



向坚定的自由战士
林福寿医生敬礼

Remembering Dr Lim Hock Siew
OUR FREEDOM FIGHTER

21 February 1931 to 4 June 2012



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Dr Lim Hock Siew speaks from Singapore Prison

PUBLIC STATEMENT DATED 18 MARCH 1972
RELEASED BY HIS WIFE, DR BEATRICE CHEN

I and hundreds of others were arbitrarily arrested on 2 February 1963. Many are still in prison. Ever since that day, we were, and are, unjustly and arbitrarily detained in prison without any kind of trial whatsoever for over nine years. We have gone through various kinds of persecution, struggles, hardships and difficulties during this very long period of over nine years of detention in prison. Recently an unusual development took place. On 13 January 1972, I was taken to the Headquarters of the Special Branch at Robinson Road where I was detained for 40 days together with my brother, Lim Hock Koon.

Two high-ranking Special Branch agents of the PAP regime indicated to me that if I were to issue a public statement of repentance, I would be released. They told me that nine years had passed since the date of my arrest and that it was time that my case be settled. They admitted that nine years was a long time. I told them that it was pointless to remind me of this long period.

A week after my transfer to the Special Branch Headquarters, the same two high-ranking employees spelt out the conditions of my release. They demanded from me two things. They are as follows:



Dr Lim Hock Siew and wife, Dr Beatrice Chen, taken in April 2012

- (1) That I make an oral statement of my past political activities, that is to say, “A security statement”. This was meant for the Special Branch records only, and not meant for publication.
- (2) That I must issue a public statement consisting of two points:
 - (a) That I am prepared to give up politics and devote to medical practice thereafter.
 - (b) That I must express support for the parliamentary democratic system.

I shall now recall and recapitulate the conversation that took place between me and the same two high-ranking Special Branch agents during my detention at the Special Branch Headquarters.

Special Branch — You need not have to condemn the Barisan Sosialis or any person. We admit that it is unjust to detain you so long. Nine years is a long time in a person's life; we are anxious to settle your case.

Dr Lim Hock Siew — My case will be settled immediately if I am released unconditionally. I was not asked at the time of my arrest whether I ought to be arrested. Release me unconditionally and my case is settled.

Special Branch — The key is in your hands. It is for you to open the door.

Dr Lim Hock Siew — To say that the key is in my hands is the inverted logic of gangsters in which white is black and black is white. The victim is painted as the culprit and the culprit is made to look innocent. Four Gurkha soldiers were brought to my house to arrest me. I did not ask or seek arrest or the prolonged detention for over nine years in prison without trial.

Special Branch — You must concede something so that Lee Kuan Yew would be in a position to explain to the public why you had been detained so long. Mr Lee Kuan Yew must also preserve his face. If you were to be released unconditionally, he will lose face.

Dr Lim Hock Siew — I am not interested in saving Lee Kuan Yew's face. This is not a question of pride but one of principle. My detention is completely unjustifiable and I will not lift a single finger to help Lee Kuan Yew to justify the unjustifiable. In the light of what you say, is it not

very clear that I have lost my freedom all these long and bitter years just to save Lee Kuan Yew's face? Therefore the PAP regime's allegation that I am a security risk is a sham cover and a facade to detain me unjustifiably for over nine years.

MY STAND ON THE MAKING OF A SECRET ORAL SECURITY STATEMENT FOR THE RECORDS OF THE SPECIAL BRANCH

I cannot and will not make any statement to condemn my past political activities. My past political activities were absolutely legitimate and proper. Whatever I had done or said was in the interest of and in the service of the masses of our people and of our country. Even an accused person need not say anything to incriminate or to condemn himself. Why should I who am arbitrarily detained without any kind of trial for over nine years be coerced to act as an agent to the Special Branch by making a secret deal behind the backs of the masses? I resolutely reject this demand. Furthermore, I have not the slightest obligation to account my past political activities to Lee Kuan Yew.

A. MY STAND ON THE DEMAND OF MAKING A PUBLIC STATEMENT

I completely reject in principle the issuing of any public statement as a condition of my release. This is a form of public repentance. History has completely vindicated my position. I was arrested for opposing merger with "Malaysia" because I

held the view that “Malaysia” was a British-sponsored neo-colonialist product and the creation of “Malaysia”, far from uniting our people and our country, would cause greater disunity and dissension among our people. I believe that the formation of Malaysia would be a step backward and not forward in our struggle for national unity.

I have nothing to repent, to recant or to reform. If anything I have become more reinforced in my convictions, more reaffirmed in my views and more resolute to serve the people of Malaya fully and whole-heartedly. I have nothing to concede to Lee Kuan Yew. By right, he should make a public repentance to me and not I to him.

B. MY STAND ON THE DEMAND THAT I MUST GIVE UP POLITICS IN EXCHANGE FOR MY RELEASE

I hold the view that these two demands are self-contradictory, because if there is democracy, I need not give up politics. The fact that I had been detained for over nine years in order to coerce me to give up politics is proof enough that there is no parliamentary democracy. The question of taking part in politics is a fundamental right of the people.

An indirect offer was made to me to leave Singapore for further studies. I have replied to the PAP regime that if I had to leave the country at any time, it must be on my own free volition and not under coercion by the PAP regime.

C. MY STAND ON THE DEMAND FOR SUPPORT FOR PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

I hold the view that to support the PAP regime's so-called parliamentary system would mean giving the public and the masses a false impression that there exists today a genuine parliamentary democratic system in Singapore Island. It is an undeniable and unforgettable fact that comrade Lee Tse Tong who was elected by the people of Singapore in the 1963 General Elections, was arbitrarily arrested and detained without trial soon after he was elected. Subsequently, he was deprived of his citizenship and he is still under detention as a so-called "banishee" in prisoner's clothes in Queenstown prison. The arbitrary arrest and prolonged detention of Comrade Lee Tse Tong affords concrete proof that the so-called parliamentary democracy is a cruel mockery. It does not exist in Singapore Island. Giving support to such a sham parliamentary system means complete betrayal of the people. I will never betray the people of my country under any circumstance. Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve.

Parliamentary democracy does not mean merely casting of votes once in five years during election time. Far more important than this is the freedom of thought, the freedom of expression, the freedom of association, the freedom of organisation everyday during the five-year period and continuously thereafter. I was arrested when the Barisan Sosialis was actively participating in the parliamentary system. For such participation, the colonial government, the Lee Kuan Yew and Rahman regimes had rewarded me with over nine years of imprisonment. This again amply indicates the utter shamness of the so-called parliamentary democratic system. After over 9 years of detention, I am now asked to give support to their so-called parliamentary system in order to secure my release. I firmly refuse to give my support for the sham and illusory democracy in Singapore Island.

MY STAND ON THE REQUEST BY THE AGENTS OF THE PAP REGIME TO CONCEDE SOMETHING TO SAVE LEE KUAN YEW'S FACE

Since history has fully vindicated my stand and my position, Lee Kuan Yew should openly and publicly repent to me and to all other political detainees, now unjustifiably detained in prison. By right a just and proper base for my release from my prolonged and unjustifiable detention (and this equally applies to all political detainees now under unjustifiable detention) should be:

- (a) Our unconditional and immediate release from detention and the complete restoration of all our democratic and human rights.
- (b) Payment of adequate compensation to me and to all other political detainees for the prolonged and unjustifiable detention in prison.
- (c) The issuance of public apology by Lee Kuan Yew to me.

We are willing and prepared to concede the last two conditions as listed above. We do not believe that an arrogant man like Lee Kuan Yew will apologise or compensate us. On the first condition that is to say, our demand for unconditional and immediate release from detention, and for the complete restoration of all our democratic and human rights — we must resolutely say: **WE WILL NEVER CONCEDE, BITTER SACRIFICE STRENGTHENS BOLD RESOLVE.**

林福寿医生于1972年3月18日 发表的狱中声明

1963年2月2日，我和其他百余人被蛮横逮捕。许多人至今仍在狱中。从那一天开始，我们在不公和蛮横的情况下，没有受到任何形式的审讯而被拘留在监狱长达九年。在漫长的九年监禁期内，我们经历了各种迫害，挣扎，艰辛和困难。最近却有了不寻常的发展。1972年1月13日，我被带到位于罗敏申路的政治部总部，在那里跟我的弟弟林福坤一起被扣留了四十天。

两名人民行动党政权下的高阶政治部官员对我说，如果我愿意发表一份公开悔过声明，我将获得释放。他们告诉我，自我被捕至今九年已经过去了，应该是了结我的案子的时候了。他们承认九年是一段漫长的岁月。我告诉他们提醒我那是漫长的时间是毫无意义的。

我被转移到政治部总部的一个星期后，那两名高阶官员高声宣读释放我的条件。他们要求我做两件事，即：

- (1) 我必须做一份交代我过去的政治活动的口述声明，亦即一份“安全声明”。那只是给政治部做记录用的，不会公开。
- (2) 我必须发表一份包含以下两点的公开声明：
 - a. 我准备放弃从事政治活动，未来也将投身行医；
 - b. 我必须表达对议会民主制度的支持。

现在，我想回索和摘录当时我被拘留在政治部总部时与两名政治部官员对活的要点。

政治部官员：你不必怪罪社阵或任何人。我们承认扣留你这么久是不公义的。九年是一个人一生中很长的时间，我们急着了结你的案子。

林福寿医生：如果我被无条件释放，我的案子即可立即结案。当我被捕时，我没有被询及我是否应该被捕。无条件释放我，我的案子就了结了。

政治部官员：锁匙就在你手上。那是给你开门用的。

林福寿医生：说锁匙在我手上是流氓的逻辑，颠倒黑白，将受害者描绘为犯人，犯人又被粉饰为无辜。带了四名辜加兵到我家来

逮捕我。我并没有要求逮捕我或不经审讯长期拘留我达九年之久。

政治部官员：你必须做出让步，以便李光耀可以向公众解释为何你被拘留这么久。李光耀先生他也要面子。如果你无条件被释放，他会很没有面子。

林福寿医生：我对李光耀的面子不感兴趣。这不是自尊心的问题，而是原则。我的拘留是完全没有公义可言的，我不会拨一根手指来帮助李光耀去辨明那些不可辨明为正当的事。按照你的说法，难道我这些年来长期受苦，失去自由是为了给李光耀留个面子吗？那么人民行动党政权宣称我对安全构成威胁，并因此而不公义地把我拘留了九年的事就是一场谎骗和托辞了。

我为政治部做记录所用的 秘密口述声明所持的立场

我不能，也不会做出任何自我谴责我个人过去的政治活动的声明。我过去的政治活动是完全合法与正确的。我所做的事和所说的话，都是从人民的利益和为国家服务出发。连任何一名被告人都不需要说出一句足以使自己蒙上

罪名或责备自己的话。那么未经审讯而被蛮横拘留长达九年的我，怎么会被迫去像当个政治部的手足一样，背着群众去跟政治部达致秘密交易协议呢？

我对于被要求做出公开声明所持的立场

原则上，我完全拒绝发表任何公开声明作为释放的条件。这是一种公开悔过的形式。历史已经完全为我正确的立场进行了辩白。我是为了反对跟“马来西亚”合并而被捕的。因为我认为“马来西亚”是一个由英国人所赞助的新殖民主义的产物；而“马来西亚”的创立，并不能团结我们的人民和国家，相反的，它会在人民之间造成严重的分裂和纷争。我相信马来西亚的建立，将使我们争取国家团结的斗争倒退，而不是进步。

我没有什么可忏悔，可反悔或可变革的。如果有，就是我要更强化我的信念，更肯定我的观点和更坚决地继续全心为马来亚人民服务。我没有什么可以让步给李光耀的。反而是他应该向我公开宣告他反悔。

我对于被要求放弃从政 以换取自由的立场

我认为这两项要求都是自相矛盾的，因为如果有民主的话，我不需放弃政治。我被拘留九年以上就是为了逼迫我放弃政治的这一个事实本身就说明了没有议会民主。参与政治活动是人民的基本权利。

另外，我还间接得到一个献议，即离开新加坡到外国留学。就这一点，我给行动党政权的答复是如果我有需要在任何时候离开这个国家，那必须出于我个人的自由意志，而不是碍于行动党政权的迫使。

我对于被要求支持议会制度的立场

我认为支持行动党政权所谓的议会制度意味着给人民一个虚假的印象，使人误以为当今的新加坡存在着一个真正的议会民主制度。李思东同志在1963年的新加坡大选中获胜，随即被蛮横地逮捕与未经审讯便遭到扣留。这是一个不可否认不可遗忘的事实。之后，他被遽夺了公民权，至今仍像个“被逐者”一样，身穿囚衣被关押在女王镇监狱。蛮横地逮捕和长期扣留李思东同志一事证明了所谓的议会民主不过是一个粗暴荒诞的讽刺。议会民主不存在于新

加坡。支持这样一个假冒的议会制度就是彻底背叛人民。我不会在任何情况下背叛我国的人民。痛苦的牺牲强化了我坚毅的决心。

议会制度不仅仅是每五年投票一次的选举活动而已。比这更重要的是在这五年间及其后的每一天里，都应该有思想自由，言论自由，社交自由，结社自由。我是在社阵还很积极参与议会制度期间被捕的。我的这个参与，让殖民地政府，李光耀和东姑阿都拉曼政权回敬给我的是超过九年的牢狱之灾。这再一次充分说明了所谓的议会制度根本就是假冒的。经过九年的拘留，我现在竟被要求支持他们所谓的议会制度以换取释放，我坚决拒绝支持假冒和虚幻的新加坡岛民主。

我对于人民行动党政权代理人要求做出某些让步以挽回李光耀面子的立场

既然历史对我的立场和地位已经给予肯定，并还我清白，李光耀应该公开对外向我以及其他至今还被不公义地囚禁的政治拘留者表示忏悔。应该说，一个公正和正确让我从长期不公的拘留中释放出去的基础（这也适用于目前被不公囚禁的所有政治拘留者）应该是：

- a. 立即无条件释放我们，并完全恢复我们应有的民主和人权；

- b. 对长期不公的囚禁，政府应支付适当的赔偿给我和其他所有政治拘留者；
- c. 李光耀应向我公开道歉。

我们愿意并且准备对上述列举的后两项条件作出让步。因为我们并不相信傲慢的李光耀会向我们做出道歉或是做出赔偿。

第一项条件，亦即无条件及立即释放，以及完全恢复所有应有的民主和人权的要求，我们坚决表示这是绝不可让步的一项要求。痛苦的牺牲强化了我们坚毅的决心。

Tribute to Lim Chin Siong

LIM HOCK SIEW*

On the evening of 5 February this year (1996), a most humane and valiant heart stopped beating – Chin Siong left this mortal world.

Friends, comrades, before us lies the body of not an ordinary person. Chin Siong is a hero – a national hero – a legend in the glorious history of our people's struggle for freedom and social justice.

We are here to honour, to cherish, indeed, to consolidate the noble spirit on which Chin Siong had lived his life.

Chin Siong attained a level of human consciousness that transcends all personal gains and greed, to serve his fellowmen, fully and whole-heartedly.

His was a consciousness that had no place for arrogance and conceit — only humility. His strength, his courage, arose only from his deep love and concern for the plight of his fellow human beings — a love that recognized no racial or cultural barriers.

Those who were poor, downtrodden, those who were oppressed, were his friends. Those who sought to deny our people their right to justice and dignity regarded Chin Siong as their enemy.

But the strength and nobility of Chin Siong's character

were self-evident to all those who had come to know him. He was an extremely kind, gentle and compassionate person. His actions were motivated purely by his love for his fellowmen, not by hatred against any particular person.

He had no personal enemies, only high principles and noble causes to which he dedicated his entire life.

He was a political leader who sought no personal gain or reward, and certainly not for pay. Nor was he tempted by privileges and trappings of high office, or deterred by deprivation of personal freedom.

As a trade union leader, he totally identified himself with the common worker whose cause he so fearlessly and uncompromisingly championed.

He led a most simple life, and very often, his bed was the wooden bench in the union headquarters at Middle Road.

To this day many workers of his generation still fondly remember Chin Siong for what he had done for the workers in the 1950s and 1960s.

But it was as a political leader that Chin Siong will be best remembered and respected.

No amount of distortion by his detractors can conceal the fact that Chin Siong was the most fearless and uncompromising fighter against British colonialism in Singapore.

The colonial authority had not relinquished its rule simply because some person or persons could reason with it in impeccable English.

Colonial authority respects only the strength of the people and it was during that crucial stage of our people's anti-colonial struggle that Chin Siong played the pivotal role in rallying and mobilizing our people to free themselves from the degradation and humiliation of colonial rule.

His ability to communicate with the common man, his

ability to explain complex political issues in simple layman's language, his complete identification with the oppressed and downtrodden – these were the hallmarks of Chin Siong's political leadership – a leader whose ability, sincerity and dedication aroused the people to free themselves from colonial domination.

But Chin Siong did not struggle only for Singapore's independence. His struggle had always been to attain Singapore's independence in a truly united and democratic Malaya, including Singapore.

He strongly opposed the terms of Singapore's merger into Malaysia because he was totally convinced that the unequal terms of merger for Singapore would lead to racial disharmony and division among our people. The outbreak of racial riots after the merger in 1963 and the subsequent expulsion of Singapore from Malaysia amply exonerated Chin Siong's stand.

But to be proven right was insufficient to earn Chin Siong's release from imprisonment. His continued incarceration took a severe toll on his health, and in 1967, he became seriously ill. It was during the acute stage of his illness that Chin Siong was exiled from Singapore and denied his rightful role in the political life of our country.

Chin Siong was expelled from Chinese High School for his confrontation with the colonial authority over, among other things, the issue of military conscription. In those days, the colonial power did not regard our people as fit to be free but only fit to die to defend our own slavery.

Although denied a formal higher education, Chin Siong, in the course of his political struggle, had graduated from the highest institution of political education — the political prison. Those who knew him could not but be impressed by

his intelligence and knowledge.

Friends, comrades, it has been rightly said that the life of a person who sacrifices himself for his fellowmen is as weighty as Mt Taishan, but the life of a person who lives only for himself is as light as a bird's feather.

Chin Siong, you have been a Taishan in our midst!

Now, it's time for you to take your well-earned rest!

Sleep well, my dear comrade, sleep well!

* Dr Lim Hock Siew came in touch with and got to know Lim Chin Siong in the mid-1950s as a politically active medical undergraduate member of the Socialist Club of the University of Malaya, then located on Singapore island.

Both Chin Siong and Hock Siew were leading members of the Barisan Sosialis when they were arrested and detained without trial together with well over a hundred others in early February 1963.

The above is the text of Hock Siew's oration as the final speaker just before Chin Siong's cremation, attended by about two thousand mourners on the morning of Friday, 9 February 1996.

The cremation hall was jam-packed with people and many had to stand at the entrance foyer and on the grounds around the building. Some of those attending had flown in from as far as Penang. Several others had come from Kuala Lumpur.

Hock Siew ended his oration with a call for an ovation of clapping to bid Chin Siong a hero's farewell. The response was thunderous as the prolonged clapping rose to a crescendo with the moving of Chin Siong's body away from the cremation hall to the incineration chamber.

向林清祥敬礼

林福寿

今年二月五日傍晚，一颗仁慈充满活力的心停止跳动了——林清祥离开了这个尘世！

朋友们、同志们，躺在我们面前的不是一个平凡的人。林清祥是个英雄，一个民族英雄，是我们人民在追求民主与社会真理的历史中的一个传奇人物。今天我们聚在这里，为的是要纪念、珍惜与巩固，林清祥一生中所代表的那种崇高与毫不妥协的精神。林清祥所体现的是那种超乎个人得失，一心只想为人民全心全力服务的正义感。在林清祥所体现的精神中，人们看不到丝毫的高傲与自负，人们看到的只有谦虚。

林清祥的力量和勇气是来自于他对于同胞们的爱心与关怀，那种超乎种族与文化界线的爱心。所有穷苦的人、受迫害的人。都是林清祥的朋友。但，对于那些一心想剥夺人民追求民主与真理的权力的人来说，林清祥是他们的宿敌。

所有曾经和林清祥接触过的人，都能亲身感觉到林清祥的力量和他的超凡魅力。他是个极端慈善、温和、富有同情心的人，他的一切行动，完全是出于他对于同胞的爱，而从来不是出于他对任何个人的仇恨。

林清祥没有任何个人敌人。他有的，只有对于他崇高的理想和原则的献身精神。他是个从不追求个人得失、个人酬报或高薪的政治领袖。他也绝不会为高官厚禄或者荣华富贵所诱惑，更不会为了失去人身自由而畏缩。

作为一个工会领袖，林清祥深切了解工人的困境，并与他们认同。他为他们的切身利益进行了无畏的斗争。他生活简朴，往往把工会里的木板凳当睡床。直到今天为止，他那个时代的工友，都忘不了林清祥为他们所做的一切。

然而，人们更加怀念尊敬的林清祥，是一个重要的政治领袖。尽管他的敌人百般的诋毁，林清祥始终是新马反殖民地主义运动中，最英勇，最不肯与敌人妥协的一位战士。

殖民统治者可不是为了有人能以漂亮的英语与他们争辩，才放弃了对新加坡的统治！

殖民统治者所害怕的，是人民的力量，就在那最紧要的关头，林清祥扮演了最重要的角色。

他动员与带领了人民群众，英勇地把他们从殖民统治下解放了出来。

林清祥所代表的政治领导，是那种能和普通大众对话的政治领导，那种能以最简单的语言向人民解释复杂课题的政治领导，那种能与受迫害的人民群众打成一片的政治领导。

作为一个政治领袖。林清祥以他的才华、真诚，策划并带领人民群众摆脱了殖民地的统治。

林清祥争取的不仅仅是新加坡的独立，他的目标是，通过和马来亚合并而达到独立。他强烈反对当年的马来西亚计划，因为他完全相信，合并的条件是不平等的，这将造成民族的不和和分裂。1964年在新加坡爆发了种族纠纷，接着新加坡被赶出了马来西亚，这充分证明了林清祥的立场的正确性。

然而，林清祥并不因此就获得释放，他继续被扣留。一直到1969年，他病倒了。就在这个时候，他离开了新加坡，从此丧失了他在新加坡政治生活中生存的权力。

林清祥因与殖民地政府对抗而遭华侨中学开除。他反对殖民政府的政策，反对为殖民政府服兵役。在那个时候，对殖民统治者来说，老百姓不配当家做主，只配为他们的利益当奴隶。

虽然他没有机会受过高深的教育，但在他们的政治斗争过程，他已从最高的政治学府——监牢——毕了业！所有认识林清祥的人，都会佩服他的智慧与才识！

朋友们、同志们，有人说，人的一生，轻如鸿毛，重比泰山。林清祥啊，你是我们当中的一座泰山！你已经为你的同胞做了你应该做的事。实际上，你比任何人做了更多的事！你可以安息了。亲爱的同志，安息吧！

(1996年2月9日在葬礼上)



右起：林福寿医生，Samad Ismail，陈世鉴和 A Mahadeva
在吉隆坡参加林清祥的追思会

Dr Lim Hock Siew's speech at the launch of *The Fajar Generation**

14 NOVEMBER 2009

My contribution to this book is very modest. Because of my ill-health, I've not been able to write too much. It comprises mainly of a statement which I made when I was in prison in 1972, after 9 years of incarceration.

As you know, I was detained in Operation Cold Store on 2 February 1963, and I was the last one to come out from that batch of detainees, almost 20 years later. Now this statement mainly states my stand on my detention.

After 9 years of incarceration, they wanted me to issue a statement to firstly support the so-called democratic system of Singapore, and secondly to renounce politics. I told them that these two demands are self-contradictory, because if there is parliamentary democracy, then I don't have to give up politics.

So they said, "You must say something to show repentance otherwise Lee Kuan Yew will lose face." For me it's not a question of pride, it's a question of principle. In the first place, if a person has to save his face by depriving somebody else of his fundamental rights, then that's not a face that's worth saving.

* Edited by Poh Soo Kai, Tan Jing Quee & Koh Kay Yew (2010)

So to me the democratic right is a fundamental constitutional right of the people of Singapore. And no one should be deprived of that right, and be held ransom to extortion of statements of repentance and contrition. The whole thing boiled down to having to issue a statement of repentance, which I refused.

Subsequently, I was detained for another 10 years, after that statement was issued. So a total of 19 years and eight months, longer than a life sentence. Life sentences will be released after 13 years, after the initial one-third remission, but for no charge, no trial, I was detained for longer than a life sentence.

A lot of hullabaloo has been made recently on the right of political detainees to appeal to an Advisory Board. I want to tell you about my experience before this Advisory Board.

After about one year of detention, I was asked to go to the prison main gate at about 4pm, and a statement of notice to say that I had to appear before the Advisory Board the next day, and I was given two foolscap paper of so-called charge sheets.

I said I wanted to keep these sheets of paper so I could prepare for the next morning's appearance. They said, "No, you cannot keep it. Just read it and we'll take it back."

I said I wanted to inform my lawyer about this. They said, "No, you have the right to inform your lawyer, but you cannot telephone him now." I said, "In that case, how do I contact my lawyer?" They said, "That's the law."

So the next morning I was called to the High Court in handcuffs and all that to appear before an Advisory Board comprising three persons. A judge called Judge Winslow and two other persons. One is a certain Elias, I think he's a lawyer, and the other one a Chinese gentleman whose name I cannot remember.

On these so-called charge sheets, there were a lot of blank spaces. I asked Judge Winslow, “What do these blank spaces mean?” He said, “Oh, these are charges which are so sensitive that they can be shown only to the Advisory Board but not to you.”

I said, “How the hell can anybody defend himself against a charge that’s not even revealed to him?” I asked him for advice, he just shrugged his shoulder. I said, “Is this a mockery of justice or what?” He said, “This is the law.”

You see, the whole thing is a judicial farce. I mean, it’s incredible that anyone has to face this kind of mockery, this kind of so-called justice, and the fact that a High court judge is being put as the chairman of this Advisory Board gives the public an illusion that there is justice. And I told him that if I were a High court judge, I would not lend credence to this mockery by my presence.

Then this Elias threatened me with contempt of court. I was very happy when he threatened me with contempt of court, because after all I was already in prison, so threatening me with contempt of court and all that makes no difference to me. By the way, in my 20 years in prison, I was detained in practically all the prisons in Singapore, except of course the female prison.

In the end, the judge said, “No, no, let the doctor have his say, there’s no question of contempt of court.” So I gave a three-hour statement to debunk all the so-called charges. One of the charges was in fact a false charge.

I was charged for being one of the eight Fajar students who were charged for sedition. I said, “As a matter of fact, I didn’t have the privilege to be one of the eight. In fact, I would be flattered to be one of the eight, but I was not one of the eight.

So why should I be imprisoned for allegedly being one of the eight, when these eight were acquitted without defence being called, and they were defended by Lee Kuan Yew himself, who is now detaining me?”

He said, “This is the law.”

Everything is the law. So recently you have heard about all this so-called rule of law. Now there is detention without trial by ISA [Internal Security Act], a law which makes a mockery of the concept of rule of law. It is a law that is outside the rule of law. Once you are detained under the ISA, you have no legal defence whatsoever.

I tried the habeas corpus twice. On one occasion I succeeded on a technical error on the side of the government — they did not sign my detention order. It was supposed to be signed by a minister, but it was delegated to a civil servant. So on that account the court had to release me on a technical point.

So when I was released, there was the Special Branch waiting for me outside Queenstown Prison. I was re-arrested one minute later. It was a mock release. And for that habeas corpus, I was punished and sent to the most hideous of all detention centres, the Central Police Station headquarters.

That was a place that is not fit to keep animals let alone human beings. The place was so dark, so stinking and so ill-ventilated that you cannot stand inside for more than 24 hours, but I was locked in there for 24 hours a day. And the whole place was infested with bugs. I had a lot of bugs for company.

No reading material and the light was so dim that I could hardly see the crease of my hand. So immediately the five of us went on hunger strike, and my ulcer bled and I had to be transferred to hospital. That was the so-called habeas corpus

right that you have. Try it at your own risk, or be severely punished.

The second time I went for habeas corpus was when they tried to force me to do manual labour. That was in 1972. They said all detainees should do manual labour as a programme of rehabilitation. I was supposed to do carpentry. So this superintendent told me that it was good for you as a doctor, you try to become more dexterous with your hand.

So I said, “You do not have the qualifications to enter a medical college, and here you are telling a doctor what is good for post-graduate education. Aren’t you over-reaching yourself?”

He said, “This is the law. You have to be paid eight cents an hour.” So we all went on hunger strike, and some of us went on hunger strike for three months in order to frustrate their attempt to make us labourers like criminals. I went on hunger strike for three weeks before they caved in and said, “Okay, we exempt you from that.”

And the women detainees in Moon Crescent Centre went on hunger strike for 130 days, and they were forced-fed. Some of them vomited after being fed milk by the tube inserted forcefully into their oesophagus.

One girl vomited and the superintendent called for wardens to carry her and wiped the floor with her pants. This is the kind of treatment meted to detainees. All these of course were suppressed by the press, but this is the thing we all had to go through.

Now all of us had to go through detention in solitary confinement. Solitary confinement according to Lee Kuan Yew himself is a very bad form of torture. I will read to you what Lee Kuan Yew said of solitary confinement: “The biggest punishment a man can receive is total isolation in a

dungeon, black and complete withdrawal of all stimuli. That is real torture.” (Lee Kuan Yew, January 2008.)

Although he knows it is real torture, he had no compunction in meting out this real torture to all detainees without exception. Some of us had to undergo this real torture, not for two days, three days, but for six months. Now under the law, there is a protection for even criminal prisoners from this kind of torture.

A criminal when found guilty of infringing prison rules will be sentenced to solitary confinement for not more than two weeks, because of the obvious mental health effects. But for political detainees, there is no protection.

And Lee Eu Seng, the general manager of Nanyang Siang Pau, was put into solitary confinement not once but twice, and it is to his credit that he withstood that kind of real torture.

TT Rajah, a lawyer who was detained for two and half years, was put under solitary confinement for six months. Said Zahari was put into solitary confinement four times in his long 17 years of detention.

It is to our credit that we did not break down despite our difficult ordeal. We stood our ground and held on to our integrity. Today, they are asking us to be magnanimous. What does magnanimity mean? Only those who have suffered have the moral right, the moral standing to be magnanimous, not the culprit.

The culprit can seek forgiveness, if they admit their mistakes and apologise for it. Not for the victims of this torture to seek forgiveness. We are the ones who have to be magnanimous, and we are prepared to be magnanimous provided the culprits admit their mistakes and seek our forgiveness.

In my statement which I released to the press in 1972, through my wife Beatrice Chen, and which was of course suppressed by the newspapers, but was distributed to a lot of student organisations — I said the proper way to settle our case is that you must release us without conditions. Unconditional release. Moreover, you must compensate us for our long detention and also apologise. I said I'm prepared to forgo these two last conditions of having to compensate us and also having to apologise to us because I don't believe an arrogant man like Lee Kuan Yew would concede easily.

On that question of release unconditionally — that we stand firm. I stood firm and had to suffer for two decades. That is the price that we had to pay for our integrity.

In Singapore, we have a situation where the government leaders say they have integrity that has to be sustained by the highest pay in the world, yet they demand from political opponents and detainees an integrity that has to be sustained by the longest imprisonment in the world.

These two types of integrity, to compare them is to compare heaven and earth. Why should anybody sacrifice so much just to sustain his integrity and his beliefs? And the government leaders have to reward themselves with such high pay. This is the immorality of the political situation in Singapore today.

Now, detention without trial is not a peaceful action. It is an act of violence. They come to see you not in the daylight with an invitation card. They come in the morning, 4am. That is the time when decent people sleep, and when political terrorists and tyrants strike. And when you are detained, you are subjected to all kinds of mental and even physical torture.

This is not only unique for the 1963 batch, it was also practised on many other batches of detainees: 1972, and as

late as 1987, when Teo Soh Lung and her group of so-called Marxist detainees were subjected to mental and physical torture. And women lawyers can be subjected to torture. But when these women lawyers came out and issued a statement to describe how they have been tortured, they were again detained and compelled to withdraw their accusation.

What type of rule of law is that when the accuser can be punished by the accused head of government, and compelled to withdraw his accusation? Is it not justice turned upside down? Now this is a situation where even the Law Society dares not utter a word of protest. They are so impotent after what had been done to the Law Society in 1987.

Now, Poh Soo Kai has written a very good article on Operation Cold Store. In it, he has revealed a lot of declassified British archival documents, showing how the British and Lee Kuan Yew conspired and collaborated to crush the opposition before the 1963 general election. The whole aim of this merger was to crush the opposition before the 1963 election.

And today, the PAP is standing on high moral ground, demanding human rights in other countries, even demanding the release of political detainees in Myanmar. But precisely on what moral ground are they standing to have this demand? In examining their past records, they are standing on a pedestal that is leaking with worms and vermin. Let them repent first their own dismal record of human rights and then you may have the moral right to cast aspersions on other people's lack of human rights.

Poh Soo Kai has also written the last chapter of this book, *The Fajar Generation*, about the future of Socialism. Many of you may ponder what is the relevance of Socialism in this era. After 50 years from when the Club was formed, Socialist movements all over the world have suffered a lot of

setbacks and even defeats, and some wonder whether we are still relevant.

The recent economic crisis, the recent financial crisis, have once again exploded the corruption and immorality of the capitalist system, and revived the feeling that human beings should deserve something better than a system that is generated by greed and by corruption.

Now some of you may have heard that when you are young you are idealistic, when you're old you are realistic. Now this is the kind of rubbish that is used by those who have either lost their ideals or have sold their ideals for self-interests. Age should not wither one's ideals or convictions.

If anything, it should only consolidate and make it more resolute. If age has anything to do with it, it is only by way of expression and application of these ideals and convictions, having the benefit of a youthful experience. And a life without convictions, without idealism, is a mere meaningless existence, and I'm sure most of you will agree that as human beings, we are worthy of a life much more meaningful than just that.

Thank you.

Function 8 Changing Worlds Series – Dr Lim Hock Siew speaks on Operation Cold Store

25 OCTOBER 2011

Now I think most of you have read this book, *The Fajar Generation*. If you have read it, then you would probably know everything about Operation Cold Store. In the book, Dr Poh Soo Kai quoted extensively from the British archives, revealing the collaboration and conspiracy between Lee Kuan Yew and the British ever since he came to power in 1959.

The whole crux of the matter in Operation Cold Store was to prevent the opposition from coming into power through peaceful, constitutional means and to ensure that the PAP carry on its power. All these talk of security and violence are just propaganda. The British archival documents have shown that there was no violence and no evidence of any communist conspiracy.

In the ninth year of my detention, the head of the Special Branch told me, “Dr Lim, you don’t have to deny to us that you are a communist; we know from our records that you are not a communist.” I said, “What the hell is Lee Kuan Yew talking about communism?” He replied, “He had to say all that, otherwise he can’t justify your detention.”

To fully appreciate Operation Cold Store, one has to go back to the 1950s and appreciate the political atmosphere



At the Changing Worlds talk on 25 October 2011

prevailing at that time in Singapore and throughout Asia. The Second World War ended in 1945 and the British returned to Singapore. During the Japanese Occupation, the only people fighting against the Japanese were from the Communist Party of Malaya. They were very brave in fighting the Japanese, who were very cruel in suppressing them.

After the war in 1945, the communists were operating with the sanction of the British. In fact, they had a very big headquarters in Middle Road, with a communist holding a rifle and a communist flag standing outside. The communists were very well-organised and were prepared to take over power from the British. Thus, in 1948, the British decided to clamp down on the communists. It was the British who started the Emergency, not Chin Peng. If you read Chin Peng's

book,¹ he said they were not prepared to fight and were caught unaware. The British suddenly arrested as many as they could lay their hands on. As a result, they went underground and started fighting.

I met Chin Peng about four years ago, when he came to Singapore to speak at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. It was at the invitation of Lee Kuan Yew and Goh Chok Tong. During the talk, he said that they were not prepared at that time. The British were arresting all the communists. He said when Lee Kuan Yew formed the PAP in 1954, he asked the Communist Party of Malaya to help him start the PAP. How did Lee Kuan Yew contact all these people? I don't know. Chin Peng said, "We sent a few cadres to help him." So what role they played, I don't know.

Chin Siong was a member of the Anti-British League, which was a fringe organisation of the communists. He was not actually a member of the Communist Party. He said this frankly, without coercion or fear of retaliation or anything like that. It was in this context that the PAP came into being in 1954. At that time, it was just the end of the White Terror, which was imposed by the British in 1948 when they introduced the Emergency Regulations.² Between 1948-1954, there was hardly any open political activity. All political activities were suppressed in the name of suppressing communism. The anti-communist bogey was used to suppress all legitimate political activities. Lim Kean Chye and John Eber, leaders of the Malayan Democratic Union were arrested. The Union was practically dissolved because they were not allowed to

1 Chin Peng, as told by Ian Ward and Norma Miraflor, *My Side of History*, Media Masters, Singapore, 2003.

2 Emergency Regulations, 21 July 1948

function. Eber left Singapore for England after his release. Kean Chye was detained for a while. An interesting fact about Kean Chye, a Cambridge graduate and lawyer, is that the British asked him to take over Singapore. Kean Chye refused and was asked to disappear. If he had agreed, he would have been cultivated by the British and Lee Kuan Yew would not have been of any assistance to the British. Kean Chye said, “No, I will not become a British stooge.”

In 1954, after the *Fajar* trial³ and after the Chinese School student demonstrations, there was a complete re-awakening of the political situation, something like what happened after the general election of 2011. In the wake of this political awakening, the PAP came into being. Everyone became politically alert.

So who formed the PAP at the beginning? It was mainly the workers led by Lim Chin Siong and the Chinese school students. Members of the *Fajar* editorial board, the University Socialist Club were numerically in the minority, although they played a very important role. When the PAP was formed in 1954, the main leaders were Lim Chin Siong, Lee Kuan Yew and James Puthuchear. KM Byrne and Toh Chin Chye were also there with Lee Kuan Yew. Lee Kuan Yew invited Tunku Abdul Rahman and Dato Tan Cheng Lock to attend the inaugural meeting of the PAP. They gave the PAP their moral support and made it appear as a Pan Malayan movement but essentially it was a Singapore movement. The activities of the PAP were very vigorous because the Chinese school students and the trade unions were there, and they formed the majority of the PAP membership. At that time, there was already a rift.

3 Members of the Editorial Board of the *Fajar*, a publication of the University Socialist Club, were charged for sedition.

Lee Kuan Yew knew that he was not in control of the party. The real person in control of the party was Lim Chin Siong.

In 1955, there was a mass rally to welcome two British MPs who came to Singapore to assess whether our population was ready for independence. David Marshall was then the Chief Minister. He held a rally at Kallang. Kallang at that time was undeveloped — there was a very big open field. The PAP also held a rally. On top of the lorry we saw Lee Kuan Yew and Lim Chin Siong. The rally was very huge, I think at least 40,000 to 50,000 people. We were amazed at the big crowd but poor Marshall's crowd was very small, about 2000 people. Something happened to Marshall's stage — it collapsed. People said it was a sabotage, some people came to cut the rattan support (of the stage) and it happened to rain. There was a lot of commotion.

A remarkable thing about the rally organised by Lim Chin Siong and Lee Kuan Yew was that it was very well disciplined. They just used the megaphone, told them to sit down — no disturbance. No riot at all. Very well disciplined. When told to disperse, they dispersed. No disturbance. They knew that if there was any trouble, the British would use that as an excuse to clamp down on all the organisations.

Lim Chin Siong and Lee Kuan Yew together with David Marshall went to London for the constitutional talks to discuss independence. That talk was a failure, because Marshall demanded very rapid changes. The Internal Security Council must be in the hands of the Singapore elected members and not the British. Finance and foreign affairs should also be given to Singapore leaders. So, the British of course, were not open to entertaining such demands. Marshall came back empty-handed and he felt that he lost face. He resigned. His second in command, Lim Yew Hock, took over.

Lim Yew Hock wanted to prove to the British that he could be relied upon to suppress the trade unions. He started provoking the Chinese school students, the trade unions, and of course, it led to a riot. If you review the events, they were all systematic provocations. He expected them to protest and used that protest as an excuse for suppression. In 1956, there was a big riot arising from the clamping down of all the left-wing organisations, especially the banning of the Chinese school students' union. I was there at Bukit Timah, when the Chinese students camped inside Chinese High School. Students there camped for about one week. The government gave them an ultimatum to disperse. They did not disperse. That night, the ultimatum ended and the troops and police were outside the school. I was there with two other university students. The students did not create any trouble. They were all inside, but it was the crowd outside that booed at the police and started throwing stones at the police. The police charged and then, the riot started. Whether this crowd was agent provocateurs or whether they were genuinely dissatisfied with the police, I don't know. But that's how the riot started outside the school. Of course, that night, the police went into Chinese High School and dispersed the students, who were then forced down to Bukit Timah Road and marched to Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Their spirit was very high. I saw them marching down to Chinese Chamber of Commerce singing away.

The riot lasted for about one week and dozens of people were killed. It was almost a spontaneous riot. The population was very angry with Lim Yew Hock's government. Lee Kuan Yew of course, condemned the subsequent arrests. He praised the students and the workers. Lee Kuan Yew was on the side of those who were arrested. You should read his speeches

in the Legislative Assembly, how he condemned the arrests and talked about democracy — that you must put people on trial and not just jail them indefinitely. This is precisely the opposite of what he's doing now. It is very interesting, what he is capable of doing. He was then a very hard advocate of democracy, freedom of speech, of thought and assembly.

In 1956, there was a mass arrest of over 300 members of the left-wing and trade unions. James Puthucherry, Lim Chin Siong, Devan Nair, S Woodhull were arrested. In 1957, there was another sweep on trade unionists. That was a made-up affair, because they alleged the trade unionists wanted to take control of the PAP, which was not true. It was all instigated by someone inside the PAP. I was against the move and tried to stop it, but they wouldn't listen because I was not an important person at that time. They went ahead and started electing six members of the 12 Central Executive Council members of the PAP. Those six were all trade unionists. Lee Kuan Yew thought that was a threat to his position and he resigned to allow Lim Yew Hock to arrest five of them, namely Tan Chong Kim, Tan Kong Guan, Goh Boon Toh, Tan Say Kum and Ong Chye Ann. After these people were arrested, Lee Kuan Yew came back, changed the whole PAP constitution to two strata of membership. One is the cadre membership and the other is the ordinary membership. Only cadre members can have the right to vote for the members of the central committee. I appoint you so that you can elect me. It is a self-propagating system which Lee Kuan Yew justified was akin to the Pope and the cardinals in the Vatican. That system lasted for 2000 years.

In 1959, the elections came. The left-wing gave their full support to Lee Kuan Yew's group because there was no other available group in Singapore at that time. Lee Kuan Yew was elected. PAP won 43 seats out of 54. A very big

shift. That was predicted, because Lim Yew Hock and all the other groups were not organised at all. The Chinese school students, the trade unions, were all very well-organised when they started the elections. After being elected, they released eight detainees — Lim Chin Siong, S Woodhull, James Puthucheary, Devan Nair, Fong Swee Suan and a few others. What is important was that immediately after Lee Kuan Yew took over power, he gave a talk at the Internal Security Council where he, Lee Kuan Yew, gave his thoughts about how to deal with Lim Chin Siong's group. This was recorded in the British archives. Already at that time, he was thinking of how to deal with this group.

The British understood Lee Kuan Yew's position. In fact, prior to this, we did not know he was already in contact with the British Special Branch, Richard Corridon. We didn't know at that time that he was playing a double game, with the British and at the same time, posing himself as a very left-wing, radical, democrat and rebel. He was very inspiring at that time. At least I was very inspired by him. Very democratic and fierce with uncompromising anti-colonial stand. When he came to power, he was supposed to release all political detainees. There were 20-odd detainees who were not released from the 1956 batch. The trade unions were asking him to release them. Under pressure, he pretended that he wanted to release them, but it was revealed in the British documents that secretly again, he was telling the British, "I will ask for their release and you, Lord Selkirk will counter that they will not be released." So you take the blame and I play the good guy. Selkirk refused to be a participant in this deception. According to regulations, the Internal Security Council had to wait for the Singapore government to propose release and the British were ready to release them but Lee Kuan Yew

refused to propose, and put the blame on the British and the Malayan government. Eventually, Ong Eng Guan, who was quite a treasure in the PAP as he was a very good Hokkien speaker, attended one of the Council meetings. He proposed that those detainees be released. That shocked Lee Kuan Yew because it was against his plans — to hide the whole truth. Subsequently, Ong Eng Guan was not allowed to attend the Council and only Lee Kuan Yew could speak at the Council.

Ong Eng Guan was then expelled from the PAP. That was in 1961. He resigned and contested the by-election in Hong Lim, on the basis of those demands, very good demands — release of political detainees, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, anti-colonialism. He put forward 16 demands which we could not oppose. Lim Chin Siong was caught in a dilemma because he could not openly support Ong Eng Guan as he was still with the PAP. So he called for unity of the party, and at the same time, quietly demanded Lee Kuan Yew to release the detainees. Ong Eng Guan won the by-election by a very wide margin. Lee Kuan Yew was very upset. Two months later, there was another by-election as a PAP MP Baharuddin bin Ariff had died. Under the constitution, they had to call for a by-election in Anson. David Marshall stood in that election. This time, the left-wing did not oppose David Marshall, in fact, they were demanding the release of detainees. The electorate took the hint, defeated the PAP and elected David Marshall. These two electoral defeats made Lee Kuan Yew very upset. In fact, at that time, he was making proposals to the British — and this is clearly in the records. In conversation with Selkirk on 28 July 1961, at the time of the formation of the Barisan Sosialis, the Assistant Commissioner reported Lee Kuan Yew's tactics in the following terms:

He went on to suggest that in order to avoid the Communists taking over, he will create a situation in which the UK Commissioner would be forced to suspend the Constitution. This might be done either by the Singapore Government inviting a Russian trade mission to Singapore thus forcing a constitutional crisis, or by instigating riots and disorder, requiring the intervention of British troops. I did, however, form the impression that he was quite certain he would lose the general election and was seriously toying with the thought of forcing British intervention in order to prevent his political enemies from forming the government.⁴

This is Lee Kuan Yew. It was evident at that time, that he was thinking of stopping the election or doing something to prevent his opponents inside the PAP from taking over the government. The British of course refused to go along. At that time, it must be remembered that anti-communism was at its height. The war in Korea, the war in Vietnam, and the American encirclement of China — the Bamboo Curtain was imposed by America and not by the Chinese — all these rabid anti-communism was very rife in this area. So to send a trade delegation to Russia or to invite a Russian delegation was something unthought of, a very radical thing. That was what Lee Kuan Yew proposed to do, just to give the British an excuse to ban the Constitution, ban the election, so that he need not have to lose the election. Subsequent to that, he was trying to get the British to do something to prevent the election from being held in 1963.

The British gave him a saving line — a merger of Singapore with Malaya. This pan-Malayan merger was

4 Poh Soo Kai, Tan Jing Quee & Koh Kay Yew Eds. *The Fajar Generation: The University Socialist Club and the Politics of Postwar Malaya and Singapore*, Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, Petaling Jaya, 2010, p 171.

something the British thought of in 1945, before the end of the war. They called it the Grand Design. They wanted to put the Borneo territories and Singapore with Malaya as one big component. Using the Malaysian government to control these territories on behalf of the British. This design was not unique. In South Arabia, they also had this kind of design where they put South Yemen under North Yemen. South Yemen had a very left-wing party while North Yemen was very conservative. They wanted to merge these two so that North Yemen could control South Yemen. Today, there are lots of trouble in South Yemen. Also, in the West Indies, the British had this kind of design where they put a big conservative government to control the radicals, including British Guiana now Guyana.

In 1959, the British thought it was time to bring out the Grand Design. They persuaded Tunku Abdul Rahman to accept it. Tunku Abdul Rahman was initially reluctant for two reasons. He said, firstly, there were too many Chinese in Singapore and they were all not loyal to Malaya. Secondly, there were too many communists.

We, the Barisan said that as far as the Chinese were concerned, nothing could be done about it. They were part of our people. We had to accept them whether or not there was merger. As far as communists were concerned, we said: “You name the communists.” The Tunku said there were 300 communists. Lim Chin Siong replied that they could put all those Tunku named as communists in prison, and merge the two countries. We would not object. That was a serious statement — put all the 300 that you name in prison, so long as you accept the merger of the two territories. Of course they wouldn’t do it. The problem facing the Tunku was how to accept merger while limiting the political influence of Singapore.

All kinds of tactics were used. At first they wanted to have two types of citizenship — Malayan citizenship divided into two: one Malaysian, one Singaporean — but it was too obvious. Later on they wanted to change to Malaysian citizenship: one Malaysian, the other Malaysian (Singapore). These Malaysian (Singapore) citizens cannot have voting rights in Malaysia. They cannot have proportional representation — they cannot take part in Malaysian politics. That was not a real merger. It was a sham merger. And there would not be proportional representation in the federal parliament. We were allowed only 15 seats when our population would have entitled us to at least 25. Barisan opposed merger on the basis of these two issues. If you have a general merger based on uniform citizenship and proportional representation, we would campaign for merger. Of course, the Tunku refused. But Lee Kuan Yew wanted merger because he wanted the Tunku to arrest all the left-wing while posing himself as an innocent, innocuous person. He wanted the arrests to take place, but making the Tunku as the person responsible for the arrests. In fact, he wanted to do the dirty job but did not want the responsibility for it. The Tunku of course, was not that stupid. He said, you want it, you have to take the responsibility and you have to arrest those people before merger. Lee Kuan Yew wanted merger to take place, then the arrests so that he would emerge as though he was an innocent person. In the end, the Tunku forced him to have the arrests before merger.

All the debates about the merger, the conditions for merger, were all very ridiculous. It is all in Lee Siew Choh's speech in the Legislative Assembly⁵ where we tore to bits all the PAP lies. Then they had the referendum. It was a ridiculous referendum. It provided a sham choice of three options, all drafted by the PAP: 1. The PAP's merger plan, 2.

the so-called Barisan merger plan, which according to their interpretation meant 2/3 of the Singapore citizens would be deprived of their citizenship and without any proportional representation. The third option was merger on the same terms as the Borneo territories, the conditions of which at that time were not spelled out. So how do you consider it a choice when you don't know the conditions? You had to vote for one of those three choices. Voting was compulsory. You cannot vote against any of them, you have to vote one of them and if you don't vote, it is a crime. If you put a blank vote, it was considered a vote for the government's proposal.

I went to the United Nations to speak about that referendum and they all had a good laugh. They used the sham referendum to give them the excuse that the people were supporting the government's proposal. After that referendum, they were going to arrest the left-wing. They were still not sure because Selkirk was saying there was no evidence that they were doing anything subversive. There was no evidence they were connected to the Malayan Communist Party. In fact, the documents in the British archives confirm that there was no evidence at all to justify a repression. What were they going to do? How to justify the arrests?

The Brunei revolt broke out on 8 December 1962. Lee Kuan Yew jumped on that, saying that it was a god-sent opportunity to arrest the left. The Brunei revolt had nothing to do with the Barisan. They said the Barisan was an accomplice to it. That's not true. AM Azahari had been coming to Singapore ever since 1954 or 55. I met him several times. He came to the University Socialist Club to give a talk. He was openly talking about armed revolution. I thought he

5 Legislative Assembly 2 September 1962

was a joker. How could he be an armed revolutionary when he talked so openly. When the Barisan Sosialis was formed in 1961, he came and gave an address at the inaugural meeting. A few days before the Brunei revolt, on 3 December, he came to Singapore to see Lim Chin Siong and Said Zahari. They had lunch at Rendezvous Restaurant in Bras Basah Road. That lunch was monitored by the Special Branch.

Azahari met Chin Siong at that time and privately told Chin Siong they were going to launch a revolution. He expected Chin Siong to engineer an event in Singapore to tie down the British troops here so that they wouldn't be sent to Brunei to suppress the revolution. Chin Siong told Azahari that we would not do that. We were firmly sticking to a constitutional struggle. At most we could give moral support — issue statements and rallies. But we would certainly not have rallies or demonstrations to create trouble in Singapore to tie down the British troops. In any case, at that time we were particularly restrained. We didn't want to give the British the excuse to arrest us, to knock us out of the 1963 elections which we were confident of doing well in.

When the revolution broke out, we gave them good publicity. I personally wrote an editorial in the *Plebeian* supporting the revolution. The Brunei Partai Rakyat had won all 16 of the 33 seats in the Legislative Assembly. 16 represented the total of the elected members in the Assembly. However, they were still in the minority (the British having the remaining 17 seats) even though they had the support of the population. They asked the British to get out but were turned down. So they had to revolt, something they had been preparing for the last five years. The British knew about the planned revolt as they were training openly. Why did the British allow them to have this preparation? I think they

purposely let the revolt happen so that they could be clamped down. The British sent Gurkhas from Singapore, and the Tunku sent Malay policemen from Malaysia to Brunei. That was a sad blow to the Malayan government, sending Malays to fight Malays in Brunei. It was bad propaganda for the Tunku.

Anyway, the revolt was put down very quickly and Lee Kuan Yew ridiculed it. He called them Lilliputian soldiers, from *Gulliver's Travels*. To us, that was a side show. It showed the people of Brunei were against merger with Malaysia. The reason was very simple. Brunei was an oil-producing country. Every year, they got one hundred million dollars in surplus. It would go to Malaysia if they merged. The Tunku, of course, welcomed it. In the end, Brunei refused to join Malaysia. Sarawak and Sabah were pushed by the British to join Malaysia. Singapore was all for it.

When merger took place, Lim Chin Siong, I and all the leaders of Barisan had already been arrested. The arrest was very interesting. The government of Britain, Malaya and Singapore discussed the number of people to arrest. The three governments had a list each. PAP's list was the longest — 180-200 people. The British list was not very long and the Tunku's in the middle. The arrests were supposed to take place in December 1962 but it happened in February 1963. Lee Kuan Yew had insisted that two MPs from Malaya should also be arrested to make it appear as a pan-Malayan suppression. Those two were Lim Kean Siew and Ahmad Boestamam. Lim Kean Siew was the leader of the Labour Party and Ahmad Boestamam was the Chairman of Partai Rakyat. Ahmad Boestamam had previously been arrested and imprisoned for eight years by the British. The Tunku was sympathetic to him and refused to arrest him again. He was

not a communist. Neither was Kean Siew. Kean Siew was a Cambridge graduate in law. I think he antagonised Lee Kuan Yew at a forum at the University of Malaya in KL. I was there at the forum representing Barisan and Kean Siew represented the Labour Party. We irritated Lee Kuan Yew at that forum until his face was flushed red.

If you irritate Lee Kuan Yew once, he will get you when he has a chance. It was a personal vengeance and that is his personality. The Tunku refused to arrest those two persons. He refused to play the bad guy to make Lee look good. The plan fell apart and they postponed the arrests to 2 February 1963. Lee Kuan Yew wanted to make it appear as if the arrest was Tunku's idea, not his.

The Internal Security Council had to have a final meeting regarding the arrests in Kuala Lumpur, not Singapore. The police had to be assembled in Malaysia, and then come down through the causeway before midnight. At 2am, they left Johor. When they had the Council meeting in KL, I received news about it. My friend in KL told me the arrest was going to take place that night. We had friends all over and the information was quite good. We anticipated the arrests that very night. I couldn't sleep the whole night waiting for the police to come. They came at about 4.30 to 5am, and we were all taken to Outram Prison. Outram Prison is now demolished. That was the February 2nd arrests. We were all put into solitary confinement for 3-5 months and subsequently transferred to Changi Prison. More than 130 people were arrested.

Questions and Answers with Dr Lim at the Changing Worlds talk on 25 October 2011

Q: *Many people in the Barisan were aware of the arrests in 1963, and you and your colleagues were expecting it. What went on in your mind that night? Did anyone of you consider running away before the ISD officers came?*

A: I think some of the Barisan cadres decided to run away and some did. But the top cadres were all arrested because we did not know who was going to be arrested. I expected myself to be arrested because I knew I was on the three lists — of the British, Tunku and Lee Kuan Yew. The option I had was to run away from Singapore. We did discuss the idea of forming a government-in-exile but we dropped the idea because there was not much point at that time. We would just go in and fight it out in prison, hoping that after merger, we would be released. Then we would fight within the context of Malaysia with our comrades in Malaysia to have a socialist front throughout the length and breadth of Malaysia. We believed, at that time, with our united forces — the left-wing forces — we could bring about a radical change in the whole political context of Malaysia. The fact that

we were all suppressed has led to this present state of Malaysia where the feudal and conservative elements started propagating their racist policies. These racist policies would not have been able to emerge if we had the influence in Malaysia because our fight would be on class lines, not on racial lines. We would unite the Malay peasants and the Chinese workers to form a united front to overthrow the feudal system and the British.

At that time, the British owned the rubber and tin industries and Malaya was the mainstay of British economic strength. About 400 million sterling pounds of reserves were brought into the British economy, more than what they had in India and Pakistan. They could not afford to lose Malaya. To them, Malaysia was of strategic importance. When Selkirk was quibbling about how to arrest these people when there was no evidence of communist links or subversion and that they were fighting strictly within constitutional means, he was scolded by the Colonial Secretary, Duncan Sandys. He said, “you carry on these arrests because they are for strategic reasons for the overall interest of Britain.” It was a political decision, not a security decision. They wanted to secure British interests. They knew who were the real anti-colonial fighters. They knew if the left came to power in Malaysia they would have nationalised the tin and rubber industries. We would take over the main trade and industries in Singapore. The entrepot trade was controlled by the British, especially Sime-Darby. We were getting no benefits from all this prosperity. What is the government doing when it cannot take over all the economic interests for the benefit of the country?

I will read part of *The Fajar Generation* here

which is very important. The basic justification for existence of Malaysia was explained by the British High Commissioner, in his speech at Eden Hall at end of May 1963. He said: “Where do our interests lie? If we approach it from the point of view of enlightened self-interest, what conclusion can we arrive at? Here in Malaya, we have something like 400 million pounds sterling permanently invested, mostly in rubber and tin, investments which we cannot withdraw. This is far greater for example, than our corresponding investment in India and Pakistan. Gold earnings from rubber and tin are, I believe, essential for the balance of our payments.” That was Britain’s economy, that’s why they were keen to suppress the left in Malaya.

The British trusted Lee Kuan Yew because there was a secret agreement that if the PAP were allowed to take over power, they would not endanger British military and vested interests. One of the military interests, is understanding that Singapore was part and parcel of the nuclear encirclement of China. This is very shocking because it means Singapore had nuclear weapons stored by the British in case they attack China. How could you allow this? If you are an independent country, you could not allow this to happen. The Barisan Sosialis would not have allowed that to happen. The British knew we meant business. We were not people who just wanted to change flags. We wanted to change substance as well. The bigger fight was between the British and us. Lee Kuan Yew was not important. He was the British’s man.

Q: *When you and Lee Kuan Yew were comrades in the PAP, what was your relationship with him? Did you, at times, irritate him?*

A: At that time, before we broke up, I could go to his house at anytime. Even at night time, I could knock on his door to see him. We discussed politics, we discussed the manifesto of the PAP. In one of his by-elections, I helped him with house to house campaigns. We were on very good terms. Very often, after he had given a speech in the Legislative Assembly, he would ask me what I thought about his speech. We were on very good terms. I had nothing personal against him but he had a lot of personal things against me.

It was only after we broke up, that I faced him at two public forums. There, I irritated him. At the public forum held at the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur, he lost face. He was telling lie after lie and all I had to do was to expose his lies. He just couldn't take it.

(Someone from floor said: In fact, he started attacking your brother.)

A: My brother was from the Chinese school. He was a leader of the May 13, 1954 demonstration. He led the Chung Cheng School delegation and had been scheduled to hand the petition against military conscription of young men between the ages of 18 to 20 to the Acting Governor.

In 1963, I was 31. We matured very fast during the war years. We went through a lot of experiences. I was 14 or 15, we were thinking of how to free our country from colonial rule. We were living in a climate where everybody was fighting for independence. India obtained independence in 1947, Sukarno declared independence for Indonesia in 1948; Mao Zedong declared the People's



Dr Lim and Dr Beatrice Chen with enthusiastic listeners who attended his talk

Republic of China in 1949. We were inspired by all those events. Ghana and Kenya were fighting for independence. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were brutally suppressed by the British. We knew of the British tendencies to suppress us. We fought the British with our eyes open. In a way, we are lucky to be alive because you could expect to be killed as they were safeguarding their properties. They had no problem getting people to do the work for them. Note how they massacred the university students in Calcutta — machine-gunned them in the streets. Where were the so-called merciful British gentlemen? You threaten their interests, they would defend that to the

hilt. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were brutally suppressed. In Congo, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated on the orders of American President Eisenhower. This was revealed by the BBC. Eisenhower personally ordered the assassination of Lumumba after he was captured. It was a life and death struggle. You wanted to fight the British, you must be prepared to sacrifice your life. It was with that kind of spirit that we went in, and it was with that kind of spirit that we spent so many years in prison. It is all or none. You don't go in half-heartedly. We knew where we stood. We knew what we were up against.

Q: *The PAP was at its lowest ebb after the 1961 Anson by-election when Marshall won. You didn't think about merging with Ong Eng Guan to take over the PAP Central Executive Committee?*

A: We had 16. But our friend, Lim Yew Hock, would not support the overthrow of Lee Kuan Yew. And UMNO would also not overthrow Lee Kuan Yew. Every time we threatened to overthrow him, they abstained and 16 would not work. Every time we had a resolution against PAP, Ong Eng Guan abstained in the Legislative Assembly. Marshall always supported us. Marshall was the only one. Singapore People's Alliance (SPA), Lim Yew Hock and United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) would never support us. You could never win them. Ong Eng Guan would not vote for you, SPA would not vote for you, UMNO would not vote you. So it was left with 13 plus Marshall, 14 only. We were hoping to have a by-election in Sembawang when the Minister for Health died. I was supposed to be a candidate for Sembawang if they had a by-election, but they never held

it. The fact is, before we were arrested, we were very busy preparing for the general election, drawing out the candidates, our manifesto and everything. We were not preparing for armed revolution. We thought we would definitely win the election. We wanted to preserve our strength to win the electoral battle. We refused to hold any demonstrations. We restrained our members — trade unions were preparing to go on strike but we told them not to because we didn't want to provoke any trouble.

In 1962, the May Day rally was a huge rally. About 200,000 people attended our rally in Jalan Besar stadium whereas Devan Nair's rally had only 2000 people and those 2000 were mainly Public Works Department (PWD) workers. They were given a day-off, food, transport plus pay. They only got 2000, whereas we got 200,000. The whole stadium was filled. It was a demonstration of our strength. In retrospect, it was not quite the right tactic. We should not have revealed our strength.

Two months later, on 3 June 1962, we wanted to celebrate National Day. PAP came into power on 3 June 1959. We were given permission with lots of conditions. You could not speak on this or that or they would come and interfere. We knew if we held that rally, there would be provocation from the PAP and there would be trouble. Then they would use that to suppress us. So we had a last-minute cancellation of that rally.

To that extent, we were very restrained. We wanted to preserve our strength for the general election.

Q: *You said you were prepared for the arrest in 1963. Did you anticipate that you would be imprisoned for 20*

years?

A: No. When I said goodbye to my wife, I said: “See you in 8 years’ time.” The longest serving detainee then was Ahmad Boestamam who was imprisoned by the British for 8 years. I did not expect my imprisonment to be so long. I thought Singapore would merge with Malaysia, and I would not be detained for so long. But at the end of 10 years, I decided to make another 10-year plan. I wanted to be realistic. If you are not psychologically prepared, you would surely break down. As leaders of the movement, we could not betray our followers, we had to stay firm. Lim Chin Siong would have stayed firm if not for his mental breakdown. Poh Soo Kai, Said Zahari and many others were imprisoned for decades. It was no big deal.

Q: *If you were a candidate, would you have been arrested?*

A: Yes, in fact I was planning to stand in the Sembawang by-election. For general election, sure, I would be a candidate.

Q: *Why do you think some were detained for a long time, while others were not?*

A: You have to ask Lee Kuan Yew. The excuse they gave was that I refused to renounce violence. In 1977, I was approached by the head of the Special Branch, Lim Chye Heng, also former head of the Special Branch Wong Su Chi. Both of them came to see me. They said all you have to do is to release a statement to renounce violence. I asked: “Is there any evidence that I have been advocating violence?” I have been strictly following peaceful, legal, constitutional struggle.

Q: *Was the detention to prevent you from standing in future elections?*

A: We cannot win the election as an independent candidate. You must have a group of people supporting you. The Barisan Sosialis was completely dismantled by the time I was released. It was only a shell without substance. At the time of my release in 1982, the Assistant Director of ISD, Tjong Yik Min said: “Dr Lim I am not warning or threatening you. I am only informing you. I have a standing order from you know who. If you show defiance after release, we will put you in prison again without reference to the cabinet.”

Q: *You were a high-profile case.*

A: I was adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International. Lee Kuan Yew wanted me to leave the country. In fact when Gough Whitlam, prime minister of Australia came to Singapore, he told Whitlam: “These two doctors are good doctors and you can take them.” So they approached me twice to leave the country. I said if I wanted to leave, it would have to be my own decision.

Q: *How was life on Pulau Tekong?*

A: Very interesting. I was at Whitley Road Centre. One day, the officer told me to pack up. They drove me to a road off Changi Prison. I called him: “Hey, you are missing the road. Changi prison is here, not there.” He said, “No, no. We are taking you to another place.” I said, “Where got prison on the beach?” So we went to the beach and there was a big boat. He

said, “We are taking you to Pulau Tekong.” It was a police boat. He said: “This is police boat number 1, the same boat Lee Kuan Yew used to travel around the Southern Islands.”

They took me to Tekong, gave me a house and said: “Now you are a free man.” I said: “Now I can go home is it?” They told me to accept all the conditions for my stay on Tekong. I said: “This is a sham release to show the public, to pacify the international community.” Prior to that, Lee Kuan Yew went to the United States. Jimmy Carter was then the president. Carter gave him just two minutes. Congress then demanded human rights. Lee Kuan Yew lost face. He had to do something. He sent me and Said Zahari to the islands to give the impression that we were released.

Life on the island was better than prison. There were 200 people, all friendly to me. I was the only doctor on the island. All emergencies came to me. For the first month, they gave me \$300, then \$200 then \$100 a month subsequently. After that they told me you have to survive on your own. Then they offered me a job at the dispensary, three times a week for two hours each. They would pay me \$300 a month. I said in principle, I could not accept the job. I was still detained by the government and I could not accept a job from the government. They had the obligation to support me.

At first I did not charge my patients. After some time, I had to charge for medicine and for my survival. I lived as though I was in prison. I had my own television and was allowed to write. At the end of the four years, they still asked me to write a statement.

Q: *How is it that your Rakyat Clinic is still around today when you were imprisoned for 20 years?*

A: When Poh Soo Kai and I were arrested (Soo Kai and I were founders of the clinic), another doctor, Ahmad Bakar took over. When Soo Kai was released, he went back to the clinic. Then he was re-arrested. After his second release, he opened his own clinic. Then I came out and returned to my clinic.

Q: *How did you keep your sanity during those long years in prison?*

A: It's a question of conviction. You know what you are doing is right. I am a socialist. I believe everything in socialism — in a society where man does not exploit man. It is something akin to a Christian who believes that all men are brothers. And we should all live like brothers and sisters. The turmoil in the capitalist world — all the financial troubles today, convince me even more that socialism is the answer to mankind's struggle. You are witnessing now, the end of capitalism. This is what Karl Marx said in the last century, that this is the self-destructive phase of capitalism. The contradiction cannot be settled. The accumulation of wealth is so concentrated in such a small section of the population that the majority cannot turn around, unless they turn the system around. That is why there is the Occupy Wall Street demonstrations. I believe in another year or so, there will be an intense struggle in the western world. Hopefully not in violence. Hopefully they can do it without violence.

Q: *Can you let us know which prison you went to?*

A: I survived many prisons. I went to Outram. It has been demolished. Then Changi, also demolished. After that Queenstown. Also demolished. I was in Central Police Station. Again that was demolished. That was the most horrible prison. Then I went to Moon Crescent, Changi. Then to Whitley Road.

I was in Queenstown for four years. We were locked up most of the time. Inside the cell was a tin can for your toiletries which we washed the next morning. At night we had chamber pots and a small bowl of water to drink.

The food was practically the same as that supplied to common prisoners.

For over a year, they put me in a very luxurious place. The home of two top Special Branch men. One at Mount Rosie and another at Jervois Road. There I was allowed to live with the families as though I was a free man. They encouraged me to take walks outside, which I refused. If you did that, they would ask you to sign a statement. I knew they were trying to bribe me into doing that.

Q: *Are you optimistic for democracy in Singapore?*

A: I am afraid not. I do not see how this place can develop. Now it's dependent upon casino industries with all these immoral practices. Trade is dependent upon American markets. Chinese don't need Singaporean goods, they have all they want. In fact they would want to export here. The only way to survive is with Malaysia. But the relationship between Malaysia and Singapore is so bad that I cannot think of a reunion. The ultimate goal of socialists in this country is to have merger with Malaysia. Of course many people will be reluctant. Merger? Malaysia — that kind of country? So much

racism? But that is the consequence of the lack of left-wing influence. If we had been in parliament in the past 40 years, it would have been very different. They have arrested thousands, not hundreds. They had to close down the Labour Party and Partai Rakyat ... all the top leaders were arrested. Dr MK Rajakumar, Syed Husin Ali ... so it is a free for all for those conservative groups. Now the Malays are awakened, that privilege must not only be for one. Unless these groups of people wake up, there will be no change.

We are optimistic in the sense that historically, we have to be optimistic. There will be change. How it comes about, whether peacefully or by violent process, we may never know. But change is inevitable. We cannot go on like this.

Q: *What was the reaction from people when Operation Cold Store took place?*

A: When we were arrested, the main organisation was destroyed. All the cadres were put in prison. The rest ran away or kept quiet. Unless you got people to mobilise, you cannot have any reaction. In 1956, there was spontaneous reaction when Lim Yew Hock was suppressing the Chinese school students and the trade unions. The riots were very spontaneous and the Chinese newspaper played up the repression. It was the Chinese population that rose up. People hated the government so much that everything symbolic of it was fair game for them to destroy. Lamps, postal boxes, anything.

Q: *What was your relationship with other PAP leaders?*

A: Toh Chin Chye was my lecturer in the university. We did meet to talk about politics. He was then chairman

of the PAP. He knew I was a former member of the PAP. With Goh Keng Swee, there was hardly any talk. He was an aloof man. We did talk with Kenny Byrne and S Rajaratnam but not profoundly. We communicated mainly with Lee Kuan Yew.

Q: *You were a member of the PAP before the cadre system was implemented. Were you a member after the cadre system was started?*

A: Anyone who was pro-left was not made a cadre. I was expelled in 1959. I was not even a cadre even though I was a founding member. At that time there were three people in charge of reviewing membership. Lee Kuan Yew, Ong Pang Boon and Lim Shee Ping. When my membership came up, Lee Kuan Yew took it up, threw it into the waste paper basket and looked at the other two. They kept quiet. Shee Ping was subsequently arrested.

Q: *Najib recently announced that the ISA would be abolished. What are your views on why the Singapore government is so reluctant to abolish it, especially in view of the fact that the younger leaders will not have the stomach to use it?*

A: My assessment is that they are going to use the ISA as a reserve weapon to safeguard the PAP's interests. I believe they would have the stomach to use it if they are faced with the grim reality of losing the elections. After all, Lee Hsien Loong is groomed by Lee Kuan Yew. Monitored and mentored. When faced with reality he will use it. He might provoke you. And then use it as an excuse to arrest. I hope it will not be used but I think it will be their reserve weapon.

福寿, 我的挚友

傅树介

我 结识福寿已有六十多年。我们在莱佛士书院是同窗。1950年我们一同踏进马来亚大学新加坡分校医学院。

我们两人都曾停学一年，到1957年才毕业。当人民行动党成立时我们也一起入党。1961年，我们一同发起成立社会主义阵线。1963年2月2日的冷藏大逮捕行动中，我们也一起被政府拘留。而当1983年两人获得释放时，时间的差别也不过几天而已。

福寿首先就是个反殖人士。他为独立而展开斗争，不让外来的统治者所主宰。因此，他涉足于建设一个由不同族群组成的祖国的事业。他是大学社会主义俱乐部的发起人之一，而这个团体的成立宣言中并没有把社会主义设定为其首要主旨，而是把种族主义视为建国的障碍来看待。

当法庭就华惹报被指控以煽动罪名而进行审讯时，福寿积极参与募款，为的是要把“捍

卫华惹报基金”充实起来，把捍卫工作做好。虽然世界著名的英国女王律师布里特愿意免费为我们抗辩，但是我们还得负责为其他许多开销买单。所幸的是福寿在募款的工作上交出了漂亮的成绩单。

华惹事件的审讯使我们更加成熟。从中，福寿也变成了一个更加坚定的社会主义分子，为争取民主，人权，正义，诚信与透明度而不懈奋斗。他对公众安全维护条例，即现在的内部安全法令特别不能认同。

福寿在人民行动党成立时便已加入作为党员，原因是这些宗旨全都标明在党章里。但不久他便发现行动党的领导层违背了自己立下的党章。到了1957年，不仅仅是他一个人有这样的想法，其他持相同观点的党员也大有人在。于是，有人打算在1957年举行的常年大会上，选出半数的中央执行委员会委员。当他得知此项计划时，他想尽办法劝阻他们。因为在他看来，那是英国人的一个圈套。可是他的努力并没有成功。他的朋友按他们的原定计划行事，选出六名代表进入执行委员会。不久，他们便遭到扣留。当李光耀重新露面时，他把行动党加以改组，引入干部党员制度，实行中央执委推选干部党员，干部党员依次又选出中央执委的做法。福寿由于只是一名普通党员，于是遭遇了开除出党的厄运。

尽管如此，他并没有因此而在大选中断然停止协助行动党。他仍然一如既往抱持党章终究会有一天受到应有的尊重的希望。

当行动党赢得政权开始执政时，它不但拒绝建议释放政治拘留者，反而还把释放的条件弄得更加严密。例如原来的检讨委员会被改成顾问委员会，亦即丧失原有的权利。对于工会，他们从此也必须面对更多的限制。于是，百姓的不满导致该党在芳林补选中落败给王永源。其中一个原因是王永源在拉票时，提出释放政治拘留者，要求更多自由的诉求。跟着这次惨败而来的是安顺区的补选结果。在那里，竞选得票的关键因素仍然一样。人民的诉求原本就如水晶一样清晰。可是，李光耀不敢得罪英国人。英国人为了要控制新加坡的反殖力量和加强其在东南亚的战略部署，千方百计想推出合并计划。行动党便把合并的问题抓得紧紧，视为其救命稻草。它把党内左翼的问题憋到一边而忽视眼前的问题，那就是政治拘留与更多自由的问题。

至此，当下被行动党挤出党外的进步力量便成立了社会主义阵线。鉴于福寿所推崇的诸如废除内部安全法令，尊重人权与更多社会公正等价值观正好与社阵的主张吻合，于是他不但决定加入该党，同时还成为该党的中央执行委员。与此同时，他也担当英文版党报的编



2011 年农历新年期间,谢太宝（左）在傅树介医生（中）与林福寿医生的陪同下谒见了陈仁贵

辑。当合并与马来西亚构建的问题在联合国提上议程展开讨论时，福寿代表党出席了会议。

英国在强力实现其合并计划时所顾虑的就是社阵这一支强大的势力。社阵在原则上是接受合并的，但是它必须晓得合并的条件是什么。而这些条件从来就没有揭露，或是根本不能揭露。其中包含的一个条件是继续在登加基地存放用来瞄准中国的核子武器，这一点又怎么可以告诉老百姓呢？李光耀知道此事。其他的行动党领导却都被蒙在鼓里。尽管如此，他们却在没有进行公开辩论的情况下高兴地，心

甘情愿地同意签署了一张空白支票，把人民的未来供奉给了阎罗王。

在他们看来，社阵是必须予以致残的一支力量。他们把福寿和百多名反殖斗士扣留起来。福寿的初生儿子这时才5个月大。等到他被释放时，儿子已经长大成人。他所历经的痛苦和冤屈可想而知。他对他的夫人必须只身把孩子带大所感受到的痛苦谁能体验得到？

如果他愿意为他的错误表示忏悔，他可能早就获得释放了。但他什么过错都没有，他能拿什么来忏悔呢？恰恰正是蒙蔽新加坡人民的行动党领袖应该出来忏悔才是。他要求一场公开的审讯，他要求透明度，他要求公正。为了坚持这个立场，他竟被拘留了近20年的时光。

随着社阵的消灭，人民在可以任意就遭受逮捕的威赫下，加上毁灭性的法律诉讼，贪婪的丑恶面目即将登场的戏台于是逐步成形。一个对行动党心存恩典的小撮富裕的社会上层正准备为他们的特权展开搏斗。但是，社会上饱受幻灭的阶层正以更快的速度在膨胀。他们要求透明度，要求公民权利，要求对话与参与，要求知道真相。在他们队伍中，福寿找到了与他所拥抱的原则互为一体的地方。于是，他欣然给他们献出道义上与金钱上的支持。

他完全有足够的机敏察觉到这股不满的潮流正在高涨。2009年，距2011年的大选还有年

半的时间，在《华惹世代》那本书的推介会上，他带着生病与虚弱的躯体，但却以极大的热忱与力量谈论这个政权的许多缺乏公正的地方。他甚至祝愿李光耀长命百岁，让他能看到他所塑造的行动党的终老消亡。施忠明对这一段讲话所作的录音后来却被封杀和禁止了。

林医生本来打算出席6月2日在芳林公园举行的“光谱行动”25周年纪念会，但却因病而未能如愿以偿。我知道6月3日那天，他在加护病房里神志还算清晰。那天芳林活动的消息显然令他乐开了怀，庆幸能活到目睹这一天的到来——一个白色恐怖终于蒸发消散的日子，让他知道他的牺牲并非白费。人民本来就是人，不是畜生，不是狗，不是哪种随意让别人玩弄的东西！

悼念林福寿医生

卢大通

从互连网上得知我所敬爱的林福寿医生於六月四日在新加坡Parkway East Hospital逝世，甚感悲痛。

我是在新加坡樟宜监狱里认识林医生的。那是1963年2月2日他在“冷藏行动”下被扣留後不久。当时，我已经在监狱中度过了七年！

往後几年，在樟宜监狱内E Hall 和 E Dormitory 和林医生相处了几年。林医生还是我当年准备考剑桥初级文凭时的英文和Health Science科目的老师。

在那段日子里，林医生是我们政治扣留者最尊敬的领袖。他领导和代表我们向牢方爭取改善狱中生活条件。他为人和蔼可亲，没有架子，对每位扣留者都很关心和爱护。他更是我们一些人碰到私人问题时寻求意见的对象。林医生很有画画的天份，他画的金鱼特别生动。每到农历新年的时候，他画了许多贺年片，给我们的家人探监时带回去。

1969年3月我离开女皇镇监狱去英国时，那时我已经在监狱里度过了十三年！可万万没想到，林医生会在监狱里的时间比我更长久！林医生有着坚贞不渝的伟大人生理想，也坚决而不妥协地为捍卫这理想而被监禁了二十年，作出了巨大的牺牲。这强烈地显示了他高尚的品质，威武不屈的勇气。

1982年恢复自由后，他重回到他早年所创办的人民药房行医，为穷苦的老百姓服务。

敬爱的林医生走了！这世界从此失去了一位好人！我从此失去了一位好友！

安息吧！敬爱的林医生，你会永远永远活在我们心中！

林福寿医生监狱生活 点滴回忆

黄循立

樟

宜监狱“E Dormitory”范围大，共可容纳100余名拘留者。

在这个大家庭里，Dr Lim 始终是我们的领导，但和大家全无隔阂，关系一向融洽。除了给战友专业上的照顾、学习方面的指导，在炊事、卫生轮值、康乐活动等等方

面，他和大家一样，总是积极奉献。

有一回一位战友下部突然大量出血，他即刻诊断是脱肛所至。立刻向当局交涉送该名战友到医院接受治疗。

偶然间发觉他画的金鱼栩栩如生，战友便请他在自制的生日或贺年卡上画金鱼，他总是来者不拒。他十分关心大家的生活与健康。他对牢方供应的伙食，认真检查。他依据每个人所需的卡路里、营养成分，据理力争，迫使当局在提供伙食时，不敢随意敷衍。

那些年代，政治动态纷纷扰扰，Dr Lim 依然坚定自己的立场，鼓励大家不向当权者屈服。

他坚持以团结为本，胸怀祖国，放眼世界，面对一切挑战。

悼念数语

蔡伟藩

—— 零一二年六月四日晚上，林福寿医生因病逝世。这是一则令人们哀痛的消息！

林福寿医生是一位为自由奋斗的民主斗士，坚定地捍卫民主与人权，一生坚守信念。他也是一个真正的社会主义者，为争取实现一个民主，平等，正义，公正的美好社会而做出了无私的奉献。

为了坚持民主原则，他被强蛮，专横，无理地长期监禁，在牢狱中渡过了近二十年。这段残酷的事实，对号称世界第一流的“民主”新加坡是一个极大的讽刺。然而，他那大无畏的精神无意地鼓舞着广大的人民大众，尤其是朝气蓬勃的年轻人，更积极地投入争取民主，平等，公正，正义的运动。

他的一生，就是“横眉冷对千夫指，俯首甘为孺子牛”的生动具体写照。他是千千万万人民群众的楷模。

有的人还活着，人们忘记了他。有的人走了，人们却永远怀念他。敬爱的林福寿医生，你走了，人民永远怀念你！

患难与共 一代楷模

林清如

政府决定在武吉布朗坟山掘墓开路，受影响的包括林福寿医生岳外祖父薛中华的坟墓。4月12日那天，我和谢声远一起来到林医生位于如切台的新居探访，没想到那竟是一个最后的约会！

虽然客厅一片凌乱，林医生还是耐心地陪太太陈宗孟医生与我们聊了一阵。薛中华出生于马六甲一个土生世家，六岁那年来新加坡圣约瑟书院读书，后来出任汇丰银行买办。他活跃于中华总商会，后被委为太平局绅，连任福建会馆与天福宫主席多年。

薛中华的幼女薛彩凤 (Lucy Chen Nee See)，正是林医生的丈母娘。她是新马史上第一位在英国获得律师资格、并成为英国律师公会会员的女性。薛彩凤在英国认识了来念工程的河北青年陈序，是国民党军政要人陈调元的公子。薛彩凤毕业后与陈序结婚，并随他回南京，先后生了陈宗孟与两个弟弟。1937年中日战争爆发，陈宗孟随母亲与弟弟回新加坡避难，住在

巴慕乐路 (Balmoral Road) 23号外公家里。附近的有文路 (Ewe Boon Road)，就是以陈宗孟曾外祖父薛有文的名字命名的。陈宗孟那时只有5岁，进入南洋女子小学读一年级。新加坡沦陷前，薛中华病逝。

预知日本军会直下南洋，陈宗孟姐弟随母亲从槟城坐船到仰光，跋涉滇缅公路进入重庆与父亲相会。二战结束，一家人搬回南京。1949年陈序随国民党去台湾，妈妈回新加坡执业当律师。陈宗孟则进入香港大学读医科，毕业后于1958年回新加坡的中央医院工作。

陈宗孟在中央医院做工，认识了林医生，对他那无私的专业精神、温文尔雅的君子风度、幽默的谈吐、崇高的人生理念留下深刻印象。陈宗孟端庄高贵，扎实的双文化内涵，气质非凡。两人彼此倾慕，是意料中的事。

林医生说，1961年10月的某一天，他叫了林清祥、兀哈尔、布都惹里、傅书介、林史宾、方水双等12人到他在甘贝尔巷 (Campbell Lane) 住家“开会”，与会者到齐后才知道，原来那就是他与陈宗孟宣布结婚的“会议”！林医生笑着说，丈母娘知道他左倾，并不赞成他们的婚事。1962年，他们唯一的孩子诞生了。

1963年2月，林医生在“冷藏行动”下被拘留，将近二十年后才获得释放。新婚夫妻长期被拆散，百般辛酸诉不尽、心灵创伤终生难愈。

夫妇俩坚守承诺、患难与共，为新马人民争取民主自由的历史增添了璀璨的篇章。

4月12日那天本来与林医生约定择日再叙，竟成难圆之梦；那一别，竟成永诀，怎不令人不胜唏嘘！



林医生（前排中）和夫人陈宗孟医生（后排右五）常与好友到处游山玩水

伟大的林福寿医生

陈美华

第

一次见到林福寿医生，是在1966年年头。那时他起诉政府及报章诽谤名誉，诬指他与林清祥在狱中互毆致伤。一听到他、林清祥、傅树介和其他领袖都会上庭供证，便天天赶赴法庭，期望一睹领袖们的风采。林福寿医生在法庭上斯文的形象，条理分明的语气，表达出他意志坚定、威武不能屈的信念，立即打从心底里对他肃然起敬。

命中注定要更进一步认识林福寿医生。年头刚在法庭里见到了他，年底我即因为反对美帝国主义者对越南狂轰滥炸的恐怖行为而被捕入狱，在女皇镇囚禁了三个星期后，被移往樟宜“E Dormitory”。到了这里，我竟然有一种“惊喜”的感觉。面对无期的监禁还说是“惊喜”，荒唐透顶吧？

确实是惊喜。在这里见到了心目中的偶像林福寿、李思东、赛扎哈里等英雄人物，而且还将长期与他们生活在一起，一切烦恼都被抛到九霄云外了，当时只有喜悦的感觉！

我们三十多人一起被关到这里，使这里的人数达到近一百二十人的空前高峰。我们有个生活委员会，负责处理日常的集体生活与学习。就在我们来到这里的第二天晚上，身为生活委员主席的林福寿医生领导牢内兄弟举行了“迎新会”，记得那天他这么说：“本来被关入监牢是令人愤慨的事，我们却开起‘迎新会’，这不是很可笑吗？从二·二大逮捕以来，我们的同志被一批批送进黑牢，现在这里政治犯的号码已经排到七百多号了！今后，随着反压迫，反剥削的力量日益壮大，还会有更多人被投入黑牢，会被无限期的监禁。在我们当中，卢大通，屈志明都已经被关超过十年，我和其他兄弟也被关将近四年了！反动派只能在肉体上折磨我们，伤害我们，但动摇不了我们为人民服务的信念和决心。欢迎你们，新来的兄弟！”

林福寿医生这一番温馨，又充满战斗力的话，给了我在漫长的监牢岁月中，带来明确的指引和巨大的战斗力量。

大约一个月后，谢太宝也被关到这里来了。林福寿领导的生活委员会长期组织并领导兄弟们进行学习，武装思想，不向统治者屈服。反动派感觉情况不妙，就把林福寿医生、谢太宝、李思东和赛扎哈里几位领导调离我们。

林福寿医生坚持了20年才获得释放，他确实是一个信念坚定，不畏强权的典范，是个伟大的人！

给福寿送上最后一程

陈国防

(在林福寿医生遗体告别仪式上的讲话)

尊

敬的林夫人，林家其他各位成员们，
各位朋友：

今天大家聚集在这里，准备给敬爱的林福寿医生送上最后一程，想大家的心情和我一样，必定非常沉重，也感觉依依不舍。

在这里，让我们简短地回顾一下林福寿医生不平凡的一生。同时，接下来我想以“Dr Lim”来称呼他，因为这不单是他生前许多病人给他的称呼，而且还是他的众多同志与战友们，尤其是哪些跟他在樟宜牢房里，包括我自己，一同过着黑暗日子的朋友们给他的尊称。

Dr Lim于1931年出生在一个贫苦的大家庭。家中共有10名孩子，他排行老三。从小他便是个品学兼优的学生。就读莱佛士书院时，他的领导才华便已经崭露头角，受到老师和同学们的肯定和赏识。在学校里，他是公认的演说家和作家。经常代表学校参加校际演讲比赛和辩

论会。1950年，他进入当时设在新加坡的马来亚大学攻读医科。1953年，他和一批志同道合的同学，包括傅树介，拉惹古瑪，艾文淡布，詹密星，兀哈尔，欧志丹姆等发起成立社会主义俱乐部，接着，又被同学选出担任学生会会长，同时积极参与泛马学生联合会的活动。这时，包括新加坡在内的马来亚社会，经过二战的震撼与洗礼，人民要求自治，当家作主的情绪与呼声已经酝酿多时，正在迅速步入沸腾之际。这一批血气方刚，目光敏锐的大学生视实现社会改革为己任，义不容辞地走到时代潮流的最前列，投入反殖的斗争之中。他们创办了《黎明》（也即是《华惹》）报刊，一面揭露殖民主义者的丑恶嘴脸，一面唤醒人民自主自助的政治意识。当该报刊于1954年被殖民地政府以煽动罪名起诉时，他就是“保卫华惹基金”的主席。

就在捍卫华惹报的过程中，他结识了初出茅庐的年轻律师李光耀。华惹捍卫战胜利之后，他积极参与成立人民行动党，并成为该党的重要成员。可是，他却在1958年该党的一次别有用心地重新登记的过程中，因为意见不合，不受当时以李光耀为主的党领导层的欢迎而被终止了党籍。

1957年，Dr Lim 大学毕业，正式成为一名医生，被派到中央医院和陈笃生医院服务。1961

年，为了成立社会主义阵线政党，他辞了该政府职务，与傅树介医生共建“人民医务所”，一边行医，扶死救伤，一边从政，力求从宏观的层面，改善广大人民的生活与社会面貌。以实现他心中为建立一个公平，民主，优雅的社会崇高理想。

1963年2月2日，他和百多名左翼人士，包括工运，农运，与学运的积极分子被捕入狱，在没有经过公开法庭审讯的情况下被关了将近20年的漫长时光。使他成为仅次于谢太宝被政治拘时间留最长的拘留人士。

这里，让我读出已故陈仁贵的一首诗的其中一段：

我怎能把那些粗暴的恶人忘却？
在黑暗的掩护下，
他们在惠德利拘留所横行霸道。
在我发抖裸露的躯体上，
倾倒一桶又一桶凉水，
向我痛苦交加，百般挣扎的身上袭击，
还对着我冻僵的躯体嘲笑戏弄。
是什么诱使这些非人的禽兽，
使出如此像复仇一样的恶毒与暴虐，
不是因为私人恩怨，
也并非要结算私人旧账，
而是为了百姓民主诉求理念上的分歧。
到底这凶残暴虐从何处来袭？
是什么使人变成了禽兽？
是黑暗，是欠缺严厉的监视！
让他们仅仅凭借一套耻辱不堪的法典与谎言，
便在那里肆无忌惮地叫嚣造孽。

Dr Lim 常年累月的默默坚持，是人类品德的最高体现！是向恶势力发出的最强有力的回应！他常常说：对方可以关住我的躯体，但却关不掉我的精神。Dr Lim 酷爱旅行，一次他对我说：“这么多年来，我虽身在牢狱，可是我却常常环游世界，因为我会“神游”！好一个豪气十足而又幽默的“奇”人。在樟宜“E Dormitory”，正是 Dr Lim 这种不屈不挠，永不言弃的无限能量支持着他，同时也鼓舞着我们。他是我们困难中的益友，是启蒙的导师，也是黑暗中让我们看到光明的引导者。对他的恩典，我们永远感激不尽！

Dr Lim即将离开我们去见林清祥，布都切利，林史宾，拉惹古玛，陈仁贵和许许多多英勇勇敢的先烈。他的心情应该是欣慰的，因为在这个小岛上，人民对长期的欺压已经忍无可忍而积极求变，去年的大选和最近的补选结果都可以看到端倪。年轻一代对于人权，社会公正，民主与真理的诉求越来越强烈，其队伍也越来越壮大。就在上星期六，一大群公民运动的成员在芳林公园就发出了要求废除恶名昭彰的内安法令的呼声，而且要推动一场声势浩大的全民签名运动！

另一方面，西方资本主义经济仍在苟延残喘，完全看不到解决的一丝曙光。看来还有可能拉倒世界经济秩序与架构，使全世界陷入空前大萧条的灾难性深渊。从大学生涯开始便崇



右起：Dr Lim，林清如，Said Zahari，KS Jomo 和陈仁贵

奉社会主义的 Dr Lim，从近年来的世界局势发展中必然会找到与他的大学读物里所阐述的资本主义注定要消亡灭绝的似曾相识的许多地方。

Dr Lim 光辉的一生是结束了，但他永不言弃，坚守岗位，坚持信念，光明磊落，坚贞不渝的伟大精神，他的崇高的人格素养应该是后来者学习的榜样，应该鼓舞我们大家去做个更好的人！我们因为有这样的一位朋友和导师而感到无限的荣幸和骄傲！中华文化里有句古话：人固有一死，或重如泰山，或轻如鸿毛。我们敬仰的 Dr Lim，在我们心中，永远是一座巍峨壮观的泰山！他的英名应与朝阳同晖，与英雄并列！他劳劳碌碌的一生结束了。安息吧，我们伟大的英雄！

悼念敬爱友人

李騰禧

在

樟宜E-Hall和林福寿医生相处了四年，对他的为人，我很敬佩。

他是一个舍己为群的实践者，每当朋友遇到困难，他会挺身而出，为朋友解决难题。

身为一名合格医生，他的任务更加繁重。朋友们生病了，他会为他们诊断，开导，尽量减轻他们的在精神上和肉体上的痛苦，使百多个在一起的朋友们得益不浅。

他为人谦虚，谈吐文雅，是一位人见人爱的朋友。对于他的逝世，我深感哀伤！

深深悼念敬爱的林福寿医生

周增禧

我

在南大求学时已认识了林医生，但是与他相熟是在樟宜监牢(E-Hall)。

1963年9月26日，我被逮捕。10月中被政府人员从中央警署转移去樟宜监牢，当时在E-Hall等着接待我们的，除了被关在那里的南大同学外，还包括一群友人，其中一位是文质彬彬的林福寿医生。我们一见面便紧紧握手，只听他说“我们又见面了”。

当时的E-Hall，共关了百多位政治拘留人士，其中南大同学就有三十位。我们（南大生）与其他政治拘留人士相处得非常融洽，大家互相鼓励，互相支援，也常对当时的局势进行研究，展开讨论，对反动政权作出大力评击。

林医生是我们E-Hall生活自治委员会的主席，也是我们的代言人。他还是E-Hall内的义务医生，牢房内兄弟有大小病痛的都先找他诊治。有时半夜三更遇到紧急事故，还是要打扰他，因为他是我们绝对相信的好医生。一次，

为了要求当局改善牢房里的生活条件，我们还在他的领导下，采取过一个星期的罢食行动，最后以胜利收场。

林医生的坚强意志，不屈不挠的斗争精神，站稳坚定的立场，成为我们每个人的楷模与榜样。

今年5月底，我赴星公干，曾挂电话问候他，并约定27日到他府上拜候。当日下午我跟数位老友赴约，但获林医生家人告知他已入院，我们以为是他去做每周三次的普通洗肾，完全无疑有他，只好约定另择日期再来。6月4日，星加坡好友来电说林医生在院中不幸逝世。真是晴天霹雳，令人一时难以接受。想起未能见他最后一面，遗憾万分。一代伟人，人民群众的领袖，劳苦百姓的好医生，就此永远离开了我们。

林医生爱国爱民，为了追求民主、正义的理想，不惜牺牲了个人近二十年宝贵的青春。他为祖国与人民作出了不可磨灭的奉献，他的伟大精神必将永垂不朽！

樟宜旧事拾遗

谢继宗

“我为自己建立了
一座非人工所能建造的纪念碑
人们走过的道路上
青草不再生长
他抬起那颗不屈的头颅
高耸在亚历山大的纪念石柱之上
不 我不会死亡
我的灵魂在珍贵的诗歌当中
我比我的骨灰活得更长久
我将永远光荣
直到还有一个人
活在这个月光下的世界上”

普

希金的诗，辉映林福寿的一生：半辈反殖，自治独立，身系囹圄。廿载铁窗，无怨无悔，坚贞不渝。晚年生涯，持之有恒，不屈不饶，坚持理想，捍卫真理，维护正义。此等情操，问人世间，能有几人？

犹记半个世纪前，在樟宜那些日子里，林福寿的强有力握手，充满自信。他亲切和蔼的笑容，流露真挚。难友之中，不分种族，不论宗教，不计信仰，有家陷困境者，他一知道，义不容辞，伸手援助，动辄上万，慷慨解囊，排忧解难。

每日上午，可见他忙碌验收狱方所提供的食物，必要时提出交涉，据理力争，毫不妥协。傍晚，医官下班，他以其医生专业，在有限的条件下，及时为病者诊治。日复一日，年复一年，保障了百余难友的健康。我不禁深思：若是没失去自由，在高墙外的人民药房行医，他可以造福更多的贫苦大众！谁之过？

拘留岁月，遥遥无期。苦闷之中，寄情绘画。他笔下的写意金鱼，千姿百态，活灵活现，堪称一绝。人见人爱。大家竞相以油漆为颜料，请他彩绘在个人自制的洋灰小花盆上。他有求必应。

每逢佳节倍思亲，新春尤甚。唯有设计年卡，苦中作乐。为了增添贺年卡的美感，我心血来潮，仿其笔下金鱼，却落得形似神不似。

往事五十年，蓦然回首，依旧清晰，印象深刻。牢房生活，点点滴滴，见微知著，可窥福寿，为人随和，心胸宽阔，坦坦荡荡，助人为乐，品格高尚，形象光辉。



2012年春节聚餐，林福寿医生两夫妇与友好留影纪念

云淡天高，林福寿走完八十一年的人生道路，以实际行动谱写历史篇章。耿耿丹心，可照日月，不容抹杀。

古今将相在何方？荒冢一堆草没了。林福寿无权无势，却活在很多人的心中。他不屈的灵魂，大无畏的精神，遗留人间，永垂不朽，直到地老天荒。

悼念诗二首

蔡剑秋

林医生，一路走好

悠悠岁月问苍天
二十铁窗炼丹心

今昔英雄永长眠
捍卫真理史册记

英雄安息音容在
颠倒黑白不足奇

天空细雨哭灵柩
英雄芳名永不朽

白衣嘴脸谈和谐
历史血泪是铁证

你的名字多灿烂

很多人和你从未交谈
但在很多人的心目中
医生，你的名字
正受赞誉，广泛传诵

二十年牢狱之灾后
你仍昂首，挺起胸膛
为捍卫真理，正义
在阵阵的叫嚣声中
你却屹立不倒，稳如泰山

六月四日
一个令人痛心的消息
在电波里传讯
医生，你走了
哀思，悲凄与哭泣笼罩
网络数百留言
对你深切悼念，默默思念

敬爱的林医生
你还年轻
许多贫困的病人
等着你无偿的医治
很多正义的事

等着你来完成

医生，你是时代的巨人
你在为人民服务
二十年的冤狱
精神遭羞辱
肉体受酷刑

白衣人的嘴脸
让世人看到
号称洋洋第一的
所谓议会民主共和国
竟然如此的荒诞卑劣

指你是“共产党”
不必审讯
只能长期监禁
要是你想自由
就得写篇‘悔过书’
笑话，这就是他那精英者的“能干”
历史长河中，林福寿
你的名字是那么灿烂

文质彬彬 然后君子

谢声远

安

珀路4号。

角落头一栋不起眼的旧式公寓。

简陋的保安棚，锈斑的铁栅门、剥蚀的外墙，无不显出这房子已垂垂老矣，随时会在重槌的撞击下分崩离析……

林福寿医生和夫人陈宗孟医生，就住在大楼17层一个复式单位。除了厅里一套与医生身份不甚相配的普通沙发之外，屋内上下两层最显眼的莫过于墙上密布的大小画作，以及架上、地面、玻璃柜里摆满的雕刻品、瓷塑和珍玩。

我此番是为了协助处置一些收藏品、减轻搬家负累而来的。

他们都是80岁高龄的老者，特别是林福寿医生，被监禁、被隔离长达20年，身心遭到极大的摧残：一个肾脏早已切除，另一个又病了，每周洗肾三次，而他每天上午依旧抱病为病人服务。工作、洗肾、休息，见客的时间自然就少了。所以，每次预约上门，其实不那么容易。

我是乐于为林福寿夫妇效劳的。林福寿是一位有信念、有理想、有行动、爱国家、爱人民、重友情的真君子；捍卫真理，至死不渝，而且始终得到陈宗孟医生的理解和支持。与林福寿的精神感召相比，我们能为他们夫妇俩做的事是微乎其微的。

80年代以来，林福寿夫妇开始对书画、艺术品的收藏发生兴趣。这个契机让我有更多机会与他们接近，加深了对他的了解。首先是人格力量：林福寿为人和蔼可亲，不摆架子，说话轻声细语，却不优柔寡断，所谓风过草偃，无依而强，自然成了众人愿意追随的领头羊。其次是广阔胸襟：林福寿服膺公正、公平、民主、独立、亲民的理念，所以大时代中能动如涌涛，小时代里又能静如平湖，是令人敬仰的民族英雄。第三，真、善、美：林医生晚年钟情艺术，还在收藏之余，拜师学画，在艺术中洞悉真、善、美，洁身自爱。第四，严于律己，宽以待人：林福寿在狱中正气凛然，在病中坚守岗位，不以自己的高度难为朋友，不以朋友的委屈当箭靶，但求不邪、不奸、不丑。

林福寿曾收藏有中国当代名画家贾又福的画作<明霞图>。贾又福一向信奉贵明不贵光，贵内在美透澈空明，不贵外美浮华光亮的高层次审美理念，这与林福寿毕生追求真、善、美的终极目标不谋而合。

末了，我借用傅京生评贾又福艺术思想中的一段话，以慰林福寿在天之灵：人生的安身立命之地，不在身外，也不在彼岸，而是在自己的生命之中。每个人生命中都有这种积淀，问题只是我们有没有自觉。只有自觉者才是真正的自强不息者。 "

Sweet air of freedom

MA BAKAR

At the celebrations of Hock Siew's 75th birthday, I said in front of all the guests that he was a freedom fighter. I told him that day that his life was full of ironies. He was 75 years old, but breathed the sweet air of freedom only for fifty-odd years. What happened to the other 20 years?

Hock Siew was silent. He was overwhelmed and could not answer.

Beatrice then chipped in and said that for twenty years he had free food and lodging.

Many people have experienced loss of freedom through detention without trial.

I salute you all. It is a great sacrifice for society's sake.

Another irony I noted about Hock Siew's life was that the number plate of his car is SCJ3461U. I said to him, 'You have a Chief Justice's number plate — you, who have such injustice done to you!'

I got to know Hock Siew when we were in the Raffles Institution Senior Cambridge Class. He was very active, and with Tan Seng Huat, was selling the *Cauldron*, published by the Medical College Union Literary and Debating Society in school. I bought a copy, which I read page by page. The publication stimulated me to read and think more about the

system that we were under, which was a colonial one. It gave me the fervour to join the anti-colonial struggle.

Years later, when I was working at Tan Tock Seng Hospital, two good friends appeared, and pulled me into their car which then headed for Balestier Road where the Shaw Film Studio was. They asked if I would join Partai Rakyat. Since then I have been a member of the party.

On 2 February 1963, Dr Lim Hock Siew and Dr Poh Soo Kai of Rakyat Clinic were both arrested under the Internal Security Act. I left Tan Tock Seng Hospital and stepped in to manage the clinic. When he was released more than a decade later, Hock Siew resumed his practice at the clinic, working till the last days of his life.



Hock Siew was still driving at age 80, in his Mercedes

My friend, Hock Siew

POH SOO KAI

I have known Hock Siew for over 60 years. We were in Raffles Institution together. We entered the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Malaya in Singapore in 1950. We both dropped one year, and graduated together in 1957. We joined the PAP together when it was formed. Together we help found the Barisan Sosialis in 1961. We were detained together in Operation Cold store, 2 February 1963, and released a few days apart in 1982.

Hock Siew is foremost an anti-colonialist. He fought for independence from foreign control and domination, and as such was involved in nation building — building of a nation from disparate ethnic groups. He was a founder of the University Socialist Club whose first declaration was not on socialism but on the issue of communalism as an obstacle to nation building.

During the Fajar sedition trial, he was actively involved in the collection of money for the Fajar Defence Fund. Our lawyer, the world famous QC DN Pritt offered his services *gratis*. But we had to pay for other expenses. Hock Siew did a wonderful job.

The Fajar Trial made us all more matured. He became a staunch socialist, fighting for democracy, human rights,



Dr Chia Thye Poh (left), accompanied by Dr Poh Soo Kai and Dr Lim Hock Siew visiting Tan Jing Quee during Chinese New Year, 2011

justice for the people and transparency and honesty. He was specifically against the PPSO now changed to ISA.

Hock Siew joined the PAP when it was formed, for these aims were enshrined in its Constitution. However, he soon realised that the leadership of the PAP was betraying their own constitution. By 1957, he was not alone in holding this view. Other PAP members held similar views and wanted to elect half the CEC at the 1957 Annual General Meeting. He came to know of their plans, and tried to dissuade them from doing so as he felt it was a British trap. He failed. His friends went ahead, elected six members into the executive committee and soon they were detained. Back came Lee Kuan Yew, who now restructured the PAP. Cadre membership was introduced. Cadres were chosen by the executive. These

cadres in turn elect the executive. Hock Siew was removed as an ordinary member.

This, however, did not stop him from helping the PAP during elections. He still clung to the hope that the PAP constitution would be respected.

Hopes were dashed when the PAP not only refused to recommend the release of political detainees on coming into power, but made conditions of their release even more stringent. The Review Board was turned into an Advisory Board, i.e. with no powers. More restrictions were introduced against the trade union movement. Public dissatisfaction led to PAP losing the Hong Lim by-election to Ong Eng Guan, who had campaigned for release of the detainees, and more freedom. This defeat was followed by another in Anson, campaigned on a similar platform. The wishes of the people were crystal clear. But Lee Kuan Yew dared not go against the British. The British wanted to introduce merger to control the anti-colonial forces in Singapore and strengthen their strategy for Southeast Asia. The PAP grasped the merger issue as a lifesaver. It kicked its left wing out on this issue and ignored the issue at hand, i.e. detention and more freedom.

The progressive forces, now expelled from the PAP, formed the Barisan Sosialis. As the Barisan Sosialis called for the abolition of the ISA, and for human rights and more social justice, the values Hock Siew believed in, he not only joined the party, but became a Central Executive Committee member. He was editor of its English paper, the *Plebian*. He represented the Barisan Sosialis at the United Nations during the session on merger and the formation of Malaysia.

Barisan Sosialis was a formidable force the British had to contend with as it pushed through merger. The Barisan accepted merger in principle, but it wanted to know the terms.

These were never spelt out and could not be spelt out. How could one tell the people of Singapore that one of the terms is the continued keeping of nuclear weapons at Tengah Air Base and aimed at China? Most of the PAP leaders were kept in the dark. Yet they very willingly agreed to sign blank cheques without any open debate.

The Barisan had to be crippled. Hock Siew together with hundreds of anti-colonial fighters were detained. His son was 5 months old when he was detained and a man when he was released. Imagine the pain and anguish he went through. And the pain he felt for his wife, bringing up their child all on her own.

He could have been released if he was willing to recant and confess to his 'errors'. But how to recant when there is nothing to recant, when it is the PAP leaders who had hoodwinked the people of Singapore who should do the recanting? He demanded an open trial, he demanded transparency, he demanded justice. For this stand, he was detained for close to 20 years.

With the Barisan Sosialis smashed, and people threatened with arbitrary arrests, and ruinous legal suits, the stage was set for greed to show itself. A rich tiny upper layer of society indebted to the PAP now is set to fight for its privileges. But the disenchanted layers of society have grown far faster. They demand transparency, demand their rights as citizens, demand dialogue and participation and to be told the truth. Hock Siew found in them the principles he held. He willingly gave them his moral and financial support.

He was astute enough to see the rise of this tide of discontent. In 2009, one and a half years before the 2011 general election, at the launch of *The Fajar Generation*, though ill and feeble, he spoke with fervour and force about

the injustice of the regime. He even wished Lee Kuan Yew a long life so that he can live to see the end of the PAP as he had shaped it. The recording of his speech by Martyn See was later banned.

Dr Lim had intended to attend the gathering at Hong Lim to mark the 25th anniversary of Operation Spectrum on 2 June, but fell ill. I was told he was lucid in the ICU on 3 June. News of the event must have made him very happy to have lived to see this day, to see the evaporation of fear. And to realise that his sacrifices have not been in vain. People are human beings, not cattle, not dogs — of the lap or running type.

Hock Siew, respected by all

ARTHUR LIM

“You may take away my freedom and separate me from my loved ones but you cannot kill my spirit.”

— Lim Hock Siew

“A great Singapore doctor dedicated to the poor”

— Prof Arthur Lim, founder of National Eye Center and
classmate of Dr Lim Hock Siew

“...a good and honourable man”

— Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister of the Environment and
Water Resources

Once in a century, a nation is blessed with a great leader. In Singapore we had Dr Lim Hock Siew. Hock Siew was a top student at Raffles Institution in the 1940s, where he was already known as a good writer and a leading student orator.

In 1950, he joined the University of Singapore as a medical student. He was active in the University of Singapore Students' Union and was elected chairman of the students' council, which was the executive committee directing the activities of the union. In 1953 he founded the University Socialist Club.

When eight students, the editors of *Fajar* — the

publication of the Socialist Club — were arrested for sedition, Hock Siew became the chairman of their defence fund.

Despite his studies and numerous activities as a student at the university, Hock Siew became a founder member of the People's Action Party in 1954.

During this period, Hock Siew was a dedicated socialist leader fighting for the less fortunate and the poor. His courage attracted numerous supporters, not only University of Singapore students but leaders of the labour movement as well.

Hock Siew was a great doctor who cared for his patients. He charged low fees and would not charge if the patients could not afford to pay. This led to long queues at his clinic. A patient, Yuen Kwong Chow, wrote that his assuring words, patience and empathy for every patient, combined with his respect for all patients, made him the “People's Doctor”. Lim Hock Siew is an important example for doctors of the world; younger doctors, especially those in private practice, should learn to be less concerned with money and more concerned with the care of the patient. Lim Hock Siew was a wonderful example.

An important part of Lim Hock Siew was his unique sense of humour.

One day, I was riding pillion on his small 250cc motorcycle. He stopped at a corner of Serangoon Road and I had to balance myself on the ground as the bike was small. When the light changed, he went off and left me standing. Then ten minutes later, he returned and asked, “Where were you?”

I recall one of his favourite jokes:

A magic mirror was bought for US\$1000 and this woman stood in front of it and said, “Mirror, mirror on the wall, make my bosom forty-four.”

The husband saw the magic and asked, “Do you think the mirror would grant me a wish?”

“Of course,” she replied.

He said, “Mirror, mirror on the wall, make my private parts reach the floor.”

You know what happened? He lost both his legs.

In 1961, four years after graduation, Lim Hock Siew formed the Barisan Sosialis, the new left-wing group which had been expelled from the PAP to become the key opposition to the PAP. Major changes developed in Singapore — social, political and economic.

A dramatic day came at 4am on 2 February 1963. The police arrested Lim Hock Siew at his home during Operation Cold Store. While in prison without trial, Hock Siew was offered release to be with his wife and son if he would sign papers prepared by the government. Like Mandela from South Africa, Hock Siew refused and remained in prison.

These were his famous words, “You may take away my freedom and separate me from my loved ones, but you cannot kill my spirit.”

After 20 years, he was released without having to sign any papers. The government had given way and medical alumni friends spoke of how Hock Siew fought the government for his rights to express his ideas. But he paid the supreme price like Mandela and Gandhi. He was imprisoned without trial for 20 years.

Despite imponderable challenges, Lim Hock Siew emerged with his honour and integrity intact. He gained the respect of everyone who knew him.

The story of Lim Hock Siew is essential as future Singaporeans will scarcely believe that such a doctor existed.

Lim Hock Siew had wonderful support from his intelligent and dedicated wife: Dr Beatrice Chen is one of the best physicians in Singapore and helped Hock Siew maintain a high quality medical practice. She strengthened his determination. She guided their son, Yue Wen, who graduated from Cambridge, and then his grandson, Sean Lim Jun An.

What of the future? Hock Siew will be remembered as a great doctor and a national hero. His 20 years in jail without trial and his dedication to socialism have earned this eminent doctor deep respect by citizens of the world.

Dr Lim Hock Siew: the role model

LIM CHIN JOO

Among the tombs affected by the Government's decision to exhume Bukit Brown Cemetery to make way for roadworks is that of See Tiong Wah, the grandfather-in-law of Dr Lim Hock Siew. To find out more about the story, Seah Shin Wong and I visited Dr Lim at his new house in Joo Chiat Terrace on 12 April 2012 without any inkling that it was to be our last meeting with him.

Their living room was still in a mess, but Dr Lim was glad to see us and, together with his wife Dr Beatrice Chen, had a nice chat with us. See Tiong Wah was born to a prominent *peranakan* family in Malacca in 1885. He came to Singapore when he was six years old to study at St Joseph's Institution. After he started work as a bank officer, he rose through the ranks to become a *comprador* of HSBC. He was an active member of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, was appointed as a Justice of Peace, and held the chairmanship of the Hokkien Huay Kuan and Thian Hock Keng Temple for several terms.

See Tiong Wah's daughter, Lucy Chen, was the mother-in-law of Dr Lim. Lucy studied law in England and it was there that she met a young engineering student from Hebei, Chen Xu, the son of Chen Tiao-yuan, a key Kuomintang

military and political figure. Lucy became the first woman in the history of Singapore and Malaya to be qualified as a solicitor in England as well as being accepted into the British Law Society. She married Chen Xu and returned to Nanjing with him. Soon after, Beatrice and her two younger brothers were born.

At the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Lucy brought her children to seek refuge in Singapore and stayed with her grandfather, See Tiong Wah, at 23 Balmoral Road. The nearby Ewe Boon Road was in fact named after her great grandfather, See Ewe Boon. Beatrice was only 5 years old when she entered Primary One at Nanyang Girls' Primary School. See Tiong Wah passed away before the fall of Singapore.

Back in China, the Nationalist government was forced to retreat to Chongqing. Knowing that the Japanese would advance into Southeast Asia (Nanyang), Beatrice, her brothers and their mother Lucy journeyed from Penang to Rangoon by boat, trekked along the Yunnan-Burma Road before reuniting with Chen Xu in Chongqing. At the end of World War II, the family moved back to Nanjing.

After the Chinese Communist Party gained power in 1949, Chen Xu followed the Kuomintang troops in their retreat to Taiwan, while Lucy returned to Singapore to practise law. Meanwhile, Beatrice entered Hong Kong University to study medicine and graduated in 1958 before returning to work in the Singapore General Hospital.

Beatrice met Dr Lim Hock Siew at the Singapore General Hospital, and was deeply impressed with his selflessness, his professionalism, gentlemanly demeanour, sense of humour, and firm conviction. On the other hand, Dr Beatrice Chen cut an elegant figure with her solid bi-cultural background and

striking charisma. It was therefore hardly surprising that they would soon be attracted to each other.

Dr Lim recalled that one day in October 1961, he gathered a dozen of his close friends, including Lim Chin Siong, S Woodhull, James Puthuchear, Poh Soo Kai, Lim Shee Ping, Dr Bakar and Fong Swee Suan to his home in Campbell Lane for a “meeting”. It was not until everyone arrived that he disclosed that the “meeting” was in fact called to announce his marriage with Beatrice! Dr Lim jokingly said to us that his mother-in-law was then not too happy to have a left-wing politician as her son-in-law! Soon after, their only child was born in 1962.

In February 1963, Dr Lim was detained under the so-called “Operation Cold Store” and was released after nearly 20 years in captivity. Torn apart for decades not long after their marriage, the cruelty inflicted upon the young couple is unspeakable and the untold sufferings would have scarred them for life. Despite that, the couple remained undaunted and committed to each other. Together, they went through thick and thin. They are role models. Their story will go down in history as one of the most glorious chapters in the fight for democracy and freedom in Singapore and Malaya.

At our meeting on 12 April, we made a date with Dr Lim to have another chat. But alas, it was never to be.

Dr Lim Hock Siew: in memoriam

KOH KAY YEW

“**T**he death of a person can be as light as a feather or as heavy as Mount Tai.” So wrote a great Chinese historian centuries ago.

Dr Lim Hock Siew's death on the evening of 4 June 2012 marked the passing of an era in Singapore's turbulent and controversial post-war political history as he was one of the principal contestants in the struggle for freedom from colonial tutelage and for the emancipation of the poor and oppressed class. Of that heroic generation of leftwing leaders who sacrificed all in pursuit of their ideals, only a handful like Dr Poh Soo Kai and Said Zahari remain.

Dr Lim Hock Siew was best known for his resolute leadership and articulate comments at critical junctures during the unequal contest between British Imperial power and its local representatives on the one hand and the Middle Road trade unions, Chinese student movement and University Socialist Club members and alumni, who formed the core of the patriotic forces on the other.

He was partly instrumental in forging new and crucial links between the progressive English-educated undergraduates in the University Socialist Club and the Chinese Middle School movement in the early 50s. After the announcement of the

formation of Malaysia by Tunku Abdul Rahman and his speech to the Foreign Correspondents' Club in May 1961, *Fajar* took the lead in challenging the real motives behind Malaysia with a masterful caricature of 'Superman Tunku' drawn by Dr Lim, whose artistic talents were lesser known. At a landmark forum on "Basis for Merger" organized by the University Socialist Club in 1961, where Sandra Woodhull crossed swords with fellow trade unionist and PAP colleague, Devan Nair, Dr Lim sitting in the audience publicly called Devan Nair a "renegade". After the eviction of the left-wing from the PAP by the Lee Kuan Yew leadership in September 1961, Dr Lim together with Dr Poh joined the Barisan. While Dr Poh was appointed Assistant Secretary General, Dr Lim became editor of the English organ, *Plebeian*, and a member of the Central Working Committee. He was one of the three-member delegation sent by Barisan to represent the left's position on the Malaysian debate in the United Nations in 1962. After Operation Cold Store in February 1963, Dr Lim was the undisputed leader among the hundred-plus political detainees in E Hall in Changi Prison where he maintained relative peace and harmony. The highlight of their long prison struggle was the two month-long hunger strike conducted by the political detainees in the early 70s to protest the terms of prison conditions.

I had my first glimpse of Dr Lim in person when together with other University Socialist Club officials, we attended a court hearing in 1966 for a libel suit filed against *The Straits Times* by TT Rajah on behalf of Dr Lim and other political detainees arising from the false report published in the paper on an alleged fracas between their group of detainees and another led by Lim Chin Siong. I finally met him in person only a few months after his release in 1982. He was

amazingly youthful in his looks and nimble in his movements and thoughts. It was almost like the long hard years of prison life and struggle had frozen his natural ageing process and preserved his mind and body for a greater historic mission in life after his eventual release.

When Dr Lim was detained in February 1963, his only son was less than a year old. When he was released 19 long years later, his child was a young adult, who had grown up under the care of his maternal grandmother, as Dr Lim's wife, Beatrice, was herself working as a medical specialist at the General Hospital. Little has been publicised to date on the sufferings of political detainees' families in Singapore during the decades of state repression in the 60s and 70s except in Said Zahari's second volume of his memoirs. The human tragedies of many families of political detainees still remain to be told.

As a fellow alumni member of the University Socialist Club, I will always remember Dr Lim Hock Siew as one of the immortals in our pantheon of heroes who led our freedom struggle and kept their faith and integrity throughout the long dark years of their detention without trial where they remained unbowed and unbroken. His stirring words, "Bitter struggle strengthens bold resolve", uttered in prison is an inspiration to all who cherish human rights and dignity.

Tribute to Dr Lim Hock Siew, our inspiration

ANG SWEE CHAI

Like so many, it was with great sadness that I learnt of Dr Lim Hock Siew's death. It is especially painful as I have only met him once, and so briefly. That was on 11 February 2012, when Dr Lim came to the memorial mass of my husband, Francis Khoo, when I brought his ashes back home to Singapore after 35 years of exile. It was a great honour to meet him. For many of us he is a hero of legendary status.



Dr Lim Hock Siew, Dr Ang Swee Chai, Dr Syed Husin Ali,
Dr Poh Soo Kai and R Joethy

I was too young to remember properly the mass arrests of 1963, the Operation Cold Store that incarcerated over a hundred brave men and women who participated in the democratic struggle for Singapore's independence. All I can recall was asking my mother about the many passport photos published on the front page of the Chinese newspaper, *Sin Chew Jit Poh*. I asked her who those people were and why were their pictures lined up on the front page. They were arrested for political reasons was her answer. At that time it sent a shiver down my spine. Years later I was able to form my own understanding of what that meant.

That front page news had become a recurrent theme for the next 24 years of Singapore's political news. There were many more newspaper front pages with passport photos of those arrested in the seventies. Then in 1977 it was to include friends of my husband, Francis Khoo. In the eighties yet others — this time my own friends.

The name of Dr Lim Hock Siew surfaced when I was studying medicine at the University of Singapore. It was in connection with Dr Beatrice Chen, the prominent and much admired renal physician, who taught us. Once, in the middle of her lecture, a more politically conscious classmate whispered in my ear, "Dr Chen is the wife of Dr Lim Hock Siew, the famous founder of PAP and the Barisan Sosialis who was detained without trial because he would not kowtow to the Government." "Oh — he must be a very brave man!" "Yes, he and his friends were all arrested and put in prison because they opposed the government." With this distracting conversation, I could not concentrate on Dr Chen's lecture. Those rows and columns of photographs on the front page of the 1963 newspaper came to mind, and

I wondered if Dr Lim was one of them. If so he would have been detained without trial for nearly a decade. Dr Chen came across as beautiful and extremely dignified. My friend continued, “She is in quite a lot of trouble with the University for standing up for him and supporting him.” “So she has got guts too,” I replied.

I grew up in PAP-controlled Singapore, qualified as a doctor in 1973 and obtained my Master of Science in Occupational Medicine in 1976 in this prosperous and successful island. While I pledged loyalty daily at flag-raising ceremonies, cheered at national day parades, convinced that everything the government did was good and right, I occasionally remembered those photographs on the front page of the 1963 newspaper, and Dr Beatrice Chen and her husband, Dr Lim Hock Siew.

Yet it was not possible to learn much about Dr Lim if you were growing up in the mainstream of Singapore. For a start there are no official documents about him. He was detained without trial, so I do not even know what his crimes were supposed to be. He was accused of various things, but never given the chance to answer the accusations.

But things fell into place, a bit at a time when another mass arrest came in 1977. This time, my husband and many of his friends were on the wanted list and indeed Francis was the only one who managed to escape. When I was arrested a month later, I was able to verify for myself the reality of detention without trial, and being stripped of all rights and freedom in Whitley Road Detention Centre.

Unlike Dr Lim Hock Siew who refused to make any false confessions or betray his friends, I buckled under pressure and signed more than a dozen pages of “gobble-di-gook”

and promised to lure Francis back to surrender himself to the secret police. I just wanted to get out of detention and was prepared to acquiesce.

As I was leaving the detention centre, I thought of Dr Lim and his friends who had been in prison since 1963, and never faltered. I felt ashamed of myself for being such a weakling. I have much to learn.

By God's grace, I was given a second chance. This time I made a stand and instead of pressurising Francis to return to Singapore to surrender himself, I chose to stand by him in exile.

While in exile I met many friends of Dr Lim Hock Siew, and was able to learn about him from them. They told me about the early fight for Singapore's independence and the struggle against British rule. They also told me about Dr Lim. He was a leader whom they respected. I learnt about the days they were together, building up the trade unions and the civil structures in the early fifties and sixties. I learnt that Dr Lim was a strong and principled man. He was also a great leader who led by example and humility. When it came to taking a stand, he did so readily and with great generosity. He never betrayed his principles, and spent 19 years in prison. He stood on moral high ground all his life.

My being in exile for 35 years to date, and Dr Lim's long years in prison followed by ill-health after his release meant that I never had a chance to get to know him personally. My husband wrote songs about him, and we watched his speeches on the internet. The most recent speech of his that I watched on Youtube was made just last year. He spoke with clarity, conviction and principle. We were grateful that we could watch and hear him speak, and we understood why friends and

comrades respect and love him so much. That commitment to the Singapore people, his honesty and his steadfastness will continue to inspire us. We are grateful that Singapore has political giants like him. We will honour his memory with our continued commitment to justice and freedom.

Dr Lim Hock Siew, our mentor and our leader

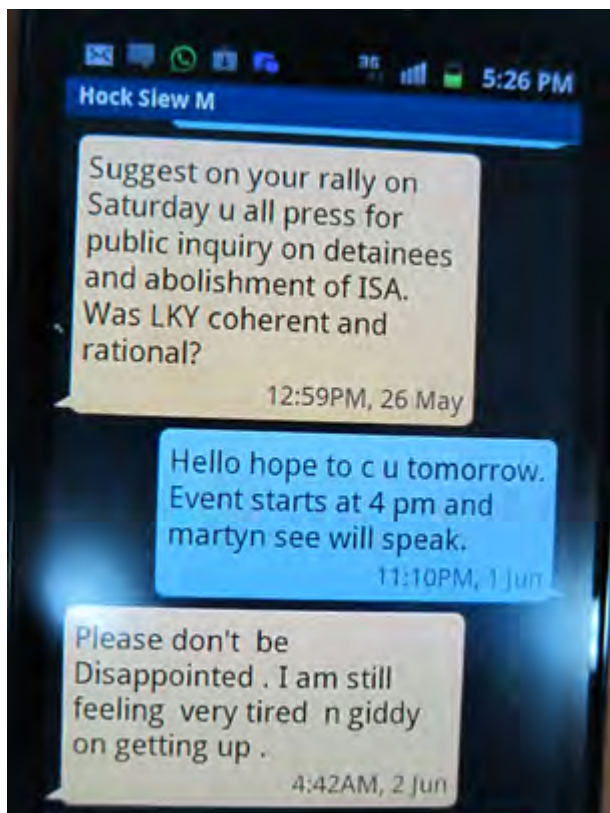
TEO SOH LUNG

To know Dr Lim Hock Siew is to know the political history of Singapore and the meaning of Lord Acton's words: "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". I never fully understood those words until I learned about the imprisonment without trial of Dr Lim and other patriots of Singapore by the Men in White.

Dr Lim's sms to me before the event commemorating the 25th anniversary of the 'Marxist Conspiracy' this year was "Suggest at your rally on Saturday u all press for public inquiry on detainees and abolishment of ISA."

Dr Lim had been ill for some time; the organisers of the event and I had hoped that he would grace the occasion despite his ill health. He was not able to do so but he was keenly aware of the event and its postponement from 19 May 2012 to 2 June 2012 because of the Hougang by-election. When I reminded him on the eve of the event, he sent me this message at 4.42am on 2 June: "Please don't be Disappointed. I am still feeling very tired n giddy on getting up."

I am very sure that if Dr Lim's health had permitted, he would have joined us at Hong Lim that day. The abolition of the ISA had always been central to Dr Lim's political philosophy. The ruthless use of the ISA by the



SMS messages between Dr Lim and Teo Soh Lung in the few days before his passing

people in power took away 20 prime years of his life and left his wife, Dr Beatrice Chen, to raise their young son of five months all by herself. We cannot imagine how much emotional and mental anguish he and his family endured during those years. But we can and should appreciate Dr Lim's unfailing concern for all Singaporeans when he called for the abolition of the ISA and the setting up of a commission of inquiry for ISA cases. In answer to a question at a talk in the Changing Worlds series organised by Function

8 as to whether the younger PAP leaders would use the ISA today, he replied:

“My assessment is that they are going to use the ISA as a reserve weapon to safeguard the PAP’s interests.... I hope it will not be used but I think it will be their reserve weapon.”

It would be foolish for us not to heed the words of a person who had suffered 20 long years in prison under the ISA and whose integrity, courage and principle led him to reject an offer of release that came with conditions which would have justified his detention. In addition, Dr Lim issued a public statement through his courageous wife, Dr Beatrice Chen on 18 March 1972, critical of the PAP regime and its ruthless use of the ISA.

The defiance of Dr Lim was to result in his further imprisonment for another 10 years.

Twenty years of imprisonment without trial! The sentence imposed by a cabinet of PAP ministers, is almost twice the length of a life sentence! What did Dr Lim do to deserve such a sentence by ministers and not by judges?

Dr Lim’s “crime” was to oppose the grand plan of the British, to merge Singapore with Malaya at any price, so that they could keep the leftists at bay and protect their vested interests. The PAP did merge Singapore with Malaya but two years later, Singapore was ejected. So what wrong did Dr Lim commit? He had been proven right to fight against a merger where the terms were disadvantageous to Singapore and Singaporeans. After the expulsion of Singapore from Malaysia, any democratic government would have had the decency to release Dr Lim and his comrades, convene a commission of inquiry, apologise and compensate him. That was not the case. Dr Lim and his family continued to suffer.

It would be foolish to think that imprisonment under the ISA will never happen to us because we have done no wrong. I used to think that as long as I was doing everything in the open and in accordance with the law, I would never be arrested under the ISA. I said that to the late Mr Tan Jing Quee just about a week before I was hauled up before the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Amendment to the Legal Profession Act in 1986 which marked the beginning of the persecution of the Law Society of Singapore. Jing Quee's response was short and swift. He said, "We also did nothing wrong but we were arrested." Jing Quee was detained twice for a total of four years and I was subsequently detained for more than two years.

Power and the desire to retain power has caused many good leaders to degenerate into tyrants and dictators, causing untold misery to the people they were supposed to care for. For close to half a century, those who have suffered under the ISA have remained silent. Before my own imprisonment, I had only heard snippets of what they went through and how long they were imprisoned. I was awed when I first met people like Encik Said Zahari who was jailed without trial for 17 years. That feeling of awe, however, did not translate into my understanding of what he went through for 17 years — how his wife, Salamah and young children suffered during those long and cruel years without their husband/father and sole bread winner.

Dr Lim was a gentle yet firm leader with a vision. The Men in White have cut short Dr Lim's contributions to the political development of Singapore into a more humane and just society in peaceful co-existence with our neighbours. They have deprived us for 20 years of a good and caring

doctor who often treated patients without charge, even giving money to those who could not afford to pay for their transport home.

Farewell, Dr Lim, I'm sure you have sojourned to a happier world that you so deserve, but your words and deeds will always remain in our hearts.

Holding on to one's integrity

HONG LYSA

It was only about a year ago when I was drafted to join a group of friends to plan the memorial gathering for Tan Jing Quee that I had the privilege of working with Dr Lim Hock Siew. Dr Lim was our leader. He cheekily called us a GRC as we knew Jing Quee in different capacities. Even from working together on something so simple, one can learn so much about the person that he was.

Our meetings were held at the corner coffee shop a few doors away from Rakyat Clinic, where Dr Lim worked daily even though he was undergoing dialysis three days a week. It was probably a venue for a good number of meetings he held, as the coffee shop attendants seemed to know that we were there to talk over cups of teh halia and coffee, and did not bother us. He looked frail, but was always in good spirits. He made firm decisions, based on what he called 'the spirit' of what we were doing, and made us see just what the principles involved were. He did this in a low-key manner, and was always for maintaining harmony.

Dr Lim was a judicious person with a delicate sense of other people's positions and feelings. I learnt that there were occasions where he turned down invitations from the organisers to make a speech at gatherings. His reasoning in

one instance was that not all present would be comfortable with his bringing in of politics should he speak, and thus might stay away from the function the next time it was held. So he simply graced the occasion every year with his presence, which was much appreciated.

However Dr Lim never missed out on any opportunity where it was appropriate to remind Singaporeans about the Internal Security Act being such a draconian tool that it required no accountability to the detained, and to citizens, and that officers of state routinely threatened detainees in the course of interrogation that they could be simply locked up for life and forgotten, without a single allegation against them ever needing to be proved. He gave the lead speech at the Tan Jing Quee memorial gathering last year, challenging the government to offer even a single shred of evidence that he was a subversive and a terrorist as was alleged, disparaging their integrity and competence. It was vintage Dr Lim oratory when the subject was detention without trial — fearless, caustic and based unflinchingly on the logic of his principles, allowing him to cut right into the heart of the matter. Once again he was met with silence.

Dr Lim delivered an impassioned eulogy at the funeral of Lim Chin Siong in 1996. That was before the social media became pervasive, and information was still a monopoly of the state. It was then decades since the name of Lim Chin Siong had been uttered in public in a positive light, and it took no less than Dr Lim to do that. Excerpts of his speech were actually featured in the Singapore Gallery of the National Museum of Singapore a few months or so after it was re-opened, as part of a short videotape about Lim Chin Siong, in the section on Singapore politics in the 1950s and 1960s. I

stood transfixed, watching the video over and over again on two visits, as the historicity of the landmark event sunk in. The video was withdrawn not long after it was first screened.

Today, calls for the abolition of the Internal Security Act, though still seen as sensitive and involving some degree of risk-taking, has become relatively more widespread. Dr Lim was at the core of these efforts, lending moral authority, and giving advice and encouragement, through his friendship and working with a new generation keen to understand what his own went through, and the legacy of that history on Singapore's political culture.

Yet the effects of half a century of state indoctrination run deep. In the Forum page of *The Straits Times*, (8 June 2012), a former patient wrote in appreciation of Dr Lim's strong sense of service towards his patients. The writer attributed this to Dr Lim's 'leftist ideological bent', which he opined also meant that Dr Lim had a 'dire mistrust and skepticism of a democratic system modeled on the Western world which has been proven wrong'. His 'courageous contribution to the political scene' at the expense of his family and personal freedom meant that the government had to at least match the standards he set, and be corruption-free and work towards improving on the livelihood of the people, the writer contended.

While appearing to be a tribute to Dr Lim, this argument is actually what the PAP has been using against Lim Chin Siong as well — that he was self-sacrificing, incorruptible and dedicated, but for the wrong cause, and that made all the difference. He had to be detained for the good of the country.

With Operation Cold Store on 2 February 1963, Dr Lim Hock Siew had been insisting that he was detained for fighting for genuine parliamentary democracy, which the Internal Security Act was used to undermine.

He had to spend close to 20 years as a political detainee for making this point.

Journalists covering his wake and funeral were asking about the historical significance of his passing.

That will depend on whether we Singaporeans will recognise the legacy of Dr Lim Hock Siew and his comrades: the importance of holding on to one's integrity.

Dr Lim Hock Siew: some recollections

LIM CHENG TJU

June 2012 — vacationing in England.
Was woken up in the middle of the night by an sms informing me of Dr Lim Hock Siew's passing. A week later, we visited the Salisbury Cathedral where one of four surviving copies of the *Magna Carta* was kept. Unfortunately, we didn't reach the room where it was kept in time and it was already closed for the day. That was 10 June, the seventh day of Dr Lim's passing.

A few days later, we were back in London. Made it a point to visit the British Library and finally saw the *Magna Carta*.

Only three of the original clauses in *Magna Carta* are still law. The most famous is the third one:

No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled...nor will we proceed with force against him...except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land. To no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay right or justice.

To quote the exhibition:

The real legacy of *Magna Carta* as a whole is that it limited the king's authority by establishing the crucial principle that the law was a power in its own right to which the king, like his people, was subject.

Dr Lim would have liked that.

2006

The first time I met Dr Lim. It was at Tan Jing Quee's house, after a sumptuous meal cooked by Rose, Jing Quee's wife. We were having coffee and Dr Poh Soo Kai and Koh Kay Yew were there as well. They were all former student leaders of the University of Malaya Socialist Club (USC) in the 1950s and 1960s. A few months ago, a few friends and I started on a project to document the history of the USC and Jing Quee and the rest wanted to meet us to, well, suss us out.

Dr Lim told me that he was a founding member of the People's Action Party (PAP) and he used to have drinks and smokes in the basement of No. 38 Oxley Road with Harry Lee. That should be around 1954 to 1955. So they were friends.

Eight years later, Dr Lim, Dr Poh and others were rounded up during Operation Cold Store and Dr Lim was detained for 20 years. His son was five months old when he went in. When he was finally released in 1982, his son was 20 years old.

That night I wondered how does one imprison a friend you used to have beer with (and talked about politics and the future) for 20 years and still sleep at night. I came to the conclusion that he probably sleeps very soundly because he is totally convinced what he did was right.

But I believe that Dr Lim, no matter where he was since that fateful morning of 2 February 1963, slept soundly too because he stood by his beliefs. He never caved in and never compromised.

JANUARY 2012

The last time I met Dr Lim was at a private function when Dr Chia Thye Poh gave a sharing about his experiences. Dr Lim was there as a guest speaker. This was a historic occasion as we have here the longest detained person in Singapore (Dr Chia) with the second longest (Dr Lim).

I wondered what made them hold on for so long inside. What made their convictions so strong and what made them go on. Dr Chia said that it was not because he did not want to be released. But he would not come out if that required him to sign something that was untrue. Dr Poh once shared that coming out was easy if all it required was a signature. But how do you face your friends once you were released?



Dr Chia Thye Poh and Dr Lim Hock Siew sharing their experiences at a private function

I was reminded of what Samuel Beckett once said: “I can’t go on. I will go on.” So it is not a matter of whether you can or cannot, but you must and therefore you will continue.

Dr Lim was late for the function as he was held up. But he still drove to the event. I remarked to him that I wish I could still drive at his age of 81.

NOVEMBER 2011

I was having lunch with a theatre practitioner friend of mine. I told him what the theatre in Singapore should do now was a court room drama based on the recent speeches of Dr Lim. Since 2009, Dr Lim had been making speeches which challenged the master narrative of the Singapore story by telling his account of 20 years in detention at *The Fajar Generation* book launch (2009) and also challenging then-presidential candidate Tony Tan about the legality of Operation Cold Store and Operation Spectrum at Tan Jing Quee’s memorial gathering (2011). The former, filmed by Martyn See, was banned by the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts in 2010, almost a year after it was uploaded on Youtube.

My sense is that Dr Lim wanted his day in court. At his age, he had nothing to lose. It was like he was saying, “Charge me for defamation and I’ll see you in court.” And maybe the other side would not want to face Dr Lim and his accusations in an open court. We will never know. So we could do a court room drama about that since it is not happening in reality.

No one has taken up this idea yet.

JUNE 2011

I was walking along Balestier Road and went past Dr Lim's Rakyat Clinic. It was not open that afternoon. My father told me Rakyat Clinic was famous back in the 1980s as Dr Lim would charge his patients a very cheap rate for consultation and medicine. My father would bring my great grandmother all the way from Tanglin Halt to Balestier Road to see Dr Lim because of the care and concern shown by Dr Lim to his patients.

Dr Lim — always there for the rakyat.



Note: Together with Loh Kah Seng, Seng Guo Quan and Edgar Liao, Lim Cheng Tju co-authored *The University Socialist Club and the Contest for Malaya: Tangled Strands of Modernity* (Amsterdam University Press, 2012). They did not have a chance to show Dr Lim the book before he passed away.

Dr Lim Hock Siew, my hero

MARTYN SEE TONG MING

In 2006, after I had made a documentary on Said Zahari, I found the world of former ISA detainees opening up before me. The late Mr Tan Jing Quee had invited me to his home on several occasions, and it was there that I first met Dr Lim Hock Siew. He was a mild-mannered, gentle and soft-spoken person. But every time he spoke, I found myself leaning over to hear everything that he had to say. He was precise. He minced no words. He also hardly repeated himself, except for two refrains. One, that he had refused to sign any declaration while under detention for almost 20 years because the ISD had wanted him to confess to something that he never did or advocated. He would use the analogy: They wanted me to say that I would not beat my wife, which would imply that I had been a wife-beater. The other refrain was his utter contempt for Lee Kuan Yew.

Dr Lim was a founding member of the PAP and had met Mr Lee several times in his home along Oxley Road. He told me that he had found Lee to be totally untrustworthy very early on. In his one and only interview with *The Straits Times*, when asked by the reporter if he had read Mr Lee's autobiography, Dr Lim replied, "I read it like Harry Potter." That answer actually went into print in *The Straits Times*.

I've heard from sources that MM Lee at that time was unhappy about the piece. And thus it was no surprise that when I submitted Dr Lim's first post-detention public speech, recorded at the launch of *The Fajar Generation* in 2010, to the Board of Film Censors at the Media Development Authority, the minister in charge Lui Tuck Yew decided to ban the film, stating that it "undermines confidence in the government". It was the same reason his predecessor, Dr Lee Boon Yang had used to ban my earlier film on Said Zahari. A few days after the video was banned, Dr Lim texted me and asked how many hits has it been getting on YouTube. Like me, he was clearly delighted that the ban had generated more interest.

Dr Lim never dwelt on the past. He kept himself abreast with current issues. He once mentioned to me that he read my blog daily. In his speech last year at the memorial gathering for Mr Tan Jing Quee, he challenged then Presidential candidate Dr Tony Tan to repeat his claims that the ISA had never been used on political opponents. He also brought up the Occupy Wall Street movement and how we are witnessing a revolt against capitalism. Dr Lim Hock Siew is a hero to me. He exemplified all that is sorely absent in our political leaders today — the courage to speak one's mind, the tenacity to stand by one's integrity, the compassion for the plight of the poor, and a quiet humility to his own sacrifices and suffering for democracy and for the people of Singapore.

Rakyat Clinic

TAN PIN PIN

Thousands of people pass Rakyat Clinic along Balestier everyday but few have any idea about the stories behind this institution. To many it is two elderly doctors who have served the neighbourhood for decades.

In 2011, I decided to visit the clinic to meet Dr Lim and Dr Bakar with my still camera. Dr Lim worked there every morning, six days a week despite his dialysis sessions three afternoons a week.

Dr Bakar ran the clinic by himself when Dr Lim and Dr Poh were in detention. For his portrait I asked if Dr Lim could take off his glasses and I am glad I did. You can see his calm eyes. In posing for the photo of the two of them together, they were like school boys again, ribbing each other about Dr Bakar's RI jacket. I am glad for the opportunity to witness this institution. Thank you Rakyat Clinic, Dr Lim and Dr Bakar.



Lifelong friends — Dr MA Bakar and Dr Lim Hock Siew



Nameplate outside Dr Lim Hock Siew's consultation room



Dr Lim Hock Siew



The simple reception counter at the clinic



Artwork sitting atop filing cabinets

The Rakyat Clinic at Balestier Road

TAN DAN FENG

The name “Lim Hock Siew” is not one that rings a bell for most Singaporeans born after Singapore’s separation from Malaysia in 1965. In comparison, mentions of “Rakyat Clinic” would more likely bring nods of recognition among the post-independence generation. “That’s the one near the tau sar piah place at Balestier Road, right?”

“It was set up by our family doctor and family friend.” I would say. Of course, I could also have added: “...a founder member of the PAP, the Barisan Sosialis, the second-longest serving political detainee in Singapore history and one of the longest serving political prisoners in the world”, but these descriptions would be irrelevant or unwanted in most contexts in Singapore.

The clinic takes up one small unit along a row of plain Modernist shophouses at one end of Balestier Road, the austere cousins of the more architecturally interesting and gaudy Art Deco and Eclectic-style shophouses at the other end of the street. It counts as its neighbours a midnight bar (Beijing Beauty Jade), a coffeeshop (Mega Foodcourt) and assorted interior design and lighting firms, which together form a comprehensive support cluster for the disparate appetites and ailments of the man-in-the-street.

Yet it is the clinic that invariably registers in one’s mind when one drives past, more often than not on the way to buy the Hainanese bean paste biscuits or imported light

fixtures that give the area some measure of national renown.

It could be the homely white exterior wall that stands in stark contrast to its more colourful neighbours. It could be the spartan nature of the old-fashioned sign facing the street declaring the establishment's purpose in Chinese and Malay-English — “Ren Min Yao Fang / RAKYAT CLINIC”. It could of course also be the incongruity of these six words in this age of globalisation and international commerce, where any references to the “Rakyat” and covenants to serve them have long been consigned to the realms of homily, parody and history books.

My last visit to the clinic was some years ago and it looked like how I had always remembered it. No soft lighting, no piped muzak, no nicely cushioned seats, no fashionable magazines; this was a spare functional place with nothing to distract one from one's purpose for being there – You are sick and you need to get well.

Raised in a society that is constantly changing, there is a strangely reassuring feeling of stepping into a time capsule when one enters the clinic, a welcome departure from the world of flat screens, integrated clinic management systems, RFID scanners, patient services portals, KPIs and ROIs. Getting treated by Dr Lim was the same. The basic niceties: “How's your father? And your mum?” And then quickly to the matter at hand — You are sick and you need to get well.

This unwavering focus on what is core and fundamental is something that I have always associated with Dr Lim, even on social occasions. He had never been one to beat around the bush or to tell “grandfather stories” to eager young ears, even though this was a right that he had earned many times over by dint of his age and experiences. On one of the last occasions that I saw him, at an intimate dinner he organised to celebrate



Dr Lim and Dr Chen celebrating with friends after a defamation suit was settled in his favour

the settlement he received after he sued several parties (including a government agency) for defamation over a news item in a publication, there was no unnecessary gloating at the poetic irony of this late small victory but merely a simple statement of fact that Justice had been served in this instance and Truth restored in a small way.

Those who had known Dr Lim over the years would have witnessed how he had remained tireless, resolute and undeviating in both word and action even as many other comrades adapted, evolved or simply became worn out. His dignity and constancy were fixed points in a world and society in flux, serving as reminders (whether welcomed or unwelcomed) to some and inspiration to others. What some have criticised as inflexibility and obduracy transforms into indomitability and uncompromising principle under a different prism, true and rare qualities that would have drawn wider acclaim had this been a different age.

In recent years, I have found myself consciously looking

out for the Rakyat Clinic sign whenever I pass by and feeling a sense of relief when I do see it. The shophouse housing the clinic comes under URA conservation guidelines as part of the Balestier Heritage Precinct, meaning that the facade has to be retained but the interior could be completely gutted and built up to four-storeys at the rear. This serves to maximise the property's economic value while still retaining some semblance of heritage and tradition when viewed from the front. Such an arrangement offers potential profits for enterprising developers and unsentimental landlords.

The area has seen a sprouting of luxury high-rises and mid-tier hotels in recent years. The opening of Zhongshan Park ("A unique integrated hotel-park development that is the first of its kind in Singapore!") and the Novena Medical Cluster ("Premium world-class top-of-the-line healthcare hub for visitors, Singapore residents and international patients!") will undoubtedly drive up property values there and hasten the process of gentrification.

When the logic of development runs its course and the hoardings go up and then come down again, I am not sure what Singaporeans driving down Balestier Road will feel, looking at the "chic French bakery" or "hip boutique hotel with a rooftop bar" that would likely have taken over the space that had once housed the people's clinic. Will they marvel at how far and fast Singapore has travelled to become a cosmopolitan global city? Or will there be a tinge of sadness at the irretrievable loss of part of our individual and collective soul?

悼念林福寿医生



廿載鐵窗難禁愛國及殖英豪志，
是非易判，蒼天見証；
千秋歷史永存舍己為民義士心，
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长河

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