

Democracy in Singapore

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ABSTRACT

Democracy is the most popular form of government because it is based on the will of the people and for their welfare. Singapore has a parliamentary democracy as a form of government with a unicameral legislature. With free and fair elections, the Singapore government was recognized for its stability, honesty and efficiency. Like any other constitution of a democratic country, Singapore constitution also provides for provisions such as existence of political parties, popularly elected government, free and fair elections, right to vote, ministerial responsibility to the executive fundamental rights, including freedom of expression, etc. In spite of all these democratic provisions of the constitution, the government is accused of blocking the rise and growth of an effective opposition essential for a democracy. In practice, the freedom of expression of the people and the press which is the fourth pillar of democracy is curtailed. Since independence, People's Action Party (PAP) has been the only ruling party in Singapore with hardly any opposition. Singapore in all these years has elevated its position of third world country to a first world country. It has become one of the most developed countries in the world under the efficient rule of PAP headed by Lee Kuan Yew, the first Prime Minister of Singapore. This paper analyses how the government's policies of meritocracy and discipline, though restricted the freedoms of the people, contributed to national integration and economic development of the country. Laws like the Internal Security Act (ISA), restrictions on the press and banning of trade unions violated the fundamental rights of the people. These laws on one hand, denied freedom of expression which is one of the basic prerequisites of democracy, on the other hand, they promoted multi-racialism and the concept of the welfare state in the real sense of the term. The state took the responsibility of cleanliness, housing and employment of the people and was successful in providing the same. This led to a dominant one party system which blocked the rise and growth of opposition necessary for a democracy. The PAP gave more importance to merit and talent than popularity to foster economic development. This attitude of PAP ultimately depoliticized the country and led to the emergence of an "administrative state".

Keywords: Democracy, Political parties, People's Action Party, Internal Security Act, meritocracy, administrative state, de-politicization.

INTRODUCTION:

Democracy is a form of government in which people elect their own rulers with free and fair elections. In a democracy universal adult franchise, political equality and freedom of expression are very significant as they reflect the will of the people. This paper examines the Democracy in Singapore. It studies whether the people of Singapore actually have a choice in electing their own representatives, enjoyment of fundamental rights, freedom of press etc.

A small island nation like Singapore became one of the developed countries in the world under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, The first Prime Minister of Singapore. He is also called as the father of Singapore as he is responsible for setting Singapore, a small country with no natural resources, as one of the important countries on the world map. The great leap of Singapore from third world to first world was the remarkable achievement of Lee Kuan Yew. The PAP government has been instrumental in providing a comfortable material life, education and safety for the citizens. In Singapore you can go out at unearthly hours and go back home safely.

Regardless of all the achievements, Singapore government is criticized as being undemocratic and suppressing freedom of expression. The Internal Security Act, banning of strikes, establishment of National Trade Union Congress and the government's monopolizing of the trade unions encouraged foreign investments. These policies ensured peaceful and uninterrupted economic activities, therefore, attracted foreign investors and many foreign companies opened their branches in Singapore and many Singaporeans got training in these companies. This created lots of employment in the country.

This paper tries to analyze how far it is justified to sacrifice freedom of expression for the sake of economic development. Important achievements of the PAP government like success in providing basic needs to the people, which is absent in many democratic countries is also discussed, as political democracy cannot be achieved without the fulfilment of basic needs. This paper also discusses the issues of whether it is justified to sacrifice freedoms of the people for the sake of economic development and whether people of

Singapore are happy with the comforts given by the government at the cost of their own freedoms. Is Singapore a democracy in the real sense of the term? The paper tries to see how the policies of the government have a dual effect that is the positive effect of instilling discipline and promoting national integration which is conducive for economic development and the negative effect of violating the fundamental rights which are necessary for a democracy. The government always gave highest priority to efficiency and talent. The meritocratic principle depoliticized the society and at the same time gave opportunities for talented people and made the government less corrupted.

This paper also examines the reasons for one-party rule in a democratic country like Singapore and the ineffective role of opposition and curbing of the liberties of the people. In short, this paper analyses the working of democracy in Singapore.

Review of Literature:

Thomas J. Bellows (2009) analyses how PAP used meritocracy as a guiding principle of governance and political recruitment.

Lionel Wee (2015) discusses how the People's Action Party is under pressure to change its style of government.

The present paper deals with whether Singapore is a democracy in practice.

Methodology:

This study is analytical and descriptive based on secondary sources. Published books and articles on Singapore politics are consulted for this paper.

Democracy in Singapore:

Singapore is located at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula. It is a small island nation with an area of 636 square kilometres and Population of 5 Million. Singapore is one of the most prosperous countries in the world. Since independence PAP is the only party that has ruled Singapore. In 1963 Singapore became independent of the British colonial rule and became a part of the Federation of Malaysia. Later, in 1965 Singapore was thrown out of the Malaysian Federation as probably the only country in the world which was forced to become independent. On 9 August 1965, sovereign, democratic and independent nation of Singapore was established with Lee Kuan Yew as the first Prime Minister. Independent Singapore was admitted to the United Nations on 21 September 1965, and became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations on 15 October 1965.

Religious composition in Singapore							
Buddhist	Muslim	Taoist	Catholic	Hindu	Christian	Others	none
33.9%	14.3%	11.3%	7.1%	5.2%	11%	0.7%	16.4%

After independence, like any other newly decolonized country, Singapore faced the problems of unemployment and poverty. It also inherited a population with no common history, language, religion and ethnicity, hence the problem of national integration.

Singapore Ethnic Makeup			
Chinese	Malays	Indians	Others
76%	15%	7%	2%

(<https://platform.globig.co/knowledgebase/SG/landscape/population-ethnicity-language-in-singapore>)

Being a small country with no natural resources, it was felt that Singapore had no future. As an island nation sandwiched between Malaysia and Indonesia, its defense was also uncertain. But Singapore proved it all wrong and became one of the most developed countries in the world with GDP of 297 billion USD. (<https://tradingeconomics.com/singapore/gdp>). Ninety percent people in Singapore own houses. The unemployment rate is only 2.1%. (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/378643/unemployment-rate-in-singapore/>) Now it is the 10th largest arms importer in the world (<https://www.allsingaporestuff.com/article/singapore-one-worlds-top-ten-largest-importers-weapons>) with an air force that is one of the largest & best trained. Singapore has also one of the lowest crime rates in the world.

Singapore is located at the narrowest point of the Strait of Malacca, which is the shortest sea route between India and China. The country's only natural resources are its location and deepwater harbor.

Singapore made intelligent use of its location and limited resources under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew. Now the Singapore has become the world's second busiest port in the world. Moreover, it has the world's third largest oil-refining center. The government encouraged industries that provide employment based on building and repairing. It gave importance to the development of the port and tourism as well.

From the beginning the Singapore government concentrated on industrialization. Public housing was given highest priority. Housing and Development Board apartments were sold at a very low cost. Development of tourism industry added a lot of revenue to the state. Now Singapore is a communication and financial services centre with good infrastructure, roads, electricity, clean water and industrial facilities. The development achieved by Singapore as a small country with no natural resources, not even drinking water is a miracle. What was thought impossible was made possible and the man behind the miracle was Lee Kuan Yew, the first Prime Minister of Singapore.

In spite of all these achievements, the Singapore government is criticized for being undemocratic. The restrictions on freedom of expression, not giving any political party other than PAP the opportunity to form government, and other political parties not even getting the opportunity to form a strong opposition in the parliament invited criticism from many scholars. Though there are many political parties in Singapore, Peoples' Action Party (PAP) has been the only ruling party since independence. The PAP won all the seats in Parliament consecutively in the 1968, 1972, 1976, and 1980 general elections.²⁴

The apex body of the PAP was the Central Executive Committee (CEC). In 1954 the PAP constitution provided for a CEC of twelve persons directly elected by party members at the annual general meeting. Actual power rested in the hands of a secretary general, a post that is always held by the Prime Minister since the party's founding (Singapore: A country study).

In spite of having many political parties, Singapore's party system came to be known dominant one-party system. There are 23 registered opposition political parties in Singapore. A few are consistently active in contesting elections and promoting their causes. They include the Workers' Party (WP), the Singapore Democratic Party (SDP), the Singapore People's Party (SPP), the National Solidarity Party (NSP), the Singapore National Malay Organization (PKMS) and the Singapore Justice Party. But none of these parties could either form government or form strong opposition. The People's Action Party (PAP) won every seat in every election from 1968 to 1980 before losing a 1981 by-election. During the 2006 election the PAP won 82 out of 84 seats in the nation's Parliament.²⁵ It won obtaining 83 of the 89 mandates available at the last election held in 2015. (the-problem-of-political-succession-in-singapore//the-problem-of-political-succession-in-singapore/) Several factors led to the emergence of dominant one-party system and futile opposition.

Singapore's power structure is highly centralized, characterized by a top-down style. It features appointment rather than election to most offices.²⁶ For smooth political succession, the PAP leaders were chosen years earlier being elected to the office for grooming (the-problem-of-political-succession-in-singapore/). From the beginning, PAP started grooming a second generation of leaders and during the 1980s the process of younger generation take over started. In September 1984, power in the PAP Central Executive Committee was transferred to the second-generation leaders, with only Lee Kuan Yew, as secretary general. The new team included Goh Chok Tong, Tony Tan, S. Dhanabalan and Ong Teng Cheong, who were ministers in the government by 1980.

Goh Chok Tong became the Deputy Prime Minister in 1984. Lee officially resigned in 1990 and gave way to his handpicked successor Goh Chok Tong. In 1990 Goh became the Prime minister and remained in the same position till 2004. In 2003 Goh announced his resignation. Lee Hsien Loong became the PM in 2004. Lee offered to resign in 2021 and give way to 4th generation of leaders.²⁷ In late 1989, Lee

²⁴Barbara Leitch LePoer (ed) Singapore : A country study/ Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1989, p.194

²⁵<https://www.guidemesingapore.com/business-guides/immigration/get-to-know-singapore/introduction-to-singapores-political-system>

²⁶Ibid

²⁷<http://www.geopolitika.hu/en/2018/02/19/the-problem-of-political-succession-in-singapore/>

offered to step down in late 1990 and named the First Deputy Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, as his successor. In 1980, the PAP won its fourth consecutive general election, capturing all the seats.

The Singapore leadership calculatigly groomed the younger leaders to secure the future of the PAP. While the leaders voluntarily gave up powers to give the opportunity for the next generation to serve the PAP used stringent measures to eliminate opposition. In 1987 amendments were made to the Parliament Privilege, Immunities, and Powers Act of 1962, giving Parliament the power to suspend any parliamentary member's immunity from civil proceedings for statements made in Parliament and to imprison and fine a member "if he or she were found guilty of dishonorable conduct, abuse of privilege, or contempt."²⁹

It restrained political freedoms and sought to curb political dissent. The government uses mass media for campaigning. The opposition parties do not have access to such facilities. The ballot papers used in the elections were numbered with a counter foil which took away the secrecy of the ballot (Daine K. Mauzy and RS Milne: Singapore Politics under People's Action Party, Routledge, London, 2002). This created fear among the people that voting for an opposition party might put their career at risk. People were forced to vote for the ruling party. This negated the concept of popularly elected government. The opposition parties could not play any role because they could not win a single seat in the parliament. Though the country's constitution provided for fundamental rights to the citizens, the PAP used Internal Security Act to curtail the liberties of the citizens and thereby undermined the role of opposition.

The Singapore constitution provides for universal adult franchise. Voting was compulsory for all citizens above the age of twenty-one.³⁰ If you don't vote in Singapore without a valid reason, you won't be able to vote in future elections. It also means that you're automatically disqualified from running as a candidate in any election.

Singaporeans enjoy all freedoms as long as they don't criticize the government. If they criticize the government, they may lose their citizenship. As a consequence, schooling for children and housing becomes expensive and he may not get proper employment.

Under Internal Security Act, the government could detain a person without any trial to maintain internal security and to prevent subversion.³¹ Making use of this act, the government detained many opposition leaders and other people who criticized its policies and crushed the opposition. Most of the opposition members who criticized the government were either imprisoned under ISA or faced defamation cases and had to pay heavy penalties and sometimes became bankrupt. The late J.B. Jeyaretnam, the first opposition member to win a seat in parliament in 1981, faced a series of lawsuits and was disbarred from his legal practice, jailed and bankrupted³²

In May and June 1987, twenty-two people were detained without trial under the Internal Security Act for an alleged involvement in a communist conspiracy. (Singapore: A Country Study) In the 1988 elections, Lee Siew Choh, a candidate of the Workers' Party was forced to go to court on the campaign's opening day and pay damages for comments he made about PAP during the 1984 election.

The other opposition member, Francis Seow, faced trial for alleged tax evasion. Another Workers' Party candidate, Seow Khee Leng, was threatened by the government with bankruptcy proceedings. All three had been successfully sued by Lee for defamation in earlier elections³³ As most of the opposition leaders were detained under ISA, the opposition political parties became weak. ISA effectively restricts opportunities for the growth of credible opposition parties and restrains freedoms of expression, assembly and association. In 1998, parliament amended censorship regulations to ban political parties from making videos or television advertisements.

The judiciary has consistently ruled in favour of the government. This shows PAP controlled everything and even Judiciary was not an exception. Opposition parties raised serious questions about

²⁸CHERIAN GEORGE "Governing Singapore, beyond Lee Kuan Yew"- 01 DEC, 2017

<http://www.newmandala.org/lky-legacy/>

²⁹Singapore A Country Study P.209

³⁰Ibid p 177

³¹B Gary Rodan : "The Internet and Political Control in Singapore", <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/4a44/261d6f27861ec949390454038e8b6b20997f.pdf>

³² Simon Long "The Singapore exception" The Economist July 18th 2015 P3

³³Singapore: A Country Study P:205

judicial independence. Human rights activists, foreign scholars have pointed out that members of the opposition parties frequently suffer hardships like arrest, defamatory lawsuits, and imprisonment. Singapore's government is known for effective administration and for practical and successful economic policies and also for authoritarian style of governance and limited tolerance for opposition.

Media and internet content are scrutinised and censored in Singapore. The Sedition Act bans the public discussion of most matters such as race and religion. The direct and verbal criticism of the government is also not tolerated. All seven television channels are controlled by MediaCorp, which is owned by a state investment company. Satellite dishes are banned in Singapore. Journalists face civil suits or criminal charges if they criticise the government. Singapore press house has close ties with the PAP and owns all general circulation newspapers. Journalists practice self-censorship due to fear of punishments. In 1994, a court fined two journalists and three economists under the Official Secrets Act.

An amendment to the Newspaper and Printing Presses Act in 1986 gave power to the government to restrict circulation of any foreign periodicals if the government felt that the publication or newspaper was provoking racial feelings among the people. The government used this to suppress opposition in all forms. The government could restrict press without actually banning the circulation of any publication sold in the country, including foreign periodicals. The laws justified the restrictions placed on the circulation of foreign publications such as the Asian Wall Street Journal (<http://www.nas.gov.sg/archivesonline/data/pdfdoc/862-1987-02-09.pdf>) and Time magazine's Asian edition in 1987. There is no protection for fundamental rights as legal justification is always provided for suppression. The government also restricted the circulation of Far Eastern Economic Review and Asiaweek in 1987 for "engaging in the domestic politics of Singapore."³⁴

On the pretext of maintaining multi-racialism, the government closed down many newspapers like Nan Yang Siang Pau and Eastern Sun (<https://www.nytimes.com/1982/07/20/world/singapore-citing-unity-again-reins-in-the-press.html>) whenever they criticised the government. The movies, television, videos, music, and the Internet are subjected to censorship. Internet is closely monitored and a number of websites are inaccessible from within Singapore.

Ministerial responsibility, a pre-requisite for parliamentary democracy could not be implemented because of the absence of criticism by the opposition parties. Both executive and legislature consist of members of the same party. Therefore, the ruling party did not have any difficulty in getting the bills enacted.

The Non-Constituency Member of Parliament (NCMP) scheme was introduced in 1984 to ensure the presence of a minimum number of opposition members in parliament. An NCMP need to belong to a political party and should obtain at least 15 percent of the votes cast.

An NCMP does not represent any constituency. He is entitled to vote on all matters except supply bills, money bills, constitutional amendments, motions of no confidence in the government and motions to remove the president from office.

The purpose of NCMP scheme was to give an impression of presence of opposition in the parliament. The opposition can only voice its opinions without having any real powers to affect policies. They cannot be a real threat to the government. Lee argued that having NCMPs would enable younger Singaporeans to learn about the role of constitutional opposition in the parliament.

The PAP government used community service centers and trade unions to promote their own party's strength and find eligible leaders for future and to weaken the opposition. In Singapore, Community organisations like People's associations and citizens consultative committees and National Trade union congress generated public support for government's policies. Community development councils were set up in 1997 to assist the needy and connect the community.³⁵ Though these associations were presented as apolitical, inclusive and community service bodies, they actually supported the policies of the government.

The People's Association was a statutory board established in 1960 and until 1985 it was a part of the office of the Prime Minister. Its principal activity was to manage organization of community centers, which offered recreational and cultural programs, kindergartens and some daycare centers for children of working parents. The government identified talented leaders of the community organizations and promoted them to more responsible positions and enrolled them to the political leadership.³⁶

³⁴Ibid p 214

³⁵Singapore year Book 2017 p 322

³⁶Singapore : A country study 192

The government took several measures to get full control over the working class. The rights of the trade unions were curtailed. Strikes were banned under the Employment and Industrial Relations Act. The trade unions were monopolized by the government. Lee's People Action Party (PAP) suppressed all independent labour unions and united them into a single organisation called the National Trade Union Congress (NTUC), which was controlled by the PAP³⁷. The NTUC became a crucial organization in the implementation of the PAP's policies and the mobilization of party support.³⁸ The PAP used the NTUC to discipline workers and to instil in them, the values of hard work and loyalty. Public housing scattered working class in to different localities. The working class started looking forward to the government for their employment and other welfare measures.

The government introduced many policies to implement multi-racialism and tried to inculcate Singaporean identity among the people in order to enhance the citizens' loyalty to the state.³⁹ Ethnic tolerance was strongly promoted, the four official languages were maintained, and Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English were taught in schools. In schools, every student has to learn an official language other than English and his mother tongue. English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil are the official languages of Singapore. The government housing scheme also ensured multiracialism by ensuring that people of different ethnic groups live together there in government built flats.

In 1988 the government introduced Group Representation Constituencies (GRC) to ensure representation of minorities. A GRC is a constituency where at least one MP is a person belonging to the minority race (Daine K Mauzy and RS Milne, 2002). A team of three members, at least one of whom had to be Malay or an Indian have to be elected for GRCs.

Based on the necessity for survival against heavy odds, resulting from its separation from Malaysia, The PAP government under the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew pursued policies which were highly pragmatic. As a result, it gave utmost importance to the economic development and was ready to do whatever necessary to improve it. PAP was successful in achieving high rate of economic development. At the same time it blocked the rise and growth of effective opposition necessary for a functional democracy.

The government had become technocratic. Most of the members of the parliament were professionals and civil servants. This eventually reduced the role of common man in the politics of the country. As a part of meritocratic principle, 1984 the Graduate Mother Scheme was introduced. (Remembering Lee Kuan Yew" Today 21/03/2015/ Singapore) The scheme provided direct financial benefits and special school enrolment privileges for graduate mothers having more than two children. At the same time this scheme offered financial and other benefits for the voluntary sterilization of women with little education who had at least one child and whose total household income fell below a certain specified level. Though this scheme was criticised on the basis of inequality, for PAP merit and economic development were more important than popularity.

The government of Lee Kuan yew became known its incorruptible, clean, efficient administration. Lee was a staunch believer in talent and promoted meritocracy and honesty at higher levels (Daine K Mauzy and RS Milne, 2002). Even the PAP political leaders were not exempt from anti-corruption laws. Singapore in the 1980s had become known for orderliness and effective administration, Stiff fines discouraged littering and citizens of all ethnic groups were subject to common, impartial standards of merit and achievement. By 1989 Singapore was cosmopolitan, prosperous, modernized, and orderly. Its population was educated in English and worked for multinational corporations.

Even for minor crimes in the city-state are met with severe penalties. Anyone caught conducting narcotic trade or serious corruption were met with the death penalty. As a result, Singapore has become a country with one of the lowest crime rates in the world. The country's draconian, but business-friendly laws became very appealing to international investors. By 1972 Singapore had many manufacturing firms which were either foreign-owned or joint-venture companies, and both the U.S. and Japan were major investors. Merit is the criteria for in the fields of education, civil service and armed forces and government-linked companies.⁴⁰ The government relied on bureaucracy for implementation of its policies. Most of the politicians were also from bureaucratic backgrounds. The PAP emphasized more on efficiency than

³⁷ Ibid 193

³⁸ Garry Rodan : Singapore 'Exceptionalism'? Authoritarian Rule and State Transformation, https://www.murdoch.edu.au/Research-capabilities/Asia-Research-Centre/_document/working-papers/wp131.pdf

³⁹ Stephan Ortmann: Singapore: The Politics of Inventing National Identity *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 4/2009 p 42

⁴⁰ Daine K Mauzy and RS Milne: Singapore Politics under Peoples Action Party, Routledge, London, 2002, P 55

popularity among the people. A budding politician must be good at his profession before entering into politics. There is no need to acquire popularity in the state where there is no representation of opposition in the parliament. The close relationship between bureaucrats and the ruling party blurred the difference between the administration and the PAP leaders. This reduced the role of politician to that of an administrator since economic development was given more importance than popularity of the elected institutions. The role of bureaucracy became more pronounced because of its active role in the implementation of government's policies. Consequently it led to the emergence of an "administrative state".⁴¹

In the power structure was extremely centralized. The high degree of centralization was facilitated by the country's relatively small size and less population (Singapore: A Country Study, 1996). Singapore's leaders were highly articulate and expressed their principles and goals in speeches, books, and interviews. For them the highest goal was the survival and prosperity of their small nation. With high emphasis on merit and performance the PAP started working like an office trying to deliver their best. Lee Kuan Yew believed that role of opposition is relevant only if the ruling party fails to perform. He felt that the opposition in Singapore is not relevant as the ruling party is honest and efficient and resourceful. There is hardly any scope for opposition parties to grow and develop.

The society has become depoliticized as people hardly talk about politics. They accepted the government's policies as long as they were not effected personally in matters of getting material benefits. The only way left for them to participate in the political activities was through the governmental organisations like community centres and citizens' consultative committees. In view of the government's oppressive policies, joining the opposition party would be of no use for a person who wants to make a career in politics. In these circumstances, people lost interest in politics of the country and accepted the policies of the government for the material benefits like housing, employment etc. The same situation continued till 1980, when the ruling party decided to give a chance to the younger generation to take part in the administration of the government. This was meant to groom the younger leaders to takeover in future in order to maintain continuity of the PAP policies.

No doubt, Singapore achieved high standards of living, full employment and political stability. In spite of these commendable features, Singapore was labelled as an "authoritarian state" or "police state" because of its antidemocratic policies. Absence of opposition and curtailment of fundamental liberties and freedom of press were definitely undemocratic. But Singapore is a small country with small population belonging to different races and religions. To maintain communal and racial harmony the government had to deal strictly with those who tried to incite racial feelings. These policies were necessary to maintain economic and political stability, but over a period of time, pushed Singapore into a situation where parliamentary democracy became a mere farce and tended to negate the basic norms of parliamentary democracy.

The goal of any form of government is to provide basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter and employment to the people. Singapore government is successful in providing housing, employment and clean and green environment, corruption free government, safe drinking water, good a transportation system and a society with less crime rate compared to any other country. According to Lee Kuan Yew the purpose of freedom of expression and strong opposition is to keep the government efficient. Since Singapore has a corruption free and efficient government there is no need for the same. PAP achieved extraordinary high economic development level and high standard of living for the people. The important question is whether the people of Singapore are happy with the present political situation. In spite of its powerful position, the Singapore government has maintained a clean, corruption-free image. Its economy is dominated by services, but the country is also a major manufacturer of electronics and chemicals.

The present Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong believed that political stability was prerequisite for development and modernization. Stability was the top priority even at the cost of certain individual freedoms. Most of the people are happy as they have housing and employment. To achieve multi-racialism, national integration and economic development, strict discipline and restrictions were necessary. These kind of restrictions are not viable in the long run. But now the country achieved all this and Singapore took great leap from a 3rd world country to a first world country, it can give freedom of expression to its people and make democracy practically real.

⁴¹ . Ibid, P 48

There is no personality cult in S. LeeKuanYews's photograph is not apparent in classrooms and offices. When he was alive, LeeKuanYew rightly said that he did not need any monument after his death as Singapore itself was his monument.

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