

OPERATIONS COORDINATING BOARD  
Washington 25, D. C.



January 8, 1957

OUTLINE PLAN OF OPERATIONS WITH RESPECT TO  
SINGAPORE AND THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA

I. INTRODUCTION

- A. References:
- (1) U. S. Policy in Mainland Southeast Asia (NSC 5612/1), approved by the President September 5, 1956.
  - (2) NIE 64-56, The Political Outlook in Malaya through 1960, dated January 24, 1956.
  - (3) NSC 5602/1.
  - (4) Executive Order 19575.

B. Special Operating Guidance:

1. Multi-Racial Nature of the Population. The population of Malaya is heterogeneous. The Malays, who regard themselves as the "true" inhabitants of the peninsula and therefore entitled to special privileges, number in the Federation only a small plurality over the second largest group, the Chinese. (If one combines the populations of Singapore and the Federation, the Chinese are the more numerous.) Other significant groups are the Indians, Eurasians, and Europeans. The problem of building a Malayan nation is vastly complicated by the fact that the separate groups have not inter-married to any great extent and continue to adhere to their separate languages, religions, and customs. The diversity of interests presents opportunities for communist exploitation. The rapid movement toward self-government and independence in Singapore/Malaya raises the important problem of preventing the Peiping-oriented Chinese from gaining ascendancy through constitutional or other means.

2. Independence for the Federation. It is planned that the Federation, with the blessing of the British, will become a sovereign nation within the Commonwealth by the end of August 1957. The problem will then become the maintenance against communist subversion of a free, pro-western nation composed roughly of half Malays and half Chinese. Malaya already exhibits many of the symptoms of hyper-sensitivity to western pressures which newly independent Asian nations have so consistently demonstrated. The U. S. should be ever mindful of this sensitivity.

3. Status of Singapore. Singapore is expected to achieve full internal self-government sometime early in 1957, and plans to hold elections for a new legislative assembly in August. Britain is expected to retain military bases in Singapore and to remain responsible for Singapore's external defense and foreign affairs.

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4. Relation of Singapore to the Federation. For a variety of reasons, Singapore and the Federation have moved separately toward full self-government and independence. Some form of merger of the two territories appears logical and desirable, but not certain to take place in the foreseeable future.

C. Major U. S. Commitments

The provisions of the Southeast Asian Collective Defense Treaty signed at Manila on September 8, 1954, apply to the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore since the U. K., one of the signers of the Treaty, is sovereign over those areas. The early independence of the Federation of Malaya will alter this circumstance. The present Chief Minister states privately he favors Malaya's joining SEATO, but internal political factors may preclude this step. However, some form of indirect connection is a possibility, e.g., through the special bilateral defense treaty with the U. K. which is under final negotiation.

II. ACTIONS AGREED UPON

NSC Citations

Para. 59. "Accept the present primary role of the British in Malaya insofar as they are willing and able to maintain it, and collaborate with the British so far as practicable."

OCB Courses of Action

1. Accepting the present primary role of the British, the U. S. should proceed along parallel lines insofar as the policies of the two governments coincide. At the same time the U. S. should continue to build up its own non-British contacts and intelligence sources and show discreet but direct interest in, and understanding of, the local situation.

Assigned to: State  
Support : CIA  
Target Date: Continuing

2. U. S. representatives in Singapore and Malaya should continue tactfully their efforts to convince the British of the wisdom of encouraging local government leaders to take courses of action which appear to the U. S. to be necessary.

Assigned to: State  
Support : CIA  
Target Date: Continuing

3. The U. S. should prepare itself to fill, if circumstances warrant, voids left unfilled by non-communist forces in the event



Para. 59. (Cont'd)

of a rapid deterioration of British and Commonwealth influence.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: When situation requires

4. The U. S. should collaborate with British information officials in the conduct of the U. S. information program insofar as such collaboration serves U. S. interests.

Assigned to: USIA  
Support : State  
Target Date: Continuing

Para. 60. "Encourage the British and local authorities to take vigorous actions to curb communist subversion, and be prepared to assist in such action as requested by British or local authorities."

5. The U. S. should continue to impress on the British the general threat which communist subversion poses to their own and Free World interests in Singapore/Malaya.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

6. U. S. representatives should continue their efforts to persuade the government leaders of Malaya/Singapore that their present control and the future independence of these areas will depend upon mutual and constant vigilance and firm action to break up the well-organized and well-financed international communist organization in both territories.

Assigned to: State  
Support : All agencies  
Target Date: Continuing

7. U. S. representatives should continue their efforts to persuade government leaders that they must take action to protect all citizens from the effective intimidation methods used by the communists.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

8. The U. S. should encourage the two governments to discredit, arrest (possibly through income tax evasion), or deport those



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Para. 60. (Cont'd)

rich pro-Peiping Chinese towkays who allow themselves to be useful adjuncts of the communist organization.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

9. Local Government officials should be urged to adopt effective measures to prevent circulation of communist propaganda through books, films, and newspapers.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

10. Schools, unions, and youth groups should be provided, through indigenous channels as far as possible, with books, publications, films, and other similar materials calculated to present the anti-communist world in a favorable light to offset the effect of communist propaganda, and should receive the help of visiting U.S. leaders and specialists.

Assigned to: USIA  
Support : State  
Target Date: Continuing

11. The U. S. should, when opportunities arise, discourage the training of Malayans, particularly in such fields as diplomacy and defense, in neutralist countries and should encourage their training in the U.S. and other countries firmly committed to anti-communist foreign policy.

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA, Defense  
Target Date: Continuing

12. U. S. representatives should encourage Singapore Government leaders to use sufficient pressure, through covert or other means, on the large-circulation Chinese-language newspapers to slant their news to the West instead of Peiping and to print first-hand accounts of the hard life in Communist China.



Para. 60. (Cont'd)

Assigned to: USIA  
Support : CIA  
Target Date: Continuing

13. The U. S. should continue the stepped-up publication of "Bebas" (Malay-language publication for Malays) and work out an effective Chinese newsletter publication to reach non-English-speaking Chinese.

Assigned to: USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

14. The U. S. should encourage the local governments to improve their own information services in order to present the truth to the people, counteract communist distortion, obtain public understanding of government actions and publicize favorable developments in economic, social and political fields. Upon request, and with British clearance and consent where necessary, provide U. S. advice and training in improving local information services, which should be operated by, with and for the local population.

Assigned to: USIA  
Support : State  
Target Date: Continuing

15. While recognizing that the problems of elementary and secondary education are the responsibility of the elected governments and of the U. K., the U. S. should cooperatively assist in covert and overt measures designed to reduce subversion in the Chinese schools.

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA, CIA  
Target Date: Continuing

16. The U. S. should encourage and where appropriate help to provide the means whereby indigenous agencies can organize and revitalize youth groups as a counter-attraction to the appeal of communist-oriented activities.



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Para. 60. (Cont'd)

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

17. U. S. representatives and programs in Malaya should avoid exclusive identification with any of the racial communities.

Assigned to: All agencies  
Target Date: Continuing

Para. 61. "Employ all feasible means to prevent Singapore and the Federation of Malaya from falling under Communist control. In the case of armed attack, place initial reliance on Commonwealth, ANZUS, or SEATO resources as appropriate, but be prepared to take such additional U.S. action as may be required."

18. The U. S. should use every effective method possible to prevent Malayan recognition of Communist China.

Assigned to: State  
Support : All agencies  
Target Date: Continuing

19. Efforts should be made to strengthen the diplomatic, political, cultural and economic ties of Malaya and Singapore with the non-neutralist nations of this area -- the Philippines, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Australia, New Zealand, the GRC, and Pakistan -- to offset the growing unity of the Afro-Asian bloc, the pull of Communist China, and the neutralist influence of Indonesia and India.

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

20. U. S. representatives should attempt to convince the local Chinese that help from "Mother China" would be inviting a fate such as Hungary, North Korea and Viet Minh; that Russia and China impose special harsh treatment upon their colonies, and upon home grown communist leaders after the take-over; and that being drawn into a communist system will lower present living standards and enslave the people.

Assigned to: USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

21. The U. S. should encourage eventual political recognition between Malaya and



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Para. 61. (Cont'd)

Taiwan, but postpone pressing this issue until a more opportune time because now it would cause bitter dissension and weaken the new government. Meanwhile, quietly encourage closer contacts, particularly trade.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

22. The U. S. should encourage the development of effective local police and military establishments.

Assigned to: State  
Support : Defense, ICA  
Target Date: Continuing

Para. 62. "Encourage the development of a strong, stable, independent Malayan nation within the Commonwealth."

23. U. S. representatives should seek opportunities to impress upon Singapore/Malayan leaders that independence and political stability depend first upon successful control of communist subversion; secondly, upon immediate and sustained efforts further to develop responsible, well-organized political parties; and thirdly, upon placing in effect as many social and economic reforms as are economically practicable to move the standard of living gradually and perceptibly upward.

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

24. U. S. representatives should seek to convince the Chinese, Malays and Indians that their present and future prosperity has been and will continue to be heavily dependent upon trade and ties with the free nations; that present and future trade prospects with Communist China are negligible in comparison.

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

25. The U. S. should encourage the efforts of the Malayan Governments to foster and



Para. 62. (Cont'd)

to nurture primary loyalty to Malaya. Conversely, actions by the governments of Singapore and the Federation which increase apprehension of Malayan Chinese as to their stake in the country should be discouraged.

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

26. U. S. representatives should encourage government leaders to convince as many Chinese "fence-sitters" as possible that (a) they have a stake in Malaya, (b) it does not pay to be a communist or a communist sympathizer (using forceful action if necessary), (c) after independence they would be well-advised to accommodate themselves to conditions by working peacefully to minimize discriminations rather than turning to revolt, (d) inviting Communist China's support would endanger their stake, (e) they can improve their position through constitutional processes, and (f) the "Chinese Communism is different" line is false.

27. U. S. representatives should attempt to convince Malay leaders that it is in their own interests to permit the Chinese greater participation in the new Malayan Government, and to allow conditions under which the Chinese can prosper with minimum interference and discrimination.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

28. U. S. representatives should seek opportunities to convince government leaders and business management that it is in their own interest to encourage and develop free trade unions as an important block to communist objectives of subverting the labor movement.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

29. Working to the extent feasible through American trade unions and the ICFU, the





Para. 62. (Cont'd)

U. S. should facilitate (and should encourage the U.K. to facilitate) the provision of funds and skilled labor organizers to strengthen the non-communist labor organizations in Singapore and the Federation, and simultaneously encourage employers by all appropriate means to recognize and

support non-communist labor organizations affiliated with the STUC and the MTUC.

Assigned to: State, USIA

Target Date: Continuing

30. The U. S. should discreetly encourage the Malayan Chinese Association, within the Alliance, to step up its efforts to attract the support of more of the Chinese community through use of skilled party organizers, publicists and advisers, and encourage the Alliance Government to assist the M.C.A. and the M.I.C. and give them credit for legislation and other official action which tends to encourage all Malaysians to regard Malaya as their home.

Assigned to: State

Target Date: Continuing

31. The U. S. should continue to encourage the political parties within the Alliance to use moderation in their dealings with each other and to impress upon their leaders that the best hope of a favorable future for an independent Malaya lies in maintaining good working relations within the Alliance.

Assigned to: State

Target Date: Continuing

32. The U. S. should encourage, and if requested, assist in the creation of a School of Public Administration within the University of Malaya.

Assigned to: State

Support : ICA

Target Date: Continuing

33. U. S. representatives should try persistently, but tactfully, to persuade elected Malayan officials that the future



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Para. 62. (Cont'd)

best interests of Malaya would be better served if those Malaysians possessing accredited U. S. professional degrees were allowed to practice their calling.

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

34. The U. S. should continue its present practice of avoiding actions, such as those relating to the U. S. stockpile, which would tend to affect adversely the price and marketing of rubber and tin.

Assigned to: All agencies  
Target Date: Continuing

35. Within limitations fixed by the necessity to avoid giving the impression the U. S. intends to dominate Malayan commercial markets in the future or is trying to supplant the British, the U. S. should promote trade and investment between the U. S. and Malaya by continuing trade promotion and investment activities, by dispatching a trade mission to Malaya and Singapore, and in strengthening the present U. S. commercial staff in the Federation.

Assigned to: Commerce  
Target Date: Continuing

36. The U. S. should plan for the prompt establishment of diplomatic relations with an independent Federation of Malaya.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Immediate

37. American influence in Singapore/Malaya should be increased by developing education facilities, teacher grants, book programs and an effective positive documentary motion picture program. The exchange of persons program, emphasizing labor, press and education grants, should selectively include American negroes and Asian-Americans.

Assigned to: USIA  
Target Date: Continuing



Para. 62. (Cont'd)

38. USIS, Malaya, should seek to moderate excessive nationalism and to combat narrow communalism among the Malays by distributing books in translation, circulating more widely news publications in Jawi, sending to the U. S. Malay leaders drawn from the smaller remote as well as the larger populous communities, stimulating inter-communal youth activities, and extending to secondary schools, largely attended by Malays, publications, films and sports programs.

Assigned to: USIA  
Support : State  
Target Date: Continuing

Para. 63. "Seek to assure free world strategic interests in Singapore, favoring, only if consistent with this end, elective institutions in Singapore and Singapore's incorporation with an independent Malaya within the Commonwealth."

39. U. S. representatives should continue their efforts to obtain intelligence on the plans and activities of influential elements in the country.

Assigned to: State  
Support : CIA, Defense  
Target Date: Continuing

40. The U. S. should encourage the British Government to take a sympathetic attitude toward Singapore's aspirations for internal self-government, so long as such aspirations are pressed by a responsible non-communist elected government able and willing to control subversion.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

41. The U. S. should avoid becoming identified in the public eye with possible British obstructionism in the eyes of the Malaysians and Chinese with regard to nationalist aspirations for self-government.

Assigned to: State, USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

42. The U. S. should oppose any efforts on behalf of British military authorities or Colonial Office officials to withhold granting full internal self-government to Singapore merely because of the desire

Para. 63. (Cont'd)

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to hold on at all cost to "Fortress Singapore".

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

43. The U. S. should encourage the Alliance to build up its strength in Singapore.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

44. U. S. officials in the Federation should continue in the most subtle manner to bring to the attention of the Federation's leaders the necessity of avoiding statements and actions which appear to dampen hopes for continued cooperation and ultimate merger between Singapore and the Federation. Likewise, the U. S. should try to influence the Singapore Government not to take steps which might further harden the opposition of the Malay leaders even further to such a merger.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

45. The U. S. should not push for early merger between Singapore and the Federation until it becomes clear that the newly independent Malaya can accommodate the local Chinese and control communist efforts to destroy the new nation.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Continuing

46. U. S. representatives should continue to remind the U. K. and the local Asian government leaders that every further step toward accommodation with Communist China involves the risk of adding to the appeal of Communist China to the local Chinese,

Assigned to: State  
Support : USIA  
Target Date: Continuing

Para. 64. "After Malaya attains full self-government

47. U. S. representatives should continue to seek opportunities to encourage the



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Para. 64. (Cont'd)  
and independence, be prepared, as appropriate and consistent with recognition of Commonwealth responsibility, to assist Malaya to maintain stability and independence, and encourage it to join SEATO."

Federation of Malaya to apply for admission to SEATO upon the assumption of Malayan independence. Since, however, present Malayan attitudes are such that Western pressure on Malaya in this regard is likely to engender only opposition to SEATO, our efforts at encouragement must be discreet and deft.

Assigned to: Defense, State  
Target Date: Immediate

48. The U. S. should urge Federation membership in the United Nations, and encourage immediate participation after independence in the specialized agencies of the UN, such as ILO, GATT, ECOSOC, and FAO.

Assigned to: State  
Target Date: Immediate

49. Should the Federation Government approach the U.S. for economic or technical assistance, the U. S. should consider such a request sympathetically, taking into account the Federation's plans for utilizing its own resources, resources available from public lending institutions and private investors, and the availability of assistance from the U.K. and other nations. If practicable, any large scale U. S. assistance should be extended in the form of a loan for U. S.-approved projects.

Assigned to: State, ICA  
Target Date: Continuing

50. The U. S. should undertake to negotiate a modern Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, an investment guarantee agreement, and a treaty for the avoidance of double taxation.

Assigned to: State, Treasury, Commerce  
Target Date: After assumption of sovereignty by the Federation

FOOTNOTE: Wherever appropriate, the above courses of action will be applied to the situation existing in British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, particularly those courses which deal with combating communist subversion.