Reproduced from "Original Sin"? Revising the Revisionist Critique of the 1963 Operation Coldstore in Singapore, by Kumar Ramakrishna (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Individual articles are available at <a href="http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg">http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg</a>.

# **INDEX**

Note: Pages numbers followed by "n" refer to notes.

# Abdul Razak, Tun, 57, 91 abstract communism, 25 Afro-Asian Student Conference, 66n77 Ahmad Boestamam, 101 Aidit, D.N., 99 All-Malaya Council of Joint Action (AMCJA), 31 All-Party Mission, 51 Alternate constituency, 13, 15–17, 19, 29, 32, 106, 111, 112n5, 124, 126, 131, 136, 139 elements of, 5–7 Alternates' views on Coldstore, 86-89 contradictions within, 13-14 "not-security-but-politics" stance, postmodernist-inclined, 132–34 AMCJA-PUTERA coalition, 87 anti-British independence struggle, 32 Anti-British League (ABL), 31, 32 anti-colonial Chinese-educated milieu, anti-colonial international opinion, 90, 105 anti-colonial movement, 105

anti-colonial Progressive Left
movement, 23, 84
anti-colonial sentiments, 98
anti-colonial united front, 46
Anti-Japanese League, 31
anti-merger campaign in Singapore, 59
anti-National Service registration
disturbances, 37, 40, 45, 46
agitation, 40, 78
violence, 87
Awang, Mahmud, 59–60
Azahari, A.M., 86, 98, 99

#### R

Baharuddin bin Mohamed Ariff, 59
Baling Peace Talks, 28, 48
Bandura, Albert, 83n36
Bani, S.T., 52, 59
Barisan Sosialis Singapura (BSS), 62, 87, 90, 96, 97, 110, 121, 122, 125, 126, 131
CPM penetration of, 106, 125, 131 origins, 62
Barr, Michael, 2, 3, 24, 131
Battle for Merger, The, 76
Beauty World speech, 80
Bloodworth, Dennis, 12, 13, 16

Boestamam, Ahmad, 101 Comintern, 25, 26 Bogaars, George, 52, 94 communication theory, 134 Bolshevik Revolution, 25 Communism, 24, 25, 41, 51, 120-26, Borneo Territories, 5 136 Brezezinski, Zbigniew, 123 in Asia, 13 Communist conspiracy, 91 British Labour Party, 94 British policy on Malaysia, 4 Communist Front groups, 44–45 Brunei Revolt, 5, 102 Communist-manipulated BSS Brunei volunteers, 99 government in Singapore, 110 bureaucracy, 15, 17 Communist movement, 15, 41 "bureaucratic scholar" argument, 15-17 Communist operational tradecraft,  $\mathbf{C}$ Communist Party of Malaya (CPM), capitalism, 25 3, 15, 23, 26, 29, 36, 87, Carew Hunt, R.N., 25 120-26, 130, 131 Chan Chee Seng, 124–25 Anti-British League, 31-32, 44, 46, Chan Hock Wah, 58, 70n178 74–75, 78, 88, 89 Chew, Melanie, 73 Communist United Front in theory, Chia Ee Tian, 42, 49, 67n107, 75 24 - 26Chia Thye Poh, 122 Communist United Front strategy Chiam Chong Chian, 36, 65n74 in Singapore, 26–29 Chin, Aloysius, 12, 29, 76 left-wing adventurism, 44, 46, 81, Chin, C.C., 39, 40, 47, 130–31 87, 97, 108 Chin Peng, 24, 28-34, 45, 48-49, 59, Malayan National Liberation Army 87, 100, 104, 121, 125 (MNLA), 31, 33, 48, 49 Chinese Brass Gong Musical Society, Malayan People's Anti-British Army 42 (MPABA), 31 Chinese Communist Party, 27 Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Chinese High School, 32, 36, 42, 43, Army (MPAJA), 26, 30, 38 74, 75, 77 New Democratic Youth League, 30, Chinese immigrants, 2 31, 73–74 Chinese-majority Singapore, 106, 110 origins, 26, 37 Chinese minority in Federation, 110 Singapore Town Committee Chok Kok Thong, 97 (CPMSTC), 30–40, 57–59, Chong Lon Chang, 39 73, 74, 87, 89, 104, 105 Chow Kwang, see Comrade D Communist Terrorists (CTs), 124 Chung Cheng High School, 32, 36, Communist theory, 26, 87 42, 43 Communist threat, 2 materialization of, 91 Civil Rights Convention, 42, 43 classic communist theory, 25 Communist United Front (CUF), 4, Cold War, 12, 125, 136, 139 6, 24, 62, 84, 87–89, 94, 110, conflict, 27 120, 125

1954–56, 34–45

Coldstore, see Operation Coldstore

1956–61, 45–62	F
"constitutional United Front	Fang Chuang Pi, 24, 34, 45, 50, 56,
tactics", 88	58, 76, 89, 120
modus operandi of CUF, 28	Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern,
origin, 26–29	26
in Singapore, 14-15, 30-34	Federation Director of Police Affairs,
Comrade D, 33–35, 37, 45, 46,	91
65n73, 66n74, 75	Fenner, Claude, 93
Corridon, Richard, 90	Fernandez, Michael, 23
CPM Central Committee, 28, 32, 33,	Fong Chong Pik, see Fang Chuang Pi
45, 89	Fong Swee Suan, 38, 40–44, 47,
CPM-linked activists, 122	50–52, 61, 72, 75, 77, 85–86,
CPM South Malaya Bureau, 33	93, 95, 98–99
CPMSTC, 32, 44, 57, 73, 74, 87, 89,	Foreign Correspondents Association of
104, 105	Southeast Asia, 58
violent campaign in Singapore, 33	Foucauldian approach, contradictions
CPMSTC Students' Committee, 35	within, 18–20
CPMSTC Workers Movement	Foucauldian-inclined scholars, 19
Committee, 37	Foucault, Michel, 17–18
CPMSTC Trades Committee, 33	"four-class alliance" of workers, 27
Criminal Law (Temporary Provisions)	Freedom News, 32, 34, 36, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 75, 87, 142n47
Ordinance, 41, 108 Crossman, Richard H.S., 123	
"crypto anti-communist", 51	Fukuyama, Francis, 136
"crypto-communist," 51	G
crypto-communist, 71	Gaitskell, Hugh, 94, 115n48
D	Guo Ren Huey, 33
democracy, Singapore Story, 136–40	Generation Y, 128, 134–36, 141n34
District Committee of CPMSTC, 31,	global Communism, 120–26, 136
65n71	Goh Keng Swee, 2, 52–54, 91, 93,
Drysdale, John, 12, 16	105, 108
,,,	Goode, William, 36, 90, 107, 110
E	government-linked think-tanks, 15
"Eden Hall tea party", 60–61	government sources
educational institutions, Singapore	Alternates' complaint about, 12–13
history, 128	usage, 14–15
Elton, G.R., 14–15, 19	Grand Failure, The, 123
Emergency Regulations, 35, 37, 39,	
41	Н
End of History thesis, 136	Hamilton, Alexander, 119n131
Eu Chooi Yip (ECY), 32, 45	Harper, T.N., 12, 23, 24, 101
Evans, Richard J., 14, 18, 61	Hastings, Peter, 72, 88
E 1 I1 . 127	II A J 126

Hayter, Adrian, 126

Eyal, Jonathan, 127

Healey, Denis, 109	K
Hickley, Pamela, 110	Kausikan, Bilahari, 130
"history from below" approach, 128	Khrushchev, Nikita, 27
Hock Lee, 78	King, Martin Luther, Jr., 124
bus strike, 38	Kok Thong Eng, 75, 82n16
management, 38	Konfrontasi, policy of, 103
riots, 40, 45, 87	Koo Young, 70n178
Hola Camp massacre, 90	rico roung, / onr / o
Hong Lim, 55–57	L
•	
Hong Lysa, 3, 5, 13, 16, 18, 60, 65n72, 130, 133, 146n100	Labour Front, 37, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49, 53, 56, 78, 111
Hor Lung, 33, 46	labour movement, 62
Hough, Jerry, 139	Lau, Albert, 2
Housing and Development Board	Lau Kwong, 31
(HDB), 54	Lee Cheng Leng, 94
	Lee, Edwin, 98
I	Lee Hsien Loong, 1
Indonesian Communist Party (PKI),	Lee Khoon Choy, 124
98	Lee Kuan Yew, 2–4, 6–7, 13, 23,
Internal Security Act, 137	46–50, 52, 54–55, 59–60,
Internal Security Council (ISC), 3,	72–73, 76, 85, 87–88, 91–92,
14, 51, 55, 58, 59, 86, 90–96,	99, 104–107, 109, 110, 112n7,
100–106, 111	120–21, 124–26, 131, 137, 139
Tripartite Working Party, 102	Lee Siew Choh, 58, 60–62, 101,
Internal Security Department Heritage	121–22
Centre (ISDHC) of Singapore, 6, 130	Lee Ting Hui, 12, 14–16, 27, 31, 35, 44, 57–58, 77, 80, 103
Iraq	left-wing adventurism, see Communist
sectarian bloodbath in, 138	Party of Malaya
tribal political cultures of, 137	Legislative Assembly, 35, 55, 56, 61
Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS),	Lenin, Vladimir, 25
124	liberal democracy, 136, 137, 139
ideology, 127–28	"liberal paternalism," 135–36
terror network, 127	Lim Ah Liang, 39
Ismail Abdul Rahman, Dr, 104	Lim Chin Joo, 50
Ishian Abdul Rahman, Di, 101	Lim Chin Siong, 2–7, 13, 16, 37–44,
ī	47, 50–52, 55, 60, 62, 85, 86,
	88, 89, 93, 97, 98, 100, 103–
Japanese Occupation, 26, 27 Jek Yuen Thong, 56	106, 108, 110
-	
Jockel, G.A., 88	Alternate history of, 72–73
Jones, David Martin, 15	Alternate interpretations of his
Jones, Matthew, 70n169, 112n5,	arrest under Coldstore, 73, 75,
116n81	78, 80

Beauty World speech controversy, Malay Nationalist Party (MNP), 30 78 - 81Malaysia, British policy of, 4 communism, 120-26 Malaysian Federation, 2, 4, 24 Malaysia Plan, 99-100 CPM background, 73–77 evolving ideological beliefs by Mao Zedong, 27 1980s, 80, 106 Marshall, David, 37, 40-42, 47, 48, political career in 1950s, 4–5 59–61, 73, 80, 95, 106–107, psychiatric treatment, 121-22 109, 111, 125 in United Kingdom, 121-22 Marx, Karl, 24, 123-24 on violence, 77-78 May 13th Generation, The, 65n72 Lim Hock Koon, 36, 65n71, 77 Media Development Authority Lim Kean Siew, 101 (MDA), 129–30, 142n46 Merger Referendum, 5, 86, 94, 95, Lim Kim Chuan, 36, 65n72 Lim, Raymond, 70n165 97-98, 101, 106-107, 116n93 Lim Woon Kiat, 82n17 Mohamed Ariff, Baharuddin bin, 59 Lim Yew Hock, 42–45, 49–52, 55, Moore, Philip, 57, 76, 85–93, 87–89, 61, 68n127, 78, 79, 89, 92, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 105, 108–109, 97, 106, 113n14 112n7, 131 Loh Kah Seng, 3, 17, 23, 131, 138 MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Loo Yeh Shing, 75, 120 Association, 30–31 Low-Beer, Ann, 128 "multi-perspectivalism" strategy, Lumumba, Patrice, 77 128 - 29multi-perspectival pedagogical approaches, 128-32 M Macmillan, Harold, 57 Mahmud Awang, 59-60 N Maintenance of Religious Harmony Nair, Devan, 2, 42, 44, 47, 49, 51, Act, 137 78, 106, 111, 125 Malayan Civil Service, 90 Nanyang Communist Party, 26 Malayan Democratic Union (MDU), Nanyang University, 46, 89, 123 30, 31 Nath, Kamal, 138 Malayan General Labour Union "national bourgeoisie," 27 (MGLU), 30, 37 National Education (NE) programme, 1 Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), 30, 31 national security-related scholarship in Malayan Labour Party, 101 Southeast Asia, 16 Malayan National Liberation Army, national security think-tanks, 13, 15 see Communist Party of Malaya National Service Bills, 35 Malayan National Liberation League National Service Ordinance, 35 (MNLL), 65n60 National Trades Union Congress Malayan People's Anti-British Army, (NTUC), 62 see Communist Party of Malaya "new democratic revolution", 27 Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, New Democratic Youth League, see Communist Party of Malaya see Communist Party of Malaya

"New Emerging Forces", 99 New Singapore History, 2–3, 5–6, 8n10, 9n14, 12, 18, 72, 86, 87, 126–27, 129, 131, 133, 139 "Ng Heng" letter, 48 Ng Meng Chiang, see Comrade D Ng Meng Keong, see Comrade D non-Communist leaders, 47 non-Communist organizations, 26 non-Communist PAP, 58 Not Allowed for All Ratings (NAR) guidelines, 142n46	Party Corps, 30 peace agreements, between CPM and Thai and Malaysian governments, 123 People's Action Party (PAP), 2–7, 47, 49–51, 53–54, 56, 61–62, 76, 77, 86, 89, 96, 111, 113n14 Big Split in, 87, 89–90, 105, 124 cabinet, 54, 55 Central Executive Committee (CEC), 49 government, 2–4
	non-Communist leadership, 85
October Revolution, 44–45, 49, 81, 87–88 Ong Eng Guan, 53, 55–57, 59, 61, 101–103, 108 Ong Pang Boon, 2, 94, 111 Online Citizen website, The, 78 Operation Coldstore, 12–14, 16, 18, 19, 120, 123, 125, 126, 133 "Alternate" interpretations, 19 dragnet, 96, 100 "maximalist" interpretation of threat to public order, 93, 103, 106, 108, 110 "minimalist" interpretation of threat to public order, 91, 92, 96, 107, 108 origins, 3–4 Our Singapore Conversation (OSC), 135	Old Guard, 124, 126 victory, 54, 56, 86, 109 People's Democratic Republic of Malaya, 32 "people's history" approach, 128 Pinker, Steven, 133, 134 Plen, The, see Fang Chuang Pi "politics-and-not-security" argument, 84–86 postmodernist approaches, 126, 129 postmodernist commentators, 127 postmodernist-inclined Alternates, 129, 130, 132–34 postmodernist-inclined historians, 18 post-1965 PAP government policy, 3 Poulgrain, Greg, 13 Preservation of Public Security Ordinance (PPSO), 41, 44, 65n73, 66n89, 67n107, 75, 90, 108, 111, 146n100
	guidelines, 90, 91 pro-Communist
P pah mata issue, 79 Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions (PMFTU), 30, 31, 37 Partai Rakyat Brunei (PRB), 86, 98 Partai Rakyat Singapura (PRS), 47, 98, 99, 101	BSS, 101 elements, 50 faction, 55 leaders, 52 unions, 101 pro-Communist Partai Rakyat Singapura (PRS), 98

pro-Communist Singapore Womens'	Sedition Act, 137
Federation, 42	Seet Chay Tuan, 75, 78
Progressive Left, 87	Selkirk, Lord, 53, 60, 61, 85–88,
in Singapore, 4	90–93, 96, 101, 102, 105,
pro-labour left-wing movement, 4	107–109, 131
Protection Corps, 33	Siao Chang, 34, 45, 59
Public Complaints Bureau, 54	Singapore, 32
Public Security Legislation, 41	anti-colonial Progressive Left
Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (PUTERA), 30	movement in, 23
Puthucheary, Dominic, 23, 52, 59,	BSS government in, 125, 126
69n146, 84, 94, 95	Communist United Front in, 14–15
Puthucheary, James, 42, 44, 51, 60,	CPMSTC's violent campaign in, 33
69n139, 95, 106	CUF evolution and actions, 30–34
	1954–56, 34–45
0	1956–61, 45–62
Q Queenshurry Pulse 92 94 106 107	CUF origins and overall strategy in,
Queensbury Rules, 93, 94, 106, 107,	26–29
110, 114n44	ideological bulwark for political
	change in, 6
R	"main CUF vehicle" in, 87
Raffles, Stamford, 1	Merger Referendum, 5, 86, 94, 95,
Rajakumar, M.K., 6, 109	97–98, 101, 106–107, 116n93
Rajaratnam, S., 2, 13, 56, 94	political system, 11n32
Rakyat, 98	post-1965, 3
Referendum on Merger, see Merger	Progressive Left in, 4
Referendum	Singapore Association of Trade Unions
Rendel Commission, 35	(SATU), 62
Rendel constitutional reforms, 37	Singapore Bus Workers' Union
Revolutionary Armed Struggle, 34	(SBWU), 38, 47
Revolutionary Masses Movement, 34	Singapore Chinese Middle School
Rural Committee of CPMSTC, 31	Students' Union (SCMSSU),
Russian Communists, 26	36–37, 41, 42, 44, 66n77,
	67n104, 87, 89
S	Singapore Country People's
Said Zahari, 9, 98-99, 122	Association (SCPA), 89
Sandys, Duncan, 57, 109	Singapore Factory and Shop Workers'
Santayana, George, 7	Union (SFSWU), 37–38, 40–44,
Schmid, Alex, 16	87
security threat, 91, 96	Singapore Farmers' Association (SFA),
maximalist conception of, 92	43–44, 89
maximalist interpretation of, 93,	Singapore Federation of Trade Unions
106–108	(SFTU), 30, 31, 37

Singapore General Employees' Union (SGEU), 52, 69n146	Southeast Asia, national security- related scholarship in, 16
Singapore Harbour Board (SHB), 40–41	Soviet Communism, 139 Soviet Union, 125
Singapore Harbour Board Staff Association (SHBSA), 40	Special Branch, 13, 32, 41, 60, 73, 74 76–79, 84, 94, 96, 98, 99, 101,
Singapore People's Anti-British League	121
(SPABL), 44	Stalin, Joseph, 75
Singapore Rural Residents' Association (SRRA) activist, 123	"state of exception" argument, 110, 118n131
Singapore Special Branch, 13, 94	Students' Committee of CPMSTC,
Singapore Spring, 6	31, 32, 35
Singapore Story, 1	Sukarno, 98, 99
Alternate criticisms, 13–14	Surrendered Enemy Personnel (SEP),
key themes of, 2	48
PAP-driven narrative of, 2	Symonds, Gene D., 39
response to Alternates, 6–7	Syria
Singapore Story 2.0, 8	ISIS ideology, 127-28
adopting multi-perspectival	ISIS terror network, 127
pedagogical approaches, 128–32	sectarian bloodbath in, 138
balance between input and output	T
legitimacy, 134–36	Tan Jing Quee, 5, 65n72
"Singapore-style" democracy,	Tan Swee Hiong, 33
136–40	Tan Tai Yong, 127
systematic pluralization of, 126-28	Tate, Nicholas, 127
Singapore Traction Company	Tay Ah Meng, 33
Employees' Union (STCEU), 38,	Tay Thiam Meng, 116n93
59	Tek, Lai, 30
Singapore Trade Union Congress	Thai-Malaysian border, 123
(STUC), 52	The Plen, see Fang Chuang Pi
Singapore Trade Union Working	think-tanks, 14, 16
Committee (STUWC), 41	government-linked, 15
Singh, Jamit, 42, 52, 59	national security, 13, 15
Siu Cheong, 76	Thompson, George, 94
Smith, Michael L.R., 15	Thum Ping Tjin, 3-4, 17, 23, 39, 60,
Snowden, Edward, 14	78, 129, 146n100
social media, use of, 18	Toh Chin Chye, 2, 49, 54, 56, 59, 61
socialism, 25	72, 92, 95, 103
socialist revolution, 27, 77	Too, C.C., 94, 109
Societies Ordinance, 31	Tory, Geofroy, 57, 90, 93, 104, 107
Soon Loh Boon, Robert, 36, 42, 47, 66n77	To Singapore With Love documentary, 129

Trade Disputes Ordinance, 41
Trade Union Bill, 52
Trade Union Ordinance, 31
Trade Union Working Committee, 41
Trades Committee of CPMSTC, 31, 33
Trocki, Carl, 2, 3, 24
Tun Abdul Razak, 57, 91
Tunku Abdul Rahman, 48, 56

# U

United Malays National Organization (UMNO), 48
United People's Party (UPP), 101–103
University of Malaya Socialist Club (UMSC), 69n139
University of Singapore Law Society, 107
U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 77

#### V

Vasil, Raj, 111, 124 Volunteer Special Constabulary, 39

#### W

Wade, Geoff, 8, 10n26, 14, 103, 131, 143n55

Waller, James, 125–26 Wang Ming, 75 Wikileaks, 14 Williams, Maurice L.B., 84-85, 88, 90, 98, 114n30 Wilson, E.O., 131-32 Wilson, Harold, 109 Women's Federation, 30 Wong Mau Choong, 33, 75 Wong Meng Keong, see Comrade D Woo Chong Poh, 36, 65n73 Woodhull, S., 44, 47, 48, 51, 52, 59-61, 68n127, 68n128 "worker-peasant alliance", 27 Workers' Party, 47, 59, 61 Workers' Protection Corps, 33

## Y

Yeo Kim Wah, 74 Yeong Kwo, 28, 33, 46 Yong Koh Kim, 38 Yuen Puay Koon, 116n93 Yuen Yau Phang, 39

## Z

Zahari, Said, 9, 98–99, 122 Zhang Lingyun, *see* Siao Chang Zhang Taiyong, 77 Zhou Guang, *see* Comrade D