the Victoria Memorial Hall to River Valley Road. Willis draws the tourist's attention to the location of what once was the Singapore Railway Goods Terminus "long since dismantled and beyond the memory of most people. It is interesting to note that this valuable plot of land is being considered as a site for the proposed Aquarium" (Willis, 1936, p. 105). This was possibly the seed of an idea which would later become the Van Cleef Aquarium. Passing by the Tank Road Hindu Temple, which Willis calls the Chettiar Temple, he describes the "gruesome" spectacle of the annual Thaipusam in some detail, with the main attraction being a "man who trails a car behind him attached to his body by cords, on the end of which are hooks piercing the flesh." (Willis, 1936, p. 105).

Once past the Hindu Temple, Willis recommends leaving the tram car and taking a walking tour instead, past Government House and down Orchard Road. He offers few details, such as the reasonably priced yet excellent meals served at Capitol Theatre and the music shop run by D'Souza Bros, near the Adelphi Hotel, where one can find everything from gramophone records to musical instruments and even a Gents Outfitting Department (Willis, 1936, p. 107). At North Bridge Road, Willis points out Yamada and Company, a Japanese curio shop and Jhamatmal Gubamall, a popular silk shop, although High Street boasts a string of highly

recommended silk shops too. High Street also offers a good stationery shop, Mohd. Dulfakirs Stationers Shop with an excellent stock of papers and periodicals from England and America. Shahab and Co has great reptile skins while Singapore Photo Co. attends to the photographic needs of the tourist. Café de Luxe, both well-decorated and well-located, is the final rest point before hopping back onto tram car No. 1 to one's ship.

Besides this detailed tour through the town of Singapore, Willis also points to selected sites and how best to benefit from visiting them. They include the then familiar but now long forgotten locations of the 1930s such as amusement parks and Singapore's Petticoat Lane (officially known as Change Alley). He also makes mention of locations such as the Gap Road House, swimming schedules for Mount Emily Swimming Pool, and details of the Tanjong Pagar Railway Station.

Most interesting is his description of the Ponggol Zoo, also known as the Singapore Zoo, a predecessor of Singapore's famed zoo today. Interestingly, Willis had noted in a description of the Botanical Gardens that there had been animals kept at the Gardens since 1875 but this was discontinued in 1905 largely through lack of funds (Willis, 1936, p. 115). The Ponggol Zoo was started in 1928 by a Malayan, W. L. S. Basapah primarily as a holding bay for animals he had bought off trappers to sell to major animal dealers around the world.[29] Thus, "the Malayan animals collected here are still in their primitive state, and not so tame as the ones … in the Zoos [overseas]" (Willis, 1936, p. 119). In fact, much of the description of the Ponggol Zoo in the guide focuses on techniques in trapping Malayan tigers using a dog as bait.

"(The Malay trapper) has a coffin like arrangement which is made of bamboo, strung together. The dog is placed at one end, and the coffin is tilted; along comes Mr. Tiger, and tries to get at the dog; immediately he is inside the trap, it falls on him, and he is not able to get out. The falling of the trap releases the dog, which escapes to its home. The trappers then know they have a capture. This method is not always a success so far as the dog is concerned; should the Tiger arrive with any of his friends, the dog will have very little chance of getting away." (Willis, 1936, p. 120)

Solo-air advertisement (Willis, 1936, p. 72).

During the late 1930s, the Zoo rapidly increased in size and variety of animals, with animal exchanges made with zoos from Australia, the Americas and other key zoos worldwide. The animals included roaring lions, barking seals and purring panthers, and covered various kinds of birds, mammals and reptiles. The private enterprise thus transformed the muddy area of Ponggol, which was overgrown by bushes, into well-laid-out manicured gardens with a menagerie of caged animals. The zoo was a popular venue for families and visitors alike and Willis often brought his sailors on tour for a mandatory stop here. Between 1940 and 1941, *The Straits Times* published Barbara Murray's *Winkleday Adventures,* a series of imaginative animal stories set in the Ponggol Zoo.

INDUSTRIES AND INVENTIONS

Besides giving a geographical overview of Singapore city, Willis' guide also conveyed key aspects of industries that drove the Malayan economy such as rubber and other agricultural industries like rattan and pineapple canning which his tours included. There is a specific chapter titled Industries where Willis highlights unique trades and local inventions such as Solo-air.

Created by E. H. Hindmarsh, a British resident in Singapore working for the furnishing company Structures Ltd., Solo-air was reputed to cool down rooms through an innovative system of ventilation. Turning warm air into cold air, the technology was cleverly built into furnishings that emanated cool air via ducts. Thus, "instead of the fixtures tending to disfigure the beauty of interior decoration they actually contribute towards it; being set in such attractive things as flower bowls, ash stands, electric lamp shades of artistic design which can all be placed according to ones' own wish on chairs, tables, or writing desk." (Willis, 1936, p. 73). "It is 100 per cent British and a great deal of the work is done locally" (Willis, 1936, p. 73), which meant that much of the furniture created to house the system was undertaken by Singapore craftsmen and the outcome proved comparable to what was produced in England.

As a form of air-conditioning, the invention was expected to replace fans. Several homes of wealthy Europeans were fitted with the system within a year along with established institutions such as in the new Kelly and Walsh building at Raffles Place in 1935[30] and the Chief Justice's office in 1939. In the Court, jets of air were directed at the feet of the judges and barristers while each juror had his own nozzle, which he could adjust at his convenience.

NOT JUST A LOCAL GUIDE

The guide goes beyond describing Singapore and leads the visitor across the causeway for more sights and adventures. To head further north, Willis advises, "Hire a taxi, and say 'Johore' to the driver and he will proceed there straight away" (Willis, 1936, p. 47). Besides Singapore, both Johore and Malacca are also analysed. Willis outlines not only the sights to behold in both these towns but also their historical legacy stretching back to the days before colonialism left its mark.

The guide is not merely a textual description of sights but also a visual feast of life in Malaya in the 1930s, particularly

through its maps, photographs and advertisements. Willis most likely made the sketch maps of tours through the city centre. There are four sketch maps inside entitled "Singapore Docks" covering mainly Keppel Harbour, "Plan showing roads from the docks to Raffles Place", "Raffles Place", and "Shopping map" stretching from Beach Road to the beginnings of Orchard Road. They locate buildings, shops, businesses, tourist spots and places of leisure on a grid map with familiar street names helping the modern reader imagine where these buildings once stood. He also introduces sites that would possibly be of interest to the seamen, such as the Blue Funnel Club at Cantonment Road, the China and American travel services along Robinson Road and even the Kodak store located there. Willis' passion for football is evident from the various football fields around the city centre that are highlighted.

The publication also has photographs of places and peoples, capturing images of tradesmen, village and town life, and classical buildings now demolished. Although Willis does offer a standard acknowledgement, no credit is given for the photography and individual photographers are unknown. However, his concluding page indicates that the photographs can be purchased from two Japanese companies — Nakajima & Co. and Kawa Studios. The photographs demonstrate the keen eye that these Japanese had for pre-war Singapore. For illustrations, the guide proves to be a treasured showcase of merchandise, businesses and shops in pre-war Singapore. Interestingly, advertisements often mirrored Willis' text where a shop, service or invention he writes about has a parallel advertising poster printed on the next page. The guide also has an index of these business advertisements for easy reference. These may have been a clever marketing ploy Willis engaged in in order to self-publish the guide. Nevertheless, it makes the guide the perfect time capsule for an insight to businesses catering to the visitor in the 1930s. Shopfronts, long gone, have details of their services, proprietors and opening hours emblazoned in their advertisements. Long standing institutions and businesses such as John Little, Haig whisky and MPH portray art noveau perspectives of themselves in the 1930s.

The Causeway (Willis, 1936, p. 73).

Plans showing roads from the dock to Raffles Place (Willis, 1936, p. 9).

The guide continued to be published past the war period with as many as 5,000 copies published in 1949.[31] By the time Willis passed away in early 1951, he was known as "a good friend of merchant seamen passing through Singapore."[32] His legacy remains his Guide, which continues to speak to many travellers, both seamen of the past as well as today's curious time travellers. The guide is part of the Rare Book Collection and can be accessed online on Singapore Pages at http://sgebooks.nl.sg/details/020000657.html

The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of Dr Ernest C.T. Chew, Visiting Professorial Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, in reviewing this article. ■

ENDNOTES

1. Also known as the "Singapore Guide for Merchant Seamen"
2. The book was published in June, July and September of 1934
3. Notes of the day – Willis's guide. (1936, January 17). *The Straits Times*, p. 10.
4. A new guide. (1934, May 30). *The Straits Times*, p. 13.
5. Notes of the day – Willis's guide. (1936, January 17), *The Straits Times*, p. 10.
6. It was renamed The Mission to Seafarers in 2001
7. Moore, 2006, p. 2.
8. Moore, 2006, p. 3.
9. Missions to Seamen in Singapore. (1936, April 21). *The Straits Times,* p. 12.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Helping Seamen in Singapore. (1933, May 11). *The Straits Times,* p. 3.
13. Singapore's Marine Hostel. (1938, April 10). ST, p. 32.
14. Seamen's hostel is second home. (1947, January 24). *The Straits Times*, p. 5.
15. Ibid.
16. Rev A. V. Wardle as cited in Dangers faced by men of Merchant Navy. (1941, June 21). *The Straits Times*, p. 11. Also detailed in Singapore's Marine Hostel. (1938, April 10). *The Straits Times*, p. 32.
17. Seamen's hostel is second home. (1947, January 24). *The Straits Times*, p. 5.
18. Clergyman's tribute to Singapore. (1934, February 1). *The Straits Times*, p. 34.
19. Helping Seamen in Singapore. (1933, May 11). *The Straits Times,* p. 3.
20. Dutch sailors see Singapore. (1940, June 20). *The Straits Times*, p. 12.
21. Notes of the day – Willis's guide. (1936, January 17), *The Straits Times*, p. 10.
22. Dutch sailors see Singapore. (1940, June 20). *The Straits Times,* p. 12.
23. Trip to Johore. (1940, January 29). *The Straits Times*, p. 10 and The seaman's friend dies" (1951, January 20), *The Straits Times*, p. 5.
24. 250 sailors go to Kota Tinggi. (1936, November 18), *The Straits Times*, p. 12.
25. Untitled. (1936, November 25). *The Straits Times*, p. 13.
26. Singapore outing for merchant seamen, (1941, April 8), *The Straits Times*, p. 12.
27. Wong, Ah Yoke. (1997, March 9). Satay clubs in the past. *The Straits Times*, p. 6.
28. Satay hawkers were featured on local picture postcards since the early 1900s.
29. Notes of the day – the Ponggol Zoo. (1937, January 18). *The Straits Times*, p. 10.
30. Impressive new building. (1935, September 5). *The Straits Times*, p. 15.
31. The sights – for seamen. (1949, April 7). *The Straits Times*, p. 7.
32. The seaman's friend dies. (1951, January 20), *The Straits Times*, p. 5.

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2. Clergyman's tribute to Singapore. (1934, February 1). *The Straits Times*, p. 34. Microfilm no.: NL1484
3. Dangers faced by men of Merchant Navy. (1941, June 21). *The Straits Times*, p. 11. Microfilm no.: NL4411
4. Dutch sailors see Singapore. (1940, June 20). *The Straits Times*, p. 12. Microfilm no.: NL4160
5. Furnishings set high standard. (1939, August 2). *The Straits Times*, p. 4. Microfilm no.: NL1785
6. Helping Seamen in Singapore. (1933, May 11). *The Straits Times,* p. 3. Microfilm no.: NL1475
7. Housing conditions in the S. S. (1936, August 27). *The Straits Times*, p. 16. Microfilm no.: NL1514
8. Impressive new building. (1935, September 5). *The Straits Times*, p. 15. Microfilm no.: NL1503
9. The men who helped to build the new Supreme Court. (1939, August 6). *The Straits Times*, p. 8. Microfilm no.: NL2371
10. Missions to Seamen in Singapore. (1936, April 21). *The Straits Times,* p. 12. Microfilm no.: NL1510
11. Moore, M. E. (2006). *Eighty years : Caring for seafarers: The Singapore Branch of The Mission to Seafarers*. Singapore: Singapore Branch of The Mission to Seafarers Call no.: RSING 266.35957 MOO
12. Naval ratings on trip to Johore. (1940, January 29). *The Straits Times*, p. 10. Microfilm no.: NL1788
13. A new guide. (1934, May 30). *The Straits Times*, p. 13. Microfilm no.: NL1487
14. Notes of the day – the Ponggol Zoo. (1937, January 18). *The Straits Times*, p. 10. Microfilm no.: NL1519
15. Notes of the day – Willis's guide. (1936, January 17). *The Straits Times*, p. 10. Microfilm no.: NL1507
16. The seaman's friend dies. (1951, January 20). *The Straits Times*, p. 5. Microfilm no.: NL2506
17. Seamen's hostel is second home. (1947, January 24). *The Straits Times*, p. 5. Microfilm no.: NL5058
18. The sights — for seamen. (1949, April 7). *The Straits Times*, p. 7. Microfilm no.: NL2495
19. Singapore outing for merchant seamen. (1941, April 8). *The Straits Times*, p. 12. Microfilm no.: NL4164
20. Singapore's Marine Hostel. (1938, April 10). *The Straits Times*, p. 32. Microfilm no.: NL2368
21. S'pore zoo starts from scratch. (1946, October 20). *The Straits Times*, p. 5. Microfilm no.: NL2418
22. Untitled. (1936, November 25). *The Straits Times*, p. 13. Microfilm no.: NL1517
23. Willis, A. C. (1936). *Willis's Singapore guide*. Singapore: Alfred Charles Willis. Call no.: RRARE 959.57 WIL Microfilm no.: NL9039, MFC NL0044/078-079
24. Wong, A.Y. (1997, March 9). Satay clubs in the past. *The Straits Times*, p. 6. Microfilm no.: NL20164

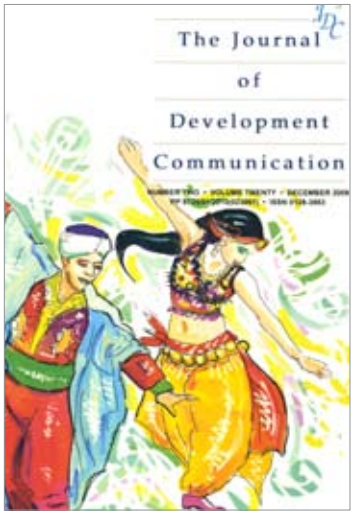
The Berita Database:

An Online Treasury on Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore

By **Jeffrey L. Ferrier**
Curator
Center for International Collections
Ohio University Libraries

Many scholars, students and other researchers in the United States are unsure of where to turn when researching topics related to Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore. Even at Ohio University, which is fortunate to have a rich library collection on Southeast Asia, investigations into this particular subject can be daunting. Additionally, it is increasingly obvious that most students and faculty prefer to conduct their research online and not necessarily within the physical confines of the library. While many online databases have at least some content related to the Malay World, few actually make it the primary focus. The *Berita* Database, which is maintained by the staff at the Southeast Asia Colllection at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, is a noteworthy exception.

This online database allows researchers to find references to relevant books, book chapters, journal articles and conference papers on a wide array of topics in the social sciences, humanities and natural sciences related to the nations of Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore. Malay language materials are included along with those in English and other Western languages. The database now contains over 46,000 records of resources published from 1990 to the present and may be searched at no cost by any researcher with Internet access from around the globe. The "scholarly usefulness" of *Berita* online was rated as essential by the *Asia-WWW-Monitor* in June 2010.



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Berita includes many important periodicals, which cover a wide variety of subjects related to Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore, including titles published in Asia, Australia, the United States and Europe. These indexed periodicals include: *Aka-demika; Art and Asia Pacific; Asian Studies Review; Borneo Research Bulletin; Contemporary Southeast Asia; Dewan Bahasa; Dewan Sastera; Indonesia and the Malay World; The Journal of Development Communication; Journal of Tropical Forest Science; Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs; Sarawak Museum Journal; Jurnal Institut Perkhidmatan Awam; Singapore Economic Review* and *Sojourn*. A complete list of the serials that *Berita* covers is available online.

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In addition to periodical articles, the database also includes individual book chapters, books, and selected conference papers. The diversity of publication formats and languages it offers, combined with the free access for researchers worldwide, makes *Berita* an especially valuable research tool.

Berita (cicdatabank.library.ohiou.edu/opac/berita.php) can be searched by keyword, author name and Library of Congress subject headings. Retrieval may be limited by publication date or to items in the Malay or English languages, and desired citations may be downloaded, printed or sent to a convenient email address. While the article's full text is not available in *Berita*, users who are affiliated with any institution that provides interlibrary loan services may request materials, which cannot otherwise be accessed locally,

A rare Thai book, titled *Āthit kap phændin Thai,* on the Thai resistance to the Japanese invasion during WW II. All rights reserved, Samnakphim Sahakit, 1949.

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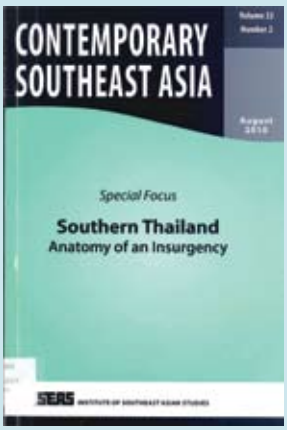

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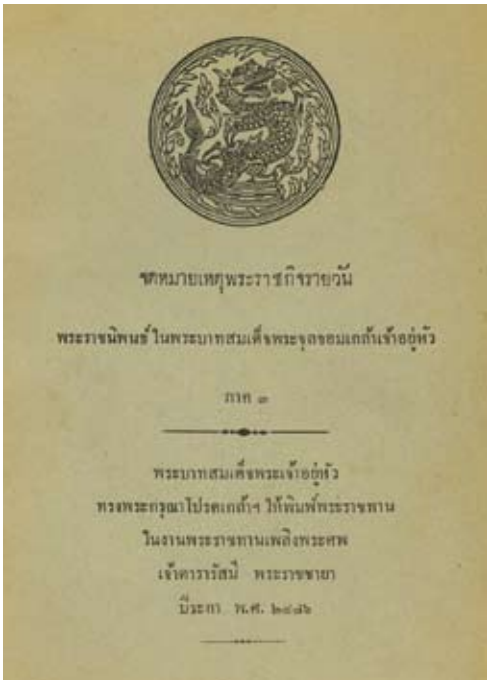
from Ohio University Library. In many instances, journal articles and other shorter publications can be conveniently transmitted in an electronic format.

The staff at Ohio University Libraries is particularly well positioned to compile *Berita* as the Library has served as the North American Depository for Malaysian publications and government documents since 1987. As part of this arrangement, the Southeast Asia Collection receives library resources from the National Library of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur each year, a practice which ensures that the holdings on Malaysia are particularly robust. The staff also actively seek out publications about Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei from other sources such as university presses and commercial publishers. This wealth of information is a boon to researchers who take advantage of *Berita* and the Ohio University Libraries online catalog (library.ohiou.edu/find/).

Berita is only one of the valuable electronic resources that can be found through the *Center for International Collections (CIC) Databank* (cic-databank.library.ohiou.edu/opac/index.php) maintained by Ohio University Libraries. For instance, the *CIC Databank* also provides free access to the *Database for Publications on Overseas Chinese* and the *David K. Wyatt Thai Database*.

The *David K. Wyatt Thai Database* (cicdatabank.library.ohiou.edu/opac/thai.php) contains descriptive information on approximately 1,800 publications related to Thailand. Besides many of the standard works on Thailand and Southeast Asia, a substantial number of the Thai Royal chronicles, many of King Chulalongkorn's diaries and letters as well as other monographs, memoirs, and cremation volumes are included. Some of these works are very rare and often not found outside of Thailand. Ohio University Libraries is coordinating efforts to digitise selected titles; these will soon be available online at no cost, even for users outside the United States.

Another unique and exciting resource for those interested in the Chinese Diaspora is the *Database for Publications on Overseas Chinese (cicdatabank.library.ohiou.edu/opac/overseas.php)*. Researchers can locate references for periodical articles, books, and book chapters on the overseas Chinese in many parts of the world. Its wide geographic and linguistic scope makes this database a critical research aid to all those interested in this subject. Published works on the diasporic Chinese in Mandarin, Japanese, English, Dutch, Malay, Thai and other Western languages can be found here.



Third volume of King Chulalongkorn's 24-volume diary, an important primary source on Thai history. All rights reserved, Rōngphim Sayām Phānitchayakān, 1933.

The far reach of these online resources is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the *CIC Databank* was accessed 18,958 times by users from 136 different countries between January 2009 and January 2010, according to data gathered by Google Analytics. For many these databases open doors to a wide variety of rich historical resources.

Individuals who would like additional information on any of the databases mentioned in this article may contact Jeffrey Ferrier, Curator of the Center for International Collections, Ohio University Libraries, at ferrier@ohio.edu. ■

Business and Personal Credit Advisory Services

At the National Library

By **Ronnie Tan**
Senior Research Associate I
Govt & Business Information Services
National Library

Personal credit advisory service by Credit Bureau Singapore.

Signing of the Memorandum of Understanding for business advisory service by Ngian Lek Choh, Deputy Chief Executive, NLB (left) and Chen Yew Nah, Managing Director, DP Bureau (centre).

Entrepreneurs and members of the public looking for advice on setting up and growing their businesses, as well as information on their personal credit standing, will benefit from the newly-launched advisory services at the National Library.

These business and personal credit advisory services are offered by the National Library Board in partnership with DP Bureau Pte Ltd and Credit Bureau Singapore Pte Ltd. These services are available at the 7th floor of the National Library on weekdays, with DP operating from 10 am to 5:30 pm and Credit Bureau from 2 pm to 6 pm respectively.

Educational seminars and workshops by the two partners focusing on topics such as regulatory requirements, business operations and the obligations of company directors are in the pipeline. In addition, members of the public can also obtain tips on healthy credit report maintenance, credit reputation improvement, angel fund support and understand reasons why loan applications are rejected.

This initiative supports the development of vibrant and globally competitive Singaporean enterprises — one of the key directions announced by the Economic Strategies Committee on 1 Feb 2010. ■

方修：新加坡文艺先驱的光辉

By **Law Lin Mui**
Assistant Director
Lee Kong Chian
Reference Library
National Library

方修原名吴之光，1922年生于中国，1938年南来新加坡，2010年3月4日病逝，享年88岁。2010年5月23日，新加坡国家图书馆与热带文学艺术俱乐部联合主办“怀念方修、学习方修”纪念会，以缅怀已故先驱作家方修先生的伟大贡献。

出席这个纪念会的200多位亲朋戚友和文艺界人士，怀着沉重的心情，共同回顾已故方修先生的点点滴滴。

国家图书馆严立初馆长追忆她与方修先生两次在图书馆会面的情景，也介绍了图书馆所展开的一系列以先驱作家为主轴的文学活动。吴聪勇先生分享与父亲方修相处的生活片段，同时代表家属捐赠4万元予“方修文学奖”基金。热带文学艺术俱乐部会长陈川波评说：“方修先生是新马著名的文史学家、卓越的文艺评论家、散文家及诗人，尤其在新马华文文学史的撰写及文学大系与前辈作家作品的编辑出版方面，他的成就、贡献都是空前的”。本地作家李选楼和孙希分别介绍了方修先生的文学成就及分享他们研究方修作品的心得。其他与会者则通过歌唱、诗歌朗诵等方式表达对方修的深深怀念、敬仰与谢意。

方修先生是新马华文文学的拓荒与奠基者。他曾在报界服务长达37年，其中20余年任职新加坡《星洲日报》从事编辑工作。凭着坚韧的意志力，穷毕生精力，在自资、自助的情况下，方修先生从蕴藏丰富文史资料的旧报纸、杂志堆中

在新加坡国家图书馆举行的“怀念方修、学习方修”纪念会现场。

配合纪念会发布的这本书收录51篇文章。热带文学艺术俱乐部版权所有，2010。

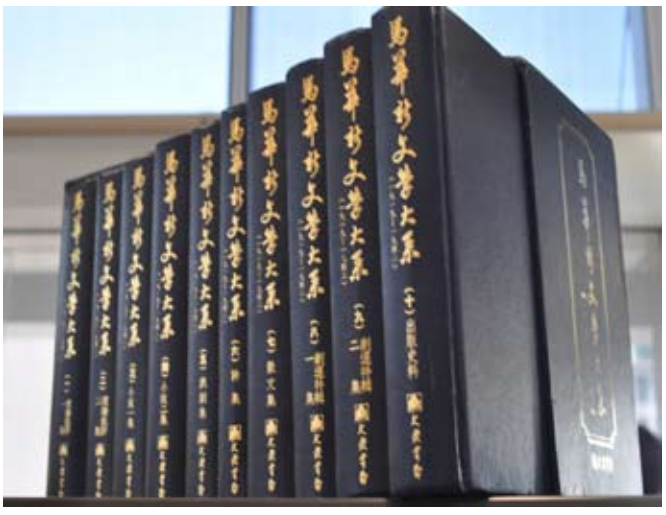
马来西亚华校董事联合会总会（董总）版权所有，1988。

八方文化创作室版权所有，2009。

发掘、研究与整理马华新文学史料，并编纂了《马华新文学大系》、《马华新文学史稿》、《马华新文学选集》、《战后新马文学大系》、《马华文学作品选》及《战后马华文学史初稿》等著作。方修编著的作品超过一百部，其中包括散文、文学评论、诗歌等。他是第一位将新马华文文学史介绍给全世界的本地先驱作家。

方修先生对文学的热爱是一生一世，不惜一切代价的。儿子吴聪英回忆方修说：“为了收集文史资料，爸爸常拿着照相机到国家图书馆去拍旧报纸，拍完后冲洗成一张张相片。爸爸好像是自己冲洗照片，因为厕所里常有许多一张张相片浮在浴缸的水面上。相片上都是密密麻麻的文字。我印象最深的是爸爸请人把相片中的文字一个个字手抄下来，酬劳大约是每张相片5角钱。当时，大概是50年前吧，5角钱的确很大，心想爸爸怎么负担得起……爸爸怎么这么傻”。

2008年11月，在孔子学院基金会首届“南洋华文文学奖”颁奖礼上，方修先生宣布将4万元奖金设立一个基金，帮助年轻作家出版文艺创作或理论性书籍。由此可见方修先生的最大心愿始终都是要让新马华文文学世代相传，不断开枝散叶。



世界书局版权所有，1970–1972。

新加坡国家图书馆除了藏有丰富的方修资料可供研究用途外，也提供远程参考咨询服务。读者可将要咨询的问题通过电邮发送至 ref@nlb.gov.sg.

FANG XIU: SINGAPORE'S LITERARY PIONEER

Fang Xiu (real name Goh Tze Kwang), the last surviving pioneer writer of Singapore Chinese literature, passed away on 4 March 2010 after a long illness. He was 88 years old.

The National Library Board and the Tropical Literature & Art Club jointly organised a commemorative public forum on 23 May 2010, in recognition of Fang Xiu's achievements and contributions. The forum attracted about 200 people, including Fang Xiu's family members and friends, writers, admirers and scholars who came to share their thoughts about Fang Xiu, his legacy and works. Ngian Lek Choh, Director of National Library, delivered the opening speech. Two main speakers gave a critical review of Fang Xiu's works. Some participants composed songs and poems in praise of Fang Xiu while others shared their anecdotes about Fang Xiu and how he had encouraged and supported them in their journeys towards becoming writers.

Fang Xiu pioneered the study of Malaya-Singapore Chinese literature since the early 1950s. He penned and edited more than 100 literary publications. Besides writing essays, short stories and literary criticism, he also composed poetry. He was awarded the first Nanyang Chinese Literature Award in 2008 for his outstanding contributions to Chinese literature. With $40,000 from the Award, he set up “The Fang Xiu Literature Fund” to fund the publishing of works by young Singaporean writers. The family of the late Fang Xiu later contributed another $40,000 to this fund. ■

A Passion for Communication:

Investigations into Different Cultures and Media

By **Ross Laird**
Lee Kong Chian
Research Fellow (2010)
National Library

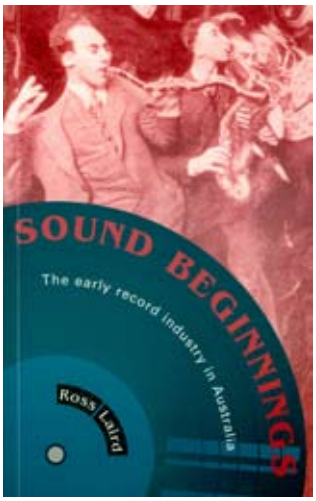
As a child I loved reading, so it was fortunate that my home in suburban Melbourne was just a few minutes walk to a branch library and I could go there almost every day.

As I grew older my interests expanded to include music, and as my teenage years were in the 1960s, it was opportune that my musical tastes developed at a time of great musical innovation in pop and jazz, two genres which I enjoy.

Given my lifelong passion for books, it is hardly surprising that after university, I decided on a career as a librarian. I had worked in a number of public and academic libraries in Australia over the years. At various times, I also worked as a journalist, radio producer and in television.

Although not consciously planned, in retrospect, my career has always revolved around communication and the media through which the written or spoken word is combined with music and visual elements. It reflects my deep interest in how people communicate.

About 20 years ago, I had the opportunity to combine my library skills with my interest in music when I was offered a position with the Australian National Film & Sound Archive in Canberra. I worked there as a sound archivist until I retired in 2006. During that time, I wrote a history of the early Australian record industry titled *Sound Beginnings*.



My interest in the history of the record industry developed further during my five years in Hong Kong when I went to help set up the first cable television network there in the early 1990s. Although faced with a learning curve was steep, this being my first time working in the television industry, I found the challenges immensely stimulating.

Unlike most expatriates in Hong Kong, I worked for a Chinese-owned company rather than a multinational corporation. My interactions were mostly with local Hong Kongers and other overseas Chinese. Working conditions were more demanding compared to what I had been used to. As manager of the video library at the television network, I was on call 24 hours a day and was expected to fix any problem immediately, even if it was in the middle of the night.

My first 18 months in Hong Kong were spent preparing for the opening broadcasts, which were scheduled to go live on a specific time when Chris Patten (then the last British Governor of Hong Kong) would press a button on-air and all 8 channels would commence broadcasting immediately. We were told that money was no object but that the live broadcast must go on air at the time advertised. There was tremendous pressure to ensure that all the complex systems involved is ready on time.

The preparations for the big event included a real-time rehearsal and broadcast of the events so that timings and camera angles could be finalised. As one of the few Westerners in the company, I was asked to “role play” the Governor during the rehearsal, including reading out the speech he was to make. I sat on the stage next to the CEO of the company and was given a tour of the studios and a running commentary on the facilities — so I had the privilege of being Governor of Hong Kong for a day!

Living and working in a totally different culture was a wonderful experience for me. Spending an extended period in Hong Kong meant that I gradually developed an interest in doing similar research into the history of the Asian record industry as I had done in Australia. I returned to the National Film & Sound Archive in 1997 and continued this work in my spare time.

In the last ten years I have expanded my research to include the history and development of the Singapore record industry. I am very appreciative of receiving the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship as this will enable me to develop my research in this field even further.

Mr Ross Laird was awarded the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship by NLB on 16 July 2010. ■

Connect and Collaborate!

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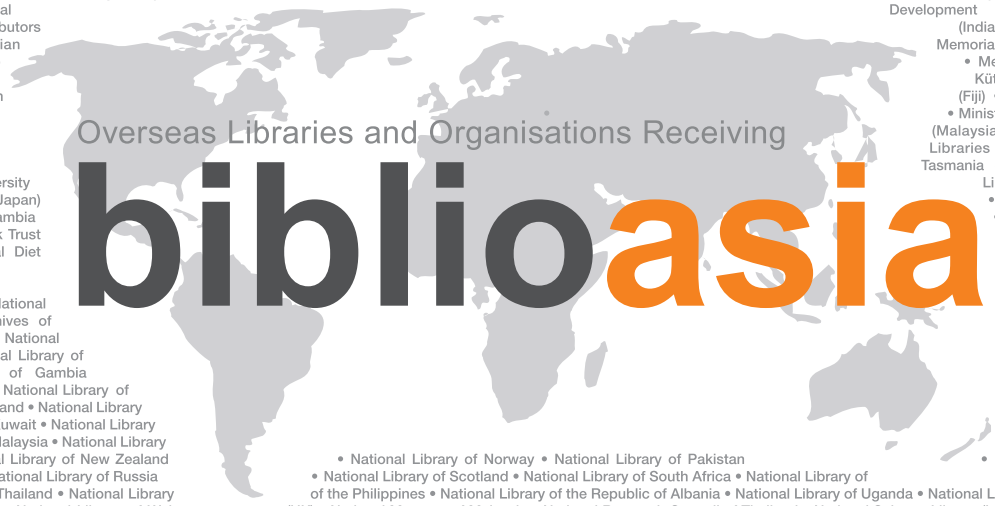

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