- Ampssler, N. R. (2010, August 27). Hearts and Minds: Malayan campaign re-evaluated.
  Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Defence Viewpoints from the UK Defence Forum:
  <a href="http://www.defenceviewpoints.co.uk/articles-and-analysis/hearts-and-minds-malayan-campaign-re-evaluated">http://www.defenceviewpoints.co.uk/articles-and-analysis/hearts-and-minds-malayan-campaign-re-evaluated</a>
- 2. Australian War Memorial. (2021, June 3). *Malayan Emergency*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Australian War Memorial website: <a href="https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/atwar/malayan-emergency">https://www.awm.gov.au/articles/atwar/malayan-emergency</a>
- 3. Benton, G. (2018, May 29). *Malaysia's "Second Emergency" (1968-89)*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Verso website: <a href="https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3855-malaysia-s-second-emergency-1968-89">https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3855-malaysia-s-second-emergency-1968-89</a>
- 4. Bowie, N. (2018, July 8). *70 years later, Malayan Emergency's legacy lives on*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Asia Times website: <a href="https://asiatimes.com/2018/07/70-years-later-malayan-emergencys-legacy-lives-on">https://asiatimes.com/2018/07/70-years-later-malayan-emergencys-legacy-lives-on</a>
- 5. Chan, C. (2011, May 31). *Eu Chooi Yip: Singapore's unknown communist leader*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from New Mandala website: <a href="https://www.newmandala.org/eu-chooi-yip-singapore%E2%80%99s-unknown-communist-leader">https://www.newmandala.org/eu-chooi-yip-singapore%E2%80%99s-unknown-communist-leader</a>
- 6. Chan, H. C. (2014, August 4). Learning to talk through our differences. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/learning-to-talk-through-our-differences">https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/learning-to-talk-through-our-differences</a>
- 7. Cheah, B. K. (n.d.). *The Malayan Communist Party's Surprising Strategy*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from End of Empire, The Nordic Institute of Asian Studies website: <a href="https://www.endofempire.asia/0821-2-the-malayan-communist-partys-surprising-strategy-3">www.endofempire.asia/0821-2-the-malayan-communist-partys-surprising-strategy-3</a>
- 8. Chiang, H. D. (2014, August 11). Singapore's fight against the 3Cs. *Today*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/singapores-fight-against-3cs">https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/singapores-fight-against-3cs</a>
- 9. Chng, M. O. @ Zhuang, M. H. (2018, September 30). *Probing into the sufferings of Singapore's left-wing labour movement in the 1960s* (A. Chew, Trans.). Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Sahabat Rakyat Malaysia website:
  - https://sahabatrakyatmy.blogspot.com/2018/09/probing-into-sufferings-of-singapores.html

- 10. Comber, L. (2011, September 9). The Case of CPM (1948-1960) A Special Branch Perspective. *Malaysia Today*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.malaysiatoday.net/2011/09/09/the-case-of-cpm-1948-1960-a-special-branch-perspective">https://www.malaysiatoday.net/2011/09/09/the-case-of-cpm-1948-1960-a-special-branch-perspective</a>
- 11. Devan, J. (2017, February 6). A tribute to father's old friend Fong Swee Suan. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.straitstimes.com/forum/letters-in-print/a-tribute-to-fathers-old-friend-fong-swee-suan">https://www.straitstimes.com/forum/letters-in-print/a-tribute-to-fathers-old-friend-fong-swee-suan</a>
- 12. Ow, D & Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore. (n.d). *The Age of Terror*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from The Age of Terror website: www.ageofterror.sg
- 13. Gafoor, B. (2014, December 18). *Response to Poh Soo Kai's Allegations*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from New Mandala website: <a href="https://www.newmandala.org/reponse-to-poh-soo-kais-allegations">https://www.newmandala.org/reponse-to-poh-soo-kais-allegations</a>
- 14. Gafoor, B. (2014, December 19). A ferocious struggle for Singapore's future. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/a-ferocious-struggle-for-singapores-future">https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/a-ferocious-struggle-for-singapores-future</a>
- 15. Geni, J. (2013, December). Hearts and Minds and Its Discontents: Lessons of Malaya for Counterinsurgents in the 21st Century. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Joe Geni website: http://www.joegeni.com/malaya
- 16. Hack, K. (2009). Extracting Counterinsurgency Lessons: The Malayan Emergency and Afghanistan. Retrieved March 30, 2021, from Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) website:
  - https://rusi.org/commentary/extracting-counterinsurgency-lessons-malayan-emergency-and-afghanistan
- 17. Han, K. (2018, May 24). *Operation Coldstore: Singapore's struggle to confront history*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Lowy Institute, The Interpreter website: <a href="https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/operation-coldstore-singapore-struggles-confront-history">https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/operation-coldstore-singapore-struggles-confront-history</a>
- 18. Hong, L. (2010, September 17). *Rejoinder on 'Alternative Narratives: The Danger of Romanticising the Other'*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/rsis/1407-rejoinder-on-alternative-na/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/rsis/1407-rejoinder-on-alternative-na/</a>
- 19. Hong, L. (2014, June 10). What is history: A glance at 'Lim Chin Siong and that Beauty World speech: A Closer Look'. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Mini Myna website: https://minimyna.wordpress.com/page/2

- 20. Hong, L. (2014, September 29). *They do say the darnest things: What a to-do about Operation Coldstore*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Mini Myna website:

  <a href="https://minimyna.wordpress.com/2014/09/29/they-do-say-the-darnest-things-what-a-to-do-about-operation-coldstore">https://minimyna.wordpress.com/2014/09/29/they-do-say-the-darnest-things-what-a-to-do-about-operation-coldstore</a>
- 21. Jasbindar, F. A. (2019, April 9). *Kenali Chin Peng, Ketua Parti Komunis Malaya Dari Sitiawan* [Chin Peng, Communist Party of Malaya Leader from Sitiawan]. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Orang Perak website: <a href="https://www.orangperak.com/kenali-chin-peng-ketua-parti-komunis-malaya-dari-sitiawan.html">https://www.orangperak.com/kenali-chin-peng-ketua-parti-komunis-malaya-dari-sitiawan.html</a>
- 22. Khoo, O. (2015, September). *On the Banning of a Film: Tan Pin Pin's To Singapore with Love*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Senses of Cinema website:

  <a href="https://www.sensesofcinema.com/2015/documentary-in-asia/to-singapore-with-love-documentary">https://www.sensesofcinema.com/2015/documentary-in-asia/to-singapore-with-love-documentary</a>
- 23. Kua, K. S. (2018, July 29). Commemorating the Malayan Emergency. *Malaysiakini*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://m.malaysiakini.com/news/436362">https://m.malaysiakini.com/news/436362</a>
- 24. Kuan, C. W. (n.d.). *The Malaysian Ethnic Politics and the Ghost of Communism Past*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia website: <a href="https://kyotoreview.org/reviews/the-malaysian-ethnic-politics-and-the-ghost-of-communism-past">https://kyotoreview.org/reviews/the-malaysian-ethnic-politics-and-the-ghost-of-communism-past</a>
- 25. Loh, K. S. (2015, January 15). An annotated bibliography of Operation Coldstore. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from New Mandala website: <a href="https://www.newmandala.org/the-history-writes-itself-an-annotated-bibliography-of-operation-coldstore">https://www.newmandala.org/the-history-writes-itself-an-annotated-bibliography-of-operation-coldstore</a>
- Loone, S. (2002, Jun 17). For Merdeka, women became freedom fighters during Emergency. *Malaysiakini*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/11805">https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/11805</a>
- 27. Macintyre, S. (2002). *Sharkey, Lawrence Louis (1898-1967)*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from Australian Dictionary of Biography, Australian National University website: <a href="http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sharkey-lawrence-louis-11664/text20839">http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sharkey-lawrence-louis-11664/text20839</a>
- 28. Mahbubani, K. (2017, September 9). The Day I Lectured on Marx to Goh Keng Swee. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/the-day-i-lectured-on-marx-to-goh-keng-swee">https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/the-day-i-lectured-on-marx-to-goh-keng-swee</a>
- Mahbubani, K. (2019, January 20). Letter to Mr S. Rajaratnam, my mentor and teacher. The Straits Times. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/letter-to-mr-s-rajaratnam-my-mentor-and-teacher">https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/letter-to-mr-s-rajaratnam-my-mentor-and-teacher</a>

- 30. Ministry of Home Affairs, Singapore. (2015). *The CPM Threat: Singaporeans' Struggle Against The Communist Party of Malaya*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from NLB Web Archive Singapore:

  <a href="https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/webarchives/details/www.thecpmthreat.sg.html">https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/webarchives/details/www.thecpmthreat.sg.html</a>
- 31. Mitchell, D. F. (2016, October 27). *The Malayan Emergency: How to Fight a Counterinsurgency War*. Retrieved June 10, 2021 from Warfare History Network website: <a href="https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/daily/military-history/the-malayan-emergency-how-to-fight-a-counterinsurgency-war">https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/daily/military-history/the-malayan-emergency-how-to-fight-a-counterinsurgency-war</a>
- 32. National Army Museum, United Kingdom. (n.d.). *Empire: Malayan Emergency*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from National Army Museum, UK website: https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/malayan-emergency
- 33. National Army Museum, United Kingdom. (n.d.). *Gerald Templer: The Smiling Tiger*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from National Army Museum, UK website: <a href="https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/gerald-templer-smiling-tiger">https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/gerald-templer-smiling-tiger</a>
- 34. National Library Board. (2006). *Labour Front* written by Chia, Joshua Yeong Jia. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 35. National Library Board. (2008). <u>Barisan Socialis</u> written by Chia, Joshua Yeong Jia. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 36. National Library Board. (2008). <u>Singapore Association of Trade Unions</u> written by Chia, Joshua Yeong Jia. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 37. National Library Board. (2009). *James Joseph Puthucheary* written by Lee, Hwee Hoon. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 38. National Library Board. (2009). *Jamit Singh* written by Lee, Hwee Hoon. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 39. National Library Board. (2012). <u>1955 Singapore Harbour Board Staff Association Strike</u> written by Jasli, Tettyana. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 40. National Library Board. (2013). <u>Chia Thye Poh</u> written by Chua, Alvin. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 41. National Library Board. (2013). <u>Fong Chong Pik</u> written by Kok, Jaime. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.

- 42. National Library Board. (2014). <u>1955 Legislative Assembly general election</u> written by Lim, Tin Seng. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 43. National Library Board. (2014). *Force 136 (Operation Gustavus in Malaya)* written by Chow, Alex. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 44. National Library Board. (2014). <u>Hock Lee bus strike and riot</u> written by Ho, Stephanie. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 45. National Library Board. (2014). <u>Lim Hock Siew</u> written by Chua, Alvin. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 46. National Library Board. (2014). *Nanyang University's student activism*. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 47. National Library Board. (2014). White Paper on Bilingual Education in Chinese-Medium Schools written by Lim, Tin Seng. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 48. National Library Board. (2015). <u>People's Action Party: Pre-independence years</u> written by Sim, Cheryl. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 49. National Library Board. (2016). <u>Dennis Bloodworth</u> written by Sathisan, Dinesh. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 50. National Library Board. (2016). *Kreta Ayer incident (1927)* written by Tan, Bonny. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 51. National Library Board. (2016). *Lim Chin Siong* written by Wong, Hongyi. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 52. National Library Board. (2016). *National Service Riots of 1954* written by Abd Rahman, Nor-Afidah. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 53. National Library Board. (2016). <u>Said Zahari</u> written by Chua, Alvin. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 54. National Library Board. (2016). <u>Tan Sri Abdul Samad Ismail</u> written by Abd Rahman, Nor-Afidah. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 55. National Library Board. (2017). <u>Fong Swee Suan</u> written by Koh, Jaime. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.

- 56. National Library Board. (2017). <u>Singapore Trades Union Congress</u> written by Chia, Joshua Yeong Jia. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 57. National Library Board. (2018). <u>Communist Party of Malaya</u> written by Tay, Shereen. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 58. National Library Board. (2019). <u>Federation of Malaysia</u> written by Lee, Meiyu. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 59. National Library Board. (2019). *Malayan Emergency* written by Liviniyah, P. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 60. National Library Board. (2019). *Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army* written by Wong, Heng. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from Singapore Infopedia.
- 61. Ng, J. S. C. (n.d.). *'When The Reds Go Marching In'*. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from End of Empire, the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies website: <a href="www.endofempire.asia/0817-5-when-the-reds-go-marching-in-3">www.endofempire.asia/0817-5-when-the-reds-go-marching-in-3</a>
- 62. Ng, Z. X. (2020, August 7). Banned in Singapore, This Film Asks Necessary Questions About What It Means To Love Your Country. Retrieved June 8, 2021, from RICE [Affairs and Culture for Contemporary Asia] website: <a href="https://www.ricemedia.co/current-affairs-commentary-to-singapore-with-love">https://www.ricemedia.co/current-affairs-commentary-to-singapore-with-love</a>
- 63. Ong, W. C. (2015, December 9). Singapore Story 2.0: Strengthening the core. *Today*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.todayonline.com/commentary/singapore-story-20-strengthening-core.">https://www.todayonline.com/commentary/singapore-story-20-strengthening-core.</a>
- 64. Ong, W. C. (2019, December 2). Negotiating the end of cross-border insurgency. *Bangkok Post*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1806424/negotiating-the-end-of-cross-border-insurgency">https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1806424/negotiating-the-end-of-cross-border-insurgency</a>
- 65. Ong, W. C. (2020, October 18). Looking back at the 'forgotten' communist insurgency in Sarawak. *New Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.nst.com.my/amp/opinion/columnists/2020/10/633284/looking-back-forgotten-communist-insurgency-sarawak">www.nst.com.my/amp/opinion/columnists/2020/10/633284/looking-back-forgotten-communist-insurgency-sarawak</a>
- 66. Ong, W. C. (2010, April 29). *The Singapore Story: More Than a State-imposed Narrative*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/1334-the-singapore-story-more-than/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/1334-the-singapore-story-more-than/</a>

- 67. Ong, W. C. (2010, September 14). Alternative Narratives: The Danger of Romanticising the Other. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/1403-alternative-narratives-the-da/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/1403-alternative-narratives-the-da/</a>
- 68. Ong, W. C. (2010, September 17). *Alternative Narratives: Why I Wrote It*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/1408-alternative-narratives-why-i/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/1408-alternative-narratives-why-i/</a>
- 69. Ong, W. C. (2013, October 2). *The Demise of Chin Peng: End of the Classical Counterinsurgency Era?*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/2069-the-demise-of-chin-peng-end-o/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/idss/2069-the-demise-of-chin-peng-end-o/</a>
- 70. Ong, W. C & Ramakrishna, K. (2013, October 10). *The Second Emergency (1968-1989): A Reassessment of CPM's Armed Revolution*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/2079-the-second-emergency-1968-198/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/2079-the-second-emergency-1968-198/</a>
- 71. Ong, W. C & Ramakrishna, K. (2013, October 15). Chin Peng's 'forgotten' insurgency that failed. *Today*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/forgotten-insurgency-failed">https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/forgotten-insurgency-failed</a>
- 72. Online Citizen. (2013, November 15). What is it about the Singapore/Malaya merger and Operation Coldstore?. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.onlinecitizenasia.com/2013/11/15/what-is-it-about-the-singaporemalaya-merger-and-operation-coldstore">https://www.onlinecitizenasia.com/2013/11/15/what-is-it-about-the-singaporemalaya-merger-and-operation-coldstore</a>
- 73. Online Citizen. (2013, December 6). *United Front were no communists: British intelligence*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from The Online Citizen website:

  <a href="https://www.theonlinecitizen.com/2013/12/06/united-front-were-no-communists-british-intelligence">https://www.theonlinecitizen.com/2013/12/06/united-front-were-no-communists-british-intelligence</a>
- 74. Piccini, J. (2017, November 13). A Dangerous Disease to Catch: Overseas Student Activism in Australia during the 1970s. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from Australian Policy and History, APH Essay website: <a href="https://aph.org.au/2017/11/a-dangerous-disease-to-catch-overseas-student-activism-in-australia-during-the-1970s">https://aph.org.au/2017/11/a-dangerous-disease-to-catch-overseas-student-activism-in-australia-during-the-1970s</a>
- 75. Poh, S. K. (2014, December 3). Singapore's 'Battle for Merger' revisited. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from New Mandala website: <a href="https://www.newmandala.org/singapores-battle-for-merger-revisited">https://www.newmandala.org/singapores-battle-for-merger-revisited</a>

- 76. Povera, A. (2019, November 28). 'Communists hurt people of all races'. *New Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.nst.com.my/news/exclusive/2019/11/542815/communists-hurt-people-all-races">https://www.nst.com.my/news/exclusive/2019/11/542815/communists-hurt-people-all-races</a>
- 77. Ramakrishna, K. (2013, September 30). Chin Peng: A fanatic but no hero. *Today*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/chin-peng-fanatic-no-hero">https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/chin-peng-fanatic-no-hero</a>
- 78. Ramakrishna, K. (2014, December 10). If Singapore was ruled by Barisan Sosialis. *Today*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.todayonline.com/commentary/if-singapore-was-ruled-barisan-sosialis">https://www.todayonline.com/commentary/if-singapore-was-ruled-barisan-sosialis</a>
- 79. Ramakrishna, K. (2014, December 12). Singapore's Struggle Against CPM: What If the Barisan Sosialis Had Won?. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/co14246-singapores-struggle-against-cpm-what-if-the-barisan-sosialis-had-won/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/co14246-singapores-struggle-against-cpm-what-if-the-barisan-sosialis-had-won/</a>
- 80. Ramakrishna, K. (2014, June 4). *Lim Chin Siong and that Beauty World Speech: A Closer Look*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from the Institute of Policy Studies, Singapore, IPS Commons. website: <a href="https://www.ipscommons.sg/lim-chin-siong-and-that-beauty-world-speech-acloser-look">https://www.ipscommons.sg/lim-chin-siong-and-that-beauty-world-speech-acloser-look</a>
- 81. Ramakrishna, K. (2015, February 23). *Revisiting Operation Coldstore: Deconstructing the "Original Sin"*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/co15036-revisiting-operation-coldstore-deconstructing-the-original-sin/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/co15036-revisiting-operation-coldstore-deconstructing-the-original-sin/</a>
- 82. Ramakrishna, K. (2015, March 25). *Lee Kuan Yew: The 'Engine' That Was 'Too Big For The Boat'*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/co15065-lee-kuan-yew-the-engine-that-was-too-big-for-the-boat/">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/co15065-lee-kuan-yew-the-engine-that-was-too-big-for-the-boat/</a>
- 83. Ramakrishna, K. (2016, August 24). *Remembering SR Nathan A Man For All Seasons*. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, RSIS Commentary website: <a href="https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/nssp/co16216-remembering-sr-nathan-a-man-for-all-seasons">https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/nssp/co16216-remembering-sr-nathan-a-man-for-all-seasons</a>
- 84. Ramakrishna, K. (2018, April 4). Operation Coldstore and the perils of academic misinformation. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/operation-coldstore-and-the-perils-of-academic-misinformation">https://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/operation-coldstore-and-the-perils-of-academic-misinformation</a>

- 85. Ray, S. (2015, January 12). *Review: To Singapore with Love*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from New Mandala website: <a href="https://www.newmandala.org/review-to-singapore-with-love">https://www.newmandala.org/review-to-singapore-with-love</a>
- 86. S/pores. (2011, June 5). *Tan Jing Quee (1939-2011): setting new directions in Singapore studies*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from S/pores website: <a href="https://s-pores.com/2011/06/tan-jing-quee">https://s-pores.com/2011/06/tan-jing-quee</a>
- 87. Sahabat Rakyat Malaysia. (2014, February 8). 林清祥《答问》遗稿片段 Lin Qing Xiang "Dawen" Yigao Pianduan [Part of Lim Chin Siong's Q&A Posthumous Manuscript].

  Retrieved June 10, 2021, from Sahabat Rakyat Malaysia website:

  <a href="https://sahabatrakyatmy.blogspot.com/2014/08/blog-post.html">https://sahabatrakyatmy.blogspot.com/2014/08/blog-post.html</a>
- 88. Sindie. (2017, February). ShoutOUT! Banned film 'Absent Without Leave' 不即不离 premieres online for Malaysian audience on 28 Feb. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from SINdie website: <a href="https://www.sindie.sg/2017/02/shoutout-banned-film-absent-without.html">https://www.sindie.sg/2017/02/shoutout-banned-film-absent-without.html</a>
- 89. Sundareson, S. (2019, December 3). No forgiving atrocities of Chin Peng and the CPM. *New Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.nst.com.my/opinion/letters/2019/12/544119/no-forgiving-atrocities-chin-peng-and-cpm">https://www.nst.com.my/opinion/letters/2019/12/544119/no-forgiving-atrocities-chin-peng-and-cpm</a>
- 90. Tan, B. (2012, March 25). We Survived a Communist Ambush. *New Straits Times*. Retrieved June 7, 2021, from ProQuest Central via NLB's eResources website: <a href="https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/main">https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/main</a>
- 91. Tan, B. (2016, March 19). Terror series brings to life Malayan Emergency. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/terror-series-brings-to-life-malayan-emergency">https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/terror-series-brings-to-life-malayan-emergency</a>
- 92. Tan, J. Q. (2007, April 10). *Ho Piao: A Personal Recollection and Appreciation*. Retrieved June 10, 2021, from S/pores website: <a href="http://s-pores.com/2007/04/ho-piao">http://s-pores.com/2007/04/ho-piao</a>
- 93. Teh, A. L. S. (2019, January 23). The last days of the Malayan Communist Party played out at a historic tunnel. *New Straits Times*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.nst.com.my/lifestyle/pulse/2019/01/453423/last-days-malayan-communist-party-played-out-historic-tunnel">https://www.nst.com.my/lifestyle/pulse/2019/01/453423/last-days-malayan-communist-party-played-out-historic-tunnel</a>
- 94. SGHISTORICITY. (2017, August 7). The Confessions of Lim Hock Koon. Retrieved Retrieved June 11, 2021, from SGHISTORICITY website: https://sghistoricity.wordpress.com/2017/08/07/the-confessions-of-lim-hock-koon/

- 95. Singapore International Festival of Arts. (n.d.). *The Mysterious Lai Teck 神秘莱特*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Singapore International Festival of Arts website: <a href="https://www.sifa.sg/programmes/theatre/the-mysterious-lai-teck">https://www.sifa.sg/programmes/theatre/the-mysterious-lai-teck</a>
- 96. Thum, P. T. (2018, March 1). Remembering Coldstore: Former detainees speak. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from New Naratif website:

  <a href="https://newnaratif.com/journalism/remembering-coldstore-singapores-former-detainees-speak">https://newnaratif.com/journalism/remembering-coldstore-singapores-former-detainees-speak</a>
- 97. Thum, P. T. (2017, September 9). *Justifying Colonial Rule in Post-Colonial Singapore*. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from New Naratif website: <a href="https://newnaratif.com/research/justifying-colonial-rule-in-post-colonial-singapore">https://newnaratif.com/research/justifying-colonial-rule-in-post-colonial-singapore</a>
- 98. Vengadesan, M. (2009, November 29). At Peace in their Village. *The Star*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/watching-the-world/2009/11/29/at-peace-in-their-village">https://www.thestar.com.my/opinion/columnists/watching-the-world/2009/11/29/at-peace-in-their-village</a>
- 99. 'We had to expose the communists'. (2014, October 10). *Today*. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from <a href="https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/we-had-expose-communists">https://www.todayonline.com/singapore/we-had-expose-communists</a>
- Yin, S. L. (2012, April 10). Political policing: from Britain to Malaysia Part 1. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from New Mandala website: <a href="https://www.newmandala.org/political-policing-from-britain-to-malaysia-part-1/">https://www.newmandala.org/political-policing-from-britain-to-malaysia-part-1/</a>
- 101. 柏丞 [Bo Cheng]. (2016, September 19). 中共支持马来亚共产党闹革命始末 Zhonggong Zhichi Malaiya Gongchandang Nao Geming Shimo [The Whole Story about the Communist Party of China's Support for the Communist Party of Malaya's Revolution]. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from Duo Wei News website: <a href="https://www.dwnews.com/中国/59769761/中共支持马来亚共产党闹革命始末">https://www.dwnews.com/中国/59769761/中共支持马来亚共产党闹革命始末</a>
- 102. 高义 [Gao Yi] (Ed.). (2017, March 4). 中共输出暴力革命,东南亚国家"排华"一波波(一):毛泽东一句话 马来西亚共产党陷斗争绝境 Zhonggong Shuchu Baoli Geming Dongnanya Guojia Paihua Yibobo: Mao Zedong Yi Ju Hua Malaiya Gongchandang Xian Douzheng Juejing [Communist Party of China Exports Violent Revolution: Waves of Anti-Chinese Sentiments in Southeast Asian Countries (I): Communist Party of Malaya in Desperate Situation because of Mao Zedong's Words]. Retrieved June 11, 2021 from 大纪元 [Epoch Times] website: <a href="https://www.epochtimes.com/gb/17/3/4/n8873267.htm">https://www.epochtimes.com/gb/17/3/4/n8873267.htm</a>
- 103. *关于曾福华Guanyu Zeng Fu Hua* [About Chan Fook Hwa]. (2015, March 29). Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 老战友俱乐部 [Old Comrades Club] website: <a href="http://wyg816.blogspot.com/2015/03/blog-post-68.html">http://wyg816.blogspot.com/2015/03/blog-post-68.html</a>

- 104. 贺艳青 [He Yan Qing]. (2018, June 18). 华玲和谈的实现与中国和平共处外交政策的形成与实施 Hua Ling He Tan De Shi Xian Yu Zhong Guo He Ping Gong Chu Wai Jiao Zheng Ce De Xing Cheng Yu Shi Shi [The Materialisation of the Baling Peace Talk and the Formulation and Implementation of Peaceful Coexistence Foreign Policy with China]. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from 爱思想 [Ai Si Xiang]: www.aisixiang.com/data/110508-6.html
- 105. 金星众 [Jin Xing Zhong]. (n.d). 第二次世界大战时期的星洲华侨义勇军 Di Er Ci Shijiedazhan Shiqi De Xingzhou Huaqiao Yiyongjun [The Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Volunteer Army in Singapore during World War II]. Retrieved February 26, 2021, from 中国人民政治协商会议广州市委员会[Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Guangzhou Committee] website: <a href="http://www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gzws/gzws/ml/19/200808/t20080829">http://www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gzws/gzws/ml/19/200808/t20080829</a> 5766.htm
- 106. 理想园地 [Lixiang Yuandi], 张泰永 [Zhang Tai Yong]. (2017, September 25). 马共领导人在 紧急状态实施前后的遭遇 Magong Lingdaoren Zai Jinjizhuangtai Shishi Qianhou De Zaoyu [The Fates of CPM Leaders Before and After the State of Emergency]. Retrieved June 4, 2021, from 理想园地 [Lixiang Yuandi] website: <a href="http://m.szhgh.com/show.php?classid=66&id=148525">http://m.szhgh.com/show.php?classid=66&id=148525</a>
- 107. 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight]. (2016, April 16). 五一三华校生学运之马共角色 Wu Yi San Huaxiaosheng Xueyun Zhi Magong Juese [CPM's Role in May 13 Chinese School Student Movement]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight] website: <a href="https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=16259">https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=16259</a>
- 108. 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight], 陈新嵘 [Chan Sun Wing]. (2015, March 26). *谈谈李光耀和我陈新嵘 Tantan Li Guang Yao He Wo Chen Xin Rong* [Talking about Lee Kuan Yew and I, Chan Sun Wing]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight] website: <a href="https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=13802">https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=13802</a>
- 109. 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight], 程映红 [Cheng Ying Hong]. (2012, December 2). *余柱业和马来 西亚的红色记忆 Yu Zhu Ye He Malaixiya De Hongse Jiyi* [Eu Chooi Yip and Malaysia's Red Memory]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight] website: <a href="https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=9106">https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=9106</a>
- 110. 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight], 陈平[Chin Peng]. (2018, July 22). *马共 1989 年合艾和谈的历史 Magong 1989 Nian He Ai Hetan De Lishi* [History of 1989 CPM Hat Yai Truce Talks]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight] website: <a href="https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=21662">https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=21662</a>

- 111. 史坚 [Shi Jian]. (2013, December 13). 真实的历史谱写新篇章:《新加坡 1963 年的冷藏行动》一新书简介与感言 Zhenshi De Lishi Puxie Xinpianzhang: "Xinjiapo 1963 Nian De Lengcang Xingdong"— Xinshu Jianjie Yu Ganyan [Writing a New Chapter for True History: "1963 Operation Coldstore in Singapore"—Introducing and reviewing this new book]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 南大站 [Nandazhan] website: <a href="http://www.nandazhan.com/lishi/puxiexpz.htm">http://www.nandazhan.com/lishi/puxiexpz.htm</a>
- 112. 于洪君 [Yu Hong Jun]. (2016, August 18). *马来亚共产党及其武装斗争的兴起与沉寂*Malaiya Gongchandang Ji Qi Wuzhuang Douzheng De Xingqi Yu Chenji [The Rise and Fall of the CPM and its Armed Struggle]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 主人公网 website:

  <a href="http://www.zhurengong.net/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=10&id=4863">http://www.zhurengong.net/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=10&id=4863</a>
- 113. 余山农 [Yu Shan Nong]. (2017, February 4). 继往开来南大梦 9 Jiwangkailai Nanda Meng 9 [Carry Forward the Nantah Dream 9]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 新加坡文献馆 [SGinsight] website: <a href="https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=18106">https://www.sginsight.com/xjp/index.php?id=18106</a>
- 114. 伍依 [Wu Yi]. (2019, February 7). "冷藏行动"的背后 "Lengcang Xingdong" De Beihou [Behind Operation Coldstore]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 南大站 [Nandazhan] website: <a href="https://www.nandazhan.com/zh/wlengcangxd.htm">https://www.nandazhan.com/zh/wlengcangxd.htm</a>
- 115. *曾福华的一封遗书 Zeng Fu Hua De Yifeng Yishu* [Chan Fook Hwa's Last Letter]. (2015, March 29). Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 老战友俱乐部 [Old Comrades Club] website: <a href="https://wyg816.blogspot.com/2015/03/blog-post">https://wyg816.blogspot.com/2015/03/blog-post</a> 29.html
- 116. 张泰永 [Zhang Tai Yong]. (2010, April 4). 钢铁就是这样练成的一 永远怀念被李光耀迫害 致死的曾福华同志 Gangtie Jiu Shi Zheyang Liancheng De Yongyuan Huainan Bei Li Guang Yao Pohaizhisi De Zeng Fu Hua Tongzhi [Made of Steel Remembering Comrade Chan Fook Hwa Persecuted to Death by Lee Kuan Yew]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from 乌有之乡网刊 [Utopia] website:

  http://www.wyzxwk.com/Article/lishi/2009/11/106645.html
- 117. 庄明湖 [Zhuang Ming Hu]. (2013, December 1). 廿世纪六十年代: 新加坡左派工运遭遇问题探索—纪念"二•二事件"五十周年 Nian Shiji Liu Shi Niandai: Xinjiapo Zuopai Gongyun Zaoyu Wenti Tansuo Jinian "Er.Er Shijian" Wu Shi Zhounian [1960s of 20th Century: Exploring Issues Faced by Singapore's Leftist Labour Movement Commemorating 50th Anniversary of February 2 Incident]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Sahabat Rakyat Malaysia (archived) website: <a href="http://suaramjb1.blogspot.com/2013/01/50th-anniversary-of-operation-cold-store.html">http://suaramjb1.blogspot.com/2013/01/50th-anniversary-of-operation-cold-store.html</a>

## **Websites and Online Articles**

118. 庄明湖 [Zhuang Ming Hu]. (2013, January 31). *受害者的共同心声: 立即废除《内安法令》—纪念 2.2 事件 50 周年(之二)Shouhaizhe De Gongtong Xinsheng: Liji Feichu "Neian Faling" – Jinian 2.2. Shijian 50 Zhounian (Zhi Er)* [Common Voice of Victims: Abolish ISA Immediately – Commemorating 50th Anniversary of Feb 2 Incident (Part 2)]. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from Sahabat Rakyat Malaysia (archived) website: <a href="http://suaramjb1.blogspot.com/2013/01/2250\_30.html">http://suaramjb1.blogspot.com/2013/01/2250\_30.html</a>