

年前总统侯选日陈如斯就 1963 年冷藏行动事件 致陈庆炎总统信

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Operation Coldstore: with the evidence before you, can you look the other way,
Mr President,

冷藏行动：总统先生，仅此提交有关证据给您

Dr Tony Tan,

陈庆炎博士

President,
Republic of Singapore.

tony_tan@istana.gov.sg

新加坡共和国总统

(网址：tony_tan@istana.gov.sg)

cc Prime Minister (lee_hsien_loong@pmo.gov.sg)

副件：总理（网址：lee_hsien_loong@pmo.gov.sg）

Dear President,

尊敬的总统，

Operation Coldstore: with the evidence before you, can you look the other way,
Mr President?

冷藏行动：总统先生，仅此先您提交有关证据

On this day 51 years ago, Operation Coldstore was launched and 133 men and women were subsequently arrested and detained under the Internal Security Act (“ISA”).

在这一天的 51 年前，执行了冷藏行动和 133 名男士和女士被捕。他们是在内部安全法令（‘内安法’）下被拘留的。

A question about the ISA was asked at the TOC TV forum held on 18 August 2011 for all 4 candidates of the 2011 presidential election. You spoke first, followed by me and then the other two. I had said that “the history of the ISA is such that it (ISA) had been used for political purposes”. Even though you already had your chance to speak, you very rudely interjected to say it was “a very serious charge and one must be able to back it up”. The relevant video clip about our verbal exchange is here

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1vshMBvcfQw>

在 2011 年 8 月 11 日的总统选举期间，在 TOC 电视论坛举行的一场 4 位总统候选人的论坛上提出来有关内部安全法令的问题。您是第一位发言，接着发言的是本人和其他两位候选人。

我在讨论会上提出了‘内部安全法令的历史是为政治目的而制定的’。尽管您已经有机会发言了，但是，您以不礼貌的态度插话说“这是一个非常严重的指责，必须要有事实作为依据”。这段对话的有关视频在如下网址：

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1vshMBvcfQw>

No evidence to justify arrests

没有任何证据助于确认这次的逮捕行动。

The British Government had recently declassified documents relating to Operation Coldstore and this has enabled the public and historians to examine the evidence and compare it to claims made by the Special Branch (“SB”) and the Internal Security Department (“ISD”). In his paper “Operation Coldstore: A Key Event in the Creation of Modern Singapore”, historian Geoff Wade wrote: “While Lee, the Federation and the Special Branch continued to push their case for detentions, Selkirk (UK Commissioner in Singapore) continued to affirm that ‘there is no important new evidence of subversive activity on which arrests at this juncture can be justified. We could not substantiate a charge that they are planning to use violence. In the absence of specific evidence of subversion the

arrests would be construed as an attempt by HMG to stifle legitimate opposition.’ ” The affirmation by Lord Selkirk came in a secret memorandum that he sent to Duncan Sandys, secretary of state for the colonies, dated 5 October 1962, less than 4 months before Operation Coldstore was finally launched. Historian Wade wrote further that Operation Coldstore “removed the key opposition leaders challenging the PAP in the general election which was to be held seven months later”.

英国政府在最近已经解禁了有关冷藏行动的机密文件。这些机密文件的解密有助于人们和历史学者检查有关的证据和比照当时的特务部（Special Branch）和内部安全部（Internal Security Department）所做的指责。在它们有关“冷藏行动”的文件里：“在创建一个现代化的新加坡的主要事件”，历史学家韦杰夫（Geoff Wade）是这么写的：“正当李光耀、联邦和政治部继续催促采取逮捕行动之际，薛尔克继续坚持其观点，表示‘没有可证明颠覆活动的重要新证据让我们持有正当理由在此时此刻进行逮捕。我们无法提呈具体证据来指控他们正在策划使用暴力。在缺乏颠覆活动的实质证据的情况下进行逮捕，将视为女王陛下政府试图扼杀合法的反对党。’”（附注：见《新加坡 1963 年的冷藏行动纪念 50 周年》第 35 页）薛尔克的这段讲话是重申他在 1962 年 10 月 5 日的致给殖民地事务大臣森迪斯的一份秘密信中提出的。这是在‘冷藏行动’执行的 4 个月前提出的。历史学家韦杰夫进一步指出，‘冷藏行动’‘铲除了将在七个月后举行的大选挑战行动党的反对党主要领袖’。（附注：见《新加坡 1963 年的冷藏行动纪念 50 周年》第 53 页）

Another historian, Singaporean Dr Thum Ping Tjin also cited declassified British documents in his speech at the 16 November 2013 launch of the book “The 1963 Operation Coldstore in Singapore, Commemorating 50 years”. He quoted an ISD statement dated 23 September 2011 which claimed that the detainees were “not detained for their political beliefs but because they had involved themselves in subversive activities which posed a threat to national security”. But referring to the declassified papers, Dr Thum declared “the SB and ISD did not (and) does not have any evidence that the Operation Coldstore detainees were engaged in any Communist conspiracy”. A video recording of Dr Thum’s speech is at

<http://youtu.be/GwviaaULeiY>

另一位新加坡的历史学者谭炳鑫博士在 2013 年 11 月 16 日在《新加坡 1963 年的冷藏行动纪念 50 周年》新书推荐会上也提出了在解密的英国档案的资料。他引据理 2011 年 9 月 23 日内部安全局发表的声明。内部安全

局声明扣留拘留者‘不是因为他们的政治信仰，而是他们参与了颠覆活动造成了对国家安全的威胁’。当时，谭炳鑫博士引据了解密文件指出，‘特务部和内部安全局没有拥有任何证据证明在冷藏行动下的居留者是从属于任何共产党阴谋。谭炳鑫博士上述讲话的视频如下：

<http://youtu.be/GwviaaULeiY>

Commission of Inquiry

调查庭

Mr President, you have asked for evidence to back up “the very serious charge” (your words) that the ISA had been used on political opponents. The evidence is now before you. What are you going to do about it? Over the years, arrests under the ISA have destroyed the lives and reputations of hundreds of detainees and their families. Following the Ministry of Home Affairs’ announcement on 16 September 2011 that it would keep the ISA even though Malaysia had said the day before that it would repeal the Act, I had urged that an independent Commission of Inquiry (“COI”) be set up to look into all cases of arrests under the ISA. (TJS’ statement on ISA)

总统先生，您曾经提出‘这个指责是非常严重的’（这是您的原话），需要事实为依据证明内部安全法令是用来对付政治对手的。现在这些证据就提呈到您的前面。您将要如何处理？在过去几十年，在内部安全法令下被捕数百名的被捕的拘留者及其家属的生活及名誉遭受摧毁。根据 2011 年 9 月 16 日内政部发表的声明，即便是马来西亚已经废除内部安全法令，新加坡将继续保留这个法令。我要求设立一个独立的调查庭（‘COI’）全面调查所有在内部安全法令下被捕的案件。（陈如斯关于内部安全法令声明）。

As I had said then, the objective is to seek truth and reconciliation rather than to punish those who were responsible for the ISA detentions. This will allow the innocent to get on with their lives. Such reconciliation effort will close the sad ISA chapter of our history and help integrate those affected into the mainstream of society and thus bring about a unified nation. Isn’t national unity what you set out to promote and achieve in seeking the Office of the President? I would urge you to use your good office to ask the Prime Minister to convene the COI. Mr Goh Chok Tong had promised to set up a COI to look into the detentions of the 22 alleged Marxists in 1987. But that promise was not kept.

正如我说过，（设立调查庭）的目的是要找出事实与和解，不是要惩罚那些负责在内部安全法令下拘留被拘留的人。这是为了让这些那些无辜者可以继续他们的生活。这样的和解努力能够可以结束有关内部安全法令在咱们国家的历史和有助于主流社会的凝集力，进而让咱们的国家可以团结一致。这是不是您为寻求总统职位时提出的促进和实现国家统一？我强烈要求您行使您的权利要求总理设立调查庭（COI）。吴作栋曾经承诺设立调查庭调查在 1987 年当时被指控涉及马克思主义活动的 22 名被捕者的的事件。但是，他并没有实践自己的承诺。

Historic opportunity to do right

在历史机遇上做出正确的事

If the Prime Minister refuses to set up a COI or procrastinates, I would urge you to seriously examine whether you have the constitutional authority to convene a presidential COI by virtue of the powers vested in you to review and veto ISA arrests. If so, you should do it. If not, you should use your moral authority to do so. After more than 51 years, you now have the historic opportunity to put things right and unify the nation. With the evidence before you, will you seize the opportunity to do right or will you look the other way? Indeed, can you look the other way? History will not be kind to those who shirk their duties and responsibilities to the nation especially when they occupy the highest seat in the land.

假设总理拒绝或延迟设立调查庭会（COI），我将要求您认真审查宪法是否赋予您的特别的权力召集一个总统调查庭（COI）否决内部安全法令的逮捕行为。假设宪法是赋予您这样的权力，那么，您应该行使您的道德权力去做这件事。已经超过 51 年了，您现在有这个历史机遇去把这个历史纠正过来和团结全国人民。在这些历史证据面前，您是否会抓住这个历史机遇纠正历史的错误或者您将从另一个角度看待这段历史？实事求是的说，您可能从另一个角度看待这段历史吗？历史将不会善待那些逃避自己的责任和应向人民负责的人，特别是那些高居在这块土地上的人。

Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter.

- Martin Luther King, Jr.

哪一天我们对重要的事保持沉默的话，我们的生命也开始走向结束了。

马丁·路德金（附注：摘自马丁路德金：《我有一个梦》）

Yours sincerely,

Tan Jee Say

您诚挚的，

陈如斯 仅上

2 February 2014

2014年2月2日

【注】

1. 本文章是获得《independent compatriot 新愚公》网站的同意翻译陈如斯先生致给新加坡共和国总统陈庆炎博士的信。本信件副本抄送新加坡共和国总理李显龙先生。
2. 中英文本之间的原意如有出现任何不同之处，一切均以英文本作为最终的解释。