# FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF SINGAPORE First Session REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES Complaint against Ms Raeesah Khan for Untruth Spoken in Parliament Parl. 13 of 2022 Presented to Parliament on 10 February 2022

PART A

**MAIN REPORT** 

### **COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES**

### **Members**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) Chairman

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien Minister for Sustainability and the Environment

Mr Desmond Lee

Minister for National Development and Minister-in-charge of Social Services Integration

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Communications and Information and Ministry of Health

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai Minister for Culture, Community and Youth and Second Minister for Law

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

Senior Minister of State, Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Manpower and Deputy Leader of the House

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### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES

- 1. A complaint against Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan") was referred to the Committee of Privileges ("the Committee") by the Leader of the House, Ms Indranee Rajah ("Ms Rajah") (the "Complaint"). A memorandum dated 26 Nov 2021, setting out the particulars of the Complaint, is enclosed at **Annex A**. This is the report of the Committee on the Complaint.
- 2. This Report is divided into two Parts, Part 1 and Part 2.
  - (1) Part 1 comprises:
    - (a) I. Introduction
    - (b) II. Oral Evidence
    - (c) III. Background
    - (d) IV. Relevant Facts and Events
    - (e) V. Ms Khan's Mental Health
  - (2) Part 2 comprises:
    - (a) VI. The Two Central Issues
    - (b) VII. The Penalty Issue
    - (c) VIII. The Committee's Findings
    - (d) IX. Allegations on Ms Khan's Mental Health
    - (e) X. Allegations against Ms Loh and Mr Nathan
    - (f) XI. Conclusions and Recommendations
- 3. This Committee's **Findings** are set out at paragraphs 119 to 167, and its **Conclusions and Recommendations** are set out at paragraphs 186 to 249 below.

### PART 1

### I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

4. On 1 Nov 2021, the Leader of the House, Ms Rajah, made the Complaint against Ms Khan, who was then a Member of Parliament for Sengkang Group Representation Constituency ("GRC"), for breaches of privilege arising under Standing Order 100(7)(b).

- 5. Ms Khan had on 1 Nov 2021 confirmed that she had intentionally spoken an untruth in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 (twice), and had repeated it on 4 Oct 2021.<sup>1</sup>
- 6. Ms Khan also confirmed that she was not able to substantiate the specific allegation she made.<sup>2</sup>

### II. ORAL EVIDENCE ON OATH/ AFFIRMATION

- 7. The Committee sat on 2, 3, 9, 10, 13, 15, 20 and 22 Dec 2021 and heard oral evidence on oath/affirmation from the following:
  - (1) Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh");<sup>3</sup>
  - (2) Ms Khan;<sup>4</sup>
  - (3) Mr Lim Hang Ling;<sup>5</sup>
  - (4) Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan");<sup>6</sup>
  - (5) Mr Faisal Manap ("Mr Faisal");<sup>7</sup>
  - (6) Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh");<sup>8</sup>
  - (7) Ms Sylvia Lim ("Ms Lim");<sup>9</sup>
  - (8) Assoc Prof Jamus Jerome Lim ("A/P Lim"); 10 and
  - (9) Dr Christopher Cheok ("Dr Cheok").<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Personal Explanation by Member", Official Reports, 1 Nov 2021, Vol. 95, Issue 41, (Annex B5, BB14-15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid BB16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, pages B1-B85 para [1]-[1403] and pages B144-B156 para [2364]-[2527].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1 and Vol 2, pages B85–B131 para [1404]-[2169], pages B156-B159 para [2528]-2580) and pages B843-B869 para [13920]-[14335].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, pages B131-B143 para [2170]-[2363].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, pages B160-B212 para [2581]-[3377].

 $<sup>^{7}</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1 and Vol 2, pages B213-B411 para [3379]-[6948] and pages B818-B819 para [13637]-[13651].$ 

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, pages B412-B700 para [6949]-[11942], pages B794-B813 para [13319]-[13583] and pages B814-B817 para [13584]-[13622].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, pages B701-B770 para [11943]-[12979] and pages B817-B818 para [13623]-[13636].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, pages B770-B793 para [12980]-[13318]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, pages B820-B843 para [13652]-[13919]

8. In the course of the proceedings, the Committee issued special reports (pursuant to Standing Order 105(2)) enclosing summaries of the oral evidence given by each witness. These summaries are enclosed at **Appendix II**. Full video recordings of the hearings (with sensitive portions redacted), were also presented to Parliament.

### III. BACKGROUND

- 9. The facts fall within a short time frame, between 3 Aug and 29 Nov 2021. It is not in dispute that Ms Khan made a statement (and a subsequent clarification), in Parliament on 3 Aug, <sup>12</sup> which was untrue in part, and she repeated that on 4 Oct in Parliament. <sup>13</sup> She has admitted to the same. The question for the Committee is to consider the circumstances which led to her actions, understand her reasons for doing so, and decide what penalty ought to be imposed on her.
- 10. The background, and Ms Khan's reasons for repeating the Untruth, <sup>14</sup> became a matter of dispute:-
  - (1) Ms Khan said that the Workers' Party's ("WP") three most senior leaders, namely, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal told her on 8 Aug to continue with the Untruth. The three will be collectively referred to as the "3 Senior WP leaders".
  - (2) Ms Khan also said that Mr Singh specifically advised her again, on 3 Oct, that she should continue telling the Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct.<sup>16</sup>
- 11. The 3 Senior WP leaders deny what Ms Khan said.<sup>17</sup>
- 12. The penalty to be imposed on Ms Khan would depend on who is telling the truth: Ms Khan or the 3 Senior WP leaders.
  - (1) If Ms Khan's account (above) is correct, the fact that Ms Khan was following the guidance of her 3 Senior WP leaders would mitigate her level of responsibility for repeating the Untruth on 4 Oct.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1428]-[1431].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1635]-[1645].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Defined at paragraph 20 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1504]-[1512].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1435]-[1437].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4036]-[4037]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10202]-[10206]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12839]-[12840].

(2) However, if what the 3 Senior WP leaders say is correct, this would mean that Ms Khan repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct on her own accord, contrary to Mr Singh's instructions. It would be a **further aggravating factor**, if Ms Khan then had falsely stated to this Committee, that her Party leaders told her to continue with the Untruth.

(See further at paragraphs 116 – 118.)

- 13. This became the central issue for this Committee, because it was the primary area in dispute. Most of the other points (as to what happened), were not in contention.
- 14. We will now set out the facts.

### IV. RELEVANT FACTS AND EVENTS

### A. The Events between 3 Aug – 8 Aug 2021

## (1) 3 Aug 2021 – Ms Khan's untrue anecdote in Parliament

15. On 3 Aug, Ms Khan said the following in the course of her speech in Parliament (the "3 Aug Parliament statement"):<sup>18</sup>

"In my line of work, I have accompanied people to Police stations to make reports on sexual violence. It is already incredibly difficult for survivors to feel comfortable making a report in the first place, but sometimes the responses from those called to protect us can be disheartening. Three years ago, I accompanied a 25-year-old survivor to make a Police report against a rape that was committed against her. She came out crying. The Police officer had allegedly made comments about her dressing and the fact that she was drinking."

- 16. The substance of Ms Khan's 3 Aug Parliament statement was that the Police was dismissive of sexual assault victims. She had cited this as an example of how law enforcement agencies needed to ensure better treatment of sexual assault victims.
- 17. Ms Khan made serious allegations against the Police. Ms Khan was immediately asked by Minister of State Desmond Tan ("MOS Tan") to provide further details so that the Police could

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Empowering Women", Official Reports, 3 Aug 2021, Vol. 95, Issue No. 36 (Annex B1, pBB2).

investigate the matter. Ms Khan did not provide any details. She said that the incident occurred three years ago, and she did not wish to re-traumatise the person.<sup>19</sup>

- 18. On the same day, she spoke with Mr Singh, about her anecdote.<sup>20</sup>
  - (1) Ms Khan told Mr Singh that she was unable to contact the survivor in question.
  - (2) Mr Singh told Ms Khan she had to say in Parliament, that she could not contact this person.
  - (3) He then drafted a short statement for Ms Khan to read out in Parliament, to clarify her earlier position.
- 19. Ms Khan revised one sentence in the statement, and proceeded to read it out in the House later that day.<sup>21</sup>
- 20. Ms Khan's anecdote about how the victim was treated was not true. She was not present with the survivor in the Police station as she had described in her 3 Aug Parliament statement (the "Untruth").<sup>22</sup> Based on Ms Khan's personal explanation on 1 Nov, the truth<sup>23</sup> was that: -
  - (1) Ms Khan herself had been a victim of a sexual assault.<sup>24</sup>
  - (2) She was a member of a support group for women<sup>25</sup> ("Support Group").
  - (3) The anecdote (which she set out in Parliament), was brought up in that Support Group, by one of the members.<sup>26</sup>
  - (4) Ms Khan felt that it was important to highlight this experience; and so she raised it in Parliament.<sup>27</sup> However, Ms Khan did not want to reveal that she herself had been a sexual

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, (Annex B2, pBB6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Extract of Mr Singh's WhatsApp exchange with Ms Khan on 3 Aug (Annex C18); Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7217]-[7233].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "Personal Explanation by Member", Official Reports, 1 Nov 2021, Vol. 95, Issue 41, (Annex B5, pBB13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Personal Explanation by Member", Official Reports, 1 Nov 2021, Vol. 95, Issue 41, (Annex B5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid, pBB13.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid.

assault survivor. Thus, instead of saying that she heard it in the Support Group, she said that she had accompanied the victim to the Police Station.<sup>28</sup>

(5) Ms Khan took the anecdote, and added the Untruth. Her original speech and her clarification to MOS Tan contained this Untruth.<sup>29</sup>

### (2) 7 Aug 2021 – Ms Khan confessed to Mr Singh, and to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan

- 21. After 3 Aug, Mr Singh and Ms Khan spoke further about her anecdote. On 7 Aug, Ms Khan told Mr Singh the truth: that the anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement was false.<sup>30</sup> It did not happen as she had stated. She told him that the statement that she made in Parliament, about accompanying the survivor to the Police station, was not true.<sup>31</sup>
- 22. Ms Khan then sent messages to a WhatsApp chat group with two cadre members of the WP, Ms Loh (who was also her Secretarial Assistant<sup>32</sup>), and Mr Nathan, requesting to speak to them. Both were close confidentes of Ms Khan.<sup>33</sup> Ms Khan told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan that she did what was probably one of the worst things she had ever done (an extract of their WhatsApp exchange (on 7 Aug) is reproduced below):<sup>34</sup>

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[7/8/21, 7:11:50 PM] Peiying.: Is it bad?
[7/8/21, 7:11:52 PM] Raeesah WP: It's very bad
[7/8/21, 7:11:56 PM] Peiying.: ???
[7/8/21, 7:12:03 PM] Raeesah WP: It's probably one of the worst things I've done in my life
[7/8/21, 7:12:11 PM] Peiying.: What did you do Rae
[7/8/21, 7:12:18 PM] Peiying.: This sounds scary
[7/8/21, 7:12:29 PM] Raeesah WP: Perhaps if you guys are free tomorrow and come over?
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[7/8/21, 7:12:56 PM] Raeesah WP: I did something stupid and unnecessary

<sup>28</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> "Empowering Women", Official Reports, 3 Aug2021, Vol. 95, Issue No. 36 (Annex B2, ppBB2 and BB6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2133]-[2138]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7252]-[7253].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [[2137]-[2138]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7252]-[7253].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1148]; Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1542].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh, Ms Khan and Mr Nathan on 7 Aug (Annex C2, pCC3).

[7/8/21, 7:13:29 PM] Peiying: Is it internal and easy to contain?
[7/8/21, 7:13:41 PM] Raeesah WP: Yes if Pritam wishes for it to be
[7/8/21, 7:13:51 PM] Raeesah WP: He's the only other person besides my husband to know

- 23. She then spoke to them, and told them about her conversation with Mr Singh. She said that:<sup>35</sup>
  - (1) her 3 Aug Parliament statement was untrue in part;
  - (2) she was unable to substantiate what she had said;
  - (3) she had not accompanied a sexual assault survivor (referred to in the 3 Aug Parliament statement), to the Police station; and
  - (4) her husband, and Mr Singh knew about her Untruth.

### (3) 8 Aug 2021 – Ms Khan confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders

- 24. Ms Khan had, on 3 Aug, in Parliament, also spoken about Polygamy and Female Genital Cutting ("FGC"). There had been an adverse reaction in the Muslim Community about her speech. Mr Singh organised a meeting at his home with Ms Khan, together with Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, on 8 Aug, to discuss these two issues and the fallout amongst the Muslim community. Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal were the three top leaders of the WP, being the Secretary-General, Chairman and Deputy Chairman respectively. At the meeting, Ms Khan admitted to having made an untrue statement in Parliament.
- 25. Both Ms Khan and the 3 Senior WP leaders, agreed (in their testimonies to the Committee), that the following happened: -
  - (1) When they met on 8 Aug, Ms Khan spoke about the anecdote, and told the 3 Senior WP leaders that what she had said in Parliament, on 3 Aug, was inaccurate. She had not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [170] and [197]-[204]; Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2689]-[2700].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> "Empowering Women", Official Reports, 3 Aug 2021, Vol. 95, Issue No. 36, pp91-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Mr Singh's WhatsApp message to Ms Khan dated 8 Aug (Annex C19).

accompanied the person, as she stated in her anecdote, and could not substantiate her anecdote.<sup>38</sup>

- (2) The reason she did not tell the truth was because, she did not want to reveal that she was a victim of serious sexual assault.<sup>39</sup>
- (3) After their discussion about Ms Khan's sexual assault, they (Ms Khan and the 3 Senior WP leaders), moved on to discuss issues on FGC and Polygamy which (as stated earlier) Ms Khan had also brought up during her 3 Aug Parliament Statement. The 3 Senior WP leaders told Ms Khan to put up a statement on these issues, on the same day. They agreed that Ms Khan would prepare a draft and they (the 3 Senior WP leaders), would look at it, and review, which they did. <sup>40</sup> Ms Khan put up a post on the same day, having taken on board the views of the 3 Senior WP leaders.
- 26. That much is agreed. Ms Khan and the 3 Senior WP leaders disagree on some other points (as to what happened on 8 Aug).
- 27. Ms Khan said that: she was seeking Mr Singh's, Ms Lim's and Mr Faisal's guidance on what to do about the Untruth, during the meeting, as they were more experienced politicians.<sup>41</sup> They (Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal) told her that: -
  - (1) If she was not pressed, then the best thing for her to do would be "to retain the narrative" that she had already given to Parliament on 3 Aug (i.e. keep to the Untruth).<sup>42</sup>
  - (2) Mr Singh told her, in the presence of Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, that she should take the Untruth "to the grave". 43
- 28. Essentially, Ms Khan's evidence was that the 3 Senior WP leaders said that there was no need to clarify the Untruth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1495]-[[1502]; Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3741]-[3757]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10053]-[10058]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [11988]-[11989].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> This Committee has decided to use the phrase "serious sexual assault". The 3 Senior WP leaders however used a more direct term. The Committee does not think it is necessary for such a term to be used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2563]-[2569]; Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3773]-[3775] and [3788]-[3791]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10081]-[10082]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12123]-[12128].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1533]-[1536].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1504]-[1512].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13952]-[13960].

- 29. In contrast, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal said that they were "overwhelmed" when Ms Khan shared about her sexual assault.<sup>44</sup> She was very upset, and cried.<sup>45</sup> Mr Singh broadly took a similar position.<sup>46</sup>
- 30. Both Ms Khan and the 3 Senior WP leaders confirmed to this Committee that there was no substantive discussion, on what to do about the Untruth or how or when to correct it, after Ms Khan's confession.<sup>47</sup> According to Mr Singh, he told her as she was leaving his house that they will have to deal with this but she should speak to her parents about the sexual assault first.<sup>48</sup> Mr Singh felt that this was a "condition precedent" to Ms Khan coming clean in Parliament, though he did not say this to Ms Khan or anyone else at that meeting.<sup>49</sup> The rest of the discussion in the meeting revolved around the issue of Polygamy and FGC, and the clarification which Ms Khan was to put up.<sup>50</sup>
- 31. Ms Khan denied what Mr Singh said. Ms Khan said that there was no discussion on whether she should disclose the sexual assault to her father and family at the meeting.<sup>51</sup>

### (4) The difference in evidence on what happened on 8 Aug 2021

- 32. The main difference in evidence between Ms Khan and the 3 Senior WP leaders is therefore as follows:
  - (1) Ms Khan says that the 3 Senior WP leaders told her to continue with the Untruth. There was no need for Ms Khan to clarify the truth in Parliament.<sup>52</sup>
  - (2) The WP leaders (the 3 Senior WP leaders), say that there was simply no discussion on the matter, after Ms Khan confessed to them. The discussion instead moved on to the topics

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3946]-[3947] and [3788]-[3791]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12015].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3744]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, [10053]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [11988]-[11989].

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 46}$  Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, [10053].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [5375]-[5376], [5381]-[5382] and [5697]-[5720]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, [10071]-[10076]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12059] – [12063].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10094].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10125]-[10140].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14016]-[14026]; Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3836]-[3837]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10081]-[10082]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12126]-[12128].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13995]-[14004].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> See paragraphs 27 – 28 above.

of Polygamy and FGC, and how Ms Khan was to draft and issue a public statement, on these matters, that same day.<sup>53</sup>

# (5) Ms Khan's Text message on what was agreed during the 8 Aug 2021 Meeting with the 3 Senior WP leaders

33. Immediately after the meeting, at 12.41pm, Ms Khan sent the following WhatsApp message, to her chat group with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. She sent this message as she was in the car, leaving Mr Singh's house:<sup>54</sup>

"Hey guys, I just met pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issue and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening."

- 34. The reference to taking the "information to the grave", was that Ms Khan should continue to lie, about the sexual assault case, and allegation against the Police the Untruth in her 3 Aug Parliament statement.<sup>55</sup>
- 35. At this stage, Ms Khan was aware that Ms Loh and Mr Nathan would be meeting Mr Singh separately on 10 Aug, without her (Ms Khan).<sup>56</sup> Ms Loh and Mr Nathan did meet Mr Singh on 10 Aug. During the meeting, Mr Singh confirmed to them that he was aware of Ms Khan's Untruth.<sup>57</sup> There was no discussion between Mr Singh, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan about correcting the Untruth which Ms Khan had stated.<sup>58</sup> This is not disputed.
- 36. On 8 Aug, after the meeting with the 3 Senior WP leaders, Ms Khan drafted a Facebook post to deal with the issues of FGC and Polygamy. She showed the draft to the 3 Senior WP leaders, who gave comments.<sup>59</sup> She took into account their comments and uploaded the Facebook post

<sup>54</sup> Ms Khan's WhatsApp message dated 8 Aug to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan (Annex C3); Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14029]-[14034].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> See paragraph 30 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14029]-[14034].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14037]-[14038]; WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh, Ms Khan and Mr Nathan on 7 Aug (Annex C2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1268]-[1269]; Yudhishthra Nathan Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2831]-[2846]; WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh, Ms Khan and Mr Nathan on 10 Aug (Annex C4); Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10383].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2840]-[2841]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10400]-[10409].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Mr Faisal and Ms Khan on 8 Aug (Annex C13); Ms Raeesah Khan's WhatsApp exchange with Mr Pritam Singh on 8 Aug (Annex C20).

that afternoon (on 8 Aug).<sup>60</sup> This was the "*statement*" referred to in the last line of the WhatsApp message sent by Ms Khan to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 8 Aug (above).<sup>61</sup>

### B. Events after 8 Aug 2021, leading up to Mr Singh's 3 Oct 2021 meeting with Ms Khan

### (1) Ms Lim and Mr Faisal said they left the matter to Mr Singh

- 37. The 3 Senior WP leaders said in their evidence that after 8 Aug (and before 3 Oct), nothing was discussed about the Untruth (that Ms Khan had stated in Parliament on 3 Aug).<sup>62</sup> They did not speak with Ms Khan on this issue, ask her if she had spoken to her parents, or if she was going to clarify the truth in Parliament.<sup>63</sup>
- 38. Mr Faisal and Ms Lim told the Committee that they had left the matter entirely to Mr Singh to handle.<sup>64</sup> They did not discuss this with Mr Singh, nor ask him whether or when Ms Khan's Untruth was going to be clarified.<sup>65</sup>

### (2) No clarification of the Untruth during the Sep Parliamentary sitting

- 39. The next Parliamentary sitting was on 13 Sep. Mr Singh confirmed that the Sep Parliamentary sitting (on 13 Sep) would be a window, for the truth to be clarified.<sup>66</sup> He said however that no steps were taken to speak to Ms Khan about the matter.<sup>67</sup>
- 40. There was no discussion with Ms Khan on clarifying the truth during this sitting, no checks as to whether she had spoken to her parents, and no preparations made for Ms Khan to come clean.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook post dated 8 Aug 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2563]-[2570].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4109]-[4120]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8960]-[8970]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12177]-[12184]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9561]-[9562]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12214]-[12219].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [5520]-[5538]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12185]-[12191].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [5540]-[5560]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12202]-[12203].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9683]-[9701].

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, and Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9663]-[9666].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid, and Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9561]-[9562].

### (3) Ms Khan carried on with her MP duties, normally, in Aug – Sep 2021

- 41. In the meantime, Ms Khan continued her usual work as an MP, including walkabouts/house visits (at least once a week) and meet-the-people ("MPS") sessions in the Compassvale ward, and attended engagements during this period.
  - (1) She attended National Day Parade on 9 Aug.<sup>69</sup>
  - (2) She visited Compassvale Mast on 14 Aug.<sup>70</sup>
  - (3) On 18 Aug, Mr Singh suggested that Ms Khan meet the committee of a mosque in Sengkang privately.<sup>71</sup>
  - (4) She resumed MPS in Aug and visited a few families to distribute groceries.<sup>72</sup>
  - (5) She covered A/P Lim's MPS duties whilst he was on leave.<sup>73</sup>
  - (6) On 24 Aug, she participated in the Committee on Political Matters session, which was part of the 42<sup>nd</sup> ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly.<sup>74</sup>
  - (7) On around 28 Aug, she visited residents at 250 Compassvale Street cluster and Jalan Merdu.<sup>75</sup>
  - (8) On around 3 Sep, she visited residents at Block 249 Compassvale Street.<sup>76</sup>
  - (9) On around 4 Sep, she walked around the Block 231 neighbourhood.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook post dated 9 Aug 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook post dated 14 Aug 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Mr Singh's WhatsApp exchange with Ms Khan on 18 Aug (Annex C21).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook posts dated 20 Aug 2021, timed at 19:19 and 22:31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook post dated 24 Aug 2021, timed at 04:37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook post dated 24 Aug 2021, timed at 21:21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook post dated 28 Aug 2021.

 $<sup>^{76}\</sup> Ms$  Khan's Facebook post dated 3 Sep 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Ms Khan's Facebook post dated 4 Sep 2021.

- (10) Ms Khan was diagnosed with shingles on around 6 Sep. Rfter she recovered, in the week of 17 Sep, Ms Khan visited residents at Block 297A Compassvale. She also did other house visits on 20 Sep. 80
- (11) On 21 Sep, Mr Singh asked Ms Khan about her draft Parliamentary questions for the October sitting.<sup>81</sup>
- 42. Mr Singh confirmed that during this period (Aug Sep), there was nothing unusual about Ms Khan's performance as a MP.<sup>82</sup>
- 43. Ms Khan eventually did not attend the 13 Sep Parliamentary sitting.<sup>83</sup>
- C. <u>3 Oct 2021 Mr Singh visited Ms Khan: Key Meeting, where Mr Singh advised Ms Khan on</u> what to say about the Untruth
- 44. Mr Singh visited Ms Khan at her home on the evening of 3 Oct (a day before the Parliamentary sitting on 4 Oct).
- 45. Mr Singh spoke to Ms Khan, when he visited her home. He told Ms Khan that he expected that the issue (regarding the Untruth in her 3 Aug Parliament statement), <u>could</u> come up during the Parliamentary sitting the next day (4 Oct).<sup>84</sup>
- 46. As to what happened during this conversation on 3 Oct: there are points on which Mr Singh and Ms Khan agree; and there are points on which they disagree.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> See Ms Khan's WhatsApp exchange with Mr Singh on 6 Sep (Annex C22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ms Khan's Instagram post dated 17 Sep 2021.

 $<sup>^{80}</sup>$  Ms Khan's WhatsApp message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 20 Sep (Annex C5).

<sup>81</sup> Ms Khan's WhatsApp message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 21 Sep (Annex C6).

<sup>82</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9983]-[9984].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Ms Khan did not attend the Sep Parliament sitting because she was diagnosed with shingles. On 10 Dec, Mr Singh confirmed that he did not know about Ms Khan's shingles, until a few days before the Sep Parliament sitting. He agreed that there were no attempts made beforehand to speak to Ms Khan to clarify the truth at the Sep sitting. Ms Khan's shingles was not the reason for not taking steps to clarify the truth during the Sep session. (Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9671]-[9701].)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup>Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7468] and [8703]-[8711]; Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1599]-[1604].

# (1) The aspects on which Ms Khan and Mr Singh agree, as to what happened during the 3 Oct discussion

- 47. Both Ms Khan and Mr Singh agreed that he told her, "*I will not judge you*". <sup>85</sup> Both also agreed that Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan to tell the truth. <sup>86</sup>
  - (2) The aspects on which Ms Khan and Mr Singh disagree, as to what happened during the 3 Oct discussion
- 48. Ms Khan said that: -
  - (1) "the conversation was that if [she] were to retain the narrative or if [she] were to continue the narrative, there would be no judgement".87
  - (2) Based on what Mr Singh said to her, her understanding was that there would be no consequences if she continued with the Untruth should the matter come up before Parliament on 4 Oct.<sup>88</sup>
  - (3) She was not instructed to tell the truth the next day in Parliament (4 Oct).<sup>89</sup>
- 49. Mr Singh's evidence was that: -
  - (1) He told Ms Khan that if the issue came up, (in Parliament, on 4 Oct), Ms Khan had "<u>to</u> <u>take responsibility and ownership of the issue</u>", and if she did so, he "<u>will not judge</u>" her. 90
  - (2) Mr Singh confirms that he did not tell Ms Khan to speak the truth.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Ms Khan's evidence is that the conversation was that, "if [she] were to retain the narrative or if [she] were to continue the narrative, there would be no judgement". (Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1435]-[1436] and [2151]-[2153]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7468].).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1448]-[1451]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8948]-[8951].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1435]-[1436].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1444]-[1447].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1448]-[1451].

<sup>90</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7468].

<sup>91</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8948]-[8951].

- (3) Nevertheless, he was (in his view) "very clear" that Ms Khan had to tell the truth, if the issue was raised in Parliament the next day (4 Oct). He also said that he did not give Ms Khan a choice whether to tell the truth. 93
- (4) If the issue <u>did not come up</u>, then Ms Khan did not need to clarify the truth.<sup>94</sup>
- (5) As to why Mr Singh did not make plans for Ms Khan to come clean on 4 Oct, Mr Singh also said that he was prepared to give Ms Khan time to think about doing so, and consider, after coming back from shingles and after she has spoken to her parents. 95 To Mr Singh, Ms Khan's revelation of sexual assault was a very serious one and he wanted to give her time and space for her to speak to her parents about it. It did not cross his mind as something which he was going to pressure her repeatedly, but he said that he had to cross this bridge at some point. 96 He acknowledged that he should have pushed harder and earlier. 97 He also accepted that there was no attempt whatsoever that could be construed as wanting to come forward and come clean. 98

### (3) Document produced by Ms Lim, on Mr Singh's 3 Oct discussion with Ms Khan

50. At this juncture, we will refer to a document produced by Ms Lim to the Committee. When she was giving evidence to this Committee, Ms Lim produced a copy of notes which she had taken. These notes were taken by her during the WP's Disciplinary Panel ("DP") interviews with Ms Khan (on 29 Nov, see below paragraph 95). We will refer to them as the "DP Notes". Ms Lim highlighted to the Committee the following exchange between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, where Mr Singh referred (on 29 Nov, during the DP hearing), to what he had said to Ms Khan on 3 Oct:99

[From Ms Lim's contemporaneous handwritten notes of the DP interview on 29 Nov] *PS: Before Oct session, I met you + I told you it was your call.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8539]-[8544], [8604]-[8607], [7968]-[7973], [11723]-[11730] and [7894]-[7901].

<sup>93</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 15 Dec, para [13410]-[13415] and [13371]; Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7588]-[7589].

<sup>94</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8842]-[8843] and [9563]-[9568].

<sup>95</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9568].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9578].

<sup>97</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9568].

<sup>98</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9589]-[9590].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Extract from Ms Lim's notes for the DP's interview with Ms Khan on 29 Nov (Annex C24); Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12932].

Did need to tell the truth in Parl occur to you?

*RK*: Yes but consumed with guilt + own experience.

Thought it wouldn't come up.

PS: Can't lie right?

RK: Yes.

Ms Lim said that on the face of it, Mr Singh appears to have told Ms Khan, that it was her call, meaning it was for Ms Khan to decide whether or not to tell the truth on 4 Oct, if the issue arose in Parliament. She said that the extract set out in paragraph 50 above had to be taken in totality to understand it 101, and Ms Lim said that she did not know the context in which Mr Singh used this phrase 102. Mr Singh agreed that Ms Lim's notes accurately captured what he said, and that on the face of it, he could see why the word "your call" gave the suggestion that it was a choice for her to make. He added however that the phrase had to be seen in the context of the extract set out in para 50 above, and he said that he did not use the phrase "it's your call" on 3 Oct with Ms Khan. These DP Notes prima facie, appear to contradict the evidence Mr Singh gave to this Committee. (See paragraph 49 above.)

### (4) Additional Aspects on Mr Singh's discussion on 3 Oct with Ms Khan

- 52. Various preparatory steps would have been necessary, prior to 4 Oct, if Ms Khan was to clarify and tell the truth on 4 Oct. This is shown by the series of steps that were in fact subsequently taken to prepare for Ms Khan's personal statement on 1 Nov (see below paragraph 87), and the evidence given by Ms Lim.<sup>105</sup> None of these steps were taken prior to the 4 Oct Sitting.<sup>106</sup> These steps would have included the following:
  - (1) Ms Khan had to speak to her family about her sexual assault. 107

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12936]-[12945].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12949].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12937].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 15 Dec, para [13434]-[13440].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 15 Dec, para [13453]-[13459].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> See footnotes 107-109 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8646]-[8693].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Ms Lim said that Ms Khan, speaking to her parents, was a first necessary step before Ms Khan could make any clarification in Parliament (Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12109]-[12110] and [12224]-[12225]). Mr Singh said that his "immediate concern" was whether Ms Khan had told her parents about the sexual assault, and this would be a key criteria or precondition before Ms Khan could correct the record in Parliament (Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7262]-[7274] and [8113]-[8114]).

- (2) The clarification would have to be prepared, and the draft would have to be reviewed by Mr Singh, Ms Lim and/or Mr Faisal<sup>108</sup>.
- (3) The WP CEC would need to be informed beforehand about the clarification to be made. 109
- 53. Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal confirmed that none of the above steps were taken, prior to the 4 Oct Parliamentary sitting.<sup>110</sup>
- 54. Mr Singh was asked why none of these preparatory steps were taken. He said that these steps were not taken, because he was not sure whether the matter will come up during the Oct sitting; and if it did not come up, then Ms Khan may not need to tell the truth.<sup>111</sup>
- 55. Mr Singh was asked to clarify his evidence on what the position was, if the matter was not raised in Parliament on 4 Oct. His evidence on this issue changed in the course of his testimony.
  - (1) At one point, Mr Singh confirmed that when he had told Ms Khan that she had to take "ownership and responsibility of the issue", he meant that Ms Khan had to clarify the truth, even if the matter was not raised. According to Mr Singh, it was "very clear" that this was what Ms Khan was meant to do. 113 (This would mean that preparatory steps would have to be taken, since the clarification would have to be made, regardless of whether they thought that the matter might come up).
  - (2) Mr Singh was then asked to explain his earlier evidence, that no preparatory steps were taken because it was uncertain if Ms Khan would have to clarify the truth (see paragraph 54 above). 114 It was suggested to Mr Singh, that if Ms Khan would have to clarify the truth even if the matter was not raised (see paragraph 55(1) above), then his explanation for the absence of preparatory steps would be untrue. 115 At that point, Mr Singh changed his position. He resiled and said that if the matter did not come up, then Ms Khan would not need to clarify the truth, during the October sitting. 116

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Ms Lim testified (in the context of whether a clarification could be made on 5 Oct) that time would be needed to carefully structure Ms Khan's clarification (see paragraph 68 below).

<sup>109</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12661]-[12664].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6806]-[6813]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, [8646]-[8693] and [11789]-[11792]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12270]-[12275].

<sup>111</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8777]-[8779], [8702]-[8703], [8842]-[8843] and [9563]-[9568];

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8825]-[8827].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8822]-[8827].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8828]-[8829].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8859]-[8860].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8867]-[8890].

- (3) At a later point, Mr Singh gave a third different explanation. When asked why he did not make plans for Ms Khan to come clean in Parliament about the Untruth on 4 Oct, he said that he had made a judgment call to give her time to think and consider when to tell her parents and come back to him to tell him that she was ready to come clean. Mr Singh said that Ms Khan's revelation that she was a sexual assault survivor was a very serious one, an important one, and he wanted to give Ms Khan "time and space" to speak to her parents about it. However, he did not once ask Ms Khan if she had spoken to her parents and hence (on Mr Singh's own "pre-condition") whether she would be ready to come clean.
- 56. Mr Singh's evidence (leaving out the change in position), as to what he told Ms Khan on 3 Oct, can be stated as follows:
  - (1) He did not tell Ms Khan to tell the truth on 4 Oct. 118
  - (2) Mr Singh said that he had made it very clear to Ms Khan that she would have to tell the truth, if the matter was raised. The words he had used to convey this were: "she had to take responsibility and ownership of the issue" and Mr Singh will not "judge her". He says that based on these words it would have been very clear to Ms Khan. Mr Singh also said that he did not give Ms Khan a choice of whether she should tell the truth, if the matter came up. 122
  - (3) As pointed out earlier, while Mr Singh told this Committee that he did not give Ms Khan a choice (whether to tell the truth), this contrasts with what he had said on 29 Nov (at the DP Hearing conducted by the WP). At the DP Hearing, Mr Singh had said that on 3 Oct he had told Ms Khan that it was "[her] call" on whether to tell the truth. 123 Mr Singh admitted to the Committee that "your call" could be interpreted as suggesting that Ms Khan was given a choice (whether to tell the truth). 124

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9567]-[9568].

<sup>118</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8498]-[8951] and [11731]-[11732].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8539]-[8544], [8604]-[8607], [7968]-[7973], [11723]-[11730] and [7894]-[7901].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [11723]-[11730].

<sup>121</sup> See footnote 119 and Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7588]-[7589] and [7396]-[7397].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 15 Dec, para [13410]-[13415] and [13371]; Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7588]-[7589].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Extract from Ms Lim's notes for the DP's interview with Ms Khan on 29 Nov (Annex C24).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 15 Dec, para [13434]-[13440].

- (4) Mr Singh did not ask Ms Khan if she had told her parents about the sexual assault<sup>125</sup> (though that was his "immediate concern"<sup>126</sup>). He said that he made a judgment call to give her "time and space" to tell her parents, which would be a "pre-condition" for Ms Khan to come clean about the Untruth in Parliament.
- (5) No preparations were done by the WP (which would have been needed), if Ms Khan were to tell the truth.<sup>127</sup>
- (6) Mr Singh also referred to the following (in saying that he had made it <u>clear to Ms Khan</u>):
  (a) he had, on around 2 Aug, circled the anecdote in her speech and written "substantiate?";<sup>128</sup> (b) his conduct between 3-7 August, where he pressed Ms Khan after her 3 Aug Parliament statement to substantiate her allegation to the Police;<sup>129</sup> (c) his email to all WP MPs (including Ms Khan) on 1 Oct, setting out the Hendrickson affair and how an MP was almost taken to the Committee of Privileges for not being able to substantiate an allegation made in Parliament;<sup>130</sup> (d) all MPs had taken an oath before Parliament;<sup>131</sup> and (e) Ms Khan signed Rules of Prudence that all WP MPs were required to follow.<sup>132</sup>
- 57. There is a direct contradiction of evidence between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, on several material areas. Only one of them (between Ms Khan and Mr Singh) can be telling the truth about what happened on 3 Oct. The Committee will review the evidence on this matter later.
- 58. Prior to the Oct Parliamentary sitting, Mr Singh did not disclose to Mr Faisal, Ms Lim or the WP CEC, his meeting with Ms Khan on 3 Oct. 133 Ms Lim learnt of this meeting on 4 Oct, but was not told of what was discussed. 134

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9561]-[9562].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7271]-[7274].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8608]-[8693].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> WP Press Conference (Annex C32, pCC63, pCC68-69); Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1885]-[1893].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7388] and [7968]-[7969].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7970]-[7971], [7425]-[7429] and [8967]; Mr Singh's email to WP MPs dated 1 Oct (Annex C17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7791].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Ibid. WP Rules of Prudence (Annex C28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4217]-[4224]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12296]-[12301]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [11753]-[11758].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12296]-[12301].

# (5) Mr Singh spoke on 12 Oct, to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, about his 3 Oct discussion with Ms Khan

- 59. When Mr Singh met Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 12 Oct, he told them about his 3 Oct meeting with Ms Khan.
  - (1) Ms Loh said that Mr Singh recounted that he told Ms Khan, "*I will not judge you*". <sup>135</sup> Ms Loh understood the phrase "*I will not judge you*" to mean that Mr Singh had given Ms Khan a choice whether to tell the truth, and that Ms Khan need not come clean. <sup>136</sup>
  - (2) Mr Nathan, who was at the same meeting, confirmed Ms Khan's evidence. He said that Mr Singh told them that he (Mr Singh), told Ms Khan, "regardless of whether she had maintained the argument of maintaining the survivor's or the victim's confidentiality or whether she decided to tell the truth, he [Mr Singh] would not judge her". 138
  - (3) Mr Singh said to the Committee that he made it "quite clear" to them (Ms Loh and Mr Nathan), that Ms Khan had a "choice that she ought to have made", because he told her to take "responsibility and ownership". He also confirmed that he told them, that he said to Ms Khan, "I also will not judge you". <sup>139</sup>

# D. <u>4 Oct 2021 – Ms Khan repeated the Untruth in Parliament; Mr Singh and Ms Lim met Ms Khan after that</u>

# (1) Ms Khan sent text message to Mr Singh, before she repeated the Untruth in Parliament

60. On 4 Oct, at 12.30pm, Minister for Home Affairs and Law, Minister Shanmugam, started making a short statement in relation to Ms Khan's anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement. He asked Ms Khan if the incident she had recounted in Parliament on 3 Aug had in fact taken place.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [409]-[410].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [504]-[505] and [519]-[523].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2856]-[2868].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [3317]-[3319].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9128].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> "Allegation of Police Behaviour Towards Victim of Sexual Assault (Clarification sought by Minister for Home Affairs for speech made by Member", Official Report, 4 Oct 2021, Vol. 95, Issue 39, (Annex B4, pBB11).

- 61. Whilst Minister Shanmugam was speaking, Ms Khan sent a WhatsApp message (at 12.34pm), to Mr Singh, asking "What should I do, Pritam?".<sup>141</sup>
- 62. She said that she sent him this message because she wanted to confirm how she should answer Minister Shanmugam (in the context of the discussion between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, the previous day, 3 Oct). 142
- 63. Ms Khan was looking at her phone at various times during her exchange with Minister Shanmugam. She said that she was waiting for Mr Singh to respond to her message, to give her guidance on what she should do. However, Mr Singh did not reply to her. Thus, she answered Minister Shanmugam in accordance with their (Ms Khan and Mr Singh) discussion on 3 Oct, i.e., that she was to continue to repeat the Untruth. 144
- 64. Mr Singh said that he read Ms Khan's WhatsApp message (to him), after the exchange between Ms Khan and Minister Shanmugam had ended. Mr Singh responded to Ms Khan, "Will speak after sitting. Keep Chair and I posted." This message was sent at 12.45pm, after Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth. Mr Singh was sitting in Parliament, listening to the exchange, and Ms Khan repeating the Untruth.

# (2) <u>Ms Lim met and spoke with Ms Khan in the afternoon of 4 Oct, after Ms Khan had</u> repeated the <u>Untruth</u>

- 65. Following the exchange between Minister Shanmugam and Ms Khan, Ms Lim asked to meet Ms Khan in the Leader of the Opposition's office in Parliament ("LO office") that afternoon at about 3pm. 147
- 66. Ms Lim said that she met Ms Khan for two reasons: one, to ascertain her emotional state after her exchange with the Minister; and two, to give Ms Lim's view, that Ms Khan should seek legal advice, on any potential request by the Police for assistance. Ms Lim also wanted to share her own preliminary views on any request by the Police. Ms Lim gave this advice to Ms Khan on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 4 Oct (Annex C9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14159]-[14170].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14173]-[14177].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14173]-[14177].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7682]-[7686].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 4 Oct (Annex C9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Ms Lim on 4 Oct (Annex C11); Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12766]-[12768].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12359]-[12372].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Ibid.

what she ought to do if she received a Police request, because Minister Shanmugam had said, in his speech, that the Police would contact Ms Khan.<sup>150</sup>

- 67. This was the first time, since the 8 Aug meeting, that Ms Lim spoke to Ms Khan (or anyone), concerning the Untruth that Ms Khan had told to Parliament. Ms Lim did not ask Ms Khan what she had discussed with Mr Singh, or why she (Ms Khan) had repeated the Untruth that day. Neither did Ms Lim say that Ms Khan should clarify the Untruth during the sitting the next day (5 Oct), or at anytime thereafter. 153
- 68. Ms Lim said to this Committee that it was not possible for Ms Khan to clarify the Untruth at the Parliament sitting the next day (5 Oct). 154
  - (1) Time would be needed to carefully structure any such clarification, and make sure that Ms Khan was comfortable with it.
  - (2) Ms Lim also cited what happened on 3 Aug, when Ms Khan first told the Untruth in Parliament. At the time, Mr Singh had drafted a clarification for Ms Khan (which she delivered later that same day). The clarification turned out to "double down" on the Untruth, because the information from Ms Khan was untrue. Ms Lim said this was a reminder of how things had to be done with due deliberation.

# (3) Ms Lim and Mr Singh's discussion with Ms Khan, on the night of 4 Oct, about the Untruth

- 69. Later that same day, at around 11.15 pm, Mr Singh and Ms Lim met with Ms Khan in the LO's office. 155 It was a very short meeting. 156
- 70. The conversation that took place during the meeting, is generally not in dispute: 157

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12381]-[12390].

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12399]-[12410] and [12414].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12399]-[12410].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 4 Oct (Annex C9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9732]-[9735]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12419]-[12423]; Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14231]-[14238].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8055]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12454]-[12463] and [12422]-[12423]; Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14231]-[14274].

- (1) Mr Singh asked Ms Khan what she planned to do about the matter.
- (2) Ms Khan replied, "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth".
- (3) According to Mr Singh, he responded by saying, "But look at the choice you've made. You've made your choice." Ms Lim and Ms Khan recall Mr Singh saying something to the effect of, "Haven't you chosen your path by what you said today?".
- (4) Ms Khan did not respond to Mr Singh.
- (5) The meeting ended off with Mr Singh saying that they would discuss this further.
- 71. Mr Singh said that Ms Khan had a "dazed look in her eyes" during the meeting. <sup>158</sup> Ms Khan disagreed with Mr Singh on this. <sup>159</sup>
- 72. In relation to Ms Khan's reply, "*Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth*", Mr Singh said that this was Ms Khan's thinking of the matter and *mea culpa* on her part. <sup>160</sup>
  - (1) Mr Singh disagreed that Ms Khan's words ("*Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth*") reasonably suggested that Ms Khan had been operating on the basis, until that point, that she was not to clarify the Untruth, (consistent with what had been agreed). <sup>161</sup>
  - (2) Mr Singh said that his takeaway, based on what Ms Khan said at the meeting, was that she was now prepared to tell the truth. Mr Singh said that he was relieved because this is the first time he is hearing that she wants to own up to what she had said in Parliament. He said, "Good, we'll talk about it." 162
- 73. Ms Khan testified that when she said, "perhaps there is another way", she had meant that instead of continuing with the Untruth (as the 3 Senior WP leaders had suggested for her to do), she was suggesting that she should just come clean and tell the truth. <sup>163</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8055]-[8057].

<sup>159</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14241]-[14242].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8062]-[8065] and [8571]-[8574].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8190]-[8197] and [8254]-[8255].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8270] and [11782].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14244]-[14248].

74. Mr Singh did not ask Ms Khan, during this meeting, why she had repeated the Untruth in Parliament that day. 164 Mr Singh also did not tell Ms Khan to tell the truth the next day (on 5 Oct), when Parliament would sit again. 165 Mr Singh said he did not do so because he assumed that Ms Khan had not told her parents the truth. 166 (He said he just made a "reasonable supposition" that Ms Khan had not told her parents. 167) Mr Singh confirmed however, that he did not know whether Ms Khan had in fact spoken to her parents, and he did not ask her either. 168

### E. Discussions and Events between 5 - 11 Oct 2021

### (1) Discussions between Mr Faisal and Ms Khan

- 75. After the Parliament sitting on 4 Oct, there was no further communication between Mr Singh / Ms Lim, and Ms Khan, on her Untruth, apart from an email that Ms Khan received from the Police which she forwarded to them, until 12 Oct. (See below paragraph 78.)<sup>169</sup> Their next discussion was at a meeting on 12 Oct (see below paragraph 82).<sup>170</sup>
- 76. As for Mr Faisal, he sent a message to Ms Khan on 5 Oct, to encourage her: 171

"Assalamualaikum

Stay strong Sis.

Allah will always be with those who are in need of His assistance. Do regularly turn to Him.

And anytime you need views and opinions insyaAllah I will set aside time."

77. Mr Faisal confirmed that he could have asked Ms Khan about clarifying the Untruth in Parliament, as he knew that she had repeated the Untruth again the previous day.<sup>172</sup> (Mr Faisal did not know of the Parliamentary exchange when it happened, because he was not in Parliament. He became aware that Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth in Parliament, when he read about it in a media report later that day, on 4 Oct.)<sup>173</sup> Nevertheless, he did not ask her any questions about

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8042]-[8043].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8074]-[8079].

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8169]-[8171].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8145]-[8154].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9880]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12514]-[12529].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 4 Oct (Annex C9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Faisal on 5 Oct (Annex C12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6259]-[6265].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4142]-[4198].

it. Mr Faisal accepted that his behaviour did not make any sense, nor were they logically acceptable.<sup>174</sup>

### (2) 7 Oct – Police's request to Ms Khan

78. On 7 Oct, Ms Khan received an email from the Police, requesting her assistance on the anecdote, in her 3 Aug Parliament statement. Ms Khan forwarded the email to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, and asked for their advice on what to do. In her cover email, Ms Khan stated the following:<sup>175</sup>

"Dear all,

I've received this email from SPF, asking to continue the investigations and for me to come down for an interview. I've shared this with [name of Ms Khan's lawyer redacted] who is advising me, and he will share his views tonight.

Please let me know what you'd like me to do, and I will share [name of Ms Khan's lawyer redacted] thoughts on the matter as well.

Thank you for listening to me, for caring for me and for guiding me through this without judgement."

- 79. The 3 Senior WP leaders confirmed that they did not reply to Ms Khan's email or advise Ms Khan to respond to the Police. 176
- 80. The Police requested for Ms Khan's assistance three times 7 Oct, 15 Oct and 18 Oct. <sup>177</sup> Ms Khan did not reply to any of the three requests.
  - (1) Ms Khan said that on 12 Oct, Mr Singh and Ms Lim told her not to respond to the Police, and to ignore the requests, because the Police could not compel Ms Khan to speak with the Police.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6380]-[6389].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Ms Khan's email dated 7 Oct to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal (Annex C14).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4319]-[4320]; WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 8-11 Oct (Annex C9); Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, [12524]-[12529].

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 177}$  Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1677]-[1678].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [1695]-[1714].

- (2) Mr Singh said that he told Ms Khan (at some point), to tell the Police that she would be answering in Parliament.<sup>179</sup> Mr Singh said that he did not direct Ms Khan to meet the Police, to answer their questions, nor did he tell her not to do so.<sup>180</sup>
- (3) According to Ms Lim, she told Ms Khan (on 12 Oct), that it was alright not to respond, since she was going to be making a clarification in Parliament.<sup>181</sup>
- (4) Mr Faisal did not reply to Ms Khan. <sup>182</sup> He told this Committee that he met Ms Khan on 7 Oct on a separate issue, and did not discuss Ms Khan's untruth in Parliament. He admitted that it was illogical that even after Ms Khan had repeated the untruth on 4 Oct, he did not raise the issue with Ms Khan during their 7 Oct meeting. <sup>183</sup>
- (5) On the issue of whether or not to respond to the Police's request for information or interview, Ms Khan's lawyers advised her that if any clarification were to be made, they should be made in Parliament, but she should still respond to the Police to tell them that this was her view.<sup>184</sup>
- 81. Prior to 12 Oct, there was no clear plan, about whether or how Ms Khan should come clean. This is not in dispute.

### F. 12 Oct 2021 – Ms Khan's meeting with Mr Singh and Ms Lim

- 82. On 12 Oct, Ms Khan went to a meeting called by Mr Singh. The meeting was with Ms Lim and Mr Singh. 185
- 83. Ms Khan said that Mr Singh and Ms Lim told her that they had come to the view that the matter would not be dropped by the Government. Thus, the truth should be clarified. On Ms Khan's evidence, this was a change of position from what had been advised on 8 Aug.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [9874].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [9754]-[9755].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12541].

<sup>182</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4319]-[4320].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6344]-[6361].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14327]-[14328].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2027]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [8712]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12531].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2045]-[2046].

- 84. According to Mr Singh and Ms Lim: 187
  - (1) They told Ms Khan that she had to tell the truth. Ms Khan was initially reluctant to correct the record.
  - (2) They told her that she had to clarify her Untruth at the next Parliament sitting (in Nov).

Mr Singh said that he told Ms Khan that the matter was not going to be left alone, it was not going to go away. So Ms Khan had to tell the truth.<sup>188</sup>

- 85. After discussion, they (Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Ms Khan), agreed that she would clarify the truth, in the next Parliament sitting in Nov. 189
- 86. This was the *first time* that an *express* discussion was held for Ms Khan to clarify the Untruth in Parliament. At this time, Ms Khan had not told her parents about the sexual assault. However, neither Mr Singh nor Ms Lim asked whether she (Ms Khan) had told her parents.

### G. Events after 12 Oct 2021, leading up to Ms Khan's 1 Nov 2021 personal explanation

- 87. Once it was decided on 12 Oct, that Ms Khan should tell the truth at the next Parliamentary sitting, a series of steps were taken to prepare for Ms Khan's explanation on 1 Nov: -
  - (1) Ms Khan told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan about the decision reached at the 12 Oct meeting with Mr Singh and Ms Lim. 193 Ms Loh then requested to meet Mr Singh, to discuss what Ms Khan should say in Parliament, how she should convey the truth, and the necessary follow up steps. 194

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [8712]-[8713]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12537].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [8712].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2156]-[2157] and [2027]-[2029]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [10540]-[10545]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12577]-[12588].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2018]-[2029] and [1475]-[1477]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12577]-[12588]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [10540]-[10545].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2103]-[2106].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [11899]-[11902]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12567]-[12572].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [491]; Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2904]-[2907].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [491], [535] and [526]-[527]; Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2908]-[2910].

- (2) They (Ms Loh, Mr Nathan and Mr Singh), met later that evening (on 12 Oct). <sup>195</sup> It was agreed that after the 1 Nov personal explanation, Ms Loh would maintain open communications with Compassvale residents and volunteers, whilst Mr Nathan would help to maintain Ms Khan's social media. <sup>196</sup>
- (3) Ms Khan prepared her draft personal explanation, and sent it to Mr Singh and Ms Lim for review. They gave input and comments, which Ms Khan took on board. There were multiple versions of the draft sent on 16 Oct, 20 Oct, 26 Oct, and 31 Oct between Mr Singh and Ms Khan. Mr Singh also met Ms Khan, on (at least) four occasions, to review her drafts. Mr Singh also met Ms Khan, on (at least) four occasions, to review her
- (4) Ms Khan also shared her draft personal explanation with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. They helped to edit the explanation.<sup>200</sup>
- (5) On 20 Oct, Ms Khan informed the media that she would be making a statement, in the next Parliamentary sitting.<sup>201</sup> (Prior to this, Mr Singh and Ms Lim cleared Ms Khan's statement to the media.<sup>202</sup>)
- (6) Mr Singh, Ms Lim, Ms Loh, Mr Nathan and Ms Khan met at the WP Headquarters, on around 23 Oct, to discuss the draft personal explanation.<sup>203</sup>
- (7) A few weeks after 12 Oct, Ms Khan told her parents about what happened.<sup>204</sup> Her parents were aware of her draft explanation. Mr Singh also communicated directly with Ms Khan's father.<sup>205</sup> Ms Khan's father was against Ms Khan's personal explanation, but Mr Singh felt that it was not his (Ms Khan's father) call.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Ms Loh's WhatsApp exchange with Mr Singh on 12 Oct (Annex C1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [535].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [8652]-[8661]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12617]-[12634].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Raeesah Khan and Mr Pritam Singh between 15 Oct – 1 Nov (Annex C10).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Ibid.; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [10562]-[10563].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [570]; Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2948]-[2949].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Memorandum of Complaint by Leader of the House, Ms Indranee Rajah, against the Member for Sengkang, Ms Raeesah Khan (Annex A), pAA6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh and Mr Singh (Annex C8).

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2103]-[2106].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [8686]-[8687]; Mr Singh's WhatsApp exchange with Ms Khan's father on 21 Oct (Annex C23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh and Mr Singh (Annex C8).

(8) An extraordinary meeting of the WP CEC was called on 29 Oct. The CEC was informed that Ms Khan had stated the Untruth in her 3 Aug Parliament statement, and subsequently in her exchange with Minister Shanmugam on 4 Oct. The CEC was informed about Ms Khan's personal explanation. The CEC discussed and gave suggestions on the personal statement.<sup>207</sup>

(Prior to 29 Oct, the CEC was not informed that Ms Khan had said the Untruth in Parliament on 3 Aug and repeated it on 4 Oct 2021.<sup>208</sup>)

### H. Events in Nov - Dec 2021

### (1) 1 Nov 2021 – Ms Khan's personal explanation

- 88. Ms Khan delivered her personal explanation in Parliament on 1 Nov, stating that she had lied to the House.
  - (1) She admitted that she told the Untruth in Parliament, that she had accompanied a sexual assault survivor to a Police station, when such an incident did not occur.<sup>209</sup> She had heard about this anecdote in a support group which she was part of. She said that she herself was a survivor of sexual assault when she was 18, studying abroad.<sup>210</sup>
  - (2) Ms Khan put forward two reasons for stating the Untruth in Parliament: one, because she wanted to share the survivor's account but did not wish to disclose that she was part of a support group for women;<sup>211</sup> and two, she said that she had made a mistake in her haste and in her passion to advocate for survivors like herself.<sup>212</sup>

### (2) Mr Singh's Statement of 1 Nov 2021

89. Mr Singh issued a statement on the same day, (1 Nov) noting, *inter alia*, that Ms Khan's decision to set the record straight in Parliament, was the correct thing to do.<sup>213</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12648]-[12650]; Jamus Jerome Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [13012]-[13021]; Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4381]-[4386].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12417]-[12418]; Jamus Jerome Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [13028]-[13029]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [8675]-[8677] and [8688]-[8693].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> "Personal Explanation by Member", Official Reports, 1 Nov 2021, Vol. 95, Issue 41, (Annex B5, pBB13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> Ibid, p3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Ibid. p4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Secretary-General's Statement – Workers' Party (Published 1 Nov 2021) (Annex C25).

- 90. In the statement, there was no mention of his (or Ms Lim/Mr Faisal's) involvement in, or prior knowledge of, the matter.
  - (1) Ms Loh told this Committee that she felt that the involvement of the 3 Senior WP leaders had been intentionally omitted. The omission was quite stark and it sought to distance Mr Singh from Ms Khan's Untruth.<sup>214</sup>
  - (2) Mr Nathan agreed that the statement should have made clear that the WP senior leadership knew about the Untruth, that Ms Khan had sought their guidance, and that they told her to continue with the Untruth.<sup>215</sup>
  - (3) Mr Singh was asked if it would have been open, transparent and honest for him to disclose his knowledge and involvement (from 7 Aug), in the matter. Mr Singh said that it was not important for Parliament, and also not relevant for the public, to know those facts.<sup>216</sup>

## (3) 2 Nov 2021 – Formation of WP Disciplinary Panel ("DP")

## (a) <u>DP set up, comprising the 3 Senior WP leaders</u>

- 91. On 2 Nov 2021, the WP CEC issued a press statement, informing the public that the WP had set up a DP to inquire into Ms Khan's Untruth in Parliament.<sup>217</sup>
  - (1) The DP comprised the Party's three most senior members Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal. There was no mention that three of them had known about the Untruth, since 8 Aug, and had discussed it with Ms Khan; and that Mr Singh had advised Ms Khan, on 3 Oct on what to say, before she repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct; or that they had met her after she had repeated her Untruth, to discuss it.
  - (2) At that time, the CEC was not aware that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had been aware of Ms Khan's Untruth from 8 Aug when Ms Khan had confessed to them, or the other facts on their involvement.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [832]-[836].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [3021]-[3029].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [10616]-[10617] and [10957]-[10992].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> The Workers' Party Media Statement (Published 2 Nov 2021) (Annex C26).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 13 Dec, para [12679]-[12680]. We note that Mr Singh said that Ms He Ting Ru (a member of the CEC) may have been aware, when the DP was appointed on 2 Nov, that the 3 WP Senior leaders knew of the falsehood since Aug. Mr Singh was unable to confirm this at the Committee's hearing on 10 Dec. That said, Mr Singh confirmed that the vast majority of

- (3) The composition of the DP was proposed by Mr Singh, as the Secretary-General of the WP.<sup>219</sup>
- 92. On 10 Nov, the DP sent an invitation to all WP members, for them to provide their views on the matter to the DP. Around at least 30 WP volunteers<sup>220</sup> came forward, to give evidence at the DP. They did not know that the 3 Senior WP leaders (who comprised the DP), had known of this matter from 8 Aug, that Ms Khan had confessed the matter to them on 8 Aug, or the other facts relating to the 3 Senior WP leaders' involvement.<sup>221</sup>

## (b) Divergent Views on the setting up and composition of the DP

- 93. The witnesses who gave evidence to this Committee had differing views about the composition of the DP, as well as the fact that the WP CEC was not informed about the 3 Senior WP leaders' involvement in the matter:-
  - (1) Ms Khan was shocked and surprised to learn that a DP was formed.<sup>222</sup> Mr Singh and Ms Lim had previously told her that she would not be referred to the disciplinary process, after she confessed in Parliament.<sup>223</sup>
  - (2) Ms Loh was surprised when the DP was set up.<sup>224</sup> She felt that the composition of the DP was self-serving,<sup>225</sup> given that the 3 Senior WP leaders were the very people: (a) who had known from very early on, that what Ms Khan had said was untrue; and (b) they were the only members of the DP.<sup>226</sup>
  - (3) Mr Nathan said that the DP was self-serving, and that it had contributed to an uninformed, biased and jaundiced view of the incident, because it invited WP members and volunteers

the CEC members were not aware of the DP's knowledge of the falsehood in Aug, when the CEC appointed the DP on 2 Nov (Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [11081]-[11114])..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Mr Pritam Singh and Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap on 2 Nov (Annex C15); Mr Singh's WhatsApp message to the WP CEC on 2 Nov (Annex C16); Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4470]-[4479]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [11079]-[11080].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> The WP volunteers conveyed their feedback either through meetings with the DP or by way of email.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12679]-[12680]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [11308]-[11311].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1761].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2054]-[2055].; see also WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh, Ms Khan and Mr Nathan on 2 Nov (Annex C7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [790]-[791].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [851]-[856].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [849]-[850].

to give their views on the incident without revealing that Ms Khan had acted with the guidance of the WP senior leadership (who were precisely the members of the DP itself).<sup>227</sup>

- (4) Mr Singh and Mr Faisal did not agree that the composition of the DP was self-serving.<sup>228</sup>
  - (a) Mr Faisal felt that the fact that Ms Khan had confessed the Untruth to the 3 Senior WP leaders and that they knew and had discussed the matter with Ms Khan was not relevant. The DP's recommendations were to be based only on what it (the DP) had been told, or the information it gathered, between the specific dates of 8 Nov (when the DP first sat to receive evidence) and 29 Nov (when the DP concluded hearing evidence). The fact that Ms Khan's Untruth was known to Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, on 8 Aug, and Mr Singh from 7 Aug, was not something to be considered. The senior of the senior of
  - (b) Mr Singh's view was that the events that unfolded would only become relevant, if the 3 Senior WP leaders had directed Ms Khan to continue with the Untruth, which on his account, was not the case.<sup>231</sup>
- (5) Ms Lim testified that if the issue that Ms Khan's evidence (given to the Committee), was that the 3 Senior WP leaders had told her (Ms Khan) to continue the Untruth had been raised earlier, the composition of the DP could have been different.<sup>232</sup>
- (6) A/P Lim (a member of the CEC appointing the DP) said that: -
  - (a) As a "political rookie", he did not know what a DP was meant to do.<sup>233</sup> In any event, the points made by the DP were secondary to his decision.<sup>234</sup> He had been receiving feedback through other channels, and had also reflected independently on the matter.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [3065]-[3072].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4779]-[4793]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [11063]-[11064].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6502]-[6523] and [4669]-[4677].

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 10 Dec, para [10672]-[10673] and [10921]-[10924].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12803].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Jamus Jerome Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [13063].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> Jamus Jerome Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [13238].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> Jamus Jerome Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [13238]-[13242] and [13179]-[13183].

- (b) He trusted the WP leadership to inform the CEC of all material facts. As the 3 Senior WP leaders had not told the CEC about their involvement in the matter from an early stage, A/P Lim therefore trusted that these facts were not material.<sup>236</sup>
- (c) A/P Lim said that if the WP senior leadership had instructed Ms Khan to "take the information [of the untruth] to the grave" (as Ms Khan told this Committee), then their suppression of these facts and of their own involvement, would have been material information that had to be disclosed.<sup>237</sup>
- (c) Ms Loh and Mr Nathan told the DP that it was acting unfairly, by suppressing truth about the 3 Senior WP leaders' interactions with Ms Khan
- 94. In the course of its inquiry, the DP interviewed Ms Khan and invited WP members to share their views on the matter ahead of submitting its report to the CEC for deliberation.
  - (1) Ms Loh and Mr Nathan appeared before the DP on 25 Nov, and made a joint submission.<sup>238</sup> Ms Loh told them:-
    - (a) The DP should tell the public the true events that took place. <sup>239</sup>
    - (b) Not disclosing the true events would be highly unfair to Ms Khan.<sup>240</sup>
  - (2) In response, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal just nodded.<sup>241</sup>
  - (3) Ms Loh told Mr Singh that he should tell the public the truth, or at least relay a timeline of events, because it shows his involvement in what had happened.<sup>242</sup> Mr Singh said that he did not pay heed to this, because he did not think that it was relevant, for Party members, the WP CEC, and the public, to know these facts.<sup>243</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> Jamus Jerome Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [13222].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Jamus Jerome Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [13282].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [918]-[921]; Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [3080]-[3083].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [918].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [928].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [956].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [940].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10868]-[10871].

## (d) Ms Khan's interview with the DP

- 95. Ms Khan was interviewed by the DP on 8 and 29 Nov.
  - (1) She attended before the DP on 8 Nov to explain why she had stated untruths in Parliament.
  - (2) According to Ms Khan, she subsequently requested to meet the DP again on 29 Nov, to talk about her performance as an MP, which was an issue the DP had raised during the 8 Nov interview.<sup>244</sup> Ms Khan shared that the 8 Nov interview was centred on her performance as an MP, rather than the 3 Aug speech pertaining to the Untruth. She shared that prior to this session, there had been no hint that her performance as an MP would be under scrutiny.<sup>245</sup>
  - (3) During this meeting, Mr Singh and Ms Lim suggested to her (Ms Khan), that she should resign as a member of the WP.<sup>246</sup>

# (4) 29 Nov 2021 – Ms Khan's resignation as MP

- 96. The WP noted (in their press conference on 2 Dec) that, the CEC had (before receiving Ms Khan's resignation in writing), voted overwhelmingly on 30 Nov, that she would have been expected to resign on her own accord, failing which, she would be expelled from the party.<sup>247</sup>
- 97. Ms Khan resigned from the WP and as MP for Sengkang GRC on 30 Nov.<sup>248</sup>

## (5) 2 Dec 2021 – WP Press Conference

98. The WP fixed a press conference on 2 Dec. This was the same day as the first day this Committee sat to hear evidence. The first witness was Ms Loh. The WP Press Conference was held at about the same time the first witness, Ms Loh, was going to give evidence to the Committee. Mr Singh told the media (for the first time<sup>249</sup>), that Ms Khan had admitted the Untruth, to the party leadership, several months before her 1 Nov Statement. He disclosed that she told them this in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [1807]-[1813].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [1784]-[1796].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [1974]-[1977] and [1826]-[1833].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Transcript of the Workers' Party Press Conference on 2 Dec 2021 (Annex C32), CC63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Workers' Party Statement: Resignation of Ms Raeesah Khan (30 Nov 2021) (Annex C27).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7142]-[7143].

Aug, "about a week" after her 3 Aug Parliament statement.<sup>250</sup> As stated earlier, he made this disclosure to the media, at about the same time, when Ms Loh gave evidence to the Committee. Ms Loh told the Committee that Ms Khan's untruth was known to Mr Singh from 7 Aug, and to Ms Lim and Mr Faisal from 8 Aug.<sup>251</sup> This disclosure to the media about the 3 Senior WP leaders' knowledge of the Untruth since Aug was made at the press conference, on the same day as the COP sitting, despite Mr Singh telling the Committee that it was not a relevant fact for the public to know. <sup>252</sup>

99. Mr Singh told this Committee, that it was pure coincidence that the press conference (where the 3 Senior WP leaders' involvement was disclosed for the first time), was held at almost exactly at the same time as when Ms Loh was giving evidence (and disclosing the 3 Senior WP leaders' involvement).<sup>253</sup>

## V. MS KHAN'S MENTAL HEALTH

## A. Mr Singh (and Ms Lim, Mr Faisal) question Ms Khan's Mental Health

- 100. In the course of their testimony before the Committee, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal made some assertions about Ms Khan's mental condition.<sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup>
- 101. Mr Singh in particular emphasised this. He said that Ms Khan might be suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and Dissociation.<sup>256</sup>
- 102. Mr Singh said that on 4 Oct, when he met Ms Khan in the LO office, she was in a "dazed" state, <sup>257</sup> suggesting that she was somewhat disoriented.
- 103. Ms Lim also gave the evidence that at the DP hearing on 29 Nov, Ms Khan explained that the anecdote was not in the first draft because she was dissociated and did not know what she was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Transcript of the Workers' Party Press Conference on 2 Dec 2021 (Annex C32), CC63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [170] and [310]-[314].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> See paragraph 90 (footnote 215) and paragraph 94(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [11535]-[11536].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [11702] and [10223]-[10224]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12923], [12926] and [12951]-[12953]; Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4645].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14312].Ms Khan had mentioned to the DP on 29 Nov that her therapist had said that she might have had symptoms of PTSD, but she also clarified that one of the symptoms was dissociation but this was not something she was going through.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [11702] and [10223]-[10224].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8055], [8205] and [8380].

doing. Ms Lim also said that she was worried because as far as she and the Senior WP leaders could understand, she (Ms Khan) was doing things without thinking.<sup>258</sup>

- 104. Mr Singh also said that the statement in Ms Khan's 8 Aug WhatsApp message (sent to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan), "they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave", was a lie.
  - (1) When Mr Singh was asked why Ms Khan would lie about this, Mr Singh said that Ms Khan had told the DP on 29 Nov that she suffered from "*Disassociation*".<sup>259</sup> He said that Ms Khan "*may have a problem*".<sup>260</sup> His position was that Ms Khan could be predisposed to lying because she had mental health issues.
  - (2) Mr Singh asked the Committee to consider asking Ms Khan to go for a psychological assessment. <sup>261</sup>
- 105. When Mr Singh was asked to explain his earlier evidence that there was nothing unusual about Ms Khan's performance as a MP between Aug-Sep (which was in contrast to his evidence that she could be suffering from Dissociation), Mr Singh confirmed again that there was nothing out of the ordinary about Ms Khan's performance as a MP at the material time.<sup>262</sup>

## B. Ms Khan's response to the allegations about her mental health

106. Ms Khan was given an opportunity to respond to the assertions made by the 3 Senior WP leaders regarding her mental health,

#### 107. Ms Khan said that:-

(1) It was "extremely out of line", for Mr Singh and Ms Lim to have used mental illness, as a means to discredit her.<sup>263</sup> Mr Singh had tried to paint a picture of her as someone who was mentally unstable, when she was of sound mind.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12926].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10223]-[10224].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10284]-[10302].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10223]-[10224].. Ms Lim was also asked if she could rule out that any of Ms Khan's mental conditions (including dissociation) may have caused Ms Khan to make this statement ("take the information to the grave"). Ms Lim said that she could not rule anything out. (Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12951]-[12953]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10227]-[10238].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14008].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14264].

- (2) In addition, Ms Khan had told the DP on 29 Nov that whilst her therapist had said that she might have symptoms of PTSD, she clarified that this was not something she was going through.<sup>265</sup>(See also the evidence of Dr Cheok in paragraph 108)
- (3) Mental health issues had to be approached with sensitivity. She expressed concern that using a person's mental health to discredit them (as Mr Singh and Ms Lim had done), would set back the movement to progress mental health awareness and support. Attributing such labels on people, would discourage them from seeking help, when they needed it.<sup>266</sup>

# C. Independent Expert Testimony on Ms Khan's Mental Health

- 108. Nevertheless, when the Committee asked, Ms Khan quite readily agreed to undergo a psychiatric evaluation, to be conducted by an independent expert, Dr Christopher Cheok.<sup>267</sup> Dr Cheok is the Acting Chief of the Department of Forensic Psychiatry, and a Senior Consultant at the Institute of Mental Health.<sup>268</sup>
  - (1) Dr Cheok assessed Ms Khan on two occasions, 17 Dec and 20 Dec.<sup>269</sup> He also interviewed her husband, as Ms Khan's closest next-of-kin,<sup>270</sup> and reviewed the relevant recordings of Ms Khan speaking in Parliament, (made on 3 Aug, 4 Oct and 1 Nov), as well as of her testimony before the Committee (given on 2 and 3 Dec).<sup>271</sup>
  - (2) Based on his assessment, during the material period (from 3 Aug to 3 Dec), Ms Khan did not suffer from any significant psychiatric disorder, that would have impaired her ability to speak truthfully in Parliament (on 3 Aug, 4 Oct and 1 Nov), or before the Committee (on 2 and 3 Dec).<sup>272</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14312].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [14334].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Sixth Special Report from the Committee of Privileges dated 22 Dec 2021, p1 at [4].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Christopher Cheok, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13654].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> Christopher Cheok, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13659].

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Christopher Cheok, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13660].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> Christopher Cheok, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13663], [13702] and [13888].

(3) Dr Cheok also assessed that Ms Khan did not suffer from any significant or material Dissociation during the period.<sup>273</sup>

(See Appendix II, Summary of Dr Cheok's evidence.)

109. This concludes **Part 1** of this Report. **Part 2** will set out the **Key Issues**, **Our Findings**, **Conclusions** and **Recommendations**.

 $<sup>^{273}</sup>$  Christopher Cheok, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13662] and [13888].

#### PART 2

## VI. THE TWO CENTRAL ISSUES

- 110. There are two central issues for this Committee to consider. They are:
  - (1) <u>First Issue</u>: Whether Ms Khan lied on 3 Aug, when making her speech and in answering MOS Tan; and when she repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct, ("the Liability Issue"); And
  - (2) <u>Second Issue</u>: If Ms Khan had lied, then what is the penalty that should be imposed on her ("the Penalty Issue").
- 111. On the Liability Issue, **there is no dispute**. Ms Khan admits to lying on 3 Aug (more than once), and repeating that Untruth on 4 Oct.<sup>274</sup> She also admits that she is unable to substantiate the allegations that she made in Parliament, against the Police.<sup>275</sup>
- 112. Given the admission, the <u>only</u> question remaining to be determined by this Committee is the Second Issue: **the Penalty Issue**. This Committee heard extensive evidence from several witnesses, on matters relevant to this Penalty Issue. The Penalty imposed will have to, amongst other things, depend on Ms Khan's level of responsibility, in particular, for the subsequent repeating of the Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct. As the evidence unfolded, it became clear to this Committee that that in turn would depend on what Ms Khan was told to do by the 3 Senior WP leaders. Was she guided by them to keep quiet, continue with the Untruth and repeat it on 4 Oct in Parliament?; or did she do everything she did, after her 8 Aug confession, on her own accord?

## VII. THE PENALTY ISSUE

113. In this context, the events between 8 Aug and 2 Dec are important. They are largely not in dispute. The relevant witnesses, Ms Khan, Mr Singh, Ms Lim, Mr Faisal, Ms Loh, Mr Nathan, were generally in agreement, as to what had transpired. They have been set out in Part I, Section IV of this Report. The main differences relate to two points.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> See paragraph 5 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> See paragraph 6 above.

## A. Differences in Evidence on the Penalty Issue relate to two points

- 114. The divergence in the evidence was primarily on:
  - (1) what the 3 Senior WP leaders told Ms Khan, on 8 Aug, about how to handle the Untruth; and
  - (2) what Mr Singh told Ms Khan, on 3 Oct, about what to say in Parliament the next day, about the Untruth.

## 115. On these two points:

- (1) Ms Khan's evidence is that: -
  - (a) When she confessed to the Untruth to the 3 Senior WP leaders on 8 Aug, the 3 Senior WP leaders told her to continue with the Untruth, and to "retain the narrative" that she began in Aug. Mr Singh specifically told Ms Khan to "take it to the grave", meaning, take the Untruth to the grave. Ms Khan also said that they (the 3 Senior WP leaders), did not tell her to speak to her parents on her having been a sexual assault victim.

(See paragraphs 27, 28 and 31 above.)

(b) On 3 Oct, Mr Singh told Ms Khan that if she were to retain the narrative or continue the narrative, "there would be no judgement". In essence, he guided Ms Khan to continue with the Untruth, if the matter was raised in Parliament the next day (4 Oct).

(See paragraph 48 above.)

- (2) The 3 Senior WP leaders' evidence is that: -
  - (a) On 8 Aug, after Ms Khan confessed to the Untruth, there was no further discussion about the Untruth. The 3 Senior WP leaders did not tell Ms Khan to come clean. Mr Singh said that he made a judgment call to give her time and

space to tell her parents about her sexual assault, which would be a precondition before Ms Khan comes clean about the truth in Parliament.

(See paragraphs 29 – 30 above.)

(b) On 3 Oct, Mr Singh told Ms Khan that if the matter was raised in Parliament the next day, Ms Khan had to take "*responsibility and ownership of the issue*", and if she did so, he "*will not judge her*". Mr Singh confirms that he did not directly tell Ms Khan to tell the truth (see paragraph 49 above). (Mr Singh and Ms Lim confirm that it was only on 12 Oct that Ms Khan was told directly, for the first time, to tell the truth.) <sup>276</sup>

## B. The relevance of what the 3 Senior WP leaders told Ms Khan to do, or not to do

- 116. As indicated earlier (see paragraph 112), the question of what the 3 Senior WP leaders told Ms Khan to do, is of considerable importance, in deciding Ms Khan's level of responsibility:
  - (1) The 3 Senior WP leaders were the Secretary-General, the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the WP. They were the WP leaders, and vastly more experienced than Ms Khan. Between them, they have 35 years of experience in Parliament, and were multi term MPs.
  - (2) Ms Khan was 28 years old, a first term MP, and had been in Parliament for a year, when the events in question took place.
- 117. Thus, if the 3 Senior WP leaders had advised her on 8 Aug, to continue with the Untruth; and if Mr Singh had advised her on 3 Oct, to repeat the Untruth in Parliament again on 4 Oct; that is very relevant, in deciding what Penalty ought to be imposed on Ms Khan. It would be an important factor, because, whilst it does not absolve her from responsibility, Ms Khan can, naturally, be expected to defer to her senior Party leaders and listen to them. It will be a factor to be taken into consideration, as mitigation, in deciding on the penalty to be imposed on Ms Khan.
- 118. On the other hand, it is also very relevant, as an aggravating factor, if Ms Khan, after having lied on 3 Aug, had repeated it on her own accord (and contrary to Mr Singh's instructions), on 4 Oct. It would be a **further aggravating factor**, if Ms Khan then had falsely stated to this Committee,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [11723]-[11746]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12589]-[12598].

that her Party leaders told her to continue with the Untruth. The Penalty to be imposed on Ms Khan must reflect the severity of such egregious conduct, if these are the facts.

## VIII. THE COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS

- 119. This Committee has considered the evidence given by the witnesses, by assessing it:
  - (1) against contemporaneous evidence;
  - (2) written documents;
  - (3) the conduct (both contemporaneous and subsequent) of the parties; and
  - (4) whether the evidence given to the Committee, made sense.
- 120. Having considered the above, we are of the view that: -
  - (1) Ms Khan was truthful in her testimony to this Committee, about the meetings on 8 Aug, 3 Oct and 4 Oct. Her evidence is supported by objective contemporaneous evidence.
  - (2) On 8 Aug, Ms Khan was told by Mr Singh to take the Untruth to the grave (and Ms Lim and Mr Faisal agreed with that advice); and on 3 Oct, Mr Singh advised Ms Khan that she should continue with the Untruth in Parliament. The 3 Senior WP leaders' position that they wanted Ms Khan to clarify the truth, was in stark contrast to their actual conduct. Their attempts to explain their actions (and inaction), and their contradictory behaviour, are not credible. Mr Faisal accepted that the explanations given were neither logical, nor made sense.<sup>277</sup> He also admitted that their (the 3 Senior WP leaders') conduct, was consistent with Ms Khan's evidence that they told her to keep to the Untruth.<sup>278</sup>
- 121. On what the 3 Senior WP leaders advised Ms Khan to do, the three directly relevant dates are:
  - (1) 8 Aug, when she confessed to them;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6195]-[6230].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6278]-[6299].

- (2) 3 Oct, when Mr Singh spoke with Ms Khan, about what she should say, should the matter be raised in Parliament the next day on 4 Oct; and
- (3) 4 Oct, when there were exchanges / meetings before and after Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth in Parliament.
- 122. What happened on these three dates, what advice was given, and the specific conduct, can be objectively assessed, by reference to events between 8 Aug and 2 Dec.<sup>279</sup>
- 123. The conduct must be assessed by reference to what the 3 Senior WP leaders told this Committee:-
  - (1) They agreed that telling the Untruth in Parliament was a very serious matter.<sup>280</sup> The Untruth should be corrected, they said.<sup>281</sup>
  - (2) Mr Singh said that if a WP MP told an untruth, the MP must correct it. 282
- 124. However, their conduct from 8 Aug to 11 Oct, does not show them taking any step(s), to ask Ms Khan to clarify the truth or, in any way, to make preparation for Ms Khan to clarify the Untruth. <sup>283</sup> Their actions and conduct in that period, instead, quite clearly contradict their evidence that they had wanted the truth to be clarified.
- 125. The Committee heard extensive evidence on this as it was the central question to be assessed, for the Penalty Issue. The Committee's findings are set out in greater detail in the **Schedule to this Report**. The **Schedule to this Report** contains our views on the evidence as well as the reasons for coming to the view. We will set out a short summary below, before dealing with our recommendations on the Penalty that should be imposed on Ms Khan. We will also set out our views (for Parliament's consideration) on the 3 Senior WP leaders' lies on oath, to this Committee, and other behaviour.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> On 8 Aug, Ms Khan told the 3 Senior WP leaders about the Untruth. Ms Khan said that the 3 Senior WP leaders told her to keep to the Untruth and bring it to the grave, whereas the 3 Senior WP leaders deny this (see paragraphs 26-31 above). 2 Dec was the day of the WP Press Conference, where Mr Singh first revealed to the public that the party leadership had known of Ms Khan's Untruth about a week after she delivered her 3 Aug Parliament Statement (see paragraph 98 above).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3576]-[3577] and [5437]-[5440]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [6965]-[6966]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12020]-[12021].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6159]-[6170] and [5437]-[5440]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7285]-[7292] and [7303]-[7310]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12022]-[12023] and [12495].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Transcript of the Workers' Party Press Conference on 2 Dec 2021 (Annex C63), pCC65-66; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7285]-[7292].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7285]-[7292] and [8382].

## A. What instructions were given to Ms Khan by the 3 Senior WP leaders?

# (1) **Events in Aug 2021**

- 126. It is not disputed that on 7 Aug, Ms Khan informed Mr Singh that she had told a lie in Parliament.<sup>284</sup>
- 127. On 8 Aug, Mr Singh arranged for a meeting for the 3 Senior WP leaders to meet Ms Khan. Mr Singh said that the main reason for the meeting was to discuss the adverse reactions which arose after Ms Khan's speech in Parliament on 3 August relating to FGC and polygamy.<sup>285</sup>
- 128. On 8 Aug, when they met, Ms Khan confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders (Mr Singh had already known the day before) that she had told an Untruth in Parliament.<sup>286</sup> This was a very serious matter (something which all 3 Senior WP leaders agree on).<sup>287</sup> They also accepted that it would be important to clarify the truth in Parliament as soon as possible, having regard to Ms Khan's state of mind and whether her family was aware of the matter.<sup>288</sup>
- 129. However, the evidence by all the 3 Senior WP leaders was that, beyond listening to Ms Khan's admission, nothing further was discussed substantively, about the Untruth, at this meeting on 8 Aug.<sup>289</sup>
  - (1) There was no discussion on what remedial steps to take, nor was there any discussion by any of them on any timeline by which Ms Khan would take those remedial steps.<sup>290</sup>
  - (2) No steps were taken to prepare for Ms Khan to make a clarification.<sup>291</sup>
  - (3) Mr Singh told the Committee that it was of "*immediate concern*" that Ms Khan informed her family of the sexual assault.<sup>292</sup> Yet there were no discussions with Ms Khan on telling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> See paragraph 21 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> See paragraph 24 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> See paragraph 25 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3576]-[3577] and [5437]-[5440]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [6965]-[6966]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12020]-[12021].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6159]-[6170] and [5437]-[5440]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7285] – [7292] and [7303]-[7310]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12022]-[12023] and [12495].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> See paragraph 30 above. According to Mr Singh, he told Ms Khan, "we'll have to deal with this, but speak to your parents first". Ms Khan denies that this was said.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7273]-[7274].

the truth, for the next two months, until the Government made it clear that the matter was not going to be dropped.<sup>293</sup> The only discussion during that period took place on: (a) 3 Oct, between Mr Singh and Ms Khan – and after that discussion, on the next day, Ms Khan repeated the Untruth in Parliament; and (b) on 4 Oct, after Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth, there were discussions between Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Ms Khan. Mr Singh and Ms Lim agree that they did not ask Ms Khan why she had repeated the Untruth, nor did they tell her that she had to tell the truth.<sup>294</sup>

- 130. Mr Faisal's evidence is that not a single word or comment was made at the meeting on 8 Aug pertaining to the Untruth which Ms Khan had admitted.<sup>295</sup> He said that there were "zero" discussions<sup>296</sup> thereafter (even as <u>between</u> the 3 Senior WP leaders) and everyone just listened to Ms Khan's account without making any remark whatsoever. Having regard to the gravity of the matter which Ms Khan had just confessed to, it is inconceivable for there to have been no discussion or comment whatsoever, on the issue.
- 131. Ms Khan, on the other hand says that at that meeting on 8 Aug, Mr Singh had told her to suppress the truth, and to "take the information to the grave". <sup>297</sup> Ms Khan confirmed, when asked, that this was said by Mr Singh as it was not a phrase that she would usually use. <sup>298</sup>
- 132. Immediately after the meeting on 8 Aug, Ms Khan texted Ms Loh and Mr Nathan to say that "... *I told him what I told you guys and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave*". <sup>299</sup> Ms Khan had updated them because they were her close confidantes, Ms Khan had earlier confessed to them, and had been having a prior conversation with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on this very issue. <sup>300</sup> Ms Khan was also aware that Ms Loh and Mr Nathan would be meeting Mr Singh in about two days' time, on their own, without her. <sup>301</sup> She would therefore know that if she mis-reported what transpired at the meeting to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, they could have found that out quite easily.
- 133. In the Committee's view, the contemporaneous message is a clear indicator that Ms Khan is telling the truth. When asked about the contemporaneous message, Mr Singh said that Ms Khan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> See paragraph 86 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> See paragraphs 67 and 74 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> See paragraph 30 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [5497]-[5504].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Ms Khan's WhatsApp message dated 8 Aug to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan (Annex C3); See paragraph 33 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 22 Dec, para [13958].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Ms Khan's WhatsApp message dated 8 Aug to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan (Annex C3); See paragraph 33 above.

 $<sup>^{300}</sup>$  See paragraphs 22-23 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> See paragraph 35 above.

had mental health issues and may therefore not have told the truth to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. <sup>302</sup> The Committee finds this suggestion from Mr Singh to be both untrue and regrettable. <sup>303</sup>

- 134. In addition to Ms Khan's contemporaneous message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, the conduct of the 3 Senior WP leaders after 8 Aug also shows that Ms Khan's version of the events is more credible.
  - (1) As we have noted above, nothing was discussed after 8 Aug, by the 3 Senior WP leaders, with *Ms Khan*, on coming clean.<sup>304</sup> On the evidence of the 3 Senior WP leaders, nothing else was discussed *as between them* either, concerning the untruth.<sup>305</sup>
  - (2) It is also common ground that no steps whatsoever were taken to prepare for any clarification to be made in Parliament in September or October. If the 3 Senior WP leaders had wanted the truth to be clarified in Parliament, then on their own account, many preparatory steps would have had to be taken. See paragraph 52 above. However, none of this was done.
- 135. If there was a genuine desire to have this Untruth clarified, there would have been at least *some* discussion taking place between the 3 Senior WP leaders on what to make of the confession, what next steps to take, and at least some indication of a rough timeline. *By their own admission*, none of this was done.<sup>306</sup>
- 136. The Committee also notes that Mr Singh said that the Untruth did not impact the work of the Police (though he agreed with the seriousness of the Untruth). Mr Singh said, "[t]he Police are not some broken-back organisation". He also questioned the extent of work done by the Police on investigating into the allegation made.<sup>307</sup> This suggests a cavalier approach to the Untruth that was said in Parliament. He sought to downplay the gravity of it, refusing to acknowledge the impact it could have, on the reporting and detection of sexual assault crimes; and the general impact on the reputation of the Police, when an MP makes serious allegations.<sup>308</sup> It is an

<sup>302</sup> See paragraph 104 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> Part 2, Sections IX and Section X below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> See paragraphs 37 and 40 above.

<sup>305</sup> See paragraph 38 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> See paragraph 37-38 and paragraph 52-53 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [6981]-[7014]. Mr Singh also stated that on 3 Aug, MOS Tan said that Police had no case of this nature. This is incorrect. MOS Tan had, in fact, asked Ms Khan for details on the matter on 3 Aug so that the Police could investigate further. (Annex B2.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> This potential impact underscores the gravity of the Untruth, and the importance of prompt clarification, and also how it can impact on Police work.

indication also, that there was no urgency, in Mr Singh's mind, to clarify the matter. That is consistent with Ms Khan's evidence.

- 137. Mr Singh's remarks must be seen in the following context: -
  - (1) Ms Khan made serious allegations against the Police in her 3 Aug Parliament Statement.<sup>309</sup> This was undisputed by Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.<sup>310</sup>
  - (2) It was therefore imperative that investigations be carried out, and the relevant officers be identified, and the facts established.
  - (3) On 4 Oct, Minister Shanmugam told the House the Police spent significant time and resources searching their records, but were not able to identify a case that fits Ms Khan's description.<sup>311</sup>
  - (4) Mr Singh had also apologised to the Singapore Police Force on 2 Dec at the WP Press conference.<sup>312</sup>
- 138. It would appear from Mr Singh's evidence to this Committee on 10 Dec, that his apology to the Police was also not sincere.
  - (2) Key Event: 3 Oct 2021 meeting between Mr Singh and Ms Khan<sup>313</sup>
- 139. After 8 Aug, the next time the matter was discussed was on 3 Oct. There was a discussion between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, on the evening of 3 Oct. **This meeting is of critical importance**, in the context of the Penalty Issue.
- 140. The questions are whether, on 3 Oct:
  - (1) Mr Singh gave Ms Khan <u>a choice</u> between telling the truth, <u>or keeping to the Untruth</u>; and *if he did give Ms Khan a choice*, <u>whether Mr Singh pointed her to how that choice should be exercised</u>, and what she should say on 4 Oct;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> See paragraph 17 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3576]-[3577], [5327]-[5332], and [5363]-[5364]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12413]-[12414].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> "Allegation of Police Behaviour Towards Victim of Sexual Assault (Clarification sought by Minister for Home Affairs for speech made by Member", Official Report, 4 October 2021, Vol. 95, Issue 39 (Annex B4, pBB10-12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> Transcript of the Workers' Party Press Conference on 2 Dec 2021 (Annex C32), pCC66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> **Schedule**, at paragraphs 37-111.

#### OR

- (2) Whether, as Mr Singh says, he <u>did not give Ms Khan a choice</u>, and <u>made it "crystal clear"</u> that she had to tell the truth<sup>314</sup> (see paragraph 73 of the **Schedule**).
- 141. In our assessment, the evidence is quite clear that Mr Singh strongly pointed Ms Khan towards continuing with the Untruth on 3 Oct, i.e., acting in a manner consistent with what they had instructed Ms Khan on 8 Aug. This is based on our assessment of the objective, and contemporaneous evidence (including the conduct of the 3 Senior WP leaders themselves). The **Schedule** sets out in detail, our assessment of the evidence, and the reasons for our conclusions.
- 142. We set out below a summary of our reasons/assessment.
  - (1) On 3 Oct, Mr Singh went to see Ms Khan, to specifically advise Ms Khan on what to say, at the 4 Oct Parliamentary sitting. Mr Singh acted with considerable surreptitiousness, as regards the 3 Oct discussion with Ms Khan.<sup>315</sup>
  - (2) Mr Singh did not tell Mr Faisal or Ms Lim that he was going to see Ms Khan.<sup>316</sup>
  - (3) At the meeting, Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan to proactively raise the matter<sup>317</sup> and also did not tell Ms Khan that she should tell the truth.<sup>318</sup> This is not disputed. On this point, Mr Singh changed his evidence on key aspects, as regards the 3 Oct conversation and whether the matter would come up or not when he realized that his earlier evidence was untenable.<sup>319</sup>
  - (4) There was no preparation whatsoever prior to 4 Oct, and there were no steps (either by Ms Khan or anyone in the WP), to prepare for the truth to be told.<sup>320</sup>
  - (5) Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan, directly, to tell the truth.<sup>321</sup>

<sup>314</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8539]-[8544]; See paragraph 56(2) above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> See **Schedule**, at paragraphs 49-50.

<sup>316</sup> See paragraph 58 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> See **Schedule**, at paragraphs 54 - 61.

<sup>318</sup> See paragraph 49 above.

<sup>319</sup> See paragraph 55 above.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 320}$  See paragraphs 52-53 and Paragraph 56(5) above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>321</sup> See **Schedule**, at paragraphs 62 - 63.

- (a) In his testimony, Mr Singh offered some reasons as to why he felt Ms Khan ought to know that she should tell the truth. He relies on he having asked Ms Khan to substantiate the anecdote, on what he did, between 3-7 Aug to follow up with her to substantiate, and on his 1 Oct general email to all WP MPs, and the Rules of Prudence about general conduct.<sup>322</sup>
- (b) None of these reasons provide a credible basis for Mr Singh to reasonably believe that he had made clear to Ms Khan that on 4 Oct, she should come clean. The fact of the matter is that by 7/8 Aug, Mr Singh was clearly and directly aware that Ms Khan had told the Untruths in Parliament, and he did not thereafter tell her directly that she had to tell the truth, to clarify the Untruths. He did not do so even on 3 Oct (by his own admission), when he specifically advised her on what to say on 4 Oct. (These points are dealt with in greater detail in the **Schedule**.) 323
- (6) Mr Singh told Ms Khan that he will not "judge her". If Mr Singh had told Ms Khan to tell the truth, and she had then done so, there would have been nothing to judge. Judging Ms Khan would only be relevant, if she were to continue with the Untruth.<sup>324</sup>
- (7) Mr Singh did not, at any time, check whether Ms Khan's parents had been made aware of her sexual assault, despite his earlier professed concern at having her family know first, before she could clarify the Untruth.<sup>325</sup>
- (8) Mr Singh's conduct, and that of Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, contradict any suggestion that he, or they, had wanted the truth to be clarified, as of 3 Oct. As the Committee noted above, we find that the conduct of Ms Khan and the 3 Senior WP leaders was consistent (both before and after 3 Oct), with what Ms Khan said.<sup>326</sup>
- (9) In addition, Ms Lim's DP Notes show that Mr Singh is not telling the truth about his 3 Oct conversation with Ms Khan. During Ms Khan's DP interview on 29 Nov, Mr Singh told Ms Khan, *inter alia*, "Before Oct session, I met + I told you it was your call" (Not disputed).<sup>327</sup> The reference to "your call" (language used by Mr Singh himself), shows that Mr Singh was (prima facie), leaving the choice to Ms Khan. This is contrary to his

<sup>322</sup> See paragraph 56(6) above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> See **Schedule**, at paragraphs 63(4)-(5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> See **Schedule**, at paragraphs 64 - 65.

<sup>325</sup> See paragraphs 53, 56(4), and 74 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> **Schedule**, at paragraphs 7 - 11, 19 - 35 and 112-132.

<sup>327</sup> Extract from Ms Lim's notes for the DP's interview with Ms Khan on 29 Nov (Annex C24).

evidence to the Committee, that <u>he did not give a choice to Ms Khan, and that he was very</u> clear that she had to tell the truth. <sup>328</sup>

- (10) If Mr Singh's evidence about what he told Ms Khan on 3 Oct is true, it would mean that she had flagrantly disobeyed him on 4 Oct, when she repeated the Untruth. If so, he would have been expected to have confronted Ms Khan on 4 Oct, and demanded an explanation as to why she disobeyed him. He did not do so. (See paragraph 74 above.)
- (11) Ms Loh's and Mr Nathan's evidence also contradict what Mr Singh said about the 3 Oct conversation with Ms Khan. On 12 Oct (more than a week after Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth in Parliament), Mr Singh told them (Ms Loh and Mr Nathan), that he met Ms Khan on 3 Oct and told her, "*I will not judge you*". 329 Ms Loh and Mr Nathan understood from Mr Singh's statement, that Mr Singh had given Ms Khan a choice whether to come clean; and that if Ms Khan chose to repeat the Untruth, she would not be judged. The fact that Mr Singh did not indicate (in any way), that Ms Khan had disobeyed him, 330 further confirms that Ms Khan had in fact complied with his instructions, when she had repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct.
- (12) Ms Lim's evidence also contradicts Mr Singh's evidence about his discussion with Ms Khan on 3 Oct that she should clarify the truth on 4 Oct, if the matter was raised. Ms Lim admitted that it would not have been possible, on 4 Oct, to have Ms Khan clarify the truth the next day, on 5 Oct. This was because time was needed to carefully structure Ms Khan's clarification and make the necessary preparations (see paragraph 68 above). By the same token, it would not have been possible to expect, on 3 Oct, that Ms Khan would make any clarification of the truth the next day (4 Oct), without having done any preparation whatsoever.
- (13) Ms Khan's email of 7 Oct contradicts what Mr Singh says about the 3 Oct discussion.
  - (a) In Ms Khan's 7 Oct email to the 3 Senior WP leaders, she forwarded the Police's request for an interview (see paragraph 78 above) and she said, the following:
    - "... Thank you for listening to me, for caring for me and for guiding me through this without judgement."

<sup>328</sup> See paragraph 49(3) above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> See paragraph 59 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [538]-[541].

(b) If Mr Singh had told Ms Khan on 3 Oct to tell the truth, and if she had flagrantly disobeyed him, then she would not be thanking the 3 Senior WP leaders, for guiding her without judgement. Implicit in her email, is that she had followed their advice until then. She had followed her leaders' "guidance", for her to continue with the Untruth.

# (3) The 3 Senior WP leaders' reactions after Ms Khan repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct 2021, show that Ms Khan's evidence is true<sup>331</sup>

- 143. In assessing the above matters, it is also instructive to look at the 3 Senior WP leaders' reactions after Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct, and "doubled down" on the Untruth.<sup>332</sup>
- 144. As Minister Shanmugam was raising the question to Ms Khan in Parliament on 4 Oct, Ms Khan immediately texted Mr Singh for guidance.<sup>333</sup> (This would not have been necessary if it had already been made clear to her that she should just tell the truth.) Mr Singh could offer no reasonable explanation as to why Ms Khan would do so, if he had been so clear. Mr Singh's response, on receiving the message, is also telling.
- 145. Mr Singh says he did not see Ms Khan's message at the time it was sent. <sup>334</sup> (He saw it 11 minutes after it was sent.) However, at whatever subsequent time he saw it (if indeed his prior instructions on such an important issue had been clear, for Ms Khan to clarify the Untruth), a reasonable reaction would be to immediately ask Ms Khan: "what is it that you need me to tell you, since it has already been made clear to you?" Mr Singh did not do that.
- 146. In fact, Mr Singh did not even speak to Ms Khan at all for the rest of the day until close to midnight that same day (see paragraph 150 to 151 below).<sup>335</sup>
- 147. The repetition of the Untruth, 2 months later, with 3 senior members of the WP leadership aware that it was an untruth, had made the matter far worse. Despite this, Mr Singh did not ask Ms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> **Schedule**, at paragraphs 112 to 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6053]-[6068]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12326]-[12327].

<sup>333</sup> See paragraph 61 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> See paragraph 64 above.

<sup>335</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 4 Oct (Annex C9).

Khan why she did not comply with his own (clear) instructions. Mr Singh gave no credible answer to this Committee on his inactions.

- 148. The 3 Senior WP leaders also did not tell Ms Khan to clarify the truth during the Parliamentary Sitting on the next day.<sup>336</sup> There were no prior preparations, for the truth to be clarified (which Ms Lim said would be needed). But, by then, circumstances had changed drastically, with the repeat of the Untruth. If there was a genuine intention not to mislead Parliament, and since Ms Khan had just made matters worse by repeating the Untruth in Parliament, in (alleged) breach of her Party leader's instructions, then the most natural and obvious thing to do (if there was a genuine intention not to want to mislead Parliament) would be to stand up and explain the position in Parliament at the next earliest opportunity. This was not done.
- 149. Ms Lim met Ms Khan later that same afternoon. Ms Lim did not tell Ms Khan that she had to speak the truth or clarify the Untruth. She also did not ask her why she had instead doubled down on the Untruth. She did not ask Ms Khan what had been discussed with Mr Singh which might have led her to repeat the Untruth.<sup>337</sup> All of these would have been natural questions to ask if there had been an understanding that Ms Khan would come forward to clarify the Untruth, and speak the truth. None of these was done. Instead, Ms Lim advised Ms Khan to consult lawyers to prepare for the Police request that was coming.<sup>338</sup>
- 150. Later that evening, Mr Singh saw Ms Khan together with Ms Lim, at around 11.15pm. By all accounts, it was a very short meeting.<sup>339</sup>
- 151. There were a few key features of this subsequent meeting: -
  - (1) When they met, Ms Khan immediately informed Mr Singh that "perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth". This statement directly contradicts Mr Singh's evidence that he had already told Ms Khan that she was to tell the truth. If he had done so, there would not have been a need for Ms Khan to say "another way".
  - (2) Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan that to tell the truth was in fact was what he had already instructed her to do, on 3 Oct. Nor did he tell her that she had to go and tell the truth either

<sup>336</sup> See paragraphs 67, 74 and 77 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> See paragraph 67 above.

<sup>338</sup> See paragraph 66 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> See paragraph 69 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup> See paragraph 70 above.

that same day (at 11.15 pm, Parliament was still in session), or on the next day, at which there was another opportunity to tell the truth.<sup>341</sup> He could have done so, if there had been a genuine intention prior to 4 Oct to clarify the truth, and his clear instructions had just been disobeyed.

(3) Nor did Mr Singh inquire into or check with Ms Khan, if her father and family had been made aware of the sexual assault.<sup>342</sup> It did not seem to matter to him, despite his evidence that in the months of Aug through to early Oct, his "*immediate concern*"<sup>343</sup> was whether Ms Khan had already informed her family; and that this was a "*condition precedent*"<sup>344</sup> for her to come clean in Parliament.

152. Neither did Mr Faisal ask Ms Khan what had happened which led to her doubling down on the Untruth.<sup>345</sup> He had exchanged text messages with her on 5 Oct.<sup>346</sup> He also met her on 7 Oct to discuss various issues.<sup>347</sup> He could easily had raised it with her, but did not do so. He agreed that it was entirely illogical, given what had transpired,<sup>348</sup> and the fact that repeating the Untruth in Parliament, was very serious.<sup>349</sup>

153. Between 4 Oct and 12 Oct, there was also no further, or indeed any other communication, between the 3 Senior WP leaders and Ms Khan, about her having repeated the Untruth. <sup>350</sup> If there had been an instruction or even an expectation that the Untruth would be clarified, but instead Ms Khan had just done the very opposite, it is quite improbable and frankly rather unbelievable, that there would have been no reaction.

## (4) The Committee's assessment

#### 154. Based on the evidence, the Committee is of the view that:

## (1) On 8 Aug:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> See paragraph 74 above.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7273]-[7274].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10125]-[10140].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> See paragraph 77 above.

<sup>346</sup> See paragraph 76 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> See paragraph 80(4) above.

<sup>348</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6344]-[6361].

<sup>349</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3576]-[3577] and [5437]-[5440].

<sup>350</sup> See paragraph 75 above.

- (a) Ms Khan confessed to all the 3 Senior WP leaders, and told them that she had told the Untruth in Parliament on 3 Aug.
- (b) She was told to continue with the Untruth, and if she were not pressed, to "retain the narrative that she began in August". Specifically, Mr Singh told Ms Khan to "take it to the grave", i.e., take the Untruth to the grave.
- (2) Mr Singh had used words on 3 Oct, which indicated to Ms Khan that she should continue with the Untruth. The Committee accepts Ms Khan's evidence, i.e., that Mr Singh had said "there would be no judgement", and left her with the view that if she were to retain the narrative or continue the narrative (the Untruth), there would be no judgement on her.
- (3) The advice given on 3 Oct, in its own terms, as well as seen in light of what had transpired on 8 Aug (that the 3 Senior WP leaders told Ms Khan to keep to the Untruth), would essentially point Ms Khan to one direction that is, to keep to the Untruth, if the issue was raised, with the assurance that it would not attract Mr Singh's judgment if Ms Khan continued with the Untruth.

## B. Events on 12 Oct 2021 leading up to 1 Nov 2021<sup>351</sup>

- 155. Ms Khan met Mr Singh and Ms Lim on 12 Oct. By then it would have been apparent that the matter was not going to be dropped by the Government.<sup>352</sup> Police was also going to investigate,<sup>353</sup> and there was the distinct likelihood of the Untruth being found out.
- 156. On 12 October, Mr Singh and Ms Lim told Ms Khan that she should clarify the Untruth in Parliament. Ms Khan gave evidence that this was because they had come to the conclusion that the matter was not going to go away, and hence Ms Khan now had to clarify the Untruth.<sup>354</sup> They therefore told Ms Khan to come clean and she agreed.<sup>355</sup> This was the first time they expressly discussed and agreed that she should tell the truth.<sup>356</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> **Schedule**, at paragraphs 137 - 139.

 $<sup>^{352}</sup>$  See paragraph 83-84 above.

<sup>353</sup> See paragraph 80 above.

<sup>354</sup> Mr Singh told Ms Khan, ""[t]his is not going to go away. So don't even think that this is going to be just left alone". (See paragraph 84 above)

<sup>355</sup> See paragraph 85 above.

<sup>356</sup> See paragraph 86 above.

- 157. Thereafter, from 12 Oct onwards, there were a number of steps taken, to prepare for Ms Khan to come clean in Parliament at the next Parliamentary Sitting.<sup>357</sup> These actions after 12 Oct show clearly what would have had to be done in order for the truth to be revealed in Parliament.
- 158. The Committee considers that if it had been the intention and clear direction on 3 Oct, for Ms Khan to tell Parliament the truth on 4 Oct, then the similar steps would have had to be taken prior to 4 Oct. The fact that there was a complete absence of any preparatory steps whatsoever, is consistent with Ms Khan's evidence that she was guided that she should continue with the Untruth, and that she would not be judged by Mr Singh, for doing so.

# C. The formation and conduct of the DP<sup>358</sup>

- 159. On 1 Nov, Ms Khan admitted in Parliament that she had told the Untruth. 359
- 160. On the same day, Mr Singh issued a statement. The statement does not say anywhere that Ms Khan had some 3 months prior, admitted to the 3 Senior WP leaders the Untruth. The information, that the 3 Senior WP leaders were aware of the Untruth from 8 Aug, and had done nothing about it, was suppressed.
- 161. The next day (2 Nov), the WP announced the formation of a DP.
  - (1) Mr Singh appears to have decided to set up the DP at extremely short notice.<sup>361</sup>
  - (2) The 3 Senior WP leaders were the only members of the DP. They did not disclose, either to the CEC, or to the WP membership, that they knew of the falsehoods, from 8 Aug, when Ms Khan confessed to them. <sup>362</sup> It is significant that this was not disclosed.
- 162. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan (including when they appeared before the DP), told the 3 Senior WP leaders, that they had to come clean about their own knowledge and involvement. The 3 Senior WP leaders ignored their statements.<sup>363</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> See paragraph 87 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>358</sup> **Schedule**, at paragraphs 140 - 176.

<sup>359</sup> See paragraph 88 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> See paragraphs 89-90 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> **Schedule**, at paragraph 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> See paragraph 91 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> See paragraph 94 above.

- 163. We have explained in the **Schedule** (paragraphs 140 176) the reasons why the way the DP was conducted is relevant for the matters to be considered by this Committee. The way in which the DP was conducted, the suppression of relevant evidence (including the potentially mitigating evidence that Ms Khan had confessed to senior leadership on 8 Aug), indicate that the 3 Senior WP leaders (and in particular, Mr Singh) did not want their role and knowledge to be exposed.
- 164. The role and knowledge of the 3 Senior WP leaders was only disclosed after this Committee started its proceedings. The 3 Senior WP leaders knew Ms Loh and Mr Nathan's position on the matter (as expressed to the DP on 25 Nov), that is, that they should tell the public their knowledge and involvement in the matter. The 3 Senior WP leaders' role was disclosed, by them, for the first time, publicly, on 2 Dec (after this Committee had decided to call Ms Loh as a witness), and when Ms Loh was actually giving evidence to this Committee.
- 165. It appears that in Nov, when the DP proceedings were held, the 3 Senior WP leaders do not appear to have thought that the truth would come out. There was no indication, at that point, as to who might be giving evidence to this Committee; or that Ms Loh and Mr Nathan might, in particular, be giving evidence. The 3 Senior WP leaders appear to have wanted to control the narrative, and use the DP proceedings to put the blame solely and squarely on Ms Khan, and avoid any scrutiny of their own role, and the advice they had given to Ms Khan. The WP members who were invited to make submissions on Ms Khan's punishment, were not aware that Ms Khan had in fact admitted the falsehoods to the 3 Senior WP leaders, and that her repetition of the Untruth was months after she had confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan said that this omission was self-serving.<sup>364</sup> Mr Nathan agreed that this incomplete picture would lead to the WP members having a very biased and jaundiced view.<sup>365</sup> The Committee agrees with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan's observations.
- 166. It is untenable for the 3 Senior WP leaders to take the position that their own involvement (and hence Ms Khan's earlier admission to them of the Untruth) is irrelevant.<sup>366</sup>
- 167. In the event, the blame was put solely on Ms Khan. She was told that she would either have to resign or she would be expelled from the WP.<sup>367</sup> The 3 Senior WP leaders suppressed facts relating to their own involvement until it became inevitable that the facts would come out anyway. They called a press conference to disclose their involvement, when they knew that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> See paragraph 93(2)-(3) above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [3065]-[3072].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> See paragraph 93 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> See paragraph 96 above.

same information was going to be disclosed to the Committee; and at almost exactly the same time as when Ms Loh was giving evidence to the Committee and disclosing the 3 Senior WP leaders' involvement and knowledge of the matters. If it had not been disclosed at the Committee proceedings, their involvement would in all likelihood not have been uncovered (since Mr Singh considered it irrelevant to disclose his or Ms Lim / Mr Faisal's involvement).

# IX. ALLEGATIONS ON MS KHAN'S MENTAL HEALTH

- 168. We will briefly consider the allegations in respect of Ms Khan's mental health it goes towards assessing the credibility and reliability of the evidence.
- 169. As noted above, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal made various assertions about Ms Khan's mental state before this Committee. Mr Singh suggested that Ms Khan's alleged Dissociation could have caused her to make the statement, "take the information to the grave". 368
- 170. The position that Mr Singh took before the Committee is at odds with his conduct at the relevant time. There was nothing that suggested that Mr Singh had any doubts about Ms Khan's ability to perform her functions as a MP properly.<sup>369</sup>
- 171. Ms Khan denied the allegations about her mental health. She also expressed her disquiet that such allegations had been made.<sup>370</sup>
- 172. Ms Khan nevertheless agreed to an independent evaluation of her mental state.
- 173. She was assessed by Dr Cheok, Acting Chief of the Department of Forensic Psychiatry, and a Senior Consultant at the Institute of Mental Health (paragraph 108 above).
- 174. Dr Cheok was clear: the allegations about Ms Khan's mental state are without basis.<sup>371</sup> The evidence is dealt with in more detail in **Appendix II** (Summary of Dr Cheok's evidence).
- 175. This Committee accepts Dr Cheok's evidence. He was the only expert who gave evidence on this matter, and was clear and credible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> See paragraphs 100 – 104 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> See paragraphs 41-42, and 105 above.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 370}$  See paragraphs 106-107 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> See paragraph 108 above.

- 176. We consider it regrettable that Mr Singh made allegations about Ms Khan's mental health. It was particularly regrettable, in part, because: -
  - (1) Mr Singh has been the person, untruthful to this Committee, on the key points, as to what had happened.
  - (2) He put the entire blame on Ms Khan when, in fact, she had, from 8 Aug, followed his advice (Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had also advised her); and on 3 Oct he had essentially repeated his advice and she followed that advice on 4 Oct.
  - (3) Mr Singh falsely accused Ms Khan of lying.
  - (4) Mr Singh then alleged that Ms Khan had mental health problems and suggested that she (rather than he), was pre-disposed to lying.<sup>372</sup> Mr Singh essentially made unsubstantiated allegations, that Ms Khan was unstable and unreliable because of her mental health and that this was connected to her being a sexual assault victim.
  - (5) He used the mental health issues as a smear against Ms Khan, to explain away his own conduct and lies to this Committee. His statements are also an affront to sexual assault victims in general.

## X. ALLEGATIONS AGAINST MS LOH AND MR NATHAN

- 177. Mr Singh also made allegations against Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. We will briefly consider these allegations these go towards assessing the credibility and reliability of the evidence.
- 178. Mr Singh was asked why Ms Loh and Mr Nathan were left with the impression that Mr Singh had given a choice to Ms Khan on 3 Oct (as to whether she should keep to the Untruth or not), based on what Mr Singh had recounted to them (Ms Loh and Mr Nathan) on 12 Oct.
- 179. Mr Singh said that they had a "skewed impression". He said that they could have lied in their evidence to the Committee (regarding what Mr Singh recounted to them on 12 Oct), "out of loyalty" to Ms Khan.<sup>373</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> See paragraph 104 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9139]-[9140] and [9460]-[9465].

180. The Committee finds Ms Loh and Mr Nathan to be truthful witnesses. They had little to gain by lying, and much to lose by telling the truth.

#### 181. The Committee notes that:

- (1) Ms Loh had previously been Mr Singh's Secretarial Assistant<sup>374</sup> and is a cadre member.<sup>375</sup> Mr Singh has spoken about Ms Loh in glowing terms.<sup>376</sup>
- (2) Mr Nathan is a cadre member of the WP, and worked for WP MPs at various points in time. He was also featured in the WP's General Election 2020 video.<sup>377</sup>
- (3) Both are highly regarded and trusted by the WP leadership.
- 182. Ms Loh testified that she has been a member of the WP for 10 years, and "gave the cause a reasonable amount of her personal time and youth". She appreciated the ramifications of what she shared and it obviously pained her greatly. But to her, beyond anything else, she felt it was important to tell the truth for the sake of the country.<sup>378</sup> Ms Loh teared up as she said this.
- 183. Mr Nathan said that it pained him to say it, but he agreed that: (1) the composition of the DP was self-serving;<sup>379</sup> and (2) the WP senior leadership should have informed the public of the details that they knew, when Mr Singh's statement on 1 Nov was issued.<sup>380</sup>
- 184. It is regrettable that Mr Singh attacked those two young persons, who spoke the truth. It is quite un-Parliamentary, and quite shameful conduct, on the part of Mr Singh, to accuse them of lying. The Committee accepts the evidence of Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. The Committee finds Ms Loh and Mr Nathan to be honest and credible in their testimony. Their testimony is consistent with contemporaneous evidence, and conduct. Mr Singh's testimony is not consistent with his conduct or the contemporaneous evidence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10832]-[10833].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10838]-[10839].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10828]-[10833].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2602]-[2625].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [2515]-[2517].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [3070]-[3072].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Yudhishthra Nathan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 3 Dec, para [3021]-[3022].

185. Mr Singh casts aspersions on Ms Khan (in respect of her mental health); and on Ms Loh and Mr Nathan (alleging that they were liars). He did so, in an attempt to save himself, and avoid responsibility for his own conduct.

## XI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## A. Conclusions

- 186. Based on the above, including the contemporaneous material, the Committee reached the following conclusions.
- 187. On <u>7 Aug</u>, Ms Khan told Mr Singh that what she had said in Parliament on 3 Aug was a lie. She also told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan about the Untruth and called it one of the worst things she had done in her life.<sup>382</sup>
- 188. On <u>8 Aug</u>, Ms Khan confessed to all the 3 Senior WP leaders, and told them that she had told the Untruth in Parliament on 3 Aug.<sup>383</sup> She was told to continue with the Untruth, and if she were not pressed, to "*retain the narrative that she began in August*". Specifically, Mr Singh told Ms Khan to "*take it to the grave*", i.e., take the Untruth to the grave.<sup>384</sup>
- 189. On 10 Aug, Mr Singh met Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on a separate matter. Mr Singh confirmed to them that he was aware that Ms Khan had told the Untruth in Parliament.<sup>385</sup>
- 190. Between <u>8 Aug and 3 Oct</u>, there was no further discussion between any of the 3 Senior WP leaders (either amongst themselves, or with Ms Khan), about how and when to clarify the Untruth and no preparations were made to clarify the Untruth.<sup>386</sup> This was consistent with the instructions that Ms Khan was given, on 8 Aug, not to pursue the matter further.<sup>387</sup>
- 191. On <u>3 Oct</u>, Mr Singh went to Ms Khan's house. He told her that the matter may arise in Parliament the next day. He guided her towards continuing with the Untruth. Mr Singh told Ms Khan that if she were to retain or continue with the narrative (the Untruth), "there would be no judgement"

 $<sup>^{381}</sup>$  See paragraphs 168-176 above.

 $<sup>^{382}</sup>$  See paragraphs 21 - 23 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> See paragraph 25 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> See Part 2, Section VIII above. In particular, see paragraphs 126 – 138 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> See paragraph 35 above.

 $<sup>^{386}</sup>$  See paragraph 37 and 134-135 above; See **Schedule**, paragraphs 34-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> See Part 2, Section VIII above.

on her.<sup>388</sup> Both Mr Singh and Ms Khan proceeded thereafter, on the basis that she will repeat the Untruth, if the matter arose, in Parliament.

- 192. On <u>4 Oct</u>, Ms Khan was asked by Minister Shanmugam about her previous statement in Parliament. When this happened, she texted Mr Singh to seek guidance again, on what she should do, but he did not answer her immediately. She repeated the Untruth, based on Mr Singh's assurance the previous day that he would not judge her, if she continued with the Untruth.<sup>389</sup> Thereafter: -
  - (1) Later that afternoon, Ms Lim met Ms Khan at about 3 pm (4 Oct), for a short meeting. Ms Lim told Ms Khan to seek legal advice, on any potential request by the Police for assistance. Ms Lim did not ask Ms Khan why she (Ms Khan), had repeated the Untruth, or tell Ms Khan that she had to clarify the truth.<sup>390</sup>
  - (2) Mr Singh and Ms Lim met Ms Khan later that night at 11.15 pm (4 Oct). Ms Khan suggested "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth". Neither Mr Singh nor Ms Lim told her to tell the truth. Mr Singh says that he did not know what Ms Khan meant; and this was Ms Khan's own thinking of the matter and mea culpa on her part.<sup>391</sup> The Committee does not accept this evidence from Mr Singh.
- 193. On <u>7 Oct</u>, Ms Khan forwarded a Police request to interview her, to the 3 Senior WP leaders. In the email, Ms Khan thanked the 3 Senior WP leaders for "*guiding me through this without judgement*" (emphasis added).<sup>392</sup> This is further corroboration that her conduct after 8 Aug, including her repetition of the Untruth, was in accordance with what the 3 Senior WP leaders had advised her.

#### 194. By <u>12 Oct</u>:

(1) Mr Singh and Ms Lim had concluded that the matter was not going to go away. <sup>393</sup> The Government had made that clear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> See Part 2, Section VIII above. In particular, see paragraphs 139 – 167 above.

<sup>389</sup> See paragraphs 60 - 64 above.

 $<sup>^{390}</sup>$  See paragraphs 65-68 and 149 above; see **Schedule**, paragraphs 120-124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> See paragraphs 69 - 74 above; see **Schedule**, paragraphs 125 – 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> See paragraph 78 and 142(13) above; see **Schedule**, paragraphs 95-100.

 $<sup>^{393}</sup>$  See paragraphs 83 - 84, and 155 above.

- (2) Ms Khan met with Mr Singh and Ms Lim. At the meeting, Ms Lim and Mr Singh told Ms Khan directly (for the first time), to clarify the Untruth in Parliament, because the matter was not going to go away.<sup>394</sup> After the meeting, Ms Khan told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan that she had decided to clarify the truth, in accordance with Ms Lim and Mr Singh's latest guidance.<sup>395</sup>
- (3) Ms Loh requested to meet with Mr Singh to discuss what Ms Khan should say in Parliament, and how she should convey the truth. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met with Mr Singh later that meeting (on 12 Oct.) At the meeting, Mr Singh recounted that he told Ms Khan on 3 Oct (the day before the 4 Oct Parliament sitting) that:<sup>396</sup>
  - (a) He had a feeling Ms Khan's statement (made on 3 Aug) might come up in Parliament again. And Ms Khan might be pressed about this issue.
  - (b) He told Ms Khan, "I will not judge you".
- (4) Ms Loh and Mr Nathan understood from Mr Singh that Mr Singh had left it to Ms Khan, and Ms Khan could continue with the Untruth.
- 195. Thereafter, Ms Khan worked with Mr Singh, Ms Lim, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, to prepare her clarification for Parliament. Her draft clarification was also reviewed by the 3 Senior WP leaders, and also by the WP CEC. She delivered it on <u>1 Nov</u>, confessing to the Untruth that she had told on both 3 Aug and 4 Oct.<sup>397</sup>
- 196. Mr Singh issued a statement on the same day (<u>1 Nov</u>), noting, *inter alia*, that Ms Khan's decision to set the record straight in Parliament, was the correct thing to do. In the statement, there was no mention of his (or Ms Lim / Mr Faisal's) involvement in or knowledge of this matter.<sup>398</sup>
- 197. The WP issued a press statement on <u>2 Nov</u> saying that a DP would be convened to consider Ms Khan's conduct. The DP, comprised Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal. Party members were also invited to come forward to share their views.<sup>399</sup>

 $<sup>^{394}</sup>$  See paragraph 84 - 86 and 156 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> See paragraph 87(1) above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> See paragraph 59 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> See paragraphs 87 - 88 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> See paragraphs 89 - 90 and 161 above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> See paragraphs 91-92 above.

- 198. Considered in entirety, the manner in which the DP undertook its work shows that it was a self-serving process, engineered by the 3 Senior WP leaders (particularly Mr Singh, as the Secretary-General of the WP), to:<sup>400</sup>
  - (1) suppress the fact that they had known about Ms Khan's Untruth in Parliament for 3 months;
  - (2) cover up their role, in advising her (on 8 Aug) to continue with the Untruth and avoid any scrutiny of their own conduct;
  - (3) cover up Mr Singh's role, when on 3 Oct, he guided Ms Khan to continue with the Untruth on 4 Oct; and
  - (4) put the blame entirely on Ms Khan.<sup>401</sup>
- 199. (1) Mr Singh proposed to the WP CEC that the DP comprise of himself, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal. He failed to disclose, either at the time the DP was constituted or thereafter, their personal involvement in the Untruth, and the nature/extent of guidance that Ms Khan had been given, from as early as 8 Aug, to continue with the Untruth. His explanations (as well as those offered by Ms Lim and Mr Faisal) as to why these facts were not disclosed are without merit. Hos
  - (2) As a consequence, WP Members who came forward to share their views with the DP therefore did so, without the full and material facts. The 3 Senior WP leaders must have known that this would cast Ms Khan in a worse light.<sup>404</sup>
  - (3) Ms Loh and Mr Nathan were also disappointed by how the 3 Senior WP leaders conducted the DP, because the 3 Senior WP leaders (particularly Mr Singh), concealed material facts as to their own knowledge and involvement in Ms Khan's Untruth.<sup>405</sup>
  - (4) The 3 Senior WP leaders were confronted by Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. They told the 3 Senior WP leaders to tell members the truth, particularly about Mr Singh's role and involvement. 406

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> See paragraphs 163-167 above; see **Schedule**, paragraphs 140 - 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> See **Schedule**, paragraphs 162 – 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> See **Schedule**, paragraphs 151-161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> See **Schedule**, paragraphs 172 – 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> See paragraph 165 above; See **Schedule**, paragraphs 151 - 161.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 405}$  See paragraphs 93(2)-(3) and 165 above; See **Schedule**, paragraphs 165 - 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> See paragraph 94 and 162 above; See **Schedule**, paragraphs 165-171.

- (5) The 3 Senior WP leaders disregarded that and continued to withhold the full facts from the CEC and the rest of the WP membership.
- (6) The involvement of the 3 Senior WP leaders was disclosed for the first time, on 2 Dec, the same day (and at about the same time), as when this information was given to this Committee by Ms Loh.<sup>407</sup>
- 200. The Committee notes the various comments that Mr Singh made, concerning Ms Khan's mental state, and suggesting that it was Ms Khan's mental condition that had led her to give evidence that was untrue. Mr Singh's allegations were rejected by Dr Cheok, the acting Chief of the Department of Forensic Psychiatry, and a Senior Consultant at the Institute of Mental Health. 408
- 201. The Committee also notes that the 3 Senior WP leaders did not produce any contemporaneous evidence which supports their version of the disputed facts. This was despite them being specifically asked by this Committee to produce all documents in their possession or under their control with respect to: (1) any discussion, instruction, inquiry or communication relating to the Untruth spoken by Ms Khan in Parliament on 3 Aug and 4 Oct; and (2) any discussion, instruction, inquiry or communication relating to Ms Khan's 1 Nov personal explanation.
- 202. The lack of documents raises questions. If they had intended that the truth be told, it would be reasonable to expect that there would be some emails, or documentation. But there was not a shred of objectively verifiable, contemporaneous evidence which supports the position taken by the 3 Senior WP leaders. In contrast, Ms Khan and Ms Loh have produced evidence (including their WhatsApp exchanges) that independently and contemporaneously corroborate their actions at the material time. At material junctures, Ms Khan, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan kept each other updated about their discussions with Mr Singh, Ms Lim and/or Mr Faisal, and these updates cohere with the contemporaneous events and conduct.

## B. Recommendations

203. We will now set out our recommendations based on the above Conclusions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> See paragraph 98 above; See **Schedule**, paragraphs 151 - 161.

<sup>408</sup> See paragraph 108 above.

## (1) Ms Khan

# (a) Abuse of privilege by Ms Khan

- 204. This Committee **Finds Ms Khan Guilty of Abuse of Privilege**. Ms Khan told the Untruth on 3 August. She then repeated the Untruth on 4 October. This is not disputed.
- 205. The Committee considers that Ms Khan had acted with disregard for the dignity and decorum of the House in making a serious allegation against the Police in Parliament, that was untrue in some parts, and was unsubstantiated.
- 206. From 8 Aug onwards, Ms Khan was acting under the guidance of the 3 Senior WP leaders, to keep to the Untruth, and that on 3 Oct she was given further guidance, by Mr Singh, to keep to the Untruth. She was therefore not solely responsible for repeating the Untruth on 4 Oct, in Parliament. But she nevertheless cannot be completely absolved from liability either for repeating the Untruth. She remains liable.
- 207. She came clean, on 1 Nov, after she was told to do so, by Mr Singh and Ms Lim (on 12 Oct).
- 208. The Committee recommends that Parliament find Ms Khan guilty of abuse of privilege, for each of the Untruths spoken in Parliament on 3 Aug (twice) and 4 Oct.

## (b) Appropriate sanctions

- 209. The Committee next turns to consider the appropriate penalties that it should recommend to Parliament, for each of the instances where Ms Raeesah Khan had told the Untruth in Parliament. 409
- 210. This question has to be considered against precedent cases, and also taking into account the particular circumstances of this case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> Under Section 20 of the Parliament (Privileges, Immunities and Powers) Act, for any abuse of Parliamentary privilege by a Member of Parliament, Parliament may –

<sup>(</sup>a) commit the Member of Parliament to prison for a term not extending beyond the current session of Parliament;

<sup>(</sup>b) impose upon her a fine not exceeding the sum of \$50,000;

<sup>(</sup>c) suspend her from the service of Parliament for the remainder of the current session of Parliament or for any part thereof; and

<sup>(</sup>d) direct that she be reprimanded or admonished by the Speaker.

- 211. We first consider the relevant precedent penalties imposed by the Committee for previous breaches of Parliamentary privilege and/or making false or unsubstantiated allegations in Parliament
  - (1) In 1996, Parliament endorsed the Report of the Committee of Privileges (Parl 6 of 1996) which had been presented to Parliament on 22 Nov 1996, and imposed a fine of \$25,000 on Dr Chee Soon Juan from the Singapore Democratic Party for fabricating data, falsifying documents, committing perjury, prevaricating and giving false answers to mislead the Select Committee on Verification of Health Care Subsidy of Government Polyclinics and Public Hospitals.
    - (a) All throughout the episode, Dr Chee neither admitted nor accepted responsibility for his actions.
    - (b) Other SDP members received lesser fines because, unlike Dr Chee, they did not prepare the written representations and charts that contained the falsehoods.
    - (c) Dr Chee and the SDP members were not Members of Parliament at the time, but had made representations to the Select Committee as members of the public. So this was a case of lying to Parliament rather than abuse of Parliamentary Privilege.
  - (2) In 1987, the Committee of Privileges concluded that then-Member of Parliament, the late Mr J.B. Jeyaratnam, had abused Parliamentary privilege by persistently making unsubstantiated allegations in Parliament and during the Committee of Supply hearing. These related to speeches made on 5 occasions in the House and before the Committee alleging executive interference in the judiciary, 410 and on 2 occasions alleging the wrongful arrest and detention of one Mr Lim Poh Huat. 411

Parliament endorsed the findings and recommendations of the Committee of Privileges on both these sets of allegations, and as Mr Jeyaratnam was no longer a Member of Parliament at that time, it decided to impose the maximum fine permitted under the law at the time, which before 6 Sep 1986 was \$1000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> First Report of the Committee of Privileges (Parl. 3 of 1987) presented to Parliament on 21 Jan 1987

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> Third Report of the Committee of Privileges (Parl. 6 of 1987) presented to Parliament on 16 Mar 1987

- 212. The Committee found the precedent involving allegations about Mr Lim Poh Huat most apposite to our current deliberations.
  - (1) In that 1987 case, Mr Jeyaratnam had alleged in Parliament that Mr Lim had been wrongfully arrested and detained by the Police.
  - (2) The Minister had asked Mr Jeyaratnam for particulars so that the matter could be investigated, but the latter did not provide any. Nine days later, the allegations were repeated in Parliament and further requests by the Minister of State for Home Affairs to Mr Jeyaratnam for specific details went unheeded, except that Mr Jeyaratnam claimed that he had filed a Police report about the matter. It turned out that there had been no such arrest made, and Mr Jeyaratnam had not made any Police report whatsoever. These allegations tarnished the reputation of the Singapore Police Force. Parliament imposed the maximum fine permitted under law at the time.
- 213. In the case of Ms Raeesah Khan, she had told the Untruth on 3 Aug and 4 Oct 2021. On 1 Nov 2021, she came clean through a Personal Explanation before Parliament.
- 214. In our view, based on the precedents above, as well as our assessment of the specific circumstances of this case, we make the following recommendations.
- 215. It is a serious matter to lie in Parliament. This undermines the integrity of the parliamentary process and system. Privileges are accorded to every Parliamentarian, but it is a serious breach of that privilege to lie. In the present case, Ms Khan spoke the Untruth on two occasions, on 3 Aug and 4 Oct. Each of these occasions is a breach and must be considered in turn by this Committee.

# i. Untruth on 3 Aug 2021

- 216. Ms Khan accepts that she spoke the Untruth on 3 Aug<sup>412</sup>, and repeated it in a subsequent clarification on the same day. At this point in time, only Ms Khan was aware that what she said was untrue. She must therefore take full and sole responsibility for the Untruth on 3 Aug (twice).
- 217. We recommend that a fine of \$25,000 be imposed on Ms Khan for the Untruth on 3 Aug (twice).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> Ms Khan had also added the Untruth in her parliamentary speech at a late stage. Mr Singh had also circled the anecdote and asked Ms Khan to substantiate, but she did not respond. (See Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1888]-[1897], Sylvia Lim Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12920] and Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [11646].)

# ii. Untruth on 4 Oct 2021

- 218. As for the repetition of the Untruth on 4 Oct by Ms Khan, we recommend that a fine of S\$10,000 be imposed on Ms Khan (which is less than the \$25,000 recommended for the original Untruth on 3 Aug). This recommendation for a lesser amount of fine, takes into account the findings which we have reached: -
  - (1) that as from 8 Aug, Ms Khan had acted in accordance with the guidance of the 3 Senior WP leaders.
    - (a) From 8 Aug, Ms Khan was acting on the advice of the 3 Senior WP leaders, to bury the Untruth.
    - (b) On 3 Oct she was guided by Mr Singh to continue with the Untruth and that she would not be judged, and that is why she repeated the Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct.
    - (c) When she was advised to tell the truth on 12 Oct, she proceeded to do so at the next Parliamentary sitting.
  - (2) The Committee accepts the above as a substantial mitigating factor, to be taken into account when considering the appropriate penalty to be imposed in respect of the Untruth on 4 Oct.

## 219. This Committee also takes into account that:

- (1) Ms Khan has resigned from Parliament.
- (2) She had confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders about the Untruth on 8 Aug. She was not told that she should have told the truth and clarify in Parliament immediately at the next sitting when the 3 Senior WP leaders ought to know that it is the right action to take.
- (3) Instead, as a first-time MP, she has relied on the wrong advice given to her by the 3 Senior WP leaders to (a) "take the information to the grave"; and (b) carry on with the Untruth on 4 Oct when she was questioned in Parliament.

- (4) Her conduct and evidence show that if she had been advised on 8 Aug, to come clean, she would have done so.
- (5) We also recognise that her mental health has been unfairly and publicly attacked, in particular, by Mr Singh.
- 220. Ordinarily, <u>repeating an untruth</u> should carry <u>a higher penalty</u>. However, a lower amount has been recommended because of the mitigating circumstances as stated above.

# C. The 3 Senior WP Leaders

- 221. The Committee's findings above raise questions about the conduct of the 3 Senior WP leaders. In particular, they raise two related issues:
  - (1) First, if the 3 Senior WP leaders guided Ms Khan to repeat the Untruth on 4 Oct, then such conduct is dishonourable (unbecoming of a parliamentarian), and a contempt of Parliament. This is not a matter which is within this Committee's present remit. It is for Parliament to decide whether to consider this issue at an appropriate stage. We recommend that Parliament does so: (a) <u>after</u> the Public Prosecutor has completed his consideration and assessment of the second issue (which we set out below); and (b) <u>after</u> appropriate steps (if any), are taken.
  - (2) Second, in reaching our findings above, we are satisfied that Mr Singh (and to a lesser extent, Mr Faisal and Ms Lim), have been untruthful in their evidence, under oath, to this Committee. This may amount to perjury, a serious criminal offence, in respect of which, various consequences could follow. We elaborate on that below.
- 222. It is beyond the purview of this Committee to specifically recommend that any Penalty be imposed on the 3 Senior WP leaders for their conduct. Parliament, however, has the power to consider what should be done, and impose appropriate sanctions in the context of our Findings and Conclusions.
- 223. Under Section 21 of the Parliament (Privileges, Immunities and Powers) Act 1962 (P(PIP)A), if it is alleged or appears that any person has committed any offence for dishonorable conduct, abuse of privilege or contempt on the part of a Member of Parliament, Parliament may:

- (1) If the offence is alleged to have been or has apparently been committed in the view of Parliament or in the precincts thereof when Parliament is sitting or in any committee, deal with the matter summarily, and, if satisfied that the person is guilty of the offence, inflict all or any of the punishments provided in <u>Section 20</u> of <u>P(PIP)A</u>;
- (2) Refer the matter to any select committee for investigation, consideration and report to Parliament; or
- (3) If the offence is an offence mentioned in <u>Part 5</u> of <u>P(PIP)A</u>, refer the matter to the Public Prosecutor with a view to the institution of criminal proceedings against the person.
- 224. Since the Committee has seen and heard the 3 Senior WP leaders, we respectfully set out our views, to assist Parliament in its deliberations, insofar as Parliament may find them useful: -
  - (1) There may be little purpose in having the 3 Senior WP leaders being sent to another Committee of Privileges. It is unlikely that another Committee of Privileges will make much progress, in itself, in uncovering more evidence.
  - (2) Parliament, can take action of its own accord, under <u>Section 21</u> of <u>P(PIP)A</u>, read with <u>Section 31(q)</u><sup>413</sup> of <u>P(PIP)A</u>, based on our Report that they have lied.
- 225. We will add the following observations, on the respective testimonies of the 3 Senior WP leaders, to assist Parliament, in considering how it should proceed.
- 226. Ms Lim and Mr Faisal appear to have played a relatively subsidiary role in the matter. 414 Ms Lim and Mr Faisal attended the 8 Aug meeting. They agreed (to Mr Singh's advice) that the Untruth should be buried, and that Ms Khan will not have to tell the truth. They did not tell the truth to this Committee about that meeting.
- 227. On the evidence before us, Mr Singh appears to have played the key and leading role in guiding Ms Khan in respect of the Untruth. He was, by all accounts, the key orchestrator of the

31. No person shall -

. . . .

<sup>413</sup> Offences

<sup>(</sup>q) whether or not he has been sworn or has made an affirmation, wilfully make a false answer to any question material to the subject of inquiry put during examination before Parliament or a committee;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> We say this, obviously based only on the evidence before us; we cannot rule out that other evidence may emerge hereafter which may cast a different light on what happened, as between the 3 Senior WP leaders. We have already remarked that they produced very little documentation.

circumstances which led to the 4 Oct Untruth. Based on what was presented to the Committee, Mr Singh appears to have been the operating brain, the key reason:

- (1) why the Untruth was not clarified immediately after 8 Aug; and
- (2) why Ms Khan repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct.
- 228. Mr Singh was the only WP leader who guided Ms Khan on what to do on 4 Oct, in Parliament. We have set out our findings on this above, at **Part 2**, **Section VIII** and **Section XI(A)**.
- 229. Should Parliament consider taking any action or steps against Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, then we would recommend that a distinction be drawn between:
  - (1) Mr Singh;<sup>415</sup> and
  - (2) Ms Lim/ Mr Faisal.416

The reason for drawing the distinction, is based on the respective (different), roles they played and their different conduct.

230. Given that we have observed the witnesses and testimony, we will also set out our views on the possible actions and steps that Parliament can consider.

# (1) Mr Singh

231. Based on the evidence before this Committee, we are satisfied that Mr Singh had told untruths to this Committee. Parliament is empowered to summarily decide on the matter, <sup>417</sup> and also decide on the appropriate sanctions based on our findings. However, we recommend that Parliament refers Mr Singh's conduct to the Public Prosecutor, with a view to consider the institution of criminal proceedings. <sup>418</sup> We would also recommend that Parliament consider deferring any action to be taken in respect of the possible dishonourable conduct and contempt of Parliament until criminal proceedings, if any, are complete.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> See paragraphs 231-233 below.

<sup>416</sup> See paragraphs 234-239 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> Section 21(1)(a) of P(PIP)A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>418</sup> Section 21(1)(c) of P(PIP)A.

- 232. The legislative scheme is such that Parliament has been given the powers to deal with unacceptable conduct in a Parliamentary context. Parliament does not have to refer the matter to the Public Prosecutor, for further criminal sanctions. Parliament itself has the power to impose sanctions, including custodial sentences, fines, and other sanctions. The default position is that Parliament should deal with matters that arise in a Parliamentary context.
- 233. Nevertheless, we suggest that Parliament consider referring Mr Singh to the Public Prosecutor, in this matter. We do so for the following reasons: -
  - (1) We are satisfied, on the evidence, that Mr Singh lied on affirmation; and Parliament can impose sanctions on Mr Singh based on our Findings.
  - (2) However, given the seriousness of the matter, it appears to us best, in this case, that it be dealt with through a trial process, rather than by Parliament alone. In that way:
    - (a) the Public Prosecutor will have the opportunity to consider all the evidence afresh, and also consider any evidence that this Committee may not have considered, (for example, if such evidence has not been presented to this Committee, but emerges subsequently) before deciding whether criminal charges should be brought against Mr Singh;
    - (b) Mr Singh will have the opportunity to defend and vindicate himself, with legal counsel, if criminal charges are brought; and
    - (c) a court can look at the matter afresh, and consider any further evidence that may emerge, and decide whether any charge(s) have been proven, or not proven, beyond reasonable doubt.

# (2) Ms Lim and Mr Faisal

234. Based on the evidence available to us, we are likewise satisfied that Ms Lim and Mr Faisal have lied about the 8 Aug meeting. As stated earlier, it is however our view that they, played a subsidiary role as compared to Mr Singh. We would also add that Ms Lim and Mr Faisal have each been somewhat helpful to the Committee, albeit in a limited way. Parliament could therefore consider itself dealing with their conduct, at an appropriate time. We suggest that consideration of what, if anything should be done (in respect of their conduct) be deferred until Mr Singh's position is clarified: after consideration by the Public Prosecutor; and the completion

of criminal proceedings if any. We explain below how Ms Lim and Mr Faisal have been helpful.<sup>419</sup>

# (a) Ms Lim's evidence

- 235. There were aspects of Ms Lim's testimony before this Committee which were useful, and which this Committee takes into account (while the Committee also finds that Ms Lim did not tell the truth on some other aspects).
- 236. In finding that Mr Singh guided Ms Khan towards continuing with the Untruth on 3 Oct, one of the pieces of evidence was Ms Lim's 29 Nov DP Notes. Ms Lim had recorded in her DP Notes that Mr Singh had asked Ms Khan, "Before Oct session, I met you + told you it was your call..."
- 237. The Committee only came to know of this after Ms Lim produced her DP notes to this Committee on 13 Dec.
  - (1) Ms Lim produced them voluntarily. The Committee had not previously been aware of the DP Notes.
  - (2) She referred the Committee specifically to the part of the DP Notes, which showed Mr Singh saying, on 29 Nov to Ms Khan, that on 3 Oct he gave her a choice whether to tell the truth.
  - (3) Ms Lim, a lawyer and Chairman of the WP, would have appreciated the effect of such evidence. It would be, and was, extremely damaging to the testimony given by Mr Singh it directly contradicted Mr Singh's evidence that he did not give Ms Khan a choice. 420
  - (4) Ms Lim was clear in her testimony that a choice to tell the truth cannot be given to the WP MPs (an obvious point). That was also directly contrary to what Mr Singh had done, and Ms Lim recognized that. Lim 122

<sup>419</sup> See paragraphs 235-239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>420</sup> Ms Lim said she was on a news block-out (for a few days preceding the day she gave evidence to this Committee on 13 Dec), and was not aware of Mr Singh's evidence (given on 10 Dec) (Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12945]). But Mr Singh had made public statements, including at the WP Press Conference (on 2 Dec) where Ms Lim was present, suggesting that he did not give Ms Khan a choice on 3 Oct, as to whether she should clarify the truth in Parliament on 4 Oct.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12554].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>422</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12936]-[12945].

238. The fact that Ms Lim was prepared to voluntarily tender this evidence, damaging to the Leader of her Party, would be relevant and should be taken into account (in the Committee's respectful view), by Parliament, in assessing Ms Lim's position. Her DP Notes put the position quite clearly.

# (b) Mr Faisal's evidence

239. The Committee has pointed out that Mr Faisal was honest enough to agree that the 3 Senior WP leaders' conduct made no sense if they had wanted the truth to be told. He also agreed that he had no logical explanations for his conduct. He was struggling between having to lie to the Committee, and the actual truth. He chose to keep to some of the lie, while also admitting that he made no logical sense.

# (3) Mr Faisal's contumelious refusal to answer the Committee's questions

- 240. When Mr Faisal gave evidence, he said that he met with Mr Singh and Ms Lim on 7 and 8 Dec (two days prior to him giving evidence to the Committee) for 2-3 hours on each day. When asked about these meetings, and the material which Mr Singh and Ms Lim brought along to the meetings, Mr Faisal informed the Committee four times, 424 that he would not answer the question. He refused to answer, despite being reminded that he had been called before the Committee to assist with its investigations, which the documents may shed light on.
- 241. The Committee explained to Mr Faisal that a refusal to answer the Committee's questions **would** amount to an offence and constitute a contempt of Parliament, <sup>425</sup> Despite that, Mr Faisal confirmed that the Committee should place on record that he was refusing to answer that question. <sup>426</sup> He also repeated four more times <sup>427</sup> that he would not be answering the question.
- 242. We find this surprising. Section 14 of the  $\underline{P(PIP)A}$  is in the following terms:

# Witnesses may be examined on oath or affirmation

14. Parliament or a committee may —

<sup>423</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4921]-[4929].

<sup>424</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4965], [4971], [4973] and [4983].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>425</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4986].

<sup>426</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4994]-[4996].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [5000], [5006], [5012] and [5016]

- (a) require that any facts, matters and things relating to the subject of inquiry before Parliament or the committee be verified or otherwise ascertained by the oral examination of witnesses; and
- (b) cause the witnesses to be examined upon oath, or if the witnesses so desire, upon affirmation, which the Speaker or the Clerk or the chairman of the committee or the clerk to the committee may administer.

# 243. Under Section 31 of P(PIP)A, it is an offence to:

"(m) refuse to be examined before or to answer any lawful or relevant question put by or to produce any paper, book, record or document in his possession or under his control required by Parliament or any committee unless the refusal is based on privilege or is excused;

(n) prevaricate or otherwise misconduct himself as a witness before Parliament or a committee".

- 244. Mr Faisal's refusal was flagrant and inexcusable.
- 245. Mr Faisal's refusal to answer suggests that he wanted to hide the truth he did not want the Committee to know what the documents were or what Mr Singh, Ms Lim and he were discussing, just the day before the start of the COP proceedings. He must know that his answer would be deeply embarrassing/incriminating.
- 246. The Committee is of the view that Mr Faisal's refusal to answer relevant questions put by the Committee (*viz.*, what material was brought by Mr Singh and Ms Lim to their meeting with Mr Faisal on 8 and 9 Dec, prior to Mr Faisal appearing before the Committee on 10 Dec) may amount to a contempt of Parliament. The Committee recommends that Mr Faisal be referred to the Public Prosecutor for further investigation into this matter.

# (4) **Summary of Recommendations**

- 247. In summary, the Committee's recommendations are that: -
  - (1) A fine of S\$25,000 be imposed on Ms Khan for stating the Untruth on 3 Aug.
  - (2) A lesser fine of S\$10,000 be imposed on Ms Khan for repeating the Untruth on 4 Oct.

- (3) Mr Singh be referred to the Public Prosecutor, for further investigations, with a view to considering if criminal proceedings ought to be instituted in respect of his conduct before the Committee.
- (4) Mr Faisal be referred to the Public Prosecutor for further investigations into his refusal to answer relevant questions put by the Committee, and consider if criminal proceedings ought to be instituted.
- (5) The issues regarding (a) Mr Singh's, Ms Lim's and/or Mr Faisal's respective roles as set out above, in relation to the Untruth; (b) Ms Lim / Mr Faisal's stating of untruths to this Committee on oath/affirmation; and (c) the appropriate sanctions be deferred until after the conclusion of the investigations and/or criminal proceedings against Mr Singh.
- 248. Parliament may wish to take into account the above views, when deliberating on the next steps.
- 249. We are required to come to conclusions under the reference made to this Committee. And for these purposes, we have set out our Conclusions.<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> Standing Order 100(7)(a)(i).

# **SCHEDULE**

I.	WH	AT DI	D THE 3 SENIOR WP LEADERS ADVISE MS KHAN TO DO?	79	
Α.	Ovei	rview o	f events between 8 Aug – 12 Oct 2021	79	
В.	Key Event: The discussion on 8 Aug 2021 between the 3 Senior WP leaders and Ms Khan, and contemporaneous evidence of the discussion				
	(1)	The o	discussion on 8 Aug 2021 between 3 Senior WP leaders and Ms Khan	83	
	(2)	Contemporaneous evidence of the 8 Aug 2021 discussion shows that the 3 Senior WI leaders are not telling the truth			
	(3)	Events between 8 Aug – 2 Oct 2021 show that Ms Khan was told, on 8 Aug 202 nue with the Untruth			
		(a)	13 Sep Parliamentary sitting	87	
			i. Mr Singh accepts that there was no intention to clarify the truth at the Sep Parliamentary sitting	87	
			ii. Mr Singh offered no credible explanation for not wanting the truth clarified, the Sep Parliamentary sitting		
			iii. During the period Aug – Sep, Ms Khan was carrying out her duties normally	y 88	
		(b)	Period between 13 Sep – 2 Oct	88	
С.			3 Oct 2021 Meeting between Mr Singh and Ms Khan - quite clear that Mr S. Khan to continue with the Untruth		
	(1)		Singh went to see Ms Khan, to specifically advise Ms Khan on what to say, at to 2021 Parliamentary sitting		
	(2)	Mr S	lingh did not tell Ms Khan to proactively clarify the truth on 4 Oct 2021	92	
		(a)	Mr Singh changed his evidence, when his earlier evidence became untenable	92	
		(b)	Mr Singh's evidence runs into some difficulties	93	
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		(d)	Mr Singh's explanations show that other parts of his evidence are also untrue	94	
		(e)	The Committee's views on Mr Singh's explanation	95	
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	(5)	What	t did Mr Singh say to Ms Khan, on 3 Oct 2021	98	
	(6)	Ms Lim's written DP Notes confirm that Mr Singh is not telling the truth about his 3 Oct 2021 conversation with Ms Khan			
		(a)	Ms Lim's Notes make clear what Mr Singh told Ms Khan on 3 Oct 2021	. 100	
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	(9)	Ms Lim's evidence contradicts what Mr Singh said about his discussion with Ms Kh 3 Oct 2021			
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# I. WHAT DID THE 3 SENIOR WP LEADERS ADVISE MS KHAN TO DO?

# A. Overview of events between 8 Aug – 12 Oct 2021

- 1. (1) It is not in dispute that after the 8 Aug meeting (when Ms Khan confessed to them, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal did not speak to Ms Khan again about her Untruth, or what was to be done to correct it. They did not speak with her, or prepare for any clarification to be made<sup>2</sup> even though all 3 Senior WP leaders agreed that it was important that the truth be clarified and that the clarification be done as soon as possible. 3
  - (2) Parliament next sat on 13 Sep. The 3 Senior WP leaders did not speak with Ms Khan about the matter before the Sep sitting; they did not ask her if she had told her parents, nor were any preparations made for clarifying the truth during the Sep sitting.<sup>4</sup>
  - (3) It is not disputed that there was no intention to clarify the truth at the Sep sitting.<sup>5</sup>
  - (4) The first time the matter was raised again was 8 weeks later, on the evening of 3 Oct. This was the evening before the 4 Oct Parliamentary sitting. Mr Singh went to Ms Khan's house, and told her that the matter might come up again the next day, (4 Oct), in Parliament.

# It is not disputed that:

- (a) if the matter was not raised by the Government, on 4 Oct, then Ms Khan did not have to clarify the truth;
- (b) Mr Singh **did not directly tell Ms Khan to tell the truth**, even if the matter was raised by the Government, on 4 Oct.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Report, at paragraph 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Report, at paragraph 37 and 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6109]-[6112] and [6159]-[6160]; Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, [7377]-[7378], [7285]-[7294] and [7067]-[7072]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12544]-[12545], [12015], [12327] and [12414].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Report, at paragraphs 37 and 39-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ms Khan confirmed that she left Mr Singh's home on 8 Aug with the understanding that if the matter did not come up, there was no need to clarify the Untruth. She did not attend the Sep sitting because she was diagnosed with shingles (Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1571]-[1580].). On 10 Dec, Mr Singh confirmed that he did not know about Ms Khan's shingles, until a few days before the Sep Parliament sitting. He agreed that there were no attempts made beforehand to speak to Ms Khan to clarify the truth at the Sep sitting. Ms Khan's shingles was not the reason for not taking steps to clarify the truth during the Sep session. (Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9671]-[9701])

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Report, at paragraph 49(2).

- (5) But if the matter was raised by the Government, on 4 Oct, then Mr Singh says it would have been "very clear" to Ms Khan, based on what he had said to her, that she should tell the truth, and that he did not give a choice to Ms Khan as to whether she should tell the truth.<sup>7</sup>
- (6) **Ms Khan disagrees**. She says that Mr Singh essentially told her to continue with the Untruth.

(The evidence on the events of 3 Oct have been set out at paragraphs 44 - 59 of the Report; Our assessment on what happened is below, at paragraphs 37 - 111.)

- (7) No preparatory steps were taken either before or after Mr Singh spoke with Ms Khan on 3 Oct, to prepare for Ms Khan to clarify the truth in Parliament the next day, 4 Oct. **This is not disputed**.<sup>8</sup>
- (8) The matter did come up on 4 Oct in Parliament. Ms Khan repeated her Untruth. The events of 4 Oct have been set out at paragraphs 60 74 of the Report.
- (9) The 3 Senior WP leaders knew that what Ms Khan had said to Minister Shanmugam, in Parliament on 4 Oct, was untrue, and that it was a repetition of her earlier Untruth. Mr Singh and Ms Lim knew because they were in Parliament when Ms Khan repeated the Untruth. Mr Faisal (who was not in Parliament when Ms Khan spoke), knew a little later, when he read about it, in the media.<sup>9</sup>
- (10) Mr Singh and Ms Lim did not ask Ms Khan why she had repeated the Untruth. Mr Singh did not say to Ms Khan that she had gone against his instructions. He is the Secretary General of the WP and going against his instructions, to repeat the Untruth in Parliament, would have been a most serious matter. But he never said that to her. That is not disputed.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Report, at paragraph 49(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Report, at paragraph 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Report, at paragraph 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Report, at paragraph 74.

(11) Ms Khan met Mr Faisal on 7 Oct (3 days after she had repeated the untruth in Parliament).

There was no discussion about the fact that Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct. 
Mr Faisal is the Vice Chairman of the WP. He was also a mentor to Ms Khan. 

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Mr Faisal said to this Committee, that he had wanted Ms Khan to tell the truth, and that it was important to clarify the truth.<sup>13</sup>

Mr Faisal also agreed that there was no logical explanation, why he did not raise the matter with Ms Khan, and ask her why she had repeated the Untruth.<sup>14</sup>

- (12) On 7 Oct, Ms Khan sent an email to the 3 Senior WP leaders, thanking them for "guiding [her] through [the matter] without judgement". She was thanking them, 3 days after she had repeated the Untruth in Parliament. None of them told her that she had done wrong. None of them responded to her. Ms Khan's email is obviously a reference to the advice she had been given on 8 Aug and 3 Oct, and a reference to everything that had happened, including her repetition of the Untruth and that she had acted in accordance with their guidance.
- (13) On 7 Oct, the Police wrote to Ms Khan, to seek her assistance to clarify her statements made in Parliament. See paragraph 78 of the Report on what happened. Ms Khan forwarded this Police request, together with her email of 7 Oct, to the 3 Senior WP leaders (referred to above).
- (14) By 7 Oct, it would have been apparent, based on the descriptions given in Ms Khan's statement made on 3 Aug, that the Government would be able to investigate and establish to some degree at least, whether Ms Khan was telling the truth. The Government had made it clear that the matter was going to be investigated.<sup>17</sup> It was not going to be dropped. There was also the distinct possibility that Ms Khan could be referred to a Committee of Privileges.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Report, at paragraph 80(4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [5761]-[5762].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [5540] and [6109]-[6113].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Report, at paragraph 80(4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Report, at paragraph 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Report, at paragraph 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "Allegation of Police Behaviour Towards Victim of Sexual Assault (Clarification sought by Minister for Home Affairs for speech made by Member", Official Report, 4 October 2021, Vol. 95, Issue 39, (Annex B4, pBB12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For affecting the privileges of Parliament, in telling an untruth to Parliament and/or being unable to substantiate allegations that Ms Khan had made.

Under paragraph 100(7)(b) of the Standing Orders of the Parliament of Singapore, whenever Parliament is sitting, any Member may rise at any time to make a complaint alleging a breach of privilege suddenly arising, and if the Speaker is satisfied that the matter complained of

- (15) On 12 Oct, it was agreed between Ms Khan, and Ms Lim and Mr Singh, that Ms Khan should tell the truth.<sup>19</sup> Ms Khan says that Mr Singh and Ms Lim told her that they had come to the view that the Government was not going to drop the matter. Mr Singh said that he told Ms Khan that the matter was not "going to go away" or be "left alone". <sup>20</sup>
- (16) Between 8 Aug (when Ms Khan confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders), and 12 Oct (when it was decided that Ms Khan should tell the truth), Mr Singh did not, at any point, check if Ms Khan had spoken to her parents about the issue and her having been sexually assaulted.<sup>21</sup> In fact, Mr Singh and Ms Lim told Ms Khan on 12 Oct that she would have to tell the truth in Parliament in Nov, without asking Ms Khan if she had told her parents yet (which she had not).<sup>22</sup>
- (17) After the decision was made on 12 Oct, several preparatory steps were taken, to prepare for Ms Khan's personal explanation in Parliament on 1 Nov. (See paragraph 87 of the Report.) Mr Singh and Ms Lim were directly involved in this process. None of these steps was taken before the Sep and Oct sittings.<sup>23</sup>

# 2. This overview of the events shows that:

- (1) After Ms Khan confessed the Untruth to the 3 Senior WP leaders on 8 Aug, there was no further substantive discussion of the matter. Ms Khan was not asked to clarify the truth.
- (2) There was also no discussion or even reference whatsoever by anyone to the Untruth, for a period of almost 2 months (8 Aug 3 Oct) thereafter.
- 3. The Committee finds this inexplicable.
- 4. The 3 Senior WP leaders did not do anything that shows any immediacy, urgency or desire to get the truth clarified.

*prima facie* affects the privileges of Parliament and that it has been raised at the earliest opportunity, the same shall stand referred, without any question, to the Committee of Privileges and no further proceedings shall be taken in the matter until the Committee of Privileges has reported thereon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Report, at paragraphs 82-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8712].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Report, at paragraphs 37, 74, and 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Report, at paragraph 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Report, at paragraph 53.

- 5. Their inaction is only consistent with not wanting the Untruth clarified.
- 6. We will deal with this further, as we consider the events after 8 Aug, in more detail, hereafter.

### В. Key Event: The discussion on 8 Aug 2021 between the 3 Senior WP leaders and Ms Khan, and contemporaneous evidence of the discussion

#### The discussion on 8 Aug 2021 between 3 Senior WP leaders and Ms Khan **(1)**

- 7. On 8 Aug, after Ms Khan confessed to having lied, (see paragraph 25 of the Report) and said that she had been a sexual assault victim, Mr Faisal and Ms Lim said that they (the 3 Senior WP leaders) were "overwhelmed". Mr Faisal and Ms Lim used the same word and took a similar line: that they were "overwhelmed" to learn that Ms Khan had been a sexual assault victim. Mr Singh broadly took a similar position.<sup>24</sup> The Committee notes that Mr Faisal said that before he came to give his evidence (before this Committee on 9 Dec), he, Mr Singh and Ms Lim met on 7 and 8 Dec, for about two to three hours each time, to discuss the sequence of events.<sup>25</sup>
- 8. Ms Lim and Mr Faisal say that because they were "overwhelmed", they did not discuss with Ms Khan about clarifying the truth.<sup>26</sup> During the same meeting on 8 Aug, the 3 Senior WP leaders then went on to discuss Ms Khan's draft statement on FGC and Polygamy issues, to be posted on her Facebook page. Ms Khan had raised these matters in Parliament on 3 Aug, and that had elicited adverse public reaction. The 3 Senior WP leaders wanted Ms Khan to clarify her position on these two matters. (See paragraph 25(3) of the Report.)
- Their (the 3 Senior WP leaders') concern for Ms Khan, did not prevent them from discussing 9. these substantive issues (FGC and Polygamy). They also had no difficulty asking Ms Khan to draft and post a statement on these issues, on the same day (8 Aug). They vetted the statement before Ms Khan put it up.<sup>27</sup>
- 10. The obvious point is this: it would have been natural (and imperative), to tell Ms Khan that a clarification in Parliament will have to be made soon; and ask her to revert to the 3 Senior WP leaders as to when she would be ready to tell her parents, following which the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Report, at paragraph 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [4921]-[4929].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3946]-[3947]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12015].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Mr Faisal and Ms Khan on 8 Aug (Annex C13); WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 8 Aug (Annex C20).

**clarification to Parliament should be made.** This point could have been made, in a sympathetic way, while assuring Ms Khan of their support for her well-being.

But this was not said to Ms Khan.

- 11. The next Parliamentary sitting was 5 weeks away from 8 Aug. It was on 13 Sep, there was enough time to do the above.
  - (2) <u>Contemporaneous evidence of the 8 Aug 2021 discussion shows that the 3 Senior WP</u> leaders are not telling the truth
- 12. Immediately after the meeting, Ms Khan texted Ms Loh and Mr Nathan to say that "I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave".<sup>28</sup>
- 13. This text was sent out by Ms Khan at 12.41pm, shortly after Ms Khan's meeting with the 3 Senior WP leaders had ended.<sup>29</sup>
- 14. This is contemporaneous evidence of the decision made, relating to the Untruth. Ms Khan's text was to her close confidantes in the WP, and she had discussed with them about the matter. (See paragraphs 22 to 23 of the Report). She had earlier confessed to them (on 7 Aug), and told them that telling the Untruth in Parliament was one of the worst things she had done in her life.<sup>30</sup>
- 15. After the meeting with the 3 Senior WP leaders, she was reporting to them the outcome of the meeting. She seemed to have been quite composed, and understood the gravity of what she had done.
- 16. Ms Khan also knew, when she sent the text, that Ms Loh and Mr Nathan were going to meet Mr Singh on 10 Aug (without Ms Khan being present).<sup>31</sup> It would make no sense for her to misstate to them, what had been decided during the 8 Aug meeting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ms Khan's WhatsApp message dated 8 Aug to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan (Annex C3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Report, at paragraph 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Report, at paragraphs 22 to 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Report, at paragraph 35.

- 17. This Committee concludes that Ms Khan's immediate text reflects the truth. It is written evidence of the discussion. It was sent when Ms Khan knew that Ms Loh and Mr Nathan would be meeting Mr Singh in 2 days. It was a reporting (of the discussion), to her close confidences.
- 18. It appears quite clear that the 3 Senior WP leaders did tell Ms Khan to keep to the Untruth, and that they told her that there was no need to publicly clarify the truth. The Committee has come to this conclusion, based on the matters set out in paragraphs 7 17 above, as well as the parties' subsequent conduct (discussed in some detail hereafter.)
  - (3) The Events between 8 Aug 2 Oct 2021 show that Ms Khan was told, on 8 Aug 2021, to continue with the Untruth
- 19. For a period of almost 2 months thereafter (9 Aug 3 Oct), the 3 Senior WP leaders did not follow up, or ask Ms Khan to clarify the untruth or take any step whatsoever concerning the untruth.<sup>32</sup> This was not in dispute.
- 20. Ms Lim and Mr Faisal confirmed that they took no steps to get the truth clarified between 9 Aug
   2 Oct.<sup>33</sup> They said that they had left it entirely to Mr Singh to settle with Ms Khan.<sup>34</sup>
  - (1) The Committee finds this implausible. The seriousness of the matter was accepted by Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.<sup>35</sup> It is common sense to expect that they would follow up at least ask Mr Singh what was happening.

It is inconceivable that they didn't do so, on a serious matter.

- (2) The conclusion, based on their conduct (which was inaction), is clear: they were proceeding on the basis that the matter would be buried. That is why they did nothing.
- (3) Mr Faisal agreed that his conduct was consistent with wanting the matter to be dropped.<sup>36</sup> Mr Faisal also agreed that after he became aware of Ms Khan's Untruth, it would have been logical for him to have asked questions about Ms Khan's intention to

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 32}$  Report, at paragraphs 37 and 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Report, at paragraph 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Report, at paragraph 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [3576]-[3577] and [5437]-[5440]; Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12020]-[12021].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6278]-[6299].

clarify the Untruth, at various points in the events that transpired.<sup>37</sup> But he did not do so. He agreed that there was no logical explanation for his conduct.<sup>38</sup>

- (4) Ms Khan's evidence that on 8 Aug, she was told to keep to the Untruth and that she need not clarify the truth,<sup>39</sup> is consistent with the conduct of the parties.
- 21. Mr Singh, like Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, also did nothing after the 8 Aug meeting, until 3 Oct (as to which, see below, at paragraphs 37 to 74): -
  - (1) He did not speak with Ms Khan about the matter,<sup>40</sup> even though he said that it was very serious and important.<sup>41</sup>
  - (2) He did not ask whether she had told her parents about her sexual assault<sup>42</sup> (even though that was his "*immediate concern*". <sup>43</sup>)
  - (3) In essence: he did nothing about Ms Khan's confession.
- 22. Mr Singh's conduct does not show any intention, let alone urgency, to ensure that Ms Khan clarified the truth.
- 23. His inaction is again (like that of Ms Lim and Mr Faisal), consistent with Ms Khan's evidence, that they had agreed on 8 Aug that Ms Khan need not clarify the truth.
- 24. If the 3 Senior WP leaders had wanted the truth to be clarified, then many steps would have been taken. (See paragraph 52 of the Report.) These would have included the following:
  - (1) The clarification that Ms Khan was going to make would have been prepared, and the draft would have been reviewed.
  - (2) The WP CEC would have been informed about the clarification that was going to be made.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6195]-[6230].

<sup>38</sup> Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 9 Dec, para [6229]-[6230].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Report, at paragraphs 27 and 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Report, at paragraph 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [6965]-[6966].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9561]-[9562].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7273]-[7274].

- (3) Ms Khan would have had to speak to her family about her sexual assault, so that they would not learn about it from the media.
- 25. None of this was done.

# (a) 13 Sep Parliamentary sitting

- 26. After Ms Khan confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders, the next Parliamentary sitting was 13 Sep. Mr Singh agreed that Ms Khan could have clarified the truth during the 13 Sep Parliamentary sitting. <sup>44</sup> (She had contracted Shingles and was not present at the 13 Sep sitting, but there were no preparations, whatsoever, for Ms Khan to clarify the truth, even before she fell ill.)
- 27. This would have been the expected course if the intention was to clarify the truth. But Mr Singh did not speak to Ms Khan about the matter, or take any steps to have the truth clarified during the 13 Sep Parliament sitting.<sup>45</sup> Neither did Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.<sup>46</sup>
  - i. Mr Singh accepts that there was no intention to clarify the truth at the Sep

    Parliamentary sitting
- 28. Mr Singh accepts that there was no intention to have the matter clarified during the Sep sitting.<sup>47</sup>
- 29. This conduct is consistent with what Ms Khan had said: the 3 Senior WP leaders had told her to just keep quiet, there was no need to clarify.
  - ii. <u>Mr Singh offered no credible explanation for not wanting the truth</u> clarified, at the Sep Parliamentary sitting
- 30. Mr Singh offered no credible explanation for his inaction. He said that he was giving space for Ms Khan to speak to her parents, and that Ms Khan would revert when she is ready.<sup>48</sup> This explanation does not answer two very simple questions: -

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Report, at paragraph 39 and footnote 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Report, at paragraph 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Report, at paragraph 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> On 10 Dec, Mr Singh confirmed that he did not know about Ms Khan's shingles, until a few days before the Sep Parliament sitting. He agreed that there were no attempts made beforehand to speak to Ms Khan to clarify the truth at the Sep sitting. Ms Khan's shingles was not the reason for not taking steps to clarify the truth during the Sep session. (Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9671]-[9701].)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7262]-[7274].

- (1) If it was important that the truth be clarified (and Mr Singh says it was), then Mr Singh would have raised the matter with Ms Khan, and asked her if she was ready to deal with it, at the Sep sitting.
- (2) And if it was his "*immediate concern*" that Ms Khan tell her parents, (as he says it was), Mr Singh would have asked Ms Khan if she had done so, fairly soon after the 8 Aug confession. He would have done so, in good time for Ms Khan to clarify the truth, during the Sep session.
- 31. Mr Singh did not ask these questions. His total inaction only makes sense in the light of Ms Khan's evidence: Mr Singh wanted the matter buried.

# iii. <u>During the period Aug – Sep, Ms Khan was carrying out her duties</u> normally

- 32. During the period Aug Sep 2021, Ms Khan was not in seclusion or otherwise out of circulation. She was carrying out her usual MP duties (see paragraph 41 of the Report), attending several events, conducting her MPS and even standing in for A/P Lim. Mr Singh confirmed that there was nothing unusual about the way she discharged her duties.<sup>50</sup>
- 33. Mr Singh also dealt with Ms Khan, including on drafts of Parliamentary questions.<sup>51</sup> But Mr Singh never once spoke to Ms Khan about the most important matter that was pending: whether she was ready to clarify the truth, and whether she had told her parents.

His inaction is consistent with Ms Khan's evidence.

### (b) Period between 13 Sep – 2 Oct

34. Likewise, after the September sitting, there were also no discussions between any of the 3 Senior WP leaders and Ms Khan, in the lead-up to the October sitting of Parliament (on 4 Oct), until Mr Singh met Ms Khan on 3 Oct. None of the 3 Senior WP leaders approached Ms Khan about what to do about her untruth. Nor were any preparatory steps taken by the 3 Senior WP leaders (see paragraph 52 of the Report), in anticipation of Ms Khan having to tell the truth during the Oct Parliamentary sitting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7271]-[7274].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Report, at paragraph 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Report, at paragraph 41(11).

- 35. This is consistent with Ms Khan's evidence, that on 8 Aug, she was advised by the 3 Senior WP leaders that the matter can be buried.
- 36. We now deal with the next time this matter was discussed with Ms Khan. Mr Singh spoke with Ms Khan, on 3 Oct.

# C. <u>Key Event: 3 Oct 2021 Meeting between Mr Singh and Ms Khan - quite clear that Mr Singh</u> guided Ms Khan to continue with the Untruth

- 37. The discussion between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, on the evening of 3 Oct, is of critical importance, in the context of the Penalty Issue. This Committee has thus spent considerable time on this point.
- 38. Mr Singh went to Ms Khan's residence on the evening of 3 Oct. He spoke to her privately, while the rest of the family, including her parents, were in the house. He told her that the 3 Aug untruth might get raised the next day, in Parliament. He spoke to Ms Khan about how she should respond, if the matter was raised.<sup>52</sup>
- 39. Mr Singh's evidence as to what happened on 3 Oct, was contradictory. In parts, it made no sense either. It was obvious that he was engaged in an *ex post* attempt to try and explain his conduct. And regrettably, it comprised a rather transparent set of untruths.
- 40. Mr Singh said that on 3 Oct, he told Ms Khan that if the matter (of Ms Khan's untruth), was raised the next day (on 4 Oct), in Parliament, she was to "take responsibility and ownership of the issue", and if she did so, he "will not judge" her.<sup>53</sup> (If this is what Mr Singh said, then it is a rather curious way of telling Ms Khan to tell the truth if it was Mr Singh's intention to tell Ms Khan to tell the truth. On that, see paragraphs 62-74 below.)
- 41. Ms Khan's evidence is that on 3 Oct: Mr Singh told her that if she were to "retain the narrative" or "continue the narrative", then "there would be no judgement".<sup>54</sup>
- 42. Both agree that he said that he would not judge her, if she responded in a certain way. The key question is: what was the response that he referred to; and which he wanted her to give; and which if she complied with, he would not judge?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Report, at paragraphs 44 to 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Report, at paragraph 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Report, at paragraph 45.

## This, together with what was discussed on 8 Aug, are the critical questions.

- 43. If Mr Singh had guided (or suggested to) Ms Khan, to continue with the Untruth, then he was effectively coaching her, a young MP, to abuse Parliamentary privilege, and mislead the public. And he would have known that Ms Khan would likely follow his advice. That is very serious.
- 44. If on the other hand, Mr Singh had told Ms Khan to tell the truth, and if she had disobeyed him, then she would have gone against his advice, abused Parliamentary privilege, and continued to mislead the public. Her conduct would be doubly egregious.
- 45. We will deal with the evidence on the various parts of their conversation on 3 Oct (much of which is not in dispute.)
  - (1) Mr Singh went to see Ms Khan, to specifically advise Ms Khan on what to say, at the 4 Oct 2021 Parliamentary sitting
- 46. The first point to note is that Mr Singh initiated the meeting and discussion. He went to Ms Khan's house on the evening of 3 Oct, the day before the 4 Oct Parliamentary sitting. He went with his wife, for a social visit.<sup>55</sup> He then spoke with Ms Khan, privately about the matter.
- 47. This was a vitally important meeting. His evidence on the discussion of 8 Aug was that after the confession by Ms Khan, nothing was discussed.<sup>56</sup> So the 3 Oct discussion was the first time the matter was being discussed again.
- 48. It would be expected that in such a situation:
  - (1) The Secretary-General of the Party (Mr Singh), will tell the CEC that Ms Khan had lied in Parliament.
  - (2) He would have told Ms Khan directly to tell the truth in Parliament.
  - (3) He will tell the CEC what he will advise her, to tell the truth.

<sup>56</sup> The Committee disbelieves Mr Singh on this point. This Committee has concluded that he advised Mr Khan that the truth need not be told (see paragraphs 17 to 18 above). On Mr Singh's evidence, therefore, 3 Oct was the first day when he (or anyone from the WP), was going to advise Ms Khan on what she should say, on an important matter, where an MP had lied in Parliament.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7460]-[7468] and [7404-7417].

- (4) Mr Singh will have had Ms Khan and the WP make preparations to tell the truth (as for steps needed, see paragraph 42 of the Report).
- 49. There was nothing for Mr Singh to be worried or be surreptitious about, as regards this meeting.
- 50. But he acted in a surreptitious manner, concerning this meeting:
  - (1) He did not appear to have told Ms Khan beforehand that he was going to discuss the matter on 3 Oct.

He went to her house on a social visit, and then spoke about this matter.<sup>57</sup>

- (2) He did not tell the WP CEC that he was going to speak with Ms Khan.<sup>58</sup> He did not even tell Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.<sup>59</sup>
- (3) He kept no record of the meeting.<sup>60</sup>
- (4) And he (by his own admission), did not tell Ms Khan to tell the truth.<sup>61</sup> This is an extraordinary admission, given that the whole purpose of the discussion on 3 Oct was to advise Ms Khan on what she should say on 4 Oct (if the matter comes up.)
- (5) Mr Singh took no steps to prepare, for the truth to be told. (See paragraph 52 of the Report, on steps that would be needed.) That is a clear indicator, what his advice to Ms Khan was: to not tell the truth.
- 51. (1) It would be entirely understandable if steps were taken to keep the discussions confidential, prior to Ms Khan telling the truth publicly. The matter would have to be kept confidential to a degree, while the necessary steps for making the disclosure are taken, and the relevant people informed (including the CEC). That is how matters were handled, prior to the 1 Nov disclosure by Ms Khan (after Mr Singh and Ms Lim had decided that there was no choice but to disclose the truth). (see paragraph 87 of the Report.)

 $<sup>^{57}</sup>$  Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para  $[7460]\mbox{-}[7468]$  and  $[7404]\mbox{-}[7417]\mbox{.}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8606]-[8625].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Report, at paragraph 58. Ms Lim learnt of this meeting on 4 Oct, but was not told of what was discussed.

<sup>60</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8561]-[8562].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Report, at paragraph 56(1).

- (2) Mr Singh's conduct as regards the 3 Oct meeting was quite different; his conduct does not make sense, unless the purpose was to advise Ms Khan to continue with the Untruth. The surreptitiousness, lack of any transparency, and suppression of his role raise questions.
- 52. It is reasonable to assume that if the Government had not pursued the matter on 4 Oct and thereafter, this private discussion on 3 Oct (the details of which Mr Singh had kept largely quiet about),<sup>62</sup> would have never come to light.
- 53. We will now consider what Mr Singh actually told Ms Khan during the meeting.

# (2) Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan to proactively clarify the truth on 4 Oct 2021

54. Mr Singh admits that he did not tell Ms Khan to proactively raise the matter, and clarify the truth on 4 Oct.<sup>63</sup>

# (a) Mr Singh changed his evidence, when his earlier evidence became untenable

- 55. While Mr Singh agreed eventually that this was his position (i.e. that he did not tell Ms Khan to proactively clarify the truth on 4 Oct), he had first tried alternate answers. Mr Singh's change of evidence went as follows: (See paragraph 55 of the Report)
  - (1) At first, he said that Ms Khan <u>had</u> to clarify the truth, proactively, on 4 Oct, even if the issue did not come up. He said that it was "very clear" that this was what Ms Khan was meant to do.
  - (2) It was pointed out to him, by the Committee, that no preparations had been made for Ms Khan to tell the truth (see paragraph 52 of the Report for the preparations that would be needed.) He had said that no preparatory steps had been taken, because it was *uncertain if Ms Khan would have to clarify the truth*.
  - (3) It was clear at that point, that Mr Singh's evidence (that Ms Khan would have to come clean, proactively) was not tenable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Mr Singh only gave more details of the 3 Oct discussion at the DP interview on 29 Nov (see Report, paragraph 50), as well as during the press conference on 2 Dec (where he said, "It was nonetheless made known to her before the Parliamentary sitting in October, that any parliamentary clarification on this matter was hers to make in her capacity as an elected member of Parliament"; he also mentioned that Ms Khan had to take "ownership and responsibility for what was done in Parliament", but this was not specific to the 3 Oct discussion) (Annex C32). Mr Singh's full account of what he said to Ms Khan on 3 Oct (i.e. she should take "responsibility and ownership of the issue" and that is she did so, he "will not judge" her) only came up when he gave evidence to this committee on 10 Dec.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Report, at paragraphs 54 and 55.

- (4) Mr Singh then changed his position, and admitted that he did not tell Ms Khan to come clean (proactively), on 4 Oct.
- 56. The above relates to facts; what happened, what did not happen. Mr Singh should have had no difficulties in giving straight answers. But he made up his answers as he went along, answers which he thought were necessary, to save himself, without much regard to the truth (see paragraph 61 below.) The above is one example.
- 57. The eventual position Mr Singh took was that Ms Khan did not have to clarify the truth if the matter was not raised.

# (b) Mr Singh's evidence runs into some difficulties

- 58. The explanation Mr Singh settled on runs into the following difficulties:
  - (1) Ms Khan was to tell the truth only if the matter gets raised in Parliament.
  - (2) The obvious question is: why only if the matter gets raised? Wasn't it important to have the truth clarified anyway?

Mr Singh had himself said it was important for Ms Khan to clarify the truth.<sup>64</sup> (He had also said that if a WP MP told a lie, the "*minimum*" expected was that the MP would have to correct it, and come forward with the truth.)<sup>65</sup>

(3) He went to see Ms Khan, specifically to advise her on what she should say. The only thing that Mr Singh should have said to Ms Khan was that she should tell the truth on 4 Oct, regardless of whether the matter was raised in Parliament – if Mr Singh's intention was that the truth be told. It is telling that he did not say that to Ms Khan. It is also telling that when he was giving evidence, he realised that this was a weakness, and at first tried to say that he had told Ms Khan to tell the truth, regardless of whether the matter was raised. And then he had to backtrack and change his story.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Paragraph 1(1) above.

<sup>65</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7285]-[7290].

(4) Mr Singh's admission, that he did not tell Ms Khan to clarify the truth, proactively, is consistent with Ms Khan's evidence, that on 8 Aug, he had told Ms Khan to take the Untruth to the grave, and that on 3 Oct, he essentially repeated that advice.

# (c) Mr Singh's explanations as to why Ms Khan did not have to clarify the truth on 4 Oct, are not credible

- 59. Mr Singh's explanation for admitting that he did not tell Ms Khan to proactively clarify the truth, on 4 Oct, is also not credible. He said that this was because he was prepared to give Ms Khan time to come to him and say, "Look, Pritam, I've spoken to my parents and I'm going to come clean". (As at 3 Oct, Mr Singh did not know whether Ms Khan had spoken to her parents.) That answer makes no sense.
  - (1) If he did not know whether Ms Khan had spoken with her parents, and if it was important (as Mr Singh said it was), he would have asked Ms Khan. But he did not ask this simple question.
  - (2) If it was an "immediate concern" that she tell her parents, as Mr Singh said it was, then why did Mr Singh expect (as he claims he did), that Ms Khan should tell the truth, if the matter was raised on 4 Oct? It would be more logical that he would then have said to her: "The matter might come up tomorrow. You will have to tell the truth. Have you told your parents?"
  - (3) He did not do that. On 3 Oct, when he met her, her parents were around in the premises, though they were not part of the conversation.

# (d) Mr Singh's explanations show that other parts of his evidence are also untrue

60. Mr Singh's explanations (above paragraph 59) also show that he was not being truthful when he said that he had wanted Ms Khan to tell the truth if the matter gets raised on 4 Oct (see paragraph 56(2) of the Report):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9561]-[9568].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ibid.

- (1) This is so because, on his own evidence, Ms Khan telling her parents was a "condition precedent" to clarifying the truth publicly.<sup>68</sup> Yet, Mr Singh says that he did not know if Ms Khan had told her parents, and he didn't ask.<sup>69</sup>
- (2) Thus, in his mind, the key precondition to telling the truth had not been met.<sup>70</sup>
- (3) Since the pre-condition had not been met, based on his own evidence, he could not have asked (or expected), Ms Khan to tell the truth on 4 Oct, even if the matter was raised.
- (4) That means only one thing: he advised her to repeat the Untruth on 4 Oct, if the matter was raised, and fully expected that she will follow his advice.

# (e) The Committee's views on Mr Singh's explanation

- 61. Mr Singh seemed to be fashioning out explanations on the spot, to the Committee, and frequently they did not make sense (as has been pointed out in several parts of this Report):
  - (1) The evidence was tailored, to say what was convenient, regardless of whether it made sense, or was rational. The result was that many parts of his story do not cohere.
  - (2) It left exposed the truth, which was more simple:
    - (a) He had told Ms Khan on 8 Aug to take the Untruth to the grave. He did not want Ms Khan to clarify the truth.
    - (b) That is why he did nothing, after 8 Aug.
    - (c) And that is why on 3 Oct:
      - (i) he didn't tell Ms Khan to tell the truth.
      - (ii) he didn't ask her if she told her parents, or ask her when she would be ready to clarify the truth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10126].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [9561]-[9568].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> See Report, at Footnote 107 and paragraph 30.

instead, he guided her to maintain the Untruth. (See paragraphs 101 – 111 below.)

#### **(3)** Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan directly to tell the truth, even if the matter was raised

- Mr Singh says that he was, (in his view), "crystal clear" that Ms Khan should tell the truth on 4 62. Oct, if the matter was raised. 71 But he did not actually tell Ms Khan to tell the truth. This is admitted. Instead, according to him, he told Ms Khan to "take responsibility and ownership". 72
- Mr Singh's evidence again stretches credibility for a number of reasons: 63.
  - (1) Mr Singh is a lawyer. He is the Leader of the Opposition. If he had wanted to tell Ms Khan to tell the truth – it is very simple. He could have, and would have, just told her to tell the truth. That is what anyone would have done. That is common sense.
  - (2) It is even more stark, because (on his own evidence), his very purpose of speaking with Ms Khan on 3 Oct, was to advise her on what she should say, if the matter was raised in Parliament the next day. And it cannot be in dispute that he had to tell her to tell the truth. But he did not do so.
  - Instead Mr Singh says he told Ms Khan: "take responsibility and ownership of the issue", (3) and "I will not judge you". This is (as stated earlier), a rather convoluted and indirect way, of asking a person to tell the truth.
  - (4) Mr Singh also said that Ms Khan would know that she had to tell the truth, since he had asked her to substantiate her anecdote between 3 Aug and 7 Aug.<sup>73</sup>
    - (a) Mr Singh asking her (between 3-7 Aug), to substantiate the anecdote to him, is different from what he advised her to do on 3 Oct in public. It is a simple point.
    - (b) He went to see Ms Khan, for the specific purpose of advising her on what she should say. He needed to have told her - "tell the truth". He did not.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8539]-[8544] and [8565]-[8570].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Report, at paragraph 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8952]-[8953] and [7968]-[7973].

- (c) The various answers as to why he did not, make no sense. Nothing prevented him from telling her outright: "tell the truth".
- (d) In fact, to the contrary, the contrast between Mr Singh asking Ms Khan to give him the details of the anecdote (between 3 and 7 Aug), and his subsequent inaction, after Ms Khan's bombshell on 8 Aug to the 3 Senior WP leaders (that she told an Untruth), is telling. The convoluted language which he says he used, on 3 Oct, is also telling.
- (5) Mr Singh also suggested that the Committee ought to give weight to the email he sent to all WP MPs on 1 Oct, reminding them that they should be prepared to substantiate any allegations made in Parliament.<sup>74</sup>
  - (a) The email was addressed generally.<sup>75</sup>
  - (b) In contrast, his instructions on 3 Oct were given directly to Ms Khan, and were specific, as to what she should say, on 4 Oct (see paragraph 63(2) above.)
  - (c) What he said to her on 3 Oct is directly relevant, to what he wanted her to say on 4 Oct.
  - (d) It is not credible to seek recourse to a general email, when he could and should have, (but did not), directly tell Ms Khan to tell the truth.
  - (e) That Mr Singh sought to rely on a general email, instead of telling Ms Khan directly to tell the truth, is itself telling.

# (4) Mr Singh told Ms Khan that he will not "judge her"

- 64. Mr Singh and Ms Khan agree that Mr Singh told Ms Khan that **he will not judge her.**<sup>76</sup> That is very instructive.
  - (1) Mr Singh's duty as Leader of the Opposition, and Secretary General of the WP, was to get Ms Khan to tell the truth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7425]-[7437].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Mr Singh's email to WP MPs dated 1 Oct (Annex C17)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Report, at paragraph 47.

- (2) Why then, was Mr Singh saying to Ms Khan that he would not judge her?
- (3) What is there to judge her for, if she listened to him and told the truth?
- (4) If Ms Khan listened to Mr Singh and told the truth, there would have been nothing to judge. Judging Ms Khan would only be relevant, if she was to continue with the untruth.
- (5) The reference to not judging her, is consistent with Mr Singh encouraging her to continue with the Untruth.
- 65. Mr Singh agreed that the phrase, "I will not judge you", is equivocal,<sup>77</sup> but said that it should be seen as a "fragment of a larger conversation".<sup>78</sup> But the larger conversation also confirms what Ms Khan said (see paragraphs 66 to 74 below.)

# (5) What did Mr Singh say to Ms Khan, on 3 Oct 2021

- 66. We have considered the various points, relating to the conversation between Mr Singh and Ms Khan on 3 Oct.
- 67. Mr Singh's evidence does not stand up to scrutiny. His conduct, and that of Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, are consistent with Ms Khan's evidence, that they advised her to bury the Untruth.
- 68. In assessing what Mr Singh said, and what he had wanted to convey, what he said on 3 Oct, has to also be seen together with what he had said on 8 Aug: on 8 Aug he had told Ms Khan to take the Untruth to the grave.<sup>79</sup>
- 69. We take into account that:
  - (1) Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan, directly, to tell the truth. (Not disputed.)
  - (2) Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan to proactively raise the matter and tell the truth. (Not disputed.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [8529]-[8530].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7512]-[7513].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Report, at paragraph 27.

- (3) Mr Singh told Ms Khan that he will not "judge her". (Not disputed.)
- (4) Mr Singh says he told Ms Khan to "take responsibility and ownership" for the matter, and if she did so, he will not "judge" her. (His own evidence.)
- (5) Mr Singh's conduct, and that of Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, contradict any suggestion that he, or they, had wanted the truth to be clarified, as of 3 Oct.
- (6) Mr Singh changed his evidence on key aspects, as regards the 3 Oct conversation when his evidence became untenable.
- (7) Mr Singh acted with considerable surreptitiousness, as regards the 3 Oct discussion with Ms Khan.
- (8) Mr Singh's evidence, that he was "very clear" that Ms Khan should tell the truth, if the matter came up on 4 Oct, is untrue. (See paragraphs 62 to 63 above.)
  - It was not possible for him to have believed or wanted the truth to be told on 4 Oct, or suggested it, for several reasons, including: as of 3 Oct, no steps had been taken, in preparation for the truth to be told.<sup>80</sup> (Ms Lim's evidence confirms this.)<sup>81</sup>
- 70. In contrast, Ms Khan was clear, as to what Mr Singh advised her, on 3 Oct. She said "the conversation was that if [she] were to retain the narrative or if [she] were to continue the narrative, there would be no judgement".<sup>82</sup>
- 71. The conduct of Ms Khan and the 3 Senior WP leaders was consistent (both before and after 3 Oct), with what Ms Khan said. It was inconsistent with what the 3 Senior WP leaders said to this Committee. Mr Faisal accepted that it was inconsistent and admitted that there was no logical explanation for the conduct.<sup>83</sup>
- 72. It is clear that on 3 Oct, Mr Singh advised Ms Khan to essentially continue with the Untruth, if the matter was raised in Parliament, the next day, on 4 Oct. And if she continued with the Untruth, he will not judge her. If the matter was not raised, then she could just keep quiet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Report, at paragraph 52.

<sup>81</sup> Report, at paragraph 68. See paragraphs 92 - 94 below.

<sup>82</sup> Report, at paragraph 48.

<sup>83</sup> See paragraph 20(3) above.

73. We will later consider these questions further: namely, on 3 Oct, did Mr Singh:

(1) give Ms Khan a choice between telling the truth, or keeping to the Untruth (Mr Singh

claims that he did not give Ms Khan a choice, and made it "crystal clear" that she had to

tell the truth (see paragraph 62 above); and

(2) if he did give Ms Khan a choice, did Mr Singh point her to how that choice should be

exercised, and what she should say on 4 Oct.

Our conclusion is that Mr Singh strongly pointed Ms Khan towards continuing with the Untruth.

See paragraphs 101 - 111 below.

74. We will now consider the evidence that throws further light on what Mr Singh told Ms Khan on

3 Oct, and which (together with the reasons already set out), led us to the above conclusions.

(6) Ms Lim's written DP Notes confirm that Mr Singh is not telling the truth about his 3

Oct 2021 conversation with Ms Khan

(a) Ms Lim's Notes make clear what Mr Singh told Ms Khan on 3 Oct 2021

75. A most relevant set of notes were produced by Ms Lim – the DP Notes. These were said to be

Ms Lim's verbatim notes, of the DP interview with Ms Khan on 29 Nov. The DP Notes<sup>84</sup> show

that Mr Singh said:

[From Ms Lim's handwritten notes of the DP interview on 29 Nov]

PS:Before Oct session, I met you + I told you it was your call.

Did need to tell the truth in Parl occur to you?

RK: Yes but consumed with guilt + own experience.

Thought it wouldn't come up.

PS: Can't lie right?

RK: Yes.

<sup>84</sup> Report, at paragraph 50.

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- 76. Mr Singh's reference to "Your call" is clear: Mr Singh was (prima facie) leaving the choice to Ms Khan.<sup>85</sup>
- 77. Mr Singh agreed that this was a reasonable interpretation. Likewise, Ms Lim also agreed that this was a reasonable interpretation.<sup>86</sup>
- 78. The DP Notes give the lie to Mr Singh's evidence that he was "*very clear*" that Ms Khan had to tell the truth.<sup>87</sup>
- 79. Mr Singh said that he did not actually use these words ("your call") on 3 Oct. But this was how he chose to characterise his 3 Oct conversation with Ms Khan, at WP's own internal meeting on 29 Nov.

# (b) Mr Singh admitted that his evidence was different from what the Notes show

- 80. Mr Singh admitted that his evidence before this Committee (as to what happened during the 3 Oct discussion), was different from his words "your call" in Ms Lim's notes. 88
- 81. The DP Notes produced by Ms Lim show that Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan that she must tell the truth.
  - (7) If Mr Singh's evidence about what he told Ms Khan on 3 Oct 2021 is true, he would have confronted Ms Khan. He did not do so.
- 82. If Mr Singh had made it very clear on 3 Oct to Ms Khan, that she should tell the truth, (if the matter came up on 4 Oct), then when Ms Khan repeated the Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct: he can be expected to immediately confront Ms Khan, and ask her why she lied again on 4 Oct. He would have also told her that she had disobeyed him. But Mr Singh did not do so.
- 83. Mr Singh did not confront Ms Khan, and ask those questions:-
  - (1) On 4 Oct, when he sent a message to her, a few minutes after she had repeated the Untruth in Parliament;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> See paragraphs 101 – 111 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Report, at paragraph 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Report, at paragraph 56(2).

<sup>88</sup> Report, at paragraph 56(3).

- (In his message, Mr Singh did not express any shock or upset. Instead, he responded to her earlier request for advice, by asking her to meet him (see paragraph 64 of the Report.))
- (2) Later that day, when he met Ms Khan in the LO office with Ms Lim at night (see paragraphs 69 74 of the Report);
- (3) On 7 Oct, when he received Ms Khan's email, thanking him, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal for the guidance to her on the matter (see paragraphs 95 100 below); and
- (4) Or on 12 Oct (when it was agreed that Ms Khan would clarify the untruth in Parliament in November). (See paragraphs 82 86 of the Report.)
- 84. His inaction is a clear indication that Ms Khan repeating the Untruth on 4 Oct was in accordance with his advice on 3 Oct.
- 85. Mr Singh is also recorded (by Ms Lim) as asking Ms Khan (on 29 Nov): "Did the need to tell the truth in Parliament occur to you?", and "can't lie right?"
- 86. These questions again are quite telling: If Mr Singh had been very clear on 3 Oct that Ms Khan had to tell the truth, then on 29 Nov:
  - (1) Mr Singh would be saying: "I told you to tell the truth. And you did not. You went against my instructions on telling the truth in Parliament. That is a serious breach of Party discipline."
  - (2) He would not be saying: "I told you it was your call. Why didn't it occur to you to tell the truth?" and "can't lie right"?
- 87. We will come back to the statements ("Did the need to tell the truth in Parliament occur to you?" and "can't lie right") later. When seen against other evidence, it appears clear that this was an attempt, in late Nov, by Mr Singh to give himself an alibi. It was a self-serving statement, late in the day.

### (8) <u>Ms Loh's and Mr Nathan's evidence contradicts what Mr Singh said about the 3 Oct</u> 2021 Conversation.

- 88. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan's evidence is also highly relevant in this context. At their meeting with Mr Singh on 12 Oct, he told them that he met Ms Khan on 3 Oct and told her, "*I will not judge you*". Ms Loh and Mr Nathan's understood from Mr Singh's statement, that Mr Singh had given Ms Khan a choice whether to come clean. And, Mr Singh did not indicate to them, in any way, that Ms Khan had disobeyed him, when she had repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct.<sup>89</sup>
- 89. This is quite telling. If Ms Khan had disobeyed Mr Singh, and had flagrantly gone against his instructions, he wouldn't be talking about it to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, in a matter of fact way, saying that he had told Ms Khan that he would not judge her.
- 90. His words have only one meaning: Ms Khan had lied on 4 Oct. Before that Mr Singh had told her that he will not judge her.
- 91. Mr Singh's words and conduct suggest that she had complied with his instructions, when she had repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct.

# (9) Ms Lim's evidence contradicts what Mr Singh said about his discussion with Ms Khan on 3 Oct 2021

- 92. Ms Lim had testified that it was not possible, on 4 Oct, to have Ms Khan clarify the truth the next day, on 5 Oct. This was because time was needed to carefully structure Ms Khan's clarification (see paragraph 68 of the Report.)
- 93. Equally, it would not have been possible to expect, on 3 Oct, that Ms Khan would make any clarification of the truth the next day (4 Oct).
- 94. Mr Singh could then not have possibly thought or believed that Ms Khan should clarify the truth on 4 Oct, even if the matter was raised, because:
  - (1) He didn't know what exactly Ms Khan was going to say.

<sup>89</sup> Report, at paragraph 59.

(2) None of the necessary preparations had been made – as Ms Lim confirmed.

(See paragraph 52 of the Report.)

## (10) Ms Khan's email of 7 Oct 2021 contradicts what Mr Singh says about the 3 Oct 2021 discussion

- 95. An email from Ms Khan to the 3 Senior WP leaders Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, on 7 Oct, throws important light in this context, makes the position even clearer. In her email, Ms Khan forwarded the Police's request for an interview (see paragraph 78 of the Report) and she said, the following:
  - "... Thank you for listening to me, for caring for me and for guiding me through this without judgement" (emphasis added.)
- 96. This email was sent:
  - (1) after Mr Singh's discussion with Ms Khan on 3 Oct;
  - (2) after Ms Khan had repeated her Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct; and
  - (3) after Mr Singh and Ms Lim had met Ms Khan later on 4 Oct.
- 97. Ms Khan's gratitude to the 3 Senior WP leaders for guiding her through this "without judgement" is very significant. It also gives colour to what Mr Singh said to Ms Khan on 3 Oct, when he told her, "I will not judge you".
- 98. As at 7 Oct, no decision had been made for Ms Khan to come clean in Parliament. The only "guidance" that Ms Khan could have been referring to, in her email, was therefore the guidance to do what she had done up to that date which would include her repetition of the Untruth on 4 Oct, after her discussion with Mr Singh on 3 Oct.
- 99. If Mr Singh had told Ms Khan on 3 Oct to tell the truth, and if she had flagrantly disobeyed him, then she would not be thanking the 3 Senior WP leaders, for guiding her without judgement. Ms Khan's email shows that she was basically telling them: "*Thank you for advising me and guiding*

me so far." Implicit in this, is that she had followed their advice until then. She had followed her leaders' "guidance", for her to continue with the Untruth.

100. None of the 3 Senior WP leaders, in particular Mr Singh, responded to Ms Khan to dispute what she had said in her 7 Oct email.<sup>90</sup>

### (11) <u>Did Mr Singh give Ms Khan any guidance, as to whether or not to tell the truth on 4</u> Oct 2021?

- 101. The Committee considered this point: When Mr Singh spoke with Ms Khan on 3 Oct, did he leave it entirely up to Ms Khan, to choose whether to continue with the Untruth, or to tell the truth (the next day, 4 Oct, in Parliament)? Or was it suggested to her that she should choose to continue with the Untruth?
- 102. Both conclusions contradict Mr Singh's evidence (that he was "very clear" that Ms Khan should tell the truth.)
- 103. Based on the evidence, the Committee's conclusion is as follows:
  - (1) Mr Singh had used words on 3 Oct which indicated to Ms Khan that she should continue with the Untruth.
  - (2) And <u>if</u> she did so, she would not be judged.
- 104. Ms Khan's takeaway from this conversation was that she should continue with the narrative (i.e., keep to the Untruth.)
- 105. This Committee considered the effect of a statement made along these lines: "if [you] retain the narrative or if [you] continue the narrative, there would be no judgement." (We also refer to the DP Notes, which record Mr Singh saying it was "your call" to Ms Khan (see paragraphs 75 79 above).)
- 106. It **is possible** to describe such a statement as a choice given to Ms Khan. But that would be an incomplete description.

<sup>91</sup> Report, at paragraph 48(1).

<sup>90</sup> Report, at paragraph 79.

It would be more accurate to describe it as a strong guidance, given by Mr Singh, that Ms Khan should choose to continue with the Untruth – given the circumstances.

- 107. It is also clear that Mr Singh and Ms Khan both proceeded on the basis that (based on what Mr Singh had told Ms Khan), Ms Khan will continue with the Untruth. Mr Singh's actions after the conversation show that he fully expected she would continue with the Untruth. Mr Singh could not have expected that Ms Khan will drop the bombshell (that she had lied) publicly, the very next day. (For example, no preparations were made, in case she had to admit the truth, if the matter was raised.)<sup>92</sup> Mr Singh was obviously quite settled in his mind, that based on his advice, if the matter came up, Ms Khan will just repeat the Untruth.
- 108. The advice given on 3 Oct, in its own terms, as well as seen in light of what had transpired on 8 Aug (that the 3 Senior WP leaders told Ms Khan to keep to the Untruth), would essentially point Ms Khan to one direction that is, to keep to the untruth, if the issue was raised, with the assurance that it would not attract Mr Singh's judgment if Ms Khan continued with the Untruth.
- 109. Mr Singh guided Ms Khan (on 3 Oct) towards continuing with the Untruth.

## (12) Mr Singh was the primary cause, the operating brain for Ms Khan repeating the Untruth on 4 Oct 2021, in Parliament

- 110. It appears clear that Mr Singh had left Ms Khan (on 3 Oct) with the advice that she should continue with the Untruth.
- 111. He was the primary cause, the operating brain, for Ms Khan repeating the Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct. He orchestrated it. He could easily have told Ms Khan to tell the truth. And she would have listened to him. He did not advise telling the truth. Instead, he suggested to her to continue with the Untruth. Ms Khan followed his advice.

## D. The 3 Senior WP leaders' reactions, after Ms Khan repeated the untruth on 4 Oct, show that Ms Khan's evidence is true

112. The 3 Senior WP leaders' reactions after Ms Khan repeated her untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct, again shows where the truth lies.

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 $<sup>^{92}</sup>$  Report, at paragraphs 52 - 53.

- 113. **First**, despite Ms Khan repeating the Untruth on 4 Oct, they never told her to clarify during the Parliamentary sitting the next day (i.e. 5 Oct.) Repeating the Untruth was doubly serious. (Ms Lim referred to it as "doubling down".)<sup>93</sup> The normal and natural thing to do would be to immediately correct it.<sup>94</sup>
- 114. **Second**, even after Ms Khan had repeated the Untruth, they did not tell Ms Khan that she should come clean. This is despite having multiple conversations with Ms Khan on 4 Oct (see below).

### (1) Mr Singh's WhatsApp exchange with Ms Khan on 4 Oct 2021, when Ms Khan repeated the Untruth

- 115. On 4 Oct, Minister Shanmugam asked Ms Khan, in Parliament, if the incident she had recounted in Parliament on 3 Aug had in fact taken place. Ms Khan sent a WhatsApp message (at 12.34pm) to Mr Singh, asking "What should I do, Pritam?" Mr Singh did not reply her immediately. (He said he didn't see her message.) She then answered Minister Shanmugam in accordance with her understanding of their (Ms Khan and Mr Singh's) discussion on 3 Oct, i.e., that she continue to repeat the untruth. Mr Singh replied Ms Khan at 12.45pm (11 mins after Ms Khan's message to him), after the exchange with Ms Khan and Minister Shanmugam had ended.<sup>95</sup>
- 116. Ms Khan's WhatsApp exchange with Mr Singh on 4 Oct is reproduced below:<sup>96</sup>

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[4 Oct 2021, 12.34pm] Ms Khan: What should I do Pritam
[4 Oct 2021, 12.45pm] Mr Singh: Will speak after sitting. Keep Chair and I posted.
[4 Oct 2021, 1.06pm] Ms Khan: Alright
[4 Oct 2021, 11.14pm] Mr Singh: Hi Rae – meet in LO office.
[4 Oct 2021, 11.14pm] Mr Singh: Can meet now.
[4 Oct 2021, 11.14pm] Ms Khan: Ok
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117. Ms Khan's WhatsApp message to Mr Singh, asking him what she should do, and Mr Singh's response, are very significant.

<sup>93</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12315].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Ms Lim did not think it was an option for Ms Khan to clarify the lie at the Parliament sitting the next day (5 Oct), as time was needed to carefully structure Ms Khan's clarification. Nevertheless, the clarification ought to have been made on 5 Oct given the seriousness of the situation.

<sup>95</sup> Report, at paragraphs 60 to 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Khan and Mr Singh on 4 Oct (Annex C9).

Why did Ms Khan ask Mr Singh what to do, if Mr Singh had been "very clear" on 3 Oct that she should clarify the truth if the matter was raised?

- 118. (1) If Mr Singh had made clear that Ms Khan should tell the truth, then his response to her, on WhatsApp, would have been: "I told you to tell the truth. Why did you not tell the truth?"
  - (2) As the Party leader, he can be expected to have expressed his serious unhappiness, that Ms Khan did not follow his instructions. But he did not do so.
  - (3) And given the importance of the matter, he could have been expected to immediately speak with Ms Khan, and ask her to clarify the truth, especially when she had just (if what he says is true), disobeyed his instructions. (Mr Singh agreed that as Leader of the Opposition, he had a duty to correct Ms Khan's falsehood.)<sup>97</sup>
  - (4) However, he also did no such thing. Instead, he told her he will see her later, and saw her very briefly at around 11.15pm.
- 119. Mr Singh's conduct is consistent only with Ms Khan's evidence.

#### (2) Ms Lim's 2pm meeting on 4 Oct 2021 with Ms Khan at the LO Office.

- 120. After Ms Khan repeated the untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct, Ms Lim met Ms Khan in the LO office. Ms Lim said that she met Ms Khan to ascertain her emotional state. Ms Lim also told Ms Khan that Ms Khan should seek legal advice on any potential request by the Police for assistance. Ms Lim shared her own preliminary views on the matter. (Minister Shanmugam had said, in his Statement that the Police will investigate the matter and interview Ms Khan.)<sup>98</sup>
- 121. Ms Lim did not ask why she (Ms Khan) repeated the untruth, or say to Ms Khan that Ms Khan should clarify the Untruth during the sitting the next day (5 Oct.) Ms Lim also did not ask Ms Khan if she had spoken to her parents (even though Ms Lim agreed that this was a necessary step, which would need to be taken, before Ms Khan could clarify the truth.)

<sup>97</sup> Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [7798]-[7799].

 $<sup>^{98}</sup>$  Report, at paragraphs 65 - 67.

- 122. Ms Lim said in her evidence that she was "very frustrated" by what had happened.<sup>99</sup> She was frustrated because no progress had been made, to move Ms Khan towards correcting the Parliamentary record. Instead, through Ms Khan's exchange with Minister Shanmugam, there had been a "doubling down" on the untruth, making the situation even worse. <sup>100</sup>
- 123. If Ms Lim was concerned, and frustrated, and had expected that Mr Singh was handling the matter, then it would be reasonable to expect that Ms Lim: -
  - (1) Would have asked Ms Khan why she had repeated the Untruth because that was doubly serious.
  - (2) Would have asked Ms Khan what happened between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, in the leadup to the 4 Oct sitting.
  - (3) Ms Lim (the Chairman of the WP), however did not do so.
- 124. The only reasonable explanation is that the inaction is consistent with Ms Khan's evidence: that Ms Khan repeating the Untruth was in line with what the 3 Senior WP leaders had previously discussed (that she was not to clarify the truth.)
  - (3) Mr Singh and Ms Lim's 11.15pm meeting with Ms Khan at the LO Office is significant, and shows quite clearly that Mr Singh's evidence is not true
- 125. Mr Singh and Ms Lim met Ms Khan in the LO's office at around 11.15pm, for a very short meeting. The discussion was as follows:<sup>101</sup>
  - (1) Mr Singh asked Ms Khan what she planned to do about the matter.
  - (2) Ms Khan replied, "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth".
  - (3) Mr Singh responded, "But look at the choice you made".
  - (4) The meeting ended off with Mr Singh saying that they would discuss this further.

<sup>99</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12313]-[12315] and [12327].

<sup>100</sup> Sylvia Lim, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 13 Dec, para [12315].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Report, at paragraphs 69 – 74.

- 126. Ms Khan's statement "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth" (emphasis added), is quite telling.
  - (1) It was she who suggested, for the first time, in clear terms, that they should consider telling the truth.
  - (2) Mr Singh told this Committee that this was Ms Khan's thinking of the matter and mea culpa on her part. He disagreed that Ms Khan's statement reasonably suggested that she was under an impression, until that point, that she was not to tell the truth. The words are quite clear. Mr Singh's evidence that he didn't know that this was Ms Khan's impression, is not credible. 102
  - (3) Mr Singh also did not respond to say that they needed to tell the truth. Nor did he or Ms Lim ask Ms Khan if she had spoken to her parents (which both Mr Singh and Ms Lim said was necessary pre-condition to Ms Khan clarifying the truth.)<sup>103</sup>
  - (4) Mr Singh told this Committee that he did not ask Ms Khan if she had told her parents, because he assumed that Ms Khan had not told her parents the truth. He says that that was a "reasonable supposition" that he made that Ms Khan had not told her parents the truth. Mr Singh confirmed that he did not know whether Ms Khan had in fact spoken to her parents and he did not ask her either. The fact that he did not ask is telling.<sup>104</sup>
  - (5) Mr Singh suggested that he also had concerns about Ms Khan's mental state. That again should not prevent him from asking her if she had spoken with her parents. If anything, his own evidence, if true, would mean that he would all the more have been concerned about whether Ms Khan's parents knew. Mr Singh had no problem visiting Ms Khan the day before the 4 Oct Parliament sitting, to advise her on what she should say. She had then repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct, in Parliament. In that context that it is not credible for him to suggest that he didn't want to ask Ms Khan if she had told her parents, because he was concerned about her mental health.

<sup>102</sup> Report, at paragraph 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Report, at paragraph 74.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Mr Singh said that during the 8 Aug meeting, he was focused about Ms Khan's "well-being" given the state she was in, and told her to speak to her parents (Pritam Singh, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 2, 10 Dec, para [10079]-[10080]. ). He also described Ms Khan as having a "dazed look in her eyes" when he met her in the LO Office on 4 Oct, at 11.15pm, suggesting that she was disorientated. See Report, at paragraph 71.

(6) Mr Singh's conduct does not cohere with his evidence (see paragraph 74 of the Report.) His evidence makes no sense. The simple truth, based on his conduct, is: he did not ask Ms Khan about whether she had told her parents, because it was not necessary. He had not asked her to tell the truth in Parliament. Ms Khan had acted in accordance with his advice, and had repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct.

## (4) Mr Faisal's reaction after 4 Oct 2021 shows clearly that Ms Khan had been advised to continue with the Untruth

- 127. After Ms Khan repeated the Untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct, Mr Faisal learnt about the untruth later that day. He reached out to comfort Ms Khan on 5 Oct and met her on a separate issue on 7 Oct. He did not tell her to tell the truth on either occasion. It is significant that he spoke about the matter to Ms Khan to **comfort** her, after she had repeated the Untruth, and not to ask **why** she had repeated the Untruth.
- 128. Mr Faisal initiated and sent a message to Ms Khan on 5 Oct, to encourage her. 106
- 129. Mr Faisal confirmed that he could have asked Ms Khan about clarifying the untruth in Parliament, as he knew that she had repeated the untruth again on 4 Oct. Nevertheless, he did not ask any questions. Mr Faisal accepted that his behaviour did not make any sense nor were they logical. 107
- 130. On 7 Oct, Mr Faisal met Ms Khan on a separate issue. They did not discuss about Ms Khan's untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct. Mr Faisal admitted that it was illogical that even after Ms Khan had repeated the untruth on 4 Oct, he did not raise the issue with Ms Khan during their 7 Oct meeting.<sup>108</sup>
- 131. Mr Faisal's conduct actually makes sense and is completely logical: if he, together with Mr Singh and Ms Lim, had told Ms Khan, on 8 Aug, to continue with the Untruth. That explains his inaction, him not asking Ms Khan any questions because she was doing what had been agreed.
- 132. That is the simple explanation. Conduct has to be tested against common sense.

<sup>106</sup> Report, at paragraph 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Report, at paragraph 77.

<sup>108</sup> Report, at paragraph 80(4).

#### II. DECISION TAKEN ON 12 OCT 2021

- 133. The 3 Senior WP leaders did not discuss the untruth with Ms Khan even after 4 Oct (until 12 Oct).
- 134. Ms Khan met Mr Singh and Ms Lim on 12 Oct. By then, it would have been apparent that the matter was not going to be dropped by the Government. The Police were also going to investigate, and there was the likelihood of the Untruth being found out.<sup>109</sup>
- 135. Ms Khan said that on 12 Oct, Mr Singh and Ms Lim told her that they had come to the view that the matter would not be dropped, and was not going to go away. Mr Singh said that he told Ms Khan, "[t]his is not going to go away. So don't even think that this is going to be just left alone". 110
- 136. The Committee has concluded that this appears to be the reason why there seems to have been a change in the position, sometime on or before 12 Oct, and it was decided that Ms Khan should come clean.
- 137. After discussion between Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Ms Khan, it was decided that Ms Khan would clarify the truth in Parliament in Nov.<sup>111</sup>
- 138. The actions after 12 Oct show what would have been done if the truth was to have been told earlier. Several steps were taken once it was decided that Ms Khan would clarify the truth in Parliament:
  - (1) There were several drafts of Ms Khan's proposed personal explanation. These drafts were reviewed by Mr Singh, Ms Lim, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. Ms Khan took on board their comments.
  - (2) An extraordinary meeting of the WP CEC was convened on 29 Oct. The WP CEC were told about Ms Khan's Untruth. They reviewed Ms Khan's draft 1 Nov personal explanation.

<sup>109</sup> Report, at paragraph 80.

 $<sup>^{110}</sup>$  Report, at paragraphs  $83-84. \,$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Report, at paragraph 85.

- (3) Ms Khan told her parents about her sexual assault and the personal explanation she was going to make on 1 Nov. Mr Singh communicated directly with Ms Khan's father.
- (4) Ms Loh and Mr Nathan agreed to manage the communications with Compassvale residents and volunteers, and Ms Khan's social media.
- 139. For a fuller list of the steps taken, see paragraph 87 of the Report.

#### III. THE FORMATION AND CONDUCT OF THE DP

- 140. The circumstances in which the DP was formed have been set out at paragraphs 91 95 of the Report.
- 141. What happened in the DP is relevant, to the extent that it helps in assessing the evidence given before this Committee, and the motives of the relevant witnesses.
- 142. We will consider the matters relating to the DP as follows:
  - (1) The issues considered at the DP.
  - (2) The non-disclosure by the 3 Senior WP leaders (at the DP hearings, to WP members, and to the CEC), of their role in the matter.
  - (3) The 3 Senior WP leaders decided to pin the blame solely on Ms Khan, cover up their role, avoid scrutiny of their role and used the DP for that purpose.
  - (4) Ms Loh's and Ms Nathan's submission to the DP that the DP was self-serving and unfair because the 3 Senior WP leaders did not disclose their role.
  - (5) The 3 Senior WP leaders' explanation for their conduct.

#### A. The issues considered by the DP

- 143. The DP considered the Untruth told in Parliament on 3 Aug, and the repetition of the Untruth on 4 Oct.
- 144. But curiously, it seems not to have dealt with, in detail:

- (1) The 8 Aug meeting, when Ms Khan confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders, and what was discussed at the meeting. In fact, the DP does not appear to have raised this 8 Aug meeting at all, in their interviews with Ms Khan.
- (2) The 3 Oct meeting between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, where what Ms Khan was to say on 4 Oct was discussed.
- 145. Assuming the 3 Senior WP leaders were telling the truth about the 8 Aug discussion, and that Mr Singh was telling the truth about the 3 Oct discussion, these discussions would form an important part of the matters to be dealt with at the DP.
- 146. The conduct is inexplicable. For example, Mr Singh says he was "very clear" on 3 Oct that Ms Khan had to come clean on 4 Oct (if the issue was raised.) That means (as was pointed out earlier (see paragraph 82 above)), Ms Khan had not only repeated her Untruth on 4 Oct, but had also disregarded her Secretary-General's instructions on what she should have done. This would have been a serious disciplinary issue for the DP to consider. The DP would be expected to consider this breach and specifically state it. This was not done.
- 147. It is very significant, that Mr Singh did not say, at the DP, that Ms Khan went against his instructions.
- 148. If Mr Singh was being truthful about the 3 Oct discussion, then this would have been dealt with, as above.
- 149. Mr Singh's conduct shows that he was not telling the truth, in his evidence to this Committee.
- 150. In the end, the evidence of the conversation on 3 Oct, came out in a limited way during these Committee proceedings:
  - (1) Mr Singh did not specifically record his short reference to the 3 Oct conversation at the DP interview on 29 Oct. He appears to have recorded only part of the conversation "40. Agree that we just can't lie" which was less than candid.

- (2) Ms Lim made a note of that (i.e. Mr Singh's short reference to the 3 Oct conversation at the DP interview on 29 Oct) (see the 29 Nov DP Notes).<sup>112</sup>
- (3) Ms Lim gave us the DP Notes, when she appeared before the Committee (after Mr Singh had initially given his evidence). 113

#### B. The 3 Senior WP leaders did not disclose their role in the matter

- 151. The 3 Senior WP leaders did not disclose their role and involvement in advising Ms Khan:
  - (1) from 8 Aug, through to 4 Oct (when Ms Khan repeated the Untruth);
  - (2) throughout the DP hearings (which ended on 29 Nov); and
  - (3) thereafter, until Ms Khan resigned as an MP, and from the WP, on 30 Nov.
- 152. The WP members, WP CEC, and the public were kept in the dark. This is notwithstanding the following occasions in which the DP (i.e. the 3 Senior WP leaders) could have disclosed their involvement in the matter:-
  - (1) Mr Singh's statement issued on 1 Nov, after Ms Khan delivered her personal explanation in Parliament.
  - (2) The WP's press statement on 2 Nov, informing that they would be setting up a DP.
  - (3) When the DP gathered feedback from other WP members.
  - (4) The DP's meeting with the CEC on 30 Nov, where the DP delivered their recommendations.
- 153. The fact that the DP was formed by the 3 Senior WP leaders (who were the only ones who knew the truth); and they proceeded to hold the DP without disclosing their own involvement, in the above circumstances, is telling.

<sup>112</sup> Report, at paragraph 50.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

- 154. (1) The 3 Senior WP leaders knew (even on their own admission), that they did not tell Ms Khan to come clean until 12 Oct; and had not, prior to that, asked Ms Khan, even once, why she had repeated the Untruth, or when she was going to make a clarification.
  - (2) On 3 Oct, Mr Singh had advised Ms Khan specifically, on what she should say, on 4 Oct in Parliament.
  - (3) These are all relevant matters, for the DP, in deciding on Ms Khan's level of responsibility because she confessed to them and was taking guidance from them.
- 155. Even if the 3 Senior WP leaders' position is that they did not advise Ms Khan to lie, and to the contrary, they had told her to tell the truth about their involvement, that would mean that they should have recused themselves from the DP.
- 156. Transparency required them to disclose their involvement, when they formed the DP.
- 157. Fairness and justice required that they ask others to be on the DP; and the 3 Senior WP leaders should be giving evidence disclosing fully their role, rather than sitting in judgement on Ms Khan.
- 158. All of this would have been plain to the 3 Senior WP leaders. Two of them are lawyers. Mr Singh frequently emphasises the importance of transparency.
- 159. They nevertheless proceeded to sit on the DP, and concluded the proceedings quickly, without making disclosure of the facts.
- 160. That:
  - (1) the 3 Senior WP leaders proceeded to form the DP;
  - (2) they were the only ones on the DP; and
  - (3) they didn't deal with their own involvement,

points to a desire to close the matter quickly and make Ms Khan solely responsible for the Untruth.

161. It also throws a different light on their evidence to this Committee, that they had wanted the Untruth clarified. Their conduct suggests the opposite.

## C. The 3 Senior WP leaders decided to pin the blame solely on Ms Khan, and used the DP for that purpose

- 162. This Committee has concluded that the 3 Senior WP leaders had, on 8 Aug, told Ms Khan to continue with the Untruth; and on 3 Oct Mr Singh had guided Ms Khan to continue with the Untruth. (See paragraphs 7 and 139 above.)
- 163. The DP proceedings and the way they were conducted (with haste, and without transparency), lend weight to this conclusion.
- 164. The DP proceedings were a travesty, in that: -
  - (1) The 3 Senior WP leaders told Ms Khan on 8 Aug to continue with the Untruth.
  - (2) Mr Singh guided Ms Khan, on 3 Oct to continue with the Untruth.
  - (3) On 1 Nov, after Ms Khan's statement in Parliament, WP issued a press statement but made no mention of a DP.
  - (4) The next day, when there was adverse public reaction, a DP was announced, when initially Ms Khan had been assured that there would be no DP (see paragraphs 178 183 below).
  - (5) The 3 persons who had told Ms Khan to lie, then sat in judgment on her, through the DP, to consider *why* she lied (without disclosing their own involvement, and that they had told Ms Khan to continue to lie).
  - (6) And then the 3 Senior WP leaders, through the DP, recommended that Ms Khan be disciplined for lying, and expelled from the Party (when in essence, she was following their advice from 8 Aug, including when she repeated the Untruth on 4 Oct).

#### D. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan said that the DP was self-serving

165. It is instructive to note the views (on the DP) of 2 young WP cadre members, who knew of the 3 Senior WP leaders' involvement: Ms Loh and Mr Nathan.

- 166. On 25 Nov, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met the DP and made a joint submission. Ms Loh told the DP directly, that: -
  - (1) The DP should tell the public the true events that took place.
  - (2) Not disclosing the true events would be highly unfair to Ms Khan.

In response, Mr Faisal and Ms Lim just nodded and took notes. 114

- 167. The 3 Senior WP leaders did not disagree or deny what Ms Loh or Mr Nathan said.
- 168. Ms Loh also told Mr Singh (at the DP Hearing on 25 Nov) that: 115
  - (1) He should tell the public the truth, or at least relay a timeline of the events, because it shows his involvement in what had happened.
  - (2) He had a degree of responsibility on what transpired on 4 Oct because he is the leader of the WP and Leader of the Opposition, and he could have made a clarification then if he wanted to.<sup>116</sup>

(For Mr Singh's response, see paragraph 94(3) of the Report, and below, at paragraph 172.)

- 169. When they appeared before this Committee, Ms Loh, Mr Nathan and Ms Khan said that they had been surprised that the DP was formed (see paragraphs 93(1)-(3) of the Report.)
- 170. In addition, Ms Loh said that the way the DP was structured was self-serving, because the 3 Senior WP leaders were the very people: (a) who had known that what Ms Khan had said was untrue; and (b) they were the only members of the DP. 117 She said that it was a "major conflict of interest". 118
- 171. Mr Nathan said that the DP was self-serving, and that it had contributed to an uninformed, biased and jaundiced view of the incident, because it invited WP members and volunteers to give their

<sup>114</sup> Report, at paragraph 94.

<sup>115</sup> Thid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [942].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Report, at paragraph 93(2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [852].

views on the incident, without revealing that Ms Khan had acted with the guidance of the WP senior leadership (who were precisely the members of the DP itself.)<sup>119</sup>

#### E. The 3 Senior WP leaders' explanation for their conduct

- 172. The 3 Senior WP leaders gave various explanations for their conduct.
  - (1) Mr Singh said that they had not told Ms Khan to lie. It was therefore irrelevant that they knew the Untruth from 7/8 Aug;<sup>120</sup>
  - (2) Ms Lim said that if Ms Khan's points (that the 3 Senior WP leaders had told her to keep to the Untruth), had been raised earlier, then the composition of the DP may have had to be different; 121 and
  - (3) Mr Faisal said since they were only considering events between 8 Nov (when the DP first sat to receive evidence), and 29 Nov (when the DP concluded hearing evidence), the fact that Ms Khan's Untruth was known to the 3 Senior WP leaders' from 7/8 Aug was irrelevant.<sup>122</sup>.
- 173. None of the reasons stand scrutiny. The DP had to consider Ms Khan's Untruth stated in Parliament on 3 Aug and 4 Oct, and her reasons for it. The WP statement issued on 2 Nov, on the DP, stated that the DP was formed to look into Ms Khan's admission on 1 Nov, concerning her 3 Aug statement. That means considering all relevant matters.
- 174. The DP would have had to also consider what exactly Mr Singh told Ms Khan on 3 Oct. Ms Lim knew of the meeting, but not the details. It should have been apparent to Ms Lim that the DP had to ask what exactly did Mr Singh advise Ms Khan to do. And Ms Loh and Mr Nathan had questioned the composition of the DP. So Ms Lim (and Mr Singh and Mr Faisal) knew that the composition of the DP was an issue. Ms Lim's answer is not credible.
- 175. Mr Singh knew that what he told (on 3 Oct) Ms Khan to do, would be material, even if his version of what he said on 3 Oct is true. He could not have sat on the DP.

<sup>119</sup> Report, at paragraph 93(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Report, at paragraph 93(4)(b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Report, at paragraph 93(5).

<sup>122</sup> Report, at paragraph 93(4)(a).

176. Nevertheless, the DP proceeded as composed. That fact is relevant for the reasons mentioned at paragraphs 141 - 142 above.

#### IV. MR SINGH'S CHANGES OF POSITION AND SELF-SERVING STATEMENTS

- 177. After the adverse public reaction on 1 Nov, Mr Singh appears to have taken steps to disassociate himself from what had happened, and give a different complexion to his conduct.
  - (1) Mr Singh formed the DP, and proposed himself, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal as members, when he had originally said that there will not be a DP. Ms Loh said that the composition of the DP was self-serving.
  - (2) Mr Singh changed his position on what he had meant, when he had said he won't judge Ms Khan.
  - (3) Mr Singh's self-serving statement ("can't lie right"), at Ms Khan's DP interview on 29 Nov.

#### A. Mr Singh's abrupt decision to form the DP

- 178. The DP was formed on 2 Nov, when Mr Singh and Ms Lim had initially said that there will be no disciplinary action against Ms Khan.
- 179. Ms Khan told the Committee that on 12 Oct, she had asked Ms Lim and Mr Singh if there would be any disciplinary consequences for her actions, and they told her "no". 123
- 180. This is corroborated by Ms Khan's contemporaneous WhatsApp exchange with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 2 Nov, when the DP was first set up (reproduced below.)<sup>124</sup> Ms Loh says that Mr Singh seemed assured about dealing with demands to discipline Ms Khan. Ms Khan told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan that Mr Singh did not tell her about the possibility of disciplinary action, even though she had asked him explicitly about it.

[2/11/21, 11:31:21 AM] Raeesah WP: Looks like CEC will be disciplining me, I think it'll happen at the next CEC on the 9<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Raeesah Khan, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [2054]-[2055].

<sup>124</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh, Ms Khan and Mr Nathan on 2 Nov (Annex C7)

...

[2/11/21, 11:42:33 AM] Peiying: Well I did hint to Pritam that there would be demands on him as sec-gen, but he seemed quite self-assured that he's handled it [2/11/21, 11:42:44 AM] Peiying: so maybe he's getting frazzled by the requests [2/11/21, 11:42:48 AM] Raeesah WP: I really wish he gave me a heads up [2/11/21, 11:43:09 AM] Raeesah WP: I asked him explicitly if I would be disciplined, so I can mentally prepare [2/11/21, 11:43:15 AM] Raeesah WP: He didn't even give me that courtesy

- 181. Mr Singh took steps to set up the DP at short notice, on 2 Nov (the day <u>after Ms Khan delivered</u> her personal statement in Parliament.) The WP then issued a media statement on 2 Nov, announcing the formation of the DP. Everything was settled, in just over an hour.
  - (1) On 2 Nov, at 11.19am, Mr Singh sent a message to Mr Faisal informing Mr Faisal that he (Mr Singh) intended to set up a disciplinary panel. Mr Singh indicated that Ms Lim had also agreed to be part of the DP. He asked if Mr Faisal was likewise be agreeable to be part of the DP. Mr Faisal agreed, almost immediately. 125
  - (2) Less than 10 minutes later (at 11:27 am), Mr Singh then sought approval from the CEC (via Whatsapp) to set up a disciplinary panel, comprising of himself (Secretary-General), Ms Lim (Chairman) and Mr Faisal (Vice-Chairman.)<sup>126</sup>
  - (3) About an hour later, the WP issued a media statement, at around 12.39pm, announcing the setting up of the DP and its composition.<sup>127</sup>
- 182. When they learnt about the DP being set up, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan's immediate reaction was that Mr Singh had constituted the DP as a reaction to the "backlash" to Ms Khan's confession in Parliament. Ms Loh expressed concern that Mr Singh might "cut the cord", since questions were now being asked about his involvement and knowledge of the Untruth:

[Extract from WhatsApp message exchange between Ms Loh ("Peiying (WP)") and Mr Nathan ("YN")<sup>128</sup>]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> WhatsApp exchange between Mr Singh and Mr Faisal on 2 Nov (Annex C15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Mr Singh's WhatsApp message to the WP CEC on 2 Nov (Annex C16)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Workers' Party Facebook post dated 2 Nov 2021, timed at 12.39pm (Annex C26).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 2 Nov (Annex C31).

[2/11/21, 11:54:17 AM] Peiying (WP): Pritam just told me himself about the disciplinary committee

[2/11/21, 11:54:20 AM] Peiying (WP): but he didn't say much more

[2/11/21, 12:24:37 PM] YN: Hi hi

[2/11/21, 12:24:47 PM] YN: He sent me the same message too

...

[2/11/21, 12:55:25 PM] YN: I think he wanted to tell us just so we heard it from him before the party pg

[2/11/21, 12:55:37 PM] YN: which is nice I guess

[2/11/21, 12:55:51 PM] YN: But I do feel he n Sylvia underestimated the backlash

[2/11/21, 12:56:13 PM] Peiying (WP): funny he make special effort to tell both of us but not rae?

[2/11/21, 12:56:18 PM] Peiying (WP): I also think he's being too reactionary

[2/11/21, 12:56:23 PM] Peiying (WP): I would have let it simmer for another 2 days

...

[2/11/21, 2:26:12 PM] YN: Rae message me just now

[2/11/21, 2:26:22 PM] YN: To ask me if I think the party will ask her to step down

[2/11/21, 2:26:36 PM] Peiying (WP): I don't know sia

[2/11/21, 2:26:39 PM] Peiying (WP): I really don't know

[2/11/21, 2:45:39 PM] Peiying (WP): [Ms Loh attaches a screenshot of a social media post questioning Mr Singh's knowledge of the Untruth.]

[2/11/21, 2:45:41 PM] Peiying (WP): Here it comes

[2/11/21, 2:45:56 PM] YN: Wah

[2/11/21, 2:46:01 PM] YN: He also being dragged

[2/11/21, 2:46:46 PM] Peiying (WP): so I dont trust Pritam to put himself above things lol

[2/11/21, 2:46:56 PM] Peiying (WP): like... when it affects him personally, im worried he'll cut the cord

183. The evidence shows that that was exactly what Mr Singh did: he cut the cord to avoid his role coming out.

#### B. Mr Singh's change of position, on the meaning of "I will not judge you"

184. On 12 Oct, Ms Loh requested to meet with Mr Singh to discuss what Ms Khan should say in Parliament, and how she should convey the truth. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met with Mr Singh later that meeting (on 12 Oct).

- 185. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan told this Committee as follows (this evidence is referred to at paragraph 59 of the Report). At this meeting on 12 Oct, Mr Singh told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan that he had met with Ms Khan on 3 Oct (the day before the 4 Oct Parliament sitting.) Mr Singh told them that he had said to Ms Khan:
  - (1) He had a feeling Ms Khan's statement (made on 3 Aug) might come up in Parliament again. And Ms Khan might be pressed about this issue.<sup>129</sup>
  - (2) Mr Singh told Ms Khan, "I will not judge you".
- 186. Mr Nathan added that Mr Singh recounted that he told Ms Khan that regardless of whether she maintained the Untruth or not, Mr Singh would not judge her.<sup>130</sup>
- 187. Ms Loh said that Mr Singh, in saying this, had left the choice to Ms Khan, as to whether she should tell the truth about her 3 Aug statement, if she was asked about it in Parliament on 4 Oct. <sup>131</sup> Based on this, it should have been apparent to Mr Singh, that Ms Khan could have chosen to continue with the Untruth.
- 188. However, by 25 Nov, Mr Singh had **changed the characterisation** of what he had told Ms Khan on 3 Oct. This was when Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met the DP, on 25 Nov, to give their views on the matter. <sup>132</sup>
- 189. At the DP meeting on 25 Nov, Mr Singh disagreed with Ms Loh that he gave a choice to Ms Khan, when he said "*I will not judge you*". He said it was not his responsibility to step up and clarify the truth in Parliament. Ms Loh said that Mr Singh tried to impress on her (Ms Loh) that on 3 Oct, he had given Ms Khan **an order to tell the truth** (on 4 Oct.) This Committee

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [425].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Report, at paragraph 59(2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [504]-[525].

<sup>132</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [1302]-[1303].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Loh Pei Ying, Appendix III: Minutes of Evidence, Vol 1, 2 Dec, para [950].

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> 2 Dec Transcripts, [1302] – [1303]. In relation to the question posed to Ms Loh, she was referred to the CNA Article published on 2 Dec about the WP press conference, which reported, "In response to questions over why Ms Khan did not follow orders to clarify the matter in October, Mr Singh added, "Why she didn't take heed of that instruction [on 3 Oct]? Why did she ignore it? That is not a question I can answer.""

CNA subsequently clarified that the above was inaccurate. They had attributed Mr Singh's answer to the wrong question. Nevertheless, regardless of what was said in the CNA article, Ms Loh's evidence was that on 25 Nov, Mr Singh was trying to impress on her (Ms Loh) that on 3 Oct, he had given Ms Khan an order to tell the truth (on 4 Oct).

has gone into some detail, why Mr Singh could not have given such an order (see paragraphs 86, 89, 118, 138 and 146 above). His statement that he gave such an order is untrue.

- 190. To put matters in context, Ms Khan had, prior to 25 Nov, forwarded her WhatsApp exchange with Mr Singh (on 22 Nov) to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. In her WhatsApp exchange with Mr Singh, Ms Khan had requested for a second interview with the DP (to talk about her performance as an MP, a matter the DP raised in at the 8 Nov interview.) Mr Singh replied (amongst other things), "Dear Raeesah I hope you can see that it is precisely your character and behaviour that is under review here, in view of your actions in Parliament and your decision to stick to the untruthful anecdote when asked again in Oct..." 136
- 191. Ms Khan, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan were shocked by how Mr Singh characterised what transpired on 4 Oct, when he had told Ms Khan on 3 Oct, "*I will not judge you*". An extract of Ms Khan's WhatsApp message exchange with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 23 Nov is set out below:<sup>137</sup>

[23/11/21, 8:36:08 AM] Raeesah WP: I was shocked by his reply about October

[23/11/21, 8:36:37 AM] Raeesah WP:

[23/11/21, 9:53:06 AM] Peiying: I am too but don't worry I'm ready to tell him we know

[23/11/21, 1:15:08PM] Yudhish: "your decision to stick to the untruthful anecdote when asked again in Oct"

[23/11/21, 1:15:19PM] Yudhish: What happened to "I won't judge you"??

[23/11/21, 1:15:51PM] Yudhish: And we know cos he literally told us in his house that that's what he said

[23/11/21, 1:16:08 PM] Peiying: Yeah I'm ready to say this to him on Thursday [23/11/21, 1:16:19 PM] Yudhish: I think Faisal n Sylvia should know this

#### C. Mr Singh's statement on 29 Nov 2021 during the DP proceedings

- 192. During the 29 Nov DP interview with (Ms Khan), Mr Singh made the remarks, "Did the need to tell the truth in Parliament occur to you?" and "can't lie right". (See paragraph 50 of the Report.)
- 193. In the light of the rest of the evidence, this appears to be a self-serving remark, an after thought, to give himself an alibi, in order to conceal the truth: that on 3 Oct, Mr Singh not only failed to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Mr Singh and Ms Khan on 22 Nov (Annex C29).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh, Ms Khan and Mr Nathan on 23 Nov (Annex C30).

make clear to Ms Khan that she had no choice but to tell the truth; he also guided her towards doing the very opposite, and gave her his personal assurance that all would be well, if she continued with the Untruth.

- 194. As stated earlier (paragraph 86), if Mr Singh had made clear to Mr Khan on 3 Oct that she had to tell the truth, then he would <u>not</u> have had to ask this question.
- 195. At this point (29 Nov), Mr Faisal and Ms Lim, did not know the specifics what Mr Singh had said to Ms Khan on 3 Oct. The manner in which the question was asked suggests that Mr Singh was trying to give himself an alibi, at least in front of his teammates Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.

#### Annex A – Memorandum of Complaint by Leader of the House, Ms Indranee Rajah Against Ms Raeesah Khan

During the Parliament sitting on 1 November 2021, I had raised a complaint against the Member for Sengkang GRC, Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan") for a breach of privilege suddenly arising, under paragraph 100(7)(b) of the Standing Orders of the Parliament of Singapore (the "Complaint").

- The Complaint arose following Ms Khan's Personal Explanation to the House and her subsequent clarifications thereon, during which she admitted to having lied to the House in previous sittings and being unable to substantiate a serious allegation made by her against the Police.
- 3. Prior to her Personal Explanation on 1 November 2021, Ms Khan had made a number of statements in Parliament, summarised below:
  - (a) On 3 August 2021, during the debate on the Motion titled "Empowering Women" (the "Debate"), Ms Khan alleged as follows:
    - "In my line of work, I have accompanied people to Police stations to make reports on sexual violence. ... Three years ago, I accompanied a 25-year-old survivor to make a Police report against a rape that was committed against her. She came out crying. The Police officer had allegedly made comments about her dressing and the fact that she was drinking" (the "Statement");1
  - (b) During the same Debate, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr Desmond Tan, rose to seek clarifications on Ms Khan's Statement, and requested more details so that the matter could be investigated.
    - In response, Ms Khan stated "[I]ike I mentioned, it was three years ago and I do not wish to re-traumatise the person that I had accompanied", but further asserted that "these anecdotes are not isolated".<sup>2</sup>
  - (c) Later during the same sitting on 3 August 2021, Ms Khan rose to provide clarifications, stating that she "raised the example because it was my experience with a survivor. The episode I raised in my speech took place three years ago and I have been unsuccessful in getting in touch with them".3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Singapore Parliamentary Debates, Official Report (3 August 2021), Vol. 95, Sitting No. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Id.

<sup>3</sup> Id.

At that time, I rose to remind Members of the House of the need to exercise the privileges of the House responsibly, and that they should be prepared to substantiate any assertions or allegations made by them in the House, especially those made against an agency which was not in a position to defend itself.

(d) Subsequently on 4 October 2021, the Minister for Home Affairs, Mr K Shanmugam, made a Ministerial Statement in relation to the Statement and informed the House that the Police had spent "a lot of time searching their records"<sup>4</sup> but were unable to identify a case where Ms Khan was present with the victim as alleged. He sought (through Speaker) clarifications from Ms Khan of details of the alleged incident (without naming the victim) so that the Police could investigate what had happened.

In response to a number of questions put to her by the Minister of Home Affairs through Speaker, Ms Khan confirmed that everything she had related in her Statement to Parliament on 3 August 2021 was accurate, that she did accompany such a person, and that such an incident "did happen three years ago". She further stated that she had "not been successful getting in touch with the person that I accompanied". 5 She repeatedly declined to provide any details on grounds of confidentiality.

- At the conclusion of the Ministerial Statement on 4 October 2021, the Minister for Home Affairs stated that the "Police will investigate this very serious matter further", and that the "officers in-charge and the Police will interview Ms Khan".<sup>6</sup>
- 5. In a media statement dated 20 October 2021, the Singapore Police Force said that it had twice emailed Ms Khan to arrange for an interview as it needed her to provide details of the case, but she had not responded to the invitation and the allegation remained unsubstantiated. The Straits Times reported on the same date that in response to media queries, Ms Khan said that she would make a statement on the matter at the next Parliament sitting on 1 November 2021, subject to the Speaker's approval. A copy of the Police's media statement and the Straits Times report is enclosed.
- 6. On 1 November 2021, Ms Khan delivered her Personal Explanation to Parliament. In it, she stated "I was not present with the survivor in the Police station as I described", and that the anecdote she described in Parliament had in fact been allegedly told to her by a survivor in a support group for women, of which Ms Khan was a member.

Singapore Parliamentary Debates, Official Report (4 October 2021), Vol. 95, Sitting No. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Id.

<sup>6</sup> Id.

<sup>7</sup> Singapore Parliamentary Debates, Official Report (1 November 2021), Vol. 95, Sitting No. 41.

- In her clarifications following the Personal Explanation, Ms Khan further admitted that:
  - (a) what she had said in her Statement about accompanying the survivor to the Police station and what she allegedly saw on that occasion were untrue:
  - (b) her clarification on 3 August 2021 to the Minister of State for Home Affairs, claiming she "had accompanied" the survivor to the Police station, was untrue;
  - (c) her affirmative response on 4 October 2021 to the Minister for Home Affairs' request for confirmation that "everything she told us is accurate, that she did accompany such a person and such an incident did happen",9 was untrue;
  - (d) whilst she had, on 4 October 2021, cited confidentiality as her reason for refusing to provide further details of the incident to the House, she did not in fact have any details of the allegation she had made against the Police.
- 8. In her Personal Explanation, the reason put forward by Ms Khan for relating an untruthful story to Parliament was because she wanted to share the survivor's account but did not wish to disclose that she was part of a support group for women. During her clarifications, Ms Khan suggested that she had made a mistake "in my haste and in my passion to advocate for survivors like myself". 10 However, she admitted that it would have been possible to tell the survivor's story without having to state the untruths and without having to refer to the survivors' group.
- 9. In response to my query as to why Ms Khan repeated the untruths in Parliament on 4 October 2021, two months after the original Statement (during which there would have been time to reflect) and despite my caution to Members of the need to exercise the privileges of the House responsibly and to be prepared to substantiate allegations made in Parliament, Ms Khan stated that she "really wanted to protect the identity of the survivor and the survivors in the women's support group", that she was "not ready at that point to come forward with this information", and that "after being able to have discussions with my family, with my friends, and also informing the relevant people, it was it was [sic] clear that I wanted to make this apology; I wanted to make this personal explanation like I have done so today."11

<sup>8</sup> Id.

<sup>9</sup> Id.

<sup>10</sup> ld.

<sup>11</sup> ld.

- 10. Ms Khan has therefore admitted to lying to Parliament several times and being unable to substantiate the allegation that she had made against the Police in Parliament on 3 August 2021. These are matters which affect the privileges of Parliament.
- Given the circumstances, I moved to refer the Complaint before the Committee of Privileges with respect to:
  - the various untruths made by Ms Khan in Parliament referred to above, including her explanations for those untruths and responses to the clarifications sought by me in Parliament on 1 November 2021; and
  - (b) Ms Khan's failure to substantiate the allegation she made in Parliament on 3 August 2021,

for whatever findings it deems fit and proper to recommend in the matter.

Indranee Rajah Leader of the House

26 November 2021



HOME (/) > MEDIA ROOM (/MEDIA-ROOM) > NEWS (/MEDIA-ROOM/NEWS) > POLICE STATEMENT (/MEDIA-ROOM/NEWS/20211020\_POLICE\_STATEMENT)

#### POLICE STATEMENT

On 3 August 2021, Member of Parliament Ms Raeesah Khan said in Parliament that three years ago, she had accompanied a 25-year-old rape victim (lady) to make a police report. Ms Khan said that the victim had come out crying, because the Police officer had allegedly made comments about her dressing and the fact that she had been drinking.

The Police have made an extensive search, to look for the case. We could not identify such a case or the officers allegedly involved as stated by Ms Khan in Parliament.

On 4 October 2021, Minister for Home Affairs K Shanmugam asked Ms Khan in Parliament to provide more information to assist the Police on the case, such as the police station, the month the report was filed and other details. Ms Khan declined to provide any details, citing confidentiality. The Minister said that the Police will ask Ms Khan to come for an interview.

The Serious Sexual Crime Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department, which investigates into rape offences, sent an email to Ms Khan on 7 October 2021, requesting her to get in touch with the Police by 14 October 2021, to arrange for an interview. The Police needed her to provide details on the case. She was assured that the Police would do everything possible to safeguard the victim's identity from public disclosure. A reminder email was sent to Ms Khan on 15 October 2021, to get in touch with the Police by 18 October 2021.

The Police have still not heard from Ms Khan.

Ms Khan has so far not substantiated her allegations against Police officers with further details on the case.

As stated above, the extensive search done by the Police has not shown up any incident as described by Ms Khan, and we cannot confirm that such an incident actually took place.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT SINGAPORE POLICE FORCE 20 October 2021 @ 2:00 PM

#### THE STRAITS TIMES

### Alleged mishandling of sexual assault case: No response from WP MP Raeesah, say police



Police said MP Rasesah Khan has not responded to requests to provide more details on the case she raised in Parliament in August, PHOTO GOVSS



Rei Kurohi

UPDATED 20 OCT 2021, 7:36 PM SGT \*

SINGAPORE - The police on Wednesday (Oct 20) said it has not managed to identify a case of sexual assault that Workers' Party (WP) MP Raeesah Khan had alleged was mishandled, following an extensive search.

"We cannot confirm that such an incident actually took place," the police said in a statement, adding that Ms Raeesah has not responded to requests to provide more details on the case she raised in Parliament in August.

In response to queries from The Straits Times, Ms Raeesah said: "As the issue relates to a speech I made in Parliament, I will make a statement on the matter at the next sitting of Parliament on Nov 1, subject to the Speaker's approval."

The Serious Sexual Crime Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department, which investigates rape offences, had sent an e-mail to Ms Raeesah on Oct 7 <u>asking her to contact the police and arrange an interview by Oct 14.</u>

"The police needed her to provide details on the case. She was assured that the police would do everything possible to safeguard the victim's identity from public disclosure," the police said.

Another e-mail was sent to Ms Raeesah last Friday (Oct 15), asking her to reply by Monday (Oct 18).

The police said it has not heard from Ms Raeesah, who "has so far not substantiated her allegations against police officers with further details on the case".

In a speech during <u>a debate on empowering women on Aug 3, M</u>s Raeesah had told the House that she accompanied a 25-year-old rape victim to a police station to make a report three years ago.

She said the police officer who interviewed the victim had allegedly made inappropriate comments about her dressing and the fact that she has been drinking.

On Oct 4, Home Affairs and Law Minister K. Shanmugam asked Ms Raeesah in Parliament to provide more details, such as the rough date of the incident, which police station she had accompanied the victim to, about the police officers involved, and whether she had highlighted the incident to the police or filed a complaint.

The minister said the police had checked their records and found no cases that fit Ms Raeesah's description.

In response, Ms Raeesah affirmed that her account was true but repeatedly declined to reveal any further details, citing confidentiality concerns.

Mr Shanmugam then said the police would interview Ms Raeesah and continue to investigate the case.

#### Annex B1 - Ms Raeesah Khan's speech on 3 Aug

Parliament No: 14

Session No: 1

Volume No: 95 Sitting No: 36

Sitting Date: 3-8-2021
Section Name: Motions

Title: Empowering Women

### **EMPOWERING WOMEN**

(Motion)

5.41 pm

**Ms Raeesah Khan (Sengkang)**: Mdm Deputy Speaker, my speech today is about women. I want to focus on four main areas: sexual violence, female genital cutting, polygamy and the hijab.

Last month, I spoke about sexuality education. I shared that underaged cases made up 37% of sexual violence cases between 2017 and 2019. Yet, our sexuality education programmes only teach consent explicitly at the University level and sexuality education at lower levels happens just once or twice a year. Without consent-focused sexuality education from a young age, our children remain vulnerable to sexual violence – a trauma that can hurt a person for a lifetime.

Sexuality education is a lifelong journey that starts at home and in school. Open, non-judgmental discussions about consent and respect under a standardised and compulsory national curriculum are essential, as are safe spaces and bystander training from an early age. This will help our children grow up to be responsible, aware adults and make Singapore a safe and nurturing home for all.

The PAP Women's Wing and Young PAP released a Joint Paper last week on Women's Development that includes a review of sexuality education. I am glad to see this consensus on our need to update sexuality education and look forward to more conversations on such updates.

Persons with intellectual disabilities, too, have often been victims of sexual violence. In the US, a study on sex crimes data found that persons with intellectual disabilities of all genders were victims of sexual assault at rates over seven times higher than those of persons without intellectual disabilities. Closer to home, a man was charged in November last year for sexually assaulting his 17-year-old intellectually disabled daughter when her mother was not home. This March, a woman was jailed for sexually assaulting her daughter's intellectually disabled schoolmate on several occasions. These cases surfaced as the first victim's teacher had noticed something was amiss and the second victim had reported the incidents to social workers.

As with all sexual assault cases, it is likely that many more go unreported. I would like to ask the Minister for Home Affairs, out of the total number of sexual assault cases reported and prosecuted in the past five years, how many cases involved individuals with intellectual disabilities? I hope that studies can be done on this issue so we can better protect our Singaporeans with intellectual disabilities from violence and its resulting trauma.

Where possible, we should also seek to improve training for teachers, social workers and others who may interact with these vulnerable individuals, to help them better identify potential cases of abuse and sexual violence.

As we improve our policies targeted at preventing sexual violence, it is just as important for us to improve support for survivors. The suicide of a South Korean female air force officer, three months after she had been sexually assaulted and pressured to cover it up, is a powerful reminder of the cost of turning a blind eye to survivors and their needs.

In the case of Nicholas Lim, who filmed a fellow female student while she was showering, the survivor shared with the public that she did not receive much support.

While many institutions have since moved to improve their support structures for survivors of sexual violence, this has likely varied among institutions. It is incredible to see the emergence of more ground-up initiatives, including safe spaces and support groups for victims of sexual assault. Could the Minister for Social and Family Development share on current work done by the Ministry and other Government agencies to offer robust and accessible survivor support in the medium to longer term, including but not limited to psychologists, therapists and support group linkages?

In my line of work, I have accompanied people to Police stations to make reports on sexual violence. It is already incredibly difficult for survivors to feel comfortable making a report in the first place, but sometimes the responses from those called to protect us can be disheartening. Three years ago, I accompanied a 25-year-old survivor to make a Police report against a rape that was committed against her. She came out crying. The Police officer had allegedly made comments about her dressing and the fact that she was drinking.

We need better treatment of survivors of sexual assault and sexual harassment by law enforcement. In recent years, we have seen training rolled out for judges and regulations for how lawyers argue sexual assault cases – all steps in the right direction to prevent revictimisation. I would like to call on MHA to provide more Police officers with specific sexual violence training to handle sexual assault and harassment cases with sensitivity and care towards victims during the reporting and investigation process. Survivor-centered care is a crucial step in addressing sexual violence and our Police officers can also be supported by counsellors or trained mental health personnel at Police stations other than the Onesafe Centre in Police Cantonment Complex.

Assuring survivors that they can be taken seriously and not blamed for the horrors that they have faced is an important step of making our law enforcement system more just. This will help build confidence in the sensitivity and capacity of law enforcement to handle difficult issues delicately, and will encourage more victims of sexual violence to come forward. While I acknowledge that providing more victim support and increased reporting will require more resources on the part of law enforcement, I believe that this is something we must commit to.

No victim should ever feel like those with the power to safeguard them have disregarded their needs.

I move on to the topic of female genital cutting or FGC, defined by UNICEF as the injury, partial, or total removal of the external female genital organs for non-medical reasons.

This practice – Sunat Perempuan, as it is known in Malay – continues in Singapore, quiet though it may be. It has not escaped the notice of the foreign press, such as Reuters and the BBC, or even local activists working on this issue. Many of my friends in the Malay/Muslim community have gone through this practice themselves.

While there are many facets to this complex issue, I wish today to solely focus on the medical and health implications of the practice.

As recently as 20 years ago, FGC was performed by traditional midwives in homes with no sterilisation or anaesthesia. Today, I understand that the procedure is mostly performed by doctors in private clinics. The cut ranges from a symbolic placement of scissors or a penknife on the intended organ, or a nick, but the most common form of cutting in Singapore still involves some removal of genital tissue.

The effects of FGC are wide-ranging. Anecdotal experiences reveal an over-cutting or laceration of other parts of the vulva. Considering that the typical size of a baby girl's vulva is a mere 1.5 centimetre, this may lead to a disproportionate loss of nerve endings and the creation of scar tissue. Additionally, as with any invasive medical procedure, there is always a chance of infection.

Female genital cutting may also hurt a baby's attachment to her caregiver. A study by the Washington University School of Medicine found that a common defence mechanism of the nervous system to pain is to shut down, which negatively affects interactions with the caregiver. A second potential negative mental health impact is on childhood brain development. Exposure to acute pain in babies and children activates biological stress responses, which may hinder optimal development.

In essence, babies feel pain. Even if they process it differently from adults, babies still face the risk of long-term physical and mental health implications – as well as strained bonds with their parents – with female genital cutting.

In a reply to the BBC article, a representative of MUIS said it "does not condone any procedures which bring harm to the individual", adding that the Council has "always held the position that female genital cutting should be avoided". Noting the pain that such acts can bring to females undergoing such practices, I strongly urge the MOH to conduct a thorough review of female genital cutting procedures done in private clinics. We should aim to standardise and make transparent the amount of skin cut during the procedure, or enforce that the practice should be purely symbolic, ensure that the proper instrumentation is used, and, as with similar types of medical procedures, require medical counselling for those who seek to carry it out.

The counselling process will allow for doctors to first assess if a baby is medically fit to undergo the procedure, as well as to educate parents on the potential risks. The counselling can also serve to make sure neither parent is being coerced to comply with the practice, either by their spouse, relatives or external parties. After counselling, there should be a mandatory 48-hour period, after which, if the parents still wish to proceed with the cutting, they may arrange another appointment.

The decision to proceed should be unanimous and there should be measures in place to ensure that the procedure is being done with the knowledge of both parents.

Finally, I hope that the Ministry can commission a study to find out the prevalence of the practice and evaluate the accompanying medical risks that may follow. This will help us understand the potential medical risks faced by those who undergo the procedure.

In Singapore, only in marriages under the Registry of Muslim Marriages (RMM) are men allowed to marry more than one wife, and even up to four wives at one time. Our regulations stipulate that each application is rigorously reviewed by the RMM, and that it is only approved if "there's an urgent reason or necessity" or a "good reason" for the subsequent marriages.

Recently, a community initiative called Lepak Conversations did a survey on multiple issues pertaining to gender equality. Their survey found that even though regulations here may be stricter than in other countries, many men still marry their subsequent wives abroad, ignoring the need for an approval letter from the state. In 2014, it was reported that more than 100 Singaporean men underwent a second, unregistered marriage in Indonesia.

Growing up, I remember having a conversation with one of my classmates in Primary school about how her father had decided to marry another wife in Batam against her mother's wishes. This caused a huge financial strain on her family and her home environment grew increasingly unstable. She would come to school crying and found it difficult to concentrate on her studies.

Polygamy does not only affect the man in the relationship, it also affects women and children. In Islam, the desired outcomes to teachings are generally for us to bring good to society. However, we see that some effects of polygamy are clearly negative. While the Government cannot do much about individuals who leave Singapore to marry additional wives, the fact that polygamy is allowed under the law reinforces its cultural acceptance, serving as a justification for those who skirt the regulations.

In countries like Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Tunisia and Turkey, polygamy is banned. But if banning polygamy outright is too much for now, perhaps we can begin with some first steps. We can make the consent of the existing wife mandatory for second marriages, as is done in Indonesia. Measures must be taken to ensure that this consent is given willingly rather than under coercion.

Alternatively, we can adopt a rebuttable legal presumption that an applicant cannot be fair and/or provide equally for both his existing and potential wives. This leaves the law in place, but ends polygamy in practice.

Another option is to include an additional clause in the "automatic" standard and printed clauses in the marriage certificate, stipulating in the marriage contract that a husband cannot take another wife.

In these ways, the Government can discourage the practice more intentionally before prohibiting it completely. On top of this, measures should be put in place that discourage men from attempting to skirt the law by registering marriages abroad.

There are many contributors to gender equality and one of them is financial liberation. How do we ensure that gender does not hamper each of us from being able to support ourselves? The lack of inclusive workplaces, especially for women who wear the hijab, remains a powerful barrier to women today. The hijab, to many women, is sacred and represents a deeply personal relationship that they have with their religion. Though there are many schools of thought in Islam on the necessity of various degrees of modesty, for some, covering the head is an essential part of their Muslim identity and practice.

Earlier this year, in this House, my colleague Mr Faisal Manap brought up the very important point that COVID-19 has made it a tough time for many. People have lost their jobs or have difficulty finding employment, especially women who wear the hijab. Ms He Ting Ru rightly points out that women are disproportionately affected by this pandemic. Indeed, one resident, a nurse, approached me sharing that she felt torn that she had to choose between her faith and providing for her family.

I am glad to hear that the Government will be reviewing their position on nurses donning the hijab. There are many workplaces that still discriminate against the hijab, such as other uniformed groups. Recently, New Zealand's police force introduced the hijab as part of its uniform. In the Royal Derby Hospital in the UK, staff receive disposable sterile headscarves, and the US army has made hijabs part of its uniform in 2017. I would like to ask the Minister when the ruling on hijabs in these spaces will be reviewed.

Why is the Government's stance so important? The government of the day sets the tone on acceptance and tolerance at times. If our uniformed services do not pledge to create inclusive spaces, it shows Singaporeans, especially those in the private sector, that they too can discriminate. Indeed, we have evidence of this happening, such as the Tangs employee who was asked to remove her hijab to be hired as a promoter.

I understand that for some Singaporeans, the hijab may be a divisive topic. To combat this, we need to educate our society on the various forms of religious expression. Instead of hiding or pushing them aside, we must encourage Singaporeans to embrace our differences. We must interrogate our preconceived notions and stereotypes against minority races, so that we do not judge each other superficially. Only this will truly lead to the unity in diversity that we strive for as a multicultural nation.

I wish to conclude with a story that touched me while I was on one of my house visits. I met a young five-year-old girl being cared for by her grandmother whilst her parents got a much-needed break. The grandmother invited me in and made me some delicious bandung, while the girl chatted away to me, sharing with me her many interests, including her obsession with planes! She told me that one day she would like to be a pilot and fly planes high in the sky.

When I think about gender equality, I think about her and the barriers being broken down even now. Not so long ago, female pilots were non-existent and even now they are rare. But how wonderful is it to think that we have the opportunity to continue breaking down these barriers, so girls like her too can have limitless dreams.

This is what I feel is the crux of this Motion. I call all of us in this House to work towards fulfilling the aspirations of Singapore women. I support this Motion.

### Annex B2 - Minister of State Desmond Tan's clarification with Ms Raeesah Khan on 3 Aug

Parliament No: 14

Session No: 1

Volume No: 95 Sitting No: 36

Sitting Date: 3-8-2021
Section Name: Motions

Title: Empowering Women

### **EMPOWERING WOMEN**

(Motion)

6.33 pm

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Mr Desmond Tan): Thank you, Mdm Deputy Speaker, for allowing me to make a clarification to Member Raeesah Khan, who made a reference during her speech about mishandling in a case by the Police of an investigation involving a sexual victim.

I would like to seek some clarification from her in terms of the details because we take this very seriously. Any form of questions raised about how the Police have handled or mishandled this case should be investigated. I would like to request for her to provide us more details so that we can investigate this issue.

Secondly, we also noticed that she has raised quite a few questions just now about information as well as suggestions about how this case has to be handled and also, even through this one incident, suggested that the Police have to improve their training.

For such questions, we would like to request that she gives us specific details, even through a Parliamentary Question, so that this can be looked into and we can give her a proper answer for these questions.

Mdm Deputy Speaker: Ms Raeesah Khan.

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Thank you for those clarifications. Like I mentioned, it was three years ago and I do not wish to re-traumatise the person that I had accompanied. But I have to say that these anecdotes are not isolated. Perhaps, this can start further discussions on how victims or survivors are treated after they make reports. This may not just be when they make reports to the Police but it can also be how they make reports to other institutions.

Sorry, what was your second point?

**Mr Desmond Tan**: I had requested that if you have specific questions or requests for information, you should file a proper Parliamentary Question so that we can provide the data to you properly.

Ms Raeesah Khan: Okay. Thank you very much.

**Mr Desmond Tan**: I would also like to say that you have made a very serious allegation of the mishandling by Police in the House through your speech and we take this seriously. We would like to have the details so that we can look into it and not just have this swept aside.

I know that it is not going to be easy for you or even for the victim to go through this. But from the Police's point of view, you have just made a very important allegation and we would like to have the details to look into it further.

Ms Raeesah Khan: Sure. Thanks.

### Annex B3 - Ms Raeesah Khan's clarification on 3 Aug

Parliament No: 14

Session No: 1

Volume No: 95

Sitting No: 36

Sitting Date: 3-8-2021
Section Name: Clarification

Title: Clarification by Member

### **CLARIFICATION BY MEMBER**

7.25 pm

**Ms Raeesah Khan (Sengkang)**: Thank you, Mdm Deputy Speaker. My speech earlier should not be construed as casting aspersions on the Police. That was not my intention and should not be interpreted as such. The Police is part of the solution and not the problem. I raised the example because it was my experience with a survivor. The episode I raised in my speech took place three years ago and I have been unsuccessful in getting in touch with them.

I believe that given the topic at hand, consent is imperative, not least to avoid revictimisation. I will communicate directly with MHA on any episode in the future where a survivor believes she has been processed inappropriately by the Police, even as I will try my best to maintain my relationship of confidentiality with the victim.

Mdm Deputy Speaker: Leader.

The Leader of the House (Ms Indranee Rajah): Mdm Deputy Speaker, I thank the Member for her clarification. I just wanted to take this opportunity to remind all Members of the House that the law confers on Members of Parliament privilege in the House and immunity, which means that it must be exercised responsibly.

And I just wanted to remind Members of the House that when assertions and allegations are made, Members must be prepared to substantiate them. This is just a reminder to Members so that in future they will understand, if they make an assertion, they may be called upon to substantiate it, especially if an assertion is made against an agency which is not in a position to defend itself.

### Annex B4 - Minister K Shanmugam's clarification with Ms Raeesah Khan on 4 Oct

Parliament No: 14

Session No: 1

Volume No: 95 Sitting No: 39

Sitting Date: 4-10-2021

Section Name: Ministerial Statements

Title: Allegation of Police Behaviour towards Victim of Sexual Assault

### ALLEGATION OF POLICE BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS VICTIM OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

## (Clarification sought by Minister for Home Affairs for speech made by Member)

12.30 pm

The Minister for Home Affairs and Minister for Law (Mr K Shanmugam): Mr Speaker, Sir, I had given Mr Speaker Notice that I wanted to make a short Ministerial Statement. This relates to something that was said in the Parliamentary Sitting on the 3 of August 2021, this year, by one of the Members of Parliament, Ms Khan, on the WP's Motion on Empowering Women.

And Ms Khan had said that three years ago, she had accompanied a 25-year-old's survivor to file a Police report against a rape and that she saw the survivor coming out crying. The survivor told her that the Police officer had made comments about her dressing and the fact that she had been drinking. Ms Khan also shared her experience with this House about going with the victim to the Police, what she saw after she had filed the report and she cited it as an example of how law enforcement needs to ensure better treatment of sexual assault's survivors.

My colleague, Minister of State Desmond Tan, then asked for more details about the incident so that the Government can investigate what happened. He explained that MHA takes these allegations very seriously and said that they had to be looked into to check if the case had been handled properly by the Police and that they should not be swept aside without further investigations.

Ms Khan's response was that she had raised the example as it was her personal experience with the rape survivor. She also stated her belief that these anecdotes are not isolated and expressed the hope that such incidents could start further discussions about how victims are treated. She went on to say that the incident happened three years ago and she did not wish to re-traumatise this survivor whom she had accompanied.

Later in the debate, Ms Khan rose again to further clarify that she raised the example because it was her experience with the survivor and that the episode took place three years

ago and she had been unsuccessful in getting in touch with the victim. She said this in the context that and, I quote, "consent is imperative not least to avoid re-victimisation."

We take such allegations concerning the Police very seriously. Ms Khan had said that she did not the victim to be re-traumatised or re-victimised. I understand and empathise with that and we will bear that in mind as we seek to investigate what happened, especially since a Member has raised this here in Parliament, to make sure that we know what happened and, if necessary, discipline the Police officers involved. This does not have to mean naming the victim. We will consider carefully how to protect the victim and deal with these matters sensitively.

What is extremely important is that we identify the Police station, the officers involved. I have given very clear instructions to the Police that we have to identify the officers involved, get their versions, to be fair to them. What further steps are taken, depend on the facts.

The Government is very serious about making sure that the Police do the right thing. So, if they have not behaved well, then we must discipline them. That means investigating what happened, identifying the officers involved. That is how we have maintained an excellent Home Team.

As I have said, this does not have to mean that the victim has to be named publicly. We will consider carefully how to proceed so as not to re-traumatise the victim. And for us to take this further, we need more details.

So, can the Member – I ask the Member through you, Sir – to tell us at the very least the Police station that she went to with the victim and, if possible, the names of the Police officer or officers who attended to the victim and the Member; and if she cannot remember the names, then some details: how many officers were there, some description of them, rough age, race, male or female. Whatever details she can give.

And when the Member saw the victim come out crying after her interview, did the Member bring this to the Police officers' attention? What did the Member say to the officers? How did the officers respond when alerted to the victim's reaction? And did the Member lodge a complaint about what happened, either at that time or after that? And I think the Member should be able to remember the month, the year when this happened when she went to the Police station. She told the Parliament three times that this happened three years ago. Can she confirm that this took place in 2018?

I should add that since we take very seriously all these points, Police has spent a lot of time searching their records since this point was made. They do not seem to be able to identify a case where Ms Khan was present with the victim. It is entirely possible that they did not note down Ms Khan's name. But it is most important that the matter is not left hanging, with doubt over what may or may not have happened.

And as I have said, our focus is on the Police officers, the reputation of Singapore Police Force to help the victim and for us to find out what happened and to try and make sure that Police officers understand better, if indeed it happened in this way and change their behaviour, if necessary, and for the message to go out to all Police officers.

So, Sir, through you, may I ask Ms Khan for those details.

Mr Speaker: Ms Raeesah Khan, if you can furnish the details, please. Thank you.

**Ms Raeesah Khan (Sengkang)**: I thank the Minister for the clarifications. Like I said, it did happen three years ago, and I have not been successful getting in touch with the person that I accompanied and with regards to confidentiality, I would prefer for it to remain that way.

**Mr K Shanmugam**: Sir, I asked which Police station, which month and the identities of the officers, to the extent Ms Khan knows them.

**Mr Speaker**: Ms Khan, to facilitate the investigation by the Police, to check.

Ms Raeesah Khan: Thank you. I do not know the identity of the Police officers.

**Mr Speaker**: And the questions on Police station, date and so on.

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: With regards to confidentiality, with the survivor, I will not like to reveal any of this information. Thank you.

**Mr K Shanmugam**: Sir, we are talking about the Police station. That has got nothing to do the confidentiality.

**Mr Speaker**: Understand. Ms Raeesah Khan. The Minister is not asking about the identity of the individual.

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: I understand but, with regards to confidentiality, I will not be revealing any other information. Thank you.

Mr Speaker: Minister.

**Mr K Shanmugam**: Sir, I have to say that, perhaps, Mr Speaker has the power to direct answers since the matter has been raised and through you, Sir, I ask for the direction to be given that we be told which Police station and the month; if not the date, at least the month and which Police station.

**Mr Speaker**: Ms Khan, I think that is a fair question. Would you like to respond or are you holding to the same position? The reason is that certain allegations have been made which I think are fair and serious. The Police, I understand, would like to follow up to check to make sure that they can rectify the situation. So, any leads would be useful without divulging the name of the lady concerned.

Ms Raeesah Khan: Thank you. I would still like for it to remain confidential. Thank you.

Mr Speaker: Minister.

**Mr K Shanmugam**: Sir, I do not understand this point about confidentiality. Can I ask through you, Sir, for Ms Khan to confirm in this House that everything she has told us is accurate, that she did accompany such a person and such an incident did happen.

Mr Speaker: Ms Khan.

Ms Raeesah Khan: Yes.

**Mr K Shanmugam**: Sir, we have checked our records. We have no such case that fits in with the description that has been given by the Member. I wanted to give her the option of giving us the best information she has but she confirms that such an incident happened that

she accompanied this victim to the Police station and that she does not wish to divulge the information only because of confidentiality.

Speaker and Members will know that confidentiality does not extend to not telling us which Police station.

Sir, I will leave it here for now but that does not mean the matter rests. The Police will investigate this very serious matter further. The officers in-charge and the Police will interview Ms Khan and any allegations of misconduct concerning specific officers will be referred to SPF's Internal Affairs Office for further investigation.

I will say to Ms Khan, through you, Sir, that at the very least, she must remember which Police station, which year this happened and which month and some details of the number and the ages and the races of the police officers whom she says and she has confirmed for us that she did see them. Thank you, Sir.

#### Annex B5 - Ms Raeesah Khan's Personal Explanation on 1 Nov

Parliament No: 14

Session No: 1

Volume No: 95 Sitting No: 41

Sitting Date: 1-11-2021

Section Name: Personal Explanation

Title: Personal Explanation by Member

### PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY MEMBER

2.06 pm

**Ms Raeesah Khan (Sengkang)**: On 3 August, I spoke in this House on the Motion on Empowering Women. During my speech, I had shared an anecdote of a survivor of sexual assault. I was not present with the survivor in the Police station as I described. The anecdote was shared by the survivor in a support group for women, which I was a part of.

I did not share that I was a part of the group as I did not have the courage to publicly admit that I was part of it.

I attended the support group because I, myself, am a survivor of sexual assault. I was sexually assaulted when I was 18 studying abroad. That assault has traumatised me till this day. The fear and shame accompanying sexual assault is extreme and long lasting, as it has been and still is for me.

Unlike the survivor whose anecdote I shared in this House, I did not have the courage to report my own assault. Yet, as a survivor, I wanted so deeply to speak up and also share the account I had heard when speaking on the Motion without revealing my own private experience.

I should not have shared the survivor's anecdote without her consent, nor should I have said that I accompanied her to the Police station when I did not. It was wrong of me to do so.

To survivors of sexual violence, I hope that this does not deter you from reporting your assaults. In sharing an anecdote without consent, I disregarded the principle of consent in discussions around survivors' consent and sexual assault. As a survivor myself, I feel this failure deeply.

It is important for me to take responsibility for my actions, for my error of judgement and to set the record straight.

I wish to correct the record by retracting the anecdote that I shared on 3 August and I wish to apologise to the Singapore Police Force.

Lastly, I want to apologise to the survivor whose quote I used, to the House, to my constituents, to the Workers' Party, its members and volunteers, and to my family, especially to my parents. To the residents of Sengkang, I will work even harder for you. Thank you.

Mr Speaker: Leader.

The Leader of the House (Ms Indranee Rajah): Mr Speaker, may I seek your permission to seek some clarifications from the Member?

Mr Speaker: Yes, please.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: I would like to start by saying to the Member that I am very sorry to hear that she was a victim of sexual assault. I can understand that that must be very difficult and I hope that she will have the courage to be able to come through this and to be stronger as a result.

However, as the Member's statements do also disclose some rather startling disclosures – a bit of a bombshell, I might say – I do have to seek some clarifications because I need to know what exactly should follow from this disclosure. So, I hope the Member will understand and bear with me as I seek these clarifications.

The Member, as I understand it and see if I have noted what she said correctly: she said that she had shared an anecdote but in fact, she had not gone down to the Police station as she had previously described. Is that correct?

Mr Speaker: Ms Raeesah Khan.

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Thank you, Leader of the House. Yes, it is correct and hence, why I am making this apology today.

Ms Indranee Rajah: Yes, I understand.

That means, can I check, because I think the Member had spoken on the Workers' Party's Motion on Empowering Women on 3 August and the Member had made this statement, "Three years ago, I accompanied a 25-year-old survivor to make a Police report against a rape that was committed against her. She came out crying. The Police officer had allegedly made comments about her dressing and the fact that she was drinking."

Hence, in the light of what the Member has just told us, that statement, at least the part about her accompanying the survivor to the Police station and what the Member allegedly saw, that part is untrue. Can the Member confirm that?

Ms Raeesah Khan: Yes, I confirm that. That was not the whole truth.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: And, because later in that day, the Minister of State Desmond Tan had sought some clarifications from the Member and the Member, in her response, said, "Like I mentioned, it was three years ago and I do not wish to re-traumatise the person that I had accompanied."

Can I ask the Member to confirm that that statement: "the person that I had accompanied", was also untrue?

Ms Raeesah Khan: Yes, that was untrue. That was not the truth.

Firstly, I want to say that when I was questioned subsequently, what was going through my mind was that I wanted to protect the survivor and the people who were in the group.

Secondly, like I mentioned, it is really difficult to share a traumatic experience like this and to share that I was a part of that group in the first place.

So, I just wanted to clarify that these were the things that were going through my mind when I was answering these questions. Thank you.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: I understand. I am just trying to establish the facts so that we all know exactly what transpired and then we can think a bit further of what should follow from that.

About two months later, I believe, the Member was asked by the Minister for Home Affairs for further clarification in this House. So, that would have been on 4 October 2021. This was the exchange that took place.

The Minister for Home Affairs had asked her for details. The Member had said she would like them to remain confidential and the Minister for Home Affairs had said this, "Sir, I do not understand this point about confidentiality. Can I ask through you, Sir, for Ms Khan to confirm in the House that everything she told us is accurate, that she did accompany such a person and such an incident did happen?"

And Ms Khan's answer was "Yes". Can I ask the Member to confirm that that statement when she said yes, was untrue?

Ms Raeesah Khan: It was not the truth. Yes.

Ms Indranee Rajah: Thank you. I have a few more clarifications. Please bear with me.

If I understood the Member correctly earlier, she had said that the reason and the thinking behind what she did was that she did not want to disclose publicly that she was a member of the survivors' group. Is that correct?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Yes, I did not want to disclose publicly that I was a part of a women's support group.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: I understand. I want to understand from the Member why it was necessary, actually, to say those untruths because the Member could easily have related the anecdote by saying that she heard from someone who had this experience. That was all that would have been necessary to do. The Member would not have had to refer to the support group or even disclose its existence; and there would certainly have been no need to reveal that she was part of the support group.

Sir, I would like to ask the Member this: does the Member agree that it would have been possible to tell the story without reference to the support group or telling the untruth?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Thank you for those clarifications. I have been really reflecting on this episode and why I told the anecdote the way it was, and I think a lot of it had to do with the fact that I did not have my own courage to report my own assault. So, I felt very compelled to ensure that other survivors who do get the courage to report the assault to have that process done with respect and dignity.

But I recognise the Leader of the House's comments and I do recognise that it was not the right way to go about it. That is why I am here today, admitting that it was a mistake and here making a very frank apology. Thank you.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: I understand that. So, I do completely empathise with the reason why the Member felt it was necessary to speak up. All I am asking is this and I am not sure that I had a response. But my question was simply this: it would have been possible to tell the story without the untruths and without referring to the survivors' group. Would the Member agree?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: So, if I was unclear, I apologise. Yes, I do feel like it would have been possible. But in my haste and in my passion to advocate for survivors like myself, I did a mistake.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: Right. Then, the other thing I am a bit puzzled about is this: I can understand the mistake on the spur of the moment. But the only thing is that on 3 August, I had specifically stood up in this House to remind Members of the need to substantiate allegations made. And I had said this: "I just wanted to remind Members of the House that when assertions and allegations are made, Members must be prepared to substantiate them. This is just a reminder to Members so that in future, they will understand."

So, I said that on 3 August. Two months later, when the Member was asked by the Minister for Home Affairs about this incident, which is two months' time to reflect, why did the Member then repeat the untruth?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Thank you. Like I mentioned before, I think there were two things that were going through my mind. The first was that I really wanted to protect the identity of the survivor and the survivors in the women's support group. And secondly, a lot of people did not know about this assault until very recently including my family. So, I was not ready at that point to come forward with this information. But after being able to have discussions with my family, with my friends and also informing the relevant people, it was it was clear that I wanted to make this apology; I wanted to make this personal explanation like I have done so today.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: Thank you. I have to check another matter. Although the Member has retracted and apologised and, indeed, that is the correct thing to do given the circumstances that she has explained, the Member has also said that she was relating another survivor's story. This means that there still is an allegation against the Police – not the Member accompanying somebody and going down, but there is a survivor there with an allegation against the Police, which has been related to this House. That means there is still an issue of the need to substantiate the allegations.

A withdrawal and an apology do not purge or wipe out a previous failure to substantiate the allegations. What I am trying to understand and this is very important, I need to understand what the Member knew at the time the allegation was made. Is this a case where, based on what the survivor said, the Member — or let me backtrack a bit. Because when the Member was asked about it, she said, "With regard to confidentiality, I would not like to reveal any of the information." So, is this a case where, based on what the survivor said, the Member actually knows the details but did not want to disclose them because of confidentiality? Or is this a case where the Member actually does not know any of the details?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Thank you. I do not know any of the details. All I knew was what I shared in my speech on 3 August and that was an account from the survivor. I understand that it is not going to be able to be verified and hence, I have withdrawn my anecdote and apologised to the Singapore Police Force as well.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: Thank you. On the confidentiality point, if I heard the Member, say, let me just check my notes for when the Member was speaking. Yes, the Member said, on confidentiality, that she should not have shared the survivor's story without her consent.

Can I ask the Member why she said that? Is it because the story was shared in confidence, that is, on the understanding that it would be kept confidential?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Yes, one of the principles of being in a women's support group is that the details should remain confidential. And that is something that I shared in my speech that I feel this failure deeply. Because I, myself, am a survivor, so, I understand what it feels like to have information out there that that I did not consent to. This has been a lesson of consent for me. And yes, like I said, it is a failure I take very deeply.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: So, when the Member was asked for details in Parliament, she said that she did not want to disclose because of confidentiality. But based on what the Member has just said, actually, by that time, because the story had already been recounted, it means the Member had already breached the confidentiality to the survivor. Is that not correct?

Ms Raeesah Khan: That is correct, yes.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: Just one last couple of clarifications. I think the Member ended by saying that she promised the residents of Sengkang that she would work even harder for them.

About a year ago, the Member made this promise also to the residents of Sengkang. I think this was what was reported in The Straits Times, dated 17 September 2020. The Member had said, "From these interactions, I have also learnt that as a leader, I have the power to start difficult conversations and that it is vital to frame these conversations in a considerate and accountable manner. As an MP, I hope to use the appropriate platforms to speak out on matters concerning my constituents". That was the promise made last year to the residents of Sengkang.

The Member, in the Motion on Women's Empowerment, had the platform to speak here about women's issues. The Member had the power to use her position as an MP (Member of Parliament) to advocate. Can I ask the Member that having regard to the fact that the Member has not been truthful to Parliament and not able to substantiate the allegations because the Member had no details, will the Member regard that promise last year to the residents of Sengkang to have been kept?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: Thank you. Yes, I do because I am here today and I am accountable for my actions. I have apologised to the House. I have retracted the anecdote that I made and I have also apologised to the Singapore Police Force. I recognise that there was a lapse of judgement, but I am here today to apologise for it. And I think that goes back to the spirit of what I initially said a year ago.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: I understand. There is a distinction, though. The Member is apologising for not having kept the promise. My question was this: that means that the promise was not kept, is that not correct?

**Ms Raeesah Khan**: I think one of the important parts of that post was that I would remain accountable. And I think today, here standing in Parliament, I am remaining accountable to my voters and to myself and to the principles that I wish to uphold.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: I thank the Member for that. That was not quite the way it was framed, but that is all right. The way that it was framed was that it was vital to frame conversations in an accountable manner. But I thank the Member for her clarifications.

These are all the clarifications I have, Mr Speaker, and I thank the Member. But in light of what has been disclosed, it is not possible for me to leave the matter as it is and I have to raise a point of order.

I wish to raise a point of order under Standing Order 100(7)(b). The point of order is this: the Member has, by her own admission, lied to the House three times: in her original speech, in the clarifications arising from that speech, and two months later, in her response to the Minister for Home Affairs.

The Member has also confirmed that when she made the statement, she did not really have any details. That means that she was, at the time of making the statement, not able to substantiate her allegation and in fact had very little basis for doing so.

What this means is that, as a result of that, there is a cloud hanging over the Police. The Police had to go and do investigations and a lot of time and resources were spent on that. It is unfair to the Police and I think the Member has acknowledged that.

But most of all – and this really is the most distressing part – what has happened does a great disservice to the survivors of sexual assault and rape victims. The reason is this: because it is hard enough for such women, who are victims, to tell their stories and they have great difficulty in getting people to believe them sometimes. So, when relating their stories – and that is based on a lie and an inability or unwillingness to substantiate the story – it makes it that much more difficult for these women to come forward and to tell their stories. Because it is like ink in water; it spreads throughout and it casts doubt and suspicion on the stories. And it makes it that much harder for women to be believed. It undermines what we are trying to do and, especially in this year, of trying to advance women's development.

As I have said before, as Members of Parliament, we are granted privileges. One of those privileges is to be able to speak in Parliament with immunity. Unlike other people, we can do so without fear of prosecution because of the underlying public policy interest, which is, to be able to raise things. And it is very, very important when we do so, that we must be able to speak truth in this House and when we assert or make allegations, to be able to back them up.

I wish to say to the Member that I do hope that, given her past experience and what she has described and shared, she will heal. I hope that she will have time to recover from her issues on a personal level and repair relationships which, she has acknowledged, have been strained.

But the Member is also a Member of Parliament and, therefore, subject to duties and responsibilities which everyone in this House is also subject to. One of these, of course, is that when you have parliamentary privilege, you must neither breach that privilege nor abuse it.

I have great reluctance because I have sympathy for the Member's personal circumstances. But as Leader of the House, I also have a responsibility and that is: to ensure that, in this Chamber, all Members of Parliament discharge their duties faithfully and accountably and responsibly; and also that, if there are any breaches of privilege, that that has to be dealt with. I have to ensure the integrity of our Parliament because Parliament is a platform that other people look at. Singaporeans look at what we discuss here. They believe what we say. When there is untruth, it undermines the trust. Other people, the international forum and other countries look at what is discussed in this platform. What we say and what we do must be based on truth and integrity, because, again, if we do not do that, it undermines the reputation of our Parliament, our institutions and the faith that our people have in us.

Therefore, given what we have heard today, I really have no choice but to raise a complaint, under section 100(7)(b) of the Standing Orders, for breach of privilege suddenly arising based on: firstly, the disclosure by the Member that she has not been truthful or has lied to Parliament, not once, not twice, but three times; and also because she has been unable to substantiate an allegation that has been made.

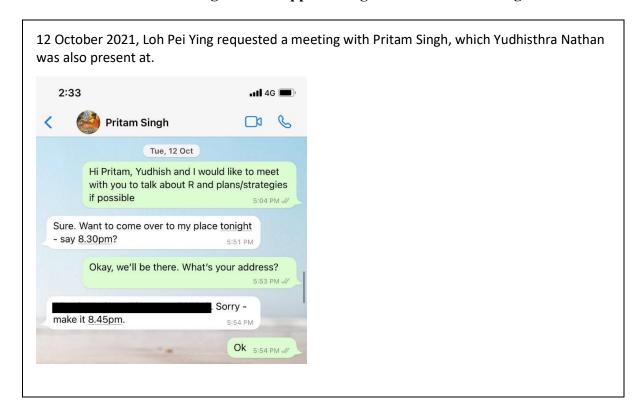
These are matters which, prima facie, affect the privileges of Parliament and I, therefore, reluctantly, have to ask the matter, Mr Speaker, to be referred to the Committee of Privileges.

**Mr Speaker**: I am satisfied that the matter complained of, prima facie, affects the privileges of Parliament. So, pursuant to Standing Order 100(7)(b), the matter shall stand referred to the Committee of Privileges. Leader.

**Ms Indranee Rajah**: Mr Speaker, as I am a Member of the Committee of Privileges and as I am the complainant in this case, I would wish to recuse myself from the Committee of Privileges. Also, on behalf of Minister K Shanmugam, who has sought leave of Parliament to be absent today as he is outstation, because his Ministry is involved, he would seek to be recused from the Committee of Privileges as well.

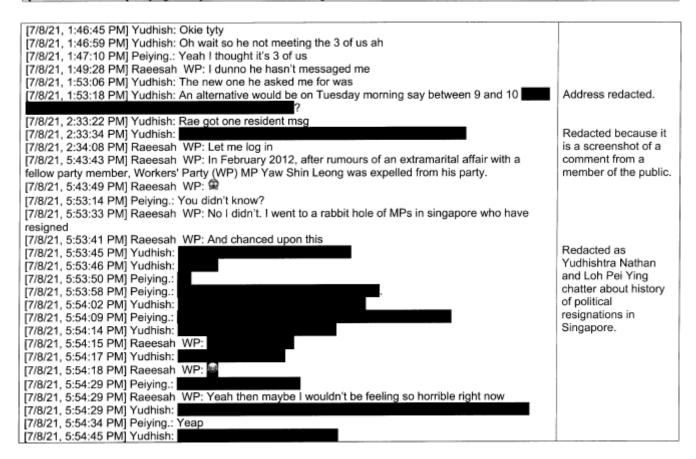
Mr Speaker: Noted.

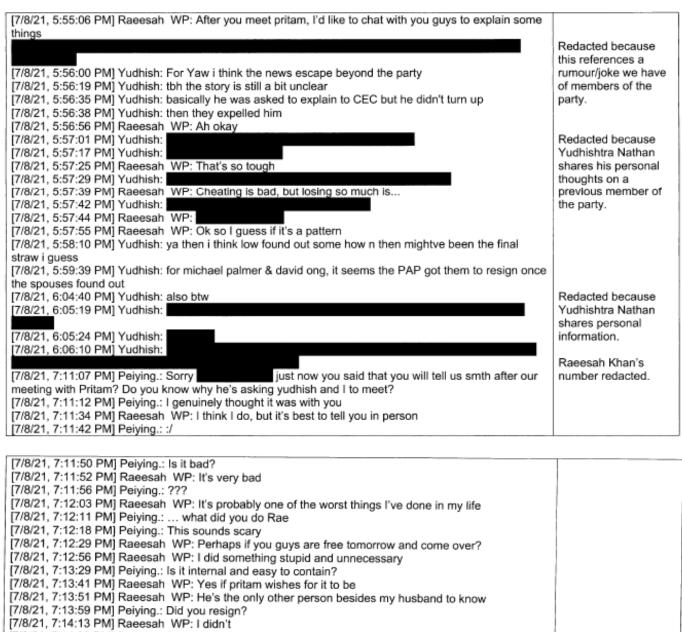
### Annex C1 - Ms Loh Pei Ying's WhatsApp exchange with Mr Pritam Singh on 12 Oct



## Annex C2 - WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh Pei Ying, Ms Raeesah Khan and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 7 Aug

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[7/8/21, 1:07:17 PM] Peiying.: Pritam asked me for meeting next Wednesday 10am
[7/8/21, 1:07:22 PM] Peiying.: He said he asked Yudhish also
[7/8/21, 1:07:25 PM] Peiying.: Yudhish you gg ?
[7/8/21, 1:31:58 PM] Yudhish: Hi hi
[7/8/21, 1:32:04 PM] Yudhish: He just texted me
[7/8/21, 1:32:38 PM] Yudhish: But I cmi cos I got lab meeting at 9 but more imptly my vaccination status kicks in on 15th only
[7/8/21, 1:32:41 PM] Yudhish: I see what he say
[7/8/21, 1:43:17 PM] Raeesah WP: Maybe you can share that I wanted to invite both of you to a meeting too
[7/8/21, 1:43:22 PM] Raeesah WP: I mean with him
[7/8/21, 1:46:33 PM] Peiying.: He suggested new date/timing... you can make it Yudhish?
[7/8/21, 1:46:33 PM] Peiying.: Okay then I'll shift some things around
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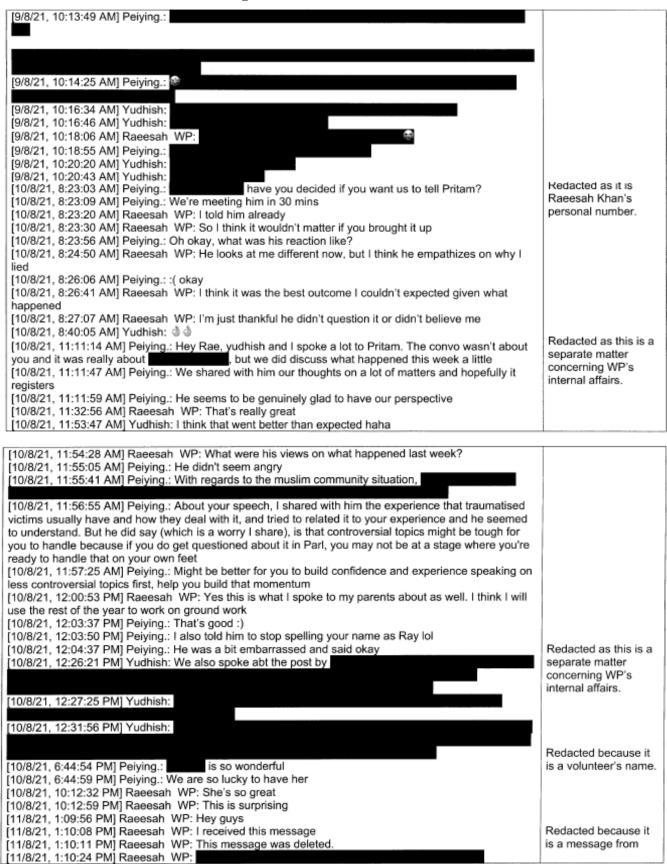


[7/8/21, 7:14:33 PM] Peiying.: Okay.. I'm guessing it's something you said to Pritam [7/8/21, 7:15:01 PM] Raeesah WP: No I wish that was it! But it's something honestly much worse [7/8/21, 7:15:26 PM] Peiying.: :/ ok babe, this is a bit scary. Idk if I can come over tomorrow [7/8/21, 7:15:39 PM] Peiying.: You know whatever you say here is safe [7/8/21, 7:15:43 PM] Raeesah WP: That's okay, even Monday or Tuesday is fine [7/8/21, 7:16:08 PM] Raeesah WP: Or we could even do a zoom if both of you think that's safe enough [7/8/21, 7:16:20 PM] Pelying.: Yeah zoom is better for me [7/8/21, 7:16:26 PM] Yudhish: Zoom works [7/8/21, 7:16:50 PM] Raeesah WP: Ok I can't do 6 pm onwards tmr [7/8/21, 7:16:53 PM] Raeesah WP: But otherwise I'm ok [7/8/21, 7:17:19 PM] Raeesah WP: Even tonight is ok to if tmr you're both busy [7/8/21, 7:17:31 PM] Yudhish: I can do tonight [7/8/21, 7:18:06 PM] Peiying.: Yeah tonight is better for me [7/8/21, 7:18:13 PM] Peiying.: Next two nights I have commitments [7/8/21, 7:18:24 PM] Raeesah WP: Alright, how about 7.30 or 8? [7/8/21, 7:18:58 PM] Yudhish: Both works for mee [7/8/21, 7:19:06 PM] Pelying.: 7:30? [7/8/21, 7:19:20 PM] Raeesah WP: Okay [7/8/21, 7:19:28 PM] Pelying.: I'll send a zoom link

## Annex C3 - Ms Raeesah Khan's WhatsApp message dated 8 Aug to Ms Loh Pei Ying and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan

[8/8/21, 12:41:58 PM] Raeesah WP: Hey guys. I just met with pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke	
about the Muslim issues and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed	
that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave.	
They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening	

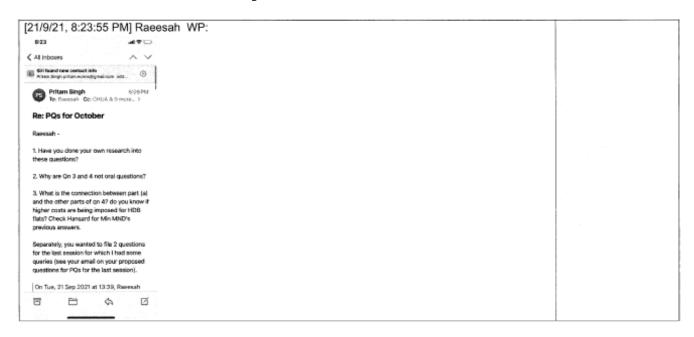
Annex C4 - WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh Pei Ying, Raeesah Khan and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 10 Aug



## Annex C5 - Ms Raeesah Khan's WhatsApp message to Ms Loh Pei Ying and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 20 Sep

[20/9/21, 11:01:36 PM] Raeesah WP: Guys on HVs today I saw the sweetest interaction ever. Two little	
Chinese girls were walking towards their flat, and an older Indian couple who lived next door heard their	
voices and excitedly opened their doors to greet them and asked about their day 📦 and they said they	
wanted to go to bed but were waiting for the girls	

Annex C6 - Ms Raeesah Khan's WhatsApp message to Ms Loh Pei Ying and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 21 Sep



### Annex C7 - WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh Pei Ying, Ms Raeesah Khan and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 2 Nov

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2/11/21, 11:31:21 AM] Raeesah WP: Looks like CEC will be disciplining me, I think it'll happen at the next
CEC on the 9th
[2/11/21, 11:34:34 AM] Peiying.: how do you know?
[2/11/21, 11:35:40 AM] Raeesah WP: Please don't share this message with anyone:
[2/11/21, 11:35:50 AM] Raeesah WP: Dear CEC - I seek your urgent approval to set up a Disciplinary
Panel to look into the admissions made by MP Raeesah Khan in Parliament. The Panel will comprise of
Chair, myself and Vice-Chair. For your urgent consideration and approval.
[2/11/21, 11:36:18 AM] Raeesah WP: Is it bad that I hope that they ask me to resign?
[2/11/21, 11:36:38 AM] Raeesah WP: I'm guessing that the public backlash is worse than they thought?
[2/11/21, 11:37:35 AM] Raeesah WP: Has anyone been subject to a disciplinary panel before?
[2/11/21, 11:37:46 AM] Peiying.: no, dont think sp
[2/11/21, 11:39:44 AM] Raeesah WP: I was disciplined for the posts during elections
[2/11/21, 11:41:07 AM] Peiying.: what was the disciplinary action
[2/11/21, 11:41:45 AM] Raeesah WP: I was told off and it was recorded in the minutes
[2/11/21, 11:41:54 AM] Raeesah WP: But I suspect this might be worse or more public
[2/11/21, 11:42:33 AM] Peiying.: Well I did hint to Pritam that there would be demands on him as sec-gen,
but he seemed guite self-assured that he's handled it
[2/11/21, 11:42:44 AM] Peiying.: so maybe he's getting frazzled by the requests
[2/11/21, 11:42:48 AM] Raeesah WP: I really wish he gave me a heads up
[2/11/21, 11:43:09 AM] Raeesah WP: I asked him explicitly if I would be disciplined, so I can mentally
prepare
[2/11/21, 11:43:15 AM] Raeesah WP: He didn't even give me that courtesy
[2/11/21, 11:43:42 AM] Peiying.: I think empathize with him a little Rae
[2/11/21, 11:44:05 AM] Raeesah WP: I'm trying, but all he needed to do was send me a one liner
[2/11/21, 11:44:22 AM] Raeesah WP: Rae, CEC might discipline you
[2/11/21, 11:44:35 AM] Pelying.: he's probably trying to be impartial?
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## $\begin{tabular}{ll} Annex $C8-Extract$ of $WhatsApp$ exchange between $Ms$ Loh Pei Ying and $Mr$ Pritam Singh \\ \end{tabular}$

[21/10/21, 9:40:36 AM] Peiying.: Hey Pritam  monitoring it now, since the news yesterday [21/10/21, 11:10:55 AM] Pritam Singh: Hi PY - We will have a session at my house on Sat. Would you be available to join?	Redacted as this mentions a volunteer. Redactions about personal schedule.
[21/10/21, 11:13:48 AM] Pritam Singh: Will revert once details confirmed. [21/10/21, 4:46:54 PM] Peiying.: Hi Pritam, we should really assemble the team asap. I understand Rae has been replying media to say she'll address this in Parl [21/10/21, 4:48:03 PM] Pritam Singh: Yes, she cleared that with Sylvia and I. [21/10/21, 4:48:28 PM] Peiying.: yeah but she also just texted me to let me know she's just told her father, and he's very against it. [21/10/21, 4:48:43 PM] Pritam Singh: Well, that's not his call. [21/10/21, 4:48:58 PM] Peiying.: I know. But i understand how she might be feeling [21/10/21, 4:49:15 PM] Pritam Singh: We'll speak this week. [22/10/21, 7:08:30 PM] Peiying.: Hi Pritam I just realised tomorrow I'm having dinner very close to your place, so if we're meeting around then I can make it. Just let me know [22/10/21, 7:28:35 PM] Pritam Singh: Sorry - change of time. Meeting at 11am at party Hq. [22/10/21, 7:28:41 PM] Pritam Singh: Let Yudhish know as well. [22/10/21, 7:28:46 PM] Peiying.: Ok	
[22/10/21, 7:30:16 PM] Peiying.: Do I have to inform Rae? [22/10/21, 7:31:20 PM] Pritam Singh: She is aware. [22/10/21, 7:31:36 PM] Peiying.: Ok [26/10/21, 12:22:25 PM] Pritam Singh: Hi PY - do we have the final version of the statement settled? [26/10/21, 12:22:50 PM] Peiying.: We finished it on Saturday but she was supposed to review it herself [26/10/21, 12:22:56 PM] Pritam Singh: Ok [26/10/21, 12:23:12 PM] Peiying.: Since then no updates from Rae other than her family strongly opposing [26/10/21, 12:23:20 PM] Pritam Singh:	
[1/11/21, 2:43:41 PM] Pritam Singh: Hi PY - I have asked Raeesah to hand over her social media accounts to you. [1/11/21, 2:43:56 PM] Peiying.: okay, noted [1/11/21, 2:44:07 PM] Peiying.: i'll be looking after her email too when she's ready today [1/11/21, 2:44:20 PM] Pritam Singh: Thank you so much PY. [1/11/21, 2:45:12 PM] Peiying.: It went a lot better than I expected, and thankfully we made the right decisions in the process [1/11/21, 2:45:54 PM] Pritam Singh: [1/11/21, 2:55:54 PM] Peiying.: https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/politics/wp-mp-raeesah-khan-referred-to-parliament-privileges-committee-for-lying-about [1/11/21, 2:55:14 PM] Peiying.: Hi Pritam, just to clear it with you, i'm sending this apology to volunteers now	Redacted as this mentions a volunteer.
[1/11/21, 2:55:15 PM] Peiying.: Dear Compassvale Volunteers,  I hope you're all well. I know many of you have been tuning in to what's been happening in Parliament, and subsequent statement I made. I know many of you are disappointed and upset. I would like to take this opportunity to apologize to you.  These past few months I've been reflecting on what it means to be a MP, and I've been working hard to improve. I hope that I continue to earn your trust. Your support means a great deal to me personally and to the WP. Without your contribution, it would be impossible for us to build a community here in Compassvale.	

### Annex C9 - WhatsApp exchange between Ms Raeesah Khan and Mr Pritam Singh on 4 Oct and 8 - 11 Oct

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[9/27/21, 10:24:04 AM] Pritam Singh: Messages and calls are end-to-end encrypted.
No one outside of this chat, not even WhatsApp, can read or listen to them.
[9/27/21, 10:24:04 AM] Raeesah: Hi Pritam, could you please add me back into the WP
MP and CEC chats? It's the same number. Thank you
[9/27/21, 11:34:23 AM] Pritam Singh : What happened? Send me your contact again. It
has disappeared.
[9/27/21, 11:39:13 AM] Raeesah: My phone crashed so I had to delete all the apps. My
number is
[9/27/21, 12:07:02 PM] Pritam Singh : I can't add you.
[9/27/21, 12:07:18 PM] Pritam Singh : I have asked
                                                      to assist. Please reach
[9/27/21, 12:51:39 PM] Raeesah: Thank you
[9/27/21, 2:10:51 PM] Raeesah: I reached out to
                                                            for a chat and cced
Faisal. I would like to reach out to
                                           s well if you think it's a good idea
[9/27/21, 2:16:01 PM] Pritam Singh : Ok.
[9/27/21, 2:16:10 PM] Pritam Singh : What do you plan to raise and discuss?
[9/27/21, 2:18:19 PM] Raeesah: I would like to speak about the speech I made in
support of the women's motion, to get their feedback, see if perhaps we have any
common ground and work on building the relationship.
[9/27/21, 2:18:33 PM] Pritam Singh : Ok.
[9/27/21, 2:19:08 PM] Raeesah: Faisal will be coming too if the meetings happen
[10/4/21, 12:34:22 PM] Raeesah: What should I do pritam
[10/4/21, 12:45:35 PM] Pritam Singh: Will speak after sitting. Keep Chair and I
posted.
[10/4/21, 1:06:10 PM] Raeesah: Alright
[10/4/21, 11:14:19 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Rae - meet in LO office.
[10/4/21, 11:14:27 PM] Pritam Singh : Can meet now.
[10/4/21, 11:14:42 PM] Raeesah: Ok
[10/8/21, 6:11:02 PM] Raeesah: Hi pritam,
                                                               lave sent me an email
advising on how I should respond, should I forward that to you?
[10/8/21, 6:12:25 PM] Pritam Singh : Better not to. We can talk in person.
[10/8/21, 6:12:51 PM] Raeesah: Ok, when would you be available?
[10/8/21, 6:13:12 PM] Pritam Singh : I will reply later.
[10/8/21, 6:13:24 PM] Raeesah: Ok
[10/9/21, 2:16:14 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah - Let's meet tomorrow on Tuesday at
10am at AHTC office in Hougang.
[10/9/21, 2:16:43 PM] Raeesah: Ok pritam, will be there
[10/10/21, 9:56:42 AM] Raeesah: Morning pritam I'm on the way, might be slightly
[10/10/21, 10:15:31 AM] Raeesah: Hi I'm here
[10/10/21, 10:23:52 AM] Pritam Singh: ?
[10/10/21, 10:24:43 AM] Pritam Singh: I meant to say let's meet on Tuesday at 10am.
[10/10/21, 10:25:46 AM] Raeesah: Ah. I see that
[10/10/21, 10:26:01 AM] Raeesah: Ok see you Tuesday!
 [10/10/21, 10:26:08 AM] Pritam Singh : 凸
 [10/11/21, 4:00:06 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah - Possible to meet tomorrow at 2pm
in your home or some place private?
 [10/11/21, 4:00:24 PM] Pritam Singh : Morning is now difficult.
 [10/11/21, 4:00:59 PM] Raeesah: Sure, my home is not so private, do you have
 anywhere else?
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### Annex C10 - WhatsApp exchange between Ms Raeesah Khan and Mr Pritam Singh between 15 Oct – 1 Nov

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[10/15/21, 9:37:13 AM] Raeesah: Morning pritam, I've written it, but Peiying and
Yudhish are only free to meet next week. Can I drop it off at the tc on Friday
morning?
[10/15/21, 10:06:15 AM] Pritam Singh : As in drop it today? Supposed to be ready by
tomorrow no?
Suggest you drop your copy in TC tomorrow.
[10/15/21, 10:08:00 AM] Pritam Singh : I will be in Eunos TC office at Blk 136
tomorrow from 9 - 10 am
[10/15/21, 11:02:51 AM] Raeesah: I mean Friday next week. If you'd like I will drop
of my first draft tomorrow, and I'll share the second draft that has been edited
[10/15/21, 11:03:01 AM] Pritam Singh : Ok.
[10/16/21, 9:07:54 AM] Raeesah: Morning pritam, I've dropped it off
[10/16/21, 9:34:38 AM] Pritam Singh : Noted.
[10/18/21, 12:54:23 PM] Pritam Singh : How soon can the second draft be submitted?
[10/18/21, 2:25:19 PM] Raeesah: I'm trying to arrange with Yudhish and PY. Would you
want to share any notes? I can pick it up at the TC before I meet them
[10/18/21, 2:29:04 PM] Pritam Singh : Let me know when it is ready. Sooner the
better so Chair and I can review. Friday this week is too late. We have a lot of
Bills to prepare for the Nov sitting.
[10/18/21, 2:31:38 PM] Raeesah: Ok, I understand I will arrange to meet them
hopefully tomorrow
[10/18/21, 2:33:07 PM] Pritam Singh : You keeping ok?
[10/18/21, 4:08:19 PM] Raeesah: I'm ok, been doing a lot of work on myself. Thank
you for asking
[10/18/21, 4:11:00 PM] Pritam Singh : At the end of any storm is a golden sky. This
storm too shall pass.
[10/18/21, 8:06:47 PM] Raeesah: Inshallah, will hold on to that
[10/19/21, 11:34:51 PM] Raeesah: Hi pritam, the second draft is ready, should I drop
it by the TC tomorrow morning?
[10/20/21, 6:01:31 AM] Pritam Singh : Yes please.
[10/20/21, 7:54:59 AM] Pritam Singh : Raeesah - hold on to your draft. Will arrange
to meet at my place with Sylvia.
[10/20/21, 7:55:12 AM] Pritam Singh : Don't drop it off.
[10/20/21, 7:56:55 AM] Raeesah: Ok will do
[10/20/21, 10:36:50 AM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah - please make time to come over
today to my place at 8.30pm. I will confirm again once Sylvia replies.
[10/20/21, 10:54:45 AM] Pritam Singh : Sorry - make that 7pm.
[10/20/21, 11:00:25 AM] Pritam Singh : Sylvia and I will be there.
[10/20/21, 11:19:09 AM] Raeesah: Okay, I'll be there
[10/20/21, 6:47:55 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Rae - are you on the way?
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[10/20/21, 6:48:05 PM] Raeesah: Hey, yes I am
[10/20/21, 6:48:11 PM] Pritam Singh : Ok.
[10/20/21, 6:48:21 PM] Raeesah: Is it alright if I pray at your house?
[10/20/21, 6:48:29 PM] Pritam Singh : Yes of course.
[10/20/21, 6:48:34 PM] Raeesah: Ok thank you
[10/22/21, 12:15:16 PM] Raeesah: Hi pritam, I spoke to my dad, can we meet maybe
this weekend or Monday? Ayla is feverish today so we're bringing her to the doctor
[10/22/21, 12:39:31 PM] Pritam Singh : Let's meet tomorrow with Sylvia - 11am, party
[10/22/21, 1:05:42 PM] Raeesah: Alright. Shall I bring my dad?
[10/22/21, 1:20:19 PM] Pritam Singh : No.
[10/22/21, 2:52:10 PM] Raeesah: Okay
[10/22/21, 5:46:15 PM] Pritam Singh : Do bring the latest version of your statement
[10/22/21, 7:16:04 PM] Raeesah: Ok will do
[10/23/21, 11:08:30 AM] Raeesah: Hi pritam, so sorry I'll be there in 5 mins
[10/23/21, 11:08:54 AM] Pritam Singh: We are in Hq waiting.
[10/23/21, 5:50:05 PM] Raeesah: Hi Pritam, can we please organize a zoom or a
meeting with my parents and the team we met today?
[10/23/21, 6:19:23 PM] Pritam Singh : I can't do one today Raeesah.
[10/23/21, 6:20:32 PM] Raeesah: Any day is fine, but Peiying offered to come by
sometime next week, so it will be fine if we don't organize one before the sitting.
[10/23/21, 6:21:10 PM] Pritam Singh: I can come by next week.
[10/23/21, 6:30:29 PM] Raeesah: Thank you
[10/26/21, 12:23:54 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah / can you pass me the final
version of the statement later today?
[10/26/21, 1:21:40 PM] Raeesah: Hi, yes sure, should I drop it at the TC?
[10/26/21, 1:22:37 PM] Raeesah: I met Ru, and I've explained what happened and what
to expect with the statement. She understands, and has read the statement as well.
[10/26/21, 1:22:48 PM] Pritam Singh : No / pass me it to me at my place. This is the
final version I assume?
[10/26/21, 1:22:57 PM] Pritam Singh : Noted with thanks.
[10/26/21, 1:24:22 PM] Raeesah: Okay, yes it's the final version. I edited it a
little more after the meeting we had
[10/26/21, 1:24:35 PM] Pritam Singh : Ok.
[10/26/21, 1:24:50 PM] Raeesah: Should I leave it in your mailbox?
[10/26/21, 1:25:08 PM] Pritam Singh : Do indicate what was edited.
[10/26/21, 1:25:17 PM] Raeesah: Ok will do
[10/26/21, 1:25:39 PM] Pritam Singh : No - ring the bell so someone can pick it up.
[10/26/21, 1:26:04 PM] Raeesah: Okay
[10/26/21, 4:17:16 PM] Raeesah: Hi pritam, my grand mother in passed, and I have to
assist my mother in-law. can I please drop the documents later tonight?
[10/26/21, 4:17:34 PM] Pritam Singh : Of course.
[10/27/21, 10:58:32 AM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah - can you come to Parliament at
12pm today urgently?
[10/27/21, 11:07:41 AM] Raeesah: Hi Pritam, yes I will be there [10/27/21, 11:08:00 AM] Pritam Singh: Ok. Come to my office.
[10/27/21, 11:08:12 AM] Raeesah: Ok, see you
[10/29/21, 11:53:36 AM] Pritam Singh : Please don't be late for today's meeting.
[10/30/21, 7:07:50 PM] Pritam Singh : See you at 10 am tomorrow. Bring final
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version.
[10/30/21, 7:08:28 PM] Raeesah: Alright, see you
[10/31/21, 6:40:44 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah - In your email to Speaker; state
that you wish to make a personal statement to the House under Standing Order No.25.
[10/31/21, 7:17:21 PM] Raeesah: Hi pritam, thank you, will do
[11/1/21, 8:54:51 AM] Raeesah: Morning Pritam, Speaker has allowed me to make my
personal statement today, after the ministerial statement
[11/1/21, 9:01:55 AM] Pritam Singh : Ok
[11/1/21, 9:09:41 AM] Raeesah: Should I notify the other MPs?
[11/1/21, 9:13:30 AM] Pritam Singh : Sure
[11/1/21, 2:38:19 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah - You did well. Keep it together.
Speak to your therapist tomorrow as arranged. Hand over your social media handles to
Pei Ying. I will pass on some supportive words to your father.
[11/1/21, 2:44:00 PM] Pritam Singh : Do you need me to do anything else?
[11/1/21, 2:44:35 PM] Raeesah: Thanks pritam. He's okay, he watched the speech and
interaction and he said he's proud
[11/1/21, 2:44:56 PM] Raeesah: I think I need to step out for an hour at 4 if that's
[11/1/21, 2:46:12 PM] Pritam Singh : &
[11/1/21, 2:46:17 PM] Pritam Singh : Please go.
[11/1/21, 2:46:49 PM] Raeesah: Thank you
[11/2/21. 2:28:22 PM] Pritam Singh : Hi Raeesah - How are you today,
[11/2/21, 2:29:05 PM] Raeesah: Hey pritam, I'm alright. I think the brunt of public
opinion has come up today, which is difficult
[11/2/21, 2:29:22 PM] Raeesah:
                                                      but I think it might be good for
me to go home, if that's ok?
[11/2/21, 2:42:29 PM] Pritam Singh : Ok. Please do.
[11/2/21, 2:43:55 PM] Raeesah: Thank you
[11/8/21, 10:34:27 AM] Pritam Singh : We were ready at 1030. Waiting for you.
[11/9/21, 11:03:01 AM] Raeesah: Hi pritam,
yesterday afternoon. We'll be doing prayers all day, including a tahlil at 8pm.
[11/9/21, 11:03:27 AM] Raeesah: Could I please be excused from the CEC meeting
[11/9/21, 11:05:23 AM] Pritam Singh : Ok. I am sorry about the family bereavement.
 [11/9/21, 7:20:14 PM] Raeesah: Thank you
 [11/20/21, 9:40:14 AM] Pritam Singh : Good morning Raeesah - Are you in Compassvale
 this morning?
 [11/20/21, 9:40:54 AM] Raeesah: Morning, yes we'll be at 231 Compassvale walk [11/20/21, 9:41:46 AM] Pritam Singh : Ok. Have you had the chance to speak to your
 team mates?
 [11/20/21, 9:42:44 AM] Raeesah: Yes I spoke to Jamus, Ru has made her feelings
 clear, but I'm trying to arrange a meeting with Louis
 [11/20/21, 9:48:13 AM] Pritam Singh : Can I suggest you meet as a group. Far better
 that way.
 [11/20/21, 11:38:55 AM] Raeesah: Ok thank you, I'll try to organize to meet
 [11/22/21, 6:36:33 PM] Pritam Singh : Have you managed to speak to your teammates?
 [11/22/21, 7:27:45 PM] Raeesah: Ru will not meet, and I'm speaking to Louis tomorrow
 [11/22/21, 7:28:40 PM] Pritam Singh : Do you wish to speak to me about anything?
 [11/22/21, 7:29:07 PM] Raeesah: I would like to meet the panel one more time before
 you come to a decision
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## Annex C11 - WhatsApp exchange between Ms Raeesah Khan and Ms Sylvia Lim on 4 Oct

```
[10/4/21, 1:57:37 PM] Sylvia Lim: Messages and calls are end-to-end encrypted. No one outside of this chat, not even WhatsApp, can read or listen to them.
[10/4/21, 1:57:37 PM] Sylvia Lim: Rae, where are you? Was looking for you.
[10/4/21, 1:58:01 PM] Raeesah: Hey Sylvia, I went to the women's room for a while
[10/4/21, 1:58:19 PM] Raeesah: Are you still outside of the chamber?
[10/4/21, 1:58:30 PM] Sylvia Lim: In library. Want to meet at L0's Room?
[10/4/21, 1:58:45 PM] Raeesah: Yes that would be great. I'll see you there
[10/4/21, 1:58:48 PM] Sylvia Lim: Ok
```

## Annex C12 - WhatsApp exchange between Ms Raeesah Khan and Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap on 5 - 7 Oct

```
[10/5/21, 2:44:53 PM] Faisal : Assalamualaikum.
Stay strong Sis. &
Allah will always be with those who are in need of His assistance. Do regularly turn
to Him.
And anytime you need views and opinions, insyaAllah I will set aside time.
[10/5/21, 2:45:29 PM] Raeesah: Thanks Faisal. I have been praying as well
[10/5/21, 2:46:37 PM] Faisal : Alhamdulillah.
Will make doa for you, insyaAllah.
[10/5/21, 2:59:15 PM] Raeesah: Thank you
[10/5/21, 3:00:34 PM] Faisal : 丛
[10/6/21, 9:16:05 AM] Raeesah: Hi Faisal, are you free today to meet?
[10/6/21, 12:17:11 PM] Faisal : Assalamualaikum
[10/6/21, 12:17:11 PM] Faisal : Apologies...today unable to.
Tomorrow afternoon ok with u?
[10/6/21, 12:28:08 PM] Raeesah: Yup tomorrow afternoon is ok
[10/6/21, 12:28:48 PM] Faisal : ⑥.....u want to meet at my office?
[10/6/21, 1:51:16 PM] Raeesah: okay sure, at 810 right?
[10/6/21, 1:51:22 PM] Raeesah: 12pm?
[10/6/21, 3:26:40 PM] Faisal :
[10/6/21, 3:26:46 PM] Faisal : 🕏
[10/7/21, 10:19:49 AM] Faisal : Assalamualaikum.
InsyaAllah see u at noon.
 [10/7/21, 10:27:30 AM] Raeesah: Salaams, See you
 [10/7/21, 10:48:04 AM] Raeesah: Hey Faisal, sorry but can we meet at 2.30?
 [10/7/21, 10:48:11 AM] Raeesah: I'm stuck in a medical appointment
 [10/7/21, 10:49:30 AM] Faisal : ok sure.
 take care.
 [10/7/21, 2:28:17 PM] Raeesah: Hello :) I'm here
 [10/7/21, 2:28:35 PM] Faisal : walking over...2 mins... ₺
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## Annex C13 - WhatsApp exchange between Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap and Ms Raeesah Khan on 8 Aug

08/08/2021, 14:14 - Raeesah WP: Hi Faisal

08/08/2021, 14:14 - Raeesah WP: My recent speech in Parliament had caused a fair bit of debate within the Muslim community. I have ready many opinions from both sides, some who agree with what I brought up, and some who don't. I'm grateful that my speech has spurred conversations on issues that are very important. It has showed me that many are concerned about issues that affect our communities, and those who we hold dear.

I acknowledge those who have differing views, and I thank those who have taken the effort to inform me of them. I understand that the issues are sensitive ones, and conversations can get emotionally charged.

Precisely because this is an important and sensitive issue, I urge everyone to remember to keep their comments open, transparent, and non-judgmental, and keep all Muslims involved. I have seen that in the intensity of exchange, some of attacked one another's religiosity and faith. Many have questioned my faith, which is something I hold dear and personal. I never thought there would come a day where I had to defend my religiosity. My firm belief in God has been a big driver in my life, and will continue to do so

I hope we can approach issues we are passionate about with love, compassion, and kindness. 08/08/2021, 14:28 - A Mercy To The Universe: Assalamualaikum

My suggestion  $\P$  is based on my sense of how mainstream muslim may misconstrued your statement. Cancellations are to address this.

08/08/2021, 14:34 - A Mercy To The Universe: Just a couple of points to suggest.

The common attack on your speech is you are trying to Right the Wrong (menghalalkan yang haram) i.e. u are against Allah's ruling.

Do you wish to address that? I think it is good if you debunk this.

Secondly, you may want to consider saying that your years of working with vulnerable women has made you to understand their sufferings and hence you feels that some measures need to be strengthened.

Just my thoughts. Decision is yours.

08/08/2021, 14:34 - A Mercy To The Universe: <Media omitted>

08/08/2021, 14:35 - A Mercy To The Universe: < Media omitted>

08/08/2021, 14:35 - A Mercy To The Universe: to me 'important' is subjective...it may be important to some and others might not...

08/08/2021, 14:36 - Raeesah WP: I'm a bit worried about including the Islamic ruling part because I'm scared that they will attack me more on that

08/08/2021, 14:36 - A Mercy To The Universe: yours to decide....

08/08/2021, 14:36 - A Mercy To The Universe: ok then...you have to go with what you are comfortable to defend...

08/08/2021, 14:39 - Raeesah WP: Ok how about this

08/08/2021, 14:39 - Raeesah WP: My recent speech in Parliament had caused a fair bit of debate within the Muslim community. I have ready many opinions from both sides, some who agree with

what I brought up, and some who don't. I'm grateful that my speech has spurred conversations on these issues. It has showed me that many are concerned about issues that affect our communities, and those who we hold dear. Many of the points I raised have come out of the work I've done with women in the Muslim community, including the very important point I brought up about the right to wear the hijab.

I acknowledge those who have differing views, and I thank those who have taken the effort to inform me of them. I understand that the issues are sensitive ones, and conversations can get emotionally charged.

Precisely because this is a sensitive issue, I urge everyone to remember to keep their comments open, transparent, and non-judgmental, and keep all Muslims involved. I have seen that in the intensity of exchange, some of attacked one another's religiosity and faith. Many have questioned my faith, which is something I hold dear and personal. I never thought there would come a day where I had to defend my religiosity. My firm belief in God has been a big driver in my life, and will continue to do so

I hope we can approach issues we are passionate about with love, compassion, and kindness.

08/08/2021, 14:40 - Raeesah WP: I'm worried that people may ask for evidence

08/08/2021, 14:42 - A Mercy To The Universe: noted.

08/08/2021, 14:44 - A Mercy To The Universe: < Media omitted>

08/08/2021, 14:44 - Raeesah WP: Oh I understand what you mean

08/08/2021, 14:44 - A Mercy To The Universe: can substitute with 'Aware'

08/08/2021, 14:44 - Raeesah WP: How can I change that?

08/08/2021, 14:44 - Raeesah WP: Ah ok

08/08/2021, 14:45 - A Mercy To The Universe: just want to avoid any Adjective that can be deemed 'cynical' as to avoid opportunity for further attack.

08/08/2021, 14:46 - Raeesah WP: Yes definitely

08/08/2021, 14:47 - A Mercy To The Universe: <Media omitted>

08/08/2021, 14:48 - A Mercy To The Universe: if not they will attack which group muslim women i.e. feminist

08/08/2021, 14:48 - A Mercy To The Universe: being a devil advocate 😈

08/08/2021, 14:49 - A Mercy To The Universe: and have you work with any ustazahs and such.......

08/08/2021, 14:49 - Raeesah WP: Ah true

08/08/2021, 14:50 - Raeesah WP: I've taken that part out

08/08/2021, 14:50 - Raeesah WP: Because I think I'm afraid they'll ask me to substantiate

08/08/2021, 14:50 - Raeesah WP: This message was deleted

08/08/2021, 14:51 - Raeesah WP: Sorry

08/08/2021, 14:51 - Raeesah WP: My recent speech in Parliament on our party's motion on the empowerment of women has caused a fair bit of debate within our Muslim community. I have read many opinions from various sides, some who agree with what I brought up, and some who don't. I'm grateful that my speech has spurred conversations on these issues. It has showed me that many are concerned about issues that affect our community, and those whom we hold dear. Many of the points I raised have come out of the work I've done with women in the Muslim community, including the very important point I brought up about the right to wear the hijab.

I acknowledge those who have differing views, and I thank those who have taken the effort to inform me of them. I understand that the issues are sensitive ones, and conversations can get emotionally charged.

Precisely because this is an important and sensitive issue, I urge everyone to remember to keep their comments open, rational, and non-judgmental, and keep all Muslims involved. I have seen that in the intensity of exchange online, some have attacked one another's religiosity and faith. Many have questioned my faith, which is something I hold dear and personal.

I hope we can approach issues we are passionate about with compassion, and kindness. 08/08/2021, 14:51 - Raeesah WP: My recent speech in Parliament on our party's motion on the empowerment of women has caused a fair bit of debate within our Muslim community. I have read many opinions from various sides, some who agree with what I brought up, and some who don't. I'm aware that my speech has spurred conversations on these issues. It has showed me that many are concerned about issues that affect our community, and those whom we hold dear. Many of the points I raised have come out of the work I've done with women in the Muslim community, including the very important point I brought up about the right to wear the hijab.

I acknowledge those who have differing views, and I thank those who have taken the effort to inform me of them. I understand that the issues are sensitive ones, and conversations can get emotionally charged.

Precisely because this is an important and sensitive issue, I urge everyone to remember to keep their comments open, rational, and non-judgmental, and keep all Muslims involved. I have seen that in the intensity of exchange online, some have attacked one another's religiosity and faith. Many have questioned my faith, which is something I hold dear and personal.

I hope we can approach issues we are passionate about with compassion, and kindness.

08/08/2021, 14:52 - Raeesah WP: This one 😅

08/08/2021, 14:54 - A Mercy To The Universe: <Media omitted>

08/08/2021, 14:55 - Raeesah WP: I'm a bit hesitant

08/08/2021, 14:55 - A Mercy To The Universe: ok. just checking  $\triangle$ 

08/08/2021, 14:55 - Raeesah WP: Let me see what pritam says

08/08/2021, 14:55 - Raeesah WP: I'll bring up your point

08/08/2021, 14:55 - A Mercy To The Universe:

08/08/2021, 14:56 - A Mercy To The Universe: thanks 🙏

Source: Documents submitted by Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap on 9 Dec 2021

# Annex C14 - Ms Raeesah Khan's email dated 7 Oct to Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap

	Gmail Muhd Faisal	
wd: Request for details of case cited in Parliament on 3 August 2021		
	h Khan <raeesah.khan@wp.sg> 7 October 2021 at 17:0 ım Singh <pre>rpitam.singh@wp.sg&gt;</pre>, Sylvia Lim <sylvia.lim@wp.sg>, Mohd Faisal Manap <faisal.manap@wp.sg></faisal.manap@wp.sg></sylvia.lim@wp.sg></raeesah.khan@wp.sg>	
Dear	All,	
	d this with who is advising me, and he will share his views tonight.	
Pleas	e let me know what you'd like me to do, and I will share	
Than	you for listening to me, for caring for me and for guiding me through this without judgement.	
	sincerely, sah Khan, MP for Sengkang GRC (Compassvale)	
conta	oformation contained in this email is intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above and may in information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If you are not the led recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly pited. Please notify the sender immediately by replying to this message and then delete it from your system. Thank	
Begir	forwarded message:	
	From: Raeesah Khan <raeesah.khan@wp.sg> Date: October 7, 2021 at 4:05:14 PM GMT+8 To: Subject: Fwd: Request for details of case cited in Parliament on 3 August 2021</raeesah.khan@wp.sg>	
	Subject: rwo: Request for details or case cited in Paniament on 3 August 2021	
	Dear,	
	Please find the email below. Thank you.	
	Yours sincerely,	
	Raeesah Khan, MP for Sengkang GRC (Compassvale)	
	The information contained in this email is intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above and may contain information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited. Please notify the sender immediately by replying to this message and then delete it from your system. Thank you.	
	Begin forwarded message:	
	From: "Vivien LIM (SPF)"  Date: October 7, 2021 at 4:03:00 PM GMT+8  To: "Ms RAEESAH Khan (EXT)" <raeesah.khan@wp.sg></raeesah.khan@wp.sg>	
	Subject: Request for details of case cited in Parliament on 3 August 2021	

Dear Ms Khan,

I refer to your statement in Parliament on 3 August 2021. You said that you had accompanied a 25-year-old lady to make a Police report about a rape that had been committed against her. You also said that she came out crying, because the Police officer had allegedly made comments about her dressing, and the fact that she had been drinking.

- 2. Based on what you said in Parliament on 3 August (which you reconfirmed in Parliament on 4 October 2021, that you had indeed accompanied a rape victim to a Police Station, and the incident had happened as previously described by you), the Police have made an extensive search of our records. We are unable to identify the case based on the descriptions that you have given.
- 3. The Police take all reports of rape very seriously and will do our utmost to handle the case sensitively, and to minimise the victim's trauma. We recognise that it is not easy for victims of sexual violence to come forward to make a Police report. We also recognise that in some cases, our officers may have fallen below the standards we set, and we will deal with those cases.
- 4. Thus, whenever there are complaints of insensitivity, the Police will review the incident so that we can improve our processes. And where necessary, we will take disciplinary action against the officers involved. This is important in order to maintain the confidence and trust of the public in the Police.
- 5. We would like to continue our investigations. I note your desire to maintain confidentiality for the victim, as you mentioned in Parliament on 4 October. Please be assured that the Police will do all that we can to ensure that the identity of the victim is not publicly revealed, even as the Police review the handling of the case.
- The Police will like to interview you on the above matter. Please email me or call me at <u>DID</u>: by 14 October 2021 to fix an appointment, Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require any further clarifications.
- Thank you.

#### Vivien Lim (Ms)

Deputy Head

Serious Sexual Crime Branch

Major Crime Division, Criminal Investigation Department

DID:



Singapore Police Force W police.gov.sg FB fb.com/singaporepoliceforce IG Instagram.com/singaporepoliceforce

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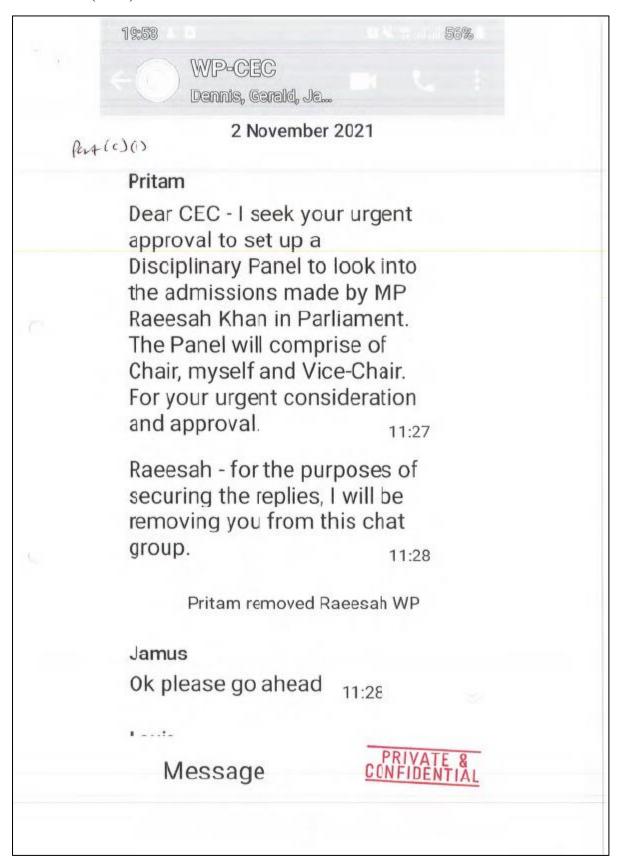
Source: Documents submitted by Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap on 9 Dec 2021

Annex C15 - WhatsApp exchange between Mr Pritam Singh and Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap on 2 Nov



Source: Documents submitted by Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap on 9 Dec 2021

Annex C16 – Mr Pritam Singh's WhatsApp message to the WP Central Executive Committee (CEC) on 2 Nov



Source: Documents submitted by Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap on 20 Dec 2021

### Annex C17 - Mr Singh's email to WP MPs dated 1 Oct



Pritam Singh

#### Parliamentary Protocol

Pritam Singh

1 October 2021 at 18:26

To: Dennis Tan <dennis.tan@wp.sg>, Jamus Lim <jamus.lim@wp.sg>, Kheng Wee Chua <khengwee.chua@wp.sg>, Leon Perera <leon.perera@wp.sg>, Muhammad Faisal bin Abdul Manap <faisal.manap@wp.sg>, Raeesah Khan <raeesah.khan@wp.sg>, Sylvia Lim <sylvia.lim@wp.sg>, Ting Ru He <tingru.he@wp.sg>, "gerald.giam@wp.sg" <gerald.giam@wp.sg>

Dear team,

The preparation for our debate on FICA, has led me to look up the Hansard on the Hendrickson affair, when Parliament debated the matter over 5 days in May 1988. Separately, I also found it helpful to read about the abolishment of appeals to the Privy Council in cases involving review of ISA cases (see Hansard - Constitution of the Republic of Singapore [Amendment] Bill dated 25 Jan 1989) as the G's arguments on the extent of judicial review where security concerns are involved may well be repeated during the FICA debate if today's opinion piece (Stanley Lai SC and Ong Keng Yong) is anything to go by.

But my note to all of you today arises from one part of the former debate (extracted below) re: Hendrickson, which restates how serious it is to be able to back up and defend what you say in Parliament, or risk being hauled up before the Committee of Privileges.

Yours faithfully, Pritam Singh

Title: Action under the Internal Security Act

Mr Chiam See Tong: ....Of course, we already had one demonstration by NTUC, anti-American demonstration. Finally the Straits Times on the 11th May could predict that there were 4,000 participants. I wonder how they know. I was told that each of the participants was paid \$3 to \$5 to attend.

An hon. Member: Prove it.

Mr Chiam See Tong: I was told.

The Second Deputy Prime Minister (Mr Ong Teng Cheong): Hearsay. It is too bad the Member for Potong Pasir depends on hearsay.

Some hon. Members: Withdraw!

Mr Chiam See Tong: If you want to, I could bring the person who told me this.

An hon. Member: Bring him!

Mr Chiam See Tong: I thought I saw him in the Gallery just now but he has gone home.

An hon. Member: You withdraw!

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Mr Chiam, are you giving way?

The First Deputy Prime Minister (Mr Goh Chok Tong): It is a point of order.

Mr Chiam See Tong: No. I know it is not a point of order.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: It is up to Mr Deputy Speaker.

Mr Chiam See Tong: Somebody told me. I said somebody told me. I was told.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: No, this is a serious allegation that union members are paid to attend rallies.

An hon. Member: Repeat it outside.

Mr Chiam See Tong: I was told. This particular person was from the airline staff union or whatever ---

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: Then name the person. Let us have the name.

Mr Chiam See Tong: And he was supposed to be given \$5 but since he went on his own he was given \$3. That is my information.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will ask the Member for Potong Pasir to name the person.

Mr Goh Chok Tong: Or repeat it outside.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: Name the person, so that we can verify.

Mr Chiam See Tong: I am repeating in this House what I have been told.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: If it is so, then I will have to take the unions to task.

Mr Chiam See Tong: I will have to bring him along.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: When?

Mr Chiam See Tong: I have got to look him up and bring him along.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: When? At the next sitting of Parliament?

Mr Chiam See Tong: I cannot promise.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: That is hearsay.

An hon. Member: Withdraw the statement.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: Withdraw the statement until you prove it so.

**Mr Chiam See Tong:** I am not telling a lie. I have heard it and I have come to say it in this House unless you are saying that there is no such person. Are you saying that?

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: I am not saying "no such person". I am asking the Member for Potong Pasir, because he has made an allegation, to name the person who made such an allegation.

An hon, Member: Or withdraw.

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: Or withdraw.

An hon. Member: How much did he pay you to say that?

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: Is the Member going to withdraw it?

**Mr Chiam See Tong:** How much am I paid to say that? That is slanderous. That is an allegation that I am here not as a representative of Potong Pasir but as a proxy who is paid to come and say these things. May I be allowed to continue?

Mr Deputy Speaker: Mr Chiam, are you withdrawing your remark or you want it to stay?

Mr Chiam See Tong: I am not making a false statement unless you are saying that there is no such person, I have invented this story, then I will withdraw it.

**Mr** Ong Teng Cheong: Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, what I am saying is that there is no such thing. The union members were not paid a single cent to attend the rally. The Member for Potong Pasir said he was told by a union member that they were paid to attend the rally. Then he had better verify that; confirm it. Name the person or withdraw that statement. Will he agree?

Mr Chiam See Tong: I think it is very fair, Second Deputy Prime Minister. If you say so - that money has not been paid, that is fair enough. I will take your word for it. There is no money paid and I will confront this chap and say -

Mr Ong Teng Cheong: Withdraw first and then bring it up later, if he can confirm it.

Mr Chiam See Tong: I have to confirm with this chap.

The Minister for Home Affairs (Prof. S. Jayakumar): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, this raises a very serious point about privilege and breach of privilege. All hon. Members here enjoy immunity from legal proceedings and we have freedom of speech here. But that does not mean we can come here and repeat hearsay uttered to us by persons outside. A Member cannot come here and say that Mr A said so-and-so in this House is corrupt, for example. That will be a breach and abuse of our privilege. So the Second Deputy Prime Minister is perfectly right in asking the Member for Potong Pasir to either substantiate his allegation or to withdraw it.

Mr Chiam See Tong: Thank you, Minister. I think that is the correct position. I have to substantiate it or withdraw it. I think that is perfectly fair.

Mr Chandra Das: Substantiate it before you say it.

**Mr Chiam See Tong:** The witness is not here yet. I will have to go and confront him. And if he tells a lie, I will come and withdraw the statement. Sure, of course, I have to. I think you are very fair. I think that is the position. Now, let me continue, please. I think that is the position.

**Prof. Jayakumar:** Sir, if the Member for Potong Pasir does not withdraw it, his statement stands on the record. He should substantiate it. If he is not able to do it, then he should withdraw it. He cannot let the statement based on hearsay stand on the record and choose to withdraw it another day.

**Mr Chiam See Tong:** Just for the sake of the record, I will withdraw it and I will substantiate it the next time. Just for the record. As you say, probably we will have to get a statutory declaration from these people.

Damage has obviously been done to the US-Singapore relationship. This Government has more than once come forward to tell Singaporeans that Singapore is a small place. Our margin of error is very small. We are very vulnerable. Now what has happened? Who has caused damage to Singapore? Has the Opposition done anything wrong? Have any of the members of the public or business people done.......

Mr Pritam Singh

Member of Parliament, Aljunied GRC Leader of the Opposition, Parliament of Singapore

Parliament House 1, Parliament Place Singapore 178880 DID: 62456501

Email: pritam.singh@wp.sg

Website: https://www.leaderoftheopposition.sg

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Mr Pritam Singh

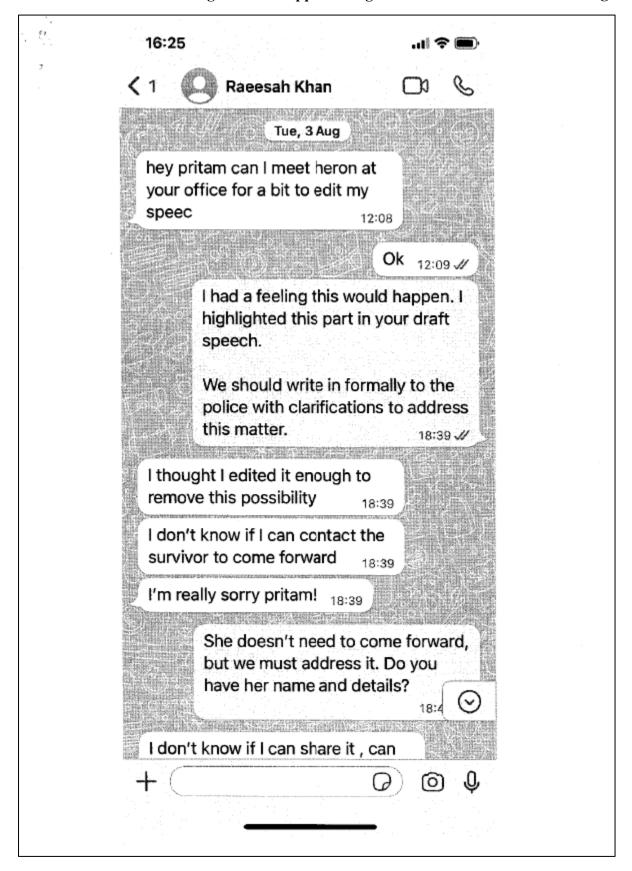
Member of Parliament, Aljunied GRC Leader of the Opposition, Parliament of Singapore

Parliament House
1, Parliament Place
Singapore 178880
DID: 62456501
Email: pritam.singh@wp.sg

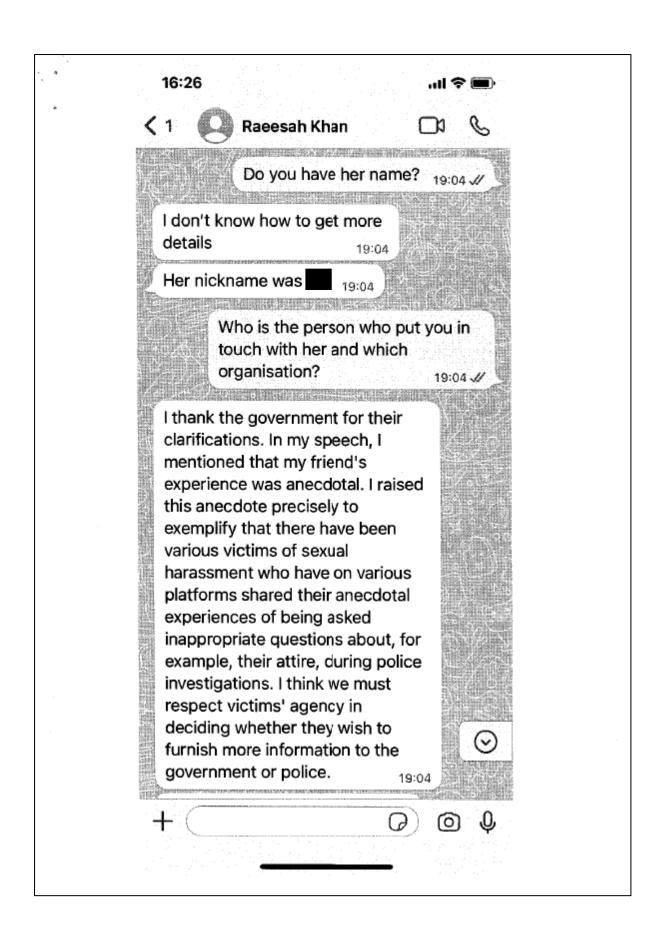
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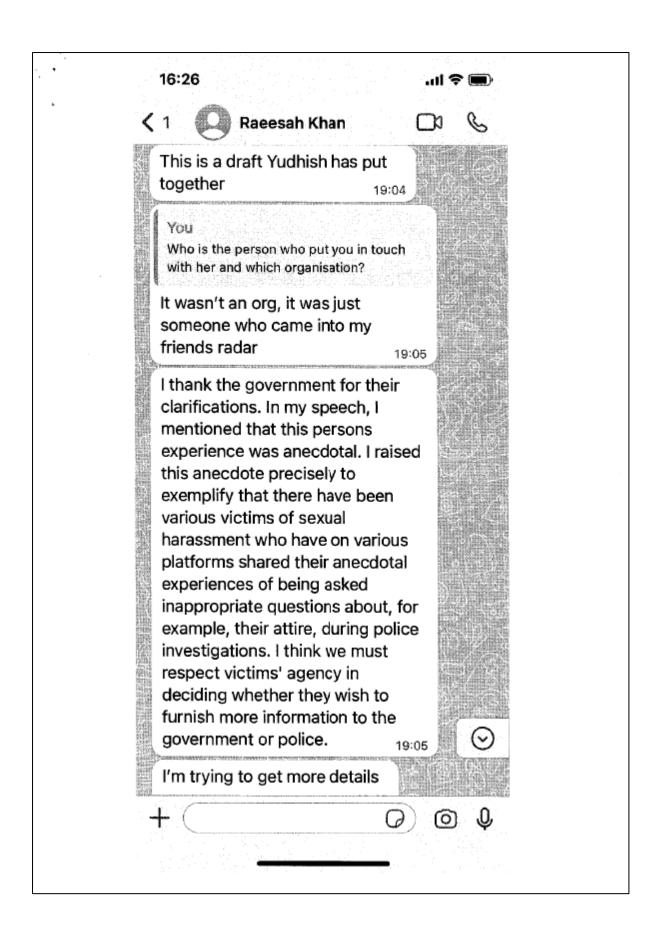
Information in this message is confidential and may be legally privileged. It is intended solely for the person to whom it is addressed. If you are not the intended recipient, please notify the sender, and please delete the message and any other record of it from your system immediately.

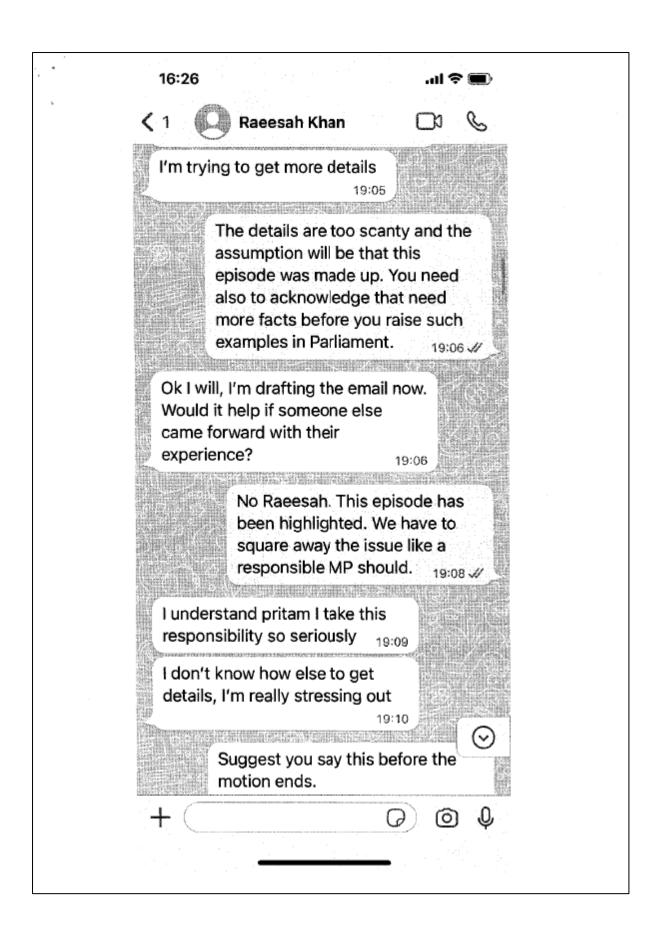
Annex C18 - Mr Pritam Singh's WhatsApp exchange with Ms Raeesah Khan on 3 Aug

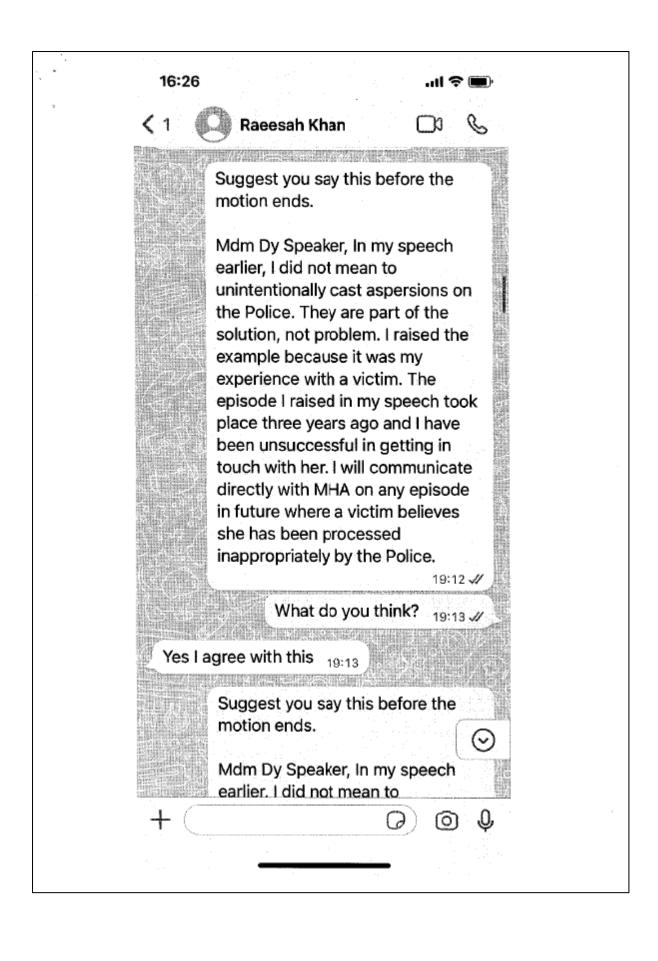


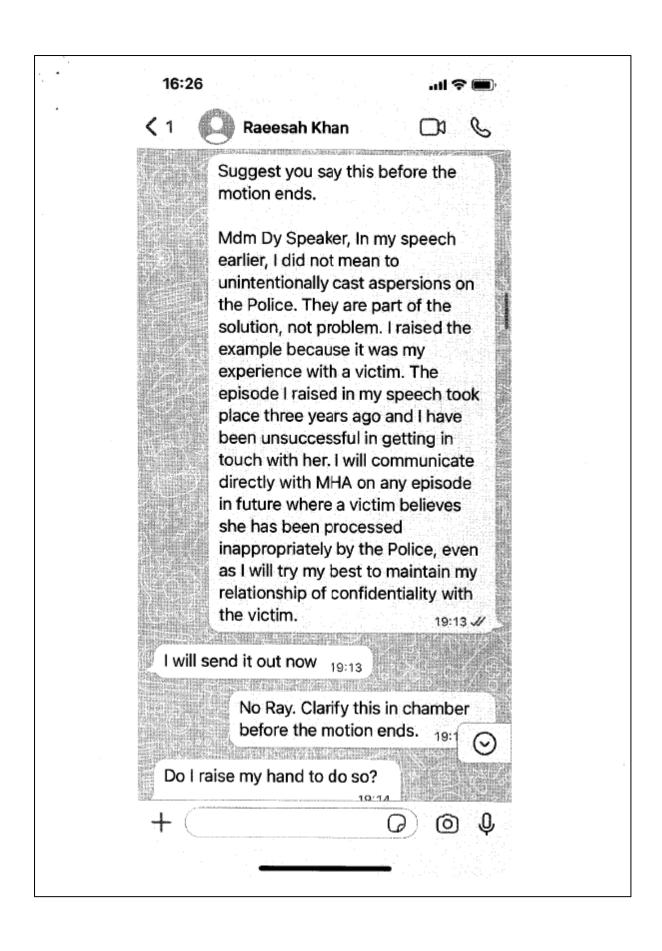


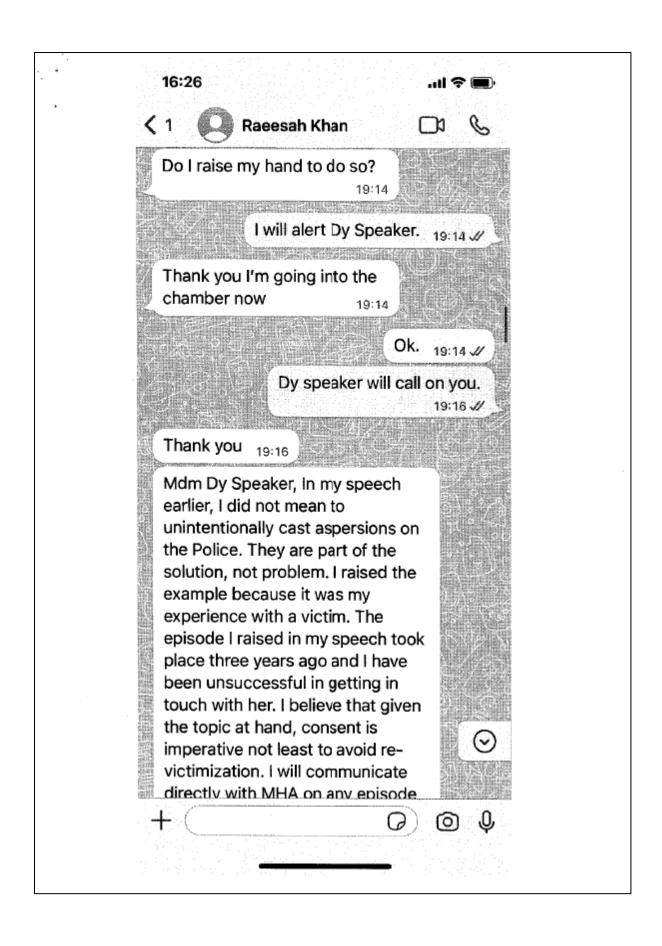


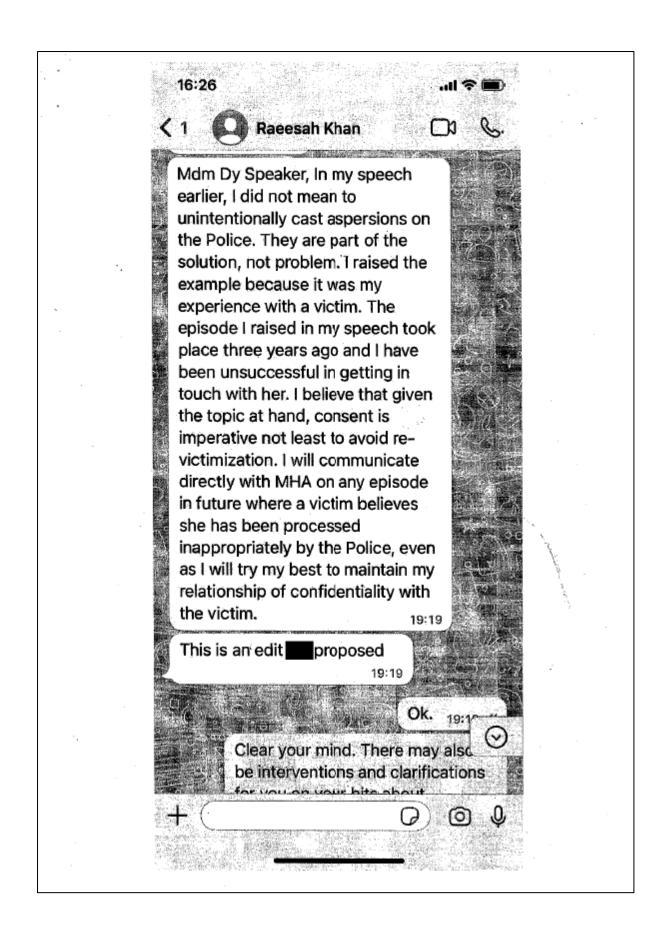






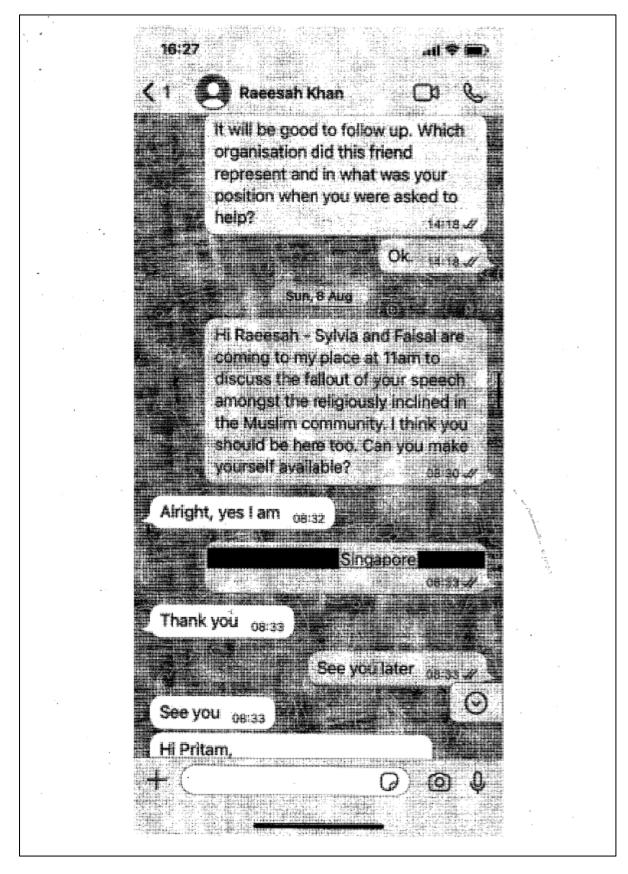




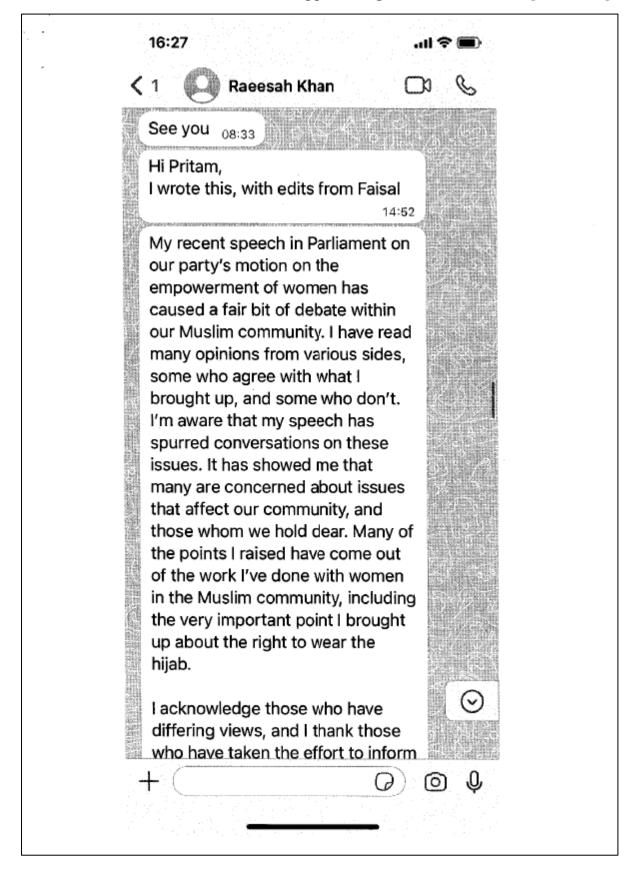


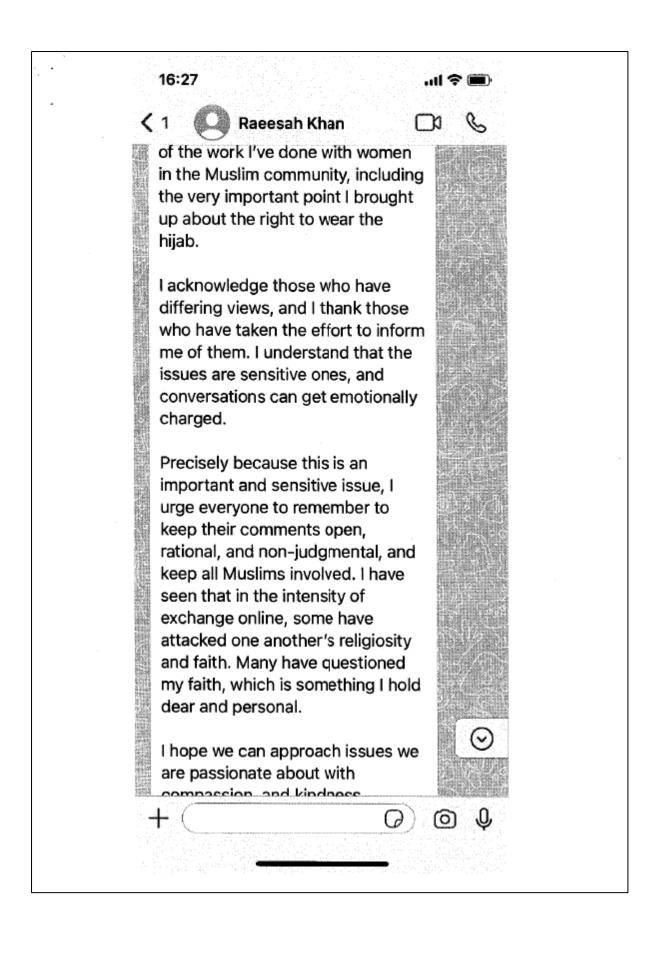
Source: Documents submitted by Mr Pritam Singh on 11 Dec 2021

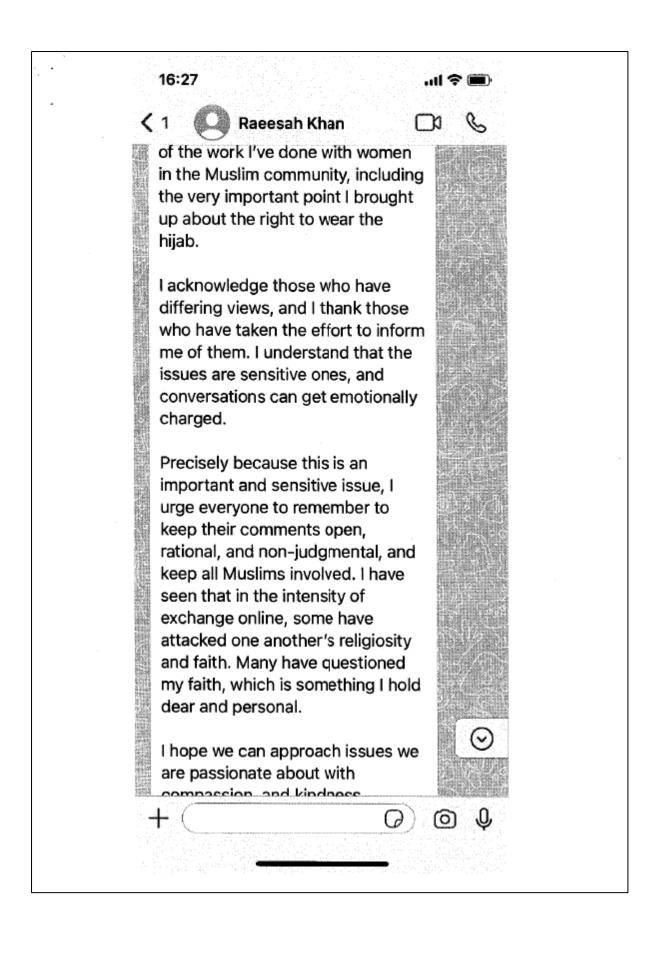
Annex C19 - Mr Pritam Singh's WhatsApp message to Ms Raeesah Khan dated 8 Aug timed at 8.30 am

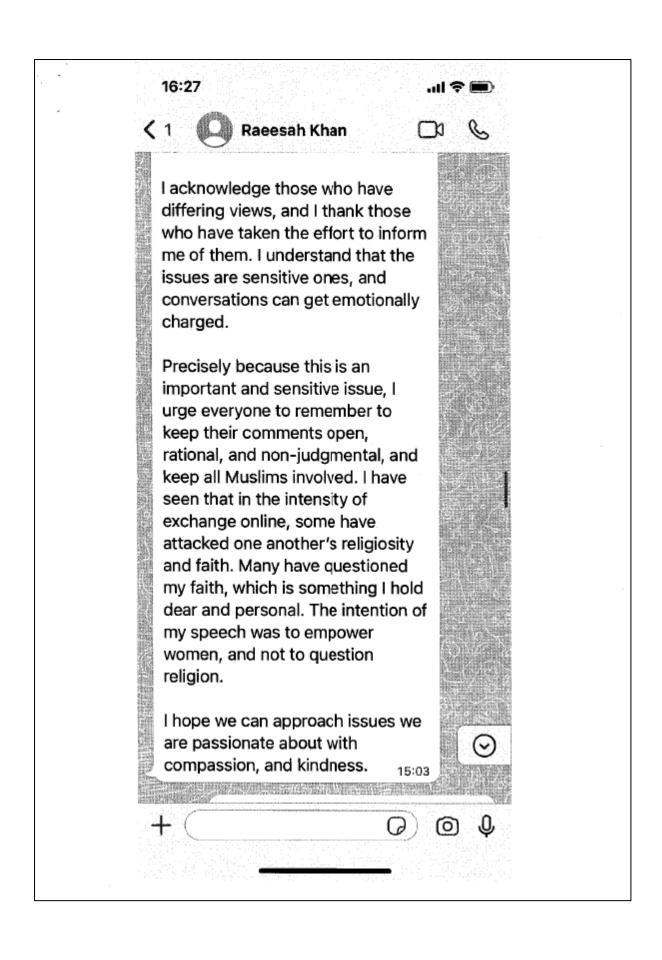


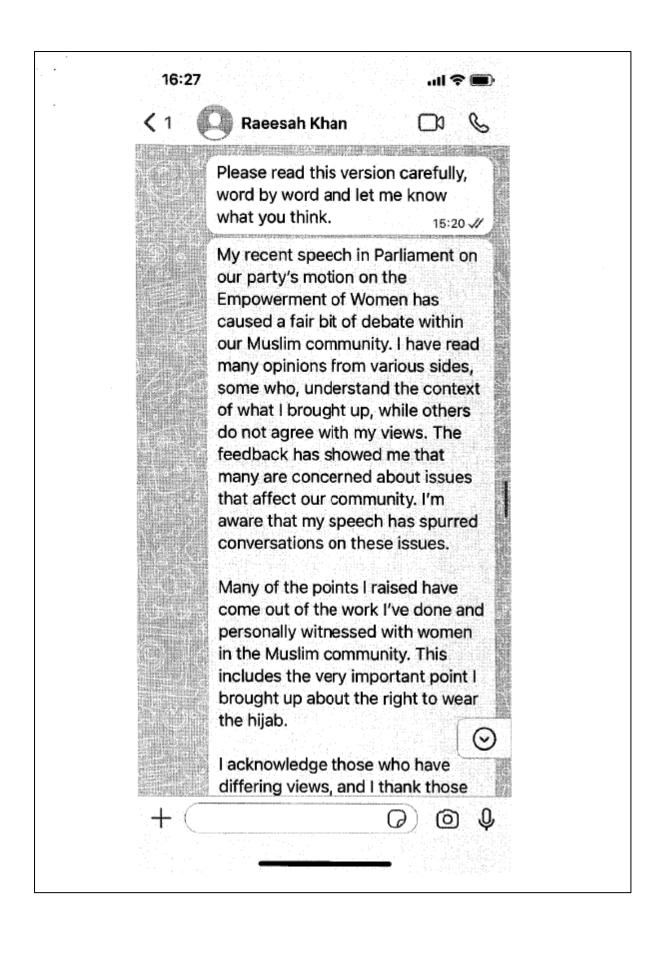
Annex C20 - Ms Raeesah Khan's WhatsApp exchange with Mr Pritam Singh on 8 Aug

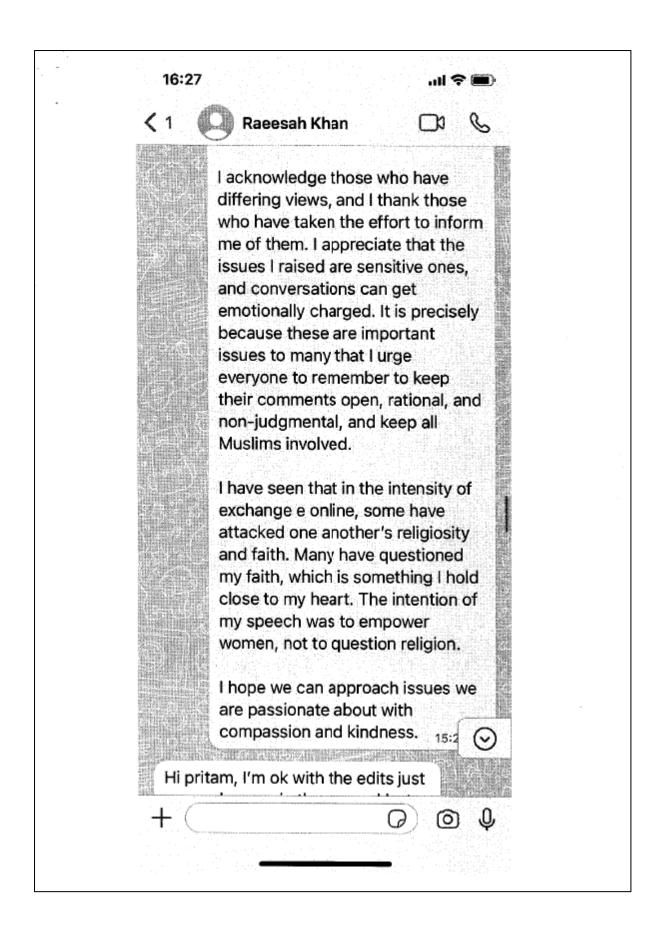


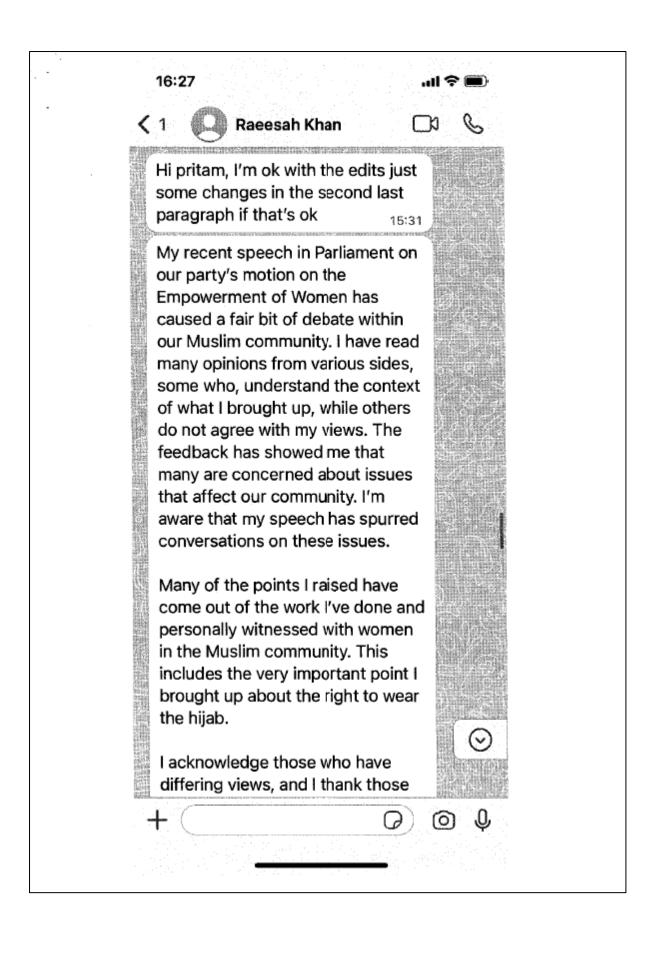


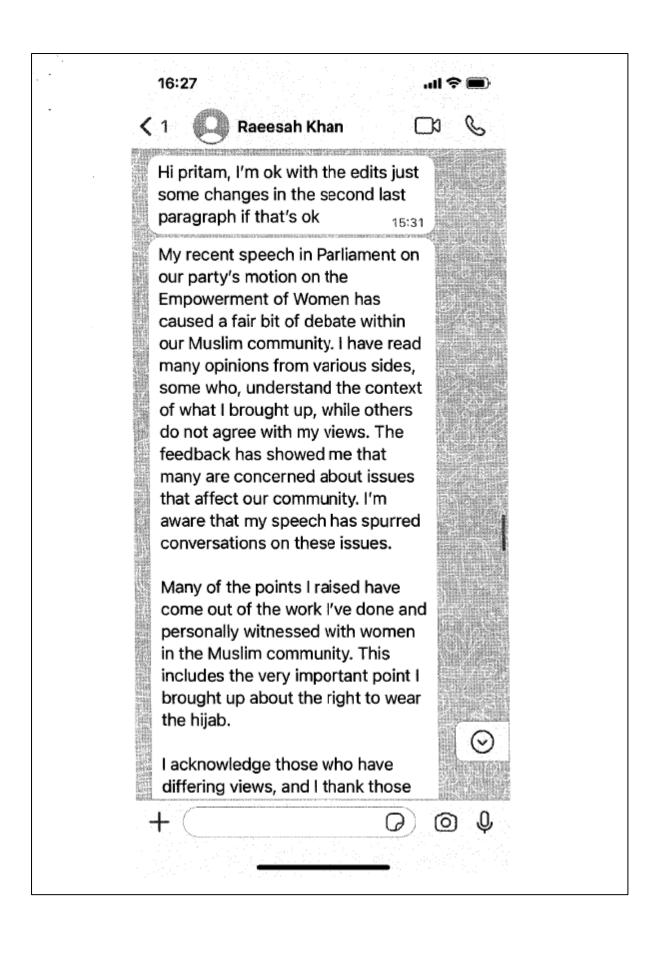


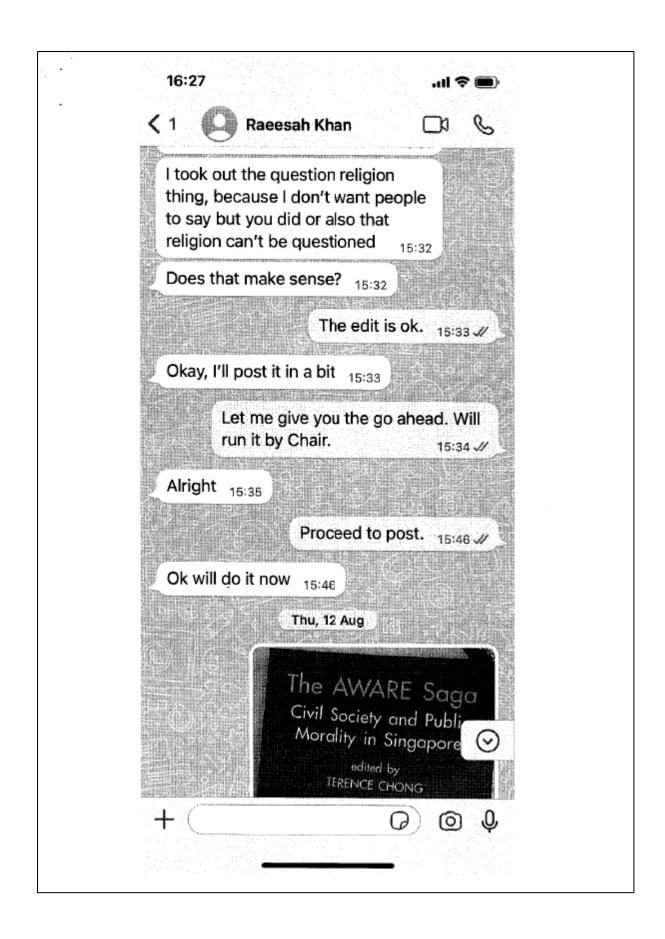




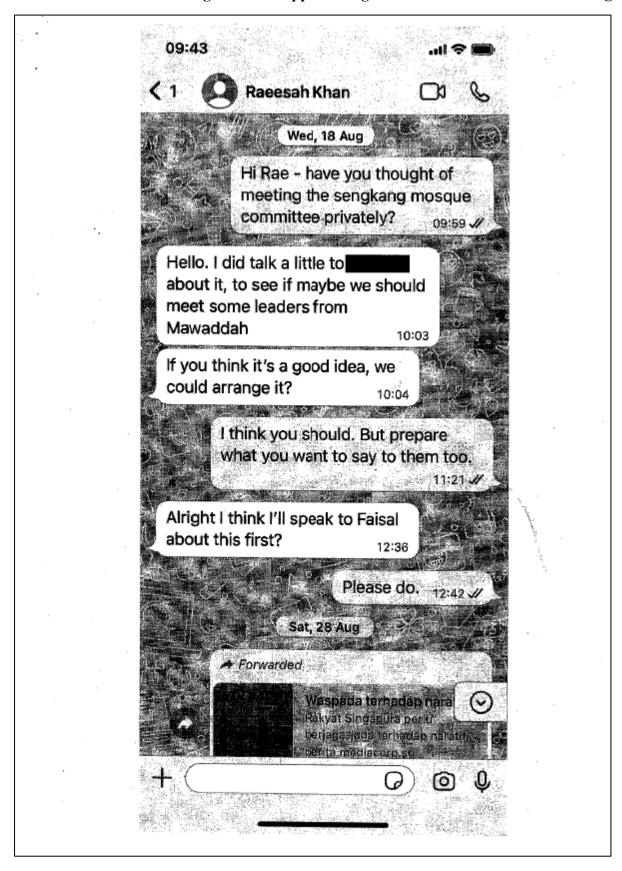




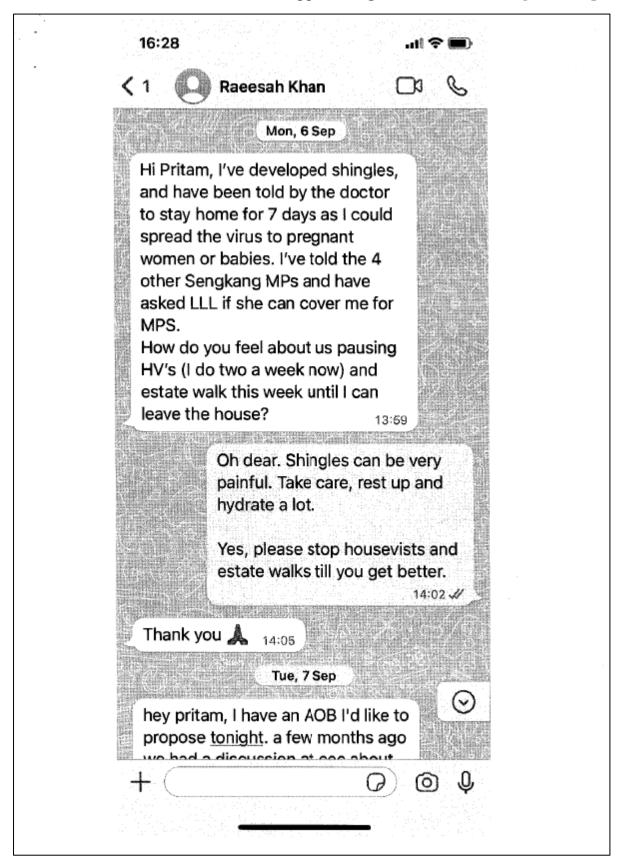




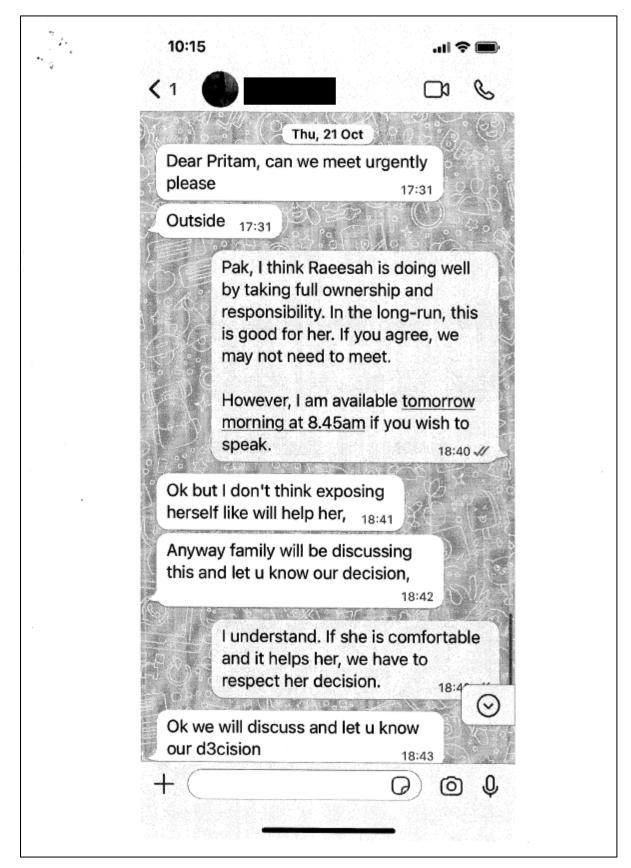
Annex C21 - Mr Pritam Singh's WhatsApp exchange with Ms Raeesah Khan on 18 Aug



Annex C22 - Ms Raeesah Khan's WhatsApp exchange with Mr Pritam Singh on 6 Sep

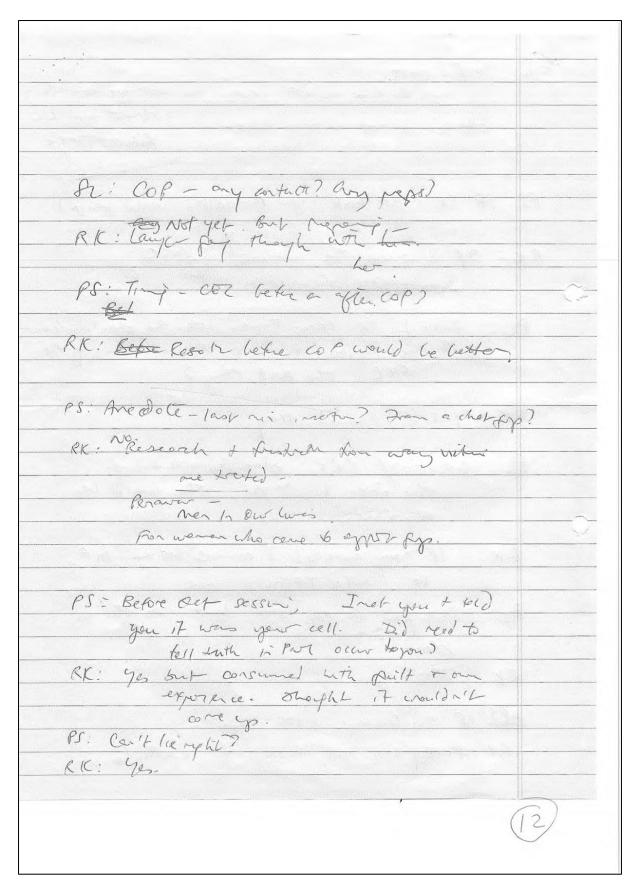


Annex C23 - Mr Pritam Singh's WhatsApp exchange with Ms Raeesah Khan's father on 21 Oct



# Annex C24 – Extract from Ms Sylvia Lim's notes for the Disciplinary Panel (DP)'s interview with Ms Raeesah Khan on 29 Nov

	DP#2 with RK - from Sylvia Lim's handwritten notes
	PS: Before Oct session, I met you + told you it was your call. Did need to tell the truth in Parl occur to you?
	RK: Yes but consumed with guilt + own experience. Thought it wouldn't come up.
	PS: Can't lie right?
	RK: Yes.
	PS: Where do you place party in decision-making?
	RK: 1 <sup>st</sup> – if party asked me to resign I would.
	SL: Party more impt than CV residents?
	RK: I've shared my views. Party decides. Had conversation with dad last night - he said if party asks you to resign, you have to resign. I wouldn't take any action against party.
8	SL: Not on our minds re legal action.
	RK: I would own my resignation. Media team would draft for me?
4	PS: No – you own it.
	6
	7.



Source: Documents submitted by Ms Sylvia Lim on 13 Dec 2021

### Annex C25 – Secretary-General's Statement – Workers' Party (Published 1 Nov)



## Secretary-General's Statement

MP Raeesah Khan should not have shared an account that contained untruths in the House. The Parliament (Privileges, Immunities and Powers) Act gives an MP significant freedom of speech, to the extent that what is said in Parliament cannot be impeached or questioned outside Parliament. However, this freedom of speech does not extend to communicating untruthful accounts, even if an MP's motives are not malicious. Raeesah has apologized to the Singapore Police Force, victims of sexual assault, her constituents, the Workers' Party members and volunteers, and her parents. She shared with me that she wanted to set the record straight in Parliament. This was the correct thing to do.

Pritam Singh

Secretary-General, The Workers' Party

Source: The Workers' Party, Facebook Page



# THE WORKERS' PARTY MEDIA STATEMENT

The Workers' Party Central Executive Committee has approved the formation of a Disciplinary Panel to look into the admissions made by MP Raeesah Khan in Parliament on 1 Nov 2021, arising from an earlier speech made by the MP in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021.

The Panel comprises Secretary-General Pritam Singh, Chair Sylvia Lim and Vice-Chair Faisal Manap. The Panel will report its findings and recommendations to the CEC after it completes its work.

The work of the Party's Disciplinary Panel is separate from any decision the Committee of Privileges of Parliament may make.

The Workers' Party Media Team

Source: The Workers' Party, Facebook Page

## **Annex C27 – Party Statement: Resignation of Ms Raeesah Khan (30 Nov)**



PARTY STATEMENT: RESIGNATION OF MS RAEESAH KHAN

The Workers' Party would like to announce that Ms Raeesah Khan has resigned from the Party, which entails the resignation of her position as an MP.

The Workers' Party Central Executive Committee (CEC) met at 8pm on 30 November to deliberate and decide on the recommendation of the Disciplinary Committee which had been formed on 2 November to investigate Ms Khan's admissions in Parliament.

At 4.30pm today, 30 November, Ms Khan indicated to Mr Singh her intention to resign from the Party. She then attended the CEC meeting at 8pm and conveyed in person her intention to resign.

The Party will hold a press conference on Thursday 2 December to provide more information on this matter and to share its plans to ensure that Sengkang residents, particularly in the Compassvale ward, continue to be cared for and represented.

Source: The Workers' Party, Facebook Page

### Annex C28 – The Workers' Party MP Rules of Prudence

# The Workers' Party MP Rules of Prudence: Sent by way of signed letter to Raeesah Khan - September 2020.

- Congratulations on your election as a Member of Parliament (MP).
- I thought it appropriate to write to you at this juncture, after you had taken your oath of Parliament and for some of you, after having better familiarized yourselves with the duties and responsibilities of being an elected town councilor.
- 3. The contents of this letter were drafted with a view to motivate excellence in all the tasks you undertake as a MP. Please keep them close to your heart. Constantly reflect on your public service journey as a privilege that is open to the very few, particularly for those of us who stand with the opposition. I trust you will make the best use of your office and plan assiduously to look back with a sense of achievement and pride years down the road. You will very quickly come to realize, if you have not already, that hard work and self-discipline will be critical to a strong term in office.

#### A Self-Respecting MP

- 4. A Workers' Party MP is a leader and key representative of the Workers' Party.
  You must never forget this. Always remember, you are not voted as an independent MP but a flag bearer of the Workers' Party.
- 5. When you decided to stand as a candidate for the Party, you signed a declaration. One of its clauses resolved that if you were elected to Parliament, you would place your political work and service to your constituents as a priority. This is a straightforward clause, but your commitment to it will shape your success or failure in your constituency and the Town Council. At the national level, a MP's Parliamentary oath, found in the Constitution, imposes similar duties and expectations.

- 6. The truest reflection of your commitment and attitude as a Workers' Party MP is not found in the number of likes, shares or positive feedback you receive online, but on what you do on the ground and say in Parliament. The Party has established a weekly baseline standard in so far as the minimum ground outreach that is expected of WP MPs including weekly house-visits and separately, walkabouts in your constituency. If you are a first-term MP and seek to anchor the Party's presence in your constituency, this will have to be supplemented by other constituency-specific work. Much of your efforts come down to your personal commitment and willingness to become a "ground MP" and to reflect the aspirations and apprehensions of your constituents and fellow Singaporeans.
- 7. A desire to be professional in all your dealings and a willingness to accept scrutiny from the public are critical if you want to make your term in office inspire your best efforts. You will not have the benefit of a grassroots organization funded to the tune of a billion dollars to support your work. Do not be overly burdened by this so much so that you are paralyzed into inaction or worse, underestimate the power of your personal involvement and attention to the constituency. Work the ground with your volunteers. Regularly conduct house visits and walk the shops in your constituency personally. Get to know residents, hawkers and commercial operators. Your constituents do not deserve any less. Most importantly, pay close attention to how you communicate the work of your Town Council to your residents. Do not fall into the trap of passivity, indifference or inertia, or you risk looking back at your term/s as an MP with regret and personal disappointment.
- 8. In your capacity as a Town Councilor, you are a custodian of public funds. Take great caution and care in this regard and ensure that expenditures incurred are underwritten by proper approval processes and controls, and in compliance with the Town Council Financial Rules. As a ground MP, you will be expected to communicate regularly with Town Council management and staff and, from time to time, with the Town Council's contractors. Set high standards in your Town Council along with your fellow town councilors. Do be very mindful about the laws covering corruption and do

not allow yourself to come under undue influence of any contractor.

#### **Parliament**

- The purpose of a backbencher, regardless of party, is to check the Government of the day.
- 10. The ruling party will not take defeat lying down as they have made clear they contest elections to win every seat. Their MPs will also be free to scrutinize your position and views in the course of parliamentary debate, as they are entitled to. Expect robust questioning with multiple PAP MPs coming at you with different angles of attack or lines of questioning. A Parliamentary democracy is adversarial by design and you should not expect anything less. In view of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the PAP, expect to have your every word uttered in Parliament scrutinized and cross-referenced with what you or the Party has previously said.
- 11. Read the Standing Orders of Parliament carefully to determine what sort of questions are permitted. For example, should your opponents' exhibit a poor understanding of the Standing Orders, do not hesitate to seek the Speaker's ruling on a point of order. Of course, you can only do this if you are familiar with the Standing Orders in the first place. Question your own motivations as you draft your parliamentary questions and speeches or when you rise to seek clarifications in Parliament. If it is to advance the interest and welfare of Singapore and Singaporeans, proceed fearlessly.
- 12. Your term in office is a marathon. Consistent performance will count in the final reckoning. Always remember that our political opponents will marshal every resource at their disposal to defeat you at the next elections, or lower your esteem in the public eye at any opportunity, including on social media either directly, or through proxies.
- You are expected to attend and sit through all sessions of Parliament. You must seek permission from the Party Whip or Deputy Whip for leave in writing if you need

to leave in between a parliamentary session. Separately, you must remain in the Chamber if a Bill or motion where you are speaking or have spoken on, is in progress. The Party expects its MPs to be active in Parliament, filing Parliamentary Questions regularly, in addition to speaking up on Bills. Your performance, the quality of your interventions and the regularity of your participation in Parliament will be closely scrutinized by voters.

- 14. Do read the Parliament (Privileges, Powers and Immunities) Act, especially the relevant provisions on the receipt of gifts. Check with the SG or Chair if in doubt. Familiarize yourself intimately with the Constitution of the Republic of Singapore and the Prevention of Corruption Act.
- 15. You may be invited to join Parliamentary trips or official trips overseas to represent the Parliament of Singapore or in other official capacities. You are encouraged to do so. Please remember that as a small country, it is important for Singapore to speak with one voice on the international stage. Do confer with Government representatives or your parliamentary colleagues on the national position and check with the SG or Chair if in doubt, or if you are uncomfortable in supporting an official stand.
- 16. As an MP, you will be invited by foreign embassies or their representatives for formal/informal meetings and discussions. You are required to inform the SG or Chair in writing of all such invitations before accepting them.

# Your signature as a WP MP

- 17. Clear all public speaking and media engagements, and requests for a quote or opinion to the media be it online or offline with the Head of the Media Team who will then seek the SG or Chair's clearance for your participation.
- 18. Think carefully before you consider speaking in public at the invitation of any organisation or society. Should you choose to accept and the Party has approved

your participation, consider your purpose and the key messages you want to leave with the audience. These must conform with the Party stance and seek to promote the Party as a rational, respectable and responsible entity in Singapore politics and reinforce the position of the Workers' Party as a loyal opposition. Consult the Head of the Media team before accepting any invite for his/her inputs if in doubt. Ask yourself whether the signature of the organisation and/or your participation can be misconstrued, politicized or deemed to be perfunctory. If it can be, it would be politically naïve and even irresponsible to proceed.

19. Do not take your grassroots volunteers for granted and engage with them regularly. It is a reality of politics that you will not be able to confirm the bona fides of people who join the Party's cause at the first instance. Take guidance from the volunteer's code of conduct, and on your part, lead by example. While volunteers are likely to be friendly and supportive, they will also look to you for leadership and watch your actions closely – are you more interested in the stature of becoming a MP and more focused on personal aggrandizement? Or are you a genuine ground MP who takes the time and effort to embed yourself in the community and respond promptly to residents' issues while exercising initiative in addressing problems? For the avoidance of doubt, there is no place in Parliament for a Workers' Party MP who falls in the former category.

### Meet-the-People Sessions and resident communication

20. In the course of your work including meet-the-people sessions, you may meet individuals who highlight deficiencies in government policy. Do not jump to conclusions. You should find out as much as you can about the case in question and exercise judgment in assessing the case. For example, have you sufficiently interrogated the policy reasons behind the issue, can the policy can be improved, do extrinsic reasons explain the matter? etc. These should be some of the thoughts that cross your mind. In some cases, you should also reflect if you or your office are being manipulated as a tool to further the interests of an external cause or interest. Never forget that you serve the interests of Singapore and Singaporeans. Even so, remain

open-minded even as you address the matter with empathy, as a Workers' Party MP must be expected to. Earn the trust of your residents.

21. You will not be able to satisfy all requests. Be straight and honest with your

residents without losing your sense of empathy and compassion. If you do not have

an answer for a resident, inform him/her that you will check and get back to them.

Make sure that you do.

In your enthusiasm and commitment to assist a resident or advance any issue,

be courteous and professional in your dealings with civil servants and members of

the public. You may find yourself writing to office-holders - or to MPs of other parties

to forward a case relevant to them.

Hammer Outreach

23. Hammer sales are a central Party activity that takes place over more than half

of all Sunday mornings throughout the year. An MP is expected to participate in this

activity and lead members to sell the Party newsletter to members of the public.

Conclusion

24. This letter has been drafted with a view to providing a basic outline that if

followed, should give you the foundation for a successful and personally fulfilling term

as an MP. No document will be able to capture all the do's and don'ts of a Workers'

Party MP in a granular way. Nor can the Party provide a manual to ensure you have

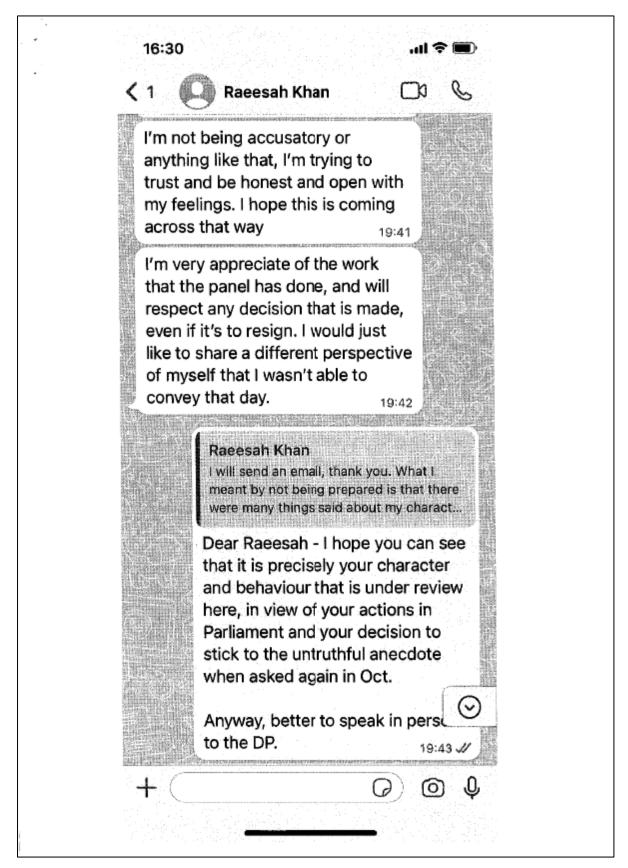
a successful and fruitful term of office. Your success or failure will ultimately turn on

your professionalism, self-discipline and commitment towards your ground efforts

and your desire to represent Singaporeans effectively in Parliament.

25. I wish you the very best.

Annex C29 - Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Mr Pritam Singh and Ms Raessah Khan on 22 Nov



Source: Documents submitted by Mr Pritam Singh on 11 Dec 2021

### Annex C30 - Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh Pei Ying, Ms Raeesah Khan and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 23 Nov

[23/11/21, 8:36:08 AM] Raeesah WP: I was shocked by his reply about October [23/11/21, 8:36:37 AM] Raeesah WP: 議員 [23/11/21, 9:53:06 AM] Peiying.: I am too but don't worry I'm ready to tell him we know [23/11/21, 1:15:08 PM] Yudhish: "your decision to stick to the untruthful anecdote when asked again in Oct"	
[23/11/21, 1:15:19 PM] Yudhish: What happened to "I won't judge you" ?? [23/11/21, 1:15:51 PM] Yudhish: And we know cos he literally told us in his house that that's what he said [23/11/21, 1:16:08 PM] Peiying.: Yeah I'm ready to say this to him on Thursday [23/11/21, 1:16:19 PM] Yudhish: I think Faisal n Sylvia should know this	

Source: Document submitted by Ms Loh Pei Ying on 4 Dec 2021

Annex C31 - Extract of WhatsApp exchange between Ms Loh Pei Ying and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on  $2\ \text{Nov}$ 

Peiying (WP): but he didnt say much more  YN: Hi hi	Our reaction to the news of the formation of a Disciplinary Panel
YN: Hi hi	
YN: He sent me the same message too	
Peiying (WP): i wonder why he's informing the both of us tho	
Pelying (WP): i asked him if we would be questioned	
Pelying (WP): he said no	
YN: Omg lol	
YN: tht didn't cross my mind	
YN: >attached :00001922-PHOTO-2021-11-02-12-55-02.jpg<	
YN: I think he wanted to tell us just so we heard it from him before the party pg	
YN: which is nice I guess	
· ·	
····	
Pelying (WP): funny he make special effort to tell the both of us but not rae?	
Pelying (WP): i also think he's being too reactionary	
Peiying (WP): I would have let it simmer for another 2 days	
YN: issit??	
YN: Ohhh	
Peiying (WP): basically asking for the panel to be set up rightaway	
YN: Ok I never read properly sry	
YN: Rae messaged me just now	
YN: To ask me if I think the party will ask her to step down	Discussion on a message from Ms Khan
Peiying (WP): I don't know sia	Providenci ou a unesegé uou ma tolen
Peiying (WP): I really don't know	
Pelying (WP): >attached: 00002058-PHOTO-2021-11-02-14-45-39.jpg>	
Peiying (WP): here it comes	
YN: Wah	Discussion on social media post questioning Mr
YN: He also being dragged	Singh's knowledge of the lie
Peiying (WP): so i dont trust Pritam to put himself above things lol	
Pelying (WP): like when it affects him personally, im worried he'll out the cord	
	Pelying (WP): I wonder why he's informing the both of us tho  Pelying (WP): I asked him if we would be questioned  Pelying (WP): he said no  YN: Orig Tol  YN: I think didn't cross my mind  YN: >attached: 00001922-PHOTO-2021-11-02-12-55-02 jpg<  YN: I think he wanted to tell us just so we heard it from him before the party pg  YN: which is nice I guess  YN: But I do feel he n Sylvia underestimated the backlash  Pelying (WP): funny he make special effort to tell the both of us but not rae?  Pelying (WP): I also think he's being too reactionary  Pelying (WP): I would have let it simmer for another 2 days  YN: Issit??  Pelying (WP): he informed her in the CEC chat what  YN: Ohhh  Pelying (WP): basically asking for the panel to be set up rightaway  YN: Ck I never read properly sry  YN: Rae messaged me just now  YN: To ask me if I think the party will ask her to step down  Pelying (WP): I don't know sia  Pelying (WP): I really don't know  Pelying (WP): I really don't know  Pelying (WP): Nere it comes  YN: Wah  YN: Wah  YN: He also being dragged  Pelying (WP): so I don't trust Pritam to put himself above things lol

Source: Document submitted by Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 8 Dec 2021

### Annex C32 - Transcript of Workers' Party Press Conference on 2 Dec

### Transcript - The Workers' Party Press Conference following Ms Raeesah Khan's resignation

Good afternoon. Thank you for coming for this press conference.

### 1 Statement by Pritam Singh [0:14]

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November, the Workers' Party Central Executive Committee agreed to form a disciplinary panel to look into the admissions made by Raeesah Khan in Parliament by way of personal statement on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 2021.

In the course of its work, the disciplinary panel invited members of the party to share their views on the matter ahead of submitting its report to the CEC for deliberation. Before the panel could submit its recommendations to the CEC on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November. Raeesah tendered her resignation from the party, and by extension, resigned as a member of Parliament.

As the CEC had not received her resignation in writing by then, it proceeded to deliberate the recommendations of the disciplinary panel. The CEC voted overwhelmingly that she would have been expected to resign on her own accord, failing which she would be expelled from the party.

There have been some queries from members of the public about the knowledge the party had about the original speech Raeesah delivered on the 3rd of August, and what action was taken thereafter. I will address these directly.

In the course of preparing for her speech on the motion titled empowering women on the Workers' Party motion entitled "Empowering Women" on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August, Raeesah Khan was put on notice through the Workers' Party usual pre-Parliamentary processes to be ready to substantiate her account that she had followed the victim to the police station, in the event she was queried in the course of the debate.

After Raeesah delivered her speech, and in the course of the days that followed, I asked Raeesah to make her best efforts to contact the victim, or to contact the individuals who brought the victim's case to her attention, and to extend the necessary information to Minister of State for Home Affairs Desmond Tan, who had sought more details on the matter in Parliament.

Initially, Raeesah stuck to her untruth in her communication with me. After being repeatedly pressed, a number of new facts and disturbing personal revelations were disclosed. These concerned Raeesah's sexual assault, an event which was unknown to the party leadership at that time, and other related matters of a deeply personal nature.

Raeesah shared that her personal trauma and sexual assault explained why she was not truthful about accompanying the victim to the police station, as she had asserted in her speech on the 3rd of August. She admitted this to the party leadership about a week after she had delivered her speech.

Of immediate concern to me, was the fact that Raeesah had not previously informed her family members of her sexual assault, which had traumatised her greatly. In my judgment, it was important that she did so before she could fully address the reasons behind her untruthful conduct in Parliament, and to correct the record. In view of her sexual assault and my assessment of her state of mind, I was prepared to give her the space necessary to address the matter with her loved ones.

4

Raeesah came down with an episode of shingles in September and did not attend Parliament that month. It was nonetheless made known to her before the Parliamentary sitting in October, that any parliamentary clarification on this matter was hers to make in her capacity as an elected member of Parliament.

When questioned by the Minister for Home Affairs in Parliament on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, I beg your pardon, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of October, Raeesah repeated an untruth on the parliamentary record, which was wholly inconsistent with the revelations she had shared with the party leadership after 3 August.

Almost immediately after Parliament adjourned in October, Raeesah agreed with the party leadership that she had to set the record right forthwith. I shared with her that it was the correct thing to do. The next earliest opportunity to do so in Parliament was on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, when the member made the personal explanation, under Standing Order 25.

Raeesah sent her resignation letter to me on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 2021. And I replied to it by way of letter the next day.

I wish to end this statement by apologising to the residents of Sengkang for this turn of events. I also apologise to all victims of sexual assault who have been hurt over this matter.

For the party, public trust and confidence in a sitting Workers' Party MP is fundamental to the ethos of the party as a rational, responsible and respectable institution in Singapore politics. Singaporeans have the right to expect the best efforts from Workers' Party MPs. And we should never take their faith, trust and confidence in us for granted.

The Sengkang team leader He Ting Ru, will speak after Party chair with regard to how the residents in Compassvale will continue to be looked after by the Workers' Party Sengkang MPs. Chair.

### 2 Statement in Chinese by Workers' Party Chairman Sylvia Lim [5:57]

大家好。出现这样的局面,我们非常遗憾。对于盛港的居民,我们深感抱歉。工人党将会坚守对选民的诚信和委托,继续为你们服务。

### 3 Question and Answer Segment [6:26]

### Pritam Singh:

Before we go on to the second part of this press conference, which will see the Sengkang MPs share their plans on how they will continue to look after Sengkang GRC, I will open the floor to questions.

### Wong Kang Wei from Channel 8:

Hi, I am Kang Wei from Channel 8 here. I think Sec Gen just now you mentioned that on 4th October that Ms Raeesah Khan repeated an untruth which was inconsistent with what she had shared with the party earlier. So why wasn't there an immediate...for other MPs to step up to tell her to update the situation, instead of waiting for the next sitting session in November?

### Pritam:

Thank you for that question. The allega...the untruth was mentioned by Raeesah Khan in the first place. It was for her to correct the Parliamentary record. And that was the position that the Workers' Party MPs took. (Pause) Yes?

### Nicholas Yong from Yahoo:

Just following up what you said that it was up to Raeesah to correct the untruth, so but...

### Pritam:

Sorry Nicholas, could you just give me a second? (Talks to Sylvia Lim, who says "ask him to identify himself") Nicholas, you may want to identify...I mean, I know who you are, but you may want to identify yourself.

### Nicholas:

I am Nicholas from Yahoo News Singapore.

### Pritam:

Thank you.

### Nicholas:

So as you were saying earlier that the party position was that it was up to Raeesah to correct this untruth as she had said it herself. But having said that, to allow that untruth to remain uncorrected, isn't that damaging to the party, and also, wouldn't it have exacerbated the issue and resulted in more questions not just from Sengkang residents but all voters in Singapore?

### Pritam:

I mean, Nicholas, that's a fair question. You see, each Workers' Party MP is a leader in his or her own right. And if you have done something wrong, it is your responsibility to set the record right. And indeed, there was a risk that the issue would be exacerbated. But only Raeesah knew the truth of what she had said, and what she experienced. And it was for her to clarify that on the record. And I think that would have been only adequately communicated through her personally.

### Nicholas:

Now, I do agree that if you said it, you should own it. But again, coming back to the issue of it's damaging to the party itself. And again, now that question has come up of 'what did the party know', 'when did they know about'... which you have already clarified, but again, then it had resulted in long term damage to the party. The party had not come out and said this is what really happened.

### Pritam:

I think this is a judgment call we have to make. If we verbalise what she told us, and that information was incorrect, I'm not sure whether the consequence would have been worse, where Miss Khan later may come out and say, actually, no, that's not really the whole truth of what was said. So that's why my earlier point as to she having to take ownership and responsibility for what was done in Parliament.

### Deborah from Channel News Asia:

Hi good afternoon Mr Singh, I am Deborah from Channel News Asia. I was just wondering if Raeesah had not made the admission eventually, at any point in time would the leadership decide to step in given that it's been so long drawn since she had her first admission.

### Pritam:

Deborah, it's a fair question. It's also hypothetical to an extent. But certainly, an MP cannot be expected to leave an untruth on the record. She would have had to clarify it at some point, but that became moot by the time the Minister for Home Affairs put the question to her and she re- I beg your pardon - she

repeated what was the untruth that she originally communicated. But certainly if you want to continue as an MP, if you want to continue as a respectable political party, you know of this fact. I think there's only one outcome, it would have to be clarified.

Deborah :

Just to follow up on that, is there any consideration on WP's part that it may take internal action against her, knowing that she had committed an untruth?

Pritam

I think that really also comes down to some questions which have been...I have noticed online about why the disciplinary panel, I think, was formed after she made those admissions. Like I iterated to Nicholas, I think it was important that she set the record right in Parliament and that she had the opportunity to do that first. Her mistake was something that she had to own up to and take responsibility for. Once that was done, and the truth of the matter was established on the record, disciplinary action from a party perspective would follow. And that's what happened. The sequence was important because it was important to establish what and why Raeesah did what she did. And Parliament was the correct platform for her to make that correction. It's also hypothetical but she may well have resigned earlier had disciplinary proceedings been initiated prematurely, leaving the parliamentary record not corrected by her. And this in my view would not have been acceptable. Yes, Yuen-C?

### Tham Yuen-C from The Straits Times:

Hi, I am Yuen C from The Straits Times. Can I just ask, you mentioned that you gave, based on her state of mind at that time, you gave her some time to settle the matter with her family first. Did you give her any deadline by which she should correct the mistake? And also, other than harm to the party, the fact that she made such allegations about the police, is also quite serious. So what were your thoughts on, you know, allowing these allegations to persist? And eventually it did last for about two months where whoever would have read her speech or watched videos of it might, you know, continue to think that the police had actually done that.

### Pritam:

I'll deal with the second question first. Indeed. That was a call that had to be made about what had been said against the police. I - Raeesah, I think has apologised to the police force. I just met some members of the police, who look after a part of Aljunied-Hougang town a few...one or two weeks ago. I mean, we work very professionally with one another. But to the extent that this episode has cast some aspersions on them in any way, I apologise to the police. And this should not have happened. But as a sitting MP, I must say that it cannot be the case that MPs do not raise issues of concern with regard to any government authority in Parliament. I mean, that's something that we have the prerogative to do, but certainly to, to expect it to be substantiated is par for the course. Your first question about the timeline? No, I did not give her a direct timeline. It was my judgment into her state of mind. But it was quite clear in October that nothing was coming forward at that point, I believe. If my memory serves me right, Leader of the House, Miss Indranee Rajah also asked her a question about the delay, from the moment she made her speech on the third of August, and the question that the Minister for Home Affairs put to her on the fourth of October. And she answered—it was a two-part answer. And she said that she had to speak to her family members and loved ones and that process was prolonged. And I suppose one could make an argument that it could have been faster. But in my judgment, given where she was emotionally, I took the decision that she had to close that loop with her parents. (Pause) Yes?

Sean Lim from Rice Media:

I am Sean from Rice Media. So, I can't help but draw a parallel to the 2012 Yaw Shin Leong incident. That one took one month between the allegations and the dismissal. But in this case here, the allegations were made in August when she first made the allegations, so why the difference in the timeframe regarding her judgement?

### Pritam:

Thank you, Sean. I think the two episodes were quite different. One was an episode that occurred in Parliament. And the parliamentary record had to be set right. And I think we were quite determined that that had to be done. The question, of course, is one's judgment as to whether that person would come up and say the real reason why she would carry a lie, over something to many people I think is quite inexplicable. Once that was done, then we had to conduct and carry out the process to assess where we stand as a party on what was done in Parliament, the conduct in Parliament. The disciplinary panel was formed expeditiously, it went about its work, but it also had to consider questions of natural justice. She spoke to us twice, the second one was her request to come and talk to us. We also invited her to present herself to the CEC and to explain her case, but she had resigned by then, as I mentioned earlier in my speech, we spoke to various party members also to get their views and to take them on board. So there were a number of things that we wanted to do, and we did not feel that we had to rush that process. She is a MP after all. And I think it was important to ensure that natural justice took its course. On the Yaw Shin Leong matter, if I cast my memory back, I was sitting- I was a CEC member at that time. Yaw Shin Leong did not account himself to the party after the allegations were made. I think he did not address the media. He did not address the party. The party was willing to give him some space to get himself organised, but this just went on and it went on to a point where this was just unreasonable conduct. This was not acceptable. And so the party took the decision to fire him, to sack him. And so I suppose the circumstances are a bit different. I mean, the situation is a little different. But I think something has been said in Parliament, and untruth has been carried in Parliament, and the person responsible for that untruth has to clear the air. (Pause) If there are no further questions...Yes, Nicholas.

### Nicholas from Yahoo:

Going back again to what you said about the Workers' Party MP having to clarify what they themselves said in the House. I'm just wondering, why isn't Raeesah here now to explain her actions?

### Pritam:

Nicholas, I think she's been dismissed, she's not-I beg your pardon. She has resigned from the party. And so this is a party matter that we have got to carry forward. And this is what we're doing now.

### Nicholas:

But having said that, I mean, as I am sure you would know, I think a lot of voters, a lot of Singaporeans, are quite perplexed by this series of events. And so far, other than what she had said in Parliament, we have not heard directly from Raeesah before the media, before Singaporeans to explain herself. So, isn't it kind of expected that she would be at least here to answer for herself?

### Pritam:

Nicholas, I can't speak for her. I can't speak for someone who is not a member of the party anymore and that's the situation. I think she made her statement in Parliament on the first of November and she was quite extensively questioned by the Leader of the House as to why certain things were done, why certain things were said and I'm sure if you want to speak to her, I think as media representatives you can reach out to her. I mean, that's your prerogative.

### Nicholas:

May I ask, has she met her residents to explain why she's stepping down and what was happening?

### Pritam:

She continued to work in Compassvale throughout the course of these few months. And my-I can't answer that question directly of course, because I don't know the extent to which she reached out to the Compassvale residents, but I think you can speak to them. She was on the ground. She did attend wakes. She did do the work that WP MPs are usually expected to do within the confines of, of course, the Covid restrictions. And the moment of course, she has resigned from the party, she stops doing all those things.

### Nicholas:

Then can I ask, as the leadership of the party, given the revelations that, given what she has confessed to the party and what were her motivations behind it, what does the leadership feel now? Is it disappointed? Is it... Does it regret choosing Raeesah as candidate, and is there a need to look again at your- the way that candidates – potential candidates – are assessed?

### Pritam:

Sure, thanks Nicholas for that. I mean, disappointment, of course. I mean, nobody wants this sort of outcome for their MPs. But you spoke about candidate selection. I think you have heard this before. No candidate selection process can be failproof. We make our best efforts to select candidates who are committed to looking after residents and Singaporeans and who as a whole can represent a wide spectrum of Singapore society. As a pan-national party and in view of the increasing diversity of our electorate, particularly the younger generation, I think we will have to continue to consider people from all walks of life. Generally speaking, the selection process will raise individuals who are most likely to be able to succeed and do well as MPs. And I think we have seen that happening. But I believe every now and then there will be conduct by some MPs or by MPs that would, as I mentioned earlier, I can't think of a better word other than 'inexplicable', based on the knowledge one has at the time, that individual is selected for candidature. I mean, at that point, it's a judgement and an assessment that the individual can actually carry the responsibility faithfully and do it well. And that was the judgement and conclusion that the party drew before she was selected as a candidate.

### Nicholas:

One last thing...

### Pritam:

Just let me finish on that, Nicholas, I will come back to it. In my mind I think no process, no selection process, can eliminate the prospect of a candidate who has certain traits or characteristics that were not highlighted or were not raised initially. But the Workers' Party will undertake our best efforts to lower this prospect as best we can while at the same time working to ensure that there's a diverse slate of candidates in concert, as I mentioned earlier, with the increasingly diverse aspirations of Singapore society.

### Male member of media:

What checks will there be in place to ensure this doesn't happen again? For instance, checking the speeches by the leadership?

### Pritam:

I think I've referred to that very early on in my statement already. There was a process that was undertaken. She had put that anecdote down, it was made known to her that 'You'd better be ready to

substantiate this because it is an allegation'. On its own, an allegation, you can make that allegation. I don't think any of us would stop an MP from doing that, but she was put on notice to substantiate it. So the process did not fail in that regard. Why she didn't take heed of that instruction, why did she ignore it, that's not a question I can answer. Yuen-C?

### Yuen-C:

My question is, how much responsibility do you think the leadership should take... because this was one of the questions people have out there... Also, now that the party has gone through this experience, would you change anything in future, for example if it happens again, you know, to maybe compel the MP to admit to the untruth earlier, because I mean, as things have shown, it's quite damaging for the WP.

### Pritam:

Yup, thank you, Yuen-C. First question on the leadership, I mean look, it's our MP, we take responsibility and we have to account to the public what has happened. Second question, you talked about if it happens again, this is a little bit more difficult and it alludes to the comparison that was made with Yaw Shin Leong. Each case will be different. And each case will have to be addressed on its own unique facts and in this particular case, an MP came forth with some quite personal and private details and my judgement, I think I had to respect some of those very private and difficult fears that that MP had and I dealt with it the best way I thought would have been appropriate in the circumstances.

### Female member of media:

Mr Singh, much has been said about the damage that this has done to the Workers' Party. Over the course of the last three months, have you encountered residents who, you know, tried to ask what went wrong. (Pritam: Yes.) How do you intend to build back the trust with the community?

### Pritam:

I think when, I mean incidents happen, and I think the Sengkang MPs will also speak a little later, but you've just got to batten down, and work hard for your residents. It has happened - you take ownership of it, you take responsibility for it, you account for it, we have tried our best to do all of that, even though the parameters were not so straightforward in some cases- in the situation that MP Raeesah was in. But as a party, I think the public also knows us, they know we are a serious party. We try our best in trying circumstances sometimes, and we will continue to do so. I think if you look back at the history of the party, there have been other episodes where we have had to rise and come back strong and we have done that. And we will continue to do that. And that's my commitment to the residents of Sengkang and to all Singaporeans who support the Workers' Party and don't want to see us fail and want to see us succeed.

### Female member of media:

To follow up on that, will anything change in the vetting process for the candidates going forward?

### Pritam Singh:

I think this is a significant question and I'm quite sure that the party leadership and the CEC will look at this question in more detail. I think it's only fair to reflect back and review what we do, but I wish to say that if you are going to try to reach out to a wide segment of the Singapore population or to reach out to them at least, you also need MPs who have different abilities, characteristics, traits, persuasive powers, and this is also something we have to keep in mind.

### Male member of media:

Will this incident actually deter your party to field younger, progressive candidates for future elections, and what does this mean for the party's progressiveness in politics? And my second question would be, will the remaining Sengkang MPs resign to trigger a by-election so as to give Sengkang residents a choice of a clean, full slate of four MPs?

### Pritam:

I will deal with the first question, Party chair will deal with the second one. The answer is quite simple, for the first one, it's 'no'. Party chair, you want to take that second question?

### Sylvia Lim:

Yes, so I think implied in that question is the issue of by-election in the GRC. So first of all, it's important to state that the law on this is quite clear. Under the Parliamentary Elections Act, there can be no writ of by-election issued in a GRC unless all the members have vacated their seat. So that's in the law. And this position was also confirmed recently by the Court of Appeal in the case of Marsiling-Yew Tee GRC when Madam Halimah vacated her seat in order to run for president, so that's the legal position. The fact is that in the general election last year, the voters of Sengkang gave the Workers' Party a mandate to represent them in Parliament. We have three MPs in Sengkang, still there to do the work. And it is the party's responsibility to take this through for the remainder of the term, so that is what the party will do.

Male member of media:

So there won't be resignation by the three MPs?

Sylvia:

They will not.

Pritam:

Think there was a question here.

Sylvia:

This lady.

### Janice from Today:

So just want to ask, is Ms Raeesah Khan's resignation the end of the matter from the point of view of the party or will you guys have more internal reviews, given that, you know, you were talking about the process of how the chronological order, how it turned out. Do you see that there are certain lapses that you guys need to correct?

### Pritam:

Thank you for that, Janice, I think if after every episode of this nature, it would be remiss if we don't stop and look back at what has occurred and how to avoid or prevent it as far as possible in future. So I believe I answered a question similarly just on this matter just now, so that really will take place, but that would be an internal party matter, of course. I think you had an earlier question, there was one more question embedded in that.

(Janice clarifies).

### Pritam:

Well, we understand the Committee of Privileges continues its work so I suppose that work would

continue, I'm not-I don't have any insights to the committee's work. But I think insofar as looking back, reviewing what has happened, I think that's a party matter that cannot be ignored. I think it's twelve- Go ahead please.

### Male member of media:

I have one quick question I need to clarify. You mentioned just now that Ms Raeesah Khan repeated the untruth in the October parliamentary sitting and you say that she shouldn't have done that. But what were the reasons that were shared with the party that she decided to share the untruth again?

### Pritam:

I believe this is back to the reply that she gave Leader of the House. If you check the Hansard, that question was put to her in a similar form and she answered that, so I don't really want to go beyond that.

### Pritam:

Yes, last one please, before we go on to the next part.

### Janice:

Mr Singh, you mentioned about the Committee of Privileges that is still continuing their work, right. Can I understand right, I mean, we don't know at what point their- the state of investigations. But assuming that if they contact you guys and ask for more information, just trying to understand how do you guys plan to sort of work with them and correspond with them... (unintelligible)

### Pritam:

The Committee of Privileges is a standing committee of Parliament. If they call me to give evidence or to share details with them, I will do so.

### Keyang from Lianhe Zaobao:

Sorry, just one last thing.

### Pritam:

Sorry who are you?

### Keyang from Lianhe Zaobao:

Now that Raeesah Khan is no longer a member of the Workers' Party, but she is still under investigation by the Parliamentary Committee of Privileges, would the Workers' Party still be providing support to her?

### Pritam

Thank you for that question. It is not something that she has reached out to us for, but in the event that she does, we will have to assess the nature of the query.

### Female member of media:

Sorry, just a really quick one. (Pritam: Sure, go ahead.) On Facebook we have seen a lot of people comment about this incident. One of them is actually from your own party member Associate Professor Daniel Goh. (Pritam: Yes.) He said that there are some questions that need to be answered. So I am just wondering what do you feel about his comments.

### Pritam:

Cadre members don't usually operate in the way Mr Goh did. But this is an internal party member that we will look into- this is an internal party matter that we will look into.

### Pritam:

Okay, any more questions before we go to the second segment? (Pause) Okay, thank you. The Sengkang MPs now will come on board and they will share their plans for Compassvale, ah, Sengkang. Compassvale and Sengkang GRC.

### 4 Presentation by Sengkang MPs [32:36]

### He Ting Ru:

Good afternoon. The Workers' Party, in particular the elected MPs of Sengkang GRC, and the rest of the Sengkang team of volunteers, are committed to ensuring a smooth transition of resident affairs in the Compassvale division, of which Ms Raeesah Khan oversaw.

The boundaries for divisions in Sengkang GRC, will be redrawn into 3 divisions.

- Residents currently located at Blocks 215 to 241 in Compassvale Mast, Vista, Plains and Walk will be overseen by myself.
- Blocks 244 to 256, 291 to 292, and 295 to 299 comprising Compassvale Haven, Lodge and Green, by MP Louis Chua.
- And Blocks 286 to 290, 293 to 294, 257 to 263, comprising Compassvale Cape, Broadwalk, Gardens, and North Gate, by MP Jamus Lim.

These new divisions are shown on the screen - oh sorry there's a technical issue. Okay, these new divisions are actually in the handouts that we've just given out, and they will also be published in our various communication channels shortly.

This will also be reflected in the respective lift cars and notice boards as soon as practical, for residents' convenience.

These represent natural contiguous extensions of each of the existing divisions. Enfolding Compassvale into the oversight of the 3 MPs ensures that all residents of Compassvale will continue to have a direct line of contact with an MP who will represent them.

Naturally, residents are welcome to reach out to any one of us, even if they reside in a different division, as they have always been able to do.

We will also continue to represent the interests of our residents in Parliament.

The party will also provide additional support to team Sengkang, especially for our weekly house visits, which we expect to resume in January.

Operations of Sengkang Town Council will be uninterrupted, and residents can continue to reach out to TC staff via the existing channels that they currently use. SKTC remains committed to maintain high standards of service.

MP Faisal Manap from Aljunied GRC will also be supporting Sengkang GRC, in an advisory capacity.

The screen is now showing the divisions.

Next my teammate, MP Louis Chua, will say a few words.

### Louis Chua:

大家好,谢谢前来参加记者招待会。就如我的同僚何廷儒所说,工人党和盛港集选区议员将会确保康埔桦区服务居民的事务顺利交接,平稳过渡。我们会将盛港集选区划分为三个区域,详情请参考我们所分发的资料,居民也可以在组屋底层的公告栏查询有关的资料。

我们也会继续在国会提出居民所关注的课题和所面对的困境,继续为盛港居民在国会里发言。

工人党会给予盛港团队额外的支持,例如支援预计会在明年一月恢复的每周家访等等的基层活动。

盛港市镇会将如常运作,居民如果有任何关于区内事务的疑问,可以通过往常的沟通渠道,和议员们保持联系。此外,阿裕尼集选区议员莫哈默·费沙也会以顾问的身份支持盛港集选区的团队。

Now I believe Vice-Chair would like to say a few words.

### Faisal Manap:

Please allow me to say some words in Malay.

Assalamualaikum.

Seperti yang diketahui, Kawasan Undi Perwakilan Berkumpulan Sengkang adalah GRC, dan AP minoritinya adalah daripada Masyarakat Melayu/Islam.

Menurut kepada apa yang dikatakan awal tadi, oleh rakan saya Ting Ru, setelah berbincang dengan beliau, Jamus dan juga Louis; menyuarakan kesediaan dan komitmen-komitmen saya untuk bekerja rapat dengan mereka bertiga, dalam memberi sokongan, pandangan dan juga nasihat yang sebaik dan semampunya.

Terutama dalam perkara-perkara berkaitan dengan Masyarakat Melayu/Islam di dalam kawasaan Sengkang.

Terima kasih.

### 5 Second Q&A segment with Sengkang MPs [37:47]

### Pritam:

Okay, we will now take questions from the media.

### Janice:

Janice from Today. I understand that Sec Gen Mr Singh had sort of explained the chronology of what happened up from his point of view. I just want to know you guys, are Ms Khan's team mates, did she sort of reveal any information that you guys knew before meeting Mr Singh questioned her or she gave certain information, yup...

### He Ting Ru:

Thanks Janice for that question. From my personal perspective, I was only made aware of the fact that an untruth was uttered in Parliament sometime in October.

### Pritam:

Just to follow up on that, the matter, I squared the matter with Raeesah in August, and thereafter she narrated the same to party chair Sylvia Lim, and vice chair Faisal Manap. So the 3 of us, the Party leadership, were squaring the issue away with Raeesah. (long pause) Next question?

### Deborah:

My question is for Ms He. I'm Deborah from Channel News Asia. Just wondering, within the course of 3 months, have any residents come up to you to just talk about the damage that has been done, and were they overtly concerned about the state of play in Sengkang?

### He Ting Ru:

Ok, thanks Deborah. I think as Pritam mentioned earlier, we do actually, in the course of our activities with residents in the ground work that we do carry out, that this matter has been raised to us, and we do actually address any concerns of residents who raised this to us directly, and I think you know this is something that has been ongoing, and you know as developments progress, we do speak to our residents and also respond to them directly.

### Pritam:

I think, just to add to that, Deborah, the question doesn't just come up in Sengkang, of course. We are WP MPs in Aljunied, our own residents also asked these questions, and I think we have to be upfront with them, we have to apologise, this should not have happened. It has, and we assure them that we will continue to move forward and serve their interests faithfully.

### Sean:

Ya I'm Sean, uh Sean. Looking at the map right, there's only 3 MPs left, and we know that a GRC must have one minority candidate but there isn't right now. So will this, like, raise eyebrows or things like that, without the minority MP to step in?

### Pritam:

Thanks Sean. I think that is the reason why MP Faisal is stepping in in an advisory capacity, to assist the Sengkang GRC MPs in their work, and this is, I think, a relevant point that you have made, and that's why we have taken the decision to ensure that MP Faisal, vice-chair Faisal, works closely with the Sengkang MPs. Nicholas?

### Nicholas:

We know that right now, as you were saying, Sengkang has been re-drawn into three divisions and the priority is to serve the residents' needs. But has there been any thought given as to who might be Raeesah's eventual replacement looking at the next election, can we expect to see any potential candidates in her ward?

### Pritam:

Nicholas, it would be quite premature for me to answer that question. Generally, we will continue our

work as a party to look for suitable individuals who can represent residents and Singaporeans faithfully, and that work will continue on an ongoing basis.

### Janice:

Hi, Janice from Today. So, Mr Singh, you have described this... you've used the words 'disappointed', 'inexplicable'... so I mean, my question is towards the three Sengkang MPs. You all have been...you know, last year, campaigning for GE, all the way until now, and then four of you guys in the GRC are seen as a very tight-knit team. So you know, I think having that kind of personal relations with Ms Khan, can I know what are your thoughts knowing about this, yah...what are your personal feelings?

### He Ting Ru:

Thanks Janice for that question. I think actually, of course it takes a team to run a GRC, and you know, we are very grateful that we have very committed members of the team who have been working tirelessly to serve our residents. You know, The turn of events was unfortunate, and, so we, you know, we actually would like to thank Raeesah for the work she's done for Compassvale residents, and also to wish her the very best in her future going forward.

### Pritam:

Any more questions? Yes please, go ahead.

### Female member of media:

I'm (unintelligible) from BH. As an MP, Raeesah has spoken up quite a bit on some minority issues, including those affecting the Malay community. But with her resignation there is one less opposition MP who will be speaking up on these issues. What are your comments on this, and your message of assurance to the community?

### Pritam:

Thank you, that's a very thoughtful question. Indeed, the numbers matter. When you have one less MP there are lesser parliamentary questions that can be put in the house on any given sitting day. So I don't think there's any way for me to share that that somehow can be overcome. But what it means is we all recognise that the presence of MP Faisal in the Sengkang team, would assure, well we hope will assure, Malay Muslim residents in Sengkang that their issues will not be ignored, and through him, can be put at the highest level in Parliament. But having said that, I also don't want to go too far with this, because as a multi-racial country, there is nothing stopping any MP of any race to bring up issues that affect minority groups or communities. And this is something I think we have to remember very closely. But of course, MP Faisal will be available for the team's counsel if they need some additional information, understanding on Malay Muslim issues.

### Female member of media:

Mr Singh, moving forward, you also talked about the importance of maintaining integrity and trust, right? So what is WP's strategy moving forward? How do you ensure that all your MPs, also bring to the table to Parliament, foolproof arguments perhaps, things that cannot be knocked down like what we saw.

### Pritam:

I can't make that promise. I think no one in the right mind will be able to make that promise, but I think we go back to first principles: what are we doing? We play an important role in Parliament. There has to be an opposition in Parliament. There has to be an opposition that will ask the questions PAP MPs will not ask, and that's an important role that we play. Of course we are also evolving, and we believe that it's

critical for Singapore at this time, to have a strong institution in Parliament, and we will continue to play our role in that process.

### Pritam:

Nicholas, I'll take that question from Yuen-C. I've taken a lot of questions from you so we just try to spread it out a bit. Yes, Yuen-C?

### Yuen-C:

My question is, I think Ms He mentioned just now that she was only made aware of the untruths sometime in October, so is it correct to say that until Ms Khan repeated the untruths in Parliament the second time, were you the only person who knew about it in the party, or were others aware?

### Pritam:

Well as I mentioned earlier, 3 of us were aware. That's myself, party chair Sylvia Lim and vice chair Faisal Manap. And because there were some very private, personal details of um, I want to be careful because I don't want to go beyond what Raeesah has already said in Parliament about this condition- about what she was facing. It was, in my judgment, important to keep it within a close circle, out of respect to Raeesah. And then to take it forward, and at some point, of course, the team must know. But at that point, I made the decision that I did.

### Yuen-C:

Can I ask the Sengkang team, you know, what happened when you found out, like, did you speak to Ms Khan or did you try to make any future plans? What was going through your mind at that moment?

### He Ting Ru:

Thanks for the question, Yuen-C. I think, you know, when Raeesah did come to speak to me, I think, you know, the first thing from my perspective was concern. Because you know, it's not an easy situation to be in, especially when she, as Pritam mentioned earlier, she did share some of her personal experiences. So I think that was the overriding sense of the conversation that we had. And then of course, we also discussed how she would actually bring up the matter in Parliament. I think that's just something that naturally flowed on from that. I think the work in Sengkang carried on and we still have to do the ground work, the parliamentary work as well, still have to carry on.

### Pritam:

Nicholas, go ahead.

### Nicholas:

So the bigger picture, in the House, you go from 10 MPs to 9 MPs, and I'm just wondering how much does that affect the party's ability to raise issues in the House, and are you prepared for this issue to come up again in the House, with the subsequent implications that how can we trust that a Workers' Party MP is telling the truth?

### Pritam:

Yeah, I think this is something that some people may think, but just think about the consequences when a Workers' Party MP tells an untruth. I think the consequences are clear. You have to account for your conduct and then you've got to face a number of very harsh outcomes. So I will leave it at that. But in terms of the numerical point you brought up, indeed, losing one MP is a big thing for the WP. That's 10%. But I think, which paper? I think ST ran a piece not too long ago about the performance of MPs in

Parliament, and the Sengkang team, as a whole, are doing well in terms of the issues they are bringing to Parliament, matters that are raised - my colleague Louis Chua raised the matter concerning HDB rentals - there was a forum letter that came in the Straits Times, and then an ST journalist wrote a counter piece to that. The Business Times ran a long piece on some of the suggestions that MP Louis Chua made in Parliament. Jamus spoke on wealth taxes, issues concerning inequality, Ting Ru of course led the motion on empowering women. And so this is a strong team that we have here and the team is made of stern stuff. The challenges got harder but I cannot think of any better people to take on that challenge.

### Rei from The Straits Times:

This is Rei from The Straits Times. I think you addressed earlier the question of whether speeches would be vetted and whether anecdotes would be checked-

### Pritam:

Rei, I beg your pardon, I was distracted, could you repeat your question, please?

### Rei:

Earlier you addressed the question on whether MPs' speeches would be vetted more thoroughly. I was wondering specifically when it comes to allegations and accusations against perhaps government bodies or specific individuals, will there be more attention paid in those instances?

### Pritam:

Rei, thank you for that question. You see, when an MP makes an assertion of fact, 'I followed this person to the police station', I think instinctively the reaction would be - there's no reason to doubt it. But what we did - and the process held - when you make that, somebody- some alarm bell has gone off. It did go off in this case. But the MP in question in this case did not heed that alarm. So I fully expect the alarm to continue going off, as it has in the past, and MPs have reacted to it and adjusted, and sharpened their argument, and made sure that they are aware of what they are saying. So I think the process is fine. The process is working. But of course, with every lesson, it would be a disservice if you don't learn from it, and so, I think we've got to also always remember about how important it is to be acute and specific and objective-oriented when we raise things in Parliament.

### Pritam:

Okay, it looks like there are no further questions. It just leaves me to say one more time: to apologise to the residents of Sengkang. We will recover, we will serve you well, and we will serve you to the best of our abilities, that's our commitment. Not just in Sengkang but in all the wards. And we thank you for your support. I think there have been messages of support for the Sengkang team and some of us, there's also been disappointment, I acknowledge the disappointment, and we will turn this around.

My message to Raeesah, she was a member of our team, she's played her part. I thank her for her contributions to the party. And I think it was an honorable thing for her to do, to correct the record in Parliament. Thank you, thank you everyone for coming.

[End at 53:20]

### Appendix I

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### **MINUTES**

	MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE	
	1st Meeting	
	Monday, 29 November 2021	
	4.00 pm	
	PRESENT	
Ms Grace Fu Mr Desmond Ms Rahayu M Mr Dennis Ta Mr Edwin To Mr Don Wee Mr Zaqy Moh	Lee Mahzam an Lip Fong ong Chun Fai	
House	Committee deliberated on a complaint made on 1 November 2021 by the Leader of e, Ms Indranee Rajah, against Ms Raeesah Khan, Member of Parliament for Seng, alleging breaches of privileges suddenly arising under Standing Order 100(7)(b).	
. Agree	ed –	
, ,	that a copy of the Memorandum dated 26 November 2021, submitted by the Leader of House, setting out the particulars of her complaint, be sent to Ms Raeesah Khan;	f the
(b) th	that oral evidence be taken on oath or affirmation from:	
i	i. Ms Loh Pei Ying, member of the Workers' Party and Secretarial Assistant to Raeesah Khan;	) Ms
ii	i. Mr Lim Hang Ling, member of the Workers' Party and Legislative Assistant to Raeesah Khan; and	) Ms
iii	i. Ms Raeesah Khan, Member of Parliament for Sengkang GRC.	
	Adjourned to Thursday, 2 December .	2021

	Thursday, 2 December 2021 11.00 am
	PRESENT
aker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in ce Fu Hai Yien mond Lee layu Mahzam inis Tan Lip Fong vin Tong Chun Fai n Wee y Mohamad	the Chair)
The Committee deliberated.	
Ms Loh Pei Ying was exam	ined on affirmation.
Ms Raeesah Khan was exan	nined on affirmation.
Mr Lim Hang Ling was exa	mined on affirmation.
The Committee further deli	berated.

Adjourned to Friday, 3 December 2021

2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien Mr Desmond Lee Ms Rahayu Mahzam Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee Mr Zaqy Mohamad

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Party.

Agreed, that oral evidence be heard from Mr Yudhishthra Nathan, a member of the Workers'

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting

Friday, 3 December 2021

11.00 am

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### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

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- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. Ms Loh Pei Ying was further examined.
- 3. Ms Raeesah Khan was further examined.
- 4. Mr Yudhishthra Nathan was examined on affirmation.
- 5. The Committee further deliberated.
- 6. Question put, "That the full video recordings of the oral evidence of: (a) Ms Loh Pei Ying, a member of the Workers' Party who was formerly the Secretarial Assistant to Ms Raeesah Khan; (b) Ms Raeesah Khan; (c) Mr Lim Hang Ling, a member of the Workers' Party who was formerly the Legislative Assistant to Ms Raeesah Khan; and (d) Mr Yudhishthra Nathan, a member of the Workers' Party, be published on the Parliament website.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 7
Tan Chuan-Jin
Grace Fu Hai Yien
Desmond Lee
Rahayu Mahzam
Edwin Tong Chun Fai
Don Wee
Zaqy Mohamad

*Noes, 1* Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That the full video recordings of the oral evidence of: (a) Ms Loh Pei Ying, a member of the Workers' Party who was formerly the Secretarial Assistant to Ms Raeesah Khan; (b) Ms Raeesah Khan; (c) Mr Lim Hang Ling, a member of the Workers' Party who was formerly the Legislative Assistant to Ms Raeesah Khan; and (d) Mr Yudhishthra Nathan, a member of the Workers' Party, be published on the Parliament website."

7. Question put, "That the Chairman's Special Report be read a second time paragraph by paragraph.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 7 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien

Desmond Lee

Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That the Chairman's Special Report be read a second time paragraph by paragraph.".

8. Question put, "That paragraphs 1 to 7 inclusive stand part of the Special Report.".

The Committee divided.

Aves, 7 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien

Desmond Lee

Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Paragraphs 1 to 7 inclusive read and agreed to.

9. Question put, "That this report be the Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 7 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien

Desmond Lee

Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That this report be the Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

10. Agreed, that the Chairman do present the Special Report to Parliament today.

Adjourned to Monday, 6 December 2021

A4

	4th Meeting
	Monday, 6 December 2021
	11.00 am
	PRESENT
Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien Ms Rahayu Mahzam Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai Mr Don Wee Mr Zaqy Mohamad	the Chair)
	ABSENT
Mr Desmond Lee (on leave of absen	ace)
. The Committee deliberated.	
. Agreed, that oral evidence b	e taken on oath or affirmation
<ul><li>(a) Mr Pritam Single</li><li>(b) Ms Sylvia Lim;</li><li>(c) Mr Muhamad F</li></ul>	

Adjourned to Thursday, 9 December 2021

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A5

	5 <sup>th</sup> Meeting
	Thursday, 9 December 2021
	11.00 am
	PRESENT
aker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin ce Fu Hai Yien mond Lee nayu Mahzam unis Tan Lip Fong vin Tong Chun Fai n Wee y Mohamad	) (in the Chair)
The Committee delibera	ated.
Mr Muhamad Faisal Bi	n Abdul Manap was examined on affirm
The Committee further	deliberated.

Adjourned to Friday, 10 December 2021

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien Mr Desmond Lee Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee Mr Zaqy Mohamad

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# 6<sup>th</sup> Meeting Friday, 10 December 2021 9.00 am

### PRESENT

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

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- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. Mr Pritam Singh was examined on affirmation.
- 3. The Committee further deliberated.

Adjourned to Saturday, 11 December 2021

A7

### 7<sup>th</sup> Meeting Saturday, 11 December 2021

### **PRESENT**

11.00 am

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

### **ABSENT**

Mr Zaqy Mohamad (on leave of absence)

- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. Agreed, that oral evidence be taken on oath or affirmation from Assoc Prof Jamus Jerome Lim.
- 3. Question put, "That the video recording of the oral evidence of Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Member of Aljunied GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 6
Tan Chuan-Jin
Grace Fu Hai Yien
Desmond Lee
Rahayu Mahzam
Edwin Tong Chun Fai
Don Wee

Noes, 1 Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That the video recording of the oral evidence of Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap, Member of Aljunied GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website."

4. Question put, "That the Chairman's Second Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 6 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien Desmond Lee Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Resolved, "That the Chairman's Second Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

5. Question put, "That paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive stand part of the Second Special Report.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 6 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien Desmond Lee

Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Resolved, "That paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive stand part of the Second Special Report.".

6. Question put, "That this report be the Second Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

The Committee divided.

Aves, 6 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien

Desmond Lee

Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Resolved, "That this report be the Second Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

7. Agreed, that the Chairman do present the Second Special Report to Parliament today.

Adjourned to Sunday, 12 December 2021

### 8<sup>th</sup> Meeting

Sunday, 12 December 2021

10.00 am

### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. Question put, "That the video recording of the oral evidence of Mr Pritam Singh, Leader of the Opposition and Member of Aljunied GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

The Committee divided.

Aves, 7

Tan Chuan-Jin

Grace Fu Hai Yien

Desmond Lee

Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Noes. 1 Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That the video recording of the oral evidence of Mr Pritam Singh, Leader of the Opposition and Member of Aljunied GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

3. Question put, "That the Chairman's Third Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 7

Tan Chuan-Jin

Grace Fu Hai Yien

Desmond Lee

Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Noes, 1

Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That the Chairman's Third Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

4. Question put, "That paragraphs 1 to 4 inclusive stand part of the Third Special Report.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 7
Tan Chuan-Jin
Grace Fu Hai Yien
Desmond Lee
Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That paragraphs 1 to 4 inclusive stand part of the Third Special Report.".

5. Question put, "That this report be the Third Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 7
Tan Chuan-Jin
Grace Fu Hai Yien
Desmond Lee
Rahayu Mahzam
Edwin Tong Chun Fai
Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Noes, 1

Noes, 1

Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That this report be the Third Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

6. *Agreed*, that the Chairman do present the Third Special Report to Parliament today.

Adjourned to Monday, 13 December 2021

A11

## 9th Meeting Monday, 13 December 2021 12.00 pm

### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

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- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. *Agreed*, that the Chairman do present a corrigendum to Parliament to make a factual correction to paragraph 50 in Annex A of the Second Special Report of the Committee.
- 3. Ms Sylvia Lim was examined on oath.
- 4. Assoc Prof Jamus Jerome Lim was examined on affirmation.
- 5. The Committee further deliberated.

Adjourned to Tuesday, 14 December 2021

### 10th Meeting

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Tuesday, 14 December 2021

4.30 pm

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### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

### **ABSENT**

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien (on leave of absence)

Mr Don Wee (on leave of absence)

- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. Question put, "That the video recordings of the oral evidence of Ms Sylvia Lim, Member for Aljunied GRC, and Associate Professor Jamus Jerome Lim, Member for Sengkang GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website."

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5 Tan Chuan-Jin Desmond Lee Rahayu Mahzam Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Zaqy Mohamad

Noes, 1

Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That the video recordings of the oral evidence of Ms Sylvia Lim, Member for Aljunied GRC, and Associate Professor Jamus Jerome Lim, Member for Sengkang GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

3. Question put, "That the Chairman's Fourth Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5
Tan Chuan-Jin
Desmond Lee
Rahayu Mahzam
Edwin Tong Chun Fai
Zaqy Mohamad

Noes, 1

Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That the Chairman's Fourth Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

4. Question put, "That paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive stand part of the Fourth Special Report.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Desmond Lee Rahayu Mahzam Edwin Tong Chun Fai Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive stand part of the Fourth Special Report.".

5. Question put, "That this report be the Fourth Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 5 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Desmond Lee Rahayu Mahzam Edwin Tong Chun Fai Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That this report be the Fourth Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

- 6. Agreed, that the Chairman do present the Fourth Special Report to Parliament today.
- 7. The Committee further deliberated.

Adjourned to Wednesday, 15 December 2021

A14

### 11th Meeting

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Wednesday, 15 December 2021

1.00 pm

### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. Mr Pritam Singh was further examined.
- 3. Ordered, that Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap be summoned to appear before the Committee and produce documents on Monday, 20 December 2021.
- 4. Question put, "That the video recordings of the oral evidence of Mr Pritam Singh, Member for Aljunied GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 6
Tan Chuan-Jin
Grace Fu Hai Yien
Rahayu Mahzam
Edwin Tong Chun Fai
Don Wee
Zaqy Mohamad

*Noes, 1* Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Resolved, "That the video recordings of the oral evidence of Mr Pritam Singh, Member for Aljunied GRC, be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

5. Question put, "That the Chairman's Fifth Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 6 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien Rahayu Mahzam Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That the Chairman's Fifth Special Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.".

6. Question put, "That paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive stand part of the Fifth Special Report.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 6 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That paragraphs 1 to 5 inclusive stand part of the Fifth Special Report.".

7. Question put, "That this report be the Fifth Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

The Committee divided.

Aves, 6 Noes, 1

Tan Chuan-Jin Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Grace Fu Hai Yien Rahayu Mahzam

Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That this report be the Fifth Special Report of the Committee to Parliament.".

8. Agreed, that the Chairman do present the Fifth Special Report to Parliament today.

Adjourned to Monday, 20 December 2021

	12 <sup>th</sup> Meeting	
	Monday, 20 December 2021	
	11.00 am	
	PRESENT	
Mr Speaker Ms Grace Fu Mr Desmond Ms Rahayu Mr Dennis T Mr Don Wed Mr Zaqy Mo	l Lee Mahzam Tan Lip Fong	
	ABSENT	
Mr Edwin T	ong Chun Fai (on leave of absence)	
. The	Committee deliberated.	
	Pritam Singh was further examined and signed a written confirmation that the documed in the summons of 15 December 2021 have been produced to the Committee.	ents
	Sylvia Lim was further examined and signed a written confirmation that the docum d in the summons of 15 December 2021 have been produced to the Committee.	ents
that	Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap was further examined and signed a written confirmathe documents listed in the summons of 15 December 2021 have been produced to mittee.	
. The	Committee further deliberated.	

Adjourned to Wednesday, 22 December 2021

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### Wednesday, 22 December 2021 9.30 am

### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)
Mr Desmond Lee
Ms Rahayu Mahzam
Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong
Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai
Mr Don Wee
Mr Zaqy Mohamad

### **ABSENT**

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien (on leave of absence)

- 1. The Committee deliberated.
- 2. *Agreed*, that oral evidence be taken on oath or affirmation from Dr Christopher Cheok, Acting Chief and Senior Consultant, Department of Forensic Psychiatry, Institute of Mental Health.
- 3. Dr Christopher Cheok was examined on oath.
- 4. Ms Raeesah Khan was further examined.
- 5. Question put, "That the video recordings of the oral evidence of Dr Christopher Cheok, Acting Chief and Senior Consultant, Department of Forensic Psychiatry, Institute of Mental Health and Ms Raeesah Khan be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

The Committee divided.

Ayes, 4
Tan Chuan-Jin
Desmond Lee
Don Wee
Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That the video recordings of the oral evidence of Dr Christopher Cheok, Acting Chief and Senior Consultant, Department of Forensic Psychiatry, Institute of Mental Health and Ms Raeesah Khan be made available to Parliament and published on the Parliament website.".

Noes, 1

Dennis Tan Lip Fong

6.	Question put, "That the Chairman's Sixth Special Report be read a second time, paragrapharagraph.".	
	The Committee divided.	
	Ayes, 4 Tan Chuan-Jin Desmond Lee Don Wee Zaqy Mohamad	Noes, 1 Dennis Tan Lip Fong
	Resolved, "That the Chairman's Sixth Specia paragraph.".	l Report be read a second time, paragraph by
7.	Question put, "That paragraphs 1 to 9 inclusive	stand part of the Sixth Special Report.".
	The Committee divided.	
	Ayes, 4 Tan Chuan-Jin Desmond Lee Don Wee Zaqy Mohamad	Noes, 1 Dennis Tan Lip Fong
	Resolved, "That paragraphs 1 to 9 inclusive sta	nd part of the Sixth Special Report.".
8.	Question put, "That this report be the Sixth Spe	ecial Report of the Committee to Parliament.".
	The Committee divided.	
	Ayes, 4 Tan Chuan-Jin Desmond Lee Don Wee Zaqy Mohamad	Noes, I Dennis Tan Lip Fong
	Resolved, "That this report be the Sixth Specia	l Report of the Committee to Parliament.".
9.	Agreed, that the Chairman do present the Sixth	Special Report to Parliament today.
		Adjourned to a date to be fixed

## 14th Meeting

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Monday, 7 February 2022

10.00 am

### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

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- 1. The Committee reviewed and deliberated on the draft Report of the Committee of Privileges (the "Committee").
- 2. The Committee started by reviewing the draft Report in detail.
- 3. Thereafter, there were various discussions and deliberations concerning specific paragraphs of the draft Report. The Committee went through each paragraph of the draft Report in turn, and the following are the various amendments proposed and considered for the paragraphs in the draft Report:-
  - (a) On paragraphs 5, 6, 12, 18, 27(1) and 39, Mr Desmond Lee proposed editorial amendments. The Committee agreed with the editorial amendments.
  - (b) On paragraph 19, Mr Desmond Lee proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend "state it" to "read it out".
  - (c) On paragraph 20, Mr Zaqy Mohamad proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "on 1 Nov".
  - (d) On paragraph 30, Mr Dennis Tan proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend the paragraph as follows: "According to Mr Singh, he told her as she was leaving his house that they will have to deal with this but she should speak to her parents

- about the sexual assault first.... The rest of the discussion in the meeting revolved around the issue of Polygamy and FGC..."
- (e) On paragraph 49, Mr Dennis Tan and Mr Edwin Tong proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to insert paragraph 49(5) as follows: "As to why Mr Singh did not make plans for Ms Khan to come clean on 4 Oct, Mr Singh also said that he was prepared to give Ms Khan time to think about doing so, and consider, after coming back from shingles and after she has spoken to her parents. To Mr Singh, Ms Khan's revelation of sexual assault was a very serious one and he wanted to give her time and space for her to speak to her parents about it. It did not cross his mind as something which he was going to pressure her repeatedly, but he said that he had to cross this bridge at some point. He acknowledged that he should have pushed harder and earlier. He also accepted that there was no attempt whatsoever that could be construed as wanting to come forward and come clean."
- (f) On paragraph 51, Mr Dennis Tan and Mr Edwin Tong proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to amend as follows: "She said that the extract set out in paragraph 50 above had to be taken in totality to understand it, and Ms Lim said that she did not know the context in which Mr Singh used this phrase. Mr Singh agreed that Ms Lim's notes accurately captured what he said, and that on the face of it, he could see why the word "your call" gave the suggestion that it was a choice for her to make. He added however that the phrase had to be seen in the context of the extract set out in para 50 above, and he said that he did not use the phrase "it's your call" on 3 Oct with Ms Khan."
- (g) On paragraph 55, Mr Desmond Lee proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "At a later point, Mr Singh gave a third different explanation. When asked why he did not make plans for Ms Khan to come clean in Parliament about the Untruth on 4 Oct, he said that he had made a judgment call to give her time to think and consider when to tell her parents and come back to him to tell him that she was ready to come clean. Mr Singh said that Ms Khan's revelation that she was a sexual assault survivor was a very serious one, an important one, and he wanted to give Ms Khan "time and space" to speak to her parents about it. However, he did not once ask Ms Khan if she had spoken to her parents and hence (on Mr Singh's own "precondition") whether she would be ready to come clean."
- (h) On paragraph 56, Mr Desmond Lee and Mr Edwin Tong proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "He said that he made a judgment call to give

her "time and space" to tell her parents, which would be a "pre-condition" for Ms Khan to come clean about the Untruth in Parliament."

- (i) On paragraph 80, Mr Dennis Tan proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "On the issue of whether or not to respond to the Police's request for information or interview, Ms Khan's lawyers advised her that if any clarification were to be made, they should be made in Parliament, but she should still respond to the Police to tell them that this was her view."
- (j) On paragraph 95, Mr Zaqy Mohamad proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "Ms Khan shared that the 8 Nov interview was centred on her performance as a MP, rather than the 3 Aug speech pertaining to the Untruth. She shared that prior to this session, there had been no hint that her performance as a MP would be under scrutiny."
- (k) On paragraph 98, Chairman proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "This disclosure to the media about the 3 Senior WP leaders' knowledge of the Untruth since Aug was made at the press conference, on the same day as the COP sitting, despite Mr Singh telling the Committee that it was not a relevant fact for the public to know."
- (l) On the new paragraph 103, Mr Dennis Tan proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "Ms Lim also gave the evidence that at the DP hearing on 29 Nov, Ms Khan explained that the anecdote was not in the first draft because she was dissociated and did not know what she was doing. Ms Lim also said that she was worried because as far as she and the Senior WP leaders could understand, she (Ms Khan) was doing things without thinking."
- (m) On paragraph 106 (\*107), Mr Zaqy Mohamad proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert as follows: "In addition, Ms Khan had told the DP on 29 Nov that whilst her therapist had said that she might have symptoms of PTSD, she clarified that this was not something she was going through. (See also the evidence of Dr Cheok in paragraph 108)"
- 4. The were no other amendments proposed in relation to Part 1 of the draft Report (from paragraph 1 through to paragraph 108 of the draft Report (\*109)).

Note:

Asterisked number in parenthesis appearing next to the paragraph number of the draft Report refers to its renumbered paragraph in the final Report.

- 5. All of the amendments proposed by various members were discussed, and edited. All the proposed amendments were adopted and incorporated into the draft Report. The paragraphs (with the amendments set out above) were unanimously adopted by the Committee.
- 6. The Committee proceeded to review Part 2 of the draft Report.
- 7. The Committee read the draft Report and deliberated.
- 8. The Committee went through each paragraph of Part 2 of the draft Report:-
  - (a) On paragraph 114 (\*115), Mr Desmond Lee proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend the third line of paragraph 114(2)(a) (\*115(2)(a)) as follows: "Mr Singh said that he made a judgment call to give her time and space to tell her parents about her sexual assault, which would be a precondition before Ms Khan comes clean about the truth in Parliament."
  - (b) On paragraph 117 (\*118), Ms Rahayu Mahzam proposed an editorial amendment. The Committee agreed to the editorial amendment.
  - (c) On paragraph (119(1)) (\*120(1)), Mr Desmond Lee proposed an editorial amendment.

    The Committee agreed to the editorial amendment.
  - (d) On paragraph 129 (\*130), Mr Zaqy Mohamad proposed an editorial amendment. The Committee agreed to the editorial amendment.
  - (e) On paragraph 130 (\*131), Mr Zaqy Mohamad, Ms Rahayu Mahzam and Mr Edwin Tong proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to insert in the paragraph as follows: "Ms Khan confirmed, when asked, that this was said by Mr Singh as it was not a phrase that she would usually use."
  - (f) On paragraph 137 (\*138), Mr Zaqy Mohamad proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend the paragraph as follows: "It would appear from Mr Singh's evidence to this Committee on 10 Dec, that his apology to the Police was also not sincere."

Note:

Asterisked number in parenthesis appearing next to the paragraph number of the draft Report refers to its renumbered paragraph in the final Report.

- (g) On paragraph 164 (\*165), Mr Dennis Tan and Mr Edwin Tong proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to amend the paragraph as follows: "Mr Nathan agreed that this incomplete picture would lead to the WP members having a very biased and jaundiced view."
- (h) On paragraph 166 (\*167), Mr Edwin Tong proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend the last line of the paragraph as follows: "If it had not been disclosed at the Committee proceedings, their involvement would in all likelihood not have been uncovered (since Mr Singh considered it irrelevant to disclose his or Ms Lim / Mr Faisal's involvement)."
- (i) On paragraph 168 (\*169), Ms Grace Fu proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to amend the paragraph as follows: "As noted above, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal made various assertions about Ms Khan's mental state before this Committee. Mr Singh suggested that Ms Khan's alleged Dissociation could have caused her to make the statement, "take the information to the grave"."
- (j) On paragraph 175(\*176), Chairman and Ms Grace Fu proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to amend paragraph 175(4) (\*176(4)) as follows: "Mr Singh essentially made unsubstantiated allegations, that Ms Khan was unstable and unreliable because of her mental health and that this was connected to her being a sexual assault victim."
- (k) On paragraph 180 (\*181), Ms Grace Fu and Mr Desmond Lee proposed amendments.

  The Committee agreed to amend paragraph 180(3) (\*181(3)) as follows: "Both are highly regarded and trusted by the WP leadership."
- (l) On paragraphs 207 (\*208), 215 (\*216) and 216 (\*217), Mr Zaqy Mohamad proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to the insertion of "(twice)" in each of these paragraphs.
- (m) On paragraph 218 (\*219), Mr Edwin Tong and Ms Grace Fu proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to amend paragraph 218(2)-(5) (\*219(2)-(5)) as follows:
  - "(2) She had confessed to the 3 Senior WP leaders about the Untruth on 8 Aug. She was not told that she should have told the truth and clarify in

Note:

Parliament immediately at the next sitting when the 3 Senior WP leaders ought to know that it is the right action to take.

- (3) Instead, as a first-time MP, she has relied on the wrong advice given to her by the 3 Senior WP leaders to (a) "take the information to the grave"; and (b) carry on with the Untruth on 4 Oct when she was questioned in Parliament.
- (4) Her conduct and evidence show that if she had been advised on 8 Aug, to come clean, she would have done so.
- (5) We also recognise that her mental health has been unfairly and publicly attacked, in particular, by Mr Singh."
- (n) On paragraph 223 (\*224), Mr Edwin Tong proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to amend paragraph 223(2) (\*224(2)) as follows: "Parliament, can take action of its own accord, under Section 21 of P(PIP)A, read with Section 31(q) of P(PIP)A, based on our Report that they have lied."
- (o) On paragraph 230 (\*231), Ms Rahayu Mahzam and Mr Edwin Tong proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to amend the second and third lines of paragraph 230 (\*231) as follows: "Parliament is empowered to summarily decide on the matter, and also decide on the appropriate sanctions based on our findings. However, we recommend that Parliament refers Mr Singh's conduct to the Public Prosecutor, with a view to consider the institution of criminal proceedings."
- (p) On paragraph 232 (\*233), Ms Rahayu Mahzam proposed amendments. The Committee agreed to replace "oath" with "affirmation" at paragraph 232 (1) (\*233(1)).
- (q) On paragraph 235 (\*236), Mr Edwin Tong proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend the first line of paragraph 235 (\*236) to read as follows: "In finding that Mr Singh guided Ms Khan towards continuing with the Untruth on 3 Oct, one of the pieces of evidence was Ms Lim's 29 Nov DP Notes."
- (r) On paragraph 244 (\*245), Mr Edwin Tong proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend the first line of paragraph 244 (\*245) to read as follows: "Mr Faisal's refusal to answer suggests that he wanted to hide the truth he did not want the

Note:

- Committee to know what the documents were or what Mr Singh, Ms Lim and he were discussing, just the day before the start of the COP proceedings."
- (s) On paragraph 246(5) (\*247(5)), Mr Edwin Tong proposed an amendment. The Committee agreed to amend paragraph 246(5) (\*247(5)) as follows: "The issues regarding (a) Mr Singh's, Ms Lim's and/or Mr Faisal's respective roles as set out above, in relation to the Untruth;"
- 9. Mr Dennis Tan indicated his objections to the findings of the draft Report. Mr Tan said that he objected to all the findings, from paragraph 111 (\*112) onwards. Mr Tan was invited to set out his objections, and to discuss them with the Committee.
- 10. The Committee discussed paragraphs 111 117 (\*112 118) in relation to the question of the Penalty Issue:-
  - (a) Mr Dennis Tan was of the view that mitigation ought not apply because it would be a "slippery slope to allow someone, some form of leeway, as long as I go and tell my party leader about it". That MP can then blame the leader for a lack of response or slow response.
  - (b) Mr Dennis Tan said that it was not relevant, whether or not Ms Khan was instructed by her party leaders to lie. He felt that it was a "dangerous line" which would encourage young MPs to "run to a leader" to get advice in future in order to absolve them of their own responsibility because every MP should be responsible for his or her own action. Mr Dennis Tan also said that Ms Khan does not need direction from a party leader on whether or not to tell the truth in Parliament as every MP must know this. On this basis, Mr Dennis Tan was of the view that there should be no consideration of the party leaders' role in telling Ms Khan to lie, as mitigation.
  - (c) Mr Dennis Tan said that even if Mr Singh (and Ms Lim and/or Mr Faisal) had told Ms Khan to bury the Untruth (as Ms Khan said in her evidence), the onus should have been on Ms Khan to disagree with her senior party leaders, and insist on coming clean in Parliament against their instructions.
  - (d) Mr Dennis Tan said that he preferred an approach where if an MP was untruthful to Parliament, it was "one strike and you are out" as far as personal responsibility is concerned, with "absolutely no exception".

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- 11. The Committee next discussed broadly the tenor of the evidence offered, on the one hand by Ms Khan, and on the other hand by the 3 Senior WP leaders. Mr Tan explained why he preferred the evidence of Mr Singh over the evidence of Ms Khan.
  - (a) Mr Tan expressed the view that he preferred the evidence of Mr Singh because "he cannot believe that Pritam would come up with a plan to bring the statement to the grave".
  - (b) He also felt that Ms Khan was incredibly naive to have thought she could get away with a lie given that a police station would have CCTV footage.
  - (c) He said that he finds it inconceivable that the 3 Senior WP leaders including Ms Lim, an ex-Police officer, would imagine that it was even possible for the lie to be taken to the grave as the Police would have resources to be able to verify the lie.
  - (d) Mr Tan also took into account that Ms Khan had lied on several occasions: to Mr Singh prior to 7 Aug, when she admitted these earlier untruths to him, to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on the anecdote, lied twice in Parliament on 3 Aug, and on 4 Oct.
- 12. Mr Tan raised the issue of Dr Cheok's evidence on Ms Khan's mental health. He was of the view that Dr Cheok's evidence convinced him that Ms Khan had no defence and was not able to use mental health to explain away the Untruth which was said in Parliament. Mr Tan preferred the evidence of Ms Lim and Mr Singh, and not Ms Khan.
- 13. Mr Tan also said that he found Ms Khan's "tirade" before the Committee (concerning her evidence about how Mr Singh and Ms Lim had used mental illness as a means to discredit her) to be "very inconsistent". He said that it was Ms Khan who had voluntarily gone to see a therapist, and that she had offered the information that she had started treatment to the DP.
- 14. [Afternote: On 8 Feb, Mr Tan also said that Ms Lim had given evidence that Ms Khan's explanation to the DP on 29 Nov was that she was dissociated when she inserted the anecdote into her speech and did not realise what she was doing, and had gone for therapy. Mr Tan opined that this was worrying, because what Ms Khan was basically saying, was that she was doing things without thinking about what she was doing (this was the point that Mr Tan had inserted to the new paragraph 103 of the draft Report, which the Committee accepted). Mr Tan added that if Ms Khan's mental state indeed has no bearing, why did she bring up the issue of trauma

or therapy to the 3 Senior WP leaders. Mr Tan further added that if the Committee were to accept Dr Cheok's finding, Mr Tan was of the view that the only logical conclusion would be that she had earlier lied about her mental condition to her party leaders.]

- 15. The Committee discussed the response of the 3 Senior WP leaders upon being told on 8 Aug that Ms Khan had lied:-
  - (a) To Chairman's point that "if, as a leader, I was asked for advice, should there be some responsibility to do something to guide, to take action or not? So, it is, right? I think you would agree that it is serious.", Mr Tan agreed that this was a serious matter.
  - (b) In Mr Tan's view, if Mr Singh should be faulted at all, it is that he should have been quicker in insisting on a shorter time to make preparations and make the admission in Parliament. He should have taken less time. He said that Mr Singh "may have taken more time than one would expect", to insist that Ms Khan clarify the Untruth.
  - (c) Mr Tan also said that based on the evidence, and hearing from both sides, Mr Singh had not deliberately intended to not disclose the lie. Mr Singh may have taken more time than one would have expected, and he also conceded in evidence that he should have taken a shorter time but he had not intended to take the matter to the grave.
  - (d) When asked why Mr Tan thought that Mr Singh did not tell Ms Khan to be clear and direct and tell the truth, Mr Tan said that he "does not want to go there because I cannot argue for him. I am just analysing."
  - (e) He further opined that Mr Singh wants Ms Khan to be ready and to be prepared and it was not clear whether she was ready.
  - (f) Mr Tan felt that Ms Khan was not ready until 12 Oct when she was "forced" i.e. when Mr Singh and Ms Lim directly and expressly insisted on 12 Oct, that Ms Khan must make the admission in Parliament to tell the truth and clarify the lie.
  - (g) Mr Tan said that this is a situation which is imperfect "a very imperfect situation of people making mistakes". Mr Tan said that Mr Singh might not have followed the textbook in covering his actions with clearer communications but that does not mean

he has lied. That is something else. The evidence may not be perfect. Mr Tan said that evidence will never be perfect and it will be suspicious if the evidence is too perfect.

- 16. The Committee discussed the draft Report in relation to what happened on 3 and 4 Oct, and the findings as a result of the matters which took place on those days:-
  - (a) In relation to Mr Singh's evidence that he was crystal clear that she was to tell the truth,Mr Tan said that Ms Khan had to first be ready before coming clean in Parliament.
  - (b) Mr Tan said that Mr Singh would have to ask, to know whether Ms Khan was ready or not. However, Mr Singh did not, and Mr Tan said "why and all that I do not know. We take the evidence as we see".
  - (c) However, Mr Tan said that Ms Khan had to be ready to make the admission herself and it was also for her to tell Mr Singh when she was ready to do so.
  - (d) He also accepted that the 3 Senior WP leaders did not prepare any statement in preparation for Ms Khan to clarify the lie.
- 17. Ms Grace Fu suggested that one view of the evidence would be whether Mr Singh, as party leader, and if he was really serious about having Ms Khan come clean, should have asked Ms Khan directly, "are you going to do it". To this, Mr Dennis Tan said that, "it should have been clearer. Should be clearer."
- 18. The Committee deliberated the lack of any contemporaneous communication between the 3 Senior WP leaders after the 8 Aug meeting. To this, Ms Fu asked why the leaders did not exchange thoughts about this Untruth, and ask questions amongst themselves. Mr Tong also raised the point that there must have been some communication amongst them about the matter and why there was just none of that contemporaneous communication. In response, Mr Tan said, "I cannot explain that for them".
- 19. The Committee proceeded to discuss the evidence of Ms Loh and Mr Nathan and the extent to which this evidence corroborates the findings of the Committee:-
  - (a) Mr Tan said that he did not quite agree with their evidence. He said "I feel that they are too close confidant[s] of Ms Khan and that has an effect on them". It was pointed

out to Mr Tan that Ms Loh has been Ms Khan's Secretarial Assistant for about a year (since 2020), but has known (and worked for) Mr Singh from 2011.

- (b) The Committee deliberated the evidence of Ms Loh and Mr Nathan in relation to their meeting on 12 Oct with Mr Singh. At this meeting, Mr Singh recounted what happened on 3 Oct to Mr Nathan and Ms Loh. It was suggested to Mr Tan that the evidence of Mr Nathan and Ms Loh was an independent corroboration of what happened on 3 Oct, and that both Ms Loh and Mr Nathan walked away with the same impression as Ms Khan, i.e., that Ms Khan was to be given a choice as to whether to tell the truth or not on 4 Oct in Parliament.
- (c) Mr Tong noted that even on Mr Singh's own evidence, he did not contradict what Mr Nathan and Ms Loh said about their 12 Oct meeting with Mr Singh.
- (d) To this Mr Tan said, "I am not saying that they [Ms Loh and Mr Nathan] were lying on this point.". Mr Tan also said that he accepted and prefers Mr Singh's evidence on this point over that of Mr Nathan's and Ms Loh's.
- 20. The Committee discussed the proposed sanctions against Ms Khan:-
  - (a) The Committee agreed with the finding that Ms Khan was in breach of privilege.
  - (b) After considering the precedent cases, the Committee agreed on the reasoning behind the quantum to be imposed for the first Untruth.
  - (c) Based on this, the majority of the Committee was of the view that the penalty for the first Untruth should be \$25,000 and the second Untruth is \$10,000. The basis for this is set out at paragraphs 208 219 (\*209 220) of the draft Report.
  - (d) Mr Dennis Tan disagrees with the basis on which the penalty for the second Untruth was reached by the majority of the Committee. Mr Tan agrees with the reasoning behind the quantum to be imposed for the first Untruth, at \$25,000. Given that there were two Untruths, ordinarily, this would mean that the punishment should be \$25,000 times two. However, Mr Tan was mindful that this would then hit the maximum permitted under legislation. Mr Tan considered this and was of the view that it would not be appropriate to mete out a punishment that is the maximum fine permitted under

Note:

legislation. In the circumstances, Mr Tan's view is that the second Untruth should attract a fine of \$15,000, on the basis that Ms Khan admitted the Untruth in Parliament, and did not contest the liability issue throughout the COP proceedings.

21. The Committee went through (paragraph by paragraph) the draft Report again, Mr Tan was invited (notwithstanding his objection to the conclusion) to state the grounds of his objections and any other points which he would like to raise whether they were big or small. Mr Tan had no further comments to offer on the draft Report.

Adjourned to	Tuesday,	8 February	2022

# 15th Meeting

Tuesday, 8 February 2022

10.00 am

### **PRESENT**

Mr Speaker (Mr Tan Chuan-Jin) (in the Chair)

Ms Grace Fu Hai Yien

Mr Desmond Lee

Ms Rahayu Mahzam

Mr Dennis Tan Lip Fong

Mr Edwin Tong Chun Fai

Mr Don Wee

Mr Zaqy Mohamad

1. The Committee deliberated.

# Report

Noes, 1

Dennis Tan Lip Fong

- The Chairman's draft report brought up and read the first time. 2.
- Question put, "That the Chairman's report be read a second time paragraph by paragraph.". 3.

The Committee divided.

Aves, 7 Tan Chuan-Jin Grace Fu Hai Yien Desmond Lee Rahayu Mahzam Edwin Tong Chun Fai Don Wee

Zaqy Mohamad

Resolved, "That the Chairman's report be read a second time paragraph by paragraph.".

4.	Question put, "That paragraphs 1 to 249 inclusive stand part of the report.".		
	The Committee divided.		
	Ayes, 7 Tan Chuan-Jin Grace Fu Hai Yien Desmond Lee Rahayu Mahzam Edwin Tong Chun Fai Don Wee Zaqy Mohamad	Noes, 1 Dennis Tan Lip Fong	
	Resolved, "That paragraphs 1	to 249 inclusive stand part of the report.".	
5.	Question put, "That this report	be the report of the Committee to Parliament	. ".
	The Committee divided.		
	Ayes, 7 Tan Chuan-Jin Grace Fu Hai Yien Desmond Lee Rahayu Mahzam Edwin Tong Chun Fai Don Wee Zaqy Mohamad	Noes, 1 Dennis Tan Lip Fong  the report of the Committee to Parliament."	
6.	Resolved, "That this report be the report of the Committee to Parliament.".  Agreed, that the Chairman do present the Report to Parliament when copies are availab distribution to Members of Parliament.		es are available for
			Adjourned sine die

# SUMMARY OF ORAL EVIDENCE OF MS RAEESAH KHAN, MS LOH PEI YING, MR LIM HANG LING AND MR YUDHISHTHRA NATHAN GIVEN ON 2 AND 3 DEC 2021

# A. Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Ms Raeesah Khan on 2 and 3 Dec 2021

- 1. Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 2 and 3 Dec 2021.
- 2. The key points from Ms Khan's evidence are summarised below.

### I. Ms Khan's statement on 3 Aug 2021

- 3. Ms Khan told the COP that she had lied to Parliament on 3 Aug 2021, when she said as follows: that she had accompanied a sexual assault survivor to the Police station; and that the survivor had told her after leaving the station, that the Police had made inappropriate comments about her attire, and the fact that she had been drinking.
- 4. The truth was that:
  - a. Ms Khan had not, in fact, accompanied the survivor she was referring to a police station to make a report. The description of the incident was untrue.
  - b. She lied because she wanted her anecdote, which she had heard at a sexual assault survivor support group, to be more credible.

### II. Ms Khan's discussion with the Workers' Party Leadership

- 5. After Ms Khan delivered her speech in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021, WP Sec-Gen Mr Pritam Singh asked her about the anecdote she cited in Parliament. On 7 Aug 2021, Ms Khan spoke with Mr Pritam Singh, and informed him that her statement in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 was untrue. On 8 Aug 2021, Ms Khan met with Mr Pritam Singh, WP Chairman Ms Sylvia Lim and WP Vice-Chairman Mr Faisal Manap. At the meeting, Ms Khan told them that she had lied in Parliament on 3 Aug, and that she had no way of substantiating the statements she had made.
  - a. As they (Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap) were more seasoned politicians, Ms Khan confessed to them that she had lied, and sought their guidance.
  - b. They (Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap) told her that:
    - i. The best thing for her to do would be to continue with the narrative that she had already given in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 (i.e. keep to the lie).
    - ii. If Ms Khan and the WP could get away with it, there was no need to clarify the lie. If the matter was brought up again, there would also be no need for her to clarify and there was no need for the truth to be told.

6. Ms Khan also contemporaneously (on 8 Aug) told Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh"), her secretarial assistant, and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan"), a volunteer with WP, what had transpired at her meeting with Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap. On 8 Aug, she messaged the following to them:

"Hey guys, I just met pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issue and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening."

- 7. The message referred to two issues, which Ms Khan had spoken about in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 (1) certain Muslim issues affecting women, and (2) her (untrue) anecdote about the sexual assault case and allegation against the Police. The reference to a "statement" in the last line of the message refers to the Muslim issues. (On 8 Aug, Ms Khan followed-up on this by putting out on FB the "statement" on the Muslim issues that her message referred to.) The reference to taking the "information to the grave" was that Ms Khan should continue to lie about the sexual assault case and allegation against the Police the untruths referred to at Para 3 above.
- 8. On 3 Oct 2021 (the day before the Parliament sitting of 4 Oct 2021), Mr Pritam Singh visited Ms Khan at her home. Mr Pritam Singh told her that if she kept to her existing narrative on the untruths which she had said on 3 Aug, there would be no judgement by him (Mr Pritam Singh).
  - a. Ms Khan understood, from what Mr Pritam Singh said, that Mr Pritam Singh was advising her to continue to lie, should the matter come up the next day (4 Oct) during the Parliamentary session.
- 9. Mr Pritam Singh did not ask Ms Khan to clarify and state the truth in Parliament.
  - a. As of 4 Oct 2021, no one from the WP had told Ms Khan that she should clarify and tell the truth to Parliament on this matter. To the contrary, Ms Khan was advised that she can continue to lie.
- 10. On 4 Oct 2021, Ms Khan was questioned by the Minister for Home Affairs in Parliament. She was asked if the incident that she had recounted in Parliament on 3 Aug had in fact taken place, Ms Khan maintained her lie and said that what she had said on 3 Aug was true, and that the incident had taken place as described by her.
- 11. On 4 Oct, after she had lied again (Para 9 above), about the sexual assault case, Ms Khan met with Mr Pritam Singh and Ms Sylvia Lim. They met at Mr Pritam Singh's office in Parliament (given to the Leader of the Opposition). They discussed the next steps, including about a possible Committee of Privileges which might be set up to look at Ms Khan's conduct. Neither Mr Pritam Singh nor Ms Sylvia Lim asked Ms Khan why she had lied again earlier, in answering questions asked by the Minister for Home Affairs. Nor did they suggest that Ms Khan clarify the truth in Parliament.
- 12. Ms Khan then received an email from the Police dated 7 Oct, inviting her to assist them in investigating the matters she had raised on 3 Aug in Parliament. Ms Khan sought

advice from Mr Pritam Singh and Ms Sylvia Lim when she received this email. They directed her not to respond to the Police and to ignore the requests, as the Police could not compel Ms Khan to speak with the Police. Ms Khan's concern was that if she had gone to the police, giving a statement, without any privileges, as opposed to making a clarification in Parliament, where she would have privileges.

- 13. On 12 Oct, Ms Khan went to a meeting called by Mr Pritam Singh. Ms Khan met with Mr Pritam Singh and Ms Sylvia Lim. By then, Mr Pritam Singh and Ms Sylvia Lim came to the view that the matter would not be dropped, and was not going to go away. The three of them discussed together, and decided that Ms Khan should come clean and tell the truth. At this meeting, Ms Khan asked, if disciplinary action will be taken against her and the answer given to her was no.
- 14. On 1 Nov 2021, Ms Khan made a personal explanation in Parliament, clarifying that she had lied on 3 Aug and 4 Oct.
- 15. Ms Khan said that she was shocked and surprised to learn that the WP had formed a Disciplinary Panel ("DP") on 2 Nov to look into her lies to Parliament.
- 16. She attended before the DP on 8 Nov 2021, to explain why she had lied repeatedly to Parliament. Ms Khan subsequently requested to meet the DP again, this time on 29 Nov 2021, to talk about her performance as an MP. At that meeting, it was suggested to her by Mr Pritam Singh and Ms Sylvia Lim that she should resign as a member of the WP. It was suggested to her that this was for her wellbeing and because she no longer had the support of fellow Sengkang GRC MPs.
- 17. Ms Khan decided to tender her resignation from WP as she acknowledged that she had made a mistake.
- 18. When asked by the COP, Ms Khan said that:
  - a. If the WP leadership had told her to come clean to Parliament in Oct 2021, or to assist the Police in their enquiries and tell them the truth, she would have done so.
  - b. She had done neither because they had told Ms Khan that there would be no judgement if she did not clarify the truth in Parliament. She took that to mean that she should continue to lie. She had also been told not to respond to the Police. She had also been told in early Aug, by Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap (Para 5.b above) that she should keep to the lie, and there was no need for her to tell the truth.
  - c. No senior WP leader or activist had told her to come clean to Parliament on 4 Oct.
- 19. COP asked Ms Khan about the contents of the press conference held by the WP at midday on 2 Dec 2021:

- a. During the WP press conference, Mr Pritam Singh had said that there had been an order to Ms Khan to clarify the truth in Parliament in Oct, but she had acted contrary to that.
  - i. Ms Khan disagreed with this there was no order for her to clarify the facts in Oct.
  - ii. No one from WP advised her to tell the truth.
  - iii. On the contrary, she had been advised by Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap, on 8 August, to continue her false narrative. And had been told on 3 October (by Mr Pritam Singh) that there would be no judgement if she continued with her lie.
- b. During the WP press conference, Mr Pritam Singh said that the DP had put to Ms Khan that if she did not resign on her own accord, she would be expelled from WP.
  - i. Ms Khan said that this was not said to her.
  - ii. When she met the DP on 29 Nov, it was suggested to her that she should resign, as it was for her wellbeing and because she had lost the support of her Sengkang GRC MPs.

### B. Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Ms Loh Pei Ying on 2 Dec 2021

[Ms Loh was secretarial assistant to Mr Pritam Singh from Mar 2013 to Jan 2016, and to Ms Raeesah Khan from Jul 2020 until Ms Khan's resignation]

- 1. Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 2 Dec 2021.
- 2. The key points from Ms Loh's evidence are summarised below.

# I. Ms Raeesah Khan's ("Ms Khan") statement on 3 Aug 2021

- 3. On 7 Aug 2021, Ms Khan told Ms Loh and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan") that:
  - a. What she (Ms Khan) had said in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 was untrue in parts.
  - b. She was also unable to substantiate what she had said.
  - c. Ms Khan had not, (contrary to what she told Parliament on 3 Aug), accompanied a victim to a Police Station.

### II. Ms Khan's discussions with the Workers' Party ("WP") Leadership

- 4. Earlier that day (on 7 Aug 2021), Ms Khan had told the truth to Mr Pritam Singh namely that the anecdote that Ms Khan gave on 3 Aug 2021 to Parliament was untrue.
- 5. On 8 Aug2021, Ms Khan met with Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap. She told them that what she had said in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 was untrue.
- 6. Later that day, Ms Khan reported to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, on 8 Aug 2021, what Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap told Ms Khan, in response, after she told them that she had told an untruth in Parliament. They told Ms Khan "to take the information to the grave". The Whatsapp Message to her Chat Group with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan is as follows:

#### "Raeesah WP

Hey guys. I just met with pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issues and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening."

- 7. When Ms Khan lied again on 4 Oct 2021, in Parliament, Ms Loh was shocked and scared for Ms Khan.
- 8. On 12 Oct 2021, Ms Khan told Ms Loh that she was going to make a statement in Parliament about the true position concerning her statement of 3 Aug 2021. Ms Loh then requested to meet with Mr Pritam Singh, to discuss what Ms Khan should say in Parliament, and how she should convey the truth. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met with Mr Pritam Singh later that evening (on 12 Oct 2021).

- 9. At this meeting, Mr Pritam Singh told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan that he had met with Ms Khan on 3 Oct 2021 (the day before the 4 Oct Parliament sitting, when Ms Khan lied again). Mr Pritam Singh said that he had told Ms Khan:
  - a. He had a feeling Ms Khan's statement (made on 3 Aug 2021) might come up in Parliament again. And Ms Khan might be probed about this issue.
  - b. Mr Pritam Singh told Ms Khan that he will not judge Ms Khan.
  - c. In saying this, on 3 Oct 2021, Mr Pritam Singh had left the choice to Ms Khan, as to whether she should tell the truth about her 3 Aug 2021 statement, if she was asked about it in Parliament on 4 Oct 2021. Ms Loh was disappointed that Mr Pritam Singh had said this to Ms Khan.
- 10. Ms Loh was not fully happy with the WP statement of 1 Nov 2021, because it did not reveal Mr Pritam Singh's knowledge of the matter.
  - a. Ms Loh felt that the involvement of Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap had been intentionally omitted.
  - b. The omission was quite stark.
- 11. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan were surprised when the WP set up a Disciplinary Panel ("DP") on 2 Nov 2021.
  - a. Ms Loh thought the composition of the DP was self-serving.
  - b. Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap were the very people (a) who had known that what Ms Khan had said was untrue (b) and they were the only members of the DP.
  - c. The correct thing to do was to disclose in the WP Statement that the DP had intimate knowledge of the falsehood from an early stage.
  - d. Ms Khan would be entitled to say she went to them, the very people now judging her, she went to them for counselling, guidance and advice.
- 12. On 25 Nov 2021, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met the DP of the WP. Ms Loh told them:
  - a. The DP should tell the public the true events that took place.
  - b. Not disclosing the true events would be highly unfair to Ms Khan.

Mr Nathan attended the meeting with the WP DP jointly with Ms Loh and made joint submission which both agreed.

13. Ms Loh said to Mr Pritam Singh, at this meeting with the DP that Mr Pritam Singh should tell the public the truth, or at least relay a timeline of the events, because it shows his involvement in what had happened.

- 14. Ms Loh told the WP DP that they should tell the public the truth. In response, the DP just nodded and took notes.
- 15. Ms Khan may have felt betrayed by what has happened.
- 16. Ms Khan is not the sole actor in how things transpired. When Ms Khan felt the need to come clean, she had informed the WP leadership (Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap) of the matter. They knew. Thus, it was not fair to Ms Khan, that in public, all the blame is put on her by the WP.
- 17. Ms Loh said that several parts of the statement made by Mr Pritam Singh, to the media, on 2 Dec 2021 were not true.
- 18. In closing, Ms Loh testified that it pained her to have to say all this about the Workers' Party. She had no agenda, and had been a member of the Workers' Party for 10 years and gave the cause a reasonable amount of her personal time and youth. She appreciated the ramifications of what she shared but to her, beyond anything else, she felt that it is important to be truthful to the country. Ms Loh was tearing as she said this.

## C. Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Mr Lim Hang Ling on 2 Dec 2021

- 1. Mr Lim Hang Ling ("Mr Lim"), also known as Mr Mike Lim, gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 2 Dec 2021.
- 2. The key points from Mr Lim's evidence are summarised below.
- 3. Mr Lim told the COP that he was a member of the Workers' Party ("WP"), and had served as Ms Raeesah Khan's ("Ms Khan") Legislative Assistant ("LA") since Nov 2020, while she had been a Member of Parliament ("MP").
  - a. He clarified that as Ms Khan's LA, he did not help Ms Khan with Parliamentary matters, such as drafting speeches and Parliamentary Questions, but only with grassroots activities, such as arranging for house visits, festive events, and estate works.
- 4. Mr Lim said that he did not know in advance about the statements that Ms Khan delivered in Parliament on 3 Aug and 4 Oct 2021, where she falsely claimed that she had accompanied a sexual assault survivor to the police station, and that the police had made inappropriate comments to the survivor. Mr Lim only found out about these statements through media reports, and was not familiar with the details.
  - a. He was also not aware that the police had approached Ms Khan to assist them with the allegations that she had made against the police in Parliament.
  - b. When residents asked about the issues raised in Ms Khan's statements in Parliament, for instance during estate walks and house visits, Ms Khan would address them directly, and Mr Lim was not involved in the answers.
- 5. Mr Lim had not discussed Ms Khan's statements and allegations with other Workers' Party members, prior to Ms Khan's admission in Parliament on 1 Nov 2021 that she had lied in her Parliamentary statements on 3 Aug and 4 Oct 2021.
- 6. On the day before Ms Khan's statement in Parliament on 1 Nov 2021, Ms Khan shared a draft of her planned statement with Mr Lim, who gave some suggestions on the wording and language but not the substantive points made.
- 7. Mr Lim was not surprised that WP formed a Disciplinary Panel ("DP") on 2 Nov 2021 to look into Ms Khan's conduct. He had looked forward to the DP uncovering the truth of the matter, and he trusted in the DP to be impartial.
- 8. On 30 Nov 2021, the day of Ms Khan's resignation from WP and as an MP, she informed Mr Lim that she was going to resign before she did so.
  - a. Prior to that, Mr Lim and Ms Khan had discussed the possibility that things might evolve to a stage when Ms Khan had to consider resigning, but Mr Lim did not give Ms Khan any suggestions on whether she should make this decision. Mr Lim did not know from these discussions whether or when Ms Khan intended to resign.

# D. Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Mr Yudhishthra Nathan on 3 Dec 2021

- 1. Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 3 Dec 2021.
- 2. Mr Nathan agreed with the timeline of events as presented in the Appendix to this summary.
- 3. The key points from Mr Nathan's evidence are summarised below.

### I. Ms Raeesah Khan's ("Ms Khan") statement on 3 Aug 2021

- 4. On 7 Aug 2021, Ms Khan told Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh") and Mr Nathan that:
  - a. What Ms Khan had said in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 was untrue in parts.
  - b. She cannot substantiate what she had said.
  - c. Ms Khan had not, (contrary to what she told Parliament on 3 Aug), accompanied a victim to a Police Station.
  - d. She had told Mr Pritam Singh that she had lied in Parliament.

# II. Ms Khan's discussion with the Workers' Party Leadership

- 5. Mr Nathan felt assured because Mr Pritam Singh was aware of Ms Khan's lie. This was a serious matter that the Workers' Party ("WP") leadership should know about.
- 6. On 8 Aug 2021, Ms Khan met with Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap. She told them that what she had said in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 was untrue.
- 7. Ms Khan then reported to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, contemporaneously on 8 Aug 2021, what Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap told Ms Khan, in response, after she told them that she had told an untruth in Parliament. They told Ms Khan "to take the information to the grave". The Whatsapp Message to her Chat Group with Ms Loh and Mr Nathan is as follows:

#### "Raeesah WP

Hey guys. I just met with pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issues and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening."

- 8. On 10 Aug 2021, Mr Nathan and Ms Loh met Mr Pritam Singh on a separate matter. Mr Pritam Singh confirmed that he was aware that Ms Khan had lied to Parliament. Mr Pritam Singh did not give any indication that any clarification of the lie would be made.
- 9. When Ms Khan lied again on 4 Oct 2021, in Parliament, Mr Nathan was concerned for her.

- 10. On 12 Oct 2021, Ms Khan told Mr Nathan that she was going to make a statement in Parliament about the true position concerning her statement of 3 Aug 2021. Ms Loh then requested to meet with Mr Pritam Singh, to discuss what Ms Khan should say in Parliament, and how she should convey the truth. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met with Mr Pritam Singh later that evening (on 12 Oct 2021).
- 11. At this meeting, Mr Pritam Singh told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan that he had met with Ms Khan on 3 Oct 2021 (the day before the 4 Oct Parliament sitting, when Ms Khan lied again). Mr Pritam Singh recounted that he had told Ms Khan:
  - a. He had a feeling Ms Khan's (untrue) statement (made on 3 Aug 2021) might come up in Parliament again. And Ms Khan might be asked about this issue.
  - b. Mr Pritam Singh told Ms Khan that if she continued the narrative, there would be no judgement against her.
  - c. Mr Nathan also said that regardless of whether she maintained the lie or not, Mr Pritam Singh will not judge her. He added that that was rather indecisive.
- 12. Prior to 12 Oct 2021, Mr Nathan was not aware of any occasion on which the WP senior leadership had instructed Ms Khan to clarify the truth.
  - a. In fact, on 3 Oct 2021, Mr Pritam Singh told Ms Khan that if she retained the narrative, there will be no judgement on her.
  - b. On 4 Oct 2021, the untruth was repeated in Parliament by Ms Khan. None of the three members of the Workers' Party senior leadership (Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap) who were present in Parliament rose to clarify the facts.
- 13. Mr Nathan agreed with Ms Loh's evidence that the WP's statement on 1 Nov 2021 should have indicated that the WP's senior leadership were aware of Ms Khan's lie. The statement had not made clear that Ms Khan had sought counsel from the WP's senior leadership, and that Ms Khan had acted in accordance with their guidance.
- 14. Mr Nathan and Ms Loh were surprised when the WP set up a Disciplinary Panel ("DP") on 2 Nov.
  - a. Mr Nathan thought that any inquiry should have been done earlier, given that the DP members were aware of Ms Khan's lie since 8 Aug, and knew that she had repeated the lie in Parliament on 4 Oct.
  - b. Mr Nathan agreed that the DP was self-serving, and that it had contributed to an uninformed, biased and jaundiced view of the incident, because it had invited WP members and volunteers to give their views on the incident without revealing that Ms Khan had acted with the guidance of senior WP leaders (who were precisely the members of the DP itself).
- 15. Mr Nathan and Ms Loh went to the DP on 25 Nov 2021 and told them, inter alia, that the CEC and the DP should tell the public about the true line of events.

# Appendix: Chronology (accepted by Mr Nathan in his evidence)

Date	Events	
3 Aug	(a) Ms Khan made a speech in Parliament.	
Sometime between 3 and 7 Aug	(a) Mr Nathan spoke to Ms Khan.	
7 Aug	(b) Ms Khan spoke to Mr Pritam Singh and told him that she had spoken an untruth in Parliament.	
8 Aug	(a) A meeting between Ms Khan, Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap was arranged. This took place at Mr Pritam Singh's house.	
	(b) Ms Khan told them in clear terms that the statement she had made in Parliament was false.	
	(c) When asked about their (Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap) reaction, Ms Khan said, it was incredible disappointment. There was a lot of anger, but there was some compassion as well. The reaction was that if she were not to be pressed, then the best thing to do, would be to retain the narrative that she began in August.	
	(d) Ms Khan agreed that the upshot of the meeting on 8 August with Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Faisal Manap was that the Workers' Party leadership decided that there would be no need to clarify the position, they would keep the lie in place, since if Ms Khan is not pressed, there would be no need to clarify the truth.	
	(e) After the meeting, Ms Khan sent a text to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan which stated as follows:	
	"Hey guys. I just met with Pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issues and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening".	
	This was sent contemporaneously at about the time when the meeting concluded.	

Date	Events	
10 Aug	(a) Both Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met Mr Pritam Singh on a separate matter. Mr Pritam Singh confirmed that he knew about Ms Khan's falsehood in Parliament.	
	(b) Ms Loh was assuaged that the senior leadership were aware and it was her expectation that the problems would be sorted out at that level.	
3 Oct	(a) Mr Pritam Singh visited Ms Khan at her home.	
	(b) He was expecting that Ms Khan would be pressed about her lie since it was the first occasion since August 2021 that she would be back attending in Parliament.	
	(c) Ms Khan's evidence on this occasion is that before the October sitting, she had a conversation with Leader of the Opposition, Mr Pritam Singh, and the conversation was that if she were to retain the narrative or if she were to continue the narrative, there would be no judgement.	
4 Oct	(a) Ms Khan answered Minister Shanmugam's questions in Parliament.	
	(b) There were several clear and direct false statements made in response to Minister Shanmugam.	
	(c) At that time the statements were made, Mr Pritam Singh, Mr Faisal Manap and Ms Sylvia Lim would have been aware that they were false as she was making those statements in Parliament.	* Based on Ms
	(d) After the speech was made, she had a meeting in the office of the Leader of the Opposition with Ms Sylvia Lim and Mr Pritam Singh. Ms Khan said there was a discussion of what the next steps should be, and that was it. That was the conclusion of the conversation.*	Khan's evidence, Mr Nathan does not have personal knowledge of this meeting.
	When asked what the next steps are, she said possible police investigations and COP. There were no discussions on why she didn't comply with any apparent instruction or orders to clarify the truth. *	

Date	Events	
12 Oct	(a) Ms Khan contacted Ms Loh and Mr Nathan separately, and told them that she would admit and clarify the false statements in Parliament. They had a discussion.	
	(b) Ms Loh contacted Mr Pritam Singh to arrange for a meeting.	
	She sent this message: "Hi, Pritam." I said, "[Chk] and I would like to meet with you to discuss basically what had transpired."	
	(c) Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met Mr Pritam Singh at 8+ pm., at his home.	
Shortly after 7:30pm on 22 Oct	(a) Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim, Ms Khan, Ms Loh and Mr Nathan of the WP had a meeting at WP HQ to discuss the drafting of Ms Khan's speech.	
	(b) Mr Pritam Singh and Ms Sylvia Lim were involved in the drafting.	
1 Nov	(a) Ms Khan made speech in Parliament.	
	(b) WP issued a statement.	
2 Nov	(a) WP set up DP.	
4 Nov	(a) Ms Loh met with Ms Khan at her house (Deepavali). *	* Mr Nathan is not sure about the date
	(b) Ms Khan told Ms Loh that she was asked to appear before the DP and to collect some evidence to show to the DP.	but agreed there was such a meeting.
25 Nov	(a) Ms Loh and Mr Nathan met with WP DP at 8:30pm.	
	(b) They told WP DP that Ms Khan should not resign.	
	(c) Ms Loh's evidence is that she also told them that the CEC, and especially the DP, should tell the public the true line of events which she had shared here today, that when they knew, what courses of action they took. She told them that they should make this public knowledge, barring confidential and personal information, meaning, details of Ms Raeesah Khan's life and things like that.	

Date	Events	
29 Nov	(a) Ms Khan met with WP DP at 10:30am at WP HQ, to discuss	
	specifically on her performance as an MP.	
	(b) She was asked to consider resigning.	
30 Nov	(a) Ms Khan resigned.	
2 Dec	(a) WP held a press conference.	

# SUMMARY OF ORAL EVIDENCE OF MR MUHAMAD FAISAL BIN ABDUL MANAP GIVEN ON 9 DEC 2021

# <u>Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap</u> on 9 Dec 2021

- 1. Mr Muhamad Faisal Bin Abdul Manap ("Mr Faisal") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 9 December 2021.
- 2. The key points from Mr Faisal's evidence are summarised below.
- I. Ms Raeesah Khan's Statement in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 and Meeting with Party Leaders on 8 Aug 2021
- 3. On the morning of 8 Aug 2021, Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh") asked Mr Faisal to go to his (Mr Singh's) house for a meeting at 11 am ("the 8 Aug meeting"). Ms Sylvia Lim ("Ms Lim") and Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan") were also present. The meeting lasted for about an hour.
- 4. The meeting was the first time Mr Faisal found out that the anecdote that Ms Khan had shared in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 about her accompanying a sexual assault survivor to the police station was untrue.
  - a. Mr Faisal came to the 8 Aug meeting with the impression that the discussion would primarily be about other issues which Ms Khan had raised during her statement in Parliament on 3 Aug 2021 ("the 3 Aug Parliament statement"), namely female genital cutting and polygamy, which related to the Muslim community. He had this impression because he had been discussing these issues both with Mr Singh, and with Ms Khan, since Ms Khan's 3 Aug Parliament statement.
  - b. Mr Faisal was not aware that Ms Khan had spoken to Mr Singh before the 8 Aug meeting, to inform Mr Singh that the anecdote (relating to the sexual survivor) in her 3 Aug Parliament statement was untrue.
- 5. At the meeting, Ms Khan said that she had suffered a sexual assault as a student in Australia when she was 18 years old. She then broke down and cried. She also confessed to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal that the anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement was not true.
- 6. Mr Faisal said that he, Mr Singh, and Ms Lim were overwhelmed by what Ms Khan shared about her sexual assault.
  - a. Mr Singh asked Ms Khan who else knew about the sexual assault. Ms Khan mentioned Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh"), Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan"), Ms Khan's therapist, and her husband. Ms Khan said her parents did not know about the assault.

- b. Mr Faisal was worried about Ms Khan's well-being, especially as he was a former counsellor. He asked if Ms Khan was receiving treatment, and suggested that he could partner an asatizah to counsel her.
- c. There was no anger against Ms Khan, after she shared her experience. Nor did Mr Singh indicate that Ms Khan should go before the COP.
- 7. Mr Faisal said that he, Mr Singh and Ms Lim had tried to console and comfort Ms Khan.
- 8. After Ms Khan calmed down from her account of her sexual assault, Mr Faisal proceeded to raise what Ms Khan had said in her 3 Aug Parliament statement regarding female genital cutting and polygamy. He asked Ms Khan to put out a Facebook statement later that day to clear the air on these two issues, as there was unhappiness among the Muslim community about Ms Khan's 3 Aug Parliament statement. Mr Faisal believed that this was an issue that had caused distress to Ms Khan, to a point where she had contemplated resigning as a Member of Parliament ("MP"). Ms Khan agreed to put out the statement, and Mr Singh and Ms Lim did not object.
- 9. Neither Mr Singh, Ms Lim nor Mr Faisal reacted to Ms Khan's confession to them, that she had lied in Parliament on 3 Aug. They also did not discuss what to do about it. Mr Faisal said that this was because they had been overwhelmed after hearing about Ms Khan's sexual assault, and their main concern was Ms Khan's well-being. Mr Faisal said that he had nonetheless raised the issues concerning female genital cutting and polygamy later in the meeting. And Ms Khan agreed with his suggestions. Mr Faisal said that he understood that it would be hard to understand why the three of them did not react to Ms Khan's confession that she had told an untruth in Parliament.
- 10. After they left Mr Singh's house, Mr Faisal exchanged text messages with Ms Khan to give her comments on her draft Facebook post concerning female genital cutting and polygamy. When the post was finalised later that afternoon, Ms Khan uploaded it. For the rest of the that day (8 Aug), Mr Faisal did not speak to Ms Khan about the untruth she had told in Parliament.
- 11. After the meeting, Mr Faisal did not discuss either with Ms Khan, or with Ms Lim and/or Mr Singh, the issue of Ms Khan's anecdote in Parliament having been false. Mr Faisal did not ask any questions either on 8 Aug 2021, or thereafter, of either Ms Khan, or Mr Singh and/or Ms Lim, about Ms Khan's lie to Parliament. In short, he told COP that he was not involved in anything relating to the untruth.
- 12. When Mr Faisal found out on 8 Aug that Ms Khan had lied to Parliament, he was quite alarmed. He agreed that lying to Parliament about the police is a very serious matter. He also agreed that the anecdote which Ms Khan told in Parliament on 3 Aug, if true, would cause the public to have a bad impression of the police. Sexual assault victims would also be worried about making a report to the police if they believed the anecdote was true.
- 13. As such, Mr Faisal agreed that it would have struck him almost immediately that the lie that Ms Khan told on 3 Aug was a big problem. He also agreed that given the nature of Ms Khan's untruth, even though he had been overwhelmed and very affected by what Ms Khan shared about her experience as a sexual assault victim, he also had to apply his mind to her admission that she had lied, which was also very serious.

- 14. Mr Faisal accepted that it was bad to lie to Parliament. He agreed that it was equally wrong to allow a lie to carry on in Parliament. He also agreed that if one knew of a true fact which would correct a deception on Parliament, keeping quiet would also be a problem, and could possibly amount to an offence.
- 15. Mr Faisal agreed that after he became aware of Ms Khan's lie, it would have been logical for him to have asked questions about Ms Khan's intention to clarify the lie, at various points in the events that transpired.
- 16. Mr Faisal said that he had left Mr Singh to handle the matter because he trusted Mr Singh, having worked with him for over 10 years as a fellow Workers' Party ("WP") MP. And he believed that Mr Singh had the information to make the judgment call on the matter. Mr Faisal also trusted Ms Khan to do the right thing.
- 17. Mr Faisal agreed that since he had not raised or discussed the matter with Ms Lim or Mr Singh either at or after the 8 Aug meeting, he would not know whether either Ms Lim or Mr Singh addressed the problem. Mr Singh did not update Mr Faisal at any point in time about how he was managing the issue of Ms Khan's untruths.
- 18. Mr Faisal agreed that Ms Khan, as a young MP, with barely a year in Parliament, was meeting with her most senior Party leaders on 8 Aug. It would have been fair and reasonable for Ms Khan to expect, going into the 8 Aug meeting, that she would get guidance from Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal about what to do about this issue.
- 19. Mr Faisal agreed that it would be reasonable for Ms Khan to assume, from the 8 Aug meeting, that her senior party leaders were not concerned with the untruth she had told in Parliament, because they said nothing, made no comment and did not tell her what she should do. However, he felt that if Ms Khan had wanted guidance from him, Ms Lim or Mr Singh, she should have proactively asked them for guidance, when they remained silent on the issue at the 8 Aug meeting. In Mr Faisal's view, Ms Khan was an adult and the mother of two children, and was not young.
- 20. Mr Faisal was also asked about the WhatsApp message that Ms Khan had sent to Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh") and Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan"), her closest assistants and senior cadre members. Ms Khan had sent this message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, soon after the meeting on 8 Aug concluded. The message read:

"Hey guys, I just met pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issue and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening."

- 21. Mr Faisal said that everything in the WhatsApp message was true, except for the claim that they had spoken with regards to the police accusation, and that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and he had asked Ms Khan to take the 3 Aug lie in Parliament "to the grave".
  - a. He said that Ms Khan was lying about this, but he could not explain why she would do so.

- b. On this issue, he accepted that what Ms Khan told the COP and what she had said contemporaneously in her message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan was different (in parts) from what Mr Faisal was telling the COP.
- c. Mr Faisal agreed that everything that Ms Khan had done after the 8 Aug meeting (see below) would be consistent with her account to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, of what happened during the meeting, if that account was true. He also agreed that the absence of discussion about the lie in his subsequent discussions with Ms Khan was consistent with Ms Khan's account of the 8 Aug meeting, and her belief that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and himself had told her to "take it to the grave", if it was true.

### II. Ms Khan's Statement in Parliament on 4 Oct 2021

- 22. From 8 Aug 2021 to 29 Oct 2021, Mr Faisal did not communicate further with Ms Khan, Mr Singh and/or Ms Lim on Ms Khan's untruth. He was neither involved in nor aware of any discussions that the others might have had amongst themselves on the issue during this time.
- 23. Mr Faisal was very sure that no draft statement or media post had been prepared with a view to clarifying Ms Khan's untruth during the September sitting of Parliament. As far as he was aware, between the 8 Aug meeting and the next Parliament sitting on 13 September 2021, there was no preparatory work done to clarify Ms Khan's falsehood. Mr Faisal did not pursue the issue with Mr Singh, Ms Lim or Ms Khan.
- 24. Mr Faisal had not expected Ms Khan's anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement (which was untrue) to arise during the October sitting of Parliament. He was not aware that Mr Singh had visited Ms Khan at her home on 3 Oct, the day before the Parliament sitting.
- 25. Mr Faisal was not in Parliament during Ms Khan's exchange with Minister Shanmugam on 4 Oct, as he had arrived in the Chamber later. He learnt about the exchange later that day, when he saw a media report on his mobile phone. After reading the report, Mr Faisal became aware that Ms Khan had repeated her previous falsehood in Parliament.
- 26. When Mr Faisal learnt of what Ms Khan had said in Parliament on 4 Oct about the anecdote, he was shocked and worried. He appreciated that this was a serious problem for Ms Khan, and that the WP was in trouble. This put him and the WP in a "more difficult position", as Ms Khan had now lied twice in Parliament. Mr Faisal agreed that he would have been concerned that by that point, the WP had to do something about it.
- 27. At that point, only a few people would have known that what Ms Khan said on 4 Oct in Parliament was yet another lie. The rest of the public, and media, would not know. Nor was the WP CEC aware that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and he (Mr Faisal) actually knew that Ms Khan had lied on 3 Aug and lied again on 4 Oct on the same matter.
- 28. Mr Faisal agreed that allowing a lie to perpetuate in Parliament was possibly an offence, and that could affect him, Mr Singh and Ms Lim personally. As an MP, he (Mr Faisal) also had a duty to ensure that no untruth remained on the record in Parliament.
- 29. Mr Faisal agreed that as a matter of openness and transparency, it was important to bring the clarification on Ms Khan's lie (which she repeated on 4 Oct) out as soon as possible.

But Mr Faisal did not do anything, nor did he speak with anyone about it. To his mind, this was a matter for Mr Singh to deal with. The timing of when to have Ms Khan correct the record in Parliament would depend on Mr Singh's judgment.

- 30. Mr Faisal did not check with Ms Lim, Mr Singh or any other CEC member on what to do about Ms Khan's further falsehoods. This was because he trusted Mr Singh to resolve the issue. He also believed Ms Khan would do the right thing. He accepted that it would have been logical for him to have checked with Mr Singh what was going on, after he found out that Ms Khan had repeated the untruth in Parliament on 4 Oct, but he explained that he did not because he trusted Mr Singh and that was also the type of person he was he did not go by mere logic.
- 31. Mr Faisal agreed that Ms Khan's conduct in Parliament on 4 Oct would be consistent with her account of what Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had told her to do at the 8 Aug meeting, if it was true, i.e., that she was to continue with her narrative, and lie (see Para 20 above). The fact that there was no discussion at all between the WP MPs about Ms Khan's lie on 4 October, or on the clarification of that lie, was consistent with Ms Khan's account of what happened on 8 Aug, if it was true.

### III. Mr Faisal's communications with Ms Khan after the 4 October Parliament sitting

32. On 5 Oct 2021 (the day after Ms Khan repeated her untruth in Parliament), Mr Faisal initiated and sent a message to her, to encourage her:

"Assalamualaikam

Stay strong Sis.

Allah will always be with those who are in need of His assistance. Do regularly turn to Him.

And anytime you need views and opinions insyaAllah I will set aside time."

- 33. Mr Faisal sent this message to Ms Khan on 5 Oct, because he wanted to comfort her, in light of her exchange with Minister Shanmugam in Parliament the previous day, on 4 Oct, when Ms Khan had repeated the untruth.
- 34. Mr Faisal agreed that since he was in direct communication with Ms Khan, he could have asked her about clarifying the untruth in Parliament, but he did not do so. He agreed that his behaviour did not make sense nor were they logically acceptable. He admitted that it was illogical that even after Ms Khan had repeated the untruth on 4 Oct, he (Mr Faisal) had not raised it with Ms Khan, when Mr Faisal met Ms Khan 3 days later, on 7 Oct. He said that he did not raise the matter with Ms Khan about her untruth, because she neither raised the issue nor sought his guidance on it.
- 35. On 7 Oct 2021, Ms Khan sent the police's request to her for assistance, to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal. Mr Faisal agreed that the police request to Ms Khan was a fair request.
- 36. Ms Khan told them about the police request, and informed them that she would consult a lawyer. Mr Faisal did not reply to Ms Khan. To his knowledge, neither did Ms Lim or Mr Singh.

### IV. Ms Khan's Statement on 1 Nov 2021

- 37. Ms Khan shared her draft 1 Nov statement with the WP Central Executive Committee (CEC) at a meeting on 29 Oct 2021. This was the first time that Mr Faisal found out that Ms Khan would be clarifying the truth behind her anecdote at the 1 Nov Parliament sitting.
- 38. On 31 Oct 2021, Mr Faisal gave Ms Khan encouragement on her draft statement, saying that she was "doing the right thing" and that it was "courageous" of her to share her experience.
- 39. When Mr Faisal heard Ms Khan's statement in Parliament on 1 Nov, he felt relieved that Ms Khan had come out to tell the truth, and corrected the record.

### V. WP's Disciplinary Panel ("DP")

- 40. After Ms Khan made her statement in Parliament on 1 Nov, Mr Faisal received a message from Mr Singh later that day, asking him to be part of a Disciplinary Panel ("DP") against Ms Khan. The DP was formally established on 2 Nov 2021.
- 41. As at 2 Nov 2021, when the DP was formally established, other than Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, the rest of the CEC did not know that Ms Khan had confessed to the three of them on 8 Aug that she had told an untruth to Parliament in her 3 Aug Parliament statement. This continued to be the case, when the CEC met on 30 Nov 2021 to deliberate on the DP's recommendations, in respect of the actions to be taken against Ms Khan.
- 42. Mr Faisal said that the role of the DP was to look into the untruths that Ms Khan had told Parliament. He agreed that whether Ms Khan was persistent in her lie, or whether she had sought the guidance of senior leadership and confessed to them about the lie, would be relevant to the level of sanction or punishment that the DP would recommend.
- 43. The WP press release of 1 Nov conveyed the impression that Ms Khan had repeated the falsehood on 4 Oct, (which she first made on 3 Aug) and did not tell the WP leadership anything about it first. WP members were then asked to come forward and give their views to the WP leadership, in relation to Ms Khan's actions. Mr Faisal agreed that the members who came forward to share their views, would not have been able to give an informed view, if they did not know the fact that Ms Khan had come forward to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and himself, and confessed fully on 8 Aug. As a matter of logic and fairness, a member would not be able to give an honest and unbiased opinion, based on the impressions conveyed by the WP press release of 1 November.
- 44. However, Mr Faisal did not feel it was necessary to inform the CEC of the full facts of the DP's knowledge or involvement, or disclose those full facts to the WP members who were invited to provide their views to the DP namely that Ms Khan had confessed her untruth to Mr Singh, Ms Lim, and Mr Faisal on 8 Aug 2021. He said that these matters were not relevant specifically to the DP's work, because the DP's recommendations were to be based only on what it (the DP) had been told, or the information that it gathered, between the specific dates of 8 Nov 2021 (when the DP first sat to receive evidence), and 29 Nov 2021 (when the DP concluded hearing evidence). Whatever was not raised to the DP during these two dates would not be considered.

- 45. After the DP was formed, neither Ms Lim nor Mr Singh discussed with Mr Faisal whether the 8 Aug meeting and what Ms Khan told them should be part of the DP's report to the CEC. Likewise, there was no discussion between the three of them on whether the DP's report to the CEC should mention that they (Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal) were the only 3 MPs, other than Ms Khan, who knew in Parliament that Ms Khan had lied on 3 Aug and had repeated the lie on 4 October.
- 46. Mr Faisal agreed that in general, a person could not make a recommendation on a matter that he himself had an interest in. He also agreed that it was wrong to allow a lie to carry on in Parliament, and that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and himself could be investigated as well, in this respect. However, he did not feel that he was in a position of conflict of interest sitting on the DP.
- 47. The DP presented its recommendations to the CEC on 30 Nov 2021. The DP recommended that Ms Khan should resign or, failing which, she should be expelled from the WP.
  - a. When the DP briefed the CEC about its recommendations, it did not disclose to the CEC that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had met Ms Khan on 8 Aug (a few days after her original 3 Aug Parliament statement), where she confessed to them concerning her lie to Parliament.
  - b. The DP also did not disclose to the CEC that Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, senior cadre members who had worked closely with Ms Khan, had made very strong statements to the DP for the DP members to disclose their own involvement and knowledge, and come clean with WP members and the public.
  - c. The DP's recommendations to the CEC also included a summary of recommendations made by members whom the DP had heard submissions from.

Mr Faisal agreed that those members would have had no idea that Ms Khan had, in August, confessed to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and himself. He agreed that logically, it should have been put to the CEC that these members had given their views to the DP, without knowing that Ms Khan had come clean on 8 Aug.

He also agreed that it would only be fair to Ms Khan and the integrity of the whole disciplinary process, for these members to know that Ms Khan had gone to the Party leadership on 8 Aug and explained the matter fully, openly and transparently.

48. The CEC voted in favour of Ms Khan's expulsion without knowledge of the full facts.

### VI. Mr Faisal's Prepared Note on the Sequence of Events

- 49. Mr Faisal brought a note with him to the hearing. He said that he had prepared it, to remind himself of the sequence of what had happened.
- 50. Mr Faisal said that he had discussed with Mr Singh and Ms Lim, whether he had gotten the dates right, in his note. He had met with both of them on 7 and 8 Dec (the two days prior to his giving evidence to the COP). They met for about two to three hours on each of the two days.

- 51. When asked about these meetings, and the material which Mr Singh and Ms Lim brought along to the meetings, Mr Faisal informed the COP four times, that he would not answer the question. He refused to answer, despite being reminded that he had been called before the COP to assist with its investigations, which the documents may shed light on.
- 52. It was also explained to Mr Faisal that a refusal to answer the COP's questions would amount to an offence and constitute a contempt of Parliament. He was invited to reconsider his refusal to answer the question. Nevertheless, Mr Faisal confirmed that the COP should place on record that he was refusing to answer that question, and repeated four more times that he would not be answering the question. Mr Faisal said that Ms Lim and Mr Singh had brought documents to their meetings with him, but he also refused to answer if he knew what those documents were.

# SUMMARY OF ORAL EVIDENCE OF MR PRITAM SINGH GIVEN ON 10 DEC 2021

#### Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Mr Pritam Singh on 10 Dec 2021

- 1. Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 10 Dec.
- 2. The key points from Mr Singh's evidence are summarised below.
- 3. Mr Singh agreed that the issue that the COP was looking into, namely a Member of Parliament ("MP") telling a lie in Parliament, was a very serious matter. He said that if a Workers' Party ("WP") MP told a lie, the minimum expected was that the MP would have to correct it, and come forward with the truth.
- 4. Mr Singh also agreed that if an MP is aware that a falsehood has been told to Parliament, the MP has an obligation to correct it, regardless of whether the lie came from that MP or not.
- 5. Mr Singh was asked about the untruth (that Ms Khan had spoken in Parliament on 3 Aug) in relation to the Police. He was told that the false allegation painted a picture of the Police. In response, Mr Singh denied that Police would be adversely impacted by such a lie. He was asked if it was "okay to have a lie in Parliament where the lie relates to the reaction of the Police, bad reaction... to a complaint by a sexual assault victim". In response, Mr Singh said that the Police were not a 'broken-back" organisation. He questioned the amount of work put in by the Police to check on the allegation. Mr Singh also said that he didn't feel that a wrong had been done to the Police by Ms Khan's untruthful allegations against the Police.

# I. Events in August 2021

- 6. On 3 Aug, Mr Singh met Ms Khan in the Leader of the Opposition's ("LO") office. This took place after Ms Khan had been questioned by Minister of State (MOS) Desmond Tan about the anecdote raised in her statement in Parliament ("the 3 Aug Parliament statement"), concerning a sexual assault victim whom she claimed to have accompanied to a police station.
  - a. Ms Khan told Mr Singh that she was unable to contact the victim in question. Mr Singh told Ms Khan she had to clarify on the record, in Parliament, that she could not contact this person, if that was indeed the position.
  - b. Mr Singh then drafted a short statement for Ms Khan, based on what she had told him. Ms Khan revised one sentence in the statement, and proceeded to deliver it in the House that same day.
- 7. Over the next few days, Mr Singh continued to ask Ms Khan for details concerning her anecdote.

- 8. On 7 Aug, Ms Khan called Mr Singh. During the call, Mr Singh asked Ms Khan directly, whether the anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement had happened. Ms Khan confessed and told Mr Singh that this did not happen. Mr Singh was very angry and upset when Ms Khan told him this, and ended the call.
- 9. On 8 Aug, Mr Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim ("Ms Lim"), and Mr Faisal Manap ("Mr Faisal") met with Ms Khan at Mr Singh's home ("the 8 Aug meeting").
  - a. During that meeting, Ms Khan explained that she had told the untruth because she was labouring under a traumatic episode after having been the victim of a serious sexual assault. She was upset, and cried as she shared her experience.

Mr Singh asked Ms Khan who else knew about her sexual assault. She replied that Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh"), Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan"), her husband, and her therapist knew.

Mr Singh told Ms Khan that she would have to speak to her parents about this issue.

- b. There was no substantive discussion at the meeting on what to do about Ms Khan's untruth. According to Mr Singh, everyone was shocked at the news. They were sympathetic to Ms Khan, and were more concerned about her well-being.
  - Mr Singh did not direct or instruct Ms Khan to clarify the untruth. He also did not recall Ms Lim or Mr Faisal discussing what to do with the untruth and how to clarify it
- c. After Ms Khan composed herself, Mr Singh, Ms Lim, Mr Faisal and Ms Khan discussed the issues relating to female genital cutting and polygamy, which Ms Khan had also brought up in her 3 Aug Parliament statement. They agreed that Ms Khan would put up a Facebook post clarifying her position on female genital cutting and polygamy that same evening.
- d. As Ms Khan was leaving Mr Singh's house, Mr Singh told her, "We'll have to deal with this issue, but speak to your parents first."
- 10. Based on what Ms Khan said that day, Mr Singh had no doubt that Ms Khan had told a lie in Parliament.
- 11. In view of her sexual assault, Mr Singh said that he was prepared to give Ms Khan the time to speak to her parents and therapist. Mr Singh said that it was important for Ms Khan to speak to her parents because that would be a condition precedent to her coming clean in Parliament.
- 12. Apart from his statement that "we'll have to deal with this, but speak to your parents first" (see above), Mr Singh agreed that it would be fair to say that Ms Khan would have left the 8 Aug meeting not being very clear in her mind about the Party leaders' instructions on how to deal with her lie.
- 13. Thereafter, there were no other communications between Mr Singh and Ms Khan about the lie she had told to Parliament, until 3 Oct (see below).

- 14. Mr Singh disagreed with Ms Khan's account of the 8 Aug meeting. He said that there was no discussion during the meeting about referring Ms Khan to the COP. He also denied asking Ms Khan to take her untruth "to the grave". Ms Khan had given evidence that she was told this at the meeting and, a few minutes after the 8 Aug meeting, had sent a WhatsApp message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, saying the same. Other than the part of Ms Khan's message about taking her untruth "to the grave", Mr Singh agreed that the other parts of her message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan were accurate.
- 15. On 10 Aug, Mr Singh met Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on an unrelated matter. Mr Singh recalls confirming that Ms Khan had lied in Parliament. They did not discuss what Ms Khan had told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan namely, that she had been asked by Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal to take the lie "to the grave". There was also no discussion as to whether or when Ms Khan should come forward to clarify the lie.

# II. Events leading up to Mr Singh's 3 Oct meeting with Ms Khan

- 16. Mr Singh said that after the 8 Aug meeting, he did not check with Ms Khan in Aug, as to whether she had spoken with her parents about the sexual assault. Nor did he have any discussions with Ms Khan about coming clean on the matter. The next parliamentary sitting was on 13 Sep. Mr Singh said that he could have considered the Sep sitting as a possible window for the truth to be clarified. But he did not take any steps to speak with Ms Khan about the matter and get it clarified during the Sep sitting. There was no discussion with Ms Khan on setting out the truth during this session, and no preparations were made for her to come clean. Mr Singh said it was Ms Khan's responsibility to speak to him about the matter, after she had settled things with her parents. He said that he was in no position to know when that would happen. A few days before the September sitting, Ms Khan had shingles, and did not attend the September sitting.
- 17. Mr Singh said that between the 8 Aug meeting and end Sep, no steps were taken by himself, Ms Lim or Mr Faisal to ensure that Ms Khan would come clean about her untruth. There were no attempts that could be construed as consistent with wanting Ms Khan to come forward and come clean. Mr Singh agreed that he did nothing at this point in time.
- 18. On 1 Oct, Mr Singh sent a general email, to all WP MPs. This general email was sent by Mr Singh after he came across the Hendrickson affair, which he wanted to share with his fellow MPs, in the course of preparing for the FICA debate in the Oct sitting of Parliament. Mr Singh told all the WP MPs that they had to be able to substantiate any statements made in Parliament, or risk facing the COP.

#### III. Events in October 2021

# 3 Oct - Mr Singh visited Ms Khan

- 19. On the evening of 3 Oct 2021 (the day before the Parliament sitting on 4 Oct), Mr Singh visited Ms Khan's home with his wife. Mr Singh confirmed that between the initial 8 Aug meeting (two months earlier), and this visit on 3 Oct, he had no discussions with Ms Khan about the untruth she had told in Parliament.
- 20. When they met on 3 Oct, Mr Singh told Ms Khan that it was entirely possible that someone might ask her about her 3 Aug anecdote, in Parliament the next day. He said

that "if the issue came up", Ms Khan had "to take responsibility and ownership of the issue", and if she did so, he "will not judge" her.

- a. Mr Singh was asked if he had told Ms Khan directly, to tell the truth in Parliament. He said that he did not specifically tell her to speak the truth, in those terms.
- b. Mr Singh however said that was what he had meant, by the words that he had chosen to use.
- 21. Mr Singh agreed that none of the usual preparatory steps (which were taken in the lead up to the 1 Nov statement) were taken vis-à-vis the clarification that Ms Khan might have to deliver on 4 Oct. Prior to the 1 Nov statement by Ms Khan, to clarify her untruth, the following steps were taken:
  - a. There were several meetings to discuss the draft personal statement.
  - b. Mr Singh and Ms Lim gave comments to Ms Khan's draft statement.
  - c. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan helped Ms Khan with her draft.
  - d. Ms Khan's father gave input on the draft.
  - e. The WP Central Executive Committee ("CEC") was told on 29 Oct, and they reviewed Ms Khan's draft.

None of the above steps were taken prior to 4 Oct. Mr Singh said that none of these steps were taken before the October sitting because he was not sure whether the matter will come up during that sitting, and if it did not come up, then Ms Khan may not have clarified.

- 22. Mr Singh was asked to clarify his evidence on what the position was, if the matter was not raised. At one point, Mr Singh said that he had told Ms Khan that she had to take "ownership and responsibility of the issue" and thus Ms Khan had to clarify the truth, even if the matter was not raised. At another point in his evidence, Mr Singh said that if the matter did not come up, then Ms Khan would not need to clarify the truth, during the October sitting. Mr Singh denied that he had changed his evidence. Mr Singh also said that if the matter did not get raised, then he (Mr Singh) had no plans to voluntarily get the issue clarified, because it was Ms Khan's responsibility. Mr Singh confirmed that he did not specifically tell Ms Khan to clarify the truth on 4 Oct, even if the issue was not raised.
- 23. Following the 3 Oct meeting:
  - a. Mr Singh did not inform the WP CEC that Ms Khan might make a clarification in Parliament on 4 Oct (the next day), admitting that she had lied in Parliament. Nor did he seek their approval or consensus.
  - b. There was also no draft of her statement prepared, or any discussions or comments sought on a possible draft. Mr Singh said that he did not know what Ms Khan was going to say.

- c. Mr Singh did not check with Ms Khan whether her family was aware, and if she was therefore in a position to come clean and clarify the lie in Parliament.
- d. Mr Singh agreed that, nothing was done in anticipation of the possibility that Ms Khan might come clean on 4 Oct.
- 24. Mr Singh was asked in detail about his conversation with Ms Khan on 3 Oct. Ms Khan had said, in her evidence to the COP that Mr Singh had told her that if she continued the narrative based on the untruth in her 3 Aug parliamentary statement, he (Mr Singh) would not judge her for doing so.
  - a. Mr Singh said that based on what he had told Ms Khan (that she had to take ownership and responsibility for the issue and that he will not judge her), he had an expectation (as opposed to an understanding) that Ms Khan will clarify the truth, if the matter was raised on 4 Oct. Though not articulated to Ms Khan, what Mr Singh meant by this was that he will not judge Ms Khan if she took responsibility and ownership.
  - b. Subsequently, he said that he had the understanding that Ms Khan would clarify the issue, if the matter was raised.
  - c. On 3 Oct, Mr Singh didn't ask Ms Khan if she had told her parents about the sexual assault she had suffered. He didn't ask, though Ms Khan telling her parents was of "immediate concern" to him, and (in his mind) a precondition before she clarified the truth in public.
- 25. It was pointed out to Mr Singh that he didn't specifically take any steps for a possible disclosure by Ms Khan, and told her he will not judge her. He was asked if that suggested that he had (as of 3 Oct) wanted her to continue to lie (which is what Ms Khan had said was her understanding of what Mr Singh told her to do). Mr Singh denied that.

#### 4 Oct – Ministerial Statement

- 26. On 4 Oct, the issue which Mr Singh thought might arise in Parliament did arise. Minister Shanmugam gave a short Ministerial Statement about Ms Khan's anecdote, and sought clarification from Ms Khan.
- 27. Whilst Minister Shanmugam was making his Ministerial Statement, Ms Khan sent Mr Singh a message, asking: "What should I do, Pritam?" Mr Singh agreed that Ms Khan's message was completely at odds with his evidence: that as of 3 Oct, he expected her to tell the truth if the matter came up. Mr Singh had said that he had this understanding, based on what he had said to her, on 3 Oct, that she had to take personal responsibility, and if she did, he will not judge her. He believed that this meant that she knew that she had to tell the truth, if the matter came up. It is at odds with his understanding, because the matter did come up on 4 October and yet she was asking him for instructions, on what she should do.
- 28. Mr Singh did not respond to Ms Khan before Ms Khan stood up to answer Minister Shanmugam's questions. Ms Khan then repeated the lie on 4 Oct, in response to Minister Shanmugam's questions.

- 29. Mr Singh agreed that this created a far more grave situation, because Ms Khan had continued the lie and repeated it. He agreed that as the Leader of the Opposition, he had a duty to correct Ms Khan's falsehood. Mr Singh said that Ms Khan repeating her lie on 4 Oct had made it a grave situation for Ms Khan, but not for the WP.
- 30. Mr Singh said that he read Ms Khan's WhatsApp message (to him) at 12.45pm (after the exchange between Ms Khan and Minister Shanmugam had ended). Mr Singh told Ms Khan, "Will speak after sitting. Keep Chair and I posted." There is nothing in writing in response from Mr Singh, on what Ms Khan should do.
- 31. Mr Singh met with Ms Khan on 4 Oct in the LO office, but could not remember if he had met Ms Khan once or twice that day. But he remembered that he, Ms Lim and Ms Khan had met late that night, some time past 11pm (just before the parliamentary sitting had ended), for a "very, very short" meeting. Mr Singh recalled that Ms Khan was in a daze and said, "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth." Mr Singh said he was very upset and replied, "But look at the choice you made."
  - a. Mr Singh was asked if he had told Ms Khan, when they met: "We had an understanding. Why didn't you come clean?" Mr Singh said that he did not do so. Mr Singh was asked: if his evidence was correct and on 3 Oct, he believed that he had left Ms Khan with the impression that she should tell the truth, then on 4 Oct, by telling the untruth again, she would have gone directly contrary to what he had told her on 3 Oct. He should then have asked her why she did that, instead of just messaging her to ask to see her in his office. He disagreed that his conduct did not make sense.
  - b. Mr Singh was also asked if Ms Khan's words, "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth", reasonably suggested that Ms Khan was under an impression, until that point, that she was not to tell the truth. Mr Singh disagreed.
  - c. Mr Singh said that his takeaway, based on what Ms Khan said at the meeting, was that she was now prepared to tell the truth. Mr Singh said that he was relieved because this is the first time he is hearing that she wants to own up to what she had said in Parliament. He said, "Good, we'll talk about it."
  - d. Mr Singh was asked if he had therefore told Ms Khan: "Let's prepare to tell the truth" the next day (on 5 Oct), when Parliament would sit again. Mr Singh said that he had not done so, as he made what he described as a "reasonable supposition" that Ms Khan had not told her parents the truth yet. He confirmed that he did not know if Ms Khan had or had not told her parents, at that point. Mr Singh agreed that it would have been very easy to confirm that supposition with Ms Khan. But though he did not know whether she had told her parents, he did not ask her.
- 32. After the Parliament sitting on 4 Oct, there was no further communication between Mr Singh and Ms Khan on this issue apart from an email that Ms Khan forwarded from the police (see below). Thereafter, the next discussion they had was at a meeting on 12 Oct (see below).

#### 7 Oct – Police's request to Ms Khan

- 33. On 7 Oct, Ms Khan received an email from the Police requesting her assistance on the anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement. Ms Khan forwarded the email to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, and asked for their advice on what to do. Mr Singh confirmed that he did not advise Ms Khan to respond to the Police.
- 34. Mr Singh agreed that the police request was reasonable. He said that he told Ms Khan (at some point) to tell the Police that she is going to answer in Parliament. Mr Singh said that he did not direct Ms Khan to meet the Police to answer their questions. He said that he also did not direct her not to do so.
- 35. When asked why he had not advised Ms Khan to explain her position to the Police, despite being invited by the Police three times, Mr Singh said that this was because it was clear to him that Ms Khan's untruth had to be corrected in Parliament, where it was originally made.
- 36. Mr Singh agreed that as at 7 Oct, there were no objective steps taken (by him or the WP, or Ms Khan), which would be suggestive of Ms Khan preparing to go to Parliament to clarify her lie. In another part of his evidence, Mr Singh said that it had been clear to him from 4 Oct that Ms Khan would clarify the lie.

#### 12 Oct – Meeting between Mr Singh, Ms Khan and Ms Lim

- 37. On 12 Oct, Mr Singh met with Ms Khan and Ms Lim. Mr Singh disagreed with Ms Khan's account of what transpired at this meeting.
  - a. Mr Singh said that he initiated the meeting. Ms Khan had wanted to discuss the advice that she received from her lawyers about the Police's request, but Mr Singh wanted to discuss how she should correct her untruth in Parliament. This was the first discussion they had on this issue, after 4 Oct.
  - b. Mr Singh said that at the meeting, Ms Khan was initially still unwilling to make a speech in Parliament to correct her untruth. Ms Lim was very upset about this. Mr Singh impressed upon Ms Khan that there was no other way but to do so, and Ms Khan eventually agreed.
  - c. Mr Singh said that the advice that Ms Khan received from her lawyers on whether she should respond to the Police's requests was consistent with Mr Singh's view that Ms Khan should address the untruth in Parliament.
- 38. On 12 Oct, Mr Singh also met Ms Loh and Mr Nathan. He said that it was a reasonable conclusion that based on what he told them about his meeting with Ms Khan on 3 Oct, they got the impression that he, Mr Singh, had left it to Ms Khan to decide what she would do, and that he would not judge her. Mr Singh said that on 12 Oct, he may have left them with the impression that he had not given clear instructions to Ms Khan to come clean, even if asked. He agreed that he did not tell Ms Loh and Mr Nathan that Ms Khan had been expected to tell the truth when asked on 4 Oct, but that she had disobeyed and repeated the lie.

#### IV. Events in November and December 2021

39. Mr Singh read Ms Khan's 1 Nov draft statement before she delivered it, and was satisfied with what she planned to say. The CEC was also told about this on 29 Oct and reviewed the draft statement.

#### Statements issued by the WP - 1 Nov, 2 Nov, 2 Dec

- 40. After Ms Khan delivered her statement in Parliament on 1 Nov, Mr Singh put up a Facebook post later that day. Mr Singh did not disclose, in his post, that Ms Khan had confessed the untruth to Ms Lim, Mr Faisal and himself, on 8 Aug, which was 5 days after she told the untruth in Parliament on 3 Aug. Mr Singh was asked if it would have been open, transparent and honest for these facts to have been disclosed. Mr Singh said that it was not important for Parliament, and not relevant for the public to know this.
- 41. On 2 Nov, the WP put out a media statement, announcing the formation of a Disciplinary Panel ("the DP") concerning the statements that Ms Khan had made in Parliament. Again, Mr Singh said that he did not think that it was relevant that he, as the leader of WP and a member of the DP, had been aware of Ms Khan's falsehood much earlier.
- 42. Mr Singh was asked if the suppression of the fact that Ms Khan had told some of the WP leaders on 8 Aug, and that Mr Singh had spoken with her on 3 Oct, will give the impression that it was all Ms Khan's doing. He said that it was irrelevant to mention these facts in the two press statements.
- 43. Mr Singh agreed that the 2 Dec Press Conference was the first time that the public got to know that the WP leadership was privy to Ms Khan's lie from a few days after it was first said in Parliament.
  - a. Mr Singh was asked why had chosen to disclose the Party leaders' knowledge and involvement from 7/8 Aug, when he had, for a long time, held the view that it was irrelevant to the public.
  - b. It was pointed out to Mr Singh that the WP Press Conference was held at around the same time on the first day that the COP held its first sitting.
    - Mr Singh denied that he had, at the Press Conference, disclosed for the first time the extent of the Party leaders' involvement, because he knew that these facts would also come out in the evidence given to the COP. He also said that the timing of the Press Conference (which was at the same time as the first day of the COP hearing) was coincidental.
  - c. Mr Singh said that by that time, there had already been questions and 'chatter' in the online space as to when and how much the WP leaders knew about Ms Khan's untruths. Mr Singh therefore decided to address this issue, as he anticipated that the journalists would ask questions about it. It was pointed out to Mr Singh that this 'chatter' online had existed for some time, since at least 1 Nov, and was not new. Mr Singh agreed.
- 44. Mr Singh said that the DP had not disclosed to either the CEC, or to Party members, that Ms Lim, Mr Faisal and himself had known of Ms Khan's untruth since 7/8 Aug. He was

asked why he had not disclosed these facts, in the spirit of full, frank, honest and open disclosure.

- a. Mr Singh disagreed that it was relevant whether Ms Khan had kept the untruth hidden for many months, or if she had confessed the lie to the Party's senior leadership at an early stage. He said that the level of Ms Khan's perceived culpability would not make a difference to members' submissions. Nor would the extent to which Ms Khan had cooperated with the Party.
- b. Mr Singh also said that he did not pay heed to the points made to the DP by Ms Loh and Mr Nathan because he similarly did not see their points as relevant. Ms Loh and Mr Nathan had asked Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal to be transparent and provide the full facts and their personal involvement to the Party members. Mr Singh said that it was not relevant for Party members, the CEC and the public to know these facts.
- c. Mr Singh said that the CEC could have asked the DP whether and when the DP knew about Ms Khan's 3 Aug untruth, if it wanted.
  - It was pointed out to Mr Singh that there was a conflict of evidence. Ms Khan was saying that she had been told by Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal to continue with her lie. The DP comprised the very persons whom Ms Khan says told her to continue with the lie. The DP had to decide on Ms Khan's lie. It was pointed out to Mr Singh that this could be seen as cover up by the 3 persons on the DP, if Ms Khan's version was true. Mr Singh said that it never crossed Ms Lim's, Mr Faisal's and his minds that there was any problem.
- d. According to Mr Singh, the involvement of himself, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal in the events that unfolded would only become relevant if they could be shown to have directed Ms Khan to lie.
- e. He said that no such direction to Ms Khan had been given, because "the truth of the matter is that she (Ms Khan) was told to take "responsibility and ownership" of the issue. (This is contrary to what Ms Khan had said, and contrary to the message from Ms Khan to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan on 8 Aug.)
- 45. Mr Singh said that at the DP's formal meeting with Ms Khan, the DP asked Ms Khan questions about her anecdote when and through which group she met the sexual assault survivor, etc.
  - a. There were also questions about Ms Khan's self-discipline, such as why she did not meet many of the deadlines set for her by the Party.
  - b. Mr Singh had also asked Ms Khan to seek the views of her teammates in the Sengkang Group Representation Constituency ("GRC"). Mr Singh could not recall when the Sengkang GRC MPs found out that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had known about Ms Khan's untruth since 7 or 8 Aug.
- 46. Mr Singh said that the WP had shifted their CEC meeting earlier, to 30 Nov, because Ms Khan had asked to hold the CEC meeting before she attended the COP.

- 47. When asked why Ms Khan might have lied in her 8 Aug WhatsApp message (about taking the information to the grave), Mr Singh said that Ms Khan told the DP that she may have Disassociation. Mr Singh asked the COP to consider asking Ms Khan to go for a psychological assessment.
- 48. Nevertheless, when asked about Ms Khan's general performance, Mr Singh agreed that there was nothing that came to his attention which suggested that there was anything unusual about her performance.
- 49. Ms Loh had previously been Mr Singh's Secretarial Assistant. Mr Singh had spoken of Ms Loh in glowing terms. She was a cadre member of the WP. He agreed that Ms Loh is a person who speaks her mind. Mr Singh was asked about the evidence given by Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, to the COP. He said that they were very protective of Ms Khan and were unhappy with what had happened. Thus, he said, they could have lied in their evidence to the COP.
- 50. A series of propositions were put forth to Mr Singh. Mr Singh responded to each of them as follows:
  - a. On whether he had told Ms Khan to tell the truth, in those terms, Mr Singh confirmed that he had not told Ms Khan to tell the truth:
    - i. On 8 Aug.
    - ii. Between 8 Aug and 3 Oct when he next spoke with her.
    - iii. On 4 Oct.
    - iv. Between 4 Oct and 7 Oct.
  - b. On what Mr Singh would have done, if he expected Ms Khan to tell the truth in Parliament on 4 Oct:
    - i. Asked to see Ms Khan's draft statement she would use Mr Singh disagreed that he needed to see that.
    - ii. Reviewed Ms Khan's draft and given comments and input, as he did prior to the 1 Nov sitting Mr Singh disagreed that he needed to do that.
    - iii. Informed the CEC that Ms Khan would be admitting to the falsehood Mr Singh disagreed that he needed to do that.
    - iv. Mr Singh agreed that from 8 Aug to 4 Oct, he had not seen any steps taken which would be suggestive of coming clean.
  - c. On what Mr Singh would have done after the 4 Oct Parliament sitting (either immediately or thereafter), if he had expected that Ms Khan would have come clean in Parliament when she was asked by Minister Shanmugam:
    - i. Asked to see Ms Khan immediately to ask her why she lied again, on 4 Oct in contravention of the understanding on 3 Oct, that she should come clean in Parliament on 4 Oct if she was asked Mr Singh disagreed that he should have done that.
    - ii. Asked Ms Khan to immediately correct the record the next day in ParliamentMr Singh disagreed that he should have done that.

- iii. Even if none of the above was done, to have taken clear steps between 4 Oct and 12 Oct to make clear the direction for Ms Khan to come clean immediately Mr Singh agreed that even at that stage, he had not told Ms Khan to tell the truth, in those words. The sum total of Mr Singh's words were: "Good, we will talk about it."
- iv. Checked that her family was aware that therefore Ms Khan was in a position to come clean and clarify the lie Mr Singh said he had not done that.

# SUMMARY OF ORAL EVIDENCE OF MS SYLVIA LIM AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR JAMUS JEROME LIM GIVEN ON 13 DEC 2021

#### A. Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Ms Sylvia Lim on 13 Dec 2021

- 1. Ms Sylvia Lim ("Ms Lim") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 13 Dec.
- 2. The key points from Ms Lim's evidence are summarised below.

#### I. Ms Raeesah Khan's Meeting with Party Leaders on 8 Aug 2021

- 3. On 8 Aug, Ms Lim met with Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh"), Mr Faisal Manap ("Mr Faisal") and Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan") at Mr Singh's house (the "8 Aug meeting"). The meeting lasted about an hour.
- 4. During this meeting, Ms Lim learnt for the first time that Ms Khan had lied in her statement to Parliament on 3 Aug ("the 3 Aug Parliament statement"). The lie concerned Ms Khan's anecdote about accompanying a sexual assault survivor to a police station.
  - a. The 8 Aug meeting was arranged by Mr Singh, who contacted Ms Lim about this meeting on 7 Aug
  - b. On 8 Aug, Ms Lim was the first amongst the group to arrive at Mr Singh's house. Before Mr Faisal and Ms Khan arrived, Mr Singh told Ms Lim that he had spoken to Ms Khan the night before, and that Ms Khan had told him that the anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement was untrue.
- 5. During the 8 Aug meeting, Ms Khan shared that the anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement was untrue. She had heard the anecdote during a victim support group that she attended, because she herself was also a victim of sexual assault.
  - a. Ms Khan was emotional as she shared this. Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal were therefore concerned about Ms Khan's emotional state.
  - b. Mr Singh asked Ms Khan who else knew about the sexual assault. Ms Khan mentioned that Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh"), Mr Yudhishthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan"), her therapist and her husband knew.
    - Mr Singh also asked Ms Khan if her parents knew about this. Ms Khan told him that her parents were not aware. Ms Lim recalled Mr Singh saying that Ms Khan had to speak to her parents.
  - c. Mr Faisal also asked Ms Khan whether she had sought professional help to assist her in overcoming the trauma of what had happened.
  - d. Apart from this, there was no further discussion about Ms Khan's untruth during the meeting. According to Ms Lim, Mr Singh, Mr Faisal and she herself were focused on Ms Khan's emotional wellbeing at that point.

- 6. After Ms Khan calmed down, they discussed with Ms Khan what Ms Khan had said about female genital cutting and polygamy, in her 3 Aug Parliament statement. It was agreed that Ms Khan would draft and circulate to them a further explanation of her position on female genital cutting and polygamy, to be posted on her Facebook page.
- 7. Ms Lim agreed that as an experienced politician, she immediately appreciated that Ms Khan's lie in Parliament was a serious and grave matter that had to be addressed. The lie would have to be clarified, though she (Ms Lim) did not apply her mind to the question of how and when it should be corrected, at that time.
- 8. Ms Lim did not say anything to Ms Khan about the next steps that would have to be taken, to correct the Parliamentary record. To Ms Lim's mind, Ms Khan had to speak with her parents first, before anything else could be done.
- 9. Ms Lim did not recall any conversation between Mr Singh, Mr Faisal and herself on 8 Aug (without Ms Khan present) concerning Ms Khan's lie in Parliament, or the next steps that needed to be taken.
- 10. Ms Lim was also asked about the WhatsApp message that Ms Khan had sent to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, her closest assistants, soon after the 8 Aug meeting concluded. The message read:

"Hey guys. I just met with pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issues and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening."

- a. Ms Lim disagreed with Ms Khan's evidence. (In her evidence to the COP, Ms Khan had said that "take it to the grave" reflected the consensus reached between Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal at the 8 Aug meeting, that if the matter concerning Ms Khan's anecdote did not arise again, she should continue maintaining the lie.)
- b. Ms Lim was asked if she could rule out that any of Ms Khan's mental conditions (including dissociation) may have caused Ms Khan to make this statement ("take the information to the grave"). Ms Lim said that she could not rule anything out.
- c. When asked, Ms Lim confirmed that she did not serve long in the Police Force (for three years). In that light, in her view, as an ex-police officer, it is unlikely for such information to be hidden for long.

#### II. Events after 8 Aug, until 3 Oct

- 11. Ms Lim confirmed that in the period after the 8 Aug meeting, and until the Oct sitting of Parliament starting on 4 Oct:
  - a. To her knowledge, no steps were taken towards having Ms Khan come to Parliament to clarify the lie. Ms Lim said that she did not think that anything concrete was done, during this period.

- b. Ms Lim did not speak to Ms Khan, or otherwise communicate with Ms Khan whatsoever about the lie in her 3 Aug Parliament statement.
- c. Ms Lim did not check whether Ms Khan's family had been told about her sexual assault.
- d. Ms Lim did not discuss the matter with Mr Singh, Mr Faisal, or with anyone else. In particular, Ms Lim confirmed that she did not discuss with either Mr Singh or Mr Faisal whether Ms Khan's lie would be clarified in Parliament during the Sep sitting.
- 12. Ms Lim explained that because Mr Singh knew Ms Khan best, and was guiding her, she left it to Mr Singh to follow up on this matter with Ms Khan.
- 13. Ms Lim believed that Mr Singh would have known that she was leaving him to handle the matter. She did not discuss any specific timeframe with Mr Singh, as to when Ms Khan's lie should be clarified.
- 14. On 1 Oct, prior to the Oct sitting of Parliament, Mr Singh had sent an email to all the Workers' Party ("WP") MPs. The email reminded them that if anything was said in Parliament that could not be substantiated, the MP would face being hauled up before the COP. Ms Lim said that she read this as meaning that Mr Singh had his eye on the matter involving Ms Khan.
- 15. On 3 Oct, Mr Singh had gone to Ms Khan's house to discuss the Parliament sitting the next day with her (the "3 Oct meeting"). Ms Lim said that she was not aware of this meeting at the time, and only learnt of it the following day (see below).
- 16. Ms Lim also provided the COP with a copy of the notes she had taken, during the WP's Disciplinary Panel ("DP") interviews with Ms Khan (see further below). Ms Lim said that these notes were as close to verbatim as possible, and had been taken contemporaneously. Ms Lim highlighted to COP the following exchange between Mr Singh and Ms Khan, concerning the 3 Oct meeting:

[Taken from Ms Lim's handwritten notes of the DP interview on 29 Nov]

PS: Before Oct session, I met you + I told you it was your call.

Did need to tell the truth in Parl occur to you?

RK: Yes but consumed with guilt + own experience.

Thought it wouldn't come up.

PS: Can't lie right?

RK: Yes.

17. Ms Lim was asked for her views on what Mr Singh had said to Ms Khan, on 29 Nov, at the DP interview ("I told you it was your call"). Ms Lim said that Mr Singh seems to

have told Ms Khan, that it was for Ms Khan to decide what to do on 4 Oct, if the issue arose in Parliament. In a different part of her evidence, Ms Lim said as follows (when describing what she believed/thought, prior to the DP meeting on 29 Nov): she would not have believed that Mr Singh would have given Ms Khan a choice to lie, if the matter arose again, and that she could not "fathom" the possibility that Mr Singh would have given Ms Khan the choice between telling the truth and lying again (see below).

#### III. 4 Oct Parliament sitting

- 18. On 4 Oct, Ms Khan repeated her lie in Parliament during an exchange with Minister Shanmugam concerning the anecdote in her 3 Aug Parliament statement. Ms Lim was present during Ms Khan's exchange with Minister Shanmugam, and heard what Ms Khan said.
- 19. Ms Lim said that she was very frustrated by what had happened. She was frustrated because it did not appear that there had been any progress made, to move Ms Khan towards correcting the Parliamentary record. Instead, through Ms Khan's exchange with Minister Shanmugam, there had been a "doubling down" on the untruth, making the situation even worse.
- 20. Ms Lim said that she did not know, at that time, what Mr Singh had discussed or agreed with Ms Khan, in terms of what to do if this matter were to arise in Parliament. But Ms Lim said that she would not have believed that Mr Singh would have given Ms Khan a choice to lie, if the matter arose again.

#### Ms Lim's discussion with Ms Khan in the afternoon

- 21. After Ms Khan's exchange with Minister Shanmugam, Ms Lim arranged to meet Ms Khan later that afternoon, in the Leader of Opposition's ("LO") office. Ms Lim said that she arranged this meeting for two reasons: first, to ascertain Ms Khan's emotional state after the exchange in Parliament, and second, for Ms Khan to respond in Parliament as Parliament is the proper body to handle it and to suggest that Ms Khan get legal advice on any potential request by the police for assistance.
- 22. Ms Lim confirmed that this was the first time, since the 8 Aug meeting, that she spoke with anyone concerning the lie that Ms Khan had told to Parliament.
- 23. Ms Lim said that during that discussion, Ms Khan was stressed. Ms Lim did not ask Ms Khan what she (Ms Khan) had discussed with Mr Singh, or why she ended up repeating the lie. At this point as well, Ms Lim did not think that Mr Singh would have told Ms Khan to "double down" on the lie, and thus did not ask about the discussion.
- 24. Ms Lim agreed that it was urgent for the steps to be taken to correct the Parliamentary record, and understood the need to move quickly. She said it was a matter of judgment as to when the best and earliest possible time was.
- 25. Ms Lim did not think that it was an option to have Ms Khan clarify the lie at the Parliament sitting the next day (5 Oct).

- a. Time was needed to carefully structure Ms Khan's clarification, and make sure that she was comfortable with it.
- b. Ms Lim also cited what happened on 3 Aug, when Ms Khan first told the lie in Parliament. At the time, Mr Singh had drafted a clarification for Ms Khan (which she delivered later that same day). The clarification turned out to "double down" on the lie, because the information from Ms Khan was untrue. Ms Lim said this was a reminder of how things had to be done with due deliberation.

#### Ms Lim and Mr Singh's discussion with Ms Khan that night

- 26. Later that day, at around 11.15 pm, Mr Singh and Ms Lim met with Ms Khan in the LO's office. Ms Lim said that this meeting did not last very long.
- 27. According to Ms Lim:
  - a. Mr Singh asked Ms Khan what she planned to do about the matter.
  - b. Ms Khan said that perhaps there was another path honesty.
  - c. Mr Singh responded by asking Ms Khan if she hadn't (already) chosen her path by what she had said in Parliament that day. (Ms Lim does not recall Ms Khan replying to this.)
  - d. The meeting ended off with Mr Singh saying that they would discuss this further.
- 28. At this meeting, neither Ms Lim nor Mr Singh asked Ms Khan if she had spoken to her parents. They also did not articulate to Ms Khan the need to take matters forward through a parliamentary clarification, though Ms Lim said that this was what she had in mind.
- 29. Ms Lim said that she did not have any separate discussions with Mr Singh that day, on this issue (either in person, or via other forms of communication).

#### IV. 12 Oct meeting between Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Ms Khan

- 30. On 12 Oct, Ms Khan met with Ms Lim and Mr Singh at Mr Singh's house.
- 31. At this meeting:
  - a. Initially, Ms Khan indicated some reluctance to correct the record.
    - Ms Lim was asked whether she had, at that point, clarified with Mr Singh what he had discussed and agreed with Khan. Ms Lim said that she had not done so, as it never crossed her mind that Mr Singh and Ms Khan would have agreed to "double down" on the lie. Ms Lim said that she could also not fathom the possibility of Mr Singh giving Ms Khan the option of choosing between telling the truth, or continuing the lie.
  - b. Ms Lim said that both she and Mr Singh were angry and told her to make the correction and said that Ms Khan had no choice but to come clean at the next

- available Parliament sitting (in Nov). After discussion, Ms Khan agreed that this would be the best thing to do.
- c. On the police request (sent on 7 Oct) to interview Ms Khan, Ms Lim told Ms Khan that it was alright not to respond, since she was going to be making a clarification in Parliament.
- 32. Ms Lim confirmed that this was the first time that an express commitment was made for Ms Khan to clarify the lie in Parliament.

#### V. Ms Khan's statement in Parliament on 1 Nov 2021

- 33. On 1 Nov, Ms Khan delivered a statement in Parliament, clarifying the untruths that she had told Parliament on 3 Aug and 4 Oct.
- 34. Prior to 1 Nov, various steps were taken in preparation for Ms Khan's statement in Parliament:
  - a. Between 12 Oct and 29 Oct, various drafts of Ms Khan's statement were prepared, reviewed and amended by Ms Khan, Ms Loh, Mr Nathan, Mr Singh and/or Ms Lim.
    - There was also a number of meetings, at both Mr Singh's house and the WP headquarters, to discuss these drafts.
  - b. On 29 Oct, Ms Khan met the WP Central Executive Committee ("CEC") to discuss her draft statement.
    - The meeting on 29 Oct was the first time the CEC became aware of Ms Khan's lies in Parliament, and of her intention to clarify the lies on 1 Nov.
    - The CEC was not told that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had been aware of Ms Khan's lie from 8 Aug.

#### VI. The Workers' Party Disciplinary Panel ("DP")

- 35. On 2 Nov, the WP CEC set up a DP to inquire into Ms Khan's lies in Parliament.
  - a. The DP comprised the Party's three most senior members Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.
  - b. At that time, the CEC still was not aware that Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had been aware of Ms Khan's lies from as early as 8 Aug.
  - c. The composition of the DP was proposed by Mr Singh, as the Secretary General of the WP.
  - d. Ms Lim was asked about Ms Khan's evidence (given to the COP), that Mr Singh, Mr Faisal and Ms Lim had told her (Ms Khan) to continue the lie. Ms Lim was asked whether there was an issue with the DP's composition, if what Ms Khan said

was true. Ms Lim said that if this issue had been raised earlier, the composition of the DP could have been different.

- 36. On 10 Nov, all members of the Party were invited to share their views with the DP.
  - a. As a lawyer, Ms Lim agreed that a usual mitigating circumstance was whether, how early, and the extent to which someone had admitted to his or her wrongdoing.
  - b. However, she did not think that Ms Khan's admission to Mr Singh, Mr Faisal and herself on 8 Aug was relevant to the DP's work, or that this fact had to be disclosed to Party members who came forward to offer their views. Ms Lim said that the DP was inquiring only into Ms Khan's untruths on 3 Aug, and her repetition of her false claim, on 4 Oct.
  - c. Ms Lim also said that the invitation to Party members was a feedback gathering exercise, and that the DP was not bound by what members told them.
- 37. The DP held two interviews with Ms Khan, on 8 and 29 Nov. Ms Lim highlighted that these interviews broadly discussed:
  - a. the preparation of Ms Khan's 3 Aug Parliament statement, and why the untruth was included in the statement on this, Ms Khan's explanation was that she was dissociated and did not realise what she was doing;
  - b. the discussion between Mr Singh and Ms Khan on 3 Oct (see above);
  - c. the actions Ms Khan was taking to address her psychological needs Ms Khan submitted documents from a psychotherapist saying that she was undergoing therapy; and
  - d. whether and, if so, why Ms Khan wanted to remain in the Party, as an MP and a CEC member.
- 38. The DP also verified that Ms Khan had attended sessions held by a women's survivor group in 2018 and 2019, as she had claimed.

# B. <u>Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Associate Professor Jamus</u> <u>Jerome Lim on 13 Dec 2021</u>

- 39. Associate Professor Jamus Jerome Lim ("A/P Lim") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 13 Dec.
- 40. The key points from A/P Lim's evidence are summarised below.

#### VII. 29 Oct meeting with the Central Executive Committee ("CEC")

- 41. On 29 Oct, the CEC called for an extraordinary meeting ("the 29 Oct meeting").
- 42. During the meeting:
  - a. The CEC was informed that Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan") had lied in her statements to Parliament on 3 Aug ("the 3 Aug Parliament statement") and on 4 Oct.
  - b. The CEC was also informed that Ms Khan would be delivering a personal explanation during the next Parliamentary sitting on 1 Nov, to clarify her untruths.
  - c. Ms Khan's draft personal explanation was recited to the CEC members, who discussed and gave suggestions on the same.
    - Some members felt that the reference to Ms Khan being a sexual assault victim could sound like an excuse, but A/P Lim felt that it was important for her to state this.
- 43. A/P Lim confirmed that prior to 29 Oct, he was not aware that Ms Khan had said untruths in Parliament in August and October 2021.

# VIII. 30 Nov CEC meeting

- 44. On 1 Nov, Ms Khan delivered her personal explanation in Parliament. On 2 Nov, the Workers' Party CEC set up a DP comprising Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh"), Ms Sylvia Lim ("Ms Lim") and Mr Faisal Manap ("Mr Faisal").
- 45. A/P Lim was a member of the CEC appointing the DP. A/P Lim said that as a "political rookie", he did not know what a DP was meant to do. But his sense was that the DP would investigate the episode, gather the facts, and make a recommendation to the CEC.
- 46. The DP presented their recommendations to the CEC on 30 Nov. A/P Lim said that the points made by the DP were secondary to his decision. He had been receiving feedback through other channels, and had also reflected independently on the matter.
- 47. A/P Lim confirmed that as at 2 Nov (when he approved the formation of the DP, as a CEC member) and on 30 Nov (when he decided on the DP's recommendations, as a CEC member), he did not know that:

- a. On 7 Aug, Ms Khan had already confessed to Mr Singh that she had lied in her 3 Aug Parliament statement.
- b. On 8 Aug, Ms Khan had also met Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, and confessed again, that she lied in her 3 Aug Parliament statement.
- c. On 4 Oct, Ms Khan repeated in Parliament the untruth from her 3 Aug Parliament statement. At the time, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal were aware that what Ms Khan said on 4 Oct was untrue, and knew that Ms Khan had repeated a lie in Parliament.
- 48. A/P Lim said that apart from what he was told at the 29 Oct meeting (see above), he generally learnt of the facts concerning this matter only when they became public. The people whom he had obtained feedback from would likewise be unaware of the above facts, since those facts were not public knowledge at that time (i.e. as at 30 Nov).
- 49. A/P Lim was asked whether, as a member of the CEC, he would have expected:
  - a. The DP to be disinterested from the episode and the surrounding circumstances, so that they had no personal interest in the matter which they were supposed to investigate.
  - b. The facts concerning Ms Khan's confessions to the Party leadership on 7 and 8 Aug, and the Party leaders' state of knowledge on 4 Oct (see above), to be told to the CEC.
- 50. To these questions, A/P Lim said that he trusted the Party leadership to inform the CEC of all material facts. Given that the Party leaders had not told the CEC about their involvement in the matter from an early stage (see above), A/P Lim trusted that these facts were not material.
- 51. A/P Lim agreed that there were circumstances in which these facts would have been material, and should have been shared with the CEC.
  - a. According to A/P Lim, the materiality of the facts concerning the senior Party leaders' involvement would depend on what the truth of the matter was.
    - A/P Lim initially agreed that the truth of the matter would have to be determined by the CEC, taking into account the recommendations of the DP. He subsequently said that he did not know who determined the truth, and that the truth was what everyone was trying to uncover.
  - b. If Ms Khan had planned to subsequently confess, then her prior confessions to the Party leaders would not have been material.
  - c. If, on the other hand, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had instructed Ms Khan to "take the information [of the untruth] to the grave" (as Ms Khan had told the COP), then their suppression of these facts and of their own involvement, would have been material information that had to be disclosed.

# SUMMARY OF ORAL EVIDENCE OF MR PRITAM SINGH GIVEN ON 15 DEC 2021

# Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Mr Pritam Singh on 15 Dec 2021

- 1. Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh") was recalled today by the Committee of Privileges ("COP"), because Ms Sylvia Lim ("Ms Lim") had produced a document which she had recorded verbatim and contemporaneously, that Mr Singh had said to Ms Khan: "Before Oct session, I met you + I told you it was your call.". Mr Singh was therefore given the opportunity to clarify his evidence.
- 2. The key points from Mr Singh's evidence today are summarised below.
- 3. Ms Lim had submitted to the COP, notes which she had taken, during the Workers' Party ("WP") Disciplinary Panel ("DP") interview with Ms Khan on 29 Nov. It set out an exchange between Mr Singh and Ms Khan:

[Taken from Ms Lim's handwritten notes of the DP interview on 29 Nov]

PS: Before Oct session, I met you + I told you it was your call.

Did need to tell the truth in Parl occur to you?

*RK*: Yes but consumed with guilt + own experience.

Thought it wouldn't come up.

*PS: Can't lie right?* 

RK: Yes.

- 4. Mr Singh was told that there were two issues that arose as a result of Ms Lim's notes: first, what Mr Singh had told Ms Khan on 3 Oct, and second, what Ms Khan should do, and what he expected her to do, if the matter arose.
- 5. Mr Singh confirmed that Ms Lim's notes accurately reflected what he had said to Ms Khan during the DP hearing on 29 Nov. Mr Singh agreed that the phrase "your call" might be understood that he had on 3 Oct, told Ms Khan that she had to make a choice as to whether to tell the truth or continue to lie, if she was asked on 4 Oct.
- 6. However, Mr Singh said that what he had meant when he said "your call" was not this ordinary meaning, but that Ms Khan should take responsibility for her work in Parliament. He said that what he told Ms Khan at the DP meeting on 29 Nov had to be looked at in context. Mr Singh also said that even though he had, on 29 Nov, used the language "It is your call to make", to describe what he had told Ms Khan on 3 Oct, those were not the words he had in fact used to Ms Khan on 3 Oct, and the words he used did not offer Ms Khan a choice. Mr Singh also said that Ms Lim's notes also reflected that he had told Ms Khan at the 29 Nov meeting, that she could not tell a lie (which was not said on 3 Oct).

- 7. Mr Singh was also referred to Ms Lim's evidence. She had also said that Mr Singh's words ("its your call") indicated that it was for Ms Khan to decide, whether to tell the truth or continue the lie, on 4 Oct. Mr Singh said that when one informs an MP that he or she has to take ownership and responsibility, that MP has to take ownership and responsibility and in that context, the words "your call" give the suggestion that it is a choice for that MP to make. Mr Singh agreed that it was reasonable to construe the words "your call" to mean that it was a choice for Ms Khan to make. Mr Singh agreed that based on Ms Lim's notes of the 29 Nov DP meeting, it appeared that he had given Ms Khan a choice.
- 8. Mr Singh was also referred to another part of Ms Lim's evidence to the COP, in which Ms Lim had said that it was not fathomable to her that Mr Singh would have given Ms Khan a choice, between whether to tell the truth or continue with the lie.
- 9. Mr Singh agreed that the way in which he had characterised to the COP his 3 Oct meeting with Ms Khan, and his state of mind after that meeting, was quite different from the words "your call" in Ms Lim's notes from 29 Nov.
- 10. Mr Singh was also asked why he had not said to Ms Khan on 3 Oct, "You must own up, tell the truth in Parliament", and why he had not made things absolutely clear, in direct terms to Ms Khan. This was particularly given that she was a new MP, only one year into Parliament, and had admitted to telling a lie in Parliament, just two months prior to that. Mr Singh said that he believed he had communicated this message to Ms Khan in his own way, when he suggested to her on 3 Oct to take ownership and responsibility.
- 11. Mr Singh was also referred to Ms Loh Pei Ying's evidence to the COP, as to how Mr Singh had recounted to her, his meeting on 3 Oct with Ms Khan. Mr Singh agreed that Ms Loh's takeaway from her conversation with Mr Singh, was that Mr Singh had, on 3 Oct, given Ms Khan a choice whether to tell the truth or continue the lie.

# SUMMARY OF ORAL EVIDENCE OF DR CHRISTOPHER CHEOK AND MS RAEESAH KHAN GIVEN ON 22 DEC 2021

# A. Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Dr Christopher Cheok on 22 Dec 2021

- 1. Dr Christopher Cheok ("Dr Cheok") gave evidence to the Committee of Privileges ("COP") on 22 Dec.
- 2. Dr Cheok is a psychiatrist by training. He is the acting Chief of the Department of Forensic Psychiatry, and a Senior Consultant at the Institute of Mental Health.
- 3. Dr Cheok was invited to appear before the COP, as a medical expert, following a request made by Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh"). Mr Singh had suggested that the Committee call for a psychiatric evaluation to be undertaken on Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan"). He had said that Ms Khan may, because of her mental condition of "disassociation", be predisposed towards lying, and that some important parts of her evidence before the COP might be unreliable. This request was thereafter acceded to by the COP.
- 4. A summary of Dr Cheok's evidence is set out below.

# I. Background of Dr Cheok's assessment process

5. Dr Cheok said that he had assessed Ms Khan on two occasions, 17 Dec and 20 Dec. He had also interviewed her husband, as Ms Khan's closest next-of-kin, and reviewed the relevant recordings of Ms Khan speaking in Parliament (on 3 Aug, 4 Oct and 1 Nov) as well as her testimony before the COP (on 2 Dec and 3 Dec).

#### II. Dr Cheok's assessment of Ms Khan's mental state

- 6. Dr Cheok said that based on his assessment, during the material period (from 3 Aug to 3 Dec), Ms Khan did not suffer from any significant psychiatric disorder that would have impaired her ability to speak truthfully in Parliament (on 3 Aug, 4 Oct and 1 Nov), or before the COP (on 2 Dec and 3 Dec).
  - a. In his assessment, on the various occasions in Parliament and before the COP, Ms Khan was of sound mind, and was mentally fit and present to make the statements that she did. What she said was done out of her own will and she knew what she was doing.
  - b. Dr Cheok was asked about Ms Khan's mental state on 3 Aug, when she first put across the false anecdote in Parliament. He said that when Ms Khan delivered her speech that day, it was neither done impulsively, nor as a result of dissociation, or any other psychiatric disorder.

Dr Cheok said that it was possible that such untruths could be told as a result of bad judgement, rather than because of any mental illness.

- He also said that it was a normal reaction, for a sexual assault survivor to try to compartmentalise or suppress that memory.
- c. Dr Cheok said that Ms Khan did not suffer from any psychiatric disorder that would predispose her to telling untruths. Having been in practice for more than 25 years, he said that persons with psychiatric disorders do not generally tell untruths more frequently than any other human being.
- d. Dr Cheok also said that Ms Khan did not have post-traumatic stress disorder.
- 7. Dr Cheok said that in his assessment, Ms Khan did not suffer from any significant or material dissociation during the material period.
  - a. Dr Cheok explained that in layman terms, dissociation is a symptom, not a medical diagnosis. It refers to the loss of the integrative function of the human mind, and may also be experienced by normal persons in different situations.
  - b. Dr Cheok said that Ms Khan had told him that her psychotherapist had told her that she had dissociation. Based on his conversations with Ms Khan, Dr Cheok did not believe that she fully understood what dissociation was.
  - c. Dr Cheok was also asked by a member of the COP about dissociative identity disorder. Dr Cheok said that dissociative identity disorder, commonly called multiple identity disorder, is a different and very rare disorder. Those who suffer from this disorder would have typically gone through repeated childhood trauma, and would switch between different identities or even speak in different voices.

He said that Ms Khan certainly did not fit this description.

#### III. Additional Questions posed to Dr Cheok

- 8. Dr Cheok was also asked various additional questions, concerning the state of Ms Khan's mental health, and other possible mental conditions that might have affected her conduct in Parliament, or before the COP. These are summarised below.
- 9. Dr Cheok was asked if the trauma Ms Khan went through as a result of her sexual assault would continue to affect her decision making on matters concerning the incident. He was asked why Ms Khan would have lied in Parliament, were that not the case.
  - a. Dr Cheok said that Ms Khan's motivations were not something he could comment on. However, it was clear to him that Ms Khan did not dissociate, and was of sound mind, when she prepared and delivered her 3 Aug Parliament statement.
- 10. Dr Cheok was asked how to reconcile his finding, that Ms Khan did not suffer from PTSD or dissociation, with the evidence of some witnesses (Mr Pritam Singh, Ms Sylvia Lim, and Mr Faisal Manap), who said that Ms Khan would get emotional whenever her sexual assault was mentioned.

- a. In response, Dr Cheok said that a sexual assault was one of the most traumatic experiences someone would ever go through. It was very normal, and understandable for a survivor to show emotion when the topic came up. In fact, speaking about one's assault plainly, without emotion, is what would be abnormal (rather than being emotional when talking about one's assault).
- b. While Dr Cheok did not deny that Ms Khan had some symptoms of being psychological traumatised, he was of the view that the symptoms did not reach the threshold of a psychiatric disorder. In his view, it was a normal reaction for someone who had gone through a traumatic experience, to continue to have some anxiety when speaking about the topic. This did not mean that the person would be mentally impaired or incapacitated.
- c. In Ms Khan's case, whilst she might have continued to feel upset about some of these memories, her judgement and decision-making capacity was not impaired. She was of sound mind.
- 11. Dr Cheok was also asked if it was nevertheless possible that Ms Khan's judgement could have been affected by the trauma, in a way that caused her to have "false memory creation". Dr Cheok responded by reiterating that Ms Khan did not suffer from dissociation, and that in his assessment, when Ms Khan spoke of her assault, she was not affected to an extent that caused her to lose her mental capacity.
- 12. Dr Cheok was thereafter asked whether a person who is suffering from trauma, while still generally high functioning, could be capable of sending out a message that selectively contained a lie. Dr Cheok said that generally it is possible but there also may be other explanations why a person may give a falsehood. However, in the specific context of Ms Khan, Dr Cheok disagreed with this possibility.

#### B. Summary of Key Points from Evidence given by Ms Raeesah Khan on 22 Dec 2021

- 13. Ms Raeesah Khan ("Ms Khan") was recalled on 22 Dec by the Committee of Privileges ("COP").
- 14. When they appeared before the COP, Mr Pritam Singh ("Mr Singh"), Ms Sylvia Lim ("Ms Lim") and Mr Faisal Manap ("Mr Faisal") were given the opportunity to respond to relevant aspects of Ms Khan's evidence, and to provide their own account of events (where their account differed from Ms Khan's). Additional documents were also provided by them to the COP. As the respondent before the COP, Ms Khan was therefore (similarly) given the opportunity today, to respond to the additional points and documents provided by Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.
- 15. The key points from Ms Khan's evidence are summarised below.

#### I. Mr Singh and Ms Lim's references to Ms Khan's mental health

- 16. In the course of their testimony before the COP, Mr Singh and Ms Lim had claimed that Ms Khan was suffering from a mental condition, which could have affected her ability to tell the truth before the COP. (See also Annex A1 above, setting out the medical evidence on this issue.)
- 17. Ms Khan said that it was extremely out of line, for Mr Singh and Ms Lim to have used mental illness as a means to discredit someone. Mr Singh had tried to paint a picture of her as someone who was mentally unstable, when she was of sound mind.
- 18. Ms Khan said that mental health issues had to be approached with sensitivity, in today's context. She expressed concern that using a person's mental health to discredit them (as Mr Singh and Ms Lim had done) would set back the movement to progress mental health awareness and support. Attributing such labels on people would discourage them from seeking help, when they needed it.

#### II. 8 Aug Meeting with Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal

- 19. On 8 Aug, Ms Khan had met with Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal at Mr Singh's house. She told them that what she had said in Parliament on 3 Aug was untrue.
- 20. In her earlier evidence before the COP on 2 Dec, Ms Khan had said that at this meeting on 8 Aug, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal told her that:
  - a. The best thing for her to do would be to continue with the narrative that she had already given in Parliament on 3 Aug.
  - b. If Ms Khan and the Workers' Party ("WP") could get away with it, there was no need to clarify the lie. If the matter was brought up again, there would also be no need for her to clarify and there was no need for the truth to be told.
- 21. Ms Khan had also provided a contemporaneous WhatsApp message, which she had sent to Ms Loh Pei Ying ("Ms Loh") and Mr Yudhisthra Nathan ("Mr Nathan") shortly after the meeting, where she told Ms Loh and Mr Nathan:

- "Hey guys, I just met pritam, Sylvia and Faisal. And we spoke about the Muslim issue and the police accusation. I told them what I told you guys, and they've agreed that the best thing to do is to take the information to the grave. They also suggested that I write a statement to send out this evening."
- 22. When they appeared before the COP, Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal had disputed Ms Khan's account of the 8 Aug meeting. According to Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal, they were overwhelmed after she recounted her sexual assault. As a result, there had been no discussion during the meeting about whether or how to correct Ms Khan's untruth.
- 23. Ms Khan disagreed with their (Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal's) evidence. She said that their evidence was untrue. She also disagreed completely, with the accusation Mr Singh had made against her, of lying.
  - a. After Ms Khan shared with Mr Singh, Ms Lim and Mr Faisal on her experience as a sexual assault survivor, they had said that this issue, relating to Ms Khan's false anecdote, should not be pursued further. It was in the context of this discussion, that Mr Singh used the words "take it to the grave". (Ms Khan subsequently reproduced this phrase, in her WhatsApp message to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan (see above). She said that this was not a phrase she would ordinarily use, and that it originated from Mr Singh during the meeting.) Ms Khan confirmed that Mr Singh said this, in front of Ms Lim and Mr Faisal.
  - b. There was no discussion during the meeting on whether she should disclose the sexual assault to her father and family. Ms Khan did not recall at all that Mr Singh had told her (as he had claimed), whilst she was leaving his house, that she should tell her father about the matter.
  - c. They also discussed her views on a statement concerning clarifications regarding the topics of female genital cutting and polygamy, which she had raised in her speech on 3 Aug. It was agreed that Ms Khan would draft a statement, setting out her position on these issues, with assistance from the party leaders. Contrary to how she was characterised as being emotionally unstable, she felt that she was of sound mind as shown by her being able to discuss the statement at length.
- 24. Ms Khan subsequently sent the WhatsApp message (above) to Ms Loh and Mr Nathan, when she was in the car leaving Mr Singh's house.
- 25. Ms Khan was aware that Ms Loh and Mr Nathan would be meeting Mr Singh shortly after 8 Aug, at which she would not be present.
- 26. She also shared her draft statement on Muslim issues with Mr Faisal, Ms Lim and Mr Singh on the same day. They gave some edits, and she subsequently posted the statement on Facebook.

#### III. 3 Oct Visit from Mr Singh

27. On 3 Oct, Mr Singh met Ms Khan at her house. This was a day before the Parliament sitting on 4 Oct.

- 28. Ms Khan had previously told the COP that during this visit, Mr Singh told her that if she kept to her existing narrative on the untruths which she had said on 3 Aug, there would be no judgement by him (Mr Singh).
  - a. Ms Khan understood, from what Mr Singh said, that Mr Singh was advising her to continue to lie, should the matter come up the next day (4 Oct) during the Parliamentary session.
- 29. When he appeared before the COP, Mr Singh disagreed with Ms Khan's account (above) of his 3 Oct visit. According to Mr Singh, he told Ms Khan that it was entirely possible that someone might ask her about her 3 Aug anecdote, in Parliament the next day. He said that "if the issue came up", Ms Khan had "to take responsibility and ownership of the issue", and if she did so, he "will not judge" her.
- 30. Ms Khan disagreed with Mr Singh's account. She said this was untrue. Mr Singh never said these words ("take ownership and responsibility") to her (Ms Khan). Nor did he tell her to clarify the lie in Parliament.
- 31. Ms Khan stood by what she told the COP previously (see above) regarding her conversation with Mr Singh on 3 Oct. She said that Mr Singh told her, during his visit, that if the matter was brought up again in Parliament, there would be no judgement from him, if Ms Khan were to stick to the position she took on 3 Aug.
- 32. She confirmed that after Mr Singh left her house, there was no further discussion on how she might approach the issue if it came up.
- 33. Mr Singh had also claimed that Ms Khan lied, because she said that only the two of them (himself and Ms Khan) were present during this discussion, when other members of the family were at home. When asked about this today, Ms Khan maintained her earlier evidence, and clarified that whilst other family members were at home on 3 Oct, her conversation with Mr Singh was a private one (just between the two of them).

#### IV. 4 Oct Parliament sitting

- 34. During the 4 Oct Parliament sitting, the Minister for Home Affairs had given a short Ministerial Statement about Ms Khan's anecdote, and sought clarification from Ms Khan.
- 35. Whilst Minister Shanmugam was delivering his Ministerial Statement, Ms Khan had sent Mr Singh a message, asking: "What should I do, Pritam?". She asked this question because she was unsure of what to do.
- 36. Ms Khan was shown a video clip of her exchange with Minister Shanmugam, which showed her looking at her phone at various points in the exchange. Ms Khan said that she had been waiting for Mr Singh to respond to her message, to give her guidance about what she should do. As Mr Singh did not reply her, she answered Minister Shanmugam in accordance with their (Mr Singh and Ms Khan's) discussion on 3 Oct (i.e. that if she continued the narrative, she will not be judged).
- 37. Ms Khan subsequently met Ms Lim in the LO office in the afternoon that day. It was a short meeting. Ms Khan agreed that Ms Lim met her for two reasons: one, to ascertain

her emotional state; and two, to give her (Ms Lim's) view that Ms Khan should seek legal advice. Ms Khan confirmed that she did get legal advice thereafter. Ms Khan also confirmed that Ms Lim did not ask why she (Ms Khan) repeated the untruth, or that she should clarify the lie during the sitting the next day (5 Oct).

- 38. Later that night, sometime past 11 pm, Ms Khan had met Mr Singh and Ms Lim in the LO office.
- 39. Ms Khan was shown Mr Singh's evidence, that she had been in a daze, and had said, "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth."
- 40. Ms Khan agreed that she said, "Perhaps there is another way. That is, to tell the truth". She said that she felt quite stressed but had not been in a daze when she said those words. Ms Khan said that she had meant to suggest that perhaps she should clarify and tell the truth, rather than continue the narrative of 3 Aug (as Mr Singh had asked her to do).
- 41. Ms Khan also agreed with Ms Lim's account, that Mr Singh responded by asking her (Ms Khan) if she hadn't already chosen a path. Ms Khan was shocked by Mr Singh's response because she had spoken to Mr Singh on 3 Oct, and there was no intention or directive from him to tell the truth at that time.
- **42.** Ms Khan agreed that if the plan was that she should clarify the lie in Parliament, there would have been steps taken in preparation for the same (as was done in the period leading up to her personal explanation on 1 Nov).

# V. 29 Nov Disciplinary Panel ("DP") Meeting

43. Ms Khan was also shown the notes which Ms Lim had taken, during the DP interview with Ms Khan on 29 Nov. These notes set out an exchange, between Mr Singh and Ms Khan:

[Taken from Ms Lim's handwritten notes of the DP interview on 29 Nov]

PS: Before Oct session, I met you + I told you it was your call.

Did need to tell the truth in Parl occur to you?

*RK*: Yes but consumed with guilt + own experience.

Thought it wouldn't come up.

PS: Can't lie right?

RK: Yes.

44. Ms Khan confirmed that Ms Lim's notes accurately reflected what Mr Singh had said to her (Ms Khan) during the DP interview on 29 Nov. Ms Khan agreed that the words that had been used on 29 Nov ("it was your call") suggested that it was Ms Khan's choice to make. Ms Khan reiterated that on 3 Oct, Mr Singh had not presented her with a choice; he told Ms Khan that if she continued the narrative, he will not judge her. (See above).

- 45. Ms Khan clarified that she mentioned to the DP that she may have symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). When she was asked what symptoms they were, she said one of the symptoms was dissociation. But Ms Khan said she had never said that this was something that she was going through.
- 46. When asked what her lawyers had advised her on the issue of responding to the request from the police for information or interview, she said that her lawyers had shared with her that any clarifications to be made should be done in Parliament but that she should still tell the police of her intentions.