



MALAYSIA

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MALAYA

**ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
CHINESE LANGUAGE SOCIETY**

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CONTENTS

	Para. Nos.
FOREWORD BY THE HON'BLE THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS	
INTRODUCTION	1-3
DECLARED FUNCTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF UMCLS ...	4-6
CULTURE AS A TOOL	7-10
THE FIRST MOVE	11-13
THE TAKE OVER	14-17
FORMATION OF THE ANCILLIARY BODIES:	
Dramatic Study Sub-Committee	18
Cultural Exchange Preparatory Committee	19
THE PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE	20
THROUGH LITERATURE	21-22
The "Berita"	23
The "University Literature"	24-34
The "Hsueh Hsih"	35-38
The "Torch"	39-40
The "New Shoot"	41-45
THROUGH DRAMATIC ACTIVITY	46-47
First Concert	48
"Spring Comes From The Human World"	49-52
"Song of Life"	53-55
"1973 Spring Comes From The Human World"	56-59
THROUGH OTHER ACTIVITIES	60
Social Gatherings	61-63
Greeting Cards	64
Song Books and Records	65-67
Picnics	68-69

	Para. Nos.
GROWING INFLUENCE ...	70-72
THE CPM LINKS ...	73-80
THE SPRING THUNDER GRAND AMALGAMATED PER- FORMANCES ...	81-89
EXPLOITATION OF THE TASEK UTARA ISSUE ...	90-99
LATEST RECOVERIES ...	100
CONCLUSION ...	101-106
ABBREVIATIONS	
APPENDIX "A"	
APPENDIX "B"	
APPENDIX "C"	
APPENDIX "D"	

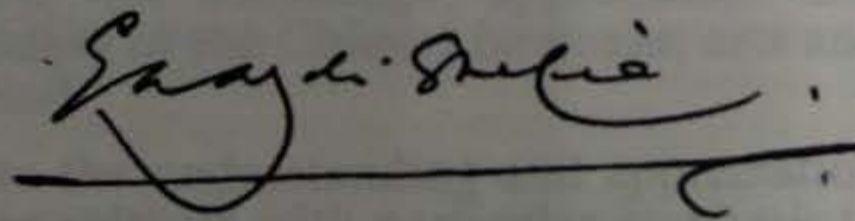
FOREWORD

Malaysia possesses a unique heritage in that her multi-racial population represents a rare mixture of diverse cultures, each rich in its own right in the traditional art and literature.

2. But evil forces are now at work that are bent on converting the country's cultural fabric into a vehicle for the dissemination of subversive propaganda. Attempts are being made by the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) to use culture as a platform for preaching so-called "class struggle" in order to secure the overthrow of the existing social order and its replacement with one as espoused by the CPM.

3. Recent developments have shown that the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society (UMCLS) has been specifically chosen to serve as a spearhead in the propaganda offensive that has been launched by the CPM in furtherance of its "revolutionary" objective. There is ample evidence to show that subversive elements have already gained control of the Society and are using it under the guise of culture to promote subversive activities on a national scale exclusively in support of the CPM. In pursuit of this aim, these subversive elements also incited student unrest and campus violence in the various institutions of higher learning in protest against the Government for its alleged incompetence to eradicate social injustices.

4. The people must be told of this CPM threat that has reared its sinister head on the national scene under the guise of promoting "healthy" cultural activities. The Government has in the meantime already taken the necessary steps to eradicate this CPM design and those knowingly involved shall assuredly bear the full consequences of their subversive actions.



M. GHAZALI BIN SHAFIE,
Menteri Hal Ehwal Dalam Negeri

19th December, 1974.

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF MALAYA
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LANGUAGE SOCIETY**

INTRODUCTION

Attempts to subvert the youth of this country have been frequently manifest ever since communism emerged onto the local scene as an alien ideology and eventually took permanent form in the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) over four decades ago.

2. Students in schools using the Chinese language as the medium of instruction became the principal targets of such CPM attention and this has remained basically the case until today. However, with the introduction of higher education in this country, CPM attention in this area has spread to a significant extent to the institutions of higher learning.

3. Recent developments have shown that the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society (UMCLS) has been singled out for penetration by the CPM for conversion into a propaganda vehicle to spearhead the promotion of subversive activities.

DECLARED FUNCTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF UMCLS

4. The UMCLS was established in 1962 under the University of Malaya Act, 1961 with the following objectives as tabulated in its Constitution:

- “(a) to encourage, promote and assist the learning of the Chinese language;
- (b) to promote the knowledge, appreciation and understanding of the Chinese language, arts and culture; and
- (c) to promote the understanding and appreciation of all other cultures with particular emphasis to the cultures represented in ‘Malaya’.”

The membership of the Society is open to students of all races but it has little appeal to those who are not of Chinese origin.

5. The Society's Constitution provides for an 11-man Executive Committee elected annually by its members to run its affairs. Financially, it depends largely upon the support of the University of Malaya Students Union (UMSU) to which it is affiliated, and donations from well-wishers as well as the proceeds from shows or from the sale of its publications to subsidise its activities.

6. Outwardly nothing seems to have changed in the nature of the Society's activities in relation to its declared objectives. However, beneath the surface, subversive forces are at work to harness the Society's resources to the CPM propaganda machine, as will be apparent from the developments traced in this Paper.

CULTURE AS A TOOL

7. The CPM only values the usefulness of culture as a political tool and not for its intrinsic worth as a human heritage. The Party has attempted to moralise its stand on this matter by drawing on the utterances of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), in a speech given by him at a CCP "Forum of Revolutionary Art and Literature" held at Yen-an in May 1942:

"In the world of today all culture, literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake or being independent of politics they are as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine"

8. This is clearly a case of the CPM using the CCP leader's sayings in its attempt to create a "revolutionary" climate in this country. The Party had, in an underground work directive issued in June 1967, laid down the guiding principle by which culture was to be utilised as a vehicle to advance its "revolutionary" aims. It stated:

"The leftwing progressive parties, trade unions and revolutionary masses organizations must wholeheartedly expand the revolutionary literary and art movement, Spare no efforts in performing well the work relating to students and *progressive* intellectuals, cultivate and reform them, assist them to combine with workers and peasants, . . ."

9. The student involvement in the CPM's subversive scheme of things was spelt out in another Party directive issued in June 1969 which states:

"The thought of the young students is being gradually revolutionised. Intensify student work in the middle schools and universities of various races help them to accept the revolutionary truth and to join forces with the workers

and peasants, bring them in line with the fulfilment of the revolution and to participate in the struggle against the enemy and embark on the road of the revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party”.

10. Since then, the student role in this country has become more specific. It is to provide the leadership through the UMCLS in waging a concerted propaganda offensive in order to undermine the country's existing social order.

THE FIRST MOVE

11. In mid 1970 a pro-CPM student of the University of Malaya penetrated into the Society and contrived his election to the important post of Publications Secretary of the Society. The selection of this particular post as the first target for penetration was obviously governed by the fact that it would provide the access so necessary for changing the legitimate character of the Society's publications into that of CPM propaganda mouthpieces.

12. In early March 1971 a small clandestine group of students within the University of Malaya which called itself the “Young Socialists” led by the pro-CPM student mentioned in the preceding paragraph planned to capture control of the UMCLS. The plan called for members of this underground organisation to penetrate the Society and manoeuvre themselves into the key positions within it through vote manipulation at election time.

13. Their intention was to further the cause of CPM through the media of literature, art and culture, and this was to be done by converting the Society's publications and other cultural facilities into ideological propaganda platforms. It was their view that the most important task at this period for the CPM was the political subversion of the people in order to range them on the side of the CPM, and that unless and until this mass conditioning of the public mind had been achieved, it would be premature to think in terms of “armed struggle” at this juncture.

THE TAKE-OVER

14. In June 1971, this underground group of pro-CPM students succeeded in gaining control of the UMCLS Executive Committee as planned, with its leader moving

into the chair as President of the Society. This development marked the incipience of CPM influence within the UMCLS.

15. The only setback at this juncture was that the post of publications Secretary vacated by the newly elected President was filled by a student who was not a member of the underground group. Her term of office was, however, shortlived and she resigned in disgust. Her place was taken over by a member of the group as a result of a well-planned smear campaign launched against her by the group in October 1971, in which she was made out to be a traitor to the cause of Chinese "culture".

16. After her resignation, she issued an open letter dated 22nd November, 1971 to vindicate herself, which read:

"I have sufficient evidence to prove that this incident was well planned before hand

As a matter of fact, there are ideological differences among ourselves I feel that literature should reflect the social facts which include the phenomenon of various classes of the society whereas those 'gentlemen' felt that literature should only reflect the livelihood of the poor masses, the peasants and the working class, and the miserable life in the society

At the present moment, the chairman and vice-chairman of the Society have gathered a group of 'yes-men' to take over the control of the Executive Committee which is tantamount to taking over control of the whole Chinese Language Society. Those who have different opinions or fail to please them will be rejected with the support of those 'yes-men' to eliminate those with different views and seize the Publication Secretary's post, he (referring to the aforementioned pro-CPM leader of the UMCLS) is attempting to turn the 'University Literature' into a publication similar to certain leftist magazines in, which will only serve those people who act as the tools of class struggle.

The future of 'University Literature' is in danger. Will it be still-born or will it become a tool full of slogans?"

(Note: The "University Literature" is a regular UMCLS publication.)

17. The fears expressed by the ousted Publications Secretary were confirmed by the material appearing in UMCLS publications issued after October 1971.

FORMATION OF THE ANCILLIARY BODIES

Dramatic Study Sub-Committee

18. As the first step to putting their plan to work of converting the UMCLS into a tool for subversion, the underground group set up a so-called Dramatic Study Sub-Committee (DSSC) in June 1971. Its task was to step up the Society's activities within and outside the University with the ostensible aim of generating anti-yellow culture sentiment amongst students and the public alike. The real object however was to dramatise social conditions in this country in a manner calculated to portray the Government as oppressors and exploiters of the people.

Cultural Exchange Preparatory Committee

19. The group's next move was to form the so-called Cultural Exchange Preparatory Committee (CEPC) in February, 1972 that was, officially, to be responsible for administration and training those chosen to participate in the Society's concerts. Unofficially, however, the Committee had a more important task to fulfil for the underground group, and this was the use of its functions as cover for the conduct of ideological indoctrination activities.

THE PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE

20. With the establishment of the Dramatic Study Sub-Committee and the Cultural Exchange Preparatory Committee, the stage was set for the launching of a propaganda offensive which was designed to take place simultaneously in the two fields of literature and drama. The developments that have been taking place in these two spheres of activity are proof of what this pro-CPM group within the UMCLS has set out to achieve for the advancement of CPM under the guise of culture.

THROUGH LITERATURE

21. The UMCLS has produced numerous publications to promote its activities, the more noteworthy ones being as follows:

- (a) The "Berita" which is the Society's newsletter that is issued at irregular intervals throughout the year and is confined to the University campus in circulation;

(b) The "Majallah Pantai", a yearly issue with Governmental approval to circulate outside the University campus;

(c) The "University Literature", a publication requiring Governmental approval as its circulation extended outside the University campus;

(d) The "Hsueh Hsih", a publication inaugurated in October, 1972 and intended for campus circulation only;

(e) The "Torch", published in June 1974 and meant for internal circulation only;

(f) The "New Shoot", a publication that originated in August 1974 and ostensibly intended for circulation within the campus only.

22. With the exception of the "Majallah Pantai", the other publications have become tools in the hands of the pro-CPM group for the dissemination of subversive propaganda, and the deceptive manner in which they have been so utilised is illustrated in the examples given below.

The "Berita"

23. In a welcoming message carried in its official newsletter "Berita" dated 25th May, 1972 addressed to new students in the University of Malaya, the UMCLS, or rather the pro-CPM group in control urged them to "identify themselves with the broad masses of society and work closely for the creation of a beautiful spring time". (Note: Since 1946 it has been a known CPM practice in this country to use the word "spring" to refer to either communism or the CPM).

The "University Literature"

24. The "University Literature" was by far the publication most extensively used by the pro-CPM group within the UMCLS for the dissemination of subversive propaganda. Volume III of the publication produced in May 1972, the first to come out after the post of Publications Secretary was taken over by a member of the group, carried articles, short stories and poems aimed at attacking the present democratic system in the country and advocating by inference its replacement with one backed by CPM.

25. The short stories projected the theme of the rich exploiting the poor, whilst the articles took the form of character sketches of individuals held up as examples of the ideal "revolutionary". Samples of these writings are given below:

(a) "**A Great Internationalist**"— a brief account of the so-called supreme contribution made by Dr. Norman Bethune, a Canadian Communist Party member, to the cause of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), thus implying that communism transcended national and racial barriers;

(b) "**Madam Zuyder Jean**"—an article describing her as a pioneer of the women's liberation movement and promoter of the "March 8" International Women's Day, which is always celebrated by the CPM.

26. On 24th November, 1972, 12,000 copies of Volume IV of the "University Literature" went on sale. It contained twenty-four articles aimed at instigating anti-Government sentiments and hatred of the existing social order in this country.

27. Five of the articles were devoted to praising Lu Shun as one of China's greatest "revolutionary" writers who was said to have studied dialectical and historical materialism and thus reportedly understood class struggle. He was therefore held up as an example for all literary "revolutionaries" to follow. (Note: Lu Shun was referred to by Chairman Mao Tse-tung as symbolic of the "revolutionary" aspirations of the Chinese masses).

28. It was therefore no coincidence that in November 1972, the clandestine radio station Suara Revolusi Malaya which acted as the organ of the CPM broadcast the full text of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's speeches at the Yen-an Forum in 1942. The object was to draw attention to the importance of the literary and cultural fields as a means of advancing the CPM's so-called "revolutionary" objectives, thus underlining the prominent role being played by the CPM-controlled UMCLS in satisfying this need.

29. Volume IV of the publication also contained a poem describing how the Malayan Peoples Anti-Japanese Army defeated the Japanese during the Pacific War. But, it claimed, the people were robbed of the fruits of their victory by the "rulers" thus compelling

the "oppressed masses" to return to the jungle once again in order to wage war against them. The intention here was obviously to justify the CPM's resort to "armed struggle" in its quest for political power, notwithstanding the fact that whatever justification, if any, that previously existed for such a course of action lapsed completely with the refusal of the CPM to realise peace at the Baling Talks in 1955 and even more so when Malaya gained independence in 1957.

30. On 9th August, 1973, 12,000 copies of Volume V of the "University Literature" went on sale without the required official permit having been first obtained from the appropriate licensing authority. Virtually the entire issue was devoted in content to highlighting the so-called evils of a capitalist society and the need by inference for reform on the CPM's pattern in this country.

31. The issue carried illustrations depicting scenes of Chinese fishermen battling the elements, and of youths dressed in clothes typical of those worn by the CCP members in China marching defiantly despite the threat of arrest, thus depicting an imagery that adversity and hardship should not deter the people from participation in the "revolutionary" struggle.

32. The short stories contained in this issue revolved around the familiar theme of capitalist or landlord persecution of the workers and peasantry, thus inciting the Malaysian "masses" to unite and fight for their rights and to reform society.

33. Lu Shun featured again in this issue as a great visionary whose literary works reflected the hope that he cherished of a "Socialist China" that had now become a reality.

34. There was also an article claiming that people disillusioned with the social and moral decay of the West were seeking to learn from the new life style of the Chinese people, and that it was symbolic of the growing strength and popular appeal of the "socialist" world vis-a-vis the so-called decaying capitalist system.

The "Hsueh Hsih"

35. The "Hsueh Hsih" is in fact the brainchild of the pro-CPM group within the UMCLS. These elements started self-study or "Hsueh Hsih" sessions in December

1971 within the University campus for the purpose of enriching their ideological knowledge through group study of and discussions or subversive literature.

36. The "Hsueh Hsih" was inaugurated in October 1972 by the pro-CPM group as an official publication of the UMCLS, but right from the first issue, it was used as a means of ideological dissemination amongst its readers. An article entitled "Regularity and Truth" which appeared in the second issue, dwelt on the fundamental knowledge of philosophy as based on the principle of dialectical materialism.

37. The third issue of "Hsueh Hsih" that came out in September 1973 carried articles intended to expose the so-called unreasonable social system in this country, and called for its eradication as the only way "for the toiling masses to free themselves".

38. Four other issues of the publication that followed also contained similar subversive propaganda urging in oblique language for the replacement of the present social system in this country with one as advocated by the CPM.

The "Torch"

39. The "Torch" made its first appearance in late June 1974 and revealed by its contents the subversive purpose it was intended to serve. In an article on the coup that overthrew President Allende of Chile, the author attempted to prove that socialism could not be achieved through parliamentary democracy and that the only road to successful social reform lay in "armed struggle".

40. Another article urged the students to take part in what it termed "social" activities outside the campus in order to gain so-called experience in collective work and "how to arouse and organise their fellow students".

The "New Shoot"

41. The maiden issue of the "New Shoot" came out in early August 1974 and the subversive intent of this publication was immediately evident in the blatantly pro-CPM bias reflected in several articles carried by the publication.

42. The introductory article entitled "New Shoot" projected the theme that those who persevered in the "revolutionary struggle" with the correct objective and

proper guideline in mind would not be discouraged by adversity although casualties and sacrifices were inevitable. The relevant portion of the article ran as follows:

"There are dangers everywhere and rainstorms may occur any moment. If the heroes in our livelihood were to grasp the correct objective and find the proper guide, then they would never waver even amidst a mightier rainstorm. However, in a fierce struggle, losses and sacrifices cannot be avoided. As long as the work is penetrating, it would resemble seed sown in the soil which will sprout when the rain stops and the wind ceases, and grow more vigorously."

43. The underlying theme in this article had apparently been taken from a book entitled "Quotations for Chairman Mao Tse-tung".

44. Another article urged university students to engage in similar activity locally in order to create a new social order in this country obviously on the line espoused by the CPM. The article reads:

"Students who have awakened must be united and must get rid of the chain on them. They must oppose all unreasonable measures and intervene in all social injustices. This is the only glorious road in our university livelihood the creation of a new society should be the lofty aim of livelihood of all students"

"University livelihood will be of significance only when it has the aim of marching forward together with the people"

45. Yet another article advocated the development and exploitation of music as a means of preaching "revolution" to the people. It claimed:

"At this moment, people's literary art here is being suppressed and destroyed Thus it is impossible to have healthy music to penetrate deeply into the masses. This is a test for the cultural workers Its promotion depends mainly on the subjective effort of the cultural workers who have to overcome certain objective difficulties and then only can they realise the aim of bringing literary art back to the people within a definite sphere. Ambitious music workers should turn to development of people's music, enhance the people's ability to appreciate music, and make full use of effective forms of music to encourage the broad mass of people to march forward"

THROUGH DRAMATIC ACTIVITY

46. It is however through the field of dramatic activity that the pro-CPM elements within the UMCLS have made their greatest impact on part of the Chinese segment of the population. Numerous public concerts have been organised by them since September 1971 for this purpose, and they have evidently become the

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mainstay of the current propaganda offensive being spearheaded by this underground student group within the UMCLS, on account of the favourable reactions that the concerts have evoked among some sections of the community who were of Chinese origin.

47. The concerts were all designed to project a common underlying theme—that of opposition to the existing social order in this country with the view to replacing it with the one promoted by the CPM.

First Concert

48. The first concert was held on 18th September, 1971 during which only two songs with pro-CPM themes were sung. The intention was apparently to test how officialdom would react, before something more ambitious was planned.

“Spring Comes From the Human World”

49. In March 1972, after months of intensive preparation, the UMCLS applied through its Cultural Exchange Preparatory Committee to the authorities for a licence to stage an elaborate public concert innocuously entitled “Spring Comes From the Human World” from 30th April to 5th May, 1972 at the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur. Eleven outside Chinese cultural organisations also took part.

50. Apart from the fact that fifteen items listed in the concert programme were found to be pro-CPM in theme and had to be expunged before a licence was issued, an article carrying excerpts of Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s speeches at the 1942 Yen’an Forum on Revolutionary Art and Literature was also included.

51. Another passage in the article was a popular slogan of the Red Guard movement in China during the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution”.

52. The musical items also featured songs or tunes that reflected a strong pro-CPM bias. The tune for one was in fact lifted from a popular CCP song in China entitled “We March On The Broad Road”.

“Song of Life”

53. In July 1972, the UMCLS applied for a licence to stage another public concert entitled “Song of Life” at the Dewan Tunku Canselor, University of Malaya on 22nd and 23rd of the same month. Three outside cultural organisations were included as the intending participants.

54. As in the case of the previous concert, security vetting of the programme led to the detection of sixteen items considered undesirable from the security point of view, which had to be deleted before a licence was issued. They included songs, dances and poems that reflected pro-CPM themes with either a local or a CCP background.

55. However, despite the measures taken by the licensing authorities to prevent undesirable items being inserted into the concert programme, several musical numbers originating in tune from proscribed songs were subsequently found to have been included under innocuous titles in order to evade detention. The concert eventually went on a tour of the southern States of the Peninsula from 31st July to 11th August 1972, and the organisers repeatedly resorted to the same tactic of changing the titles of or re-wording the material in questionable items on the programme in order to avoid deletion by the licensing authorities in each State.

"1973 Spring Comes From the Human World"

56. In March 1973, apparently flushed with the success of their previous efforts, the pro-CPM elements within the UMCLS applied for a licence to stage another concert entitled "1973 Spring Comes From The Human World" at the Dewan Tunku Canselor, University of Malaya from 9th April to 15th April, 1973. It was an even more ambitious affair involving participation by sixteen outside cultural organisations.

57. The same tactic of resorting to the use of innocuous titles for questionable items on the programme in order to mislead the licensing authorities was evident. Out of 184 items submitted for security vetting, 75 were found to have been either proscribed, declared prejudicial or were so blatantly pro-CPM that they had to be deleted from the original programme before a licence could be granted.

58. One instrumental number taken off the programme was especially illustrative of the kind of pro-CPM propaganda that was being fed to the audiences of these concerts. It was entitled "The Sun In My Heart" and it originated from a song "Chairman Mao Is The Sun In My Heart" which had also been broadcast by the clandestine radio station Suara Revolusi Malaya.

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59. On 22nd April, 1973, the concert went on a "North Malaya Cultural Exchange Tour" which eventually ended on 10th May, 1973. Again, the licensing authorities in each of the States visited had to delete some twenty to thirty items in every instance on security grounds from the concert programmes submitted by the concert organisers, before the licences could be issued.

THROUGH OTHER ACTIVITIES

60. Although literature and stage performances have been the main avenues through which the pro-CPM group within the UMCLS have been disseminating CPM propaganda, other means wherever opportune have also been exploited by them for this purpose.

Social Gatherings

61. At its traditional annual dinner party held in mid-October 1971 to mark the closing stage of the Society's activities for the year, its pro-CPM President used one of the quotations from Mao Tse-tung in slightly modified form in his speech to emphasise the need for the Society's members "to be resolute and surmount every difficulty in order to win success". Pro-CPM songs were also sung including one with a pro-CCP theme. The songs were repeated at another social gathering of UMCLS members held in the University of Malaya campus on 16th October 1971.

62. On 11th September, 1973, the Society celebrated the Moon Cake Festival with a get-together at the University of Malaya campus. Two prejudicial songs were sung and the music from another prejudicial song was played. Seven other pro-CPM songs were also sung.

63. On 13th September, 1974, the Society staged a Chinese instrumental music concert in the University campus. Out of seventeen instrumental numbers that were played for the occasion, three were found to be officially listed as prejudicial to security, whilst five others were pro-CCP in themes.

Greeting Cards

64. In December 1971, the UMCLS produced about 29,000 Chinese New Year greeting cards for sale to the public. There were six different types, but none of them could be said to convey the traditional Chinese New Year greetings either in text or pictorial illustration.

Instead, they carried pictures designed to typify the march of progress in China, underlined by slogans urging the recipients by inference to emulate the CCP example.

Song Books and Records

65. In December 1972, the UMCLS published 12,000 copies of a song book entitled "Song of Life" for open sale. It was found to contain fifteen songs that had been officially declared prejudicial to security and seventeen others that were pro-CPM in themes.

66. In August 1973, the Society produced 4,000 copies of a Chinese gramophone record entitled "Sure To Make Life Change" for open sale. It contained a song entitled "Hsueh Hsih" that had been declared prejudicial to security.

67. In August 1974, the UMCLS published a song book entitled "Selected Songs of Ours". It contained twenty songs, nine of which had been officially declared prejudicial on security grounds. The remaining eleven songs were also found to be pro-CPM in themes.

Picnics

68. On 3rd September, 1972, the UMCLS organised a picnic to Templer Park during which numerous pro-CPM songs were sung by the participants.

69. On 24th June, 1973, the Society organised another picnic to Templer Park where the singing of pro-CPM songs again took place.

GROWING INFLUENCE

70. The UMCLS has already achieved a significant impact outside the University campus among Chinese-oriented student organisations and cultural bodies. The Chinese language societies of a number of secondary schools and many Chinese cultural organisations in the Peninsula have sought guidance from the Society in the conduct of their cultural activities.

71. Visiting cultural groups representative of student and other outside organisations from various States have frequently made it a point to call on the Society's officials at the University campus for discussions and advice on how they could organise and stage their own concerts along the same lines as those of the UMCLS.

72. The Society's publications are increasing their circulation among Chinese cultural organisations. More of these organisations are unwittingly being influenced into subscribing to the "revolution" preached by the pro-CPM group within the UMCLS under the guise of advancing the "healthy growth" of Chinese literature and culture.

THE CPM LINKS

73. On 14th October, 1973, Security Forces killed an armed and uniformed Communist Terrorist (CT) near Tanah Hitam Village in Perak. Among the documents recovered from the dead CT was a work report **evidently written by a senior Communist underground cadre to his superior, which states:

"Dear Comrade Lam Yim (Comrade No. 1*)

The following is a report on work for your perusal:

Mr. M (Personality No. 1*) of the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society who was formerly contacted by Comrade Heong Kwan (Comrade No. 2*) is now being contacted by Comrade Tsun (Comrade No. 3*) to establish a nucleus leadership for the development of the Student Movement Judging by the present conditions there, the time is now ripe for the establishment of such a nucleus leadership for the formation of an underground student organisation that will spearhead the promotion of the Student Movement There will be one or two important responsible persons who will take a few years to graduate which offers us the opportunity. Mr. M (Personality No. 1*) has been working on this. He is quite well-known as an author and has many progressive friends for the interest of the revolution we have made the following arrangements for him to carry out his work:

(a) he is to introduce certain important cadres in the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society to Tsun (Comrade No. 3*) for the purpose of effective direct contact so that they can be placed under the proper control of the Organisation (i.e. the CPM)"

74. Subsequent Police investigations revealed that the person referred to as Mr. M (Personality No. 1*) received his instructions from a leading member of a

** See Appendix A.

- * Comrade No. (1) is a ranking Communist Terrorist (CT) still at large.
- * Personality No. (1) has since been identified as Tham Ah Mok *alias* Hung Lang, arrested under Section 73 (1) of the Internal Security Act (I.S.A.), 1960 at Kuala Lumpur on 22nd June, 1974 and now detained under Section 8 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960.
- * Comrade No. (2) is a ranking cadre of the Malayan National Liberation Front (MNLF), who is still at large.
- * Comrade No. (3) has since been identified as Chiang Toon, arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960 at Pulau Gadong, Malacca, on 18th July, 1974 and now detained under Section 8 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960.

CPM-controlled underground organisation known as the Malayan National Liberation Front (MNLF) to carry out the tasks described above, especially in regard to the cultivation and eventual recruitment of suitable UMCLS members into the MNLF. A member of the MNLF arrested recently in Selangor had this to say of the role he played in manipulating the activities of the UMCLS to CPM advantage:

"In May 1972, I became a member of a secret nucleus cell consisting of 8 members including myself within the UMCLS The cell engineered and manoeuvred the election of its members to the UMCLS Executive Committee. On all important matters affecting the UMCLS, the nucleus cell would meet and formulate decisions to be adopted by the UMCLS Executive Committee."

75. Mr. M (Personality No. 1*) of the UMCLS is again mentioned in another document** which was recovered from terrorists killed in Tanah Hitam area of Perak on 19 April 1974. The document states:

"Hung Lang (Personality No. 1*) is an ordinary member of the Chinese Language Society He is a close friend of the Chairman of the Chinese Language Society and they have a common ideology His contact is comrade Chun Yat (Comrade No. 4*) who is a direct contact of Ming Muk (Personality No. 2*). They are close friends When the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society was first formed, it was controlled by literary rogues and 'professional' students (student spies). After they had wrested control of the Society from these students, they began to make it a literary body full of national spirit. Hung Lang (Personality No. 1*) said that he would make the Society a part of the organisation to serve the cause of the Party. He said that the purpose of their show was to get the Society placed in a position in the United Cultural Front to serve the cause of struggle."

76. The show mentioned in the above document refers to the one entitled "Spring Comes From The Human World" which has been described in detail in paras 49 to 52.

* Personality No. (1) has since been identified as Tham Ah Mok *alias* Hung Lang, arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960 at Kuala Lumpur on 22nd June, 1974 and now detained under Section 8 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960.

** See Appendix B.

* Comrade No. (4) has since been identified and now in hiding.

* Personality No. (2) has since been identified and now in hiding.

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77. MNLF publications have been circulating among members of the pro-CPM group within the UMCLS for ideological indoctrination purposes. An MNLF member arrested recently revealed thus:

"Sometime in November 73, Cheong Lin (Personality No. 3*) handed to me and Ng Guan Leong (Personality No. 4*), a former engineering student of the University of Malaya a copy each of the Prairie Fire. Cheong Lin (Personality No. 3*) warned us that the publication was banned because of its revolutionary contents, and therefore should be given security treatment. The Prairie Fire went on circulation to XXX (Personality No. 5*) an Executive Committee member of the UMCLS for 1973/74, and to XXX (Personality No. 6*), Vice-President of the UMCLS for 1973/74, then to XXX (Personality No. 7*), the President of the UMCLS in 1973/74 and eventually into the safekeeping of Quah Lee Chee (F) (Personality No. 8*), the Publication Secretary of the UMCLS for 1973/74 At the time when Cheong Lin (Personality No. 3*) handed me the Prairie Fire, I noticed that he was having about 20 copies of the publication"

78. The "Prairie Fire" is a leading publication of the MNLF. Most of the material in it is culled from the broadcast of the clandestine radio station Suara Revolusi Malaya.

79. On 26th January, 1974, the Security Forces killed another CT in the Behrang area of Slim River in Perak. Another document** was recovered which was in the form of a report on the progress made in underground activities between January 1970 and February 1973 in Selangor. It states:

" The growth of underground organisations all over the place is one of the unique features in this State. Where making use of the open organisations is concerned, there has been some progress in the last two years. Of course, this task is still based on the principle of the underground controlling the open. The Sungei Way Youth Club is entirely controlled by us and our cadres are operating in the Kheng Chew Association, Jing Song Arts Research

* Personality No. (3) was arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960 on 13th March, 1974 at Serdang Bahru, Selangor and has since been released on the Restrictive Order under Section 8 (5) of the I.S.A., 1960.

* Personality No. (4) was arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960 on 25th April, 1974, at Petaling Jaya, Selangor and has since been released on the Restrictive Order under Section 8 (5) of the I.S.A., 1960.

* Personality No. (5) has since been identified.

* Personality No. (6) has since been identified.

* Personality No. (7) has since been identified.

* Personality No. (8) was arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960 on 14th December, 1974 at Kuala Lumpur and now detained under Section 8 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960.

** See Appendix "C".

Society, a few old boys' associations and the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society After the Hong Kong Silver Star Troupe had performed in this country in 1971, the cultural bodies in this State, especially those in Kuala Lumpur District, were stimulated. The enthusiasm for cultural activities was at its height. The first move was by the Chinese Language Society in the University of Malaya which organised the concert known as: Spring Comes From The Human World. Following that, other cultural bodies also staged similar grand performances."

80. There can therefore be no doubt from the revelations of this captured document that the pro-CPM group within the UMCLS took the cue from the example set by the Hong Kong Silver Star Troupe in the use of so-called Chinese culture for the advancement of CPM objectives.

THE SPRING THUNDER GRAND AMALGAMATED PERFORMANCES

81. The same captured document** mentioned above went on to say:

" What is more, at present work is being carried out to jointly stage a grand performance A joint committee will lead the various cultural bodies to develop their activities Many orthodox youths and a certain group of left-wing persons who in the past had participated in open activities were left wondering for a long period therefore many persons of this category have joined the above-stated cultural bodies to resume their activities These cultural bodies basically have replaced the open left-wing of the past. What is not the same is that these cultural bodies have all made use of certain democratic and 'influential' persons as some of their leaders. The activities of open cultural bodies are a good thing. As long as we are capable enough to grasp hold of the correct plan and techniques, it is fully possible to make use of the cultural bodies to serve the revolution."

82. The "grand concert" mentioned in the document refers to a mammoth stage production entitled "The Spring Thunder Grand Amalgamated Cultural Performances" that was intended to be held in Kuala Lumpur in May 1974. The "joint committee" organising this show refers to the "Spring Thunder Grand Amalgamated Cultural Performances Preparatory Committee" formed in June 1973 by representatives of 7 cultural organisations in Selangor, and it was planned that about 40 cultural organisations in the Peninsula under the leadership of the UMCLS would participate in the proposed concert.

** See Appendix "C".

83. The declared objects of the concert as claimed in the pamphlets issued by the Society were to promote "national" culture, oppose "yellow" culture, strengthen "inter-communal" cultural unity and also to raise funds for the development of private Chinese secondary schools in the country. The Society, however, specifically avoided mention of its intention to raise funds for the development of private Chinese secondary schools in its applications for a licence to stage the concert. The real aims of the Society were later exposed by the contents of the captured document in question, and any corroboration needed has been supplied in the statement of a leading MNLF member arrested recently in Kuala Lumpur, who admitted:

"Sometime in September 73, I called at the house of my directing figure Pok Koo (Personality No. 9*) During this meeting I was told by Pok Koo (Personality No. 9*) that his immediate task as entrusted by the Organisation was to unify all the cultural and recreational organisations throughout Malaya in conformity with CPM United Front policy. Pok Koo (Personality No. 9*) also disclosed to me that the Organisation had formed a secret working cell to take charge of cultural and recreational work amongst the cultural and recreation organisations in Malaya

At the above same meeting, I was briefed by Pok Koo (Personality No. 9*) to maintain closer contact with the following leading members of the Preparatory Committee of the Spring Thunder Grand Amalgamated Performances for guidance and assistance in connection with the immediate task entrusted to him by the Organisation:

- (a) Goh Kean Seng (Personality No. 10)—Is currently a leading member of the UMCLS.
- (b) Cheong Lin (Personality No. 3*)—Is currently the Vice Chairman of Serdang Bahru Old Boys Association.
- (c) Soo Kok Choy (Personality No. 11*)—Is presently a Committee Member of Jing Song Arts Research Society.

84. It is therefore manifestly clear that the concert being planned by the Preparatory Committee in question under the direction of the UMCLS, was

* Personality No. (9) has since been identified and now in hiding.
* Personality No. (10) was arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960, at Kuala Lumpur on 12th March, 1974 and now detained under Section 8 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960.
* Personality No. (3) was arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960, on 13th March, 1974 at Serdang Bahru, Selangor and has since been released on the Restrictive Order of Section 8 (5) of the I.S.A., 1960.
* Personality No. (11) was arrested under Section 73 (1) of the I.S.A., 1960, at Kuala Lumpur on 13th March, 1974 and has since been released on the Restrictive Order under Section 8 (5) of the I.S.A., 1960.

intended to be the *piece de resistance* of the Society's efforts to project CPM propaganda under the guise of culture.

85. Consequently, the licensing authorities turned down the application submitted by the Preparatory Committee for permission to stage the concert publicly in Kuala Lumpur. Out of the 543 items listed in the proposed concert programme, not less than 106 were found to have been either proscribed or were prejudicial in content and had no bearing on Chinese culture.

86. The concert organisers attempted to make it difficult for the authorities to refuse permission for the concert to be held. Firstly, they submitted the programme material in piecemeal fashion for clearance at the minimum notice, thus giving the authorities little time to scrutinise the very large number of items involved. Secondly, they sold the tickets well in advance to members of the public even before the application was made for the concert to be held.

87. Full dress rehearsals were held on two successive days at the Chinese Assembly Hall, Kuala Lumpur, which were attended by more than 1,000 persons on each day. The organisers had prior to that announced through the Press the holding of the rehearsals, thus ensuring that some measure of publicity would have been achieved in any event.

88. When the application to stage the concert was rejected, the Society tried to gain public sympathy by claiming that the concert was for the purpose of raising funds for the development of independent Chinese secondary schools. But in actual fact there was no intention on the part of the Society to raise donations for such a purpose as evidenced in its application to the licensing authority.

89. On 25th July, 1974, the clandestine radio station Suara Revolusi Malaya came out in open support of the UMCLS and the other contributing cultural organisations by condemning the Government action in refusing to license the Spring Thunder Grand Amalgamated Performances. Although the UMCLS was the motivating force behind the proposed concert, the radio station was careful to avoid attracting attention to this fact, and merely named the Society as one of the bodies involved in the organisation of the proposed concert.

EXPLOITATION OF THE TASEK UTARA ISSUE

90. Having failed to secure official approval to stage the "Spring Thunder Grand Amalgamated Performances", the pro-CPM group within the UMCLS turned to another avenue of activity to advance their subversive objectives.

91. In the earlier half of September 1974, the Johore State authorities took action to evict squatters illegally occupying State land in the Tasek Utara area of Johore Bahru. The UMCLS pro-CPM group saw in it an opportunity to exploit the matter to propaganda advantage, and accordingly set into motion the machinery to achieve this object.

92. The UMCLS pro-CPM group had at its disposal the means for such a purpose in the dominating influence they were able to exercise over the UMSU leadership which was controlled by "progressive" members of the University of Malaya Socialist Club (UMSC). This came about as a result of the close individual contact that had developed between the leading elements of both groups arising from their common pursuit of so-called "socialist" aims.

93. Thus, although the UMCLS pro-CPM group enjoyed no actual representation on the UMSU's current decision-making elite Executive Committee or larger Council, the group could influence the latter into moving in a direction suited to their subversive purpose. In point of fact, the UMCLS pro-CPM group had already planned ahead to secure such representation in the new UMSU leadership, as evidenced by the presence of three UMCLS members on the newly elected 17th UMSU Council for 1974/75.

94. It was with the advantage described above that the UMCLS pro-CPM group proceeded with their plan of exploiting the Tasek Utara issue. This led to the UMSC-controlled leadership of the UMSU being used as a catspaw by the UMCLS group to incite student unrest in the University campus over initially the squatter issue and eventually the arrest of two UMSU officials in Johore Bahru for wilful obstruction of lawful authority. The two had been sent to instigate the Tasek Utara squatters into resisting the due process of law.

95. UMCLS manipulation of the UMSU leadership to serve pro-CPM ends did not stop at merely provoking student unrest in the University campus. It was made

to degenerate into illegal street demonstrations in which the students involved were manoeuvred into physical conflict with the Police and finally culminated in the UMSU leaders seizing control of the University for a few hours on 21st September, 1974.

96. The University administration was restored to the proper authorities the following day after the rebel UMSU leaders were deprived of their self-assumed powers by other student groups opposed to the arbitrary and destructive nature of their activities. The rebels were in fact prepared to resort to violence including the use of fire bombs in order to resist being removed from power.

97. Throughout the course of these events, the UMCLS pro-CPM group remained discreetly in the background, allowing only the unobtrusive participation of some of its members in the student agitation in progress, so as to give the impression that the Society's members were merely following the crowd like the others. This stratagem was clearly intended to prevent detection of the pro-CPM group's involvement in the campus unrest that they had engineered.

98. The UMCLS pro-CPM group's manipulation of student sensitivity in support of its subversive objectives did not end at this point. Towards the latter part of November 1974, some villagers in Baling area of Kedah sought Government relief in view of the poor price of rubber and the rising cost of living. The UMCLS pro-CPM group, working from behind the scenes, using their lackeys took advantage of the situation and set itself to the task of instigating the students and people into demonstrating against the Government and blaming it for their economic distress. As a result of their various devious methods and manipulations, the student community in the institutions of higher learning in general were influenced into supporting what they thought was a genuine grievance against the Government, and this led to a number of illegal student demonstrations being staged in Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh and Pulau Pinang in early December 1974. The UMCLS issued pamphlets claiming that villagers in the Baling area were dying of starvation which was, of course, patently untrue.

99. Propaganda support for what the UMCLS pro-CPM group was doing has been manifest in broadcasts made by the clandestine radio station Suara Revolusi

Malaya, which made the absurd allegation that the Government had deliberately caused hardships to rural people by pushing up the prices of essential commodities in order to benefit so-called capitalist interests. The station quoted the UMCLS pro-CPM group's completely baseless allegation that the rural people were starving, and accused the Government of using force to prevent them from demonstrating their so-called dissatisfaction publicly. CPM pamphlets found strewn in the Baling district area recently also contained similar themes of propaganda.

LATEST RECOVERIES

100. On 9th December, 1974 police raided a house occupied by members of UMCLS in SEA PARK, PETALING JAYA, and seized printing blocks, imitation rifles, boots, receipt books, propaganda music cassettes and banners, etc. (photograph at Appendix "D"). Among the items seized were New Year cards, printed by the banned Spring Thunder Grand Amalgamated Cultural Performance Preparatory Committee in which UMCLS was playing a leading role. It is thus manifestly clear that the UMCLS has been under the control of CPM and its activities have definitely conformed with the objectives of the CPM.

CONCLUSION

101. It is the CPM intention to use, *inter-alia* culture to advance the cause of CPM in this country, and the field of literature and culture has been selected to serve as the means for the achievement of this objective.

102. The UMCLS has been chosen to act as the spearhead in the propaganda offensive that has been launched by the CPM to win public support for its so-called "revolutionary" aims.

103. The developments that have taken place clearly show that the CPM's control of the UMCLS has already been effected, and that the cultural activities that have since been initiated by the Society are in complete conformity with the objectives of the CPM.

104. The pro-CPM group within the UMCLS, responsible for implementing this political strategy, have planned the conduct of their subversive activities in such a manner as to give them the semblance of being

legitimate cultural pursuits, and this deception has resulted in the Society gaining a considerable following among *bona fide* student bodies and other Chinese-oriented cultural organisations in the Peninsula.

105. The group also attempted to deceive the University student community into unwittingly supporting the CPM's "revolutionary" objectives by instigating them into agitating against the so-called social injustices and staging illegal protest demonstrations that eventually culminated in a group of them seizing temporary control of the University of Malaya campus.

106. The threat posed to national security by the CPM elements in this country through language bodies in institutions of higher learning, and in particular through the UMCLS, must be exposed so that the people will be fully made aware of similar approaches used to advance the cause of the CPM in this country under the guise of advancing the "healthy growth" of literature and culture. In this respect, the UMCLS has become one of the main CPM propaganda vehicles in this country. This White Paper is to keep the public fully informed and to expose the CPM activities within the UMCLS in order that other organisations particularly cultural bodies would not be willing tools or unwitting victims of subversive elements which aim to destroy democracy and undermine the ideals and Malaysian way of life as reflected in *RUKUNEGARA.

KEMENTERIAN HAL EHWAL DALAM NEGERI,
KUALA LUMPUR

19th December, 1974

what is democracy? ISA?!
* upholding the constitution by amending it?

ABBREVIATIONS

- (i) CCP ... Chinese Communist Party
- (ii) CPM ... Communist Party of Malaya
- (iii) CT ... Communist Terrorist
- (iv) I.S.A. ... Internal Security Act
- (v) MNLF ... Malayan National Liberation Front
- (vi) UMCLS ... University of Malaya Chinese Language Society
- (vii) UMSC ... University of Malaya Socialist Club
- (viii) UMSU ... University of Malaya Students Union

Extracts from a CT document recovered near Tanah Hitam Village of Perak on 14th October, 1973. (Para 73 refers).

数目的材料味，最好，想，到，情，形！
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 从，了，以，道，立，地，下，学，里，M，居，已，开，学，运，作，那，里，思，想，的，
 人，已，数，年，不，学，业，这，就，给，以，球，和，基，本，的，家，中，M，居，乐，于，去，思，到，进，步，的，作，另，一，方，在，他，立，作，情，形，
 那，在，桐，查，的，可，使，那，里，也，有，引，到，正，一，知，朋，友，(进，步，的)，
 过，也，能，以，学，会，子，会，中，一，两，位，特，别，给，以，进，步，和，服，务，以，自，己，的，事，情，来，思，想，那，里，
 推，进，学，业，中，成，立，心，格，子

APPENDIX "D"



Some of the materials seized by Police during the raid on 9th December, 1974 at a house occupied by members of UMCLS in SEA PARK, PETALING JAYA. (Para 100 refers).