

《情系五一三》推介会

谢燕燕 报道

# 打破50多年沉默 参与者倾诉心声



上个星期六在中华总商会举行的《情系五一三》新书推介会，吸引500多人参加。(程友明摄)



观众席中还有几位刚刚参加本届大选的反对党候选人，包括民主党的文森·维基新雅博士(中)。

与五十年代学运息息相关的“五一三”，所牵动的一连串发展，影响了新加坡后来的历史发展，但是时至今日，很少人会去触碰那段历史。目前旅居加拿大的编者之一陈国相(73岁)说，从某种意义上来说，《情系五一三》是一本打破沉默的新书。



《情系五一三》中文版。

编者陈仁贵、陈国相、孔莉莎，还有为这本新书撰写文章的一些作者如卢妙萍、林清如、柯思仁等也出席了推介会。

当天的出席者，包括不少曾亲身经历或见证过那个风起云涌年代的年长者，另外也吸引不少学术界、或关心那段历史的人士，而观众席中还有几位刚刚参加本届大选的反对党候选人，包括民主党的文森·维基新雅博士、卓金炎和张素兰等。

## 推介会有点像小规模群众大会

虽然大选刚落幕，那天的推介会因为发言者踊跃，又都敞开心怀、畅谈各种感受和看法，气氛倒有点像个小规模群众大会。

《情系五一三》所指的“五一三”，不是1969年的种族暴动，而是发生在1954年5月13日的学警冲突事件。

那一天，超过1000

名反对英国殖民地政府强制适龄学生服军役的华校生，聚集在皇家山脚通往当时总督府的克里门梭道。他们聚集在那里，是要支持即将与总督见面、为大家请求“免役”的学生代表。

殖民地警方当时下令他们马上解散，但学生没理会，结果警方采取行动时发生学警冲突，导致多人受伤，45名学生遭逮捕。《情系五一三》一书收集了学运参与者的各种回忆，另外也有学者探讨那个年代的历史架构和背景，还从学生的艺术、戏剧、舞蹈和文学等方面来看待那个特殊的年代。

“五一三”所牵动的一连串发展，影响了新加坡后来的历史发展，但是时至今日，很少人会去触碰那段历史。目前旅居加拿大的编者之一陈国相(73岁)说，从某种意义上来说，《情系五一三》是一本打破沉默的新书。

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今天，即使是稍有年纪的人，很多只知道1969年那场与种族暴动有关的“五一三”，并不知道另有一个发生在1954年，与五十年代学运息息相关的“五一三”。

不过对经历过那场学运的当事人来说，那却是刻骨铭心、毕生难忘的“五一三”。一本刚出版

的新书《情系五一三》，打破了半个多世纪来，人们对那个年代的沉默。

那是一个风起云涌的年代。战后不久，年轻人用万丈激情和火热的心，去关爱刚刚形成的“祖国”(当时的“祖国”包括新马)，全情投入反殖民主义浪潮，为迎接国家的“诞生”不惜付出任何代价。

上个星期六、就在内阁资政李光耀和国务资政吴作栋宣布决定退出内阁的那一天下午，超过500人聚集在中华总商会的嘉庚堂，参加一项别开生面的新书推介会。

那一天被推介的新书共有三本。两本是《情系五一三：1950年代新加坡华文中学学生运动与政治变革》的中文版和英文版，另一本则是贺巾小说《巨浪》的英译本。

《情系五一三》的



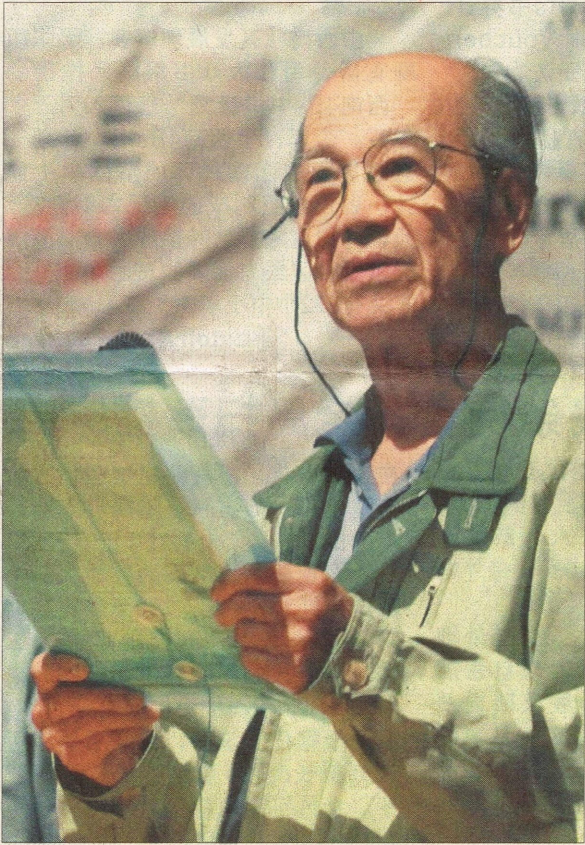


## 当年发生什么事？

英殖民地政府在“五一三”事件前的两个月，颁布了新加坡“国民登记条例”，要求18、19和20岁男性，必须在4月5日至5月12日之间进行登记，但只有19岁男性会被征召。当局准备从中挑选1000人，当中400人归入军队，600人归民防部队。

当时正值战后不久，很多中学生属于“超龄生”，受条例影响的学生不少。“五一三”学警冲突后，超过1000名华校生聚集在华侨中学集体抗议，前后22天，这场争取缓役的学潮，最后在英殖民地政府答应延缓服役后告一段落。

## 傅树楷要设“人民历史中心”



目前住在吉隆坡的傅树楷医生，希望大家支持他设立“人民历史中心”。（程友明摄）

前社会主义阵线（社阵）领导人傅树楷医生上星期六出席《情系五一三》推介会时，向在场观众发出呼吁，希望大家支持他设立“人民历史中心”。

目前住在吉隆坡，已经80高龄的傅医生说，到目前为止，大部分的历史都集中在新马两地的精英身上，他却想把焦点放在普通人身上，包括学生、贫民、农民、渔民和工人。

他希望热心人士能把各种历史资料、档案、文件、照片等捐给这中心，还表示需要至少150万元来完成这项工作。他的目标是在2012年完成这工程。

傅医生在1950年进入马来亚大学修读医科，之后和医学院朋友成立社会主义俱乐部，并先后担任财政和主席。他同时也是这俱乐部刊物《华惹》（Fajar）的编辑部主席。

1954年5月，《华惹》编辑部成员遭英殖民地政府逮捕，并控以煽动罪，但编辑部聘请英国皇家大律师辩护，最后获得无罪释放。当时协助大律师的是李光耀。傅树楷和李光耀当时因此成为好朋友，但后来却分道扬镳。

# 从翻译《巨浪》到出版《情系五一三》

主要作者之一的陈仁贵说，《情系五一三》算不上是一本很全面的书，但至少是一个开始，让人们回到过去的历史，重新了解五一三的时代背景和那个年代所发生的事。他强调，我们不能靠单一的历史观来认识那个年代。

《情系五一三》的主要作者之一、退休律师陈仁贵（72岁）受访时谈到新书构思和诞生过程。

两年前，他阅读了贺巾以五一三为背景的小说《巨浪》后，便送了一本给研究历史的朋友孔莉莎。两人读后都认为小说涵盖了五一三的时代背景，应该把它翻译成英文，但是他和莉莎都是英校生，华文不太好，于是找了另一位朋友卢妙萍（76岁）相助。

《巨浪》是为了纪念“五一三”50周年，于2004年出版的小说。原名林金泉（75岁）、目前旅居曼谷的贺巾，是“五一三”事件的参与者，当时就读于华侨中学，也是被推举为学生代表之一的学生领袖。

陈仁贵说，在决定翻译这本小说后，他们每个星期碰面，由卢妙萍把小说一句句念出来，他们再把它译成英文。

可是在翻译到一半时，三人觉得单靠一本以50年代为背景的小说，未必能吸引读者对那个年代产生兴趣，于是决定扩大计划，开始广泛收集文

章，向参与者和学者邀稿，不管是回忆录或分析性文章，甚至当时的文件、信函、照片等，准备结集成书。这便是后来出版的《情系五一三》。

他们收集到的文章，有的以华文撰写，也有以英文撰写，他们于是找曾参这场学运、目前是加拿大贵富大学地理系荣休教授的陈国相帮忙，由他负责监督和翻译文章。

陈仁贵说，《情系五一三》算不上是一本很全面的书，但至少是一个开始，让人们回到过去的历史，重新了解五一三的时代背景和那个年代所发生的事。他强调，我们不能靠单一的历史观来认识那个年代。

在他看来，新加坡社会还存在着两种主要分裂，有待化解与愈合，这包括胜者与败者之间的裂痕，还有沿着语言所产生的分化，特别是华校生认为自己被边缘化的问题。

最新的裂痕则是老一辈与年轻一代的代沟。

陈国相在书中的文章《我的故事》，以回忆录方式叙述这场学运如何改变他的一生。他原本是莱



历史学家孔莉莎对历史的撰写特别感兴趣。

佛士书院的一名英校学生，经过这一学潮转学到中正，后来进入南大，毕业后不久又考获奖学金到加拿大深造。

他曾在1972年回南大执教，却因为校方要他“交代”过去，最后选择离开，又回到加拿大。

陈国相认为，“五一三”事件并不单纯由华校生组成，虽然主力军是华校生。五一三是新加坡故事的一部分，虽然长久以来、大家对它保持缄默。五一三作为一个开启点，为当时刚成立的人民行动党提供了群众基础。

另一位在书中讲述自己故事的、是曾经担任中学联学术部副主任的卢妙萍（76岁）。“五一三”事件的一个结果便是中学联的诞生，但是这个组织成立不到一年就被迫解散。

卢妙萍的故事相当曲



卢妙萍希望历史学家能客观的诠释上世纪五六十年代的那段历史，给大家留下客观、真实的历史记忆。

折，她在1956年10月因中学联活动遭英殖民地政府逮捕时，李光耀当时是中学联的法律顾问，曾经为她辩护。不过卢妙萍在1963年9月21日，以社阵候选人身份当选选洛区议员后的两个多星期，还未踏进国会便遭逮捕。

对过往的一切，卢妙萍只希望历史学家能客观地诠释新加坡在上世纪五六十年代、新加坡人为摆脱英殖民地统治、建设独立国家所涉及的那段历史，让大家能留下客观、真实的历史记忆。

现年58岁的孔莉莎是以历史学家的身份，参与这本书的出版。她原本是国大历史系讲师，2000年离开，五年后再回国大执教两年，2007年再次离开。



陈国相在书中，以回忆录方式叙述“五一三”这场学运如何改变他的一生。

她原来研究泰国近代学运，后来研究起本地早期学运，并认为它是新加坡历史重要的一部分。

孔莉莎说：“我的工作是在探讨各种问题，让大家有越来越多角度，看待过去的历史，这也是研究历史的学者应该做的。我从这一点出发，发现五六十年代、政治上很活跃的左派成员所撰写的一些文章，提出了很多我想深入研究的问题。”

她说：“我对历史的撰写特别感兴趣：究竟谁写谁不写，哪些事要提，哪些事又只字不提。当然这不是一成不变的局面，已说出来的部分历史，在面临探究、质疑、挑战时，必须不断加以补充、修正和加强。即使不是马上这么做，迟早也要这么做，特别是有关的历史够重要的话。”



## ●●【读书之必要】 文 / 崔贵强

1954年5月13日是个不祥的日子，那一天，新加坡爆发了“五一三”流血悲剧。时光流逝，岁月悠悠，转眼已过了50余年，当年那一场轰轰烈烈的学生运动，由于没有很好的文字记录，似乎已从人们的记忆中逐渐消失了。

“五一三”事件始于适龄华校生之抗拒“国民服务法令”的实施，该法令号令适龄青年学生前往登记，接受军事训练，派往森林作战。就在1954年5月13日，约有千名学生来到克里门梭路总督府，列队和平请愿，要求免服兵役。不料却遭到镇暴队警员强行驱散，造成数十名学生流血受伤，48人被逮捕。学生不满政府的横蛮镇压，以及对华文教育的不平等待遇，聚集在华中及中正校园，以示抗议。嗣后学潮继续扩大，竟与当年汹涌的工潮相结合，卷进了政治运动的漩涡，形成一股波澜壮阔的政治力量，冲击着殖民统治的根基。

庆幸的是，今年五月却迎来《情系五一三》一书的出版，令人欣喜。诚如编者所说：“这部文集标志着沉默的结束。”文集厚达280页，共廿余万言。编者是陈仁贵（退休律师）、孔莉莎（历史学者）及陈国相（退休大学教授）。毫无疑问，文集的问世，相信将会掀起热潮，牵动读者思古之幽情。

## 马共在背后煽动“五一三”事件？

文集的内容共18章，分四部分。第一部分“历史背景”，共四篇章。综述了50年代新加坡的政治的由殖民统治走向自治，社会动荡不安，华文教育的困境，华人对中华文化延续的执著及华人身份认

## 标志着沉默结束的文集 《情系五一三》 评介

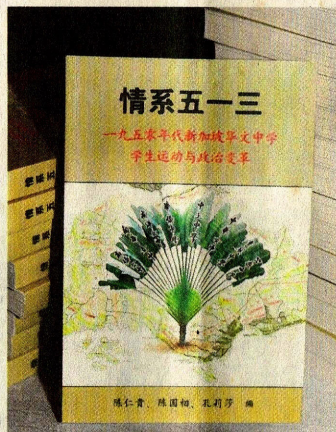
同等课题。

孔莉莎认为，战后以来，华人（包括华校生）已把此地视为第二故乡，这里已成了华人永久的家园，华人表现了对当地效忠的意识。

官方的资料与英文著述，一口咬定“五一三”事件是由马共煽动与策划的。政府的“白皮书”也视“新加坡华文中学生联合会”（中学联）为马共的外围组织，进行颠覆活动。实际上，她是质疑马共煽动与策划学运的真实性的。

## 第二部分是全书最珍贵的章节

文集的第二部分是“回忆”的篇章，共有六篇，被编者认为是最宝贵的章节。这里只提出三篇，并以其对他日编写“五一三”事件历史专著的价值为讨论中心。第一篇是陈国相的《我的故事》。陈文强调：战后初期，冷战使马来亚与中国之间的来往断绝，华族的本土意识逐渐滋生与增长，开始扬弃侨居他乡异域的观念，认定新马居留地为家乡和祖国。陈文也述及“五一三”事件的原委，学生聚集校园抗议，“中学联”的组织与活动，以及学生参与的反殖运动，提供了甚有价值的材料。



陈文认为学运是建立在反征兵与反殖的基础上，获得广大群众的支持，因此马共分子、抗英同盟成员以及其他政治人物（包括人民行动党成员）的渗透是不可避免的。但50年代的马共在新加坡的地下组织，已受重创，元气大伤，没能力重新整合。而马来半岛的马共势力，也只能退缩到泰马边境，无力插手学运的活动。

第二篇是《孙罗文：其人其事》（未具作者署名）。孙氏是一个富有魅力的学生领袖。他是个天生的演说家，对问题具有高度的分析能力，孙氏既是才能出众，独领风骚，因而“五一三”风暴过后，被推为学生免役代表团主席。当“中学联”于1955年10月31日获准注册，孙氏被选为第一任执委会主席。类似孙氏这样关键人物，理应有长篇的详尽记录。可是《孙罗文其人其事》一文，不及2000字，使人读了有意犹未尽之感，他日宜撰写成一篇美文。

第三篇是卢妙萍的《身着白衣者，原是双面人》。卢文提示了以下几个要点：一、50与60年代，李光耀与人民行动党的崛起，是借助于华校中学生运动和讲华语群众的力量。二、卢女士遭受到两次牢狱之灾。罪名竟是：协助马共与学生从事非法活动，参与职工运动，推动共

产党统一阵线。两次的牢狱之灾，长达十年，简直是度日如年。

三、卢女士辩解道：五六十年代华校学生运动，在同学之中，有可能有亲共，或马共的外围组织抗英同盟的成员在内，但作为当时华校学生运动的参与者，她没有发现有任何人士鼓励采用非法手段，制造暴乱，破坏国家安全事端的人。

## 为日后撰写50年代学运的专著铺路

第三部分是有关“文学艺术”的篇章，共五篇，涉及50年代的文学、漫画木刻、戏剧、与舞蹈等课题。第四部分选取了几篇文学作品，包括贺巾的长篇与短篇小说，杜红的诗歌《五月》及苗芒的散文《祖国》。这两部分的选材有欠严谨，略嫌不当。尤其是第三部分的篇章，作者只是在各自不同的领域，多所发挥，有的内容跟学生运动扯不上关系，有的也只是蜻蜓点水式的提及，对学运的探究并无多大价值。

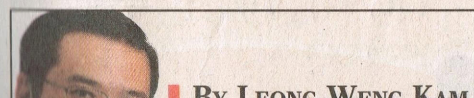
《情系五一三》一书的出版，尽管不能尽如人意（书中有不少错字，有些译文不够流畅），但却是个好的开始，它为他日撰写一部50年代学运的专著铺平了道路。我们热切希望，在不久的将来，将出现一部专书巨著，它应该涵盖以下数项，即1. 其立论应建立在充分而坚实的资料上；2. 应剖析50年代华文教育的处境，华校生的困境及华社人士对母语教育的热爱与维护。对五一三事件及其后续发展事态的来龙去脉，有完整与系统的记录。3. 深入探讨华校生学运扮演的角色，学运到底是由学生自动自发？还是由马共煽动与策划？马共的渗透学运到底达到什么程度？政府及某些学人大事渲染马共对学运的操纵有多少事实成分？专著应深入探讨，用客观的态度拨开云雾见青天，还历史以原来面目。



# *The other May 13 that changed history*

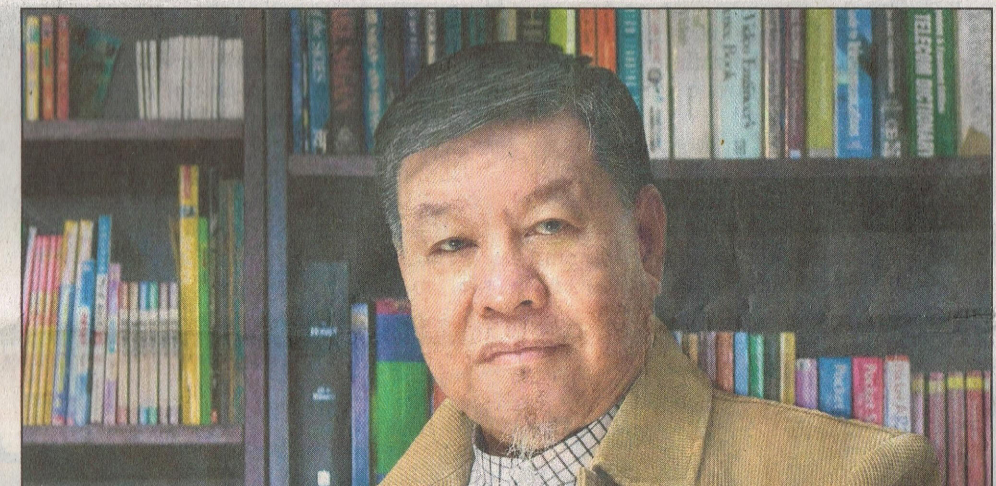
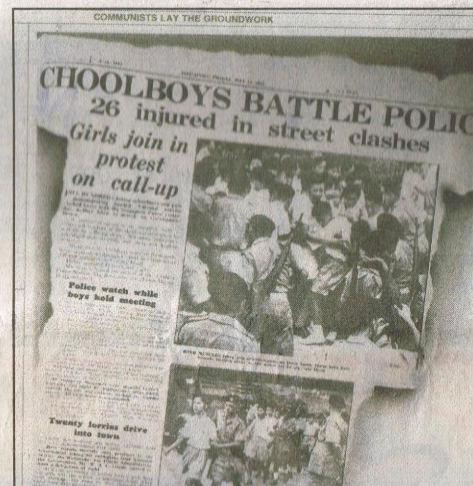


You have heard of May 13, 1969 but what about May 13, 1954? Yesterday was the 56th anniversary of a turning point in Singapore. On that fateful day, some 500 Chinese school students clashed with the police during a protest. It led to the emergence of the leftist movement which later joined with Mr Lee Kuan Yew and his English-educated associates to form the PAP. Insight recalls the day and its significance.



By LEONG WENG KAM

worth's *The Tiger And The Trojan Horse*, Lee Ting Hui's *The Open United Front - The Communist Struggle In Singapore*





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BY LEONG WENG KAM  
SENIOR WRITER

IT WAS a sunny afternoon at the Jalan Besar Stadium on May 13, 1954, and 17-year-old Tan Kok Siew was limbering up to compete in the Chinese Middle Schools annual athletic meet.

The Secondary 3 student from Catholic High School was about to register for his favourite event, the 110m hurdles, when he heard a commotion in the spectator stand. A student in shorts but without his shirt was gesticulating wildly and speaking emotionally to a crowd.

The boy's curiosity was aroused but before he could get nearer to the scene, the police arrived to nab the student, who disappeared quickly in the crowd.

Something serious had happened, he sensed. Later he found out that the student was breaking the news of fellow students being beaten up and arrested by riot police while marching from Clemenceau Avenue to Government House, now the Istana, to petition against conscription earlier that day.

Mr Tan, now 74, a retired Chinese journalist-turned-author, has recorded the day's happenings, better known as the May 13 incident, and the events that followed in his novel, *Chong Chu Yun Wei De Chao Yang* or *The Morning Sun*.

Written in Chinese under his pen name, Chen Gexiu, the book launched last November, is based on true-life stories in his family's history spanning four generations.

He and his siblings – an elder sister and three younger brothers – grew up during the Japanese Occupation and in the 1950s when Singapore was fighting for independence from the British colonialists.

His sister, Kok Chin, who passed away a few years ago in her 70s, brothers Kok Chiang, Kok Fang and Kok Lang, all in their early 70s, were former Chinese middle school students.

Starting from his recollections of the inter-school sporting event that fateful day, Mr Tan devoted a full chapter of his 280-page novel to the turbulent episode.

"The incident awakened and united the Chinese middle school students who later became a political force helping to hasten the process of Singapore's self-government and independence," he says.

The May 13 incident, which saw the Chinese school students clashing with the police for the first time, is recognised as a seminal event in many books on Singapore's political history.

Varying interpretations of the day's events are given in John Drysdale's *Singapore Struggle For Success*, Dennis Blood-

worth's *The Tiger And The Trojan Horse*, Lee Ting Hui's *The Open United Front – The Communist Struggle In Singapore* and Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew's memoirs, *The Singapore Story*.

The Straits Times' front-page story on May 14 carried the banner headline "Schoolboys battle police, 26 injured in street clashes", with pictures showing the scuffles. It reported that one policeman was hospitalised after being hit by a flying stone, and 45 students, including a schoolgirl, were arrested.

The students claimed that they were beaten by policemen with batons but the police alleged that the students attacked them. The police maintained they did not use any weapons to break up the procession and accused the communists of instigating the students.

What happened was that then-Acting Governor William Goode had earlier agreed to receive a delegation of eight students from Chinese High and Chung Cheng High, who were all members of the committee fighting for exemption of Chinese middle school students from conscription, at Government House.

But that day, nearly 1,000 students turned up in several lorries, crowding the areas surrounding Clemenceau Avenue leading to Government House. They said they were there to support their leaders.

As reported, the police charged the students with illegal assembly, and demanded their dispersal. When they refused, the riot squads were called and fights broke out. Because of the pandemonium, the student leaders did not meet the governor.

Two months earlier, on March 16, Mr Goode had announced in the Legislative Council that all males born in Singapore or Malaya between the ages of 18 and 20 must register for National Service from April 8 to May 12.

Most of the nearly 30,000 youths affected had signed up before the deadline but some 500 Chinese middle school students refused to do so.

After the May 13 clash, the students continued their protests by organising camp-ins in their schools. The main protest in Chinese High, which attracted more than 1,000 boys and girls from several Chinese middle schools, went on for three weeks in June.

On June 24, the colonial government gave in and postponed National Service after some students at Chinese High staged a hunger strike, raising concerns that the protests might escalate further.

The real achievement of the students, according to scholar C C Chin, 69, who co-authored the book, *Dialogues With Chin Peng: New Light On The Malayan Communist Party*, was the birth of a united, open and legal student movement, the Singapore Chinese Middle School Students' Union (SCMSSU), a year later on Oct 30, 1955. After barely a year, it was banned by the colonial government for



Page from the past: A newspaper report of the May 13, 1954, incident.

pro-communist activities, but student activism continued unabated.

Several PAP book authors such as Drysdale and Bloodworth take the view that the communists were using the students for their own purposes by exploiting the conscription issue.

Dutch scholar Sikko Visscher believes that the communists capitalised on the issue to undermine the influence of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce and pro-Kuomintang groups in the Chinese-medium schools. He is the author of *The Business Of Politics And Ethnicity*, published in 2007, which traces the history of the chamber.

He notes that the governing boards of these schools comprised members mainly from the two groups and thus posed an obstacle to the communists' efforts to radicalise the Chinese students.

This view is, however, challenged by Mr Tan Kok Chiang, brother of author Kok Siew. The younger Mr Tan, now 73 and a retired academic, lives in Guelph in Ontario, Canada. As SCMSSU's English secretary when he was a student at Chung Cheng, he was very much in the thick of action then.

In a telephone interview, he says there was no such evidence. "We were against conscription and fighting to throw out the British colonialists and if the communists shared our common cause they were welcome to join us."

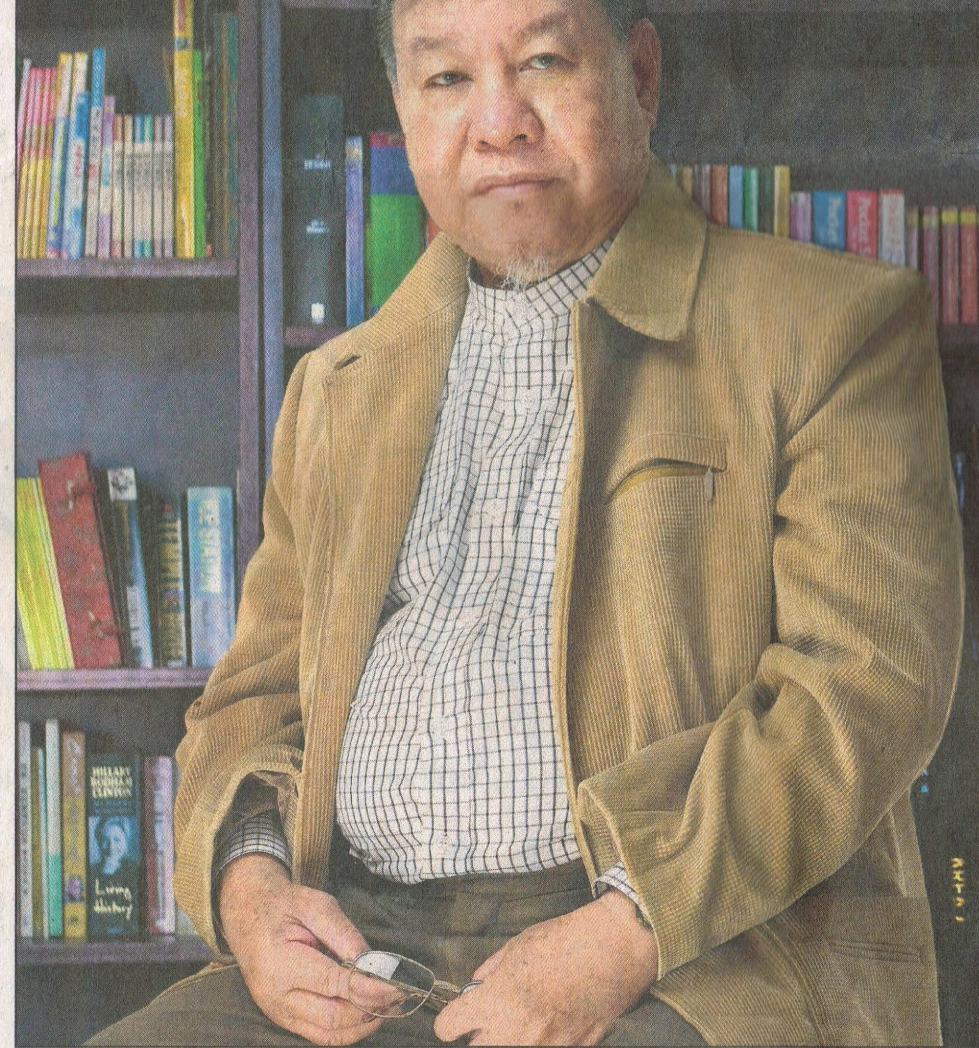
He feels strongly that revisiting the issue of communist involvement in the student movement after more than half a century is *chao leng fan*, meaning heating leftover rice.

In his view, the May 13 incident had not only brought student activism against colonialism in Malaya and Singapore to a culmination point, but also provided conditions favourable to the formation of the People's Action Party (PAP).

It was through the Chinese middle school students that a young Cambridge-educated lawyer became the legal counsel and adviser to the SCMSSU.

It was again through the students that Chinese-educated trade unionists and leftists Lim Chin Siong and Chan Chiaw Thor met Mr Lee Kuan Yew, who was seeking to secure a mass base for a political party. All three later became founding members of PAP.

As Mr Tan Kok Chiang points out, it was student support which enabled PAP



Mr Tan Kok Siew (above) says the May 13 incident "awakened and united the Chinese middle school students who later became a political force helping to hasten the process of Singapore's self-government and independence". PHOTOS: TAN KOK SIEW, ST FILE

to win the municipal and legislative elections in the 1950s which led to its landslide victory in 1959.

Student activism, he adds, provided the education and experience to many young people who became leaders of political parties, trade unions and other social organisations in Singapore in the early years.

He believes that May 13 ushered in a new nationalism among the students who, until then, had only a very vague idea of being Malayan citizens rather than Chinese citizens.

"The refusal by the students to be the cannon fodder for British colonialism had turned out to be a political commitment towards Malaya," he says.

Giving his take, his younger brother, Kok Fang, 71, a former political detainee who studied at Catholic High and Chinese High in the 1950s and is now an interpreter and translator, says May 13 brought the Chinese middle school students closer to their English-stream counterparts in the then-University of Malaya.

They realised they shared a common cause, and a common enemy, following the Fajar trial which also occurred in May 1954 when the colonial government charged the university students for sedition over an article they wrote in their publication, *Fajar*.

Both student bodies engaged the same Queen's Counsel D N Pritt and his assist-

ant Lee Kuan Yew in the defence of their respective cases. The Chinese schools union appealed against the jail sentences imposed on seven of their leaders involved in the May 13 clash with the police.

Unlike their triumph in the Fajar case earlier, QC Pritt and Mr Lee did not succeed with the Chinese school students' appeal to the Privy Council in 1955.

However, both came to know and learn much more about their iron discipline and strong organisational abilities.

In his 1998 memoirs, Minister Mentor Lee says his introduction to the world of the Chinese-educated came after the May 13 incident.

"It was a world full of vitality, of so many activists, all like jumping beans, of so many young idealists, unselfish, ready to sacrifice everything for a better society."

"I was deeply impressed by their seemingly total dedication to the cause of revolution, their single-minded determination to overturn the colonial government in order to establish a new world of equality and fairness."

MM Lee was convinced then that if he could not win some of them over and learn from them and set the same standards as they did, the PAP would not have succeeded.

If not for May 13, the PAP and the Singapore story would have turned out quite differently.

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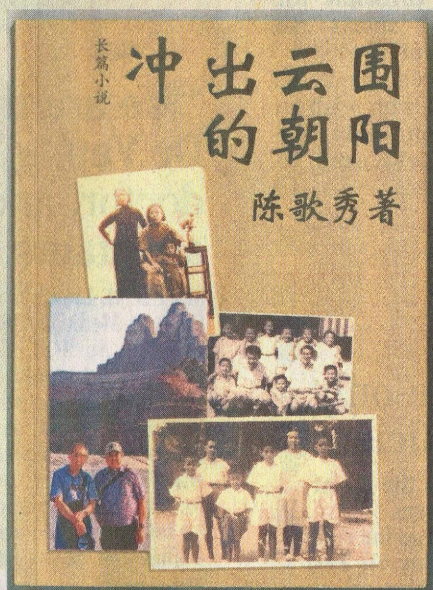
# Four books take a look at May 13

## THE MORNING SUN (Chinese, Select Books)

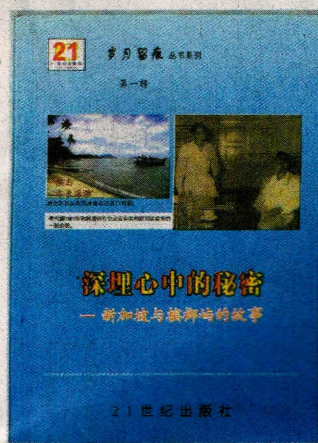
The novel by former journalist-turned-author Tan Kok Siew, now 74, is based on true stories of his family spanning over four generations.

He devotes a chapter to the tumultuous 1950s when he and his siblings – one elder sister and three younger brothers – were students in Chinese middle schools.

There is a vivid account of the protest action by students at Chinese High School following their clash with the police on May 13. He and his younger brothers were among those at the camp-in which lasted over three weeks in June 1954.



Mr Tan Kok Siew (far right) and his younger brothers (from left) Kok Lang, Kok Fang and Kok Chiang in a recent photo. PHOTO COURTESY OF TAN KOK SIEW



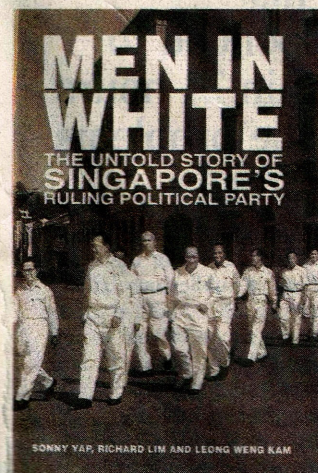
## SECRETS BURIED DEEP INSIDE THE HEART – STORIES FROM SINGAPORE AND PENANG (Chinese, 21st Century Publishers)

This is a collection of essays by former leftists in Singapore and Malaysia. In the opening chapter, which dwells on the turbulent 1950s, Ms Cai Shijun, a former

Chinese middle school activist, relates the May 13 incident in detail with pictures of the students' clash with the police.

She was banished to China after being arrested for pro-communist activities in 1956. Now in her early 70s, she tells how she arranged the meetings between leftist unionists Lim Chin Siong and Chan Chiaw Thor and Mr Lee Kuan Yew, who was then planning to form a new political party.

In his memoirs, Minister Mentor Lee mentions her as one of two pigtailed Chinese middle school girls from Indonesia who met him over the May 13 incident. He remembers her being chauffeured to his Oxley Road home in a bright pink Chevrolet.



## MEN IN WHITE – THE UNTOLD STORY OF SINGAPORE'S RULING POLITICAL PARTY (English, Singapore Press Holdings)

This latest book on the People's Action Party (PAP) chronicles the party's history from its inception to 2006.

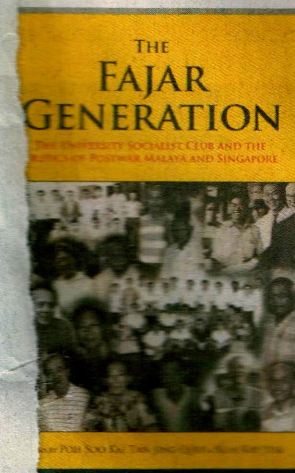
Referring to the May 13 incident, the book says the Chinese middle

school students opposed soldiering as it went against the grain of Chinese tradition embodied in the age-old saying *hao tie bu da ding, hao nan bu dang bing*, meaning good iron should not be made into nails, good men should not become soldiers.

It notes that the students' fears were also fanned by talk that a local garrison was being formed to coincide with the formation of the anti-communist South-east Asia Treaty Organisation.

One interviewee was former Chinese High school student Sze Lih Hwa, who was caught up in the May 13 clash between students and police.

He said he was hit twice with a police baton during the scuffles.



## THE FAJAR GENERATION – THE UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST CLUB AND THE POLITICS OF POSTWAR MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE (English, Strategic Information and Research Development Centre)

This is a compilation of essays by former members of the University Socialist Club.

One article notes that the Fajar

tion trial took place against the background of widespread agitation by the Chinese middle school students against conscription, which originated in the May 13 incident.

Both the trial and the incident had a profound impact on the students of both language streams, galvanising them in a broad-based anti-colonial movement. In 1954, the editorial board of Fajar applied for a permit to publish a Chinese edition which was turned down.

NG WENG KAM