

Country: Singapore

Years: 1965 – 1989

Head of government: Lee Kuan Yew

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as People's Action Party (PAP). DPI does not identify PAP's ideology. Manzano (2017: 108) identifies PAP as leftist, writing "This party was "originally organized as a radical socialist party" but after 1961, when more radical members left the party to form the Socialist Front, it became more moderate and anti- communist and its leaders "supported a pragmatic socialist program emphasizing social welfare and economic development" (Banks 1993: 733). In addition, the People's Action Party was a member of the Socialist International until 1976, when it was accused of repressive rule by the European parties. The previous information leads us to consider this dictatorship as a leftwing regime, yet other indicators point to the opposite ideology. First, Lee Kuan Yew, the head from independence to 1990, appears to have been a rightist dictator based on "his anti-communist posture" (Banks et al. 2011: 1267). Second, although opposition groups were allowed, the Communist Party of Malaya was legally proscribed and communist press were also banned. The available information seems to indicate that dictatorial spells in Singapore hold a socialist but anti-communist ideology". Rieger (2001: 240) identifies PAP as leftist: "In 1953 the British government appointed a commission headed by Sir George Rendel to prepare Singapore for greater autonomy. Its proposals became the basis of the so-called Rendel Constitution of 1955, which replaced the Executive and Legislative Councils by a unicameral Legislative Assembly ... This new institutional framework led to an intensification of political activity and to the formation of new parties. The two most important were the Singapore Labour Front (SLF), under David Marshall, and the People's Action Party (PAP)—a left-wing nationalist alliance of English-educated socialists and Chinese-educated procommunists—under Lee Kuan Yew." Perspective monde (2019) identifies Lee Kuan Yew's party as PAP, and PAP as rightist: "Lee Kuan Yew | 1959 (5 juin) | 1990 (28 novembre)", "Parti de l'action populaire "Parti de l'action populaire [Centre droit]." World Statesmen (2019) identifies Lee Kuan Yew's Party as PAP, and PAP as leftist, writing "PAP = People's Action Party/Parti Tindakan Rakyat (social conservative, democratic socialist, est.1954)." Rulers (2019) writes that "In a brief power struggle within the PAP, [Lee Kuan Yew] was ousted as secretary-general by the party's left wing in August, but he regained the post in October." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People's Action Party (PAP) as 3.6. In V-

Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.953) in 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984, and 1988. Britannica (2021) identifies Lee's ideology as leftist, writing "After attending school in Singapore, Lee briefly enrolled at the London School of Economics and Political Science before earning a law degree (1949)... He also became a socialist... in the early 1950s... Lee... broke with his two colleagues to take a more radical stand, becoming secretary-general of his own party, the People's Action Party (PAP). The party included some communists, Lee having accepted communist support for some years... In 1957... A brief power struggle within the PAP... ensued: in August Lee was ousted from the secretary-generalship by the party's left wing, but he regained his post in October... in May 1959, and Lee campaigned on an anticolonialist, anticommunist platform... Lee refused to form a government until the British freed the left-wing members of his party who had been imprisoned in 1956... In 1961 the PAP's left-wing members broke away from the party to form the Barisan Sosialis ("Socialist Front"), and Lee subsequently broke his remaining ties with the communists. Henceforth Lee and his fellow moderates within the PAP would dominate Singaporean politics... Lee sometimes resorted to press censorship to stifle left-wing dissent over his government's fundamental policies". Lepoer (1989) writes "Although the moderates led by Lee Kuan Yew retained control of the PAP Central Executive Committee, by 1956 the procommunists held sway over the membership and many of the mass organizations and PAP branches. At the annual general meeting in August 1957, the procommunists won six of the twelve seats on the committee. Lee Kuan Yew and the other moderates refused to take office in order to avoid becoming front men for the leftists... The PAP was founded in 1954, and in the 1950s acted as a leftwing party of trade unionists... After a bitter internal struggle the English-educated, more pragmatic wing of the party triumphed over the pro-communists in 1961 and went on to an unbroken string of electoral victories, winning all the seats in Parliament in the 1968, 1972, 1976, and 1980 general elections... In the early 1960s, the union movement split between the leftist Singapore Association of Trade Unions and the National Trades Union Congress (NTUC), which was associated with Lee Kuan Yew's pragmatic wing of the PAP."

Years: 1990 – 2003

Head of government: Goh Chok Tong

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as People's Action Party (PAP). DPI does not identify PAP's ideology. Manzano (2017: 108) identifies PAP as leftist, writing "This party was "originally organized as a radical socialist party" but after 1961, when more radical members left the

party to form the Socialist Form, it became more moderate and anti- communist and its leaders “supported a pragmatic socialist program emphasizing social welfare and economic development” (Banks 1993: 733). In addition, the People’s Action Party was a member of the Socialist International until 1976, when it was accused of repressive rule by the European parties. The previous information leads us to consider this dictatorship as a leftwing regime, yet other indicators point to the opposite ideology. First, Lee Kuan Yew, the head from independence to 1990, appears to have been a rightist dictator based on “his anti-communist posture” (Banks et al. 2011: 1267). Second, although opposition groups were allowed, the Communist Party of Malaya was legally proscribed and communist press were also banned. The available information seems to indicate that dictatorial spells in Singapore hold a socialist but anti-communist ideology”. Rieger (2001: 240) identifies PAP as leftist: “The two most important were the Singapore Labour Front (SLF), under David Marshall, and the People's Action Party (PAP)—a left-wing nationalist alliance of English-educated socialists and Chinese-educated procommunists—under Lee Kuan Yew.” Perspective monde (2019) identifies Goh Chok Tong’s party as PAP, and PAP’s ideology as rightist: “Parti de l'action populaire [Centre Droit].” World Statesmen (2019) identifies PAP as leftist, writing “PAP = People's Action Party/Parti Tindakan Rakyat (social conservative, democratic socialist, est.1954).” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People’s Action Party (PAP) as 3.6. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.953) in 1988 and as “Center-right” (1.421) in 1991, 1997, and 2001.

Years: 2004 – 2020

Head of government: Lee Hsien Loong

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies party affiliation as People’s Action Party (PAP). DPI does not identify PAP’s ideology. Manzano (2017: 108) identifies PAP as leftist, writing “This party was “originally organized as a radical socialist party” but after 1961, when more radical members left the party to form the Socialist Form, it became more moderate and anti- communist and its leaders “supported a pragmatic socialist program emphasizing social welfare and economic development” (Banks 1993: 733). In addition, the People’s Action Party was a member of the Socialist International until 1976, when it was accused of repressive rule by the European parties. The previous information leads us to consider this dictatorship as a leftwing regime, yet other indicators point to the opposite ideology. First, Lee Kuan Yew, the head from independence to 1990, appears to have been a rightist dictator based on “his anti-communist posture”

(Banks et al. 2011: 1267). Second, although opposition groups were allowed, the Communist Party of Malaya was legally proscribed and communist press were also banned. The available information seems to indicate that dictatorial spells in Singapore hold a socialist but anti-communist ideology". Rieger (2001: 240) identifies PAP as leftist: "The two most important were the Singapore Labour Front (SLF), under David Marshall, and the People's Action Party (PAP)—a left-wing nationalist alliance of English-educated socialists and Chinese-educated procommunists—under Lee Kuan Yew." Perspective monde (2019) identifies Lee Hsien Loong's party as PAP, and PAP's ideology as rightist: "Parti de l'action populaire [Centre Droit]." World Statesmen (2019) identifies PAP as leftist, writing "PAP = People's Action Party/Parti Tindakan Rakyat (social conservative, democratic socialist, est.1954)." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 11 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of People's Action Party (PAP) as 3.6. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (1.421) in 2001 and as "Right" (2.039) in 2006, 2011, and 2015. Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as People's Action Party.

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