

## CREATING THE SINGAPORE ARMED FORCES

### I. A SENSE OF VULNERABILITY

One of the first things that the Singapore Government addressed after separation was the creation of an indigenous military capability. The obvious reasons were that as a sovereign state, Singapore would have to safeguard its independence in a turbulent, geopolitical region and take on its collective defence obligations. But, there was also concern that Malaysia would seek to dominate Singapore using its substantial military capabilities. The atmospherics of separation, though they had been maturely handled, still continued to generate a lot of static just below the surface on both sides. For one thing, the Malaysian military had a very large presence in Singapore, not only with its naval base in Woodlands, but also the headquarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> Malaysian Infantry Brigade (4 MIB) and the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion, Royal Malay Regiment (5RMR) in Fort Canning and Holland Road Camp, respectively. In theory, from 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1965, Commander 4 MIB was to take instructions from the Singapore Government but in practice, he made his presence felt most intrusively when the first independent Singapore Parliament opened in December 1965.<sup>1</sup> Brigadier Syed Mohamed bin Syed Ahmad Alsagoff called on Mr. Lee Kuan Yew and “insisted that his motorcycle outriders escort (Mr. Lee) to Parliament.” As foreign dignitaries would be present at the occasion, Mr. Lee concluded that Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia’s Prime Minister, was sending a reminder to all that “Malaysia was still in charge in Singapore.”<sup>2</sup> There were other sensitive issues abroad as well, more so because the wounds of separation were still raw, with every negative perspective taking on sinister significance. Perhaps chief among these was that while the Singapore Cabinet had no fear that the Tunku would change his mind, “other powerful Malay leaders, like Syed Ja’afar Hassan Albar who so strongly opposed separation that he had resigned as Secretary-General of UMNO, might persuade Brigadier Alsagoff it was his patriotic duty to reverse separation.”<sup>3</sup>

### II. FURTHER AGGRAVATIONS

There were further aggravations in the following months to reinforce Mr. Lee’s concerns. Malaysia’s proclivities in interpreting the terms and the spirit of the Separation Agreement in two important issues—the first with regard to foreign policy and the second, defence—were cautionary tales.

**Normalisation of Relations with Indonesia.** The creation of Malaysia had frustrated a grandiose proposal by the government of President Sukarno of Indonesia to establish a larger federation to be called ‘Maphilindo’ which would have included all of the territories within Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia. Even before Malaysia was formed, in January 1963 Indonesia launched an armed guerrilla campaign in the Borneo territories against Malaysian forces supported by British and Commonwealth troops. Guerrilla operations were still

ongoing in peninsular Malaysia and the Borneo territories after Singapore separated. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion, Singapore Infantry Regiment (2 SIR), renamed Malaysian Infantry Regiment<sup>4</sup>, then under 4 MIB and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Abdul Latiff bin Hussein from the Royal Malay Regiment, had suffered the most casualties to date when, on 28<sup>th</sup> February, 1965, a patrol had been ambushed at Bukit Lebam, Kota Tinggi by Indonesian infiltrators, who killed 9 servicemen and wounded 5 others.<sup>5</sup> Later, 2 SIR reciprocated in two separate incidents. There had also been terror bomb attacks in Singapore in which civilians had been killed and two of the Indonesians responsible had been captured and sentenced to death. But technically, after 9<sup>th</sup> August, Singapore was no longer a target of Konfrontasi. Besides, on 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1965, an attempted coup by the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI, to take over the government of President Sukarno had been foiled by Major General Mohamed Suharto, commander of the army's strategic reserve. In the aftermath of the failed PKI coup, Major General Sohar to eventually assumed power and subsequently decided to end the Konfrontasi campaign. For Singapore, resumption of bilateral trade with Indonesia would be a vital economic boost. On 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1966, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik announced that Indonesia would recognise Singapore as an independent state. But, Malaysia objected to Singapore accepting the recognition on the technically valid grounds that it contravened the mutual defence terms of the Separation Agreement and the Tunku demanded that Singapore choose between Malaysia and Indonesia.<sup>6</sup> On 19<sup>th</sup> April, security checks were enforced on movements between Malaysia and Singapore at the Causeway, while an agreement on common visas for the two territories was allowed to lapse. Singapore thereupon took the position that it would discuss Indonesian recognition with Malaysia. In the event, Malaysia also negotiated an end to Konfrontasi with the Indonesian leadership and on 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1966 signed a bi-lateral agreement that was formalised on 12<sup>th</sup> August.

**5 RMR in Holland Road Camp.** The same hardboiled attitude was evident in the Malaysian Armed Forces responses to Singapore's own defence imperatives. Their approach to vacating Holland Road Camp, 2 SIR's home base, on the unit's return from operational deployment was probably a defining moment in the two countries' post-separation ties. 5 RMR was temporarily housed in Holland Road Camp. Regular Singapore troops were still under the operational command of 4 MIB and 2 SIR had remained on deployment against Indonesian forces in Sebatik Island, off Sabah, despite the separation. When it was due to return in February, it had to be housed under canvas in Farrer Park because the Malaysian Government refused to vacate Holland Road Camp. The Malaysians argued that Malaysia was responsible for the defence of Singapore and that the defence of the two territories was inseparable. For these reasons, Malaysia had the right to station troops in Singapore. The Royal Malaysian Navy was based in Woodlands (and would remain there until 1994 without objection from Singapore), and no specific deadline had been given to 4 MIB to decamp Singapore. This was in line with the underlying concept of the Joint Defence Council and the terms of the Anglo-Malaysian Defence Agreement and reinforced by the fact that officially, Indonesia was still in a state of armed confrontation with Malaysia. But the concern arose from the insistence that it was



*Holland Road Camp in 1965.*

‘obligatory’ for Singapore to allow Malaysian troops to remain in Singapore and “the exercise of this right depends solely on the judgement of the Malaysian Government.”<sup>27</sup> The Malaysians went further: they claimed that Singapore had to allow Malaysian troops to stay in the present bases or provide suitable alternative accommodation. Singapore rejected this interpretation and offered to refer the issue to an independent international or Commonwealth tribunal on the grounds that troops of one state could not be stationed in the territory of another without the latter’s consent.<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, the issue was defused when the British vacated Khatib Camp in mid-March 1966 and 5 RMR moved into it. However, it was 18 months later before 5 RMR returned to Malaysia in November 1967.<sup>9</sup>

These developments added a sense of vulnerability for Singapore. Moreover, in 1965, at the height of the Cold War, South East Asia was a proxy no-man’s land. Claiming that North Vietnam attacked US naval vessels in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964, President Lyndon Johnson had invoked the South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty to support a wobbly South Vietnamese dictatorship against the communist North Vietnamese regime backed by the Soviet Union and China. In keeping with the then popular domino theory, continental South East Asia was seen to be in real danger of communist domination if South Vietnam fell to the North Vietnamese.

But, one of the motivations for rapidly building up Singapore’s own military capability was the worry that Malaysia would seek to dominate Singapore in military matters. Referring to the refusal by the MAF to relinquish Holland Road Camp to 2 SIR on its return, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew said “Their unreasonableness only made us more determined to build up the SAF so that



they could not intimidate us in this way. It stiffened our resolve and made us dig our heels in.”<sup>10</sup> Whether the problems with Malaysia were only teething problems which, moderated by the presence of the British forces in Singapore, would eventually have dissipated, is a moot point. But, there was no question that sooner or later, Singapore would have had to provide credibly for its own defence and sovereignty in its national interest, even in foreign relations with its immediate neighbours. Choosing to do it sooner, the Singapore Government also saw in it an unrepeatable opportunity to rally the people around the new national flag, anthem and identity.

### III. MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND DEFENCE

On separation, apart from the two regular infantry battalions (less those personnel who were Malaysians or chose to remain with Malaysia) and the two ex-SVC battalions (10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Battalions, ex-Malaysian Territorial Army) worth of Volunteers, Singapore got back a small Signals contingent which had been with 4 MIB; some personnel from the Armoured Car contingent who had been assigned to the Malaysian reconnaissance regiment; some Volunteer Engineers scattered throughout the MAF; the Singapore component of the Royal Malaysian Navy Volunteer Reserve (which was renamed the Singapore Naval Volunteer Force (SNVF) on 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1966<sup>11</sup> together with the *Laburnum* (static HQ ship of the Volunteers, later renamed *Singapura* and still later scrapped), *Panglima* (a 37.5 metre Ford Class large patrol craft), and an ex-police vessel, the *Bedok*.<sup>12</sup> There had been no Air Force Volunteers from Singapore at the time of the merger as the service had been disbanded in 1960.



MID at Empress Place, 1965.

Dr. Goh Keng Swee, Singapore's Finance Minister at separation, had promptly volunteered to be the Minister of Defence and set up the Ministry of Interior and Defence (MID), which incorporated Home Affairs, thereby bringing the Singapore Police Force and the Armed Forces under one ministry.<sup>13</sup> This was because of the "the geographical size of Singapore and the fact that questions of external security are very closely interwoven with questions of internal security."<sup>14</sup> Additionally, the Police provided a pool of senior officers who could supplement the local military officers in staffing the anticipated military organisation, as was evident in the appointment of Mr. Tan Teck Khim, then Assistant Commissioner of Police, as the first Director, General Staff of the SAF, as well as the secondment of many Police officers to SAF positions created over the next several years.

MID had one thing going for it: Konfrontasi had given an unintended kick-start to the creation of the SAF. It had compelled Singapore to mobilise the Volunteers during the two years of Malaysia, spruce up the records of local military forces, provide some field experience for troops and raise a pool of staff officers who segued seamlessly into the routine of the new defence establishment.<sup>15</sup> The SMF headquarters at Beach Road Camp was also operational in the primitive form of the times, while the operational deployment of the Volunteers and the two SIR battalions also meant the availability of reasonably seasoned troops, some of whom had been blooded in the Kota Tinggi operations against Indonesian guerrillas. Building on this, MID extended the Volunteer mobilisation, on a voluntary basis, especially among teachers and civil servants. The Singapore Year Book, 1965 reports: "The two Regular Infantry Battalions and the Volunteer Infantry and Artillery have now been brought up to strength and made operational on a full-time basis."<sup>16</sup>

Additionally, at the height of Konfrontasi in May 1964, Singapore had, with the agreement of the Federal Government, set up the Vigilante Corps for volunteer local defence. Headed by a Commandant, it used non-lethal weapons though trained in weapon handling and received systematic drilling, training in crowd control, unarmed combat and outdoor living.<sup>17</sup> The Vigilante Corps was to prove useful in the coming years to absorb National Servicemen who were exempted from full time National Service for one reason or another.

Shortly after the formation of MID, HQ Singapore Infantry Brigade was set up at Beach Road Camp in the SVC premises, which had continued in use throughout the merger, as headquarters of the two regular infantry battalions and the mobilised Volunteers. It is variously referred to in some correspondences as HQ 1<sup>st</sup> Singapore Infantry Brigade<sup>18</sup> and Army HQ.<sup>19</sup> As Singapore had not had a defence ministry before, the traditional separation of the forces' headquarters from the civilian authority was maintained; it also made sense, as the improvised Empress Place premises of MID could not have accommodated both. But it did touch on a conceptual issue to be resolved later: whether the Ministry and the military headquarters should be physically separated or co-located. Within two months of its formation, MID set up shop in Lower Barracks, Pearl's Hill, where enough space was initially available to bring together key uniformed and civilian officials.

#### IV. ENABLING LEGISLATION

In preparation for the creation of the military forces of independent Singapore, two Acts were passed in Parliament in 1965:<sup>20</sup>

1. The Singapore Army Act 1965. This Act (passed by Parliament on 23<sup>rd</sup> December) provided for the establishment and administration of an Army and the creation of an Army Board and dealt with the discipline of the Army and the Armed Forces in general.
2. The People's Defence Force Act 1965. This Act provided for the establishment and administration of the People's Defence Force in lieu of the SVC, provisions being made therein for the raising and maintenance of the Force out of monies provided by Parliament; for the commissioning of officers; for the qualifications of Volunteers for enrolment; for Colour Training; for discipline and trial by Courts Martial; for reserve service of Volunteers; and for mobilised service.

#### V. THE PEOPLE'S DEFENCE FORCE

The first-cut proposals for the Singapore Armed Forces were traditional and tentative. On 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1965, the Government announced plans to form a People's Defence Force (PDF). In effect, the PDF was a revitalised post-independence incarnation of the SVC, but it was more than giving the Volunteers a name that was appropriate to the current national agenda. The PDF spearheaded the Government's initiative to create Singapore's indigenous armed forces. Firstly, it formalised the status of the returned Volunteers, who were subsumed under it, as a significant element of independent Singapore's military resources, moving away from the close association of the SVC with the former Colonial Government. Secondly, it made available a vehicle to put in place an inexpensive provisional self-defence capability, while a more concrete and durable defence strategy was being explored. Thirdly, it anticipated the possible resistance of the majority Chinese population towards military service in any form—conscript or career—on the cultural prejudice that only 'bad sons joined the army': a broad-based recruitment into the PDF would gentrify the profession of arms. Finally, it was a way of giving expression to the upsurge of nationalistic fervour that gripped sections of the Singaporean public in response to the expulsion from Malaysia. Able-bodied Members of Parliament, senior civil servants and well-known personalities were encouraged to sign up for officer cadet training. The course was 18 months, part-time. There was a women's wing—PDF (W)—as well. The project was placed under Colonel (COL) Abdul Karim Bagoo (deceased), a Volunteer officer and Principal of Monk's Hill Secondary School. Major (MAJ)(RET) Simon Koh (then a mobilised Volunteer) was in charge of training, which was designed by COL Ronald Wee Soon Huat (deceased), then-Lieutenant-Colonel and senior-most regular Singaporean officer. Then-Captain Winston Choo Wee Leong (regular SIR officer, later Lieutenant-General, Chief of Defence Force) was the Signals Training Officer. There was also an in-house training programme for NCOs and specialists.<sup>21</sup>



*Minister for Interior and Defence, Dr. Goh Keng Swee at passing out parade of PDF OCTs, 28<sup>th</sup> August, 1966.*

In 1965, the PDF was envisaged as a 10,000 strong Volunteer reserve force. Training was two evenings a week with weekend and annual training camps. Six training depots were set up: 1 PDF at Beach Road Camp; 2 PDF at Kallang Airport; 3 PDF at Pearl's Hill; 4 PDF at Shenton Way; 5 PDF at Haig Road; 6 PDF at Queenstown.<sup>22</sup> Basic training of recruits started in the third week of January 1966.<sup>23</sup> By March 1966, over 3,000 had signed up for training. Officer Cadets and NCOs were trained later in the year. (In 1968, the Singapore Naval Volunteer Force became the PDF (Sea) under the short-lived Sea Defence Command which was renamed the Singapore Maritime Command later that year.)<sup>24</sup> In his book, *From Third World To First*, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew says: "We had organised the People's Defence Force (PDF) under the leadership of a motley collection of civil servants, MPs and ministers who had been put through a crash officer training course. The soldiers were civilians, mostly Chinese-educated, recruited through the community centres."<sup>25</sup> In May 1966, a PDF Band was formed, largely with support from the Singapore Musician's Association and it led the PDF march-past column on 9<sup>th</sup> August that year for the National Day Parade.<sup>26</sup>

To Dr. Goh, the PDF was not quite a stopgap measure or rallying point for nationalism. He initially envisaged the PDF as the mainstay of the SAF Order of Battle (ORBAT):



*“The period August 1965 to the end of 1966 was a period of groundwork and planning. The general plan to be implemented then, was to develop a small well-equipped, highly trained and mobile defence force comprising a small nucleus of regulars backed by a large part-time volunteer citizens Force – The People’s Defence Force. Consequently, in early 1967, the volunteers trained in PDF Training Camps were reorganised into Battalions and a PDF training centre at Maju Camp was set up.”<sup>27</sup>*

As it turned out, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew persuaded Dr. Goh to go for a National Service army, and the concept would change radically. “Keng Swee’s original plan was to build up a regular army of 12 battalions between 1966 and 1969. Disagreeing with this plan, I proposed a small standing army plus the capacity to mobilise the whole civilian population who should be trained and put into reserves.”<sup>28</sup> In November 1966, the first inkling of conscription was offered when Dr. Goh announced that from 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1967, all newly appointed government and statutory board officers, subject to medical fitness, would have to do a stint of full-time military service.<sup>29</sup> In February 1967, Dr. Goh tabled legislation in Parliament to amend the National Service Ordinance (which had originally been passed by the British in 1952).<sup>30</sup> Mr. Lee himself made the formal announcement of the introduction of National Service on 21<sup>st</sup> February, 1967, at the Toa Payoh Community Centre. Nine hundred young men were called up to make the first full-time intake on 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1967, reporting to the newly formed 3 and 4 SIR battalions in their temporary quarters in Taman Jurong.<sup>31</sup>

But, that was still to come. In 1965, pursuant to Dr. Goh’s original plan, MID carried out two recruitment drives called Boxer I and Boxer II, primarily to top up the two regular battalions which had been depleted significantly by the repatriation of Malaysian troops. It was also in the context of raising the regular battalions that the enlistment of those who would be the first and subsequent intakes of officer cadet trainees at SAFTI, Pasir Laba, had been initiated in February 1966, except that by then, the Government had already decided on the Israeli Defence Force as Military Advisors for Singapore and they had been helping to formulate the development concepts.

## VI. FOREIGN MILITARY EXPERTISE

Mr. Lee Kuan Yew said in his memoirs, that the “British had made no offer to help us build an army as they had done with the Malaysians in the 1950s. They had... incurred the displeasure of the Malaysians. Now, they had to deal with a Malaysia more than a little unhappy with them. And because the Malaysians had sponsored us for membership in both the Commonwealth and the United Nations, the British must have guessed that the



Malaysians would also want to be our military instructors, if for no other reason than to make sure we were not taught more than they knew about defence.”<sup>32</sup> Mr. Lee had written to Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Egyptian President Abdul Nasser seeking urgent help to build up Singapore’s armed forces and naval and coastal defences respectively, but both avoided the issue in their responses while congratulating Singapore on achieving independence and wishing the Republic well. Mr. Lee then pursued an earlier spontaneous offer by Israel, resulting in an exchange of visits by delegations and the adoption of Israeli proposals.

Since the first exchange of visits took place in November 1965, the decision to adopt National Service as the foundation for defence forces could have been strongly influenced by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) experience as much as consideration of costs. But the Advisors no doubt contributed to other organisational aspects in MID. MID records indicate that they customised their proposals to Singapore’s needs as they saw them and also as an opportunity to apply lessons they had learned in their own organisation in matters of relationship between civilian and professional military personnel. Among their most specific proposals was the co-location of the military headquarters with the Ministry, civilianising the administrative and especially the logistics support structures and making the Minister of Defence the supreme commander, answerable to the Cabinet. The organisation of MID and subsequently MINDEF strongly reflects this thinking, while in the matter of training the initial cohorts of officers and NCOs and proposing the key components of the land force, their advice was followed closely.

## VII. THE STRUCTURE OF MID

Over the next two years, MID laid the structural foundations to tackle both the implementation of National Service and the management and civilian supervision of the SAF. MID was organised into the following Divisions:<sup>33</sup>

1. The General Staff Division dealt with matters relating to doctrinal development, policies, regulations, procedures, training and operations.
2. The Manpower Division dealt with personnel management. It was responsible for personnel records, control of postings, promotion and career development, service conditions, classification of vocations and allocation of personnel resources. Under it was set up the Central Manpower Base (CMPB) which was the national centre for processing National Servicemen throughout their service cycle and for other service recruitment.
3. The Logistics Division dealt with supply, transportation and maintenance, control and movement of equipment, weapons and ammunition, research and development to improve available equipment to meet operational specifications, construction of camps and management of real estate.



*MINDEF at Upper Barrack, Pearl's Hill, 1970s.*

4. The Finance and Home Affairs Division had the dual task of managing the finances of MID and control over the internal security of the Republic through the Police. (With the creation of the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1970, the Finance Division dealt only with MINDEF finances.)

These foundations have stood the test of time and except for a major addition in the form of the Defence Science and Technology Agency (DSTA), are largely intact, although in August 1970, MID was separated into the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Home Affairs, with the latter taking over the Singapore Police Force and the Internal Security Department (ISD).

### VIII. A LOCAL MILITARY TRAINING ACADEMY

Prior to SAFTI, all regular officers for the indigenous military forces had been trained abroad, mostly at the prestigious Federation Military College (FMC) at Sungei Besi in Selangor state, peninsular Malaysia. Here, regular commissions were awarded after a two-year course of study. There was also a Short Service Commission (SSC), which left out the academic subjects, concentrating on a slightly modified version of the military subjects and lasting six months. Initially, the SSC officers would sign a five-year contract of full-time service, followed by two 3-year contracts at the end of which they would have to either opt for a regular commission or quit.<sup>34</sup> There were other career regulars who were selected for the coveted commission courses in the Australian Army Officer Cadet School, Portsea, in Victoria, Australia. No local SAF officer in 1965 had been trained at the Royal Military

College, Sandhurst, although two officers had gone for the Camberly Staff College course (COL Ronald Wee and MAJ Edward Low).

There was no military training institution as such in Singapore before SAFTI was setup, though Volunteer officers and NCOs (both regular and volunteer) were trained in military camps in ad hoc courses with help from the British forces stationed in Singapore. SAFTI, the acronym for Singapore Armed Forces Training Institute, was conceived as a central school for the SAF, although the initial preoccupation was with land forces. The Advisors strongly argued in favour of “every course—basic course or specialist course, the maximum that we can concentrate—in one school.... The more we learn these, the better it would be in order to get more coordination and make sure that people are speaking the same language.”<sup>35</sup> This concept has been largely maintained, though in the 1960s it was somewhat ahead of its time as the arms and services were being individually raised from scratch, while subsequently, to promote interoperability, it was necessary to conduct joint training at various levels along the career path in SAFTI after specialist training in facilities set up elsewhere.

The Advisors also advocated strongly that officers be groomed from the ground up by going through an intense recruit stage and an NCO stage before being selected for officer cadet training, with on-the-job training as NCOs before the officer cadet stage, if possible. But there were limited active units to absorb all the provisional cadets for on-job training as NCOs. Besides, there was a sense of urgency to staff the units for the introduction of National Service. So, except for those deferred to subsequent batches of officer cadet training, the first cohort of trainees sent to SAFTI went through the three stages lockstep. The deferred trainees were posted to units, some designated as provisional officer cadets and the rest as NCOs with the exception of those who had chosen to resign at that point. However, while NCOs are still selected for officer cadet training to this day, the SAF chose early—as a policy—to feed through potential officers from recruit to officer cadet training without break for various practical reasons associated with the National Service cycle.

Given that the First Instructors' Preparatory Course commenced on 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1966, the planning for the induction of the first intake of officer cadets must have occurred between the Advisors' exploratory visit in November 1965 and that date. The task was assigned to Director of Manpower, Mr. Herman Hochstadt, who headed a team which included both military and police personnel. Using as much of the SMF regulations, with terms and conditions as they could adapt, they put together a promotional brochure called *SERVE WITH PRIDE*. They blitzed the universities, the (single) polytechnic, schools, statutory bodies and civic organisations with the brochure in a crash recruitment programme that found its way into the mailboxes of some 2,500-3,000 trusting young men.

### *Endnotes*

1. *Singapore Year Book 1965*, p. 10
2. *Lee Kuan Yew 2000*, p.26
3. *ibid.*, p.31
4. *Terh 2000*, p.125
5. *History of 2 SIR, 1962 – 1978*, p. 15
6. *Singapore Year Book 1966*, p. 11
7. *ibid.*, p.8
8. *ibid.*, p. 9
9. *Lee Kuan Yew 2000*, p. 32
10. *ibid.*, p.33
11. *The Singapore Armed Forces, 1981*, p.29
12. *Lim 1992*, p 25-27
13. *Lee Kuan Yew 2000*, p.30
14. *Singapore Year Book 1965*, p. 156
15. *Interview with LTC (RET) G. Arumugam, September 2003*
16. *Singapore Year Book 1965*, p. 157
17. *Singapore Year Book 1966*, p. 175
18. *Our Security. Keselamatan Kita* , 1969, p. 21
19. *MID correspondences 1965-67*
20. *Republic of Singapore Government Gazette Acts Supplement No. 6, Friday, December 31, 1965*
21. *Interview with Inche Othman Wok, Minister for Social Affairs 1966, February 2002*
22. *GS Planning Directive MID/GS/06/55/14 dated 1 April 1967: PDF Organization under Temasek II.*
23. *Singapore Year Book 1966*, p.174
24. *Chiang 1990*, p. 49
25. *Lee Kuan Yew 2000*, p. 34
26. *Singapore Year Book 1966*, p. 174
27. *Our Security. Keselamatan Kita, 1969*, p. 21
28. *Lee Kuan Yew 2000*, p. 35
29. *Chiang 1997*, p. 28
30. *ibid.*, p. 36
31. *Shoulder To Shoulder, 2002*, p. 45. In his book *SAF and 30 Years of National Service MINDEF Public Affairs 1997*, Chiang states erroneously (probably a misprint) that the first call-up of National Servicemen was on 17 July 1967.
32. *Lee Kuan Yew 2000*, pp. 29-30
33. *The Singapore Armed Forces, 1981*, p. 19
34. *Terh 2000*, p. 81
35. *Record of Interview with Brigadier General Jak Ellazari by Security and Intelligence Division dated 18, 22, and 26 July 1977.*