

Appendix

This appendix begins by providing information on the rules used to code the various mandate claims made by the PAP each election. Afterwards, it makes available the statement made by the particular claimant and the relevant supporting sources.

Coding of mandate claims

General precondition: To avoid obfuscating the mandate claim being operationalised by the claimant, it is exclusively derived from these *ex ante* and *ex post* sources:

1. Speech in the month immediately prior to the scheduling of the election. Historically, the mandate claim has been advanced during the National Day Rally or Election Nomination Day speech.
2. Speech in the immediate aftermath of the election, usually on the day of the poll or the next day.
3. Speech at the swearing-in of the new cabinet following the election.

Event response: This is operationalised when the claimant times an election in response to a non-policy related event. The selection of the event, which can have already occurred or be predicted to take place, is at the discretion of the claimant. Furthermore, it can be confined to the domestic or international realm. Some examples include the merger with the Malaysian Federation (1963) or leadership succession (1991).

Policy execution: This is operationalised when the claimant times an election to occur immediately prior to the intended tabling of major legislation in parliament or immediately following its passage through parliament. The importance of this policy is signalled by its mentioning in the above sources. Some examples include the Elected Presidency (1988) or Our Best Home in the 21st Century (1997).

Reward collection: This is operationalised when the claimant times an election in order to capitalise on its positive performance – subjectively understood -- in a given policy area. The source of the reward is at the discretion of the claimant; meaning it can occur in the domestic or

international realm and be economic or political in nature. Some examples include the management of the British withdrawal from Singapore (1972) or recovery for the Global Financial Crisis (2011).

Coding of general elections

1963 (event response) – claimant:

Lee Kuan Yew (1963) 'Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew's Speech on the Eve of Nomination Day (11 September)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 19630911). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

Tomorrow is Nomination Day. The general elections will decide the next government of Singapore. There were three reasons why we called for elections now. Firstly, three important points which had been agreed in London on 8th July had not been properly incorporated into the Malaysian Constitutional documents. One: It was agreed that Singapore will go into the Common Market gradually over a period of 12 years. At the end of 5 years there will be a Review Board to decide, and even then we can choose to pay the Central Government compensation instead of imposing taxes. In spite of this the Tariff Board Ordinance passed recently in Kuala Lumpur made equalisation of taxes immediate after the 5th year. Two: It was agreed that any restriction in migration between the States because of Singapore's autonomy on education and labour should be reciprocal. This amendment was not incorporated into Article 9 of the Constitution. Three: Although the Tunku had agreed to delegate to the Singapore Government powers of detention over secret society gangsters, the Federation Government proposed to do this by purely administrative action which could be revoked at any time by the Central Government. Two weeks ago in my discussion with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, I told him that these and several other points outstanding with the British Government, like the \$10 million which they had to pay us for land occupied by the Armed Services, had to be resolved by Monday, 2nd September. If they were not settled it was the intention of my Government to call for a general election in which these points would become issues. Now I am happy to report that these matters have all been amicably and satisfactorily resolved. But there are two other reasons why it is best for Singapore to have general elections now.

On 16th September, we shall enter a new phase, an era which can lead, together with the rest of our partners in Malaysia, to peace, stability and prosperity, or to chaos. One of the most important factors that leads to stability which in turn leads to prosperity, is for everybody to know where Singapore stands. The Common Market terms have been settled. The Jurong industrial site is ready for expansion. The only question of doubt in any investor's mind is which party will be the government for the next five years; and who will be the Ministers, because on that they will decide to invest and open factories or pull out. The sooner this is settled and finality established, the better for Singapore and for Malaysia.

The next reason is that the opposition parties had blocked our Bill for the election of 15 members in Singapore to the Federal Parliament. We must have the 15 members to represent Singapore in the Federal Parliament in Kuala Lumpur as soon as possible. It is our intention that these elections for the 51 seats will also decide the 15 members of Parliament in Kuala Lumpur. For we shall pass a Bill for the election of 15 members from 51 members you are now electing in proportion to the party representation as shown by the results of these elections.

Every general elections costs the government about three-quarters of a million dollars, money of the tax-payer that could be more usefully spent on constructive projects. Now it is up to you to elect the next government of Singapore, and at the same time decide who will represent Singapore in the Federal Parliament in Kuala Lumpur, who will stand up and speak up for Singapore. There is one difference about the general elections this time. With the agreement of the Federation and British governments and the Singapore Legislative Assembly, the Constitution has been changed so that any Assemblyman who resigns or is expelled from his party automatically vacates his seat. No Assemblyman after election can change sides. In other words, you will no longer be choosing an Assemblyman but the government. The party leadership constitutes the Cabinet. In this way there will be finality and stability for the next 5 years. It is for you to decide which party you can trust to lead Singapore to stability and prosperity and to defend her interests in Malaysia.

1968 (event response) -- claimant:

Lee Kuan Yew (1968) 'Statement by the Prime Minister at a Press Conference at City Hall on Nomination Day, 17th February, 1968'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. lky19680217). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

Neither in 1959, nor in 1963, had a new government been elected to face the kind of problems of the dimensions that we are now going to face. Our continued defence and security is a precondition to continuing confidence for continuing investment and expanding industries. A robust economy will in turn provide the revenues that will enable Singapore to carry more and more of its own defence and enable it to make its common defence with Malaysia even more secure. It is like the chicken and the egg. At the moment, we have got both the egg and the chicken. If we do our duty and do not flinch from unpleasant decisions, we will have bigger and better chickens laying more and better eggs in 1973. It is the business of this Government to see that we have the problems of redundancy, following the withdrawal of British bases and the reduction in the spending of British families here, in manageable proportions. This means new and imaginative policies. Some of them will require new legislation. Some will require stiffer administrative implementation of the renewal of old work permits or the issue of new ones, in the unskilled and semiskilled categories.

1972 (reward collection) – claimant:

Lee Kuan Yew (1972) 'Singapore Government Statement (16 August)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 19720816). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

The principal mandate on which the PAP was elected to office on 13th April, 1968, was to see Singapore through the problems brought about as a result of the rundown of the British military bases. This task has been successfully completed. The present government has therefore decided to seek a new mandate. For the next five years the government's main aim is to raise standards of skills and technical competence, and to improve professional, management and technological expertise. Only higher standards can enable Singapore achieve more sophistication in her industrial, commercial and servicing sectors, and enlarge her role as an international banking and financial centre, providing a home for the Asian Dollar. These new objectives require a change in policy emphasis, with the accent on quality.

Lee Kuan Yew (1972) 'The Prime Minister's Eve of Poll Broadcast (1 September)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. lky19720901). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

We, the PAP, have seen you through two major crises in 7 years - separation in 1965, accelerated British withdrawal in 1968. Hard work and realistic policies brought us through. Now we are on top of our problems. The prospects look good for the immediate future.

1976 (event response) – claimant:

Lee Kuan Yew (1976) 'Excerpts of a Press Conference Held by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, at the Singapore Polytechnic, Following Nominations for the 1976 General Elections (13 December)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 19761213b). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

Interview question: Prime Minister, why are you calling the election now, instead of nearer the end of your party mandate?

Prime Minister: I have always believed in clearing the decks before I run into rough weather. The OPEC Ministers are meeting on the 15 of December and if we are lucky, we may have an increase that the world can live with. I hope it will be so, in which case all will be well. It may be that they will have the increase in two bites as has been reported from Qatar – a small one for January and another one for June-July. The second one is that the economic recovery of the industrial economies both in America and in Europe, with the exception of Germany and probably Holland, has not been as predicted. There is a great deal of talk about tax cuts in America when the new Carter Administration takes over, with a budget deficit of something between US\$15 billion up to US\$30 billion. Maybe this can get the U.S. economy going, and at the same time, control inflation. I don't know. But I believe before running into rough weather, any sensible captain battens down his hatches.

I need hardly mention what may happen between the Arabs and the Israelis if there is no move towards a settlement in the Middle East. Things will happen in 1977 and not all of them may be favourable. So we have decided that we will forego the nine months that we are entitled to. I might also add that the Japanese election results mean that one of our major trading partners and investors is in a state of flux for some time. Their economic

recovery is also not likely to be as sustained as we have hoped it will be. All this is not helpful.

1980 (policy execution) – claimant:

Lee Kuan Yew (1980) 'Press Conference Held by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, After the Results of the 1980 General Elections (24 December)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 19801224). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

My Cabinet colleagues and I and all our PAP MPs are deeply moved by this massive vote of confidence you have given us. This will enhance our stability. Now you have given solid endorsement to our policies on national service and detention of pro-communist detainees, both vital to our security. We shall do our best to justify your faith in us and support for our policies. I am particularly happy that in the poorer and rural and urban areas, where people were troubled by low incomes or disturbed by resettlement, you have increased your support for us. We will continue our policies and do more in these poorer areas. We shall lessen the disruption and disturbance in your lives as we rebuild Singapore. We shall also find ways to lessen the problems for those who, as a result of changes in Singapore, have to change their occupation and find a new way of making a living. We face uncertain times ahead. But with your solid backing and co-operation, we shall resolve these difficult problems ahead, as we have done in the past.

1984 (event response) – claimant:

Lee Kuan Yew (1984) 'Speech by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at the Fullerton Square Rally on 19 December 1984'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 19841219). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

In December last year I announced that the elections would be held earlier than 1985 so that there was no need for a bye-election in Havelock. Had the US economy taken a downturn, we would have gone into the elections earlier to get a mandate to brace ourselves for the difficulties which will follow. Fortunately, the recession did not come. Because the economy kept on going till Mr Reagan's re-election, we announced elections for December. You may be curious to know why.

My first reason for giving long notice is to draw out the younger, rational, educated men who may be in the wings, wanting to form a party. In July, I moved an amendment to the Constitution to allow the three highest opposition candidates, in percentage votes, to be returned as non-constituency candidates if no opposition candidate wins any seat. I invited them to come out and participate. I think it is good for them and for the country that they should come out early, if not to win this time, then to prepare for 1988-89. None did. Maybe they will turn up after I have stepped down.

My second reason is to have a long period for electioneering, arguments, sniping, twisting, barracking by the opposition. As I expected they ran out of steam, they ran out of issues, arguments and ideas. They repeated themselves. They exhausted themselves.

A third reason is that we can name our candidate early, from February, and place them in their constituencies. We are proud of them. An incompetent opposition kept their candidates secret up to the last moment, nomination day itself. We assumed they were not proud of them. When they were disclosed on nomination day, we knew why. Most were yesterday's men, pre-occupied with yesterday's agenda - old, out-of-date, tired and threadbare. The rest are ambiguous, shadowy figures, improbable representatives of freedom and democracy, feeble champions of stability, security and prosperity. This election is political initiation for the post-Malaysia generation, the under-30's, the generation that has not personally experienced strife and deprivation. They need to hear about the future policies, ideas, views and vision that the parties have. Those who hold out themselves as leaders must have the wherewithal to tell this young generation whether they want to take them. The younger PAP team has set out to do this. The opposition has balked at it.

This is the last reason for having electioneering stretched over a whole year - the education of a whole generation of young voters. They have heard the attacks, smears, arguments against the government. They have seen the people who have made these extremist charges of bad intentions or crass stupidities. They have also seen and heard the PAP leaders rebutted these falsehoods and restated the facts. They must judge who are reliable, who are to be believed. It is not difficult. I have never been sued for slander or libel, and never paid anyone any damages for uttering lies. Dr Lee Siew

Choh had to pay to me \$50,000 in damages and costs in 1973 for falsely alleging "unlawful or wrongful activities and all sorts of bad things." My Jeyaretnam had to pay \$120,000 and costs in 1982 for falsely alleging corruption on issuing a banking licence to Tat Lee Bank because of my brother's interests.

1988 (policy execution) -- claimant:

Lee Kuan Yew (1988) 'Prime Minister's Eve of National Day Broadcast (8 August)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 19880808). Singapore: Ministry of Culture.

I have discharged my responsibility to provide for continuity. Now let me talk about your responsibility. This is my 30th year as Prime Minister. I think I know Singapore well. Let me share with you my concern. Many younger Singaporeans believe that there will always be an honest, fair and capable government. They are wrong. Older Singaporeans, who have experienced the Lim Yew Hock Government before 1959, know better. Look at other countries. See how much money is needed for elections elsewhere. Honest and competent government is rare in new countries because it is difficult to achieve. It is only because the PAP old guards have insisted upon and enforced high standards, and chosen men and women of integrity that Ministers and MPs have remained honest and competent. Those who have not, have had to pay the price. This is special to Singapore. It is precious asset of immense value for economic growth and political stability. And because the government has never sought to deceive people into believing that they will get something for nothing, everybody is self-reliant and the country's finances are sound.

Now the government proposes that you protect your collective savings by requiring an elected President to agree to it before it is spent. This will prevent any quiet spending of your savings. The fact that this government has not raided the reserves whenever revenue was short, is no guarantee that it may not happen in the future. We should put your CPF savings, which are a big part of the reserves, out of temptation's way.

Another proposal is that an elected President must consent to appointments of Members of the Public Service Commission and other more important statutory boards. This will be a check on any government who wants to replace the current incumbents with more pliable men. The

most important appointments are those to the Public Service Commission (PSC), for the PSC appoints the members of the Civil Service and promote them. Such a provision will ensure that sound and able men are appointed. Now let me talk of the recently passed Town Councils Act, 1988. This Act will put the MP in charge of his constituency town council. The honesty and competence of your MP will then directly affect you because he will be in charge of the maintenance and administration of your housing estate, instead of the HDB. He will control a budget of \$9 million yearly for a single member constituency or \$9 million for a Group Representation Constituency (GRC). This sum will increase as more functions like car parks, hawker centres and markets are handed over to town councils. If your MP is not honest, or not competent, you will know it soon enough. And if your estate is poorly run, repairs slow, and lift maintenance poor, you will be inconvenienced and worse, the re-sale value of your flat will be affected. So you had better take a careful look at the persons or the three persons, in a GRC, who seek to represent you. Your personal wellbeing will be at stake when you choose your MP. This change will make for careful and better selection of MPs by you and by political parties, and will be good for Singapore.

In new countries, democracy has worked and produced results only when there is an honest and effective government, which means a people smart enough to elect such a government. Remember, elected governments are only as good as people who choose them.

1991 (event response, policy execution) – claimant:

Goh Chok Tong (1991) 'Transcript of Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong's National Day Rally Speech (11 August)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc: 19910811). Singapore: Ministry of Information and the Arts.

We have published our programme in the next lap. We can succeed in implementing the next lap only if we have your support. It is our programme, but without your support, we cannot implement it. And for the programme to succeed, the able must care for the average and slow learners. Only then can a bond be built between the able and the others. Only then can we reinforce in Singaporeans this sense of family. Only then can we achieve our goal of having an extended family of Singaporeans.

I have originally thought of having the next general elections only in 1993, but my colleagues have told me that grassroots leaders have told them that

people are supportive of my new open, consultive style and they think I can improve the chances and they think we can improve the chances of success for the next lap if we go for early general election to get a strong mandate. They feel that the mood is right. I feel that the mood is right. I was chosen by my colleagues in Cabinet and in Parliament to be the Prime Minister. I want your endorsement as Prime Minister. When I call for a general election soon, I hope you will give me that clear mandate. I hope you will endorse my style of government, my way of doing things and my programme.

1997 (event response, policy execution) – claimant:

Goh Chok Tong (1997) 'Speech by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong at the Swearing-In Ceremony Held at the City Hall Chamber (25 January)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 1997012502). Singapore: Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts.

On 2 January 1997, Singaporeans gave their support for our policies to build Our Best Home in the 21st Century. Their confidence was based on what we have achieved in the last five years. My colleagues and I have kept Singapore thriving and moving forward in an ever changing and challenging environment. Working together, the people and the Government have created more wealth, built new homes, schools, hospitals, and infrastructure, and upgraded old ones. We have shared a large portion of the wealth, fairly and widely. We also continue to invest in our young through better schools and Edusave grants, scholarships and bursaries. And we will continue to enhance your assets, especially your properties, as we make progress year by year. We are building a nation of character, grace and compassion.

2001 (event response) -- claimant:

Goh Chok Tong (2001) 'Speech by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong at the Swearing-In Ceremony Held in the State Room, Istana, on Friday, 23 November 2001, at 5pm'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 2001112307). Singapore: Ministry of Information and the Arts.

The recent General Election was held in unusual circumstances. Singapore was in the grip of a recession, caused by a sharp drop in external demand. The terrorist attacks of September 11 had shocked the world, and aggravated the global economic slowdown which had begun earlier this year. The war against terrorist targets in Afghanistan had started, and the

world was braced for more terrorist attacks. There was much uncertainty and pessimism about the future. I called the election against this gloomy background. I sought the people's mandate:

- To take all practical measures to help Singaporeans get through the recession;
- To restructure our economy to meet new competitive challenges and a changing global environment; and
- To renew the political leadership, and have in place a new team to lead Singapore beyond 2007.

I said that I was fighting the General Election as Prime Minister for the last time. The people gave my Party and me their resounding support. More than 75 per cent of those who voted backed the PAP. They voted for leaders who were trustworthy, reliable and competent. They understood Singapore's vulnerabilities, and voted for a predictable and orderly political succession.

2006 (event response, policy execution) – claimant:

Lee Hsien Loong (2006) 'Post-Polling Press Conference (7 May)'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 2006050705). Singapore: Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts.

1. Voters have decided:

- Happy that the PAP has been returned to government;
- Overall % for PAP 66.6% (exactly two-thirds) – this is slightly higher than the % in 1997
- I want to thank Singaporeans for giving me and my team this strong mandate;
- Support has come from all communities, and across the board;
- Will do our best to serve you and work with you so that we can achieve our vision together.

2. Singaporeans have strongly supported what my government has been doing, and our plans for the future:

- We will now implement the programmes in our manifesto, to create opportunities for all, provide outstanding education for our young, get every Singaporean to play a role, improve our healthcare system, and attend to elderly and poorer citizens;

- We have a lot to do.

3. We now have a new leadership team in place, which will see Singapore through the next 15 to 20 years:

- We need a first-class team to cope with the rapid changes and unpredictable surprises that will come;
- Key is keeping in touch with changing demographics and the younger generation, and the new globalised world order;
- So we will also start immediately to search for more good people to reinforce our team at the next election.

2011 (reward collection) – claimant:

Lee Hsien Loong (2011) 'Transcript of Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong's National Day Rally English Speech on 14 August 2011 at the NUS University Cultural Centre'. National Archives of Singapore (doc. 20110824003). Singapore: Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts.

This is my first National Day Rally after the general elections. My team has a fresh mandate to implement our programmes to grow the economy, to improve our education system, to expand our healthcare system, housing, transport and so on. I have a new team that is settling in. It is gelling together to tackle both long range issues as well as immediate challenges which Singaporeans face.

From a national perspective, Singapore has done very well. Over the last five years, we ran into the worst storm we have ever encountered since independence. But we took bold and decisive measures, especially the Resilience Package and the Jobs Credit. The measures worked and sheltered us from the worst of the storm. If you look and compare today with five years ago, I think we can honestly say incomes have gone up some, people have jobs and homes, our city has been upgraded and Singapore is better. But unfortunately, it was such a powerful storm that even with a big and strong umbrella, we could not avoid getting a little bit wet. So Singaporeans felt the discomfort, the anxiety - compounded because of the rapid changes which we could not predict and which left us worrying what tomorrow would bring.

After the crisis passed, our economy bounced back faster than we had expected, which should be good news but it also brought its own problems.

Our infrastructure programmes could not quite catch up, there was a shortage in our housing programme, and people became very anxious over their HDB flats. Our public transport became a bit more crowded than it should be and people noticed. From a personal perspective, many citizens felt pressure in their daily lives even though you see the growth figures. Last year 14.5 per cent; this year so far, nearly five per cent, and they ask themselves, why has my cost of living gone up? Can I or my children afford to buy homes for ourselves? What about my healthcare costs as I grow old? In short, Singapore may be progressing, the country may be moving forward, but am I part of this progress, am I part of this story?

I can fully understand and empathise with these concerns because it has been a difficult ride - bumpy, stormy and causing anxiety from time to time. But we are tackling these problems, building more flats, improving our public transport, managing the inflow of foreign workers and immigrants. It will take a while to solve these problems because they are big and complicated issues, but we are heading in the right direction and things will gradually get better. So, please be patient and at the same time, please try and look beyond these problems which we can see as immediate concerns and look to longer-term, wider world issues which affect us and are of strategic importance to us.

2015 (event response) – claimant:

Lee Hsien Loong (2015) 'Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong's National Day Rally 2015 Speech', <http://www.pmo.gov.sg/mediacentre/prime-minister-lee-hsien-loong-national-day-rally-2015-speech-english>, accessed 26 August 2015.

In the last ten years, we built on what we inherited. We put brick on brick, we climbed step by step, we kept Singapore special, delivered results for Singaporeans. How did we do that? Mr Lee and his team planned beyond their terms, beyond their lifetimes. They nurtured the next generation of leaders and the next generation of Singaporeans. They taught their successors to do the same and this is what my team and I have sought to do for the last ten years. We have served you to the best of our ability, you have got to know us well, we have walked this SG50 journey together with you. My team and I take very seriously our responsibility to make sure that Singapore lasts beyond us. My core team are already in our late 50s and 60s. We will not be around forever and we must have the next team ready

in the wings. The nucleus is there – brought in at the last elections and earlier. They have taken charge of important programmes like Our Singapore Conversation, like SG50 as well as different ministries, including difficult ones. They have connected with Singaporeans young and old and participated fully in the major decisions which we have made. But we need to reinforce them, to round out the team to give Singapore the best possible chance of succeeding into the future. And that is what I need to do in the next election.

Singapore is at a turning point. We have just completed 50 successful years. Now we are starting out on our next 50 years of nationhood. Soon, I will be calling elections to ask for your mandate to take Singapore into this next phase of our nation-building. And this election will be critical. You will be deciding who is governing Singapore for the next five years; but more than that. You will be choosing the team who will be working with you for the next 15-20 years. You will be setting the direction for Singapore for the next 50 years. You will be determining the future for Singapore.

What will this future be? Will Singapore become an ordinary country, with intractable problems, slow or even negative growth; overspending; heavy burdens for our children; gridlocked government; unable to act? There are so many examples around the world. Or will Singapore always stay special for our children? A multi-racial society strengthened by diversity, not splintered by divisions. A rugged society where everyone strives to do his best, but looks out for his fellow men, a people who live up to our song “One People, One Nation, One Singapore.

If you are proud of what we have achieved together, if you support what we want to do ahead, the future that we are building, then please support me, please support my team because my team and I cannot do anything just by ourselves. We have to do it with you in order to do it for you. In fact, we have to do it together in order to do it for all of us to do a good job for Singapore so that we can keep Singapore special for many years to come. Another 50 years.