

# MALAYSIA: 45 YEARS UNDER THE ISA

- Detention Without Trial

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Translated by Agnes Khoo



SIRD

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Malaysia: 45 Years Under The I.S.A

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This Book is dedicated to:

The People of all races and creeds in Malaysia,  
who have courageously sacrificed their lives and become our  
martyrs,  
who have been detained,  
who are still in prison,  
who are deprived of their citizenship,  
who have been deported,  
who are still in exile,  
because  
they fought against colonial aggression and occupation  
they fought for our liberation and the independence of our  
country  
they fought against Imperialism and hegemony  
they fought for Democracy, Human Rights and Social Justice

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## Preface I

*By the "The Other Side of History" Editorial Committee*

We have travelled on a dark, long and winding path, which was full of obstacles and difficulties. Yet, we have always maintained one hope, the hope that we would move towards where the light of dawn is shining and beckoning us, we are determined to strive on and never give up!

We have left behind many traces of history, made up of idealism, passion, joy and celebration but also of unspeakable anger, terrible setbacks and defeats. We have in fact, with our blood and tears, created historical episodes which can never be buried away by the power-that-be; neither can it be denied by the passing of time nor discarded by memory.

We have finally decided that we should bring to light, the traces left behind by the road we have travelled, of what we have done and achieved, our convictions and dreams. All these should no longer be covered up, forgotten or denied. We want our version of history; the ordinary people's history, to shed light and correct, also to enrich the "official history of our struggle for independence and nation-building", which has so far been wilfully manipulated and distorted by the power-that-be. This is "The Other Side of History"

In those years, people of all races, creeds and classes; from all corners of the society, came together and became a very powerful force. This force has ushered in the People's Democratic Liberation Movement. Every sector of the society; such as the student movement, the workers' and trade union movement, the farmers' movement, the movement of teachers and cultural workers, etc., they were all actively involved in various forms of anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and socialist struggles. We had only one goal, which was to fight for our independence, our freedom and the right to build our own nation. More importantly, we wanted to build an equal, just and multi-racial, multi-cultural society.

The very nature of colonialism is based on greed and violence, exploitation and cruelty. The colonial administration was exploiting its colonies in wanton brutality, viciously repressing and suppressing the people, making slaves out of its colonial subjects. On top of that, it was exploiting the natural resources of its colonies and their cheap labour. If the people did not cooperate or they tried to resist, the colonialists would violently suppress and even kill the resistance. In those days, the sly and manipulative British colonial rulers were very sophisticated in their tactics.

They lied, and used the method of divide-and-rule against the people. They co-opted the people; they infiltrated and subverted communities as well as organizations. They did all these so as to maintain their grip over us.

Consequently, our people had to face not only continuous arrests, but also many years of imprisonment and deportation. Not only that; the British even murdered innocent villagers in the countryside and then blamed it on their political opponents. Millions of people were evacuated from their homes and put in massive "concentration camps" known as the "New Villages" at that time. Many associations and societies were banned, news was heavily censored and public dissent was severely suppressed. The colonial government even restricted the people's rights to retain and develop our education in our mother-tongue and instead, they imposed upon the people, a slavish education that propagated loyalty to the colonial "masters".

On the other hand, the colonial rulers also cultivated a group of traitors and their running-dogs to infiltrate societies and associations as well as institutions of education. Their purpose was to destroy and subvert these communities. The British colonial rulers boasted that their greatest achievement in Malaya was the construction of the "New Villages", which took the form of: herding all the villagers into one place, fenced them in with barbed wire, imposed curfew every night, restricted entrance and exit of the "village" to only one so as to monitor and control the villagers' movements easily, etc. They also deviously divided and ruled the different races by sowing distrust amongst them, so that they would not be united. Consequently, they were able to destroy the people's resistance. Yet despite all their effort to suppress the people, they never succeeded completely to stop the people from struggling, resisting and protesting.

On one hand, the British colonial rulers had to deal with the armed struggle waged by the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and on the other hand, they had to respond to the continuous unrest and resistance waged by the people. The British suffered great financial losses as a result. Moreover, by the end of World War Two, the international situation had vastly changed. All over the world, colonies were rising up against their colonial masters; many places around the world were engulfed in waves of independence and liberation struggles. The colonialists saw that their time was up, they knew that they could no longer suppress the people's resistance, they realised that sooner or later they had to concede to their colonies' demands for independence.

Given the various difficulties and troubles, they had no choice but to change their tactics and finally relinquished their direct rule and control over Malaya.

However, the British colonialists did arrange and groom beforehand; a group of local feudal elites, bureaucrats and compradors, who were pro-British, in order to hand over their power to them. Thus regardless of how our independence was achieved at the end, the colonialists' real motive to grant us independence and the real factors which gave rise to our nation-building, were far too obvious. The truth is, the feudal elites, bureaucrats and compradors of our country had usurped the fruits of our people's struggles. Yet, they had unashamedly boasted that: "we have achieved our independence through diplomatic negotiations, without the use of a single rifle nor a bullet and without shedding one drop of blood". In reality, this is a lie which they had purposefully crafted!

After our independence, the stark realities of our country did not change much. We continued to rely and ally ourselves with the colonial powers and remain subservient to imperialism. The newly-installed government continued to use the "Emergency Ordinance" and later, the "Internal Security Act" against its political opponents and dissidents. Arrests, imprisonment, ban against strikes and industrial actions, suppression of freedom of speech and association, suppression of people's indigenous cultures and all forms of media (i.e. banning of songs, books, even dances etc.), destroying education in our mother-tongue; sabotaging applications for citizenships etc - were all well-known strategies of the government to tighten its rule over the country.

Economically, we continued to inherit the model of colonial exploitation, there was no sign of sincerity on the part of the government to develop a self-reliant and self-sufficient economy, which would place the people's interests first. Moreover, the newly-installed government conveniently ignored the plight and fate of the "New Villagers"; these villagers had become the scapegoats of our independence struggles. The government simply left these communities to fend for themselves. And it also did not set free those who were imprisoned by the British for their anti-colonial struggles. The government had no qualms to continue to detain them. All these had proved that the Alliance government, which came into power after our independence was only installed to replace Britain. They continued to use the same methods as their colonial masters, to rule over Malaya. The people remained very dissatisfied with the government and as a result, they persisted to fight for a genuinely independent, free and democratic nation. The people realised that in order to achieve that, they had to continue to struggle, until the Alliance government is replaced one day.

The opposition political parties which existed during this period were: the Malayan People's Socialist Front (Socialist Front), the National Party,



The Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PAS), the Malayan People's Progressive Party, the Malaya Party etc.

The Socialist Front was formed on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August 1957 (Malaya Independence Day). It comprised of the Labour Party, the People's Party, the Socialist Youth League (Socialist Youth in short, which was later banned by the Alliance government in 1958). Later, the newly established National Convention Party also joined in.

The Socialist Front had advocated for a Socialist society. They were against racialism and racial politics, and they were fighting for the interests of the middle and lower-classes of the society. Its policy on political economy advocated on shedding the shackles of colonialism, so as to protect democracy, human rights in our country and to develop a nationalist, people-oriented economy. Their international policy was to maintain neutrality in relation to all countries of the world, particularly in Asia. They openly called for establishing friendly relations with all nations regardless of their ideology. And they also lobbied to make May 1st, the International Labour Day, a public holiday.

Unfortunately, all these were suspected by the government to be "pro-communist". The government accused them of being part of the "United Front" of the CPM. Hence, the Barisan Socialis began to suffer blow after blow of repression by the government. Not only were its many cadres arrested and jailed over long periods of time, the government even banned their party branches all over the country.

The organizational structure of the Socialist Front was completely crushed by the high-handedness of the government. However, the government later also adopted as its policy, some of the demands raised by the Socialist Front, such as making May Day a public holiday, improving workers' welfare and benefits, and raising our literacy rate and level of education. Last but not least, they even tried not to depend totally on the western superpowers but to maintain friendly relations with China, as well as other Asian nations.

Nevertheless, there are still many demands raised by the Socialist Front which have yet to materialise. These are: genuine democracy, protection of people's human rights, equality among all races and creeds, equal distribution of wealth, nationalisation of public services etc. Even until today, we have yet to achieve all these. Our younger generations must learn to appreciate the significance of these and try to continue our struggle and achieve where we have failed.

"The Other Side of History" is like a hoisted flag flying high and proud in the sky, it speaks loud and clear of our effort to recover the truth of our history. It is to ensure that our history reflects the different perspectives of our society in a holistic manner. Both the old and the

younger generations bear this historical responsibility. "The Other Side of History" is meant to act merely as a signpost for a history which continues to unfold.

The preparation for "The Other Side of History" actually began in October 1996 but the Editorial Committee was only established on 7<sup>th</sup> June 1997. Our committee members come from all corners of the Malaysia Peninsula, many of them had experienced the independence struggles and the process of nation-building. Among them, some were even victims of the "Emergency Ordinance" and "Internal Security Act". In addition, many younger social workers and activists joined us too.

The editorial work of "The Other Side of History" has been an arduous and laborious process. This is particularly because of the grave limitation of our archival sources and the serious lack of documentation, which is in turn due to the existence of certain circumstances and conditions in the country. These have made our work much harder. However, we still hope that we could slowly but surely expand our project, so that more people can join us and become actively involved. We hope that more people would share with us their own writings, their invaluable archives and personal documentation which can include documents, photographs, illustrations or pictures etc. Since Sabah and Sarwak are included in the formation of Malaysia, which took place in 1963, we also intend to collect documentation and archives from these two places.

All beginnings are hard. However, no matter how hard the journey before us will be, we must overcome the difficulties. This is our tradition and heritage. Since we have already begun, we must not give up. We must ensure that "The Other Side of History" sees the light of our day in its totality. May we persevere until we succeed!

September 1998

## Preface II

*by the Author*

During my High School days, my classmates used to joke: " Be careful of ISA Article No. 8!" During the same period, an elder in our neighbourhood heard that the Special Branch arrested his son, who was a member of the Labour Party. He was so scared he ran home instantly and threw all his son's belongings away. He was so scared. What was he afraid of? The ISA!

What is ISA? Why are people against it? Why are people so fearful of it? It was all very vague to me at that time. I did not understand and could not imagine what was so wrong about the ISA. Indeed, I hardly had any impression about it, let alone paid it any attention.

Later, not long after my graduation from the University of Malaya, I got detained under the ISA for 9 years myself. The nine years made me realize very deeply why it is such a draconian law. My imprisonment has made me realize that it must be abolished!

My personal experiences tell me that the ISA is a law that should never have existed; it is an extremely bad law:

1. When I was detained in 1976, I was remanded together with 2 men who were brothers. They were detained at the High Street Police Station for a long time. One of them told me how he got arrested.

One morning when he was on his way home after breakfast, he saw some leaflets on the ground. So he picked it up to see what it was about. As a result, he was detained and he was beaten by the police, just because of this! The police officers knew that both of them were innocent. Some of these officers would shake their heads upon seeing the two brothers when they made their regular rounds. Other officers who disappeared for sometime and returned were surprised that both of them were still there. They would invariably ask the brothers why they were still not released?

This case reminded me of a newspaper report, which said that the police had arrested 2 suspects who had assassinated the Inspector General of Police. I asked myself, were they responsible? I am not sure. However, judging from the facial expressions and the tones of the police officers, I was sure of one thing: the brothers were merely scapegoats, they were innocent.

2. I was physically assaulted both during my interrogation, and when I was finally sent to the detention camp, I was threatened and assaulted again. The police, at the point of my arrest, searched my room but forbade me from going in. They also did not allow me to bring anything with me although I requested. No towel, no toothbrush, no soap, no clothes. I had my first change of clothes only after more than 30 days.

After my shower, my body remained wet because I did not have a towel. And I had to wear the same clothes over and over again. My clothes which got wet were worn until they turned dry. Then they became wet again. It kept happening again and again, day after day. After more than 30 days, the same officer who interrogated me summoned me to the interrogation room, asked me instantly: "Why do you smell so bad?" He sat at the other end of the table, 4 feet away from me.

So I answered him: "you all did not allow me to bring anything, I was not allowed to visit my family members. For more than 30 days, I have not brushed my teeth, nor bathe with soap, have a change of clothes and wash them." Only after that moment, was I given the chance to visit my family. And only then did I get my daily necessities and clothes for a change.

3. One midnight, while interrogating, the same interrogating officer told me: "if you do not cooperate with us, we can bring you to an isolated place in the middle of a night and shoot you. And we will announce to the public that you have intended to escape. So you would be shot dead." I was dumbstruck. A few days later, during another late night interrogation, the same officer took out his gun from his pocket and placed it on the table. I was really scared.

After I got transferred to the detention camp, other comrades said that the police indeed did shoot some people. They would then put a gun and bullets on the dead and announced that the victims did possess firearms. They were shot because they refused to surrender.

4. I was detained from 1976 to 1985. From 1977 to 1983, for 5 years, I was in continuous solitary detention at *Batu Gajah Detention Camp*, the Perak State. However, from 1981 to 1982, I was transferred to a secret Police Remand Centre at Kuala Lumpur. There I was completely isolated from the outside world and from meeting any body. For more than a year, everyday and 24 hours a day, I was locked

alone in a small room with built-in cement bed and toilet. It measured about 6 by 10 feet in surface area. I could not see anyone except the police officers, who were in-charge of brainwashing me. They only saw me a few times.

Later, after insisting to be moved back to the Batu Gajah Special Detention Camp; I met people again, but I kept feeling that they were very far away from me; even though they were standing right in front of me. It took me more than a year to recover from such feelings.

5. At the detention camp, I heard a lot of unwanted experiences undergone by my comrades and had wanted very much to write them down so that people can know the truth about what really took place in this secret and dark corner of the world. I want to unveil the ugly face of the ISA.

After undergoing through such a haunting and horrible experience, I find that some are rather naïve to think that the ISA is only meant to suppress the communists, leftists or only those perceived by the authorities to be 'subversives'. These people think that the ISA can be tolerated, so long as it is not used to curb political dissent. However, the fact is, after the threat from the communists or leftists were neutralized, the target of the ISA turn to all kinds of critics or dissent of the ruling party and its policies. The ISA has even been used against the common criminals who have nothing to do with politics.

6. This book documents small and big events which took place right back to 1960, when the ISA was first implemented until 1998. This book is not a novel, it is also not meant to be a history book, neither it does describe the experiences of any individuals. It is a collection of events depicting how the ISA has been abused and misused in the last 40 years. The main source of this book is from the Chinese language dailies. A small part came from the English language newspapers and other relevant documents. This book demonstrates why the ISA must be abolished.

Many people helped to publish this book.

First of all, I would like to thank Mr. Yi Dan. In 1989, I suggested to publish a collection of newspaper articles, which dated from 1967 to 1976. Mr. Yi Dan was very supportive. Then SUARAM, agreed to publish it. Later I found that there were far too many news clippings. Hence, following the advice of friends like Lee Ban Chen and Fan Yew Teng, the collection was later ex-

panded spanning the entire period of the ISA preying. I would like to thank SUARAM for its support. My apologies to SUARAM that I could not complete the book soon enough for its publication. Later upon the agreement of SUARAM, this book got published by the "The Other Side of History" instead.

I also would like to thank Mr Yang Pang-Zhao of Seremban, Negeri Sembilan State, Chan Peng King of Jinjang and his wife Weng Xiu-jun (Member of the Organisation for the Family of Political Detainees), Tew Huat Kee of Tangkak, Johor State. I also like to thank many people who have helped me with my research, so that I could grasp the situation in the 50s and 60s.

I would also like to thank the Huazi Resource & Research Centre (currently known as Huayan, Chinese Resource Centre), especially Dr. Kua Kia Soong, Tan Ah Chai and all the staff, for their support and assistance. Thanks to the *China Press* for letting me read their old newspapers, especially for the assistance of the staff at the Documentation Department there. Also thanks to the staff that assisted me at the *National Archives*.

It is only possible to publish this book because of the collective hard work and contributions by the Editorial Board of the "The Other Side of History". Particularly the 3 Editorial members who are responsible: Ban Ah Wan, Li Li-An and Ng Gon. I would also like to extend my appreciation to Chu Choon Yong, who did the proofreading. I want to especially thank Comrade Ban Ah Wan for his assistance and encouragement. He read my manuscripts so many times, despite his hectic schedule. He also generously gave his suggestions and help in the lay-out of the book. Without him, this book would not have been possible. I also thank Comrade Lee Sang for making time to typeset this book.

My appreciation also to Lawyer Yang Pei Keng, Lawyer Ser Chong In and Comrade Mak Siong for writing the prefaces of this book. And to Chong Ton Sin for helping to publish the book.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my wife Lim Aik Lan for helping me with the computer and also to my daughter, Koh Hui Chee because I could not keep her company while researching this book.

This book: "40 years under ISA" could only materialize because of the concern and encouragement of many friends and comrades. This book still has much room for improvement. Hopefully, all of us can document and record our own experiences, so that they would not be buried or lost with the passage of times.

## Preface III

### Abolish the ISA Uphold justice, democracy and the rule of law

by Yang Pei-Keng

The Internal Security Act 1960 ["ISA"] is an unusual piece of legislation in this country.

#### 1. Original purpose of the ISA - to combat CPM's guerrilla warfare

The enactment of the ISA was closely linked to the guerrilla warfare and the armed struggle waged by the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM). In 1948, by force of circumstances, the CPM decided to give up the peaceful means of struggle and go underground. It resorted to armed struggle and started its guerrilla warfare all over Malaya against the British colonial administration. Its armed struggle lasted for more than 40 years and came to an end only in 1989.

With a view to quelling the communist guerrilla warfare, the British colonial government introduced the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948 [the Emergency Regulations]*, and declared martial law across the country. The Malayan Emergency lasted for 12 years, and formally ended on the 31 July 1960. Notwithstanding the end of the Emergency, the CPM carried on its armed struggle, though on a much reduced scale. In order to cope with the situation, the ISA was enacted on 1 August 1960 immediately after the repeal of the *Emergency Regulations*.

The ISA in fact replaced the *Emergency Regulations*. It has been in force for the last 43 years [1960 - 2003]. Its purpose was clear beyond doubt, that is, to combat the armed struggle waged by the CPM. On 21 June 1960, Tun Razak, the then Deputy Prime Minister and the Home Minister declared in the Parliament that the enactment of the ISA was to deal with the subversive activities of the CPM. The object of this piece of legislation is not meant for silencing the opposition or any voice of dissent. Nor is it meant to be state apparatus for dealing with criminal offenders.

#### 2. "Mutation" of the ISA

However, over the years, "mutation" of the ISA has taken place. It has become an effective political tool in the hands of the powers-that-be for the purpose of getting rid of the opposition or rivals. The Act has been misused and abused. It comes in very handy for effecting detention without trial. Under the Act, anyone can be detained for an indefinite period without the

right to an open trial. It is not necessary for the relevant authorities to prove in open court that a crime has been committed by the detainee in question. So long as the ISA is invoked, anyone can be detained arbitrarily. From the point of view of non-Western democracy, the existence of the ISA is testimony to the allegation that law is merely part and parcel of the state machinery used by the ruling party for suppressing the general populace. In the eyes of Western democracy, the ISA is a draconian law that seriously violates the concept of the rule of law. It is inconsistent with the rule of law. The basic principle of the rule of law is that a person is deemed innocent unless proven guilty.

### 3. The essence of the SA

The essence of the ISA is that any person can be detained for an indefinite period of time, but he has no right to an open court trial. The initial period of detention by the police is 60 days. Such detention is meant to "assist the police in the investigation". After that, the Ministry of Home Affairs may issue a detention order for a period of 2 years. Such 2-year detention order is renewable indefinitely. It is therefore an inhumane law diametrically opposed to the basic tenet of democracy and the rule of law. Koh Swe Yong, the editor of this book - "*40 years under ISA*" - made references to numerous articles in the press as well as materials from journals dating back to 1960. He highlighted the views and comments on the ISA made by the ruling party and the opposition as well as civil society at large.

The book has presented arguments for and against the ISA in Chapter 1.

On the whole, the discourse is overwhelmingly weighted against the use of the ISA. Chapter 2 - "Mass Arrests" - describes the various mass arrests under the ISA made from time to time during the three decades or so, from the 1960s to the 1990s. The author has used his best endeavours to compile a list of detainees under the ISA over the years. However, it does not pretend to be exhaustive.

The book contains useful historical material for reference. Perhaps, the book could be rendered more complete by adding an introduction to the ISA.

### 4. To abolish or to review the ISA?

To abolish or to review the ISA? That is the question. In the past, there was some difficulty in reaching an agreement on this. However, today there is a general consensus that the ISA should be abolished.

Why is it so? Because after a long period of in-depth study of the implications of the ISA, the majority are of the view that to solve the problem of detention without trial, the ISA must be repealed. Merely having a review of the ISA can hardly serve the purpose of doing away with detention without trial. No amount of review or amendment can help solve the fundamental issue of 'detention without trial' under the ISA.



Any country subscribing to democracy and the rule of law must abide by certain basic principles. One of them is that no one should be convicted and punished arbitrarily. He must be given a fair hearing in an open court. No one ought to be convicted or imprisoned if he has not been given an opportunity to be heard in an open court. No person is to be kept under detention without trial and put behind bars arbitrarily over a long period of time. That is the very reason why the ISA is looked upon as a notorious piece of legislation which is far from fair and reasonable.

#### 5. Amending law on "detention without trial"?

It has been suggested that the law of detention without trial be reviewed and amended by way of reducing the period of detention from 2 years to 6 months. This was proposed as an alternative to the repeal of such law.

The question is: Can such amendment solve the main issue of detention without trial?

The answer is emphatically no. This is because no matter to what extent the period of detention is reduced, it is still "detention without trial".

Even if the detention period is shortened, the relevant authorities are still empowered to renew the detention order indefinitely. They can still detain a person for an accumulated long period of 10 to 20 years.

There is yet another suggestion that the power of judicial review by the courts be increased. This is to ensure that those in power exercise their power of arrest and detention in accordance with proper legal procedures.

However, an increase in the power of judicial review still does not address the root of the problem created by the ISA. It does not resolve the fundamental issue of "detention without trial". No matter to what extent the power of judicial review is increased, the essence of the ISA – detention without trial – remains unchanged.

Any serious attempt at reviewing the ISA would inevitably lead to the irresistible conclusion that the Act has to be repealed. Is it not a waste of time to conduct such review? To achieve the purpose of doing away with detention without trial, the only solution is to call for the immediate repeal of the ISA.

Reviewing the ISA will not in any way eliminate the crux of the problem. The logical conclusion is to demand for the immediate abolition of the ISA. That is the only effective solution to the problem of detention without trial.

#### 6. Mounting opposition to the ISA

The ISA has time and again been abused or misused in recent years. The executive branch of the government has consciously or unconsciously ignored the original purpose of the ISA. They hasten to justify their unlawful actions in invoking the ISA. Various quarters have expressed concern about such unlawful acts on the part of the executive.

In 1998, on the International Human Rights Day - December 10, the Bar Council submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister, calling upon the government to repeal the ISA.

On 2 September 1998, Anwar Ibrahim, the former Deputy Prime Minister cum Finance Minister, was initially detained under the Penal code, but a few days later, he was informed of his detention under the ISA. He was, however, subsequently charged for corruption.

Such arbitrary exercise of police actions was viewed with disapproval by the general public. All strata of society, in particular, the Malay middle-class expressed great dissatisfaction over the whole episode.

This immediately led to the formation of "Gerak", an alliance of all opposition forces advocating for the abolition of the ISA.

"Gerak" comprised various opposition parties, including *Party Rakyat [PRM]*, *Democratic Action Party [DAP]*, *Pan-Malaya Islamic Party (PAS)*, *Parti Sosialis Malaysia [PSM]*, and a large number of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) including Suaram and Civil Rights Committee [CRC]. A large number of UMNO members loyal to Anwar also joined forces with Gerak.

This is the first time in our history that such a massive opposition alliance was formed for advocating the repeal of the ISA. At the material time, the slogan "Mansuhkan ISA" ("Abolish ISA") reverberated across the country.

It indicates the widespread dissatisfaction against the powers-that-be for abusing and misusing the draconian law to an alarming state in recent years. This has led to a "popular revolt in the face of suppression", as the Chinese saying goes. Even two UMNO Members of Parliament have voiced their opposition against the ISA in the Parliament.

This is in stark contrast to the situation in the 1960s and 1970s. During those tumultuous years, the only opposition voice that could be heard against the ISA came from the left-wing political parties.

## 7. Conclusion

Today, the frequent abuse of the arbitrary power of "detention without trial" has alerted more and more people to the fact that the ISA is inconsistent with the spirit of democracy and the rule of law. This has led to the popular demand for its immediate repeal.

As a result, the call for "justice, democracy and the rule of law" receives overwhelming support from the people of all walks of life. The "Abolish ISA" slogan rings loud and clear.

When the Apartheid policy was practised in South Africa, the white-minority government often used a piece of legislation similar to the ISA to persecute its political opponents. Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa as well as other leaders from his Party - the African National Congress (ANC), had at one time or the other been victims of such draconian law.

ANC is now the ruling party in South Africa. Mandela became its first President of the post-apartheid government. No sooner had South Africa freed itself from its Apartheid white-minority rule than its legislation similar to the ISA was abolished.

As citizens of Malaysia, should we not emulate the people of South Africa? Should we not make a concerted effort to have the ISA abolished in the cause of upholding "justice, democracy and the rule of law" in our country!

[Note: This Preface was written in March 1998 and revised on 23 June 2003.]

## Preface IV

*by Ser Choon Ing*

The Internal Security Act of our country was passed in 1960, during a Constitutional Amendment, to strengthen the government's power for preventive detention, as provided by the Act. It has lasted nearly 40 years now.

In these 40 years, the people's demand to abolish the ISA has never stopped. There is uncountable number of people arrested under the law. These people come from all walks of life, they belong to the various stratum of our society, they are of different races, and they may be affiliated to different political parties or various political streams. They have all been detained under the charge of "threatening or endangering national security". They are all prisoners of conscience. Malaysia is one of the few countries, in which the government could, through legal means persecute its political opponents and silence dissents and still get away with it. The former notorious apartheid government of South Africa had already abolished the law similar to the ISA long ago. On the contrary, in Malaysia, there is no sign yet of its curtailment or disappearance. In fact, there is concern that the ISA is increasingly misused and abused.

The 1960 ISA provides for preventive detention, thus giving the Minister of Home Affairs the power to use "the threat to national security" as the excuse; to arbitrarily detain a person without trial for at least 60 days. After the initial 60 days, the Minister continues to have the power to detain the person indefinitely, as long as he considers it necessary. He has the power to hold this person without trial until he is satisfied that the person is no longer "a threat to national security". In Singapore, Mr. Chia Thye Poh was detained under such circumstances for more than 20 years.

People are against the 1960 ISA mainly because it allows for preventive detention without trial. In any democratic country which practises the rule of law, every citizen has the right to defend himself/herself in a fair and open court. No one shall be sentenced guilty without being heard in court. Only under a just and fair trial can the judiciary sentence a person guilty and consequently, punish the person accordingly.

The police of the Internal Security Department, as the Administrators of the State, do not have such power like the judiciary. In criminal cases, the police only have the power to detain a citizen, in so far as to investigate a certain crime committed. Moreover, such power is to be monitored and checked by the court. In actual fact, the police only have the power to detain a person for not more than 24 hours. Only the judiciary has the power to

extend such detention beyond 24 hours. That is why criminal procedures specify that the police need to apply for permission from the court within the first 24 hours of arrest, if they want to detain a suspect longer than 24 hours. Unfortunately, the ISA has deprived the judiciary of such power to supervise the Internal Security Department and the police. ISA simply gives the Minister of Home Affairs the power to detain a person indefinitely, without being supervised nor examined by the judiciary.

This is the biggest danger of the ISA: to bestow upon the Minister of Home Affairs both the administrative as well judicial powers. As a result, the government is not checked and monitored by the court, in the case of political prosecution of its citizens. Even though the Minister may make arrest under the pretext of 'national interest' or 'national security and public order', in reality, he may be acting out of the political interests of the ruling party. Nearly 40 years of the ISA fully proves that majority of the detainees were imprisoned, simply because they hold views which are different from the government. They were held in custody only because they were dissenters, dissidents or critics to the powers-that-be. The so-called crime of "threat to national security" is in fact only an excuse to suppress oppositions, so that the ruling party can strengthen and consolidate its own political power.

The power of the ISA for preventive detention is only appropriate during times of extremity. The only reason for the coalition government (the predecessor of the current UMNO government) to pass the ISA in 1960, during the Constitutional Amendment in the Parliament; was to fight against the Communist. However at the same time, on the 31<sup>st</sup> July 1960, the government also announced the end of Emergency Rule. It was declared in the first place; to suppress the Communist armed struggles. So why did our nation pass such a draconian law like the ISA, if by 1960 the Emergency had already ended? The existence of the Communist Party cannot be the excuse for ISA because in any democracy, the people is entitled to freedom in political convictions and ideology, as well as the freedom of associations.

Moreover, based on the archives of the Peace negotiation held in Baling in 1955, it was shown that the Malaya Communist Party had already intended to give up its armed struggle by that time. They had the intention to become a legal political party. On top of that, the Internal Security Department had also declared in 1960, that the Malaya Communist Party, which had already retreated to Southern Thailand, was no longer a threat. These historical materials show that, under such circumstances, the reason for passing a law like the ISA was farfetched. However, many people including critics of the ISA have overlooked these historical facts. They still have the misconception that the law may be acceptable in 1960 but considers it as redundant in current time of peace.

Actually, from the formulation of the law, it can be seen that the coalition government did harbor bad intentions. According to Article No. 8 of the ISA: anyone whose conduct is considered by the Minister of Home Affairs, to be

“a threat to the security of Malaysia or a threat to the maintenance of public service or economic activities”, can be detained by the Minister for not more than 2 years. Such a rationale for preventive detention covers a wide area. Almost any kind of conduct or activity can become a reason for detention according to Article No. 8. Had the coalition government only intended to use the ISA to curb the armed struggle of the Communist Party, it could limit its application to this end. However, it is obvious that they did not do so. If the ISA were only meant to suppress violent activities of the Communist Party, it would not have been used today to persecute opposition parties, which engage in Parliamentary Democracy. Not to mention its frequent use against political dissent, Chinese Educationists, NGOs and radical Islamic elements who are anti-communists. The Anwar incident has shown that the ISA can be used as a weapon to eliminate dissidents within one’s own political party.

The greatest value of this book is to reveal the truth of our history. Even though it was completed within a short time, this book nevertheless, helps us to understand how the government has so unjustly used the ISA; to suppress dissidents and oppositions inside the country for the last 40 years. This book symbolizes another effort by the civil society to oppose the ISA. No one knows if ISA will be abolished one day. Recently, some UMNO Parliamentarians had even called for stronger implementation of the ISA. Given that, our UMNO government will not have a change of heart easily and abolish the ISA. So we still have to strive and struggle on!

Let this be the beginning.

## Preface V

### The Course of History cannot be distorted

by Mak Siong

A group of close friends, who have struggled together for a shared ideal and vision in the past, came together to discuss the publication of the series *The Other Side of History*. This is a very significant and meaningful move. It is also of great importance. Half a century has gone past, if we do not record the historical facts of yesteryears, there is fear that all will be lost, forgotten, or even distorted by others in such a way that they would monopolize the historical stage. It is already happening, as seen from the 'official version of history' recorded in the government school textbooks. History has been distorted and turned upside down. The books published in the series *The Other Side of History* intend to restore the historical facts which have been distorted. It is to return history to its true and original form.

After World War II, human civilization has entered a great era. Nations fought for independence; peoples fought for their liberation; and citizens fought for democracy. All these struggles converged into a mighty torrent, removing the old and the rotten, replacing them with the new and the better.

The weakened imperialism can no longer rule the world in its conventional ways. In Malaysia, after gaining victory in its war against Japanese Fascism, rooting out the vicious? Japanese militarism, the people, having endured so much of sufferings, looked forward to taking charge of their own destiny. It was a real possibility at that time.

Unfortunately, the British colonialists returned to Malaysia and robbed us of this turning point in history. The fruits of the people's struggle won with blood and tears were taken away from us. The political power fell into the hands of feudal elite and bureaucrats nurtured by the British. This is the historical background to "Merdeka" giving birth to the Federation of Malaya (which is now Malaysia).

After independence, even though the struggle against colonialism had subsided, the feudal elite and bureaucrats took over from the British colonial masters the whole state machinery, including the then *Emergency Regulations Ordinance* and subsequently the current ISA. They gave top priority to the consolidation of their political power. Therefore, the struggle for democracy, human rights, justice and equality among the various races and the improvement of our livelihood, were all left in the back burner.

Two models of nation-state emerged after World War II. One, after the state has achieved national liberation and independence, its people acquired democratic rights, the force of production was released and the economy

developed. Two, the state that emphasises "politics first, economy later" is an authoritarian state and the people were forced to give up their political rights in exchange for limited improvement of their livelihood.

Malaysia belongs to the second model. Other examples are Singapore, Indonesia under the rule of Suharto, and certain Latin American countries. The ruling class amasses most of the country's resources to consolidate its political power. The high concentration of political power in a selected few leads to high centralization of wealth by a tiny minority. The economy progressed at an extremely slow pace at the material time.

Since ten years or so ago, the Malaysian economy has developed rapidly, transforming from an agricultural country into an industrialized one. It is now even moving into the era of information technology. However, such economic prosperity hailed as a 'miracle' by western statesmen, is merely a continuation of the 'politics first; economy later' model of development.

In Malaysia, the collaboration between business circle and politicians has resulted in a massive privatisation of the economy, merging political power with economic power. A small elite group of millionaires emerges with the support of political power and patronage. This sophisticated group of bureaucratic capitalists has become the ruling force in our country's economy and politics. At the same time, the gap between the rich and the poor in our society deepens at an alarming rate. This is the result of corruption by a small clique of political and economic elites.

Such distorted pattern of development cannot resolve the existing contradictions within the Malaysian society. Despite praises from certain quarters for the supposed 'success' of our development, the recent Asian financial crisis has only magnified the contradictions in the political and economic systems. And these contradictions are quickly deepening.

The transformation has a profound historical significance. This is the first time in Malaysian history, people of all races could find a common, distinct, encompassing and personalized struggle, transcending racial divide in our society. This is a giant step forward; it symbolizes the awakening of our people. Various forces have converged to form this justice movement. As soon as it enters the stage of history, it shall propel the struggles on the various fronts, heavily influencing the historical development of Malaysia.

Many years have passed since the 1950s. History has walked a very tortuous and winding path. Yet, at the end of the day, we realize that the same historical law applies. It is the law of: Struggle, defeat, struggle again, until we win. This is an objective law, which goes beyond the subjective determination of any individuals. People Shall Finally Win, Justice Will Triumph. This is a historical reality. The ruling class dare not and would not face it. History has its objective existence and its exorable laws. No matter how beautiful the false front is, or how 'enlightened' the way of governance or rule seems to be, this certainty in historical law shall one day reveal itself, to



be a strong, indomitable and tenacious force. This is the whole historical truth. It is the Truth.

The people of Malaysia have struggled courageously for many years. We have paid a high price. With the many sacrifices we made, we have composed a historical epic which is both heroic and moving. We have not yet realized our dreams and ideals. Among other reasons, is the historical and objective limitation we have to reckon with. Our historical experiences have been painful. Nevertheless, they are also invaluable. Our footprints are small and insignificant. But they are also glorious, honourable and just. These will be carved into the history of Malaysia forever.

There are those who have never struggled themselves or who harbour certain ill intentions, now they pose themselves as the expert who 'knows it all'. They feel superior because they think they already foresee this day. They continue to hit at those who are already down. One can draw an analogy with those people who are shamelessly fearful and therefore, remain at the foot of the mountain, while others courageously climb the heights under the most difficult conditions.

Today, the people of Malaysia are once again standing at a new historical turning point. There is a new awakening. New struggles are developing. History will ultimately fulfil its law. Let us wait for the day when the badly battered ruling class and its clique shed their tears!

November 1998

## Publisher's notes

*Malaysia: 45 years under ISA* is translated but updated from *Malaysia: 40 Years under the ISA*, which was originally written in Chinese because the bulk of materials referred to are mostly from the vernacular Chinese Language dailies. It was authored by Mr. Koh Swe Yong who was a nine-year ISA detainee himself, detained from 1976 to 1985.

It is the second book of the series known as "the Other Side of the History" series on the untold struggles of the people of Malaya/Malaysia for independence and democracy published by Wasasa Enterprise which was founded by a group of left-wing activists of the fifties and the sixties.

The purpose of the publishing the series is to record down the struggles of the people so that such struggles fought will not be lost and forgotten with passing time, and the facts which have been intentionally twisted will be uncovered and known by all, now and future. Democracy, the ideal that the people cherish and fight for relentlessly and unceasingly since the colonial era has yet to become a reality.

The publisher takes effort to translate *Malaysia : 40 Years under the ISA* into English because the book which the author has taken 10 years to complete contains facts about arguments for and against the ISA, the arrests under the ISA from the very day the ISA was enforced and the change of heart and mind towards the ISA.

We believe such facts and development will be of great interest to readers and institutions at home and abroad who want to know more about the state of democracy in Malaysia. It is also hoped that the book will make an indispensable reference book about the ISA in Malaysia.

The English Edition is translated by Miss Agnes Khoo, an activist from outside Malaysia. The translated manuscript was gone through by persons who are actively involved in human rights works and writings in Malaysia. They are Mr. Yang Pei Ken, a lawyer and HAKAM Exco member, the Human Rights Society of Malaysia, who writes in both Chinese and English languages, Dr. Kua Kia Soong, a well known writer, Ms Sonia, an electronic media journalist, and the author himself.

Besides, changes wherever possible were made in the book to replace the Chinese news clippings with the English paper cuttings and the layouts of contents too were rearranged. The names of persons or organisations were translated if the names as used in the official documents could not be found. For most of the Chinese Malaysians' names, the translation is in *pingyin*.

The English edition can be successfully published, thanks to the cooperation and assistance of many who have directly and indirectly contributed their efforts.

First of all, we would like to thank the author, Koh Swe Yong, for his kind assistance and co-operation in ensuring the facts are correct and in providing the English paper cuttings, and Wasasa Enterprise for the permission given to translate the book. We would like to thank Mr. Chong Ton Sin, an ISA detainee for eight years and presently an activist, who has relentlessly pushed for the publication of the English edition.

We would also like to extend our appreciation to Ms Agnes for the translation work, Mr. Yang Pei Ken, Dr Kua Kia Soong and Ms Sonia for editing and suggestions, Mr. Lin Chew Man in coordinating work and in getting many names translated, and to many more whose names are not mentioned here, but they have contributed to the publication of this book.

We would also want to express our appreciations to SUARAM, a human rights organization, for using their recordings on the ISA to update the facts, and the National Archives for searching news and using pictures for publication.

The Publisher

SIRD

1 August 2004



當年英軍割下馬共嫌疑分子的人頭

A British soldier cut off heads of suspected CPM elements during the emergency



The British colonial government ordered police and army to search for suspected CPM elements at midnight. Head of a suspected CPM element in the hand was on public exhibition.

# The Proposal and the Passage of the ISA

"...We must strive hard to protect our Constitution, so that any changes to it will not be made, even though in the process of its implementation, there may be better policies, but policies can be changed, certainly not our Constitution ...". Speech by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman at a tea party held by the Penang Alliance in celebration of the Independence of Malaya (Nanyang Siang Pao, 21 October 1958)

"The Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman denied yesterday in Dewan Rakyat [Lower House of the Parliament of the Federation of Malaya] that he had ever promised not to amend the Constitution" (China Press, 24 April 1960)

"He (Tunku Abdul Rahman) assured Karam Singh (1), Member of Parliament (MP) of Damansara, not to worry. He pointed out that the Alliance government is a democratic government. It respects freedom of speech. Even if the Constitution of the Federation is amended, it will not detain Karam Singh for no reason" (China Press, 24 April 1960)

Karam Singh, Legal Adviser of the National Federation of Plantation Workers, was detained – He took part in the workers' protest march – The Police Headquarters explained that Karam Singh was detained because he is a threat to national security – Parti Rakyat [People's Party] and the Labour Party have both issued statements, challenging the Alliance government to charge Karam Singh in the open court. (Newspaper cutting from Sin Chew Jit Poh 21 April 1967: p 6)

From the above quotes, it can be seen that within a short period of less than one and a half years, Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman contradicted himself on serious policy issues. It can be deduced that the political situation at that time was highly unfavourable to the ruling party, forcing him to back down on his own promises.

Karam Singh, legal adviser of the National Federation of Plantation Workers, was detained. He participated in the march from Asahan to Kuala Lumpur by Asahan rubber tappers, the capital of Malaysia, to send a petition to Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister.

# 加南星被捕入獄

## 會參加徒步請願工友行列

### 園坵工聯 法律顧問



加南星

【吉隆坡廿日訊】前任檳城山打根區園坵工聯主席加南星，因參加由山打根出發，前往吉隆坡的徒步請願，被警方逮捕入獄。加南星現年三十五歲，現任檳城山打根區園坵工聯法律顧問。加南星在檳城山打根區園坵工聯擔任主席多年，曾參與多次社會運動。據悉，加南星被捕後，將被關押在檳城監獄。加南星被捕一事，引起了園坵工友的廣泛關注。他們表示，加南星是一個正直的人，他的被捕是不公平的。他們呼籲政府釋放加南星，並對他的被捕進行調查。加南星被捕後，園坵工聯表示將繼續進行徒步請願活動，直到政府釋放加南星為止。加南星被捕一事，也引起了社會各界的關注。許多人對加南星被捕表示同情，並呼籲政府釋放他。加南星被捕一事，也反映了當時馬來西亞的社會背景。在當時，許多社會運動參與者都面臨被捕和入獄的風險。加南星被捕一事，只是當時社會運動的一個縮影。

### 警察總部解釋

## 加南星被捕

## 因危害治安

### 人民黨勞工黨發文告 促政府公開提出審訊

22/4/67 星

【吉隆坡廿一日電】警察總部發言人今日表示，加南星被捕是因為他參與了危害治安的活動。發言人指出，加南星在徒步請願活動中，煽動了工人的不滿情緒，並採取了暴力行為。因此，警方不得不採取行動，逮捕了加南星。發言人還表示，加南星被捕是為了維護國家的治安和穩定。他呼籲公眾理解警方的決定，並支持警方的行動。然而，人民黨和勞工黨對此表示強烈不滿。他們認為，加南星被捕是不公平的，並呼籲政府公開提出審訊。他們指出，加南星是一個無辜的人，他的被捕是政治動機。他們呼籲政府釋放加南星，並對他的被捕進行調查。加南星被捕一事，也引起了社會各界的廣泛關注。許多人對加南星被捕表示同情，並呼籲政府釋放他。加南星被捕一事，也反映了當時馬來西亞的社會背景。在當時，許多社會運動參與者都面臨被捕和入獄的風險。加南星被捕一事，只是當時社會運動的一個縮影。

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The Police Headquarter statement : Karam Singh is detained because he is detrimental to the security. PRM statement demands public hearings of Karam Singh in court (source : news, 21 April 1967; Sin Chew Jit Poh)

## Background to the 1960 Constitutional Amendment

In 1955, the British Colonial Administration called for a national election (2). Apart from one seat won by the *Pan Malayan Islamic Party* (PAS), the Alliance (comprising *UMNO*, *MCA* and *MIC*) took all Parliamentary seats.<sup>2</sup>

However, in 1959, at the first post-Independence General Elections, the Alliance government lost two states, Kelantan and Trengganu, which were both won by PAS, who then formed their governments. The Alliance also lost a number of parliamentary seats.

The People's Socialist Front of Malaya (*SF*) was a new coalition formed by the Labour Party of Malaya (*LPM*) and the Parti Rakyat of Malaya (*PRM* or the People's Party of Malaya). The coalition rose in popularity and won quite a number of seats, at both the Federal and State levels.

Besides this, the Alliance had earlier lost in many local government elections. The local levels of government consisted of city, town and local councils. The City Council of Georgetown in Penang, for example, fell into the hands of *SF*.

Consequently, the Alliance-controlled Federal government decided to suspend the Municipal Council election in Kuala Lumpur, which was scheduled to take place in 1960.

It was under these new political conditions that the Alliance government proposed a Constitutional amendment and enacted the Internal Security Act 1960 (*ISA*).

The Prime Minister was speaking at the Penang Alliance Tea Party, celebrating Independence. He said: Policies can be changed but not the Constitution, Malaya practises Western Democracy and Freedom. Lim Chong Eu and Ong Poh Nee emphasized the importance of safeguarding our Constitution. (Newspaper cutting from *Nanyang Siang Pao* 2 October 1958, p8)

The Prime Minister denied that he had ever promised not to amend the Constitution (Newspaper cutting from *China Press* 24 April 1960)

## 1960 Constitutional Amendment

The 1960 Constitutional amendment was proposed to deal with the Emergency. A clause was added to provide for preventive detention.

The reason given by the Alliance government was that the amendment was necessary to suppress the Communist Party of Malaya (*CPM*) and its activities. This was despite the Psychological Warfare Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs' announcement in 1960 that the *CPM*, which had retreated into the Southern part of Thailand, was no longer effective.



首相在英聯盟慶祝獨立茶會演說指出

# 政策可改憲法不能變

## 馬來亞具有西方民主自由

### 林蒼佑王保尼強調維護憲法必要

(本報駐坡記者一日訊)首相東姑阿都拉曼演說，於昨日抵坡後，即為演說之高潮，東姑於今晚在私人性質之參議院之演說學校，對校中之校董及教員，演說良好之演說。十一時，東姑與英總統，實業職員舉行免職一小時之遊談，實後對本報記者說：只是談話而已，他並未有提及馬來亞統一之舉，據記者問悉：東姑在訪英期間曾對百餘名議員及英總統實業界領袖之演說。東姑於今日下午，參加英聯盟在英總統大廈舉行之慶祝獨立週年茶會，參加者數百人，將演

"Policies can be changed, but not the Constitution. Malaya possesses Western Democracy and liberty."  
Speech by the Prime Minister at the Independence tea party organised by the Penang Alliance  
Lim Chong Eu and Ong Poh Nee stressed the necessity of safe-guarding the Constitution at the tea party  
[ source: news, 2 October 1958, Nanyang Siang Pau ]

# 總理未嘗許諾

## 24/4/60 永不修改憲法

總理東姑阿都拉曼於昨日在國會演說，他曾經許下永不修改憲法的諾言。東姑說：他曾經許下永不修改憲法的諾言，但在此時，他卻說：他不能保證永不修改憲法。東姑說：他曾經許下永不修改憲法的諾言，但在此時，他卻說：他不能保證永不修改憲法。東姑說：他曾經許下永不修改憲法的諾言，但在此時，他卻說：他不能保證永不修改憲法。

The Prime Minister denied he had ever promised, constitution will not be changed (source: news, 24 April 1960, in answering Karam Singh while debating the 1960 constitutional amendment.)

### Emergency Ordinance 1948

"As of now, the Constitution stipulates that the legislation relating to the Emergency and social turmoil, lasts for one year only. It can only be extended with the approval of the Parliament.

However, the Constitutional amendments provide that the Emergency approved by the Parliament will be indefinite, unless the Parliament passes a resolution to lift it. It is meant to deal with the remnants of bandits that remain at the Thai-Malayan border.

"Currently, the Constitution says that in case of war or other emergencies, the Parliament must pass a resolution empowering the government to deal with the matter.

"The Constitutional amendments provide that the Parliament may declare a state of emergency, even before the occurrence of such emergency and lift it only when necessary." (China Press 23 April 1960)

The Constitution, which came into effect upon Independence, provides that any emergency is to be a temporary measure and will only be in force for one year.

After its expiry, if the government considers that the situation warrants its extension, the government must return to the Parliament and obtain the necessary approval.

Such an extension can only be for one additional year. In other words, if the government did not apply for an extension, the ordinance would automatically lapse, and the country would no longer be in a state of emergency.

Under the provisions of the Constitution prior to the 1960 amendment, the Alliance government had to seek an extension of the Emergency from the Parliament every year. The Emergency was declared by the British colonial regime in 1948.

The Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948 was formally repealed by the Parliament in 1960. However, after the 1960 Constitutional amendments, the state of emergency could exist for an indefinite period.<sup>3</sup>

### Preventive Detention Order

The provision for preventive detention is the most important clause in the 1960 Constitutional amendments. (China Press 1960)

This chapter deals with the Constitutional Amendment Bill 1960, particularly the detention order issued under the ISA as a measure for preventive detention.<sup>4</sup>

## Parliamentary debate on the Constitutional Amendment

The Parliament debated the Constitutional Amendment Bill for three days. On 20 April at 3.30pm, the Bill went through a second reading with 76 votes for and 24 votes against.

At 5.15 pm on the same day, the Bill went through a third reading with 75 votes for and 13 votes against.

This was a very important Bill, not only because it was the first Constitutional amendment after Independence in 1957, but also because the amendment had profound and far-reaching effects on the country's economic, political, social and cultural developments.

The security of the Federation should never be compromised. The government amended the Constitution in order to prevent the infiltration of subversive elements. The Minister of Foreign Affairs bluntly pointed out that Communists did not believe in democracy. (Newspaper cutting from China Press 24 April 1960, p10)

More than 40 MPs from both the ruling and opposition parties participated in the lively, heated debate. When the Bill was put to vote, the Alliance MPs, Dato' Onn from the Malaya National Party as well as three independent MPs, namely, Chin See Yin, Quek Kai Dong and Yeoh Tat Beng, all voted in favour of the Bill. On the other hand, Opposition MPs from PAS, SF, PPP and the Malaya Party all voted against it.

Obviously, the ruling party was anxious to protect and consolidate its power over the country. 'Anti-Communism' was used as an excuse in all their arguments.

On the other hand, the Opposition parties, operating within the political constraints at home and abroad, based their arguments on the need to respect citizens' human rights. They expressed concern for the people's democratic rights within the confines of the Constitution and the given political institutional framework.

It must be mentioned that this was taking place at a time when corrupt and reactionary political powers in Asia and Southeast Asia proclaimed themselves 'democracies'. 'Anti-communism' was their stand within the international context of the Cold War. One typical example of such regimes was Ngo Din Diem of South Vietnam.

Below are some of the arguments for and against the Constitutional Amendment Bill, raised by MPs of the ruling and opposition parties respectively. The arguments were reported by the press at that time.

### Arguments for the Constitutional Amendment

"The Constitutional Amendment Bill, as all the MPs are aware of, contains many clauses which ought to be amended. However, I would only mention

a few relevant and important ones here. The most important is article 30 on preventive detention. Any country threatened by the Communists, would maintain that the only way to deal with such threat is to detain the Communists and their agents, so as to prevent them from carrying out any destructive plans. Currently, the situation in the Federation warrants the taking of such move by the government." (Deputy Prime Minister Tun Razak, 1960)

Throughout the whole debate, arguments put forward by the Alliance MPs for the Bill, invariably raised the communist threat.

"Datuk Ong Yoke Lin, Minister for Health and Welfare, said in his speech at Dewan Rakyat yesterday that the fight against Communism has to be thorough and intensive. His stance was applauded by all the Alliance MPs." (China Press 24 April 1960)

Ong Yoke Lin defended the policy of the Alliance government... severely criticized opponents of amendments as supporting the Communist Party...(saying) it only makes them subservient to Moscow and Beijing... (he) questioned them: have they ever criticized the atrocities of the communists (China Press 24 April 1960: p 12)

Three Ministers led the Alliance MPs in the counter-attack... defending the Bill... Leong Yew Koh viciously criticized the Communist Party of China for breaking up families, no freedom of education and exercising control over ideas and thoughts (China Press 24 June 1960)

"Anti-constitutional amendment = anti-national = Communist sympathizers"

According to the Alliance, MPs' line of thoughts, When defending the Constitutional Amendment Bill, the Alliance MPs bluntly accused those who were against it as being Communist sympathizers. This further affirmed the anxiety and fear of the opposition parties.

Minister of Finance Tan Siew Sin said: "Those who are against the Bill are anti-national, and therefore they are the Communist sympathizers." (China Press 26 April 1960)

The Minister of Home Affairs Datuk Sulaiman said: "...anyone who is against the Bill is supporting the Communist Party. Not only that, it further implies the acceptance of the Communist ideology" (China Press 26 April 1960)

### Opposition MPs were against the Bill

Opposition MPs were vehemently against the Constitutional Amendment Bill. They warned that the Bill would undermine basic human rights.

Furthermore, they expressed very strongly their concern that the real objective of the Bill was to suppress opposition parties.

The Parliament heatedly debated on the Constitutional Amendment Bill. Most of the non-Alliance MPs were fiercely against it – they pointed out that it undermined basic human rights – but Lim Swee Ann suggested that those who are against it had the intention to disrupt unity (China Press 23 April 1960: p15)

### ISA - a continuation of the Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948

D.R. Seenivasagam, a lawyer, in his inaugural speech at the Malayan Legislative Council on 7 December 1957, bluntly pointed out that the Alliance government had no intention of abolishing the Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948. He said:

"If Chin Peng were to surrender unconditionally to the government, will the Emergency end? I dare say it will not."

What were the reasons he gave?

"This is because the policy of the Alliance government is to ensure the permanent existence of the Emergency. We all know that the Emergency Regulations Ordinance is a useful weapon of the dictator!"

Three years later, on 31 July 1960, the Alliance government finally repealed the Emergency Regulations Ordinance introduced in 1948 by the British Colonial Administration. However, on 1 August 1960, the ISA, a new preventive detention law, came into force immediately.

Many critics were of the view that the Emergency Regulations Ordinance had not been abolished; it had simply changed into a different form. However, the ISA is actually more Draconian and brutal than the Ordinance.

Lim Kean Siew, a lawyer, at the debate on the Constitutional Amendment Bill, pointed out that:

"The government has publicly announced that the Emergency will end on 31 July. However, a piece of legislation on preventive detention immediately replaces it. This is, in reality, hoodwinking the people; it is only a change in form but not in substance.

"The ruling party has amended the articles of the Constitution in detail, so much so that it has become worse and more frightening." (China Press 23 April 1960)

On 7 December 1957 in the Federal Legislative Council, D.R. Seenivasagam, General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) said:

"It is well known that the implementation of the Emergency Regulations Ordinance is a serious violation of basic human rights. We were told that some people have been labelled as "subversives", "pro-communists", "communist sympathizers" and so on. This is an indication that the Alliance government will continue to implement the Emergency Regulations Ordinance under the pretext of dealing with subversive elements." (Sin Chew Jit Poh 8 December 1957)

Hanifah, a PAS MP, bluntly expressed his fear:

"PAS is an anti-communist organization. The Bill for amending the Constitution is in reality aimed at the opposition parties under the pretext of fighting subversion. I remember that Umno in its Annual General Meeting had passed a resolution to prohibit the PAS from using 'the crescent' as the party logo. It can be seen from this that the ruling party is trying to suppress opposition."

Zulkifli, another PAS MP, said:

"We are against the Constitutional Amendment Bill not because we are supporting the Communists". (China Press 24 April 1960)

Constitution not to be amended at one's whims and fancies

MP Tan Kee Gak, Chairman of the Malaya Party, said:

".....all of a sudden the government has arrogantly announced the amendment Bill. The government thinks that, being the ruling party with the majority of seats, it has the right to tamper with the basic human rights of the citizens and the Federal Constitution. Obviously it does not particularly respect our Constitution. It is prepared to tamper with our Constitution in any manner it pleases, when the Constitution is considered to be the most sacred by every citizen of the Federation of Malaya. This is tantamount to undermining our basic human rights, which are specifically guaranteed by the Federal Constitution." (China Press 23 April 1960)

Violation of basic human rights

D.R. Seenivasagam expressed opposition to the 1960 Constitutional Amendment Bill. He pointed out that our Constitution was drafted by renowned international law experts. The Constitution draftsmen were well aware of the circumstances, that Communist subversive elements were active. Hence the Emergency powers were retained but there was no provision for preventive detention.

He refuted the argument put forth by the Deputy Prime Minister that "*any democratic government will consider preventive detention the only way to deal with the threat of the agents of the Communist Party.*"

D.R. Seenivasagam thought that the government should instead allow freedom of speech. He said:

"If our Federal government intends to eliminate subversive elements, then the government should in the first place find the reasons for the existence of such subversive elements. Our Federal government should remove the restrictions placed upon the freedom of speech.

"The United Kingdom, India and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) are all democratic countries. Their governments do not prohibit their citizens from spreading the communist ideology. Our nation is also one of the democratic Commonwealth countries, it is, therefore, unnecessary to implement measures to ban communism."

An MP from Socialist Front, V. David said:

"I am strongly against the amendment of the Constitution of our country. The Constitution has very clearly provided for the basic rights and freedoms of our citizens. Once the Constitution is amended, the basic rights enjoyed by our citizens would also be undermined..."

Restrictions on the freedom of thoughts and the freedom of speech

Another MP from the Socialist Front, Lim Kean Siew said:

"I am strongly against authoritarian dictatorship. This is because it will curb our people's freedom of speech and thought. This is very frightening. We can foresee that once the Constitution is amended, every aspect of the people's freedom of speech and thought will be curbed in various ways. ...." (China Press 23 April 1960)

Socialist Front MP Karam Singh, a lawyer, said in his speech that he was against the Constitutional amendment.

"He would not spread the ideology of Communism himself. However, he advocates freedom of belief. He is of the opinion that the thoughts of our country's people cannot be restricted..." (China Press 24 April 1960)

PPP MP S.P. Seenivasagam criticized this move, saying that it was to restrict the people's freedom. He asked:

"... even during the long period of rule by the UK government, there was no law on subversion. Why do we have to introduce such a provision into our Constitution now?" (China Press 26 April 1960)

SF MP Boestamam said:

"...I am absolutely against the amendment of the Constitution. This is because the law allows for the detention of anyone without trial. Moreover, this law will deprive the citizens of their basic human rights."

Vague provisions may lead to abuse

The critics of the ISA were of the opinion that the provisions contain ambiguous words and vague definitions. Therefore, it is easy for the ruling party to abuse them, enabling them to attack its political rivals or oppositions. The ISA does not clearly explain what is meant by '*a threat to public security*', '*subversion*', '*public interest*' etc.

MP D.R. Seenivasagam in his speech has expressed his dissatisfaction of the use of certain terms. He asked the government to explain: what does '*incite disaffection against the Yang di Pertuan Agong*' mean? What is the meaning of '*instigating dissension among the various races*'? (China Press 23 April 1960)

### Detention period not clearly specified

SF MP Lim Kean Siew said:

"Originally, the ruling party intended to authorize the Home Minister to detain up to two years any element suspected of threatening the security of our country. However, it was felt that this was not sufficient, and amended the law. Now, any person can be detained if he is suspected of harming the interest of citizens, of organising violence against person or property, or promoting feelings of ill-will and hostility between different races, or exciting disrespect towards the Yang Dipertuan Agong or any Government in the Federation, or threatening the security of any area in Malaya. It is important to note that the detention period is not clearly specified. It can be one year, two years or three years... even up to 10 years or 20 years." (China Press 23 April 1960)

### Deprivation of the rights to appeal would lead to abuse of power

The ISA gave the Minister of Home Affairs tremendous power. Under the ISA, the decision of the Minister is final. Anyone dissatisfied with the decision has no right to appeal to any court.

SF MP Lim Kean Siew in his speech pointed out that:

".... We really do not want to give Federal Ministers more power than they already have. This is because they always abuse their powers. For instance, recently the Deputy Information Minister said in the Parliament that the news of the Malayan Broadcasting Station must be scanned. If we give more power to such a person, we would certainly suffer."

### Violation of the principle of equality before the law

The Federal Constitution provides that, in the eyes of the law, everyone is equal. In 1948, the United Nations (UN) promulgated the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR). The first article stipulates the principle that everyone is equal before the law.

In 1960, the Parliament enacted the ISA, empowering the ruling party to detain anyone without trial, thus depriving that person of his/ her right to an open court trial. Even a person suspected of murder has the right to defend themselves in an open court. However, a political detainee does not have such a right.

MP Chin See Yin said:

"Those who are convicted of manslaughter may be detained for 20 years. However, the criminal can be released after 14 or 15 years. Gangsters, who have turned over a new leaf, may be allowed to go free. So why is that political detainees do not have the right to regain their freedom? Political detainees are usually subject to long periods of detention, extended indefinitely. Take for example, Balan (former CPM Deputy Chairman) who has been detained until now." (China Press 23 April 1960)



### Culture of fear

The Malayan people lived in fear under the "white terror". It was thought that when the Emergency ended, the people would live in a society free from fear.

MP S.P. Seenivasagam said:

"Our people will never forget the experiences they had during the era of the British colonial rule under General Templer. It is hoped that what had happened then will not be repeated." (China Press 26 April 1960)

"S.P. Seenivasagam who lashed out at the government for suppressing people's freedom believed that with the Constitutional amendment new repressive laws would be formulated. He cited the example of the Soviet Union, where similar laws were employed to suppress the people." (China Press 24 June 1960: p21)

Tan Phock Kin, SF Deputy Chairman, in his speech at the Penang City Council, on 26 July 1960 said:

"The new law passed makes all those who cherish freedom really frightened". (Nyala [SF party organ, Chinese Edition] issue No. 1, 1960)

Speaking on peace and prosperity in our country, MP V. David, said:

"Currently, the people of Malaya do not have freedom of speech. Even speeches, made in the public interest by MPs outside the Parliament, are being recorded by the police..." (China Press 24 April 1960)

### Public reactions and opinions

When the ISA was passed in 1960, Malaya was still in a state of emergency. The opposition parties and trade union activists remarked that there was fear and terror all around. "White terror" was the order of the day. They were followed wherever they went, and their movements were monitored closely. The Special Branch had eyes and ears everywhere.

Under such ruthless oppression, what was the reaction from newspapers, political parties, civil organizations and the public in general?

The People's Party in Singapore, in its party organ *Voice of the People*, levelled scathing criticism against such laws. LPM, another component party of SF, in its party organ, had a similarly critical attitude towards the ISA.

### Political parties

The position of the SF on the ISA was well reflected by SF MPs in the Parliament. The SF was strongly opposed to the ISA and considered it to be a continuation of the Emergency Regulations Ordinance.

Many SF party members and cadres had been arrested and detained during the Emergency. Upon their release, the movements of these members

were restricted. They were deprived of their right to join trade unions, social and civil organizations, as well as to participate in political activities.

Besides being strongly against the ISA in the Parliament, the SF and all its members refused to participate in the celebration of the repeal of the Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948.

"In fact, we should celebrate the arrival of such a day, which we have been looking forward to for so long. However, even though the Emergency has ended, many Socialist Front members and supporters are still in detention. Hence, how can we celebrate this day when they are still locked in the prisons and in the detention centres?"

"The Emergency Regulations Ordinance was officially repealed yesterday. Yet another law, the ISA, which is more Draconian than this one, has been enacted. The ISA is not merely a continuation of the Emergency Ordinance, it has firmly entrenched the Ordinance". (Nyala Issue No. 1, 1960)

"Time and again we are assured that we will not be detained because of our political activities, but we will always have the fear that we will be arbitrarily detained under these laws..." (Nyala Issue No. 1, 1960)

The SF not only expressed its opposition to the ISA in its party organ, but also at its Annual General Meetings as well as at other party functions.

### The Press

On 1 May 1960, both *Nanyang Siang Pao* and the *China Press*, during their coverage of parliamentary debates on the Constitutional Amendment Bill, did not specifically comment on it.

*Nanyang* had only three articles on the ISA: one was an interview with Dr. Ismail of the *Alliance* about his views on the ISA; the other two articles were about opposition parties being against the ISA.

However, the *China Press* and *Sin Chew Jit Poh* had wide coverage, reporting the various debates in great detail. The same appears to be true of the other Chinese dailies.

The editorials or comments on social issues of the bi-weekly journal *Ming Lang* (clear and obvious), Issue no. 13, edited by the PRM Chairman, Ahmad Boestamam, indicated the views expressed by English and Malay newspapers.

According to a magazine editorial: "The ISA Bill is not a perfect one. Therefore, it is not possible to ramp it down the throat of the people. The Straits Times and the Berita Harian (Malay Language Daily) give full support to the Bill. However, there is no guarantee that the law will not be abused. The Utusan Melayu<sup>1</sup> was the only newspaper, which pointed out the possibility that the power endowed by this law can be abused..." (Ren-min-hu-sheng/People's Voice Issue No. 3 July 1960)

As to the reaction of the general public to the law, those who were aware of the political development of the country at that time, knew that the "white terror" had continued to strike fear into the hearts of the people since the declaration of the Emergency in 1948.

### Civil Organizations and NGOs

Prior to the constitutional amendment in 1960, in 1958 the Preservation of Public Order Ordinance emerged, giving the police wide-ranging power and whoever is not satisfied may lodge a complain to the minister. The Alliance government used the 1 October 1957 racial riots as an excuse for enacting the Ordinance. During the debate, few were against it.

However, the newly-elected Legislative Councillor D.R. Seenivasagam, and Councillors appointed by the trade unions were against the law's enactment. The only civil organization that openly expressed its dissatisfaction was the Bar Council.

"Mr. K.L. Devaser, member of Federation Bar Council, protested on Public Order (Preservation) Bill, 'The extensive nature of the powers conferred by the Bill on even junior police officers, and the very wide terms in which it is drawn up are pregnant with opportunities for misuse.'" (Strait Times 27 October 1958: p 4)

"The legislation gives police wide-ranging powers. Among other things, a police officer may declare a designated area a danger zone and ban demonstrations, rallies, meetings in that area for a period of one month. The police may also prohibit a gathering of five or more persons in a building or in the designated zone. The police may even use force to disperse rallies or gatherings.

"The point to note is that the legislation provides that those who are dissatisfied with the order issued by the government may lodge an appeal with the Minister..." (Sin Chew Jit Poh 24 October 1958)

Legislative Councillor D.R. Seenivasagam accused the Alliance government of enacting the law for the sole purpose of repressing political rivals. In response, the Alliance government gave the assurance that the law was only meant to prevent riots caused by racial conflict and would not be used against political enemies.<sup>6</sup>

"Since the ruling Umno government, as well as its predecessor the Alliance government, has always used the existence of the Communist Party of Malaya and its armed struggle to justify the need for the ISA, now that the CPM has signed the Peace Accord in 1989, Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba is of the opinion that it is possible to consider a review of the ISA now." (Sin Chew Jit Poh 1990)



Chong ... no need to use ISA



Kua ... denial of human rights



Arokiadass ... uphold love



Koh ...ISA should not exist

## Four ex-detainees voice their opinion

Four former ISA detainees spoke out against the act during a press conference called by 15 NGOs yesterday to urge the government to free As-haari Muhammad.

Here's what they have to say:

**Chong Tong Sin**, detained for eight years: "The ISA is used to hinder the development of the people's minds. The difference in

ideology concerning Arqam can be debated and discussed rationally. There is no need to use the ISA."

**Dr Kua Kia Soong**, detained for 445 days: "The use of the ISA is a flagrant denial of human rights. Under Section 73, the police have the absolute authority to detain individuals for up to 60 days in solitary confinement. This is a complete violation of the UN

standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners and which recognises such detention as inherently punitive and not preventive as claimed by the government."

**V. Arokiadass**, detained for 445 days: "In a democratic country, the government should have ethics and uphold religious values such as love and kindness. However, the ISA is being

used on Arqam for religious purpose. Have we forgotten the basic principle of justice?"

**Koh Swe Yong**, detained for eight years: "I think the only purpose for the ISA is to shut up views opposing the government. The ISA should not exist and should not be used against Arqam. The Arqam members should be tried in court."

8 WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 2004

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■ AT THE DEWAN RAKYAT YESTERDAY

# Preventive laws are here to stay

PREVENTIVE laws, including detention without trial, will remain, Internal Security Deputy Minister Datuk Noh Omar said.

He said laws such as the Internal Security Act 1960, Emergency Ordinance 1969, Dangerous Drugs Act (Special Prevention) 1965 and the Restricted Residence Act 1993 were vital for the country's stability and peace.

Other preventive laws, such as the Public Order Ordinance 1969, could be used to prevent violence and detain criminals such as snatch thieves without the need to go to court.

"For example, when we nab a snatch thief, we may not get immediate proof as the stolen goods because the theft had happened very quickly. This is where we need the Public Order Ordinance," he told reporters at the Parliament lobby yesterday.

terday.

He said in such cases, the police can detain the suspects for 60 days to obtain proof, find witnesses or seek their accomplices.

This process was also important for more serious cases such as terrorist activities, where people often refused to testify in court, he said.

Noh, however, said it was important that the Government ensured there were checks and balances when invoking preventive laws.

Asked whether foreign organisations were allowed to check on the condition of detainees held under the ISA, Noh said the Government had nothing to hide.

"But we do not need interference from others, such as the United States or the United Kingdom, in dealing with issues such as our preventive laws," he said.

### **The ISA retained by Barisan Nasional**

The ISA (Amendment) Bill..... heated Parliamentary debate began... The Minister of Home Affairs said that the objective for amending the legislation is to prevent the infiltration of the Communist Party... it is a policy to control the enrolment of the University for the sake of national security (China Press 14 July 1964)

Although the ground for the enactment of the ISA has ceased to exist after the signing of the peace accord between the government and the CPM on 2 December 1989, yet the ISA still remains. It has become a convenient and powerful weapon for the ruling party to catch all.

For instant, Ching Toh Eng, an MCA Selangor state assemblyman said:

"If the office of the MCA Sungai Chua branch in Selangor was destroyed by arson, the ISA could be used to arrest the criminals" (Nanyang Siang Pau 9 May 1996: p32)

Other arguments like "we still have the threat of racial tension" soon began to appear in the newspapers. Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir used the excuse that racial tension still exists in Malaysia to maintain the use of the ISA.

Umno Ministers and Deputy Ministers have, on different occasions, insisted that the ISA should be maintained. They resorted to various justifications to actively defend the continued use of the ISA.

Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir further declared on 23 May 1991 in Sarawak, that the ISA would not be abolished. He said that one of the reasons why Malaysia enjoys peace without any riots or chaos today is due to the existence of the ISA.

Prime Minister:

"only when the country is free from danger and threats can the ISA be abolished." ( Nanyang Siang Pau 29 December 1989: p35)

Prime Minister Dr Mahathir insisted that:

"laws are still needed to curb the subversive elements... the ISA cannot be abolished" (Nanyang Siang Pau 7 February 1996)

### **Conclusion**

In 1955, when the situations in Malaya eased, the British colonial regime put Tunku Abdul Rahman into power. By 1959 however, further developments had begun to threaten his rule. Therefore, in 1960, the ISA was introduced.

In 1969, the situation once again became unfavourable to the Alliance government. The general election results sparked off the "May 13" incident. An emergency was declared throughout the entire country and 'white terror'

was again the order of the day. The National Operation Council (NOC) became the overarching power of the country, as the Parliament was dissolved. Policies such as the Rukun Negara, Bumiputra privileges, the Cultural Congress and the New Economic Policy followed. The founding of the BN government once again placed the ruling elite firmly in power.

In the ensuing chapters, the mass arrests made under the ISA, which have never stopped, will be discussed in detail. Its use has been extended and expanded across the country. The malpractices have enabled us to have an insight into the true nature and motive of the ISA.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Karam Singh, a lawyer, was held at the Batu Gajah Detention Centre in April 1967 because of his support for the industrial strike by the Asahan Plantation Workers. The workers belonged to the Malacca Branch of the National Federation of Plantation Workers. He was an SF MP for Damansara. He was also the Central Committee Member of PRM and the Legal Advisor to the National Federation of Plantation Workers. He was later released after more than four years of detention under the ISA. On 23 January 1994, he died of heart attack at the age of 58.

<sup>2</sup> The British Colonialists carefully planned this election, in order to make sure that the Party it had cultivated would win the election unchallenged, and would thereby assume power. This can be substantiated by the fact that the British Administration waited till after the election, before releasing radical and uncooperative Malay leaders, such as Ahmad Boestamam. Upon his release, Boestamam formed the PRM in November of the same year. However, the party missed its chance to contest in the 1955 election. Many Malaysians who were against the British colonial rule were deprived of their voting rights then.

<sup>3</sup> Today, few people noticed that we still have four emergencies in force. They are: the Emergency declared during the period of Confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia; the 1966 Sarawak Emergency declared to deal with the dismissal of Sarawak's first Chief Minister, Stephen Kalong Ningkan by the Alliance government; the 1969 Emergency declared following the 13 May incident; and the 1978 Emergency of the state of Kelantan. Since they have not been lifted, we are still in a constant state of emergency.

<sup>4</sup> After the 1960 Constitutional amendment, the ruling party enacted three pieces of legislation allowing preventive detention. These are the Internal Security Act 1960, Public Order and Prevention of Crimes Ordinance 1969 and Dangerous Drugs (Special Preventive Measures) Act 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Before 1961, *Utusan Melayu* was a relatively independent newspaper, not yet controlled by Umno. It voiced opinions, criticisms and doubts about the ISA.

<sup>6</sup> In 1965, SF held a peaceful demonstration on 13 February, to protest the detention of its leader Boestamam under the ISA and to mark its second anniversary. The *Alliance* government then used the Preservation of Public Order Ordinance to suppress the demonstrators. It declared part of Kuala Lumpur, the capital, as a dangerous/ restricted zone. It was under curfew for more than a day.



## Mass Arrests 1960 - 70

We are now familiar with the opinions and arguments advanced by both parties in the last 30 over years; one is for and the other against the ISA.

In this chapter, we shall discuss the impact and implications of the ISA on our social, political, economic and cultural lives. Before we deal with this question, however, we must first look at how Malayan politics was developing within that specific historical context before the implementation of the ISA.

### The pre-ISA period

In Chapter 1, we saw how critics of the ISA had already pointed out that the ISA was merely a continuation of the Emergency Ordinance introduced by the British colonial masters in 1948.

This chapter will show how the development of the political situation before and after the coming into effect of the ISA, affected the people concerned. A brief account of the situation in Malaysia before 1960 may help in the understanding of the conduct, attitude and reactions of those in power.

Before World War II, third world countries of today were colonies of the West. They were colonial territories belonging to the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Germany and Italy and so on.

However, by the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, nationalism was gradually embedded in the peoples' minds and it slowly gathered momentum. The fervour of nationalism was spreading all over the world. In Asia, for instance, the peoples in India, Indonesia, the Philippines and Indo-China, were fighting for their independence. The nationalist movements were fast developing.

During this period, two anti-British and anti-colonial forces were taking shape in Malaya. They were political organizations struggling for the independence of Malaya. Both of them advocated for the building of a People's Republic of Malaya. They were none other than the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM) - the Malay Youth League.

Even though they were still small in number and strength, they nevertheless had alerted and alarmed the British authorities. The British were quite aware of the threat these organizations posed.

In 1940, the British colonial administration took the opportunity to attack KMM while it was still in its early years of formation and had yet to expand its influence. In one swoop, the colonial government arrested its 140 leaders and members, so as to stamp out its threat to the British imperialist rule. Boestamam, Ishak Haji Muhamad (Pak Sako), Burhanuddin, Ibrahim Yacob and others were the leaders of KMM. They were put behind bars for the first time in their lives.

The Japanese army, upon their occupation of Malaya released them.

After World War 2, Boestamam founded Parti Rakyat Malaya (PRM) - the People's Party of Malaya, Pak Sako became the Chairman of the Labour Party of Malaya (LPM) and Burhanuddin the Chairman of the Pan-Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP), later known as PAS.<sup>1</sup>

After the Japanese occupation of Malaya, KMM leaders were released from prisons by the Japanese. They were heavily influenced by the Indonesian Nationalist Movement. They decided to cooperate with the Japanese, on the condition that the Japanese army would allow Malaya to become independent. In reality, such independence was only in name, within the context of a Japanese-led "Greater East Asia Prosperity Sphere".

On the other hand, the CPM was mobilizing all strata of society to engage in an anti-Japanese war pursuant to its anti-Fascist United Front strategy. Throughout the Japanese occupation, both the forces - CPM and KMM - remained in close contact with each other.

Although the Japanese invasion had brought endless disasters and hardships to the Asian peoples, the war between the two colonial masters for economic control of the country, hastened the demise and collapse of the colonial system. For instance, Indonesia and North Vietnam declared their independence at the end of World War II. And countries such as India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Burma also achieved independence one after another.

The Japanese invasion brought far-reaching impact on Malaya. It expedited the independence of Malaya and influenced in no small way the political development of the country after its independence.

The anti-Japanese War lasted for 3 years and 8 months. It had raised the political consciousness of the people. It had also helped imperceptibly CPM in acquiring experiences in organizing the masses. It created favourable conditions for the Party to develop rapidly into a powerful, respectable and reputable political organization.

Upon the surrender of the Japanese, the CPM was endowed with excellent opportunity to seize power in the country. However, the CPM missed the opportunity because of the betrayal of an enemy agent within

the party and due to its incorrect assessment of the political situation at the material time.

As a result, they adopted the wrong policy of allowing the British colonialists to return to Malaya, giving them the golden opportunity to revive its colonial administration. The party harboured the erroneous idea of achieving Independence by peaceful means.

After World War II, the CPM was allowed to attain legal status of a lawful political party in 1946 though it was deemed illegal before the War. It was permitted to develop its organizations openly. At the same time, those left-wing Malay nationalists who were against the British colonial domination and were once imprisoned by the colonial administration for being members of KMM, also began to organize themselves into political groups such as the Malay Nationalist Party (MNP/PKMM), Angkatan Pemuda Insaf (API) i.e. the Awakened Youth League, the Women Awakening Association (AWAS) *etc.* They actively participated in the movement for Independence.

Malaya was extremely vital to the British for it was the colony that earned them the largest amount of foreign exchange and US currency. For example, in 1938, the volume of trade in Malaya was far greater than the total volume of trade made by some 17 British colonies in Africa. It also exceeded the volume of trade in India by half.

Come what may, the British were reluctant to give up Malaya that yielded lucrative income for them. It would not simply hand over Malaya to anyone, not to mention those who had their own political philosophy, ideology and ideas about nation building, much less to political organizations which were actively anti-colonial, such as CPM, MNP and the like.

After Britain had re-established its colonial rule in Malaya, it decided to adopt policies designed to protect its economic and political interests:

- To reassert its political control over Malaya and resume its military occupation of the country;
- To encourage and cultivate entrusted local elite to participate in politics and organise their own political parties, and to encourage civil servants to actively participate in political activities. (Civil servants who joined UMNO were given unrecorded leave from work to attend meetings. Some of them even resigned to take up leading positions in UMNO but continued to enjoy full pension. UMNO was expected to replace the CPM and other anti-British Malay Nationalist political parties).
- To allow organisations such as CPM and MNP to exist legally, but at the same time the government would monitor, restrict and repress their activities through enforcing new repressive laws. This was aimed at reducing their influence until such time when it was ripe to annihilate them completely.

### The British cultivated feudal forces to replace people's power

In 1946, the British colonial administration proposed the establishment of a Malayan Union. However, it met with strong opposition from all strata of society. The Malayan Union plan was ultimately dropped.

In July, 1946, the British colonial masters came out with another new plan that eventually shaped the future of Malaya. They ignored civil organizations and the general populace, and began secret talks with the Sultans and UMNO representatives in every State.

When the other organizations learned about this, they organized an opposition front known as the "People's Power - All Malaya United Action Committee". They strongly opposed the British proposals. They put up counter proposals. In addition, they organised demonstrations and mass rallies across the country. On October 20 1947, a nation-wide general strike took place.

When faced with widespread challenge to their proposal, the British colonialists adopted repressive measures to quell the opposition, instead of respecting human rights and accepting public opinion.

### Violent suppression of anti-colonial organizations

In 1947, the API led by Boestamam was banned. On the 18 June 1948, the Emergency was declared in Malaya. On the 20 June, the British colonial authority carried out mass arrests across the country. More than 600 people were arrested. 300 political parties, trade unions and associations were banned. The CPM was forced to go underground and started its armed struggle.

During the period from the declaration of the Emergency in 1948 to the Independence in 1957, nearly 34,000 people were detained without trial in detention camps all over the country. The number did not include those who were detained for less than 28 days. On the average, as many as 3,400 anti-colonial and anti-British individuals were sent to detention camps every year. At the height of the armed struggle in 1951, a total of 11,000 persons were kept in detention camps throughout the country.

In this anti-colonial movement, 26,000 persons, mainly Chinese, were deported. During the Emergency [1948 - 1960], there were 11,103 persons killed, 6,113 injured.

Immediately after the Emergency was declared in 1948, a large number of members of MNP such as Pak Sako, Boestamam, Burhanuddin and others, and also members of CPM and other organisations were arrested and imprisoned.

The British colonial rulers ruthlessly suppressed the anti-colonial movement. They mobilised 400,000 British troops to combat the armed guerrillas of the CPM. They also carried out forced eviction of villagers. The villagers were compelled to live in new villages, fenced in by layers of

barbed wire. At the same time, many were sentenced to death, imprisoned and deported for being anti-colonial. All this was done with the aim of eliminating them.<sup>2</sup>

### The Colonial Constitutional Reform

From 1951 onwards, with a view to further undermining and weakening the anti-colonial forces, the British colonial masters tried to distract the people's attention by gradually implementing constitutional reforms. To ensure the smooth transfer of the political power into the hands of their trusted loyalists, they cultivated a handful of people who were likely to replace CPM or Pak Sako, the left-wing Malay Nationalists.

In July 1952, local council elections were held. In July 1955, some of the Federal Legislative Council members were elected, the rest were appointed by the British colonial government. The Alliance led by Tunku Abdul Rahman won 51 out of 52 seats in the 1955 election. On the 31 August 1957, Malaya became an independent nation.

### Merdeka attained through sweat and blood

Looking back into the process of the struggle for Independence, one would realise that the British colonialists would not have let Malaya achieve independence so quickly and easily, if not for the sacrifices made and struggles waged by the forces of CPM and MNP, and if they had not been so anxious to ferret out a handful of local proteges to substitute the two forces mentioned above.

Buttressed by the British, the Alliance government headed by Tunku Abdul Rahman came into power. This accounts for the basic character of the Alliance government. The fruits of the struggle of the people of Malaya finally fell into the hands of the feudal forces as represented by the Alliance.

The progressive elements then, such as SF viewed the Alliance government as a puppet regime shored up by the British colonialists. Post-Independence Malaya remained a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. The independence was merely a façade. That accounts for the reason why they were of the view that the slogan for their struggle should be: "*To struggle for the realization of a genuinely independent and democratic Malaya (including Singapore)*".

### Pre-1960 Political Situation

After World War II, the challenge by the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and the left-leaning Malay Nationalists against the British Colonialists were gradually weakened. Ultimately, the British managed to suppress them.

By the time Malaya achieved Independence, the military strength of the CPM had already shrunk from its peak of 10,000 guerrillas to only a few

hundred. And the majority of them had retreated to the Southern part of Thailand. According to the reports of the Psychological Warfare Unit of the Malayan Police Force, CPM was no longer effective and was no longer a force to reckon with. The areas under the Emergency rule dwindled. By 1960, Emergency no longer existed. (Nanyang Siang Pao 1960)

At this time, the lawful political parties were: the Alliance, a coalition of three parties i.e. UMNO, MCA and MIC, while the opposition parties consisted of the Malayan People's Progressive Party [PPP], the Socialist Front [SF] comprising the Malayan People's Party [Parti Rakyat Malaya (PRM) and the Labour Party of Malaya (LPM)], the Pan Malayan Islamic Party [PMIP, now known as PAS], the Malaya Party and the Malayan Nationalist Party. The Alliance is the ruling party. In the 1955 Malayan Legislative Council elections, it won 51 out of a total of 52 seats.

LPM was a democratic socialist party formed in 1952 by a group of Malaysians influenced by the British Fabians. PPP was a splinter group from the LPM, led by D.R. Seenivasagam and his brother. PMIP was a splinter group from the UMNO. The Malaya Party was led by Tan Kee Gak. The Malayan Nationalist Party, also a splinter group from UMNO, was led by Dato' Onn Jaffar.

### The People's Progressive Party [PPP]

The PPP relied mainly on the high prestige of one individual, D.R. Seenivasagam, a lawyer. Its influence was centred mainly in Ipoh, in the Kinta District of the State of Perak. D.R. Seenivasagam himself was the famous defence counsel for Lee Meng, a CPM member. It was a well-known court case in the 1950s.

Lee Meng was the liaison officer of Chin Peng, the General Secretary of CPM. She was arrested and charged in court for being in possession of firearms. Relying on a photograph as evidence, she was sentenced to death. Her death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment when the Sultan of Perak granted her a pardon. She was later deported to China in 1963.

In 1957, an MCA Member of Parliament from Ipoh was appointed as the Governor of the State of Malacca. As a result, the seat in Ipoh was vacated. A by-election was called. D.R. Seenivasagam defeated the MCA candidate, and successfully entered the Malayan Legislative Council. In 1959, the Party won 4 parliamentary seats in the first post-independence General Elections.

### The Labour Party of Malaya [LPM]

The British encouraged the formation of the Labour Party of Malaya [LPM]. The Party was modelled on the British Labour Party. In the early years, separate Labour Parties were set up in different States. Later on, they merged to form the Pan Malayan Labour Party. It was a weak party before 1955. In

the Legislative Council Elections held in 1955, it fielded 2 candidates, but both were defeated.

Since meeting its failure in the 1955 elections, a group of leaders advocating for the grassroots in the Party rose in position. They threw in their lot with the masses. Tan Tuan Boon was one of them. They led squatters in Kuala Lumpur in the struggle for their rights. This helped the Labour Party to be seen as a party fighting for the rights and welfare of the people from the lower strata of the society.

It gradually attracted a substantial number of youths imbued with idealism and committed to the cause of social justice. Consequently, it extended its influence rapidly, and they managed to enlist the support of the urban and suburban people living in cities as well as in new villages. Its power base was mainly found along the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula, such as Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Malacca, Johor Bahru, Serdang New Village and Jinjang New Village in the State of Selangor etc.

Tan Tuan Boon was once a Chinese Affairs Officer. During the Emergency, when the whole country was shrouded in an atmosphere of fear and white terror, he bravely revealed an incident about the demeaning behaviour of the British troops. He disclosed the plight of female rubber plantation workers in Semenyih, Kajang. They were being told to strip only to be searched by the British troops. The people were infuriated by such inhumane conduct on the part of the British troops. His disclosure created a big stir.

In 1958, the LPM and PRM joined forces and contested in the Georgetown Municipal Council Election in Penang. They defeated the Alliance and took over the administration of the Municipal Council. The Alliance became an opposition party in the Municipal Council. Subsequently, LPM and PRM which formed the Socialist Front [SF] seized power in a number of local government elections. To name a few: the Local Councils of Serdang New Village and Jinjang New Village, the Kluang Municipal Council and the Malacca Municipal Council.

#### Parti Rakyat Malaya [PRM – the Malayan People's Party]

It is a multi-racial and multi-cultural party, formed on 11 November 1955. Boestamam suggested its formation soon after his release from detention. Many of its members were left-leaning Malay Nationalists from the various defunct parties, e.g. the Malaya Malay Nationalist Party. PRM formed an alliance with LPM on 31 August 1957, then known as the People's Socialist Front of Malaya, the Socialist Front [SF] for short. It did quite well in the elections at various levels.

### The Socialist Front [SF]

Socialism was a very popular ideal in the 1950s and 1960s. Swept by the tidal wave of anti-colonialism, social movement was developing everywhere. SF was a platform for promoting socialism as well as for those who were inclined towards socialism. In the 1959 General Elections, it emerged as the strongest opposition party. In the Municipal Council and Local Council elections, it reaped increasingly good results. It therefore posed an imminent threat to the Alliance.

SF adopted an anti-colonial, anti-British imperialism position which was directly opposed to the stand taken by the Alliance. The latter adopted a completely pro-British-American stance.

SF supported the concept of 'Malaysia' in principle when it was mooted in 1961. However, it opposed the manner by which Malaysia would be established. SF felt that the three British colonies in Northern Borneo should be granted independence prior to their merging with Malaya to form 'Malaysia'.

In January 1962, SF convened a 5-State Socialist Conference in Kuala Lumpur whereby leftists from Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak attended. It reiterated its opposition to the manner of formation of "Malaysia" proposed by the Alliance. It was also a dissenting voice during the Malaysia-Indonesia Confrontation. It took a position entirely different from that of the Alliance government.

In January 1965, the Central Committee of SF finally resolved to withdraw its support for the declaration of the 1964 Emergency relating to the *Konfrontasi*. It opposed National Service and organized a mass rally, the "February 13 Struggle for Human Rights Day". SF was formally dissolved in January 1966.

On 4 October 1957, the Malayan Socialist Youth League decided to join SF. However, it was proscribed and banned by the Alliance government just a day before it became a component party of SF. A lot of its members were arrested. However in 1964, the National Convention Party of Malaya, founded by Aziz Ishak, the former Minister of Agriculture of the Alliance government, became a component party of SF, and that helped increase the strength of SF.

### The Pan-Malayan Islamic Party [PMIP/PAS]

PMIP, now known as PAS, was a split from UMNO. In 1955, it won one seat in the Federal Legislative Council. Apart from the Alliance, PMIP was the only party which had successfully gained a seat in the election. In the 1959 General Elections, it assumed power in the States of Kelantan and Trengganu. It also won many parliamentary seats. Its Chairman, Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, had been twice arrested by the British Colonial Administration. Before 1960, its influence expanded rapidly in the East



Coast and the Northern part of Malaya. A substantial number of Malay voters from the rural areas gave them support.

### Political Situation before 1960

After the 1959 General Elections, all members of the Legislative Council were elected. The results of the election indicated that the political situation in our country had changed.

Many more squatters had become voters after the Independence. Even though the Alliance was still in power, it could no longer win a landslide victory as in 1955, where it nearly captured all the parliamentary seats. On the contrary, in the 1959 General Elections, it had lost many parliamentary as well as State seats. Two States were lost to PAS. The opposition parties, in particular SF, had emerged and were fast becoming a force that might eventually replace the Alliance.

According to Dr. Syed Husin Ali, the three Malay nationalists - Ishak Haji Muhammad (Pak Sako), Boestamam and Dr. Burhanuddin were against the British colonialism, and after their second release from the concentration camp, they might have reached a consensus privately among themselves to separately join the three political parties i.e. LPM, PRM and PMIP. They were making another attempt to reorganize and lead the opposition forces with a view to contend for the ruling power.

As for the CPM, it still could not operate openly and legally after Independence. Its influence and power by this time had drastically declined. They had only a few hundred guerrillas left. They had retreated to the Southern part of Thailand. Its political arms were also crippled. According to the Psychological Warfare Unit of the Police ie the Special Branch, the CPM was no longer effective. Nevertheless, in the days to come, the CPM was still implicated in every serious incident taking place in Malaysia, particularly in relation to the political detentions right up to 1987.

### Repression of the left-wing movement in the era of Tunku Abdul Rahman

The Emergency Regulations Ordinance was not immediately abolished after Malaya became independent.

It was only formally repealed on 31 July 1960. It was replaced by the ISA which came into effect on the 1 August. The Parliament had proposed and passed the Bill on the ISA earlier in April.

Given the social and political development of our nation after Independence, the implementation of the ISA can be divided into three periods closely linked to the terms of office of the respective Prime Ministers.

The era of Tunku Abdul Rahman can be divided into 5 stages according to the manner of suppression and the wiping out of the lawful left-wing movement:

1. The early period of Independence
2. 1960 – 1963: systematic arrests
3. 1964-1965: Elimination of Malay Leftists during Konfrontasi
4. 1966 – 1969: Destruction of the left-wing movement
5. 1969 – 1970: Suspension of Parliament

Special mention may be made of the year 1965 from the perspective of the left-wing movement. 1965 was a watershed. It was mainly characterized by the repression of the lawful and open left-wing movement. In the end, SF was systematically broken up, LPM was deregistered, PRM became paralysed; and the Parliament was suspended. It ended with the stepping down of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

### The early years of Independence

The Alliance government headed by Tunku Abdul Rahman assumed power from the British colonial masters. However, it did not have clean break from the British; it did not implement any new policy.

On the contrary, it threw in its lot with the British-US camp, siding the West during the Cold War period and adopted anti-communist policy. It was particularly hostile towards the People's Republic of China. It was the policy of the Alliance government to toe the British line.

During the 1955 general elections, when the Alliance was requested to take its stand on the Emergency Ordinance, it promised to abolish such emergency legislation if it formed the government. However, when the Alliance came into power, it did not fulfil its promise. On the contrary, it went back to the Federal Legislative Assembly seeking power to continue implementing the Emergency Ordinance.

The Federal Constitution was amended in 1960. A provision on preventive detention was added. Pursuant to the provision, the ISA was passed as a piece of legislation to replace the Emergency Ordinance, and the Emergency ended.

When the Emergency Ordinance was in force, the Alliance government repeatedly used it to detain communists and progressive workers, farmers, students and intellectuals. For instance, from 1956 onwards, many student activists and leaders were detained one after another, simply because of their opposition to the colonial education policy meant to enslave the people mentally.

List of political and secondary student activists detained in Kuala Lumpur in October 1958 (Nanyang Siang Pau)

Name	Age	
1 Zheng Wen Po	Male, age 23, Hokkian	President, Malayan Socialist Youth League, insurance agent
2 Chui Fang Ming	Male	Secretary General, Malayan Socialist Youth League, work in a glass shop
3 Huang Qi Xiang	Male, age 23	Malayan Socialist Youth League, worker
4 Zhao Yu Yun	Female, age 16, Cantonese	Junior 2E student, Tuan Jin High School, from Jalan Loke Yoo
5 Huang Lan Lan	Female, age 17, Cantonese	Junior 5B student, Tuan Jin High School, stay at 4B, Lorong Saik
6 Zheng Yan Gu	Male, age 19, Hokkian	Junior 2 student, Tuan Jin High School, from Serdang N/V
7 Lim Ping Juang	Male, age 20, Cantonese	Junior 3 student, Tuan Jin High School
8 Ye Tian Song	Male, age 16	Junior 2 student, Tuan Jin High School, from no 1550 Serdang N/V
9 Chen Bao Rong	Male, age 19, Hokkian	Senior 1 student, Confucian High school, stay at 119 Jalan Ipoh
10 Li Xing	Male, age 19, Cantonese	Senior 3C student, Confucian High School, stay at 54, Sungai Chua, Kajang
11 Deng Yao Zeng	Male, age 20, Cantonese	Teacher, Confucian High School, stay at 17B Kampong Satu
12 Ye Shu Pei	Male, age 21.	Senior 1G student, Confucian High School, stay at 407, Serdang N/V
13 Yang Nan Chan	Male, age 24	Construction worker, from Serdang N/V
14 Li Yu Jia	Male, age 18	Senior 3 student, Chung Hwa High School Setapak, stay at 6, Road 3, Yulan Garden, Sentul
15 Zhang Wen Ming	Male, age 19, Cantonese	Senior 3B student, Chung Hwa High School Setapak, father Zhang Po Fang, stay at 67, Ulu Yam
16 Ng Gou	Male age 22, Cantonese	Senior 3B student, Chung Hwa High School Setapak, father Wu Chang, stay at 48, Kampong Saem, Pahang Road
17 Lim Pei Ming	Male, age 18, Teochew, Cantonese	Student, Chung Hwa High School Setapak, stay at 476, Chow Kit Road
18 Chen bao Zhen	Female, age 21, Hokkian	Senior 3B student, Kuen Chung Girls' High School, father Chen Yong Wei, businessman, 11, Serriban Road, Kajang
19 Yang Yu Ying	Female, age 21, Cantonese	Senior 3A student, Kuen Chang Girls' High School, mother Hu Ya Mei, housewife, from Sungai Chua, Kajang
20 Zeng Hua Lan	Female, age 21, Cantonese	Senior 3B student, Kuen Chung Girls' High School, father Zeng Chun Lai Worker, stay at 26, Serriban Road, Kajang
21 Zhou Rui Zhen	Female, age 20, Cantonese	Senior 1C student, Kuen Chang Girls' High School, father Zhou Kang, worker, stay at 404, Serdang N/V
22 Deng Hui Ping	Female, age 19, Cantonese	Senior 3 student, Kuen Chang Girls' High School, stay at Serdang N/V
23 Xiao Shu An	Male, age 18, Fui Chew Hakka	Junior 3 student, Confucian High School, stay at Serdang N/V
24 Liang Yun Hong	Male, age 20, Cantonese	Study in an English school, stay at Serdang N/V
25 Gu Bi Rong	Female, age 19, Fui Chew	Rubber tapper, stay at Serdang N/V
26 Gu Yu lan	Female, age 21, Fui Chew	Rubber tapper, stay at Serdang N/V
27 Gu Tian Fu	Male, age 20, Fui Chew	Junior 3 student, Chung Hwa High School, Setapak
28 Luo Lan Mei	Female, age 18	Junior 3 student, Tuan Jin High School, stay at 114, Serdang N/V

29. Lai Rui Ling	Female, age 19, Fui Chew	Junior 3 student, Tsun Jin High School, stay at 97, Serdang N/V
30. Lai Rui Lian	Female, age 17	Rui Ling's sister, a rubber tapper
31. Wu Zhen Hua	Male, age 22, Cantonese	Senior 1 student, Confucian High School, stay at 279 Serdang N/V
32. Yang Jiao	Female, age 21	Rubber tapper, stay at 817 Serdang N/V
33. Lao Mei Lan	Female, age 17, Cantonese	Former Tsun Jin High School student, starting this month study in a Sungai Besi English school, stay at 1414, Serdang N/V
34. Ye Rui Zhen	Female, age 26	Rubber tapper, stay at 1448, Serdang N/V
35. Fang Jin Xiang	Male, age 20, Fui Chew	Student, Confucian High School, stay at 1722 Serdang N/V
36. Yang Ji Ling	Male, age 20	Construction worker, stay at Serdang N/V
37. Zhang Nan You	Male, age 24	Construction worker, stay at Serdang N/V
38. Yang Xin Mei	Female, age 18	Rubber tapper, stay at Serdang N/V
39. Chai Hui Zi	Female, age 20	Rubber tapper, stay at Serdang N/V
40. Ye Chang Gui	Male, age 19	Junior 3 student, Chung Hwa High School Setapak, Stay at 1037, Serdang N/V
41. Chen Ying Chun	Male, age 17, Fui Chew	Junior 2A student, Yu Hua High School Kajang
42. Shen Fu Quan	Male, age 21	Junior 3 student, Yu Hua High School Kajang
43. Wu Jiang He	Male, age 20, Hokkian	Rubber tapper, stay at Sungai Chua Kajang
44. Chen Jin Yu	Male, age 19, HOLLAN	Junior 2B student, Yu Hua High School Kajang
45. Chen Yu Guang	Male, age 20, Fui Chew	Former Senior 2 student, Chung Hwa High School Setapak, now construction worker, stay at Cheras Road, Kuala Lumpur
46. Xiao Bing Xin	Male, Fui Chew	Clerk at the Selangor Furniture Association
47. Yang Sun	Male, age 19	Junior 3 student, Confucian High School, stay at 1464, Serdang N/V
48. Huang Guan Qing	Male, age 18, Cantonese	Junior 3 student, Yu Hua High School Kajang, stay at Sungai Chua Kajang
49. Lee Cheng Boon	Male, age 23	Senior 2A student, Confucian High School, stay at Kajang
50. Zhang Guang Rong	Male, age 20, Cantonese	Petrol kiosk worker at Salak South N/V
51. Zhuang Mu Lan	Female, Cantonese	Junior 3D student, Tsun Jin High School, stay at Puch, Kuala Lumpur
52. Wu Mei Jin	Male, age 30+, Hokkian	Detained by the police at his own shop, yesterday night
53. Zhang Yuan Ji	Hokkian	Shopkeeper at Wu Mei Jin's shop
54. Lei Yao Hui	Male, age 22, Cantonese	Graduated from Confucian High School, teaching at Hua Chiao Primary School, Imbi Road
55. Ye Zhong Xian	Female	Junior student, Tsun Jin High School, stay at Road 4, Petaling Jaya
56. Zhang Yu Ai	Female, age 21, Hokkian	Study at Hua Chiao evening class, stay at Abdul Samad Road

Tong Yi was a 1958-1959 Central Executive Committee member of the People's Party of Malaya. He is still under detention.

[source: party organ of the People's Party of Malaya, 1960]



(He was detained from 11 November 1958 to 4 May 1964 and released with 11 conditions at the age of 28 on 4 May 1964. He was the Perak State secretary of the General Workers Federation of Trade Unions. Some of the conditions were: (1) Restricted residence in the Tapah Police District and cannot leave the police district without permission from the authority, (2) Cannot take part in union and political activities, (3) cannot correspond and meet any political detainees, (4) must remain in the house from 10.00 pm at night to 6.00 am the next morning everyday, (5) Cannot sell any books and magazines, and forbid from writing. —source: 5 May 1964, China Press. )

人民黨咁分部前主席湯設  
**獲有條件釋放**  
 限居住打巴區，晚上須留在家中  
 不得參加工會及政治活動

【本報訊】前人民黨咁分部主席湯設，獲有條件釋放。湯設於十一月十一日獲釋，其條件如下：(一)限居住打巴區，晚上須留在家中；(二)不得參加工會及政治活動；(三)不得與任何政治犯通訊；(四)不得與任何政治犯見面；(五)不得與任何政治犯見面；(六)不得與任何政治犯見面；(七)不得與任何政治犯見面；(八)不得與任何政治犯見面；(九)不得與任何政治犯見面；(十)不得與任何政治犯見面。

### Organizations proscribed and student activists arrested

In May 1958, 4 union leaders of the General Workers Federation of Trade Unions were detained under the Emergency Ordinance. The trade union was subsequently deregistered. In October, the Socialist Youth League of Malaya [SYL] formed by a group of young people was similarly closed down. At the same time, mass arrests being the first of its kind after our independence also took place.

This time round, more than 100 members of SYL and young students were detained. Some of them were sent to the detention centre. After the repeal of the Emergency Ordinance, detentions were continued under the ISA.

Apart from arresting students, youths, trade union leaders, members of SYL, members of LPM and PRM were also regularly detained after Independence. Those arrested were mostly enthusiastic, sincere, committed and active grassroots cadres of the parties concerned. They were good at organizing and reaching out to the masses.

Tong Yik, Central Committee member of both PRM and SF, was detained in 1958 and kept in the detention centre for 5½ years. Detainees who were subsequently released were subjected to restrictions in their movement and activities.

They were not allowed for instance to join political parties, trade unions or participate in activities of any organisations. Their movement was no longer free and they had to report to the police at designated time. They were not allowed to publish their writing, sell printed materials such as books or newspapers and last but not the least, they could not address the public in rallies and so on.

Apart from preventive detention, the Alliance government also adopted other measures to exert their powers and authority, such as disbanding political parties and trade unions, restricting basic human rights through legislation.

In December 1958, the Alliance government used the 1957 racial riot as a pretext to enact the "*Preservation of Public Order Act*", to give the police wider powers. Such legislation gave the police the power and prerogative to declare an emergency in any area for a maximum period of one month. If anyone was dissatisfied with detention order, he could appeal to the Home Minister. However, the decision of the Minister would be final and it could not be challenged in any court of law.

### 1960 – 1963 - systematic arrests

The 1959 general elections for self-government in Singapore saw the collapse of the Lim Yew Hock government. PAP, a self-professed socialist party, came into power. Trade union leaders were released from detention. The left-wing forces expanded and grew in strength.

# 下令法全安部內 在

## 雪警方展開

### 大搜捕行動

#### 全雪州共有十九人被逮捕 包括社陣副秘書許博義等 吡叻屬怡保亦有一人被捕

【本報訊】雪蘭莪警方昨日展開大規模搜捕行動，全雪州共有十九人被逮捕，包括社陣副秘書許博義等。吡叻屬怡保亦有一人被捕。

警方表示，此次行動是為了打擊非法活動，維護社會治安。被捕人士包括許博義、張某某、李某某等。警方在行動中搜獲了一些非法物品，並對相關場所進行了搜查。

#### 準備多時 逮捕行動

警方表示，此次行動是經過多時的準備和策劃的。警方在行動前已經對目標人物進行了詳細的調查和定位。行動在凌晨時分開始，警方出動了大批警力，對多個地點進行了同時搜捕。

被捕人士在現場被帶走，並被帶往警察局進行進一步的調查和處理。警方表示，此次行動取得了重大成果，對打擊非法活動起到了積極的作用。

#### 社陣披露 被捕黨員

社陣披露了被捕黨員的姓名，包括許博義、張某某、李某某等。社陣表示，這些黨員都是忠誠的黨員，他們被捕是非法的，社陣將採取一切必要措施，維護黨員的合法權益。

社陣呼籲政府釋放被捕黨員，並對此次非法行動進行調查和追究。社陣表示，他們將繼續為維護社會正義和民主自由而奮鬥。

#### 增甲甲洞 共捕四人

在增甲甲洞地區，警方共逮捕了四名人士。警方表示，這四名人士涉嫌參與非法活動，他們在現場被帶走，並被帶往警察局進行進一步的調查和處理。

警方表示，此次行動是增甲甲洞地區打擊非法活動的一部分。警方將繼續加強對該地區的巡邏和監控，確保社會治安穩定。



此為被警方逮捕之人士

#### 社陣副秘書 許博義被捕

社陣副秘書許博義被捕一事引起了廣泛關注。許博義是社陣的重要領導人之一，他的被捕對社陣的運作產生了重大影響。社陣表示，許博義被捕是非法的，他們將採取一切必要措施，維護許博義的合法權益。

社陣呼籲政府釋放許博義，並對此次非法行動進行調查和追究。社陣表示，他們將繼續為維護社會正義和民主自由而奮鬥。

#### 沙登新村 捕四青年

在沙登新村地區，警方共逮捕了四名青年。警方表示，這四名青年涉嫌參與非法活動，他們在現場被帶走，並被帶往警察局進行進一步的調查和處理。

警方表示，此次行動是沙登新村地區打擊非法活動的一部分。警方將繼續加強對該地區的巡邏和監控，確保社會治安穩定。

Under the ISA

The Selangor Police carried out mass arrest a total of 19 detained in the state including Koh Pak Ngee, the General Secretary of the Socialist Front

张生妹摄于  
华都牙也  
扣留营。



Top: Zhang Sheng Mei , at Batu Gajah Detention Camp, picture taken on 24 September 1969.

Bottom: Chan Peng King , picture taken at Batu Gajah Detention Camp.



The people of Singapore achieved self-government through merger with the Federation of Malaya in 1963. By then, the independence of Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei was already on the agenda. The British colonialists were reluctant to accept defeat. They proposed the formation of Malaysia, having in mind the transition of power to its loyal agent, Tunku Abdul Rahman.

On 6 November 1960, when everyone was sound asleep, the police together with the Special Branch carried out mass arrests of more than 20 persons in 3 States, namely, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Perak. Among them were 10 SF cadres. Others arrested were secondary school students, teachers, rubber plantation workers and trade union leaders. The mass arrests continued until February 1961. In total, 60 persons were arrested.

Those detained included:

- Koh Pak Ngee, SF deputy general secretary, PRM central committee member, chief editor of SF Chinese party organ "*Huo Yan*" (Nyala, the Flame - Chinese version);
- Tan Ping Ying, SF Selangor state secretary
- Foo Chang Ho, chairman of the Jinjang Local Council cum chairman of LPM Jinjang Branch
- Chan Peng King, Jinjang Local Councillor cum the deputy secretary of LPM Jinjang Branch
- Liu Siao Hua, secretary of LPM Jinjang Branch
- Foo Yong Shen, treasurer of PRM Perak Division cum chairman of PRM Ipoh branch
- Loh Ann, chairman of PRM Ampang branch; and
- Tan Poh Ann treasurer of PRM Ampang branch.

Some of them were also charged in court. They were sent to the Batu Gajah Detention Centre.

In 1961, between January and February, over 20 persons, including SF members, were arrested in Selangor and Penang. In November, 25 students were arrested. In December, 5 SF important cadres in Selangor were similarly arrested.

In March 1962, the following LPM members were arrested:

- Lim Chok Tong, executive secretary LPM Pahang Division, chairman of LPM Mentakab Branch cum Mentakab Local Councillor
- Lim Huang Chew, committee member of LPM Pahang Division and chairman of LPM Kuantan Branch

## **Detainee Zahari 'adopted' by Amnesty International**

**SINGAPORE, Wed.** — Amnesty International has "adopted" in the Naid Zahari, a former editor of the *Tusan Melayu*, now under political detention here.

Zahari, 38, was arrested during "Operation Cold Storage" in February 1962.

A letter from Amnesty International, addressed to him, c/o Changi Prison, conveyed the greetings of the organization to him and his fellow political detainees.

The letter said: "An appeal has been forwarded to the authorities holding you and we will continue to make appeals for your release until we hear that you are again a free man."

### **Postage**

"We would be very interested to hear from you telling us of any way in which we can help, and any further information concerning yourself and will gladly pay your postage costs."

Amnesty International, an organization dedicated to getting the release of all "prisoners of conscience" who have not committed acts of violence has consultative status with the United Nations and with the Council of Europe.

The letter was handed by Zahari to his wife yesterday when she visited him in prison.



**ZAHARI**  
under detention  
since 1962.



Ahmad Boestamam, President of the People's Party of Malaya cum MP, was detained. He was seen being taken away by the police from the party headquarter to the police station at noon.

(source: news, 14 February 1963, China Press)

In August 1962, another member was arrested. He was Chai Chian Nian, committee member of LPM Pahang Division, secretary of LPM Bentong Branch cum chairman of LPM Karak Branch

In December, no less than 50 persons were detained all over Malaya.

### "Operation Cold Store" in Singapore

On 2 February 1963, PAP in Singapore launched the controversial mass arrests known as the "Operation Cold Store", which shook the country and shocked the world.

More than 120 well-known members of the left-wing opposition parties and trade unionists, including 9 Malay leaders were detained. They were important political figures such as Lim Chin Siong, Said Zahari, the editor of the Malay newspaper *Utusan Melayu*, Dr. Lim Hock Siew and Dr. *Poh Su Kai* and others were detained under the ISA for as long as 16 years.

### Boestamam - the first MP ever detained

On 13 February 1963, Ahmad Boestamam, the opposition leader cum SF chairman was the first MP of Malaya ever to be detained. This had caused a stir in the political arena in Malaya, and drew severe criticisms from the opposition parties.

On 16 September 1963, not long after the establishment of Malaysia, a batch of student leaders from the Nanyang University in Singapore were detained. Towards the end of the year, 37 persons, including Singaporeans and individuals from Johor and Kelantan were detained. In December, Ishak Hussein, secretary of the *Malay Peninsula League* was detained.

### About these arrests

The arrests so far showed that the operations were systematic, well planned and strategically deployed. Among those detained, the number of secondary school students was decreasing by the year. However, there was a corresponding increase in the number of the SF members detained which indicated the Alliance fear of the SF fast expanding popularity.

The majority of them were branch cadres such as chairmen, secretaries and treasurers, apart from several state-level and middle-rung leaders. Moreover, all of them were mostly Chinese, except for figures like Abu Samar, chairman of the SF and PRM Pahang Division.

### Formation of Malaysia

In mid 1961, Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman proposed in Singapore for the first time the concept of Malaysia. In January the following year, the 5-State Socialist Conference declared its opposition to the manner of the

establishment of Malaysia. In December 1962, even though Parti Rakyat [the People's Party] in Brunei won the General Elections, there was obstruction to their forming a government. It was compelled to stage an armed uprising in the end.

The opposition to the concept of Malaysia led to the 1963 mass arrests in Singapore and Malaya. Judging from the date of arrests and the persons arrested, particularly the detention of Boestamam, SF chairman, those in power were all out to eliminate the Malay leftists from Malayan political scene.

#### 1964 – 1965 Elimination of Malay leftists during *Konfrontasi*

The establishment of Malaysia was originally scheduled to take place on 31 August 1963. Since no agreement could be reached among the parties involved, it was only officially inaugurated in haste on 16 September 1963.

The birth of Malaysia had in fact created tension between the countries in the region. It led to the confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia. Malaysia was also at odds with the Philippines. Such tension led to an onslaught leftists, particularly the Malay leftists.

The ensuing year saw more detentions, the majority of them being SF cadres. For the first time, important members of PAS were also detained under the ISA.

In Singapore, over 70 Nanyang University student leaders were also detained.

In March and June, Roslan Shariff, secretary of SF and PRM Johor Division, and Che' Zailani Suleiman, general secretary of the National Convention Party, were both detained.

Soon after that, the following persons, among others, were also detained:

- Ibrahim, secretary of SF Johor Bahru Branch cum Johor Bahru Local Councillor and PRM Central Committee member
- Abdul Ghani, vice-chairman of SF Johor cum chairman of PRM Johor
- Nazar Nong, former Selangor State Assemblyman cum PRM vice-chairman
- Abu Bakar, chairman of PRM Penang

#### PAS State Assemblymen arrested

The important PAS members arrested were:

- Nik Abdullah Arshad, Kelantan State Assemblyman for Pantii, Kota Baru;
- Shafii Idris, Kelantan State Assemblyman for East Kota Bahru; and



left: Look Siew Ken, a women cadre of the People's Party, was arrested in 1964 and further detained in Taiping Gaol and Batu Gajah Detention Camp.



Right: Loke Yoke Chin, a women cadre of the People's Party, was arrested in 1964 and further detained in Batu Gajah Detention Camp.

- Haji Hassan, Kelantan State Assemblyman for Tenong.  
LPM members detained included:
- Liu Guo Sheng secretary of Jinjang Branch, Dr Tan Chee Khoon's election campaign manager;
- Lee Yew Lai, chairman of Ulu Berenang branch, Negeri Sembilan;
- Li Miao Sun, state committee member cum chairman of Gemencheh Branch, Negeri Sembilan;
- Chang Yee, secretary of Pontian branch, Johore;
- Soo Meng, state working committee member cum secretary of Bekok Branch, Johore;
- Lee Boon Peng, Muar Town Councillor, Johore;
- Pang Lee Seng, state vice-chairman, Johore ;
- Pang Hon Meng, state working committee member, Johore;
- Kong Hoi, state secretary, Perak ;
- Xu Jin Rong, state executive secretary, Perak ;
- Pang Hon Seng, Central Committee member

#### SF woman cadres

The SF woman cadres detained were:

- Zhang Wu Mei, PRM Petaling Jaya Branch secretary;
- Look Siew Ken, chairperson of PRM state Women Wing cum secretary of Salak South Branch, Selabgor; and
- Zhang Xiu Lan, chairperson of the Women Wing cum treasurer of Sungai Siput Branch, Perak.

#### Malaysia-Indonesia Confrontation

The opposition parties did not do well in the 2nd General Elections. SF won only 2 seats in the Parliament. The confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia escalated. A group of local young people receiving military training in Indonesia were air dropped into the southern part of Johore, West Malaysia together with Indonesia troops.

However, as soon as they landed in Malaysia, they were immediately surrounded and captured. The Parliament passed an emergency law in August, 1964 and this piece of legislation has never been repealed up to this day. On 4 September 1964, some of the LPM branches in the State of Johor had their registration revoked.

PAS hari ini meminta Kerajaan Pusat supaya mengkaji sa-mula larangan berpolitik terhadap Yang di-Pertua Agong PAS Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Hilmi sesuai dengan pemuliharaan hubungan diplomatik Indonesia-Malaysia sekarang.

Desakan tersebut terkandung dalam majalah Bulan Bintang keluaran terbaharu Jabatan Penerangan PAS Pusat, yang di-terbitkan oleh Pejabat Agong-nya di-Kuala Lumpur baru ini.

"Bulan Bintang" menyatakan bahawa apa-apa di-banankan dahulu hingga seorang Doktor Burhanuddin masih lagi dalam perangkap pemuliharaan hubungan itu sudah menalam pembedahan di-Australia.

"Walaupun perangkap itu di-kadap-nya itu boleh di-katakan telah pun semboh tetapi agas memulihkan masa lagi bagi-nya untuk menalangi seluruh kesenti dari perangkap itu. Kita majalah tersebut.

**Membaca**

Dr Burhanuddin sekarang sedang berhat di-rumah-nya di-Talping sambil membaca dan menulis.

"Sala perkara yang perlu di-perhatikan oleh seluruh masyarakat kita sekarang ialah mengenai kesihatan bebas bergerak yang masih di-kekang ke-atas beliau." kata majalah itu.

Kata "Bulan Bintang" "Hari ini belum kelihatan tanda Kerajaan berhasrat untuk mencabut undang berhasrat tersebut

**KERAJAAN PUSAT DI-MINTA KAJI SA-MULA LARANGAN BERPOLITIK...**



DR. BURHANUDDIN... sedang sedang berhat di-rumah-nya di-Talping.

**K. HANGSAR, Khamis**

telah di-tahan kerana terlibat dalam kegiatan subversif di-taman konfrantasi dahulu, se-rupa juga dengan tokoh pembangkang yang lain itu. "Seperti dengan semangat perjanjian pemuliharaan hubungan antara kedua-dua negara yang berseadara itu maka wajar-nya ialah syarat yang di-kekang kepada Dr. Burhanuddin itu di-lu-ahuti.

Majalah Bulan Bintang itu menegaskan lagi bahawa atas dasar keadilan, "Kita menjeru politik Kerajaan mengenai sa-mula" larangan berpolitik pemimpin PAS itu. "Mengatakan larangan itu bertolakana merupakan penghinaan dalam di-dahi demokrasi oleh pemerintahan yang berdasarkan undang di-terangi itu." tegas majalah Bulan Bintang itu se-akhir-nya.

**Sekatan bebas ka-atas Dr. Burhanuddin minta di-batal**

Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia



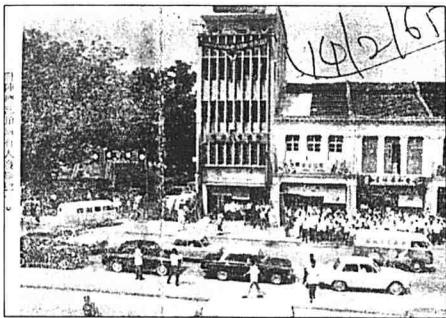
Dr Burhanuddin  
Pak Sako

Dr Burhanuddin  
Pak Sako

Dr Burhanuddin  
Pak Sako

From left: Dr. Burhanuddin, President of PAS, Pak Sako, President of LPM, and Aziz Ishak, President of the National Convention Party cum ex-Agriculture Minister.





Someone is giving commands at the top of the Headquarter of the Socialist Front  
(source: news, 14 February 1965)

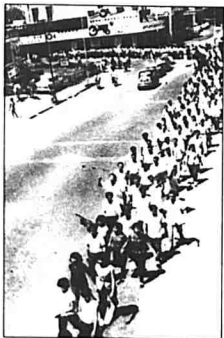
Tajudin Kahar, General Secretary of the Socialist Front, detained on 13 February 1965



Two Socialist Front members detained inside the party headquarter were shouting slogans with handcuffed fists raised when they were brought into the street. (source: news, 14 February 1965)



Members of the SF detained inside the party headquarter were going up a police truck



2.13 Demonstration (February 13 Demonstration at Malacca)



Hasnul, President of the Socialist Front



Tan Puah Khin,  
Chairman of LPM  
Penang

Members of the Socialist Front detained at the party headquarter [source: news, 14 February 1965, China Press]





Dr. Rajakumar ,  
Vice President of  
the LPM, released  
in 1967, and was  
leaving Batu Gajah  
Detention Camp.

**"February 13"  
– Struggle for Human Rights Day**

In January 1965, at its Central Committee Meeting, SF decided to withdraw its support to the ESCAR. It opposed the national service (drafting of civilians for military training) and declared the 2nd anniversary of the arrest of Boestamam, which fell on "February 13", as the "Struggle for Human Rights Day".

The Alliance government was shocked by such decision. Towards the end of January, it embarked on a series of surprise actions aimed at eliminating the highest echelon of SF and some PAS leaders!

On 26 January, some opposition leaders were detained. They were:

- Hussain Yakob, former state secretary of SF, Kelantan;
- Datok Kampo Rajoo, treasurer SF Central Committee, state secretary of SF Selangor, general secretary of National Convention Party;
- Datok Hanifah, former PAS Negeri Sembilan State Assemblyman, Town Councillor.
- Rais Annah, PAS national vice-president

On 28 January, Pak Sako, the LPM national chairman; Abdul Aziz, chairman of the National Convention Party cum SF Central Committee Member and former Minister of Agriculture, and Dr. Burhanuddin, national chairman of PAS were detained simultaneously in Selangor, Penang and Perak respectively.

Even though many SF central committee leaders were detained, the party carried on its plans preparing for the "February 13 - Struggle of Human Rights Day".

On 11 February, the police formally rejected the application made by SF for a permit to hold a peaceful demonstration and mass rally on the following day. The police only gave their notice of refusal 2 days before the event.

Early in the morning of 13 February, the following persons were arrested:

- Hasnul, SF chairman cum Malacca Town Council Chairman
- Tajudin Kahar, SF general secretary
- Tan Kai Hee, SF deputy general secretary
- Tan Puah Khin, state deputy chairman of LPM, Penang

They were arrested in hotels, private residences and the SF Headquarters at Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur. At 10 a.m. that morning, V. David was arrested. He was the secretary general of the National Federation



Funeral procession of Tang Bao Guang

of Transport Workers, Selangor State Assemblyman for Pantai, and co-secretary of the "February 13" Preparatory Committee

By then, the top leaders of SF and its component parties i.e. LPM, PRM, and the National Convention Party, especially their important Malay leaders were all arrested by the Alliance government.

In Kuala Lumpur, SF members and supporters staged a demonstration. The police dispersed the crowd by force and surrounded the SF headquarters. On the same day, the police arrested a total of 250 demonstrators and charged them in court. A state of Emergency was declared over part of Kuala Lumpur for 11/2 days by way of invoking the "*Preservation of Public Order Act 1958*".

The following were arrested at their homes or work places in the afternoon of 14 February.

- Zeng Chuan, Chairman of the Welfare Committee of the LPM Jinjang branch;
- Wu Yong Ming, LPM Jinjang Branch Chairman, the former LPM Jinjang Local Councillor;
- Foo Chang He, former chairman of the LPM Jinjang Branch and former Jinjang Local Council Chairman; and
- Ye Zhong Wen, chairman of the LPM Sepang Branch;
- Zhou Qing San, LPM Rawang Branch Chairman cum Executive Secretary of Ulu Selangor Branch was arrested on 15 February.

#### Dr. Rajakumar arrested

After the "February 13" Struggle for Human Rights Day, the police continued to detain SF cadres. In June, they arrested Anwanmari Othman, representative of the National Convention Party for the Selangor State and the Publicity Chief of LPM Banting Branch.

On 11 June, Dr. Rajakumar, assistant secretary of the LPM cum state secretary of LPM, Selangor was arrested at his People's Clinic in Klang.

On the following day, Haji Fathi, PRM Kangsar Branch Chairman was also arrested. Other cadres detained included:

- Luo Ti, State Assistant Secretary of PRM, Perak;
- Mao Tan Jin, State Treasurer of PRM, Perak;
- Lin Jin Hua, PRM Batu Pahat Town Councillor, Johore;
- Tan Ching, PRM Batu Pahat Branch Secretary
- Tan Hock Lin, Deputy Chief of the Political Propaganda Committee and State Exco member of SF, Penang.



### The turning point of left-wing movement

1965 was a turning point for the left-wing movement. The seasoned leaders of the highest echelon of SF, especially one of its component parties PRM, were arrested. This had resulted in a leadership vacuum in SF.

The SF young leaders replacing those detained could not handle the internal contradictions among the component parties well. As a result, the PRM Central Committee decided in its December 1965 meeting to withdraw from SF. The LPM finally declared that SF was dissolved in January 1966. The dissolution of SF would mean that the Alliance government had succeeded in breaking up and eliminating a formidable rival.

Nevertheless, the "February 13" incident had an unexpected impact on the mindset of the LPM and PRM cadres. They became more radical. They confronted the Alliance government on many issues. They chose to ignore the laws passed by the Alliance government. They decided to take to the streets in the exercise of their rights as citizens.

Judging from the political figures arrested during those 2 to 3 years, the Alliance government could no longer tolerate the SF who levelled criticisms against them. The SF was merely exercising its basic democratic rights as guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. However, the Alliance government wasted no time in frustrating their lawful actions.

The government ruthlessly suppressed and arbitrarily detained those who dared to show signs of disobedience. The clampdown on the "February 13" movement also indicated that the Alliance government was depriving the citizens of their democratic rights to voice their opinions through peaceful demonstrations and mass rallies.

Prior to the incident, there were instances where the police had approved applications from SF and other opposition parties for holding peaceful demonstrations and mass rallies. However, after the "February 13" incident, all opposition parties, including SF, were refused police permits to organise mass rallies or demonstrations.

In 1964, the Alliance government stopped the local councils elections and dissolved 4 LPM branches in the State of Johor. At the same time, many SUPP branches in Sarawak were not allowed to operate and were deregistered. Many SUPP cadres and members were detained under the ISA.

### The Death of Tang Bao Guang

In November 1965, the police disrupted the celebration of the 7<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the LPM Malim Nawar Branch in Perak. Hundreds of police and military troops shot tear gas at the crowd. This led to a clash between the participants and the police. Tang Bao Guang, an LPM member was assaulted severely by the police, and died of injuries.

### Separation of Singapore from Malaysia

In the 1964 General Elections, PAP in Singapore tried to extend its influence into the Peninsula, which triggered severe opposition from the Alliance led by Tunku Abdul Rahman.

In 1965, PAP joined forces with two non-left wing parties, namely the PPP and the United Democratic Party [UDP] to form a United Front known as the "Malaysian Solidarity Convention". UDP was mainly a localised party, operating largely in Penang. The strategy of the United Front was to use "Malaysian Malaysia" as its slogans. UMNO then led by Tunku Abdul Rahman saw this new formation as a direct challenge to the dominance of UMNO. A heated debate smacked of racialism ensued. Ultimately, with the arrangement consented by the British government, Singapore withdrew from Malaysia.

### The international situation

During this period, the Alliance government used the confrontation with Indonesia and the threat to national security as excuses to introduce many undemocratic laws.

In September 1965, the "September 30" incident erupted in Indonesia. The powerful PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) was ruthlessly suppressed, liquidated and massacred by the pro-American and right-wing military forces.

In the process, the military forces seized power. As a consequence, President Sukharno lost his influence. Though he remained the highest political figurehead of the country, he wielded no real power. This drastic transformation of Indonesian's politics completely reversed the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist policy of President Sukharno.

From then on, the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia became closer. The two countries resumed diplomatic relations in mid-1966 after a series of negotiations.

In the same year, the US committed aggression against Vietnam under the pretext of "defending democracy". At about the same time, China launched its Cultural Revolution. China gave full support to the Vietnamese People's Liberation Front (Vietcong) in its war against the American aggression. Soviet Union was also expanding its influence in various parts of the world.

The three phenomena represented two sets of worldview and ideology directly opposite to each other. This deeply influenced the development of international situation. In the subsequent years, at the close of the colonial era, the Cold War escalated.

## 1966 – 1969 Destruction of the Left-wing Movement

### Dissolution of SF in 1966

In January 1966, SF was formally dissolved. The 2 component parties LPM and PRM continued to operate on its own. The National Convention Party, deprived of its effective leaders, faded out of the political arena, consequent upon the arrests of its leaders and the various restrictions imposed upon them.

The confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia in 1964-1965 ended with the resumption of diplomatic relations between the 2 countries a year later. The "September 30" massacre in 1965 ironically had improved the bilateral relations.

Even though the Confrontation had ended, the government continued to maintain those legislation passed during that period. Such legislation led to serious erosion of human rights and violation of democratic principles, two examples being the Emergency Ordinance 1964 and the abolition of local government elections.

Those arrested during the Confrontation were kept behind bars and some others were subject to restriction orders. In fact, arrests continued to take place as a routine even after the Confrontation. The government did not cease its witch-hunt for LPM and PRM leaders and cadres as well as those prominent figures in the leftwing workers' organizations in addition to farmers, urban squatters and students.

### Mass Arrests in 1966

Early 1966, about 50 LPM and PRM cadres were arrested. In January, more than 10 of them were detained in Perak, including:

- Cai Tze Xiu, State Treasurer cum Vice-Chairman of SF Teluk Intan Branch; Perak
- Chang Han and Koh Ah Nam, Branch ex-co Members
- Liu Qian, PRM State Deputy Chairman, Perak
- Ong Soo Mei, PRM Malim Mawar Branch exco member
- Chen Chan Nong, Chairman of LPM Bidor Branch;
- Tam Sau Siang, Chairman of LPM Kuala Kangsar Branch
- Jiang Yu Xiao, ex-co member of LPM Langkap Branch.

In February, Ye Yuan Sheng and Tan Bok Tong ex-co members of LPM Ringlet Branch, Cameron Highlands and others were arrested.

In March, acting secretary of PRM Malim Mawar Branch, Fan Feng Jia, chairman of LPM Slim River New Village Branch, Perak; Tai Kim Tat



馮道民朝潘 (攝與黃黃)

### 被扣留於麻營四年

## 前甲勞黨市議員 馮朝民病逝醫院

### 享年卅一訂後日舉殯

(本報馬六甲十一日專電)前甲勞務黨市議員馮朝民，於本月十四日下午在麻坡醫院病逝，享年卅一歲。馮朝民生前在麻坡區議會中，擔任副議長一職，自一九六三年起，即任麻坡區議會副議長一職。馮朝民生前在麻坡區議會中，擔任副議長一職，自一九六三年起，即任麻坡區議會副議長一職。

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他當選市議員是以... 他有三兄弟，他排... 第一，後兄朝光，三... 弟朝大。

### 麻營被扣留者 絕食一日抗議

(本報新山十一日專電)前馬六甲政壇左翼紅人，政治扣留者馮朝民，馮氏前為勞工黨中央委員，馬六甲分區副中... 他是在一九六六年十月廿五日在安法... 馮朝民表示，當局必須釋放政治扣留者，否則... 他們也呼全區三... 留者。

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Pang Siow Mien, an elected LPM Malacca Municipal Councilor, was detained in Muar Detention Camp for four years. He died of a disease in Muar District Hospital while in detention at the age of 31. Detainees in Muar Detention Camp went on one-day hunger strike to protest against the death of Pang Siow Mien. [source: news. 12 March 1971]



Wong Chong, age 21 and an LPM member, was shot dead while participating in an anti-US demonstration in Kuala Lumpur on 30 November 1966. His body was being put into a police truck by the police.

死者是勞工黨黨員

抗統美勤陳  
志向勤美  
總表統抗  
議

勞工黨總部陳志勤暨 殺我黨的一位黨員。  
生，於昨日為其屬下兩 黃宗是於昨日中午，  
種支部黨員黃宗（廿一 在馬結街林肯文化中心  
歲）被擊斃事，特向美 前的示威行動中，不帶  
國約輪碼頭總統致電提出 中彈身亡。  
抗議。  
據警方發表稱：在馬  
茲將該電文內容略誌 結街示威遊行中被擊斃  
如下：「馬來亞勞工黨 者為黃宗，廿一歲，家  
強烈抗議，警方殘忍檢 住安邦新村。」

chairman of LPM Malacca Branch; Wong Choon Soo, chairman of Pandamaran Branch in Selangor were detained.

#### Anti-US imperialist Vietnam War exhibition

PRM and LPM were vehemently opposed to the military aggression of Vietnam by the U.S. It was viewed as an aggression by the American imperialism. The two parties held a painting and photos exhibition at each of their party branches. The exhibition portrayed the atrocities committed by the American troops in Vietnam. Its purpose was to draw public attention, and to gain popular support for the Vietnamese People's National Liberation Movement against the American aggression.

#### Campaign Against US President Johnson's visit to Malaysia

When the U.S. President Johnson visited Malaysia in October 1966, PRM and LPM mobilized their members to demonstrate in protest against the American policy towards Vietnam. The Alliance government wanted to prevent the said demonstration from taking place before Johnson's arrival.

Early in the morning of 25 October, it conducted mass arrests throughout the country and detained 50 cadres and members of PRM and LPM. All in all, about 100 members from both parties were arrested.

Wong Chong, a member of the LPM Ampang Branch in Selangor was shot dead during the demonstration. 15 others were injured.

#### Arrests in Kedah State

Those arrested in Kedah included:

- Loi Kooi Hiam, LPM State Deputy Chairman, Kedah;
- Lim Bak Yong, LPM Kedah State Secretary, cum Serdang Local Councillor cum Central Committee member;
- Tan Boon Song, LPM Central Committee member
- Lin Choon Wah, LPM Kedah State Committee member cum Serdang Local Councillor;
- Kuat Lian Huat, former LPM secretary;

Those arrested from LPM Kedah State Branches were:

- Chua Ah Ba, acting Alor Setar Propoganda Chief
- Quah Leong Tek, exco Member,
- Chen Hon Seng, Deputy Chairman
- Teoh Sam Poh, Sungai Petani Branch Secretary
- Huang Mu Yong, party member
- Lee Kok Chang, party member and
- Liew Siew Chee, party member

### Arrests in Penang State

Those LPM members arrested in Penang included:

- Cheah See Liang, Central Committee member, Penang state organizing secretary cum propaganda committee member;
- Loke Ban Heng, State committee member cum Gerogetown Municipal Councillor;
- Wong Ah Keng, State committee member cum Chairman of Air Hitam Area;
- Ang Sin Hup, propaganda committee member, secretary of economic committee cum vice-chairman of Kampung Baharu Branch and;
- Khoo Hock San, State organising secretary, North Butterworth Rural Committee member, cum Kepala Batas Branch secretary.

The following were also arrested. They were largely branch chairmen and secretaries:

- Lin Ching San, secretary of Datuk Kramat Branch;
- Lee Kok Chuan, deputy chairman of Datuk Kramat Branch;
- Wong Yew Seng, treasurer of Jelutong Branch;
- Liew Han Koon, secretary of Kampung Baharu Branch;
- Khoo Boo Thiam, secretary of Cultural Committee, Tian Teck Estate Branch; and
- Tang Chin Seng, chairman of Teluk Air Tawar Branch, Prai.

Those arrested from the Women Wing were:

- Ng Yoke Siew, secretary of the National Women Wing cum chairperson of the Penang State Women Wing cum Penang state propaganda committee member;
- Ooi Bee Hwa, Penang State Women Wing, Prai Women Committee member.

### Arrests in Selangor State

Those arrested in Selangor were all cadres from the various party branches. Apart from State committee members and secretary of Klang Branch Tan Chin Seng, the others were:

- Gan Nam Joo, treasurer of Klang Branch;
- Lee Kuan and Liu Chang Fook, branch committee members, Klang branch;

- Teo Boon Keng, chairman Tan Eng Piao, vice-chairman; Li Chao, secretary, all of Pudu Branch, Kuala Lumpur;
- Wong Kee Seng, chairman of Batu Branch in Kuala Lumpur cum District organising secretary;
- Lee Chin Long and Lin Chin, Ampang Branch committee members;
- Chia Lim King, party member;
- Chan Peng Kwan, secretary of Jinjang Branch;
- Chan Peng Han; member Jinjang Branch
- Shen Qi Jia, vice chairman of Cheras Branch.

#### Arrests in Malacca State

Those detained in Malacca were:

- Pang Siow Min, Vice-Chairman of Malacca Branch, the Malacca Municipal Councillor; (he passed away in custody at the Muar detention centre;) and
- Tai Kim Tat, Central Committee Member cum branch secretary.

#### Arrests in Perak State

Those arrested in the Perak State were mainly members of PRM. Among them were:

- Li Fan, Secretary of Kinta Liaison Committee cum PRM party member of Bukit Merah Branch;
- Chai Yew Ming, PRM party member of Malim Mawar Branch cum Chief of Social Subcommittee of Kinta Liaison Committee;
- Chai Kow Pai, Secretary of Kampar Liaison Committee.

From the official positions held by the detainees in the parties, it can be seen that, after the "February 13 - Struggle for Human Rights Day", the pressure exerted by the Alliance government on the two opposition parties was on the increase. However, such pressure did not frighten away the cadres of the leftwing parties and trade unions. There were always new cadres to replace those who were detained.

In November 1965, the police intervened and thwarted the SF celebration night held by Malim Mawar Branch in Perak. One of its members Tang Bao Guang, died as a result of police brutality. In October 1966, another LPM member of the Ampang Branch in Selangor, Wong Chong was shot dead by the police during the anti-US President Johnson demonstration. Such instances of severe repression were repeated one after another.

[Newspaper clippings - pp. 85-99]



### Taking to the Streets

1967 and 1968 saw the greatest number of protests and demonstrations being held since Independence. According to the *White Paper* on the mass arrests published in November 1968, there were 250 such incidents from 1966 to 1968.

The leftist parties and workers' organizations came under tremendous pressure from the Alliance government. Their top leaders and grassroots cadres were arrested one after another.

Junior leaders who took over the leadership were of the opinion that the democratic space was dwindling by the day. The Alliance government had closed the door to parliamentary democracy, and had become increasingly authoritarian.

They felt that the only way to make the government change its ways was to wage mass struggles outside the Parliament, such as peaceful demonstrations. By so doing, they hoped to compel the government to resume democratic rule and show respect for human rights in the country. At the same time, this might help conscientise the masses, so that they could see through the undemocratic ways pursued by the government.

More importantly, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Federal Constitution* guarantee the people the fundamental liberties and basic human rights, for instance the right to peaceful demonstrations to express their views. It is legitimate for the people to express their dissatisfaction against the government. Moreover, protests and demonstrations were taking place all over the world. It was a global trend at that time.

### 1967 - the turbulent year

1967 saw the occurrence of a few major and significant events in the country.

Since April, the Asahan rubber plantation workers staged a strike lasting for 71 days, led by the *Federation of Malaya Plantation Workers*. The purpose of the strike was to demand for the improvement of their working conditions and the reinstatement of workers who were dismissed by the employer. This labour dispute was finally resolved through the mediation of Tunku Abdul Rahman.

In August 1967, on the eve of the 10<sup>th</sup> Independence Day, the Alliance government released 180 political detainees.

In October, US Vice-President Hubert Humphrey visited Malaysia. And the LPM was warned by the Deputy Prime Minister, Tun Razak not to organise any demonstrations or protests.

In November, the Malaysian currency was devalued as a result of the devaluation of the British Pounds. The LPM called for a protest. A *hartal* [general strike] was organized in Penang to protest against the devaluation of the currency. Unfortunately, it subsequently led to racial riots.



(Top left) Tan Chee Kwong, elected Town Councilor of Muar, ( Top right ) Tan Hock Hin, State Assemblyman of Penang cum Assistant General Secretary of LPM.



Tew Huat Kee , at the Muar Detention Camp



上图：人民党与五个左翼工团  
为支持阿拉伯人民抗以  
斗争，在隆进行请愿，  
队伍出发情形。

下图：防暴队人员燃放催泪弹，  
驱散游行着。



下圖左為甲大時路  
中心所出之抗議  
右為文以巴之深  
為工字以甲深  
此指五甲文  
想管方  
成  
（本

Top: Members of the People's Party and five left-wing unions set out in a procession to submit a petition in support of the Arab people's resistance against Israelis aggression. Bottom: FRU, i.e. the Riot Police, shot rounds of tear gas to disperse the procession. FRU used tear gas to disperse the demonstration (source: news, 26 June 1967)

# Berarak mengecham Israel

PEMUDA PEMUDI MENUJU KA-KEDUTAAN RAB 26-6-67



Demonstration against the Israelis aggression.  
(source: news, 26 June 1967, Berita Harian)

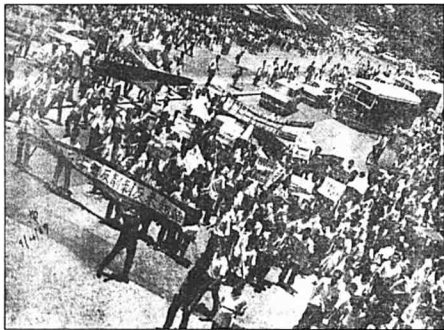


The police dispersed demonstrators at High Street using tear gas. The situation was very charged and tense.

(source: news, 30 April 1967, Nanyang Siang Pau)



Bottom: FRU was deployed at Tun Tan Cheng Lock Street, Kuala Lumpur after dispersing the demonstrators.  
(source: news, 30 April 1967, Sin Chew Jit Poh)



carrying banners and slogans, 300 left-wing workers demonstrated in Tun Tan Cheng Lock Street . Onlookers (at right) gathered at the jammed street to watch the demonstration

(source: news, 9 April 1967, Nanyang Siang Pau)



Leftists staged a demonstration in Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur shouting slogans and carrying placards.

[source: news, 2 November 1967]





LPM carried out demonstration to protest against US warships anchoring in Malaysian ports, and against US oppressions. Picture showed part of the demonstration.



Members and supporters of LPM Penang staged the International Labour Day Demonstration on 3 May 1967  
(source: news, 4 May 1967, Nanyang Siang Pau)



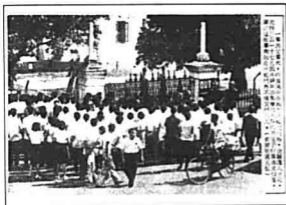
Top: Hearing of the 30 October 1966 anti-US demonstration in session court. The masses gathered at the court clapped hands when the interpreter of the court called out the names.  
(source: news, 9 May 1967, Sin Chew Jit Poh)



Bottom: Lim Tong Bang, a member of LPM, was brought into the court by the Special Branch for hearing in Kuala Lumpur. At right is his defence lawyer Titirajah. Lim is under ISA detention.  
(source: news, 9 May 1967, Sin Chew Jit Poh)



(Top) The police fired tear gas to disperse the crowd gathered outside the fence on 28 April 1967. The crowd intended to push their way into the court. Picture shows thick clouds of tear gas at the road outside the court after the police action.



(Middle) A group of males and females gathered in front of the gate outside the court early in the morning. They intended to go in to give support to 317 people suspected of illegal assembly and therefore, were being charged. Picture shows the crowd waiting at the gate to be allowed to go in.



(Bottom) 317 people who were charged in court for illegal assembly rushed into the court during hearing.



More than 70 workers of the Central Printing Company on strike, clashed with the management. Picture shows more than ten workers detained by the police protesting at the police station.



6 youths from Muar, Johore were brought into the court to be charged for possession of Mao's Quotations.

An army claiming to launch a *Jihad* [an Islamic holy war] emerged in Kedah and more than 300 of its members were arrested.

Hamid Tuah, the peasant leader led the farmers to open up the forests in Teluk Gong in Selangor.

Based on material available from newspapers, consequent upon the occurrence of various incidents, the LPM cadres were detained one after another by the Alliance government from the month of June until the end of the year of 1967.

On 25 June 1967, those arrested were:

- Tay Kim Kang, a Chinese physician, Malacca State Vice-Chairman cum exco member of the Malacca town branch; and
- Tew Huat Kee, Malacca state exco member cum Secretary of Malacca Industrial Area.

On 26 June, Lee Kuan, LPM member and of Kedah State Executive Secretary was detained after being fined in Klang Magistrate's Court

In the evening of 27 June, 7 LPM party members of Tampoi Branch, Johore were detained. They were Hui Fang, Zhu Rui Yu, Li Shao Pin, Huang Xi Guang, Fu Yi Shui, Chen Li Er, and Jin Chun Dou.

On 3 July, Lee Sin Chong, LPM Malacca State Treasurer was detained.

#### Detention of Tan Hock Hin [LPM Penang State Assemblyman]

On 8 July, just before the LPM Penang State Congress, the following persons were arrested:

- Tan Hock Hin, State Assistant Secretary of Penang and State Assemblyman;
- Cheah See Liang, Organizing Secretary [on 25 October 1966, he was detained for a month];
- Ang Sin Hup, State Treasurer cum Vice-Chairman of Kampong Baharu Branch.

Apart from the above arrests, the following were also detained:

- Kam Yu Wa, National Assistant Secretary-General cum former Georgetown Municipal Councillor;
- Zen Guo Gan, PRM Central Committee member, Selangor State Assemblyman cum Chairman of the Serdang Local Council,
- Choo Eng Ket, LPM Kedah state executive secretary cum first assistant secretary of Alor Setar Branch.



(top left) Chin Kek Kum, Selangor state assemblyman

(bottom) The police intervened the acts of Penang LPM members who were writing protest slogan along Jelutong Road that led to commotion. Zhu Gui Hua, an LPM Member, was shot during the commotion. The picture shows the scene of the incident and the motorcycle was that of the policeman.

### 人民黨雪州議員 曾國幹被逮捕

前晚出外，今晨被扣留  
聞與示威事有關

【本報訊】雪州人民黨議員曾國幹，於昨晚九時許，在吉隆坡被警方扣留。據悉，曾國幹是在昨晚九時許，在吉隆坡街頭，與一隊示威者發生衝突時，被警方扣留。據悉，曾國幹是在昨晚九時許，在吉隆坡街頭，與一隊示威者發生衝突時，被警方扣留。據悉，曾國幹是在昨晚九時許，在吉隆坡街頭，與一隊示威者發生衝突時，被警方扣留。

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Detention of C C Yong  
- PRM Johore state secretary

Chu Choon Yong [C C Yong] a former SF Johore State Assemblyman, elected in the 1959 General Elections, was detained on the 31 July. He was then PRM Johore state secretary, cum Johore Bahru Municipal Councilor, and a staff member of Johore state LPM.

Along with him, Ng Wei Siong, secretary of propaganda committee of Johore state LPM cum Kluang Town Councilor, who was previously detained for 28 days for his involvement in the demonstration against US President Johnson's visit to Malaysia on the 30 October 1966, was also thrown into jail. Chua Pong Thia, party member of LPM Muar Branch was arrested on the same day.

Tan Chee Kwong, State Vice-Chairman of LPM Johore, chairman of LPM Muar Branch, Secretary of the Muar Administrative District cum Muar Town Councilor was arrested on the 1 August.

On the 27 August 1967, the following were arrested in the State of Johore:

- Leow Soon Keat, LPM Kedah State Assistant Secretary cum Secretary of Alor Star Branch,
- Zhang Quan Man, Acting Secretary of LPM Kluang Branch, Ye Da Xiong and Shen Guo Cai, exco members of LPM Kluang Branch;
- Chang Chuen Chong party member of LPM Kluang Branch; and
- Yap Ta Chian, Propaganda, Education and Organizing Secretary of LPM Rengam Branch.

Incessant arrests were made, wave after wave. In September, the Johor Kluang Administrative Area Working Committee member Yao You Bing, Johor Tampoi Branch Chairman Lin Mu Kai as well as, Secretary Zheng Ya Wei were detained.

Zhu Gui Hua seriously injured by gunshot

In the night of 12<sup>th</sup> July 1967, after the incidents of Tang Bao Guang and Wong Chong in Kuala Lumpur, *Zhu Gui Hua*, the LPM member in Penang, was shot by the police and sustained serious injuries while painting slogans in protest against the arrests of his fellow party members.

Protest against devaluation of Malaysian Currency

In the 60's, Malaysian currency was using the British pound as reserves. So when the British pound devalued, the Malaysian currency was adversely affected. LPM mobilized its members and people all over the country to protest against the devaluation.





Lim Kean Siew,  
MP cum LPM Vice-president

There was a *hartal*, closing down of all businesses, in Penang for one day. Unfortunately it developed into a racial riot, which provided the Alliance government an excuse to declare emergency over the whole of the State of Penang.

#### LPM MP Lim Kian Siew arrested

In the months of November and December, 29 cadres of the LPM in Penang were detained because of their protest against to the devaluation of the Malaysian currency. Among them was Lim Kian Siew, LPM Member of Parliament cum national deputy chairman of the Party.

Others detained were:

- Khoo Hock San, who was the State Treasurer cum a village councillor
- Lian Yu Yong, a State Executive Committee member cum Jelutong Branch Office Secretary,
- Poh Chiap Aik, the Paya Terubung Branch Secretary
- Lim Choo Leong, Executive Member of the Kampung Tunku Branch

Those arrested in other States were:

- Wu Yao Hui, Deputy Secretary of the Batu Pahat branch of the People's Party in Johore
- Su Zhi Ming, PRM Secretary
- Zhong Jin Yu, PRM Malacca Branch Executive Committee Member
- Yan Chi Zhong, Deputy state Chairman of the LPM Negeri Sembilan,
- Kok Kai Reng, PRM state Treasurer of Malacca,
- Huang Chun Xian, PRM state Committee member of Malacca
- Lin Yi, Committee Member of the Tampoi Branch in Johor,

#### 1968 - Decline of Left-wing movement - LPM destroyed

If 1965 was the turning point for the leftwing movement in the Malay Peninsula, with the dissolution of SF and the radicalisation of the left-wing movement, taking to the streets was a common feature.

By 1968, it foresaw the disappearance of the leftwing movement. This led to the demise of the movement.

It witnessed the paralysis of the LPM and the decline of PRM. Malaysia became increasingly authoritarian, so much so that racial politics became the order of the day.

## 2 episodes of mass arrests in 1968

A few major and significant events took place in 1968. They affected the LPM and the other opposition parties as well as the Alliance.

As in 1967, arrests were carried out without a break, not a month had passed without the detention of dissidents.

At the beginning of 1968, Ong Kit Lim, LPM Selangor state official cum Kuala Selangor Branch secretary; Li Ming Cheng, secretary of Sungai Penang Branch; Chew Tang Eng, Penang state auditor; Yap Bee Hoi, party member of Jelutong Branch; Tan Ai Meng, organizing secretary of Johore, Chuang Chai Chin, exco member of Batu Pahat were detained.

### Koh Kay Cham – LPM national chairman cum Malacca State Assemblyman arrested

On 2 May, Koh Kay Cham, the LPM national chairman cum Malacca State Assemblyman was arrested along with Liew Yuan Hua, Johor state secretary. Koh was the second LPM national chairman to be detained after Pak Sako. Following that, in the month of June, the Alliance government arrested more than a hundred workers of the Chuan Seng Pineapple Plantation in Johor. They were on strike. Trade union officials and supporters were involved.

### The incident of "11 on death row"

3 months before the mass arrests in November, there occurred the incident of the 11 persons on death row. These were persons charged in court during the Confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia.

They were charged for treason by the Malaysian government for joining forces with the Indonesian Army. They were air-dropped into the Malay Peninsula. They were accused of being in possession of arms and weapons.

They were to be executed latest by mid-August. However, before the execution, opposition parties, civil societies, individuals and international organisations were actively appealing to the government, especially to Tunku Abdul Rahman to pardon the 11.

PRM and LPM were most active on this issue. Apart from campaigning against the death sentence imposed on the 11 persons, they also mobilized their party members to stage a protest at the Pudu Prison in Kuala Lumpur. Consequently, the death sentence was commuted to life-imprisonment.

### Woo Hon Kong – the LPM Selangor State Assemblyman arrested

The incident of the "11 on death row" led to the detention of a number of LPM key leaders, including Woo Hon Kong, state chairman of the LPM Selangor, a central committee member cum Legislative Assemblyman of



(Top) Head lines of Malayan Thong Pao (Daily News) The Prime Minister intervened at the eleventh hour The eleven sentenced to death stand a good chance to escape the gallows The Pardon Board of Johore met this morning The Selangor CPO warned stern actions against demonstrations

(bottom) Woo Hon Kong, ex-LPM Selangor State assemblyman, was released. He was detained during the event of the Eleven in 1968. (news: 23 September 1971)



Selangor and Tan Siew Eng, coordinator of the LPM national women wing. They were both detained on 14 August.

Towards the end of the same year, Chan Meng Sing, chairman of the LPM Batu Pahat Branch, member of the Central Committee cum state working committee member of Johore was also arrested.

### Mass Arrests in 1968

From 9 November 1968 onwards, the Alliance government carried out mass arrests of key cadres of PRM, LPM and trade unions, as well as young students, from all over the country. By 14 November, 140 people had already been detained.

The State of Johor saw the highest number of persons arrested, 54 in total. There were 33 arrests in Selangor, 20 in Penang, 10 in Malacca, 6 in Negeri Sembilan and Pahang, 5 in Kelantan, and 3 in Perak, Kedah and Perlis.

The mass arrests took place in the following States:

Johor

- Soh Kim Siang, LPM national vice-chairman
- Pang Lee Seng - paid secretary of the Johore state LPM;
- Tan Chiang Ming - exco member of LPM Muar Branch;
- Chen Jin Zhi, secretary of the Administrative Area cum secretary of LPM Tangkak Branch; - Khoo Chek Yi chairman and Tan Chang Chew secretary of Pagoh Branch, Muar.
- Liew Han Thai, chairman of Segamat Administrative Area;
- Pang Chan Fatt, secretary of Bukit Siput Branch;
- Chen Ching Siong, LPM Headquarters working committee member cum co-ordinator of Segamat Administrative Area.
  - Johor Bahru Branch member Zhu Yun, Peng Du Sheng, Peng Zhu Xing, Lai Tian Lai, Lin Zhi Qiang and Liu Tian Fu
  - Kluang Branch Executive Committee member Seng Guo Chai (arrested for the third time)
  - Cultural, Education and Choir Coordinator Ye Da Xiong (arrested for the first time in 1967 and was charged in court; re-arrested on the 18 December 1968)
  - Propaganda and Education Committee member Lin Jian Xing arrested on the 19 December 1968
  - Party member Liew Er Mei
  - Batu Pahat Branch Member Lai Qing Yun
  - Simpang Rengam Branch Secretary Kang San Dao (arrested on the 17 December 1968)

KUALA LUMPUR, 14 Jun

**S**EA-ORANG anggota Dewan Undangan Negeri Kelantan dari PAS adalah di-antara lima orang yang di-tangkap di-Kelantan dalam serbuan besar2an polis ka-atas anasir2 pro-komunis militan di-seluruh negara sejak suboh kelmarin.

Bekas ialah Enche Ahmad bin Yatim, seorang anggota Majlis Kerja Kerajaan Pas Kelantan. Ia di-tangkap di-rumah-nya pada petang 14/6/68 - satu hari selepas 12 orang PAS pagi semalam.

Enche Ahmad ialah anggota Dewan Undangan Negeri bagi kawasan Rantau Panjang.

### Akan selesai

Ibu Pejabat PAS Kuala Lumpur hari ini mengeluarkan satu kenyataan mengenai penangkapan Enche Ahmad Yatim itu dengan berkata "mustahil" tokoh PAS menjadi alat Komunis.

Ia mendedahkan bahawa tujuan Kerajaan ialah untuk melumpuhkan PAS dalam menghadapi pilihan raya akan datang.

Sementara itu, seorang juruchepak Kementerian Dalam Negeri berkata bahawa gerakan memberkas akan selesai "tidak lama lagi."

Menurut satu kenyataan Timbalan PM Tun Razak semalam malam 13/6, orang telah di-tangkap setelah itu kerajaan mengumumkan Kertas Putih mengenai kegiatan2 Komunis.



ENCHE AHMAD  
BIN YATIM

### Kempen

DI MELAKA, Pengarah Parti Bahas Melayu Enche Sutan Thani berumur 68 tahun berkata bahawa pihak-nya akan melaksanakan kempen mencari ahli baru.

Kata-nya, "Kebanyakan pemimpin kami dalam lantikan," kata-nya.

Kata-nya lagi, pihak-nya akan terus membekut pilihan2 raya akan datang.

Dalam serbuan polis

Ahmad bin Yatim, a PAS Kelantan state assemblyman was detained in 1968 mass arrest.

### Penang State

- Vice-Chairman of the Penang State Kampung Baharu Branch Office cum All Malaysia Political Detainees Families Committee Secretary, Feng Xian Xiu
- Executive Committee member Ye Yong Long and Luo Si Rong
- North Butterworth Branch Executive Committee member Fu Mei Lian
- West Tanjung Treasurer cum Publishing and Printing Industry Trade Union Secretary Lin Qing Long
- Datuk Kramat Branch Executive Committee member Wei Ting fang
- Party Member Lin Ya Lin, Huang Yong Deng, Li De Hua, Lu Run Qi, Yang Jin Mei and Li Mu Cheng

### Selangor State

- In Selangor, LPM Kuala Selangor Administrative Zone cum Chairman of Sabak Bernam, former State Assembly Candidate Chen Jian Sheng
- Sungai Burung Fishing Village Party Member Xie Song Yang
- Kuala Lumpur Cheras Road 4th mile Branch Secretary Chin Chee Ken,
- Party member Chin Chee Kong
- Kepong Branch Chairman Xiao Si Lian
- Party Member Xiao Liang Yun;
- Jinjang Branch Executive Committee Member Fu Ji Bao
- Executive Secretary at the headoffice Qiu Yi Bo
- Klang Branch Committee Member Chen Jing Ming
- Deputy Chairman of Jenjarom, Yang Wen Chou
- Secretary Xu Su Lin and
- Branch exco Huang Jian Su
- Party members Hong Wen Shan and Yang Chuan Lai etc.

There were also a few members of the People's Party detained. They were:

- Selangor State Spokesperson Wang Heng Guang
- Kajang Branch Executive Committee members Zheng Guo Xiang and Ban Ah Wan
- Of Semenyih Branch Gu Ah Jian and Lin Mu-Lin<sup>3</sup>
- Former Salak South Local Councilor, Zhang Sun Nan
- Serdang Branch Member Xiao Fu Sheng (the last two were both detained on the 5<sup>th</sup> November)

Malacca, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang State and other areas

In Malacca, the LPM State Committee Secretary Yang Qing Yu, Committee member Zhang Liang Shen and Party Members Zhuang Long Zhou and Zhong Jin Lu were arrested. Also arrested were the State Chairman of the Negeri Sembilan cum Titih Local Councilor Huang Xing, (arrested on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 1968), State Committee member cum Seremban Branch Vice-Chairman Yong Seng Chow, Committee Member Huang Pin Fu; Johore Gementah Branch Assistant Secretary Qiu Yong Ning.

In Perak, Liu Wen Qi, Zhu Mao Qiu, and Zhou Yu Hua were arrested. Also arrested were the Vice-Chairman of the Pahang Sungai Ruan Branch Secretary Su Yu Hou, Triang Branch Secretary Huang Shou Qing, and Tan Mu Shui and Li Wen Chai of the Karak Branch.

#### PAS Kelantan State Assemblyman

Kelantan State Assemblyman, Ahmad bin Yatim was the only PAS leader arrested in this round.

Apart from political parties, those from the other strata of the society were also arrested, including:

- Chen Zhi Nong, the secretary of the Nanyang University Alumni
- Liao De Xing and Fan Zhi Pin, former paid Secretary of the National Federation of Plantation Workers
- Coordinator of the National Federation of Printing Workers Trade Unions, Liang Xin Ling
- Others such as Liu Qing Zhou, Li Jin An, Huang Qing Fu, Lai Ya Xian etc.

#### Resignation of LPM MPs, State Assemblymen, Local Councillors and the boycott of the general elections

It was obvious from the list of those arrested, that the left wing cadres were the main targets of the arrests. Hence, the Selangor State People's Party decided that their Members of Parliament should resign in protest and boycotts the Parliament. The period between 1966 and 1968 was the worst time for the LPM. Committed leaders with potential, at all levels of the Party, were detained one after another.

Upon the closing down of many of its divisions and branches, the Central Committee of the Party decided at the end of December to instruct its Local Councillors, State Assemblymen and MPs, to resign in protest against the demise of democracy. The Party also decided to boycott the coming General Elections in 1969. All levels of Councillors of the LPM,



except for two, accepted the instructions and resigned from their positions, including those councillors who were still in detention.

Following the decision of the LPM to boycott the 1969 Election, it actively carried out publicity campaigns, to appeal to the members of the public to do the same, by distributing pamphlets, writing posters, issuing statements etc.

Before the Elections took place on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, Zhong Ren, the Johore State Organizing Secretary of the LPM who is also the Coordinator of the Kluang Administrative Zone and former Chairman of the Simpang Rengam Local Council was arrested on the 27<sup>th</sup> of January.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of March, Hamid Tuah and 3 of his followers were arrested.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, Liu Zhen Li, the Secretary of the Kota Tinggi Branch in Johore of the LPM was arrested.

#### Lim Soon Seng shot dead in 1969

On the 5<sup>th</sup> May 1969, *Lim Soon Seng*, a member of the LPM Kepong Branch was shot dead by a police while he was writing a boycott general election slogan at night. The opposition parties, Student Union of the University of Malaya and the Trade Unions, all condemned the government for causing his death. They demanded the Alliance government to carry out an investigation.

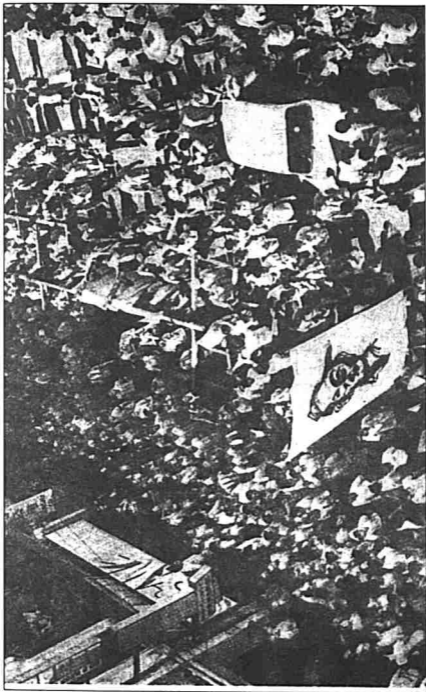
On the day of Lim's funeral, people from all over the country, such as members of the LPM, People's Party, and other leftists, all came to pay their respect. There were as many as 100,000 people present. Despite the crowd, the funeral procession was very disciplined and orderly and ended without any incidents.

#### 1969 – 1970 Suspension of the Parliament

The results of the 1969 General Elections showed that even though the Alliance government managed to retain its power to rule, it had already lost its dominance of holding Two-Thirds Majority in the Parliament, like it had before. On the State level, the Alliance could not defeat the PAS government in Kelantan. Not only that, it had even lost its power to govern in Penang. In Perak, even though the Alliance government had obtained a majority of the seats, it could no longer govern alone. In Selangor, the Alliance only got half of the seats in the Assembly.

#### Denied of the Alliance Two-Thirds Majority in the Parliament

The other opposition parties had reached a consensus to jointly compete with the Alliance on a one-to-one basis in the 1969 General Elections. This was to prevent splitting the votes of the oppositions. This strategy successfully deprived the Alliance of its Two-Thirds Majority in the Parliament. Such



Lim Soon Seng's funeral procession (Straits Times)

election results impacted very negatively on the component parties of the Alliance, particularly UMNO.

Whereas the Opposition Parties, such as *Gerakan, the Democratic Action Party, PAS, the People's Progressive Party and the People's Party*, all reaped good results. The oppositions not only obtained a record-breaking win of more than one third of the Parliamentary seats, they also won the ruling power in Penang. It looked certain that the State Power of Perak, Selangor and Sarawak, would eventually be in the hands of the oppositions.

The success in denying the Alliance government of its Two-Thirds majority rule in the Parliament implied that the opposition parties could begin to monitor and check the government since the Independence, and could also restrain it from further amending the Constitution as it pleased.

The oppositions had captured the State power in Penang. Its influence in Perak and Selangor had also expanded. All these had greatly boosted their confidence. They thought that the day to take over power from the Alliance government was not far away.

#### The Racial Riot of "5.13"

However, just as the opposition parties were still celebrating their victories, an unfortunate incident erupted, just 3 days after the General Elections. That was the "May 13<sup>th</sup> racial riot". According to official reports, more than a hundred people died in the riot and more than a thousand people were arrested. It was a heavy loss.

The Alliance government declared Emergency over the country. The Parliament was suspended and stopped its activities. "National Operation Council" was set up to take over the government until the Parliament resumed its activities in 1971. It was during this period that the Alliance government passed another law on preventive detention, the Emergency (Public Order and Prevention Of Crime) Ordinance,

The Alliance government used the new preventive detention law to detain many members of the secret society and then banishing them to an isolated island known as the Pulau Jerejak in Penang.

#### Lim Kit Siang, the Democratic Action Party (DAP) MP arrested

After the "May 13<sup>th</sup> " Incident, Lim Kit Siang, the newly elected Member of Parliament of Malacca from the Democratic Action Party, was arrested on the 15<sup>th</sup> May. He was further detained for 2 years in Muar Detention Camp. The Correspondent of the Far Eastern Economic Review in Kuala Lumpur was also arrested. He was detained in the Batu Gajah Political Detention camp. Apart from those mentioned-above, the authority targeted the leftists, particularly the members and cadres of the LPM and the People's Party.



*Mr Lim Kit Siang ... DAP secretary-general*

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Those arrested were respectively:

- Qiu Kok Lai, former Chairman of the LPM Tangkak Branch in Johor,
- The Executive Committee member Chen Nan Du,
- Pontian Party Member Li Ya Min,
- Li Guo Xiong from Muar,
- Lim Kim Chuan who was the Executive Committee Member of the Asahan Branch in Malacca
- Huang Fu Xing of Sembilan State, Batang Melaka
- Chuo Wen Fang of Port Dickson
- Xiong Gu Tian of Kepong, Selangor
- Ampang Party Member Hee Yole Voon
- State Vice-Chairman cum Chairman of the Klang Branch, Zhang Wen Jin
- Executive Committee member Pan Zhen Shen
- Xie Min Jun of Sekinchan
- Chen Fu An of Kuala Lumpur, Sentul
- Penang State Exco member, Xu Jin
- Executive Committee member of the Datuk Kramat Branch, Penang Huang Ya Hong

Those in the People's Party who were detained were:

- Candidate for the East Malacca State Constituency, Theseira Eric
- Malacca state Executive Secretary, Chen Zhi Hua
- Chairman of the Selangor Serdang Branch, Huang Hai Qiu
- The Founder of the Kajang Branch cum Semenyeh Branch Chairman, Huang Guan Hua
- Lim Joo, Party member cum the Secretary of the National Federation of the Trade Unions for Plantation Workers
- Kuala Lumpur Branch Party members Tang Leong Kee, Hooi Chin Ham, and Ye Shi Tian etc.

The widely publicized so-called Communist Camp in Kajang, Selangor

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1970, the newspaper, Straits Times disclosed that the police had uncovered the supposedly Communist Training Camp of the CPM, inside a plantation near Kajang on 31<sup>st</sup> December. They had also arrested 13 youths on the spot. The other newspapers followed with more reports about the incident. There was a lot of media attention on the case.

However, in an interview with the reporter, the rubber-holding owner clarified that the media had sensationalized the case and grossly exaggerated it. In reality, he had contracted out his holding which had been abandoned for a long time to an individual. The so-called 'watchtower' for the military



全馬園坵工友總聯會秘書長  
 左一)及執委拉惹(左三)昨日  
 個代表團擬會見東姑首相，  
 但保安人員阻攔，圖示警長  
 解保安人員阻攔，必須要申  
 釋獲准進官邸。

(top) Secretary-General of the National Federation of Plantation Workers, Lim Joo and Exco, S.N. Raja led a delegation that intended to meet Tunku, the Prime Minister, but were blocked at the entrance by a police inspector. The police officer explained that they must apply a permit in order to enter the Prime Minister Department. (source: Nanyang Siang Pau)



馬亞園坵工友總聯會秘書長  
 昨日中午在門沙漢被警方拘捕的

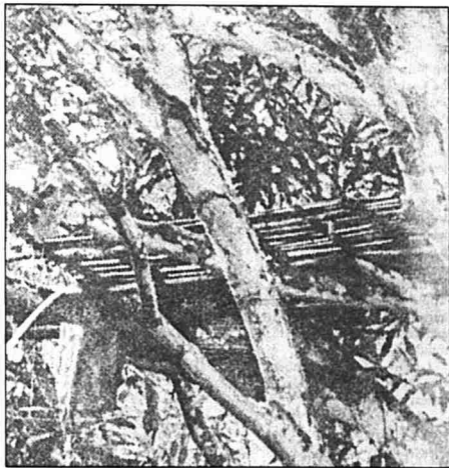


(bottom) left: Lim Joo right : Wong Tham, the owner of the rubber estate. (Source: Nanyang Siang Pau)



The picture shows CPM training camp in Kajang near Kuala Lumpur which is actually a former rubber tappers mess and the sentry post is a tall structure where workers used to shelter themselves from the heat waves, said the owner, Mr. Wong

So-called sentry post is actually a place for workers to escape from the heat of the afternoon.



PHOTOGRAPH BY [unreadable]



training, was actually a resting place for the workers. The so-called camps were in fact, sheds for making rubber sheets and dormitories for the workers.

Some of those arrested by the police were people who were black-listed by the Special Branch. They were working there to avoid arrests. These were the active members of the People's Party and the LPM as well as trade unionists. Some were rubber tappers from the other states.

#### Arrest of 2 People's Party (PRM) Pahang State Assemblymen

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1970, the Police Special Branch arrested two People's Party State Assemblymen of the Pahang State. They were Zulkifli Ismail, State Assemblyman for the Ulu Kuantan, and Lawyer Siva Subramaniam was detained in Muar Political Detention Camp for about 8 months. Zulkifli was only released after four years.

#### Arrests continued

Ng Yoke Pak, the LPM Perak State Treasurer, Thiagarajah, Chairman of the Kuala Lumpur Branch, Party Member R. Gunaratnam, S. Thurairatnam, the Organising Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions for Plantation Workers, S. N. Rajah, Johore Simpang Rengam Trasuerer Lin Ya Li, Kota Tinggi Branch Secretary Zheng Zhen Li, Muar Party Member Liang Guang Tai, Malacca On Lok New Village Branch Secretary Chong Soo were all arrested.

By this time, the police no longer gave the names of those detained. They only reported the number of persons arrested. For instance, in the press report of 4<sup>th</sup> January, the police only mentioned that 13 youths were detained in Kajang; on the 12<sup>th</sup> April, 8 young men and women were arrested in a hut in Johore Bahru.

When the LPM was still active, it used to disclose to the public, any information about the arrests, including names of those arrested. The People's Party was doing the same. However, by this time the LPM was no longer active. The People's Party still carried on its activities but it was no longer as active. Consequently, there were very few disclosures of the names of those arrested.

Apart from the members of the LPM and the People's Party, who were the main targets of arrests; the Alliance government also targeted the leaders of cultural groups.

After the "May 13<sup>th</sup>" incident, cultural activities were flourishing everywhere in the country. There were even groups even in remote fishing villages, such as Endau in Johor. Some activists from the Endau group were detained too. Then there were the many villagers along the Thai-Malaysian



Sivasubramaniam, lawyer and the newly elected Malaysian People's Socialist Pahang state assemblyman. (3 October 1970)

Di-katakan melanggar Undang-undang Keselamatan

# Dua ahli Dewan dari PR di-tahan

Halaman satu Berita Harian, 20 Januari 1970



S. Thurairatnam (right), an LPM activist, photo taken at the Batu Gajah Detention Camp.



R. Gunaratnam (right), an LPM activist, photo taken in 1972 in Batu Gajah Detention Camp



(bottom left) Md. Ali bin Samad, age 59, in detention camp



(bottom right) Mahamad bin Awang, in detention camp

border and in Perak, Kedah etc., who had been accused of being CPM sympathizers and consequently detained.

The Committee of Detainees' Families provided the following list of detainees: Li Ya Shu, Mao Weng Qing, Guo Zu Feng, Lin Yu Hua, Liang Guang Xi, Xie Shi Chu, Cai Zi Lin, Wen Wen Yi, Xu Jian Hua, Dai Yu Hua, Huang Jiu Zai, Ou Yang Ang Ci, Yang Qiu Shun, Chen Cheng Fa, Lai Nan, Chen Li Quan, Pan Qi Hao, and Wu Jiang Niang.

### The First Premier, Tunku Abdul Rahman was forced to step down

The opposition in the General Elections of 1969 seriously shaken the Alliance government, led by Tunku Abdul Rahman. As a result, it lost its dominance of Two-Third Majority in the Parliament. On top of that, Tunku's economic policies had caused the gap between the rich and the poor to widen greatly. At the same time within UMNO, the middle-class whose power was growing by the day was no longer patient with the slow pace of development controlled by the older generation within the party.

After the incident of "May 13<sup>th</sup>", this up and coming fraction within UMNO, was able to capitalize on the situation to amass for itself all the privileges. They swept away the obstacles, which stood in their way in gaining greater influence within the party. As a consequence, Tunku Abdul Rahman, under the pressure of this faction of young Turks within UMNO, was forced to resign from the highest post of the Party. He eventually gave up his position as Prime Minister of the country to become the Secretary General of the OIC (Organization of Islamic Conference).

Nevertheless, the trend of arresting dissidents and oppositions, set by Tunku Abdul Rahman, did not stop with his resignation. From those who got detained after 1969, one could see that the open and legal leftists had basically been wiped out in Malaysia. The government had turned its target of detention to other opposition parties as well.

### The Labour Movement Before 1960

Workers, as a social class, are much easier to organize in comparison with other classes of society. This is because workers as a group tend to be more gregarious. Moreover, workers have common interests in their work. That makes them achieve unity much readily for the purpose of striving for their common interests.

The workers' movement in Malaya had its origins before World War II. The Communist Party of Malaya [CPM] was founded on the 30<sup>th</sup> April 1930 and was active among the working class. At that time, the workers were extremely poor and deprived.

In 1935, the CPM organized and led the workers in the "Selangor Coal Mine Uprising" and established a "Soviet" government. However, it was soon suppressed by the British Colonial Administration.

Since then, the British Colonial Administration had kept a watchful eye on the trade union movement in Malaya. Arrests, imprisonment and deportation of the trade unionists and activists were the common measures resorted to by the British Colonial Administration. In 1940, the British Colonial Administration enacted the *Trade Union Ordinance* to have a tighter control over the trade union movement.

When World War II ended, poverty was pervasive in Malaya. Unemployment rate was high. Capitalists completely paid no heed to the miserable life and welfare of the workers. They were only concerned with the maximization of their profits.

Such pathetic conditions led to the rapid development of the workers' movement. It strived to improve the welfare of the workers. The CPM, as a political party of the working class, had tremendous influence among the workers and the masses during that period.

In 1946, a national labour organization – the *Pan Malaya Labour League* was established. It was subsequently registered under the *Trade Union Ordinance* as the *National Trade Union Federation*. Apart from striving to improve the welfare of the workers, it was actively involved in the political movement. It was against the exploitation of the capitalists and opposed the British colonial rule.

The British used basically the same counter-measures against the trade unions as it used to deal with political activists. On the one hand, it contained the activities of trade unions by invoking the *Trade Union Ordinance*. All trade unions must be registered under the Ordinance. Those who failed to do so had to face arrests, imprisonment or deportation. On the other hand, the British Colonial Administration employed trade union advisors from Britain to help set up “responsible, a-political and welfare-oriented” trade unions in the hope of replacing the radical ones.

After the promulgation of Emergency in 1948, radical trade unions and other organizations were all banned and closed down. Many trade union leaders were arrested and some were even murdered.

### The United General Workers Union

During the period from 1948 to 1960, many trade union leaders were detained and the registration of the trade unions revoked. For instance, V. David, Secretary of the radical United General Workers Union was arrested under the *Emergency Ordinance*.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> October 1958, its Chairman Huang Le Qun, Vice-Chairman Huang Zhen Liang, Vice Secretary Huang Zhi Chun and the secretary of the Johor Branch, Chen Xing Sui were all arrested. They were kept under

detention in the Batu Gajah Detention Centre. Its registration was revoked in the same year.

### Labour Movement during 1960-1966

During the period 1960 – 1966, the trade union movement became rather inactive. Apart from the 22-day national strike organized by the *Railway Workers' Trade Union of Malaya* in 1962, which brought the entire nation's railway service to a halt, industrial actions in the other industries, though frequently occurred, were on a relatively small scale. Few were arrested for their trade union activities during this period.

In the mass arrests in November 1960, 2 trade unionists were detained. They were Su Bing Chun, Secretary of the *Malayan Pineapples Workers' Trade Union*, and Zeng Zhi, Treasurer of the *Malayan Transportation Trade Union*. They were detained for 28 days and later sent to the Muar Detention Camp in Johore.

The detentions of both Su Bing Chun and Zeng Zhi caused uneasiness within the *National Trade Union Congress*. It felt that this action was part of the crack down on the "responsible" trade union movement. It sent a delegation to meet the Home Minister. They urged the Minister to give reasons for the detention and demanded release of the detainees.

One of those arrested in 1962 was the Secretary of the *Selangor Branch of the Malayan Shoe Industry Workers Trade Union*, Ye Rui Guang @ Zhou Yu Qing.

### The early years after formation of Malaysia

On 2 February 1963, the mass arrests in Singapore (nicknamed) "Operation Cold Store" witnessed the arrest of many left-wing leaders, including left-wing trade unionists. One of them was Fong Swee Suan Secretary General of the *Singapore Factory and Shop Workers Union* ("Ge Ye"). He was kept at the Muar Detention Camp. He was released on the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Independence Day of Malaysia, in 1967. The following were also arrested:

- Dominic Puthuchery, Deputy Chairman of SATU, the Singapore Association of Trade Unions
- Li Chao Ming, paid employee
- Jamit Singh, Secretary of the Singapore Port Authority Staff Union
- Zhou Ya Ming, Singapore Employees Union, and others.

Dominic Puthuchery was detained at the Muar Detention Camp, whereas Jamit Singh was kept at the Batu Gajah Detention Camp. All detainees mentioned above were Malaysians.

After the formation of Malaysia, most of the trade unionists detained were active in Singapore. The left-wing trade union movement was very influential in Singapore then. It adopted a clear-cut anti-colonial stand. It was strongly against the British colonial domination, both in its discourse and actions.

After Malaysia came into being, the trade union movement was as anti-colonial and anti-imperialist as before. Like the opposition parties, it was against the manner Malaysia was set up.

In September 1964, a group of trade union leaders were arrested in Singapore. They were:

- Li Ping Ling, Chairman, Singapore Commercial House & Factory Employees Union
- Pan Xiong Mei, Secretary
- Govindasamy, Central Committee Member
- Wu Nan San, Organizing committee member
- Secretary, Federation of Ex-Naval Base Workers Unions
- Fu Lan De, paid employee, Singapore Commercial House & Factory Employees Union
- Xu Chang Shou, chairman, Federation of Book and Newspaper Printing Industry Unions
- Ye Jin Sheng, Secretary, Federation of Rubber Industry Employees Unions
- Li Tian Ji, Chairman, Marine Products Workers Trade Union Congress
- Sun Cai Zhou, Chairman, Federation of Hotel, Tourism and Food Industries Trade Unions

In the year 1965, the International Labour Day, "May 1<sup>st</sup>", was yet to be declared a public holiday then. The left-wing trade unions in Singapore intended to hold a celebration. Unfortunately, the Alliance government was apprehensive about the trade unions using it as an excuse to create chaos and confusion. Consequently, several trade union leaders were arrested on the 29<sup>th</sup> April in a series of police raids. Those arrested were:

- Dai Zhong Ming, Chairman of the Federation of Singapore Rubber Industry Employees Unions
- Liu Zai Ci, paid employee of the Singapore Federation of Coffee Shop Workers Union.
- Khoo Suan Wan, Secretary of the Singapore Marine Products Trade Union



- Wang He, Propaganda chief of the Preparatory Committee for the Celebration of Labour Day
- Yi Yi Fa, Propaganda Secretary and
- Wu Hen Li, Acting secretary

After Singapore was compelled to leave Malaysia, the Singapore activists in the left wing trade unions continued to face the rigour of ISA.

The conditions in Singapore are only to be discussed up to this point, since Singapore had already been separated from Malaysia in 1963. However, it is to be borne in mind that the arrests referred to above were only a handful out of a considerable number of arrests, aimed at incapacitating the trade union movement in Singapore.

#### Labour Movement during 1967 — 1971

Before 1967, the trade union movement in Peninsular Malaysia, as compared to that of Singapore, was relatively subdued. Few serious industrial actions were taken, other than those strikes engaged in by the various trade unions. However, from 1967 to 1971, some trade unions became radicalized. They were very active and committed to fighting for the interests and rights of the workers. They were firmly against foreign capital particularly, the transnational capital. They took bolder actions. During this period in Malaysia, there were far more arrests from among the trade union leaders than in the first half of 1960s.

#### Asahan Estate Workers. Peaceful March to Kuala Lumpur

In 1967, workers of the *Federation of National Plantation Workers Union, (the Asahan Guthrie Plantation Branch)* went on strike. They demanded that the employer reinstated more than one hundred rubber tappers who had been dismissed from their employment. The industrial action started on the 25 February 1967 and lasted until 6 May 1967. It only ended through the mediation of Tunku Abdul Rahman. The strike lasted for 70 long days. At the end, the workers' demand was met and all the workers who had been dismissed were re-employed.

#### Asahan Plantation Workers went on strike

The *Asahan Plantation Workers* who were on strike went on a march on 14 April 1967 to present a petition to the then Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman. They walked pass various towns, including Jasin, Malacca, Alor Gajah, Tampin, Kajang and Seremban. In Seremban they met as planned the rubber plantation workers who were also on strike from Teriang, Pahang.

They joined forces and marched together northwards to Kajang in Selangor, finally reaching the Capital, Kuala Lumpur.

The workers joining this peaceful march were well received by members of the public. In particular, the Labour Party and Parti Rakyat [the People's Party] provided them with food and water and other materials as well as moral support. On the way from Malacca to Tampin, Seremban and Kajang, the Labour Party helped arrange accommodation for them. When they were arrested by the police, the Party leaders and State Assemblymen and Members of Parliament from the People's Party and the Labour Party, bailed them out. Upon their release, they resumed their march to Kuala Lumpur.

### Police dispersed the crowd

The entire march was conducted in an orderly and disciplined manner. The workers walked in twos at a slow pace.

At the outskirts of Malacca, the police appeared with police trucks and buses belonging to the State government. They insisted that the workers chose either to take the buses for free to go back to Asahan, or to be sent to the police station in the police trucks. In the end, all the workers decided to take the police trucks, and they did so orderly.

The workers preferred to be under arrest because they wanted to meet the Prime Minister, Tunku, in Kuala Lumpur. In any event, the police continued to intervene at various places. They even used tear gas to disperse the marchers who refused to give in to the police demand. Some workers were arrested and charged in court.

On the 14 April, along Jasin Road while on the way to Malacca from Asahan, the police fired more than 10 rounds of tear gas in order to disperse the workers who were on the march. 16 persons were subsequently arrested. Following that, the police again dispersed the workers at the coast of Padang Temu when walking along the trunk road between Malacca and Muar. 42 persons were arrested. They were later charged in court. Koh Kay Cham, the Malacca State Assemblymen and Tan Chee Kwong, the Muar Municipal Councillor, both from the Socialist Front bailed them out.

When the marchers arrived at Kajang in Selangor, the police intervened again. This time, 35 persons were arrested. The police tried to disperse the workers when they were leaving Kajang. And about 50 persons were arrested. The Selangor State Assemblymen of the Socialist Front, Woo Hon Kong and Chin Kek Kum wanted to bail them out. However, the police refused to grant bail. Eventually, the court allowed bail.

The final intervention by the police took place at the British High Commission, Sulaiman Road, Kuala Lumpur where the workers had gathered. 25 workers were arrested and later charged under section 239 of

the ISA. Woo Hon Kong, Chin Kek Kum, and Dr Liu Hua Sheng; a Labour Party Member bailed them out.

### Union members arrested

The *National Federation of Plantation Workers Trade Unions* initiated the strike by Asahan and Teriang plantation workers. It also organized the march that had later succeeded in reinstating the Asahan Plantation workers who were dismissed from employment. This event enjoyed wide coverage by the mass media. It generated hot discussions among members of the public who expressed great concern for developments of the event.

However, the Alliance government retaliated by revoking the registration of the *National Federation of the Plantation Workers Trade Unions*. The police also arrested a number of its members and employees during the strike.

The first to be arrested was its legal advisor, Karam Singh. He was then a Member of Parliament of the Socialist Front [Damansara Constituency]. Other detainees included:

- Zhang Zi Jia @ Zheng Qing Hai, Organising secretary, National Federation of the Plantation Workers Trade Unions
- Lim Joo Secretary and also a member of the Asahan Workers' Delegation
- Lee Ban Chen Executive Secretary
- Wei Yin, Chin Soong Sang, Lin Li Zhu, Lin Nan Zhi, Huang Xiu Yu, Zhang Yu Mei
- He Nan Shui, Secretary, Teriang Strike Action Committee
- Zhou Xiao Mei, Liang Hua
- Qiu Guo Yin, paid secretary
- Goh Ah Kau, Chairman, Malacca Branch
- Ye Ya Xing,, paid secretary etc.

### More Union leaders arrested

When the *National Federation of Plantation Workers Trade Unions* was leading the strike of the Asahan workers, The *Johor Pontian Chuan Seng Branch* of the *Pineapple Plantation Workers Union* had convinced its workers to go on strike. This consequently led to the arrest of the following trade union members:

- Tan Wai Ying and Chan Yong Sin, Trade Union officials
- Lai Ya Sheng, worker
- Luo Wen Hai, Treasurer



(top) the Malacca FRU (the Federal Reserved Unit) commander Ghaswan was explaining to Asahan rubber tappers on march to make a choice, either to take the police truck to the police station or to take the bus to go back to Asahan.

(bottom) the workers, males and females, chose to go up the police truck.

(news, headlines) Asahan workers continued to the march, they were trucked by the FRU to police station: Koh Kay Cham, LPM Malacca state assemblyman cum national President was detained by the police (photo) More than a hundred Asahan workers on the march were dispersed by the FRU at Tehel, 10 miles Jasim Road. Picture shows that before the action was taken by the FRU, Lee Ban Chen (left, standing), the workers' leader, was arguing with Abdul Malik (in coat), the magistrate, who was standing on the armoured car. (16 April 1967, Sin Chew Jit Poh)

# 阿沙漢園坵罷工工友 昨日再度徒步請願 被鎮暴隊載回警局

甲勞工黨立委許啓針昨被警方扣留

【本報訊】阿沙漢園坵罷工工友昨日再度徒步請願，被鎮暴隊載回警局。甲勞工黨立委許啓針昨被警方扣留。

阿沙漢園坵罷工工友昨日再度徒步請願，被鎮暴隊載回警局。甲勞工黨立委許啓針昨被警方扣留。阿沙漢園坵罷工工友昨日再度徒步請願，被鎮暴隊載回警局。甲勞工黨立委許啓針昨被警方扣留。



今日上午，木坡各主要街道的交通局都有全副武裝，警方人員駐守，以防萬一。上午九時半，約五、六百名罷工工友，由立法議員

阿沙漢園坵罷工工友昨日再度徒步請願，被鎮暴隊載回警局。甲勞工黨立委許啓針昨被警方扣留。

馬六甲阿沙漢州議會議員及工會領袖等，昨日在該州議會前示威遊行。圖為：(左)阿沙漢州議員及工會領袖等，(右)阿沙漢州議員及工會領袖等。

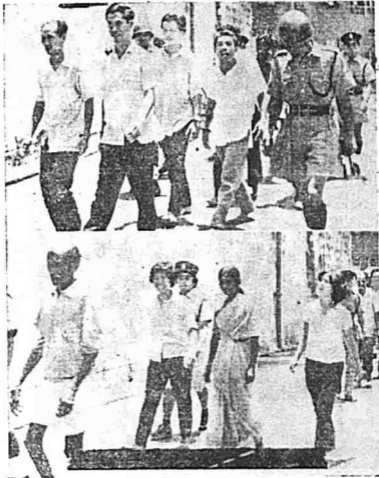


32 marching  
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阿沙漢國坵工友請願隊，十六名工友於前日下午被警方逮捕，彼等昨日被提控于  
庭，上圖左二為請願隊領袖李宛康，左四為國坵工友聯合會分會主席依不拉欣，下圖  
為被捕之三名女姓蕭思蓮、陳顯梅及多米妮。  
(本報記者黃鏡興攝)



16 petitioning workers of Asahan detained by the police the day before yesterday were charged in court.

(top) from left Goh Ah Kau, Lee Ban Chen and fourth from left is Ibrahim, the chairman of the Malacca Branch Union.

(bottom) 3 females detained are from left Siow See Lian, Dominy and Chin Ah Mui. (Sin Chew Jit Poh)



### 卅五名工友 在加影過堂 准具保候訊

【加影廿日訊】昨日下午五時許，加影警方拘獲卅五名工友，在加影地方法庭過堂。這批工友係在加影地方被拘獲，現正由加影警方押往加影監獄，等候進一步的調查。

據悉，這批工友係在加影地方被拘獲，現正由加影警方押往加影監獄，等候進一步的調查。這批工友係在加影地方被拘獲，現正由加影警方押往加影監獄，等候進一步的調查。

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圖：示威隊員示威示威後，在街大街口  
真加我個。  
(本報吉隆坡同省攝)



The FRU were on stand by in Tun Tan Cheng Lock Road after dispersing the demonstrators who demonstrated in solidarity with the Asahan Workers. (21 April 1967, Sin Chew Jit Poh)



[top] 4 workers representatives from Asahan and Triang handed a petition at the Prime Minister Department. Tunku was away visiting Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). The petition was received by Inspector Jalil representing Tunku. From left Tong Ying, Ho Nam Shui, Yong Kuan Ho, Asikya and Inspector Jalil.

[bottom] Workers on one day hunger strike.



馬六甲華僑義勇隊副團長（右起第二人）昨日在吉隆坡高等法院出庭，被控在吉隆坡高等法院外集會及向該院呈遞請願書，被控在吉隆坡高等法院外集會及向該院呈遞請願書。該團副團長昨日在吉隆坡高等法院出庭，被控在吉隆坡高等法院外集會及向該院呈遞請願書。該團副團長昨日在吉隆坡高等法院出庭，被控在吉隆坡高等法院外集會及向該院呈遞請願書。

The National Federation of Plantation Workers' organizing secretary Zhang Zi Zhen (first from right and facing the camera) was detained while petitioning at the British High Commission. He was released on bail yesterday, but as he walked out of the court, he was detained under the ISA by the Special Branch.  
(23 April 1967, sin Chew Jit Poh)



勞工部以馬尼華薩曼為主席，昨日上午十時許，在亞沙漢，與罷工工人會面，並聽取罷工工人的訴苦。圖為勞工部部長馬尼華薩曼（右二）與罷工工人會面，並聽取罷工工人的訴苦。圖為勞工部部長馬尼華薩曼（右二）與罷工工人會面，並聽取罷工工人的訴苦。（黃曉輝攝）

Manivasagam, the Labour Minister, was in Asahan yesterday morning to mediate the labour dispute.

(top) The Labour Minister (second from right) was registering names of workers sacked by the employer to probe thoroughly into the strike

(bottom) Placards carrying workers were listening to the speech by the Labour Minister, the slogans were in various languages.

(6 May 1967, Sin Cheew Jit Poh)



甲阿沙灣部份工友涉噤加徒少和卜請  
離開法庭之庭(本報黃義興攝)



直達國聯工行動委員會的五名代表在執行秘書拉登(中)的率領下，抵達首相官邸外，欲將一封請件呈給東結。圖示他們正向首相官邸外的警方人員說明來意。(中)

(top) Some of the Asahan workers were charged in court for participating in the peaceful march to petition. Hearing was postponed to 2 October. The workers were leaving the court.

(Sin Chew Jit Poh)

(bottom) A delegation of five representatives from the Triang Committee on Strike led by S.N. Raja (centre) were at the Prime Minister Department to hand in a document to Tunku. Picture shows the delegation were explaining to the police officer about their aim of going there.

(29 June 1967)

總理上圖：阿沙漢與直落亞逸區工友代表向首相在總理官邸遞交門前之聲言聲援之聲。於昨日（廿一日）下午三時抵運東站。被捕者身份監視之影。（禁制兩週）



(top) After a long march of more than a hundred miles, the Asahan workers finally arrived at the Prime Minister Department on 21 April 1967 at 3.00 p.m. in the afternoon. Picture shows 4 representatives of the Union handed a Memorandum to the police at the gate of the Prime Minister's office.

(bottom) Workers from Asahan and Triang were arrested by the police while submitting a memorandum to the British High Commissioner. The police were seen taking down the workers IC particulars.

(Chinese daily)

Demonstration in Muar

(top) Tan Chee Kong (in front in white shirt) was escorted to the Muar magistrate court to be charged. Tan was an elected LPM Muar Town Councillor.

(middle) About a hundred people demonstrated in Muar. They put wooden rods, ladders and other things on the road. Passers-by gathered to watch the demonstration.

(bottom) Two young women were arrested and kept in a police truck.

片照示威巽

圖：巽市議  
員陳光光  
(前) 被  
(後) 押入  
警署。



下圖(上)：巽市議員陳光光率領示威，行經巽市。  
下圖(中)：約百名示威者將木棍、木梯等物橫街，阻礙交通。  
下圖(下)：兩名女學生被押入警署，市民駐足圍觀。



- Li Yong Run, Weng De Ming and Ding Xiao Pin, members
- Deputy Secretary, Selangor Construction Workers Federation arrested under the ISA

### Workers' Strike in South Johore [1968-1971]

From 1968 to 1971, a number of labour disputes lasting two to three months, erupted in the areas around Johor Bahru, in the State of Johor. When these labour unrests occurred, the police mobilized a large contingent to surround the factories and hunt down the trade union leaders and workers. Some of them were charged in court whilst others were sent to the Political Detention Camps.

The Johor State used to produce pineapples. Vast areas of pineapple plantations were found in the Southern part of Johor. The trade unions in the pineapple industry were very active. On the 10 June 1968, the *Federation of All Malaysian Pineapple Industry Workers Unions* saw two of its Central Committee Members and three of its members arrested. They were:

- Chen Liang Xian, Chairman
- Kua Kim Teck, Secretary
- Luo Xi Di, Liang Xiu Yin and Li Han Li, Union members

On the same day, the police also arrested more than 40 workers from Hup Huat Candy Factory, Johor Bahru.

### Chuan Seng Pineapple Factory Workers' Strike and "Operasi Jaring"

One week after the arrest of the two trade union leaders of the pineapple industry, the Johor State Police conducted mass arrests codenamed "*Operasi Jaring*" (Net Operation). The Police surrounded the *Chuan Seng Pineapple Plantation* in Pontian.

At least 90 left-wingers were detained in that one sweep. That afternoon, the workers were planning to organize a large-scale cultural show in the Plantation. The police arrested 123 left-wingers in Southern part of West Malaysia and in Johor Bahru. On the 27 June 1968, the *Federation of All Malaysian Pineapple Industry Workers Unions* was closed down.

A month later, among those arrested in the "Operasi Jaring", 17 male detainees were transferred to the Muar Detention Camp, and one female detainee was sent to the Batu Gajah Detention Camp in Perak.

After "Operasi Jaring", the police kept up its repression against the workers who went on strike. However, the factory workers remained united and firm in their strike in the face of arrests and harassment. They demanded better working conditions and that their employer withdrew their decision



(top) The former secretary of the National Federation of Shoes Industries Workers Unions Huang Yu Juan walked out of the court yesterday after charges against her were withdrawn (Chinese daily, 18 June 1970)

(bottom) The Johore Bahru Nanyang Shoe Factory workers were on strike; photo shows they were standing at the factory gate shouting slogans.



前大馬全國鞋業工友聯合會秘書黃玉娟昨在控狀撤消後，步離法庭之影。  
(本報符傳囉寄)



新山南洋鞋廠停工之男女工友集立於廠門口高呼口號之鏡頭。(新山龍鳳影社攝)



南洋鞋廠工友宣佈罷工。圖示情之影。

# 南洋鞋廠工潮

## 釀成血流突衝事件

### 馬鞋業工聯譴責資方利用黑勢力對付工友

（本報新山廿八日訊）罷工工友進行糾察之新山南洋鞋廠大門前，昨日發生嚴重之流血衝突事件。全馬鞋業工友聯合會今日嚴厲譴責南洋鞋廠資方利用「黑社會」勢力對付該廠正在進行合法罷工之工友，並指出由此而引起之何事，該會主席劉瑞珍呼籲全馬各團體工會密切關注，給予在鬥爭中實際行動之支援。對於有關於罷工及鎮壓人員驅散與拆除進行

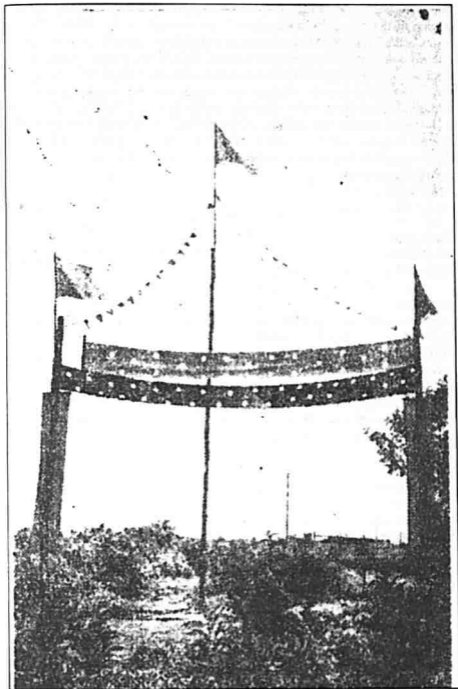
（本報新山廿八日訊）罷工工友進行糾察之新山南洋鞋廠大門前，昨日發生嚴重之流血衝突事件。全馬鞋業工友聯合會今日嚴厲譴責南洋鞋廠資方利用「黑社會」勢力對付該廠正在進行合法罷工之工友，並指出由此而引起之何事，該會主席劉瑞珍呼籲全馬各團體工會密切關注，給予在鬥爭中實際行動之支援。對於有關於罷工及鎮壓人員驅散與拆除進行

會總秘書黃玉娟在上述遭毆傷人員在執行任務時，在該項流血衝突事件中，據悉亦有三名鎮壓隊員入院。行任務時，於昨日發生時遭扣留，另據悉亦遭扣留，他們將於明日在法庭面對多與暴動罪狀。廠工友乃於本月廿五日，為了抗議資方非法化約，不發花紅而宣佈正式罷工。去年十一月廿一日，即宣佈罷工，至今已三個月，整頓後，開廠恢復之日，乃無期。在有關流血衝突事件後，本報記者前往現場，但見南洋鞋廠罷工友糾察場地已失去工廠人員在場徘徊，高懸隊大門口之罷工布條，於各樓樓語亦不知去處，及三天前工友搭起之多座木椅子，經已倒塌，散於地上。

Nanyang Shoe factory workers declared on strike. Photo shows part of the workers in high spirits were picketing at the factory gate

(news headlines) The labour strike has resulted in bloody clashes. The National Federation of Shoe Industries Workers Unions condemned the employers for using "gangsters" to attack the workers (1 March 1969)





Three red flags flying on the simple gateway constructed at the entrance to the workers' dormitories in Chuan Seng Pineapple Plantation

to cut wages. Some of the workers even stopped work to demand for the release of their trade union leaders.

On the 3 July 1968, the police surrounded the *Malayan United Pineapple Factory* and arrested a group of workers. The police however, refused to disclose the number of persons detained. In fact, more than 30 workers and 4 trade union cadres, i.e. Huang You Xiang, Lin Wei Liang, Ma Ji Yuan and Chen Shui Quan were arrested.

On the 23 July, the strike staged by the workers of *Yong Kian Medicine Factory* in Johor Bahru entered the 12<sup>th</sup> day. The workers held a mass rally but were quickly dispersed by the riot police. The police arrested one worker and 2 supporters.

### Nanyang Shoe Factory Workers' Strike

The workers of Nanyang Shoe Factory in Johor Bahru went on strike towards the end of 1968. The employer closed down the factory for no valid reason. The workers demanded that the employer re-opened the factory.

On the 30 January 1969, the *Nanyang Shoe Factory* in Johor Bahru entered its 59<sup>th</sup> day of strike. The police arrested one woman and one supporter. In March, the *Shoe Industry Workers Union* was de-registered. On the 24 April 1969, Liu Yao Zhen, Chairman of the *Federation of Shoe Industry Workers Unions*, Wang Rong Jin, cadre and Yang Gwee Lin, cadre were arrested in front of the factory gate.

According to the Press, the factory was declared closed. A new company was incorporated so that it could employ new workers. The three union officials attempted to persuade several Indian workers not to register as employees of the new company. Hardly 2 hours later, acting on information received, the police arrived and escorted the three union officials to the police station.

On the 30 May 1969, soon after the "May 13" racial riot, 4 of the factory female workers were arrested. One week before this, Su Lung Zhou, one of the union cadres had already been arrested. On the 29 September, some workers from the factory were also arrested.

On 5 November 1971, workers from the *United Malayan Canned Pineapple Factory* in Johor Bahru mounted a protest against the detention of four of their union committee members. As a result, a strike by a few hundred workers ensued.

### The Student Movement

Students form a unique social stratum in society. In times of peace, students' future is bright and hopeful. Their potential and talents could be allowed to develop to their fullest. Generally speaking, they are easily satisfied with

the status quo and they remain peaceful and carefree. Usually they spend their energy and time on achieving their personal carrier.

However, when the social system and government policies hinder the development of productive force leading to a crisis, students tend to be the first to bear the brunt. When the general populace begin to seek their right to have a say in the formulation of social policies and their right to participate in them, the students may be the first to act. Students as a social stratum could become discontented and restless. They may turn into a progressive social force, pushing for social reform.

In our country, the earliest student movement could be traced as far back as 1956. It began with the Chinese High School students campaigning against the *Razak Education Report* 1956. The report proposed a change in the medium of instruction in all Secondary Chinese Schools, that is, to use English instead of Chinese as the medium of instruction.

The students were also opposed to the "Assessment Examination" introduced by the British Colonial Administration. It was meant to evaluate the qualifications of the Chinese School Teachers. A student activist who had participated in this student movement expressed the view that the British Colonial masters were trying to use the Assessment Examination as a pretext to flush out those teachers in the Chinese Schools, who had a strong sense of social justice and definitely not communists. One good example was the case of Lim Lian Geok.

In 1956, a nation-wide student movement had erupted from among the Chinese High Schools, and it continued for several years. The students were arrested and imprisoned under the *Emergency Ordinance*. Some were expelled from school and blacklisted. When the students joined the peaceful picket, the British Colonial Administration sent in the police and military to suppress them.

D.R. Seenivasagam, a Member of Parliament from the *Malayan People's Progressive Party* [PPP] in his first speech at the Legislative Assembly on the 8 December 1957, strongly condemned the Alliance government for publicly beating female students [with rattan] participating in the demonstration.

Before the coming into force of the ISA in 1960, Chinese High School students were arrested and detained in detention camps every year under the *Emergency Ordinance*. In the mass arrests of October 1958, students were also the victims.

### Secondary school students and Nanyang University students

According to statistics gathered from the newspaper reports, 15 secondary school students were arrested in 1960 under the ISA. Another 21 were arrested in 1961 and 21 more arrested in 1962. Majority of them were Chinese school students.

After 1962, the number of Chinese secondary school students arrested began to decline. However, in 1963 and 1964, 16 and 75 active students from the Nanyang University in Singapore were detained respectively.

### Suitability Certificates

From 1963 onwards, the student leaders of the Nanyang University were radical in their approach and politically inclined towards the left. They were anti-imperialist and anti-colonial in their outlook. In order to prevent 'undesirable' students from entering the University, the Alliance government amended the ISA in 1964.

The amendment was to the effect that every secondary school student intending to enter any local university must apply for the "Suitability Certificate". Every application was screened by the Special Branch. The authority would only issue such a 'certificate' to a student if it was satisfied that he or she was politically harmless to those in power. Only those students holding such a "suitability certificate" were allowed to have tertiary education in a local university.

### University of Malaya

In the early years, the campus of the University of Malaya was in Singapore. A group of students in the University were politically active. They founded the *Socialist Club*. Some of the Club members joined the *Malayan People's Socialist Front* upon their graduation, and subsequently emerged as its important leaders.

Generally speaking, the campus of the University of Malaya was peaceful and calm. However, the Student Council had from time to time issued statements or organized demonstrations in relation to certain social and political issues. Some of these issues were:

- 1964 - the campaign against the amendment of the ISA and the requirement for the Suitability Certificate;
- 1966 - the demonstration against the visit of US President Johnson to Malaysia;
- 1967 - the support given to the Peasant Leader Hamid Tuah in clearing jungle for farming purposes at Telok Gong.
- 1969 - nation-wide mass rallies organized by the University students, and the promulgation of the students' manifesto.

Nevertheless, all these actions were rather moderate in nature.

In 1968 and 1969, a group of Malay students also staged demonstration inside the campus of the University of Malaya. They even used paint to deface road signs and notice boards written in English. They demanded that Malay language be the only medium used on campus.



圖為馬大學生紀念大學自主日，遊行中學生們手挽黑紗，抬黑棺，抗議政府對學生自治權的剝奪。



Students from the University of Malaya commemorating the University's Autonomy Day were wearing black armbands and carrying a black coffin. It was a peaceful demonstration and march to protest against the ISA and the suitability certificate needed for entering the University. The emergency meeting held by students adopted 2 resolutions. (Chinese daily, 23 July 1967)





馬大學生在內舉行抗議遊行

馬大自主日 學生在校內抗議遊行  
要求廢除入學准証 給予大學自學自主  
各學生團體均表示支持

【本報訊】馬六甲大學學生在昨日（廿二日）舉行抗議遊行，要求廢除入學准証，給予大學自學自主。各學生團體均表示支持。

馬六甲大學學生會主席陳文龍表示，入學准証制度是殖民時代的遺留，不應存在。他呼籲政府廢除該制度，讓學生有自由選擇大學的權利。

此外，各學生團體也舉行了抗議活動。馬六甲大學學生會、馬來亞大學學生會、新加坡大學學生會等均派代表參加遊行。他們手持標語，高呼「廢除入學准証」、「大學自主」、「學術自由」等口號。

政府方面表示，入學准証制度是為了確保教育質量，並為學生提供一個公平的競爭環境。政府將繼續與學生團體溝通，尋求雙方都能接受的解決方案。

On the Autonomy Day of the University of Malaya, a thousand students protested and demonstrated inside the campus demanding the abolition of the suitability certificate for entrance into local universities and the universities be given autonomy and freedom. All student organizations have expressed their support.

(Photo) Students of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur demonstrated in the campus demanding autonomy and academic freedom.

Anwar Ibrahim, former Deputy Prime Minister cum Finance Minister was one of the Chairmen of the Malay Language Society in the University.

### MU Student Leaders arrested

After the 1969 "May 13<sup>th</sup>" incident broke out in Kuala Lumpur, Anwar Ibrahim, who was the then Chairman of the Malay Language Society of the University of Malaya, was arrested together with Syed Hamid Ali, the President of the University Of Malaya Student Union (UMSU), but they were released 2 weeks later. They were the first student leaders from the University of Malaya to be arrested after 1960.

Not long after this, the students from the University of Malaya held a demonstration during the visit of Thanom Kittikachorn, the strongman of Thailand, against his suppression of the Muslims in Pattani, Southern Thailand. The police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and arrested the student leader Zulkifli Ahmad.

Anticipating a more active and radical students activism, the Alliance Government introduced the University and Unversity Colleges Act (UCCA) in 1971. But, with the increase in the number of public universities and student population, the students became more vocal and found themselves in voicing social ills. Such students' activism culminated in supporting the Baling rubber small holders' anti-famine protest. A mass rally was organized at the Selangor Padang, Kuala Lumpur, on 3 December 1974. But, the rally was forcefully broken up.

Thereafter, more than a thousand dispersed university students who gathered at the National Mosque were arrested and charged in courts. The Barisan Nasional Government raided campuses. Many stuednts leaders and activists were detained under the ISA and sent to Kamunting Detention Camp. The UCCA was amended in 1975 and thus students' activism was brutally suppressed.

The University Of Malaya Chinese Language Society (UMCLS) which was actively staging cultural shows between 1972 and 1974 in various towns like Kuala Lumpur, Johore Baru, Batu Pahat, Muar, Malacca, Seremban, Teluk Intan, Pangkor Island, Ipoh, Penang and Alor Setar depicting lives and sufferings of people from the lower strata of the society was banned to divert public attention on the real issue of the Baling Farmers Protest.

### Peasants And Urban Settlers

The problem of land has been a very serious problem in our country for a long time. After our Independence, the Alliance government still did not have an appropriate and proper solution to the problem. The farmers lacked the land for cultivation; the city dwellers lacked the land for housing. Farmers



(top) Hamid Tuah

(bottom) Students of the University of Malaya donated money, food and clothes for Hamid Tuah and his followers yesterday. The woman in front with a white head scarf was the wife of Hamid Tuah, Sharifah



(top left) Yesterday afternoon, a group of students from the University of Malaya marched to the Selangor State government building to petition in support of Hamid Tuah and his followers. Photo shows one of the student representatives negotiating with the riot police officer.

(bottom right) The Selangor State officials met 5 student representatives.

should own the land they till and people should own the house they stay. However, such ideals are still far-fetched.

The issue of illegal farmland and illegal houses continued to be a problem in various States of Malaya. When a piece of land, which had been tilled or occupied, began to be appropriated by developers or by the government, contradictions and conflicts emerged between the farmers or the squatters on one hand, and the developers or the government on the other. Due to the nature of our laws, the farmers and the squatters more often than not lost in the tussle, and were evicted from their land and dwellings without compensation.

#### The struggle of Hamid Tuah

As early as the 1950s, Hamid Tuah had already organized peasants to open up the jungle and converted them to farmland. This was to help the peasants to stand on their own feet. However, because it was State land, his hard work was considered illegal.

In December 1960, the government restricted his residence to Kuala Kubu Baru.

In 1967, Hamid Tuah again led a group of 500 peasants to open up the jungle at Teluk Gong in Selangor for farming. They built themselves their homes.

However, the Alliance government immediately declared a state of emergency over the area, and sent in the police as well as the army. They arrested some of the peasants and destroyed their crops.

The University of Malaya Student Union (UMSU), several academics, PRM and LPM members gave strong support to Hamid Tuah.

#### The arrest of Hamid Tuah

Early 1969, Hamid Tuah again led peasants to open up State land.

The Alliance government arrested Hamid Tuah and his 4 followers on 4 January. He was detained at the Muar Detention Camp, and subsequently at the Batu Gajah Detention Camp for 2 years.

#### Urban Settlers of Kepong, Kuala Lumpur

Poverty in our country is not restricted to the rural areas. In the cities, there is also widespread poverty. In the early years of Independence, the majority of the urban poor were Chinese and Indians, the ruling elite showed little or no concern for their existence. Their existence was neglected.

When the LPM suffered total defeat in the 1955 General Elections, it began to involve itself with the squatter problems in Kuala Lumpur. It organized the urban poor to fight for the rights and welfare. Consequently, LPM received overwhelming support from those in the lower strata of the society.

蕭海金



葉新田



〔吉隆坡二十八日訊〕皇家馬來西亞警察總部今日發表文告證實有十一名人士於最近期間受警方所逮捕。  
文告說：十一名人士因涉及參與顛覆活動有關而遭警方扣留。  
文告也進一步透露說：被扣留的十一名人士包括有前任的工會人物，目前正在盤問中。

## 警察總部証實 涉及顛覆活動 十一人遭扣捕

文告也指出，警方是在內部安全法令下，展開是項行動，此項行動是在本月十五日開始先後在吉隆坡及甲洞進行。  
文告表示，基於安全理由，警方將不公佈被扣留者名單。  
據悉，被扣留者包括甲洞五區反迫遷聯合委員會主席蕭海金及秘書葉新田，委員黃元華及朱亞友。

(Photo top) Siew Hoi Kam  
(Photo bottom) Yap Sin Tian  
(29 November 1970)

The Police headquarter confirmed that 11 persons (including ex-trade unionists) have been arrested under the ISA for suspected involvement in subversive activities.

(content) The arrests took place since 15 November in Kuala Lumpur and Kepong. The police statement did not disclose names of those arrested. According to sources from the press; those detained were the Chairman, Secretary and the executive committee members of the Kepong 5-area anti eviction Joint Committee.



約百餘名受迫遷的村民冒雨集合在美敦花園辦事處樓下的騎樓，而配備齊全的警員也列隊在旁戒備。

About a hundred villagers who have been forced to move out gathered at the developer office despite rain, the police in full-gear and helmets standing in full alert .

(top) A few hundred residents from 5 areas in Kepong gathered at the developer office to hand a petition to the company demanding for a reasonable resettlement agreement. Photo shows the villagers waiting for the outcome of the negotiation.



(middle) The residents of 5 areas in Kepong and a few committee members were waiting to meet the manager at the developer's office.



(bottom) Representatives of Kepong 5-area anti- eviction Joint Committee and 250 villagers went to present their petition at the Ministry of Home Affairs yesterday in Kuala Lumpur, requesting the release of their 4 representatives. Photo shows the villagers waiting outside the Ministry office. The man second to the left was the Chairman, Huang Guang-shen. (Chinese daily)







**甲洞木屋村委會  
 蕭海金等人被扣**  
 （本報甲洞廿七日訊）甲洞木屋村委會四名領袖，前日深夜分別被警方人員到其住所扣捕，他們是，主席蕭海金，秘書黃新田，執委黃元華，委員朱亞友（女）等。彼等被捕原因未明。  
 另訊，上述大墾村委會行將對上述事情，向報界發表一項聲明云。

(top right) More than 200 villagers from Kepong were seen leaving the Ministry of Home Affairs after they had presented their petitions to the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry

(top left) Mothers of the 2 detained anti-eviction committee representatives held a sit-in outside the Ministry office  
 (Chinese daily, 30 November 1971)

In 1970, after the implementation of the New Economic Policy, UMNO encouraged the migration of rural Malays into the cities.

Unfortunately, such mobilization of rural Malays into urban areas was not accomplished in accordance with any comprehensive or well thought-out plan. Some rural folks who moved into big cities, particularly Kuala Lumpur, were forced to become squatters. This is because as new immigrants to the city, their income was very low and there was a shortage of low-cost housing.

#### Kepong Settlers claimed compensation

In 1969, the Kepong squatters were threatened with an eviction order. In response, they set up the "Kepong (Five Zones) Anti-Eviction Joint Committee" to negotiate with the housing developer and the government. They claimed fair and reasonable compensation and for resettlement.

The residents refused to move out unless the housing developer and the relevant government authorities promised to meet their demands.

However, the developer, accompanied by a large group of police and District land officers, brought in bulldozers and labourers to forcibly pull down their houses. Some houses were demolished.

The residents in a concerted effort managed to prevent the developer from further demolition. Those who had been rendered homeless were allowed to stay temporarily in school premises. They later peacefully picketed at the developer's office.

#### Kepong Anti-Eviction Committee Members detained

Just as the members of Kepong Anti-Eviction Committee were negotiating with the developers, the Police Headquarters confirmed on the 29 November 1970 that 11 persons from Kepong were arrested. Among them were:

- Siow Hoi Kum, Chairman of Kepong Five-District Anti-Eviction Joint Committee
- Yap Sin Tian, Secretary
- Wong Yuen Hua and Choo Ah Yew, Committee Members

Although some of the Anti-Eviction Joint Committee Members were arrested, the residents remained united. Finally the struggle ended amicably with the residents given fair compensation and offered resettlement.

#### The Characteristics of the Tunku Period

In the 1960s, the main feature of arrests by the Tunku Abdul Rahman regime was closely identified with anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism movements.

The people involved could be traced as far back as to early 1940s. They were involved in the anti-colonial struggles. During this period, open and legal leftist activities were flourishing. Political lines were clearly drawn.

The CPM forced by the government to be an illegal political body had already gone underground. Nevertheless, it was the main political organization carrying out the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles. However, it failed in its competition for political power with the British Colonialists. As a result, it retreated northwards into Southern Thailand. The Party had intended to develop, consolidate and expand its power soon after.

From 1965 to 1967, Malaysia was plagued with widespread dissatisfaction among the masses brought about by the deteriorating and widening economic situations. Mass struggles were intensifying by the day. Cadres and members of the leftist parties and unions were being arrested daily that created a sense of disillusionment towards Parliamentary Democracy which was diminishing in their eyes.

Seeing such a situation as a chance to once again carry out armed struggle in the Peninsula of Malaysia, the CPM did so in June 1968.

Within the context of the East-West Cold War, the Alliance government stood completely on the side of the Western camp. Its policies were anti-communist. It supported the US to besiege China and invade Vietnam; attacking China severely on the issue of Tibet etc. In 1962, when China and India got into a brief border war, it supported India.

The opposition parties especially the leftists, were against the founding of Malaysia. The British army also suppressed the uprising staged by Brunei People's Party in 1962. And the Alliance government was fully supporting the suppression by the British. In other words, the Alliance government had adopted anti-communist, anti-people's policies and positions on many issues, both on the domestic front as well as internationally.

In the 1955 Legislative Assembly Election, even though the Alliance walked away with 51 seats out of a total of 52, it was gradually losing its dominance to rule as the only party.

In 1959 Election, even though the Alliance managed to win more than Two-Thirds of the majority seats and thus, could continue to rule over the country, it had nevertheless, lost Kelantan and Terengganu.

On top of that, it had lost many Parliamentary and State level seats too. In the General Elections of 1969, the LPM decided to boycott the Elections, in protest against the government's continued arrests and detentions of its leaders and cadres without trial. It was a protest against the demise of Malaysian's Democracy.

On the other hand, the other opposition parties were able to unite together, to reach a consensus that they would only compete on a one-to-one basis with the Alliance in the Elections, so as to avoid splitting votes of the oppositions.

At the end, they managed to deny the Two-Thirds Majority rule in the Parliament by the Alliance. PAS remained in power in Kelantan. The *Gerakan*, which was then an opposition party, won the power to govern Penang. In Selangor and Perak, the Alliance could no longer form a government alone, even though it still retained majority seats.

Unfortunately, just 3 days after the Election results were announced, the "May 13<sup>th</sup>" racial riots took place and the Parliament was suspended. It only resumed in 1971.

Tunku Abdul Rahman's economic policies were on the surface actively supporting the Bumiputras. In reality, he was pursuing laissez-faire and liberal economic policies. Although there was economic development, the gap between the have and have-nots was increasingly widened. The Election result merely reflected the dissatisfaction of the people.

During this period, the trade union movement was flourishing. There were regular industrial actions like workers strikes. There were similarly, actions organized by the farmers for land rights and squatters fighting for just compensation because of their evictions. The Student Union of University of Malaysia also expressed their solidarity with the farmers and workers in their struggles. They organized mass rallies all over the country during the 1969 General Elections demanding a Just Society.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Syed Husin Ali, former Professor of the Sociology Department, University of Malaya, Boestamam, Ishak, Burhanuddin and others decided to lead the 3 opposition parties separately, so as to galvanize the opposition forces into an alliance with a view to wresting political power in Malaya.

<sup>2</sup> Before World War II, after the founding of the CPM, members of the party as well as anti-colonialists were continuously arrested, imprisoned and deported by the British.

<sup>3</sup> Lin Mud-Lin was PRM Semenyih Branch Secretary when he was arrested. He was first detained at Pudu prison and was later transferred to Batu Gajah detention center. He was tortured during his detention. He suffered tremendous mental pressure because there was no one to take care of his aged Mother who lived alone. As a result, he had a mental breakdown and became schizophrenic. After his release from prison, despite the care given by many friends, he could not recover and finally died in bitterness. Lin's case is one example of many such cases happened in detention.

## Mass Arrests, 1971-81

### 1971 – 1973 The Period of Transition

Upon the resignation of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Razak took over as the second Prime Minister. He continued *Alliance* policies, and continued arresting Malaysian dissidents.

By this time, there were few leftists left to organize openly. Under the suppression of Tunku Abdul Rahman, the leftists lost their confidence in the Parliamentary Democratic System professed by the *Alliance*. The lucky ones managed to avoid the gallows. However, they had to live in hiding from then on. Some of them chose to go into the jungle; to join the *CPM* in armed struggle and guerilla warfare. Still others went underground. Those who remained in Malaysia had to face the risk of detention.

Political developments after the 1969 May 13 riots ironically helped the *CPM* expand its influence. There were already armed *CPM* guerillas in the jungles of Perak, Kelantan and Pahang. Its underground networks were developing in both the rural and urban areas. On some *CPM* commemoration days, its underground networks would raise the red flag in the middle of the night. Hence, the police were also very busy during this period.

Arrests happened regularly. According to the stories told by those who were imprisoned in detention centres, police arrests barely stopped. However, it was difficult to keep track of the exact number detained, as police would not disclose the names of the those arrested because these operations were carried out in secrecy.

By 1971, there were still members of the *Labour Party* and the *People's Party* being detained. Some of those detained from the *People's Party* were:

- Perak State Slim River Branch Secretary Tan Shao Ji;
- Bukit Merah Branch Secretary Ma Tong Keong;
- Kinta Zone Joint Chairman, Chai Gao Ji; and
- Selangor Petaling Jaya Party member Liu Qi Hua.

# - 13 more held under the ISA in Johore

**JOHORE BARU,**  
Wed. — Thirteen  
people were detain-  
ed under the Intern-  
al Security Act last  
night for involve-  
ment in subversive  
activities, bringing to  
320 the total number  
of subversive ele-  
ments arrested in  
Johore since last  
year.

Mentri Besar Tan Sri  
Haji Othman Saat said at  
a Press conference that  
of this total number, five  
had been released under  
the Restriction Order,  
1976.

They are Tan Chuan  
Choon, 34, Yong Sal  
Wan, 22, Chong Chee  
Meng, 32, Chan See Kian,

33, and H'ng Meng Kim,  
33.

Two detainees — Pong  
Yong Tong and Llaw Ah  
Tong — who made state-  
ments denouncing their  
past activities were also  
present at the confer-  
ence.

## Rifles

A third detainee, Teo  
Ah Kim, who had made a  
written confession was  
not present as he was  
being held for further  
questioning.

The Mentri Besar said  
205 people were detained  
last year and 115 this  
year.

He said security forces  
seized three home-made  
rifles, a wireless set, five  
lbs of sulphur (used for  
making explosives), a  
wire-cutter, several rolls  
of wire for making booby  
traps, medicines and  
over 250 ball-bearings,  
in Kulai recently.

The Mentri Besar said:  
"As the State Security  
Director of Operations I  
urge those who are still  
involved in subversive  
activities to surrender  
themselves by reporting  
to the nearest police sta-  
tion."

"I give the State Go-  
vernment's assurance  
that they will be treated  
with fairness and jus-  
tice."

经过十六年的身置深洞，在内  
安法令下被扣留的羅明亮，終於獲  
得重新呼吸自由的空氣。

儘管五千八百多個漫漫长夜，  
使黑暗一切變得有如另一个世界，可  
是这名甫结束被扣留生涯的中年漢，  
却对迢迢隔別十六年的陌生環境  
充滿信心。

漫长的歲月雖然催人老，但卻  
磨滅不掉羅明亮對生活的信念與決  
心。

他胸襟豁达的说：「不曾親實  
環境的会以何種的眼光看待一个被  
扣留十六年的人，我仍將以樂觀的態  
度接受新生活的考驗。」

現年四十四歲的羅明亮，是在

**羅明亮對明天充滿信心**

5 OCT. 1989

步出扣留營重獲自由 星洲日報

**羅明亮十六年磨練**

**對新生活充滿信心**



Low Ming Leong, released after 16 years of detention and the longest ISA detainee in Peninsular Malaysia, detained on 10 October 1972 (news: 5 October 1989, Sin Chew Jit Poh)



(bottom left) Tan Ping (left) and Feng Lan (right), Batu Gajah Detention Camp, 1972  
(bottom right) Dan Ek and mother, Kamunting Detention Camp, Taiping, 1975

From the *Labour Party* there were

- Kuala Lumpur Cheras Branch exco members Zen Xian Xin and Chin Chee Kong;
- Johore Kluang Branch party members Lin Jin Hui and Ma Kang Xun;
- Batu Pahat member Li Shi Rong; and
- Sagil Branch Chairman, Lu Jin Yi.

#### The Operations in the Northern States of Peninsular Malaysia

There were a few mass arrests in both Perak and Kedah. These were namely, "Operation Bamboo" in Grik, Perak and "Operation Loyalty" in the Sungai Siput Sub-district in November 1971. In the latter operation, more than 20 persons were detained. It was followed by the Kroh-Selama "Operation Awakening", where 100 to 200 persons were nabbed; they were all villagers, such as rubber tappers.

#### Other Activists Arrested

Others who were arrested were ordinary workers and rubber tappers such as Xu Yan Jiu of Kedah, Wen Ya Ba of Kulim, Wei Ji Chang of Sungai Petani. From Perak: Li Jin Rong, Wu Zhang, Huang Hui Lai and Zheng Yu Lin of Sungai Siput, Zhen Gou Zai of Menglembu in Ipoh[1]; Tang Fu Shi, Lin Tian Cheng, Xie Liang Sheng, Lin Tong An of Penang; in Johore, Hon Yew Pin of Labis, Yang Guang Zhao and Liao Wen Fang of Pelentong, Wang Qi Nan of Ulu Choh, Lin Yong Gui of Pekan Nenas, He Shen Lang of Johore Bahru, Xu Ya Li, Zheng Xiu Lan, Chen Jin Hong of Johore Bahru Malaya United Pineapple Canning Factory, Chen Chuan Xing of Skudai, along with Li Cai Lin, Ye Chun Sheng, Lin Jiu Fa, Li Lin, Lin Li Han, Zhen Ai Lin, Guo Mei Er, Zhang Dai Ying, Lin Ya Hua, Huang Su Jiao, Li Xiao Hong, Chen Pin, Xie jin Feng, Chen Lian Hua and others.

Xu Ping Yi from Singapore was detained in the same year.

#### Arrest of members of the Labour Party and Malaysian People's Party

In 1972, the *Labour Party* Penang State Committee member Liu Guan Xin; Selangor Kuala Lumpur Cheras Branch Secretary Chin Chee Ken; Committee member Huang Bo Sheng; Batu Pahat Branch member Yan Ya Pin; and *People's Party* Selangor Branch key member Ye Bao Quan were all arrested.



The others arrested were:

- Penang's Luo Rui Zong;
- Perak's Zhong Qing Yuan, Li Ya Bao;
- Kuala Lumpur Cheras' Chen Guo An;
- Negeri Sembilan's Low Ming Leong; and
- Johore's Huang Rong Fa, Huang Dou Heng, Li Jin Zhi, Qiu Ya Hua, Li Jin Qing etc.

In 1973, the *Labour Party* Johore Bukit Siput Branch members Pang Wan and Fan De Zhou were similarly arrested.

Others detained were:

- Xu Xiao Ming, Li Bin Quan, Li Sheng Guo of the Cameron Highlands Ringlet New Village;
- Huang Guo Tong, Huang Zhi Ming, Chai Bei, You Shu Nu, Liu Shao Qi of Perak;
- Yap Kok Onn from the state of Negeri Sembilan; and
- Peng Zhan Fa, Zhen Qu, Zhang Yi Nan, Liu Bing Xin, Liu Lai, Liu Yu Lan, Liu Yuan, Chai De Xin and others from Johore.

### 1974 – 1977 The Period of Mopping Up

From 1972 to 1974, Malaysia's economy was in crisis. At the same time, after the New Economic Policy came into force in 1971, many Malay students from rural areas managed to enter local universities. The economic recession exacerbated the various contradictions within society, making this a very unstable period. On top of that, the *CPM* was intensifying and escalating its military activities; and the U.S. was finally forced to withdraw from Indo-China. Thus, the communists gained control in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The regime in Malaysia at this time became extremely nervous and neurotic. It imagined the threat of communism lying around at every corner. Consequently, the targets for detentions under the ISA were expanded, and laws that deprived the people of other basic rights, were also passed by the Parliament.

#### Mass arrests (The Mopping Up)

In 1974, the economic recession in Malaysia reached its most serious stage. The price for rubber fell drastically to only 40 cents per kilogram. As a result, farmers from Baling staged an anti-hunger struggle.

Around this period, the ruling elite began a series of mass arrests across the country, combing out *CPM* elements or anyone suspected to have links with the *CPM*, either through their actions or their ideas. The police not only arrested people in the middle of the night. During the day, they would surround construction sites and check the identity of each worker, because they suspected that many underground *CPM* members were working at these sites.

The police also declared an Emergency over some new villages. They then sent in a large number of police and military personnel to surround them, checking each family. This led to the arrest of countless people, whose names we still do not know. The police suspected everyone of being a communist. Rumours spread, but denied by the police, that even those found in possession of red cloth, used for celebrating traditional ceremonies such as weddings, were suspect. It was a time of 'white terror'; everyone was fearful and such actions reflected that the ruling elite was nervous, especially true after the downfall of the military regime in Cambodia into the hand of the Cambodian Communists.

#### Number of People Arrested

According to the reply given by the Minister of Home Affairs during Parliamentary sessions: the first 10 months of 1974 saw a total of 90 people arrested. Sixty-three were subsequently released. However, according to our own estimation, there were more than 100 new detainees sent into the Taiping detention camp alone.

Over the whole of 1975, 383 people were arrested. In Johore, the numbers given by the different government departments of those detained were different. The State leader said there were 173 detained but the police reported as many as 300. In Selangor, from 1974 to 1976, there were 380 people arrested, 315 people were arrested in Perak. In 1977, the number of those imprisoned in the Taiping Detention Camp reached approximately 450.

#### Secret detentions

Those arrested secretly were mostly from the lower class of the society. The police used the pretext that they were pro-communist or subversives to arrest them. Yet, through conversations, most of them had no connection at all to any parties or organizations. However, their detention rarely attracted any attention from the public. Few people would stand up for them. Many of them were arrested in secrecy, so their families only knew about it after they received letters sent from the detention camp. For some, their families were notified only after they had been in custody at the police station for sometime.

### The Arrests – Spreading from the Lower Class to the Upper Class

From 1974 onwards, not only those from the lower class were arrested. The ISA was also used against those who were not leftists, and those from the middle and upper classes. These were university students, youth leaders, Islamic activists and opposition party leaders. Even key leaders and members of *Umno* became targets of the ISA.

#### The Arrest of Sarawak National Party Leader, Datok Wong Kim Meng

In October 1974, many leaders of the Sarawak National Party, which was an opposition party, were arrested. The Party's deputy chairman, Datok Wong Kim Meng, leaders Abdul Rahamn Nawi, Bujang Yassin, Sahat Tahir, Haji Ibrahim Kassim, Awang Abang Su Abdullah were also victims. Others arrested with Wong were Anthony Birayang, Huyung Yassu, Wong Wei Te and Gawon.

#### The Arrest of PRM Deputy President, Abdul Razak Ahmad

On 14 January 1975, the deputy chairman of the *People's Socialist Party* and Johore chairman Abdul Razak Ahmad was arrested. He was detained because of his involvement in the Johor Bahru Tasek Utara Squatters Struggle. He was the defense lawyer for student leaders from the University of Malaya, who were then charged in court. He was also, at the same time, an active opposition party leader in Johore.

#### The Arrest of Sabah Haji Mohamad Nor

In March 1976, the State Assembly of Sabah was dissolved and an election was subsequently held. Berjaya, a splinter party from USNO, contested in the election against the National Front. On the nomination day, Berjaya's General Secretary, Haji Muhamad Nor was arrested by the Special Branch, and then brought to Kuala Lumpur. Besides him, a few others were also detained.

According to a statement of Dr. Tan Chee Khoo, some other candidates had to go into hiding in the jungles of Sabah to avoid arrests, until the election was over.

#### The detentions of the PRM president, Umno Deputy Ministers, DAP and MCA leaders

On 4 November 1976, an earthquake rocked the political scene in Malaysia. Six prominent political figures were suddenly arrested under the ISA. This further pushed the tense political climate to a peak. The arrested individuals included two former *Umno* Deputy Ministers Abdullah Majid and Abdullah Ahmad; they were very important figures during the time of

# AWYER'S ARREST: JOHORE BAR SHOWS CONCERN

27 JAN 1975

JOHORE BARU, Thursday.

THE Johore Bar Committee has expressed "deep concern" over the recent arrest and detention of one of its members, Encik Abdul Razak Ahmad, under the Internal Security Act.

In a resolution passed at its annual meeting this morning, the committee also deplored that the arrest and detention "should have taken place at a time when Encik Razak was engaged in defending his clients in court."

Encik Razak, Johore chairman of the Partal Sosialis Rakyat Malaya, was picked up by Special Branch officers at his home at 2.30 a.m. on Jan. 14.

## 'Hardly fair'

The Bar committee chairman, Encik Abdulrahman A. Rahman, said members of the Johore Bar were very concerned, in particular with the timing of the arrest.

"It was hardly fair to deprive Encik Razak's clients of counsel. We feel the Government should issue a statement as to why he was detained and if he is to be brought for trial," he



ENCIK RAZAK  
... timing of  
arrest.

said.

Encik Abdullah added that the committee had asked the Malaysian Bar Council to take the matter up and "consider an appropriate course of action."

"We hope Encik Razak, being a professional man, will be treated with consideration while under detention," he added.

## Opposition parties plan to see Tun over arrests

PETALING JAYA, Sun. — Opposition party leaders plan to meet Tun Abdul Ratak to discuss the recent arrest of people under the Internal Security Act and other laws.

They hope to present to the Prime Minister two resolutions passed at a meeting of opposition party leaders today.

A memorandum on the subject will also be sent to the United Nations, Encik Kassim Ahmad, who chaired the meeting, said.

The meeting to discuss the arrests was called by the Partal Sosialis Rakyat Malaya

(PSRM). Encik Kassim is its chairman.

About 50 people, including representatives of the DAP, SNAP, Pokemas, KITA and two student unions attended the meeting.

## Human rights

Encik Kassim said the meeting also agreed to set up a human rights committee comprising two representatives from each opposition party, three from other organisations, two from student unions and a member of the public.

He said the meeting believed that arrest and detention under the Internal Security Act and other laws was against the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

It urged the Government to abolish the Act and the Preservation of Public Security Regulations in Sabah and Sarawak; and other laws which allow arrest and detention without trial.

# Party chief Wong is freed— then held under ISA

N.S.T. 11 MAC 1975  
POLICE MAKE ARREST

OUTSIDE COURTHOUSE

J.L. 11 MAC 1975  
KUCHING, Monday.

SNAP leader Datuk James Wong was re-arrested by Special Branch officers minutes after he was released under a writ of habeas corpus by the High Court here this afternoon.

Hua

His re-arrest was witnessed by hundreds of people who waited for him outside the courthouse.

As Datuk Wong stepped outside the courtroom, acting head of Special Branch, Mr. Ong Boon Huat, told him he had been directed to arrest him.

Datin Wong, their children and relatives, could not get near Datuk Wong due to the crowd. She and the children broke down as Datuk Wong was driven off.

Police Commissioner Datuk Haji Hamdan Sirat contacted on the telephone, confirmed that Datuk Wong had been detained under the Internal Security Act.

## The order

Earlier in the High Court, the clerk read out an order from the Chief Justice of Borneo, Tan Sri Lee Hun Hoe, granting the writ of habeas corpus to Datuk Wong.

On Friday, Mr. Justice George Seah, ruled he was not satisfied that Datuk Wong's detention was lawful.

Mr. Justice Seah said today that he allowed the habeas corpus writ under Article 5(2) of the Federal Constitution (which empowers the court to free a person unlawfully detained).

Mr. Justice Seah said he would give the grounds of his ruling at a later date.

He made the judgment

拿督黃金明



# 砂州國民黨副主席

## 州議員拿督黃金明

### 在公安法令下被捕

〔古晉卅日馬新社訊〕砂勝越反對黨  
砂國民黨副主席拿督黃金明今天在維  
護公共安全法令下在此間被拘捕。

另外尚有五人今天在同樣的法令下，  
在第五省的林夢被捕。這項行動是隨着本  
政府一項文告說，這四名馬來西亞國民在林夢被捕後  
月十日有四名馬來西亞國民在林夢被捕後  
所採取。  
這四名在較早時被捕者會披露，他們  
與外國某方面串謀，違反國家的利益。  
今天在林夢被捕的五人中，包括砂國  
民黨的另一名領袖阿旺邦蘇阿都拉，另四  
人是安東尼比拉央，芙蓉耶士蘇，黃維特  
及嘉溫。  
十月十日被捕的四名大馬國民黨阿都  
拉曼那威，沙赫連希，布詹耶辛以及哈芝  
依布拉欣卡森，他們是涉嫌危害國家安全  
的行動而被捕。  
馬新社說，拿督黃金明是於今晨約七  
時，在此間的住家被捕。他在被捕後發表  
一篇致給他的政黨的聲明，呼吁砂國民黨  
的全體黨員及領袖，保持冷靜。  
拿督黃金明現年五十二歲，在最近的  
大選中重奪他的林夢州議席，但喪失了美  
里蘇比士的國會席位。  
另一方面，民主行動黨秘書長林吉祥  
今日在首都發表一篇文告，對於拿督黃金  
明的被捕表示感到震驚。  
他呼籲政府向砂勝越及馬來西亞人民  
解釋扣留拿督黃金明的理由。





Abdul Samad Ismail of the New Straits Times  
(picture: 26 June 1976, Sin Chew Jit Poh)





(left) Goh Kean Seng, chairman of Chun Lei Cultural Show Preparatory Committee, organized by University of Malaya Chinese Language Society(UMCLS), Exco member of UMCLS, detained in February 1974, photo taken at Batu Gajah Detention Camp

(right) Anwar Ibrahim, ex-deputy prime minister detained in 1974 and again in 1998

Prime Minister Tun Razak. Others detained were: the President of the *People's Socialist Party*, Kassim Ahmad, key leaders of the *DAP* cum Members of Parliament Chan Kok Kit and Tan Heng Kai, as well as Tan Kien Siew, Chief Executive Secretary of *MCA*.

This earth-shaking episode had much to do with a power-struggle within *Umno* following the passing away of Premier Tun Razak due to illness. Tun Hussein Onn had taken over the premiership.

#### The arrest of well-known journalist, A Samad Ismail

Prior to the arrests, on 16 June 1976, the news editor of Singapore's Malay Language Daily Newspaper *Berita Harian*, Hussein Jahidin and former assistant editor Azmi Mahmud, were arrested under the ISA in Singapore. They later declared in their joint statement on 25 June, that A Samad Ismail was the mastermind behind a plot to promote communist activities. They claimed that he was directing the editors in Singapore to spread communist ideas.

On 23 June 1976, the *Straits Times* Executive Chief Editor in Kuala Lumpur, A Samad Ismail and news editor Samani Mohd Amin were both arrested. Their detention was the prelude to the arrest of the six political figures, which took place in November.

#### The 1970s Student Movement in Malaysia

The 1969 election saw the University of Malaya Student Union organizing mass rallies across the country. Even though the *Alliance* government had passed the Universities and University Colleges Act in 1971, it was not yet strictly enforced. Hence, the students continued to enjoy some campus autonomy.

#### The students turn to the Masses

After the enforcement of the New Economic Policy, the number of Malaysian Universities increased from one to five. By 1973, the student movement was flourishing. Students fought not only for their own benefits; such as the struggle of the MARA Institute of Technology (ITM) Student Union, which demanded an improvement in students' welfare and to upgrade the academic qualification of their college. The students at the same time expressed their views on important current issues, such as the students' support for the Palestinian People's struggle. On this issue, they demonstrated at the U.S. Information Center and Embassy.

Furthermore, they assembled in front of the High Commission of Singapore to petition for the release of Tan Wah Piow, who was a student leader from National University of Singapore. The students protested against the Singaporean government's persecution of him. The student movement

gained momentum in 1974 and was linking itself to the struggles of the masses.

### The Students Supported the Johore Bahru Squatters against their Eviction

In 1974, Hishammudin Rais, secretary-general of the Student Union of the University of Malaya, together with other union officials went to support the struggle of the Tasek Utara Squatters in Johor Bahru. The squatters were protesting their eviction by the government. Two student leaders were arrested. This immediately sparked off student demonstrations in the campus of the University of Malaya. They demanded the authorities to release their leaders. The petitioners marched from the campus to the Office of the Prime Minister. However, the marchers were blocked and dispersed by riot police on the Federal Highway. Even though the students could not reach the Prime Minister's Office, they continued to demonstrate by the campus gates.

Two days later, the Student Union declared in the afternoon, that they had taken over the administration of the University until the authorities released the student leaders. The other universities and colleges supported their action. However, in the same evening, a small rival group of students surrounded the student union building, forcing the student leaders to give up control to the university administration. Thus, ended the student action.

### The Students' Support for the Baling Peasants' Anti-Hunger struggle

In September, the Student Union of the University of Malaya supported the squatters' struggle against their eviction. At the end of November, massive numbers of students from all Institutions of Higher Learning joined in solidarity with the Baling peasants, in their struggle against hunger. The students went into the streets to protest in Penang and Kuala Lumpur; against hunger, against corruption and against poverty. They even demanded the Ministers and the Mentri Besar (Chief Ministers) to resign. The students from the University of Malaya (UM) in Kuala Lumpur, the National University of Malaysia (UKM), University Agriculture of Malaysia (UPM, now known as University Putra of Malaysia), the University Technology of Malaysia (UTM) and the MARA Institute of Technology (ITM), organized a mass rally at the Kuala Lumpur Selangor Padang on 3 December. This is today's Dataran Merdeka or Independence Square.

When the students demanded the resignation of the incompetent Ministers, the Education Minister at that time, Dr. Mahathir, flew into a rage, censuring the students for going too far. Consequently, arrests were made in an operation code-named "Operasi Bersih" or "Cleaning Operation" within the campus, and he amended the University and University Colleges Act in order to suppress the students completely.

### The arrest of one thousand students at the National Mosque

Just as the students from different Universities were beginning to converge at the rally, police started to use violence and tear gas to disperse them. Some students suggested taking refuge inside the National Mosque; the assumption was that the police would not dare take any action against the students within a holy place. Therefore, a massive number of students rushed there for safety. When the students refused to disperse, the police began shooting tear gas into the mosque. They then forced their way inside the mosque and started arresting students. More than one thousand students were arrested that day. All of them were detained at various police stations in Kuala Lumpur.

On the same evening, they were brought together at the Gurney Road Police Academy (Training Camp) for the night. The next day, a temporary court was set up inside the Camp. The students bailed themselves out and were subsequently released. They were, however, told to wait for court hearings, which were postponed several times. Only after more than a year, did the judge discharge the students.

### Combing out so-called "Undesirable Elements" in local universities

After the failed mass rally, students returned to their campus to continue their protests. A few days later, police surrounded the various campuses in the middle of the night. They searched each room, looking for so-called "undesirable elements". During this operation, many student leaders, lecturers and youth leaders were arrested. According to a report in *The New Straits Times*, 10 student leaders were detained on the first night.

### The Arrests of the Presidents and Secretaries of the various student unions

Those from the student unions who were arrested were:

- President of the National Union of Malaysian Students (PKPM), Mohd Idris Jusi;
- President of the Student Union of the National University of Malaysia, Abdul Rahman Rukhaini;
- Vice-chair, Shanuddin Yub;
- Secretary Basnoor Hassan;
- Secretary-general for the National University of Islamic Students Union, Ahmad Samad Hamad Noor;
- Deputy secretary of the University of Malaya Student Union (UMSU), Adi Satria;

- MARA Institute of Technology Student Union (KSITM) president, Ibrahim Ali;
- Secretary Mohd Hussein;
- Vice-chair Ishak Jaffar; and
- President of the Kedah Alumni Club of the University of Malaya, Zainuddin Abdul Rashid.

In Penang, seven persons from the University Science of Malaysia were arrested. They were:

- Student Union president Ahmad Kamal Selamat;
- Secretary Abdul Rahman Sulaiman;
- Chinese Language Society president, Lai Soon Kit;
- President of Social Science Club, He Qi Bin;
- Member, Zhang Jian Ji;
- President of the Islamic Student Council, Mohd Shukri; and
- Student member, Mansur Osman.

#### The Arrest of Anwar Ibrahim

The president of the University of Malaya Student Union (UMSU) Kamaruzaman Yaacob was arrested. Anwar Ibrahim, the former president of the Malaya University Malay Language Society and president of the Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement (ABIM) was also arrested.

Foot Note: Anwar Ibrahim was detained at the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp. He joined *Umno* later, took on official posts in the government and was eventually promoted to Deputy Prime Minister. On 2 September 1998, because of his conflicts with Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir, he was sacked from his post and expelled from *Umno*. He was again detained under the ISA later.

#### Members of the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society arrested

From 1971, the Chinese Language Society of the Malaya University was very active in the cultural scene, promoting healthy cultural activities and arts. They used culture as a means to conscientise and educate the public, so that they would not be influenced by "yellow" (pornographic) elements or decadent pop culture. They performed in various places in the country and cooperated with numerous civic cultural groups. At the beginning of 1972, the society organized a joint performance in Kuala Lumpur: "Spring Comes from the Great Earth". Following that, they brought this cultural

festival to Southern and Northern Malaysia, cooperating with local cultural groups wherever they went.

In early 1974, when another joint performance named "Spring Thunder" was in preparation, Goh Kean Seng, the organizing chairperson, was arrested. Preparations carried on. During the eve of the joint performance, police ran a spot-check at the training camp of Chinese Language Society and the joint performance "Spring Thunder" was subsequently banned.

During the mass arrests of December 1974, graduates of the Chinese Language Society of the University of Malaya, such as former chair Lai Sin Siang; current students such as chairman Yong Ah Chik; former secretary Huang Zhong Xuan; Committee members Quah Lai Chee, Law Heng Neng, Teo Sai Choo, Ng Guan Long and Xu Qing Qi; and members of the club such as Eow Boon Poh were all detained.

In 1976, graduates of the University of Malaya such as Koh Swe Yong and Kow Yew Lee; former chairman of the Chinese Language Society Dr. Kee Kok Kiao; and University Science of Malaysia student He Yu Chai were detained. In 1979, former secretary of the Chinese Language Society Yow Lee Fong.

### Overseas Graduates

Apart from local students who were arrested, students and graduates who had studied abroad were also detained at the Taiping Detention Camp. In March 1974, graduates from the U.K. Chin Sik Voon and Liu Qing Duo; graduates from New Zealand such as Yong Xiang Shen and William Khoo; and Juliet Chin, who was then the chairperson of the Student Union of University of Singapore were detained. In 1975, graduate from the University of Singapore, Tan Cheng Yong was also detained.

### The Arrests of the University Academics – Professor Syed Husin Ali

The struggle of the Baling peasants against hunger was not only supported by local university students but also by various lecturers and professors at the universities. Because of this, some of them were also detained during the mass arrests. Professor Syed Husin Ali of the Sociology Department of the University of Malaya; dean of the Geography Department, Professor Tunku Shamsul; Dr. Lim Mah Hui a lecturer in the Sociology Department; law lecturer Nizah; and lecturers from the MARA Institute of Technology (ITM), Ms. Shabiah and Mr. Nakhaei were all victims.

### The Strike by Malaysian Airlines Union

During Tunku Abdul Rahman's period, the leftwing trade union movement was suppressed. By the time Tun Razak and Tun Hussein Onn came to

power, most of the trade unions had already come under the control of worker elites. These union leaders were merely tools to domesticate workers, on behalf of the exploiting classes. Progressive unions did not exist at all. That explains why, during this time, few union officials were arrested under the ISA.

In 1979, when the Trade Union of the Malaysian Airlines staged a strike to fight for higher wages, the reaction from the *Umno* government was severe. It employed highly repressive measures to break the strike. The ISA was once again used to detain trade union leaders.

### 1978 – 1982 The Resurgence of the Islamic Revival Movement

In the 1970s, the Islamic revival movement was flourishing and expanding. The movement deeply influenced Muslim intellectual youths. It also spread among civil society and the public. The voice to turn Malaysia into an Islamic state was getting ever stronger.

The struggle in 1974 of the Baling peasants against hunger was supported by Muslim students in the universities and Muslim youths outside.

In addition, a few incidents took place, which were intimately related to Islamic organizations. For instance from 1978 to 1979, various Hindu Temples in Selangor were destroyed. This led to four deaths with one injured in Kerling on 19 August 1978.

On 16 October 1980, another Islamic organization attacked the Batu Pahat police station in Johore, causing eight deaths among the attackers and six injuries. In addition, 16 police officers and members of the public were injured. As a result, many Islamic activists were arrested under the ISA.

On 8 November 1997, three individuals including a professor from the Islamic Studies Faculty of University of Malaya were detained for spreading the teaching of Syiah. They are professor Lutpi Ibrahim, 48, Fadzullah Shuib, 40, and the Wan Hanapi Wan Mustapha. Earlier, Sy. Sulaiman Hassan, 35, and Abdullah Hassan, 50, were detained in Kota Baru and Pendang, Kedah respectively on 2<sup>nd</sup> November. On 3 November, Zainal Adam, 46, dan Said Muda, 43, were detained in Kota Baru, Kelantan. The following day, Pahrudin Ibrahim, 63, was detained in Bukit Mertajam, Penang, Che Kamaruzaman Che Ismail, 44, in Muar, Johor whereas Badarol Baharom, 26, was detained in Gombak, Selangor.

In February 1978, 11 leaders of the Rohani organization were detained

In January 1980, 14 leaders and members of the Islamic Revolutionary Movement were arrested. Among them, six were held in a detention centre.

On 23 and 24 March 1982, nine members of an Islamic underground organization were arrested.

In October 1980, 22 persons were arrested for attacking the Johore Batu Pahat police station. Among them 15 were kept in detention centres.

On 23 January 1980, 14 members of the Jihad Movement and three PAS members were arrested. They were Kedah Joint Committee member Osman Haji Mohamad Marukhi; president of PAS Youth League and Kedah Joint Committee executive secretary Surahuddin Mansul; and PAS Central Committee and Kedah Joint Committee secretary Halim Arshad.

#### 1980 – release of political detainees detained for over ten years

Beginning in 1980, left wing political detainees were gradually released but with conditions. On the other hand, those who had nothing to do with the left wing movement or even politics were victimized by the ISA.

#### The ISA arrest on passport forgery

Around 1976, some people who were involved in passport forgery were detained under the ISA. Some of them were kept at the Taiping Detention Camp. This marked the beginning of the ISA use against people who had nothing to do with politics.

#### Dr. Mahathir's Secretary supposedly a Soviet Union/ KGB spy

On 14 September 1981, newspapers reported that Dr Mahathir Mohamed's Political Secretary Siddiq Mohd Ghouse was a Soviet Union/ KGB spy. He was later arrested under the ISA then transferred to the Taiping Detention Camp. He was division chair of *Umno* in Sungai Petani, Kedah.

#### Members of the Philippines Moro National Liberation Front

It is understood that some members of the Philippines Moro Liberation Front were also detained under the ISA. For example in early 1980s, a group of them were arrested in Sabah. Part of the group was later transferred to police custody in Kuala Lumpur.

#### Characteristics of this Period

Under the repression of Tunku Abdul Rahman, leftists who operated openly and legally had lost confidence in the Parliamentary Democratic system. By the 1970s, the open leftwing movement was already strangled and had disappeared from the political scene.

The opposition, because of Tun Razak's policy, was co-opted one by one into the expanding *Alliance* government. Therefore, parties such as the *Sarawak National Party*, *Gerakan*, the *People's Progressive Party* and PAS all joined the *National Front* as part of the ruling elite. The *Democratic Action Party* was, at one time, negotiating with *Umno* to join the *National Front*. However, since *Umno* did not accept the conditions it raised, DAP's attempt failed.



During this time, the main opposition parties were the *DAP*, the *Malaysian People's Socialist Party* (originally the *People's Party*), and the *Justice Party* set up by Dr. Tan Chee Khoo. He was a Member of Parliament who left the *Gerakan* because he opposed the plan of the Party to join *National Front*. In 1978, *PAS* and *Umno* could not see eye to eye on the issue of the appointment of the chief minister of Kelantan, a state controlled by *PAS*. As a result, *PAS* withdrew from *National Front*.

The influence and power of the *CPM* expanded further during this period. Its guerilla army was operating in the jungles of many states. In 1974, the *CPM* split into three factions. From 1974 to 1976, the different factions carried out various operations, including urban guerilla warfare; assassination of the Inspector General of Police; the bombing of the National Monument; attacking police stations; and assassination of members of Special Branch. Actions were carried out frequently and regularly.

The government, in response, sent out large numbers of police and military officers to raid, ambush and search construction sites, new villages and squatter areas to mop up *CPM* members. The atmosphere became very tense, the situation looked unstable and insecure. There were rumors that residents whose birth certificates looked damaged got into serious trouble. Due to the government's repression, the strength of *CPM* started to decline, and their threat to the government diminished gradually.

Internationally, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the two superpowers, were fiercely competing for control over the world. Although the non-aligned movement, formed by a group of nations who had recently liberated themselves from colonial rule, were gaining strength, the rivalry between the two hegemonic powers made it seem like the Cold War could escalate into another World War. The Vietnam War had dealt a big blow to the USA, and the latter was forced to mend its relations with China. It was trying to use China to counter the power of the Soviet Union.

Not long after America's retreat from Indo-China, power in Cambodia changed hands, going to the Communist Party. Soon after, South Vietnam and Laos also came under Communist rule.

Malaysia began to implement its New Economic Policy in 1971. Under this policy, citizens were divided into Bumiputera (Son of the Soil) and non-Bumiputera. The government used this as an excuse to intervene massively in the economic development of the country. This was justified by saying that it had responsibility to support Bumiputeras, to eliminate poverty and to re-structure society. This has resulted, since the era of Tunku Abdul Rahman, in a *laissez-faire* economy; with economic polices which were government-controlled and non-competitive.

An obvious change occurred in this period: The ISA was increasingly used against social dissidents and criminals. In 1974, students from the Institutions of Higher Learning were concerned with social issues. They supported the Johor Bahru Squatters' struggles and the anti-hunger struggle

of the Baling peasants in Kedah. As a result, many student leaders, academics and the vice-chair of the *People's Socialist Party*, lawyer Razak Ahmad were detained.

Furthermore, many graduates, student leaders and academics were imprisoned in the Taiping Detention Camp. In the same year, the *Sarawak Nationalist Party* vice-chairman and many of its members were also detained under the ISA. The newly established *People's Party* in Sabah also saw its secretary-general and a few of its members arrested, just before the Sabah State Assembly Election.

In 1976 following the ISA arrest of the Singapore's *Berita Harian* pressman, the editors of the *New Straits Times* and *Berita Harian* in Kuala Lumpur were detained. At the end of the year, six other well-known personalities in the political scene were also arrested.

In 1979, the Trade Union of Malaysian Airlines started a strike to demand better wages and working conditions. As a result, trade union leaders were held at the Taiping Detention Center.

In the same period, many members of *PAS* and civil servants were also arrested under the ISA.

From the varied background of those detained, it became increasingly obvious that the real purpose of the ISA was to silent dissidents.

## Mahathir's Use of the ISA

Mahathir's period can be divided into 2 stages:

- From 1982 to 1987
- 1987 until today

### 1982 – 1987

When Dr. Mahathir became the Prime Minister of Malaysia, both the domestic and international situations, especially the political atmosphere in East Asia and Southeast Asia, were gradually easing up and moving towards stability. At least on the surface, the Malaysian economy was prospering; it was full of vitality and flourishing.

In 1979, Vietnam invaded Cambodia. The invasion led to the war between China and Vietnam. Sino-Vietnam ties worsened. At the same time, China was beginning to open up its economy. It was fully occupied by its own domestic problems and issues. It was gradually veering away from Mao's era; from its ideology, values, perspectives and moral principles. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. The communist countries were beset with economic problems.

Both the development on the international scene and the Malaysia's economic prosperity had an imperceptible impact on the activities of the CPM.

### The Decline of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM)

After 1980, the CPM was obviously declining. According to reports, by as early as 1985, the CPM was already sending out feelers for peace. It was prepared to end its armed struggle by then. Finally on the 2nd December 1989, the Malaysian government signed a peace agreement with the CPM, thus ending the armed struggle, which lasted for 41 years.

During this period, even though some CPM members were still arrested, the government no longer used communism as the excuse to detain dissidents under the ISA.

The English language newspaper "Star" reported on the 1st November 1985 that the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, Datuk Sheikh Radzi in

replying to the questions raised in the Parliament said: The UMNO government had used the ISA to arrest 24 persons in 1982, 5 in 1983, 11 in 1984 and 2 in 1985. He was probably referring to those detained at the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp. Majority of those arrested had nothing to do with CPM at all.

### Actions against the Activists of the Islamic Movement

In 1979, the Revolution in Iran succeeded in overthrowing Reza Shah Pahlevi. The success of the Islamic revolution made Islam an attractive ideology, an alternative to either Capitalism or Socialism in the Muslim world. Even though the Islamic ideology is restricted only to Islamic nations, nevertheless, this trend of thoughts made a great impact on the Muslims in Malaysia, as well as the Malaysian government.

### The Arrest of PAS Youth Leader

According to the reports of the New Straits Times on 24th November 1984, over the past 12 months, 52 persons were arrested under the ISA. Those detained included:

- Bunyamin Haji Yaakob, PAS Youth Executive Committee Member
- Abu Bakar Chik, a PAS Trengganu State Assemblyman who was also an Executive Committee Member of PAS Youth
- Mohamed Sabu, Executive Committee Member of PAS Youth.

They were all arrested on the 10th July 1984. Abu Bakar was then detained at the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp for 2 years.

Mohamed Sabu was expelled from the Mara Institute of Technology because of his involvement in the student demonstration of 1975. A Muslim teacher, Ghazali Hasbra, was arrested on the 17th July 1984.

On the 1st December 1985, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs mentioned in a meeting at Malacca that since Musa Hitam became the Minister of Home Affairs in July 1981, only 100 persons had been detained under the ISA. Between 1960 and 1981, 800 persons were detained under the ISA. However, from the registration numbers given to the detainees at Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp in March 1983, the last number given out to the latest detainee was already 1548. Hence, in Taiping Kamunting Detention camp alone, 1548 detainees had been sent into the camp.

### The Legal Advisor of PAS, Suhaimi Said

In March 1985, the legal advisor of PAS Suhaimi Said was arrested. He received the detention order in May and was kept in Taiping Kamunting

Detention Centre for 2 years. Lawyer Suhaimi Said was the last leader to be detained, after a spate of arrests of important youth leaders from PAS, which took place in July the year before.

### The Kedah Memali Incident

On the 19th November 1985, the police surrounded the home of a Muslim activist, Ibrahim Libya that resulted in bloodshed and violence. 18 people were killed including Ibrahim Libya himself. (Source: Malay Newspapers). This Memali incident, which occurred in the State of Kedah, shocked the whole nation. It led to the arrest of 159 persons, 36 of them were later kept in the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp. (Nanyang Siang Pao 24th March 1986)

The number of deaths, arrests and detained in this incident showed that it was by far the most serious event involving Muslim activists that had ever taken place. It was also very controversial. It continued to arouse many controversies afterwards. For instance, when the 27 among the 36 detained, applied for habeas corpus at the High Court, it created much disputes within the judicial system. The Attorney General was not satisfied with the judge who indicated that the application for habeas corpus would be approved and asked the Judge to be replaced instead. On the other hand, the Bar Council wanted to charge the Attorney General for contempt of court. During the Parliamentary debates on the White Paper regarding the arrest, PAS accused the government of abusing its power.

On the anniversary of the Memali Incident, some people went to pay respects to the dead at Memali and hailed the ones who died as Muslim martyrs and heroes. However, the police warned people not to go there. When the power struggle within UMNO erupted, the rivalry camps used the Memali Incident as an issue to attack each other. At the end, Dr. Mahathir's loyalists had no choice but to disclose publicly, the discussions within the Cabinet and its decisions on the matter. This included minutes of confidential meeting of the Cabinet on the Memali Operation. They did it to counter attack the Musa-Razaleigh's camp.

### The Arrest of the Perwira Habib Bank Executive Director, Raja Khalid

In 1986, the Executive Director of the Perwira Habib Bank, Raja Khalid was arrested under the ISA. He was released after he applied for habeas corpus from the court. Nevertheless, this incident had greatly shocked all who were concerned about Malaysia. This incident proves that the use of the ISA is no longer restricted to the Communist Party, opposition parties, trade unionists, dissidents or other criminals. In fact, it can also be used to attack the business elite within the ruling circle.

### Possession of Arms

In the 1980s, the ISA was also used to arrest those who possessed firearms and those who carried out armed robberies. For instance, a 39-year-old Mr. Sim Kee Guan was arrested on the 28th August 1982 because he was found in possession of a 0.38 pistol. He was charged under Article 57 1A and 1B of the ISA (Star, 25th August 1989).

Another Thai businessman, Krisana Boontus, 35 years old, was also arrested under the ISA on the 11th September 1984, for possession of a pistol. He was later sentenced to death on the 27th October 1987 (Star, 14th November 1989).

Tan Cheong Hock, 27 years old, was found in possession of a pistol on 30th March 1985 and was subsequently charged under the ISA (Star, 15th November 1989).

### 1987 until today

The use of the ISA and the number of the ISA news reports under the period of Dr. Mahathir, in his first 5 years as Prime Minister, has in fact reduced when it is compared with the Prime Ministers before him. However, as time went by, his power became seriously challenged within UMNO. Civic organizations as well as opposition parties became increasingly critical of his policies. Scandals emerged and repressive laws were enacted frequently.

On the 27th October 1987, the Chinese community in Malaysia protested against the appointment of teachers without the basic required Chinese Language qualification to fill 4 key positions in the Chinese primary schools. The Democratic Action Party, MCA, Gerakan and several civic organizations jointly organized a protest rally at the Thean Hou Temple in Kuala Lumpur. Parents of the schools also organized a strike. To retaliate, UMNO intentionally moved the venue of its 41st Anniversary Celebration from Johore Bahru to Kuala Lumpur. It also raised the number of participants to 500,000 people. The UMNO Youth also organized a rally at the same time.

To make things worse, a soldier suddenly opened fire at the Chow Kit Road of Kuala Lumpur and a passer-by was shot. Dr. Mahathir and his UMNO government immediately used this incident as arousing racial tensions to carry out a mass arrest codenamed: "Operation Lalang". As a result, 105 people were detained. The Printing licenses of 3 newspapers, namely the Chinese Language *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, the English Language *Star* and the Malay Language *Berita Harian* were suspended. They were forced to stop publishing until new licenses were granted.

### The Operation Lalang of October 27, 1987

The Operation Lalang arrested 107 people. This sent shock waves throughout the nation as well as internationally. The range of personalities arrested this time round was by far, the widest in the nation's history, ever since the ISA was enforced. In this round of arrest, the CPM was not mentioned at all. In fact, the pretext for using the ISA was no longer communism but racialism.

Two years later, the CPM, the Thai and the Malaysian governments were engaged in a series of peace negotiations. The three parties later signed a historical peace agreement. The fact that CPM entered into negotiations with the Malaysian government signified that it was no longer a threat to them. It is therefore not surprising that the mass arrest had nothing to do with the CPM.

Those arrested under Operation Lalang were Malaysians from all walks of life and strata of the society. Among them were representatives of different socio-political forces. They were members of Team A and Team B of UMNO as well as members of Gerakan and MCA from the ruling party; members of opposition parties such as Democratic Action Party, PAS, Parti Rakyat and civic organizations such as trade unions, consumer rights associations, environmental protection groups, women organizations, religious and educational societies, human rights groups and leaders of the Chinese community. The arrest spanned from the north of Malaysia to the south and had reached as far as East Malaysia.

### The Ming Court Event Involving Sarawakian Politicians – 11 arrested

In March 1987, there was an attempt to overthrow the Chief Minister of Sarawak, Mohd. Taib Mahmud, within the Sarawak ruling party. His Uncle, Rahman Yaakub, who was the ex-Chief Minister, jointly issued an ultimatum together with the State Assemblymen of PBB (Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu Sarawak) and the Iban State Assemblymen of the Sarawak National Party (SNAP), calling for the resignation of Mohd Taib Mahmud. This meeting was held at the Ming Court Hotel in Kuala Lumpur, whereby the incident got its name.

Mohd. Taib Mahmud in response dissolved the Sarawak State Assembly and called for a fresh state Election. From 1987 to 1988, a series of explosions and arsons occurred in the city of Kuching, Sarawak. 11 persons were subsequently arrested.

From 23rd June to 16th July 1988, 5 persons who were supposedly involved in arsons were arrested. They were a supervisor Husaini, 36 years old; car mechanic Ahmad Eddie, 42 years old; businessman Satia bin Ramli, 41 years old; Masli bin Mohamed, the Senior Commissioner of the Sarawak State Customs, Masri bin Mohd., 47 years old, Sarawak Luntanbao Managing Director and former Sarawak State Information Department Director Haji Baliah, 49 years old. (Shin Min Daily, 22nd August 1988)

Hotel Manager Khayu, 45 years old and businessman Buyang, 44 years old were detained for attempting to create chaos. Both were arrested on 9th September. (Nanyang Siang Pao, 23rd September 1988)

Following that, the police used the ISA to arrest 4 persons in Sarawak; they were:

- former Sarawak Kalaka State Assemblyman and now a businessman Datuk Wan Yusuf, 64 years old;
- former Political Secretary of the Land and Regional Development Minister Datuk Dr. Sulaiman bin Haji Daud and now a businessman, Abdul Rahman, 54 years old;
- Businessman Wan Bush, 33 years old
- and a staff of a coffee house Senai Suhuaman.  
(Nanyang Siang Pao, 23rd September 1988)

#### Attempt to topple Sarawak Chief Minister – Tan Sri Taib Mahmud

In July 1989, Dr. Mahathir disclosed that there was an attempt to overthrow Taib Mahmud. The Deputy Home Affairs Minister Megat Junid mentioned the names of the suspects in the Parliament. However, once outside the Parliament, he refused to confirm those names. (English Star, 7th November 1989)

#### The Sabah State

In 1980s, the dissatisfaction of the Sabah people became increasingly obvious. Sabah is one of the poorest States in Malaysia. Since the Sabah United Party (PBS) took over state power, the relationship between the State and the Central government deteriorated. Sabah is resentful of the fact that since merging with Malaysia, the "20-point Agreement" which was signed at the time of merger had never been implemented. In the 1990 General Elections, the Sabah United Party withdrew from UMNO-led National Front (BN) one week before the casting of votes. The problematic relationship between the two parties totally collapsed.

#### The Intention to Secede from Malaysia

On the 8th July 1990, the police used the pretext that there was a plot to secede Sabah from Malaysia, and arrested 4 Sabah citizens. They were:

- President of the Sabah Airlines Company cum Executive Secretary of the Kadazan-Dusun Cultural Association, Barna Bastabin, 41 years old



- Sabah Police Headquarter Special Branch officer, ASP Abdul Rahman, 51 years old
- Former police constable Abinus Yuda and Damian Dikai

#### Datuk Pairin's Advisor and Brother Arrested

On 4th January 1991, the following persons were arrested and detained at the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp:

- Media Advisor of Datuk Pairin Kitingan (Sabah Chief Minister) who was also the Sabah Strategic Research Institute Deputy Executive Chairman, Dr. Maxinus Ongkili;
- Sabah Foundation Director and Sabah chief Minister Datuk Pairin's younger brother, Datuk Jeffrey Kitingan;
- Sabah citizen Ariffin Hamid alias Alfah Hamid

#### The Islamic Activists

According to newspaper report on the 12th December 1990, there were still 155 people detained under the ISA. Among them, 30 were Muslims. One of them was involved in the burning of a mosque in Pahang. No other details were available. (Sin Chew Jit Pohh, 21st January 1991)

#### The Muslim University Students

In 1974, students from the Institutions of Higher Learning supported the Baling peasants in their struggle against hunger. The government subsequently suppressed the students. By 1975, the government began to fully enforce the Universities and University Colleges Act. The Universities and students lost their autonomy. The students could no longer voice their opinions on social issues; they were "eliminated once and for all", in the words of the Home Affairs Minister Ghazali Shafie, as he came down hard on the students. (New Straits Times, 5th December 1974).

So after 1975, the University became deadly inactive and quiet. However, once in a while, there would be ripples. The occasional outbursts of student activism came mainly from the Muslim students, who were fighting on issues related to Islam.

The Universities and University Colleges Act is effective in intimidating the general students. However it is toothless to the Muslim students because some of them would not hesitate to sacrifice their personal interests and welfare, in the name of Islam. Those who dared to defy the Act faced the danger of losing their scholarship and being expelled from university, in addition to other penalties. Some of the students were even detained under the ISA.



杰菲里遣警方援引内安法令扣留。

Jeffrey Kittingan detained (5 January 1991, The Star)

## Pairin's adviser detained under the ISA <sup>5/1/91</sup>



Dr. Ongkili being investigated after for anti-national activities.

By Wong Chun Wai and P.P. Lau

**KUALA LUMPUR, Fri.** — The deputy chief executive of the Indian Institute of Development Studies, Dr. Maximos Ongkili, was arrested under the Internal Security Act here last night.

Dr. Ongkili, who is Indian Chief Minister Dattak Sani Joseph Perera Kittingan's nephew and press consultant, was picked up while having dinner near Hotel Warwick at 10.15pm.

Three Parti Bersatu Indian members were with him at the time — James Logan, MP Miribak, Aseng, Rajaratnam recently near Dr Joseph, being and

Dattak Sani Pairin's political secretary, Mr Justin Aip.

Inspector-General of Police Tan Sri Hamid Omar said in a one-page press statement today that Dr. Ongkili, 37, was detained under Section 7(1) of the ISA and was being investigated for activities prejudicial to the country's security.

He said Dr. Ongkili could be detained further under Section 8.

Today, police went to his home in Kota Kinabalu and the minister's headquarters in Karamunayang Complex and removed some documents.

According to Bersatu, police also took several

more officials of the ministry to the station for questioning. They allowed the officials after recording statements from them.

At Parliament House, Deputy Home Minister Dattak Sani Joseph Magat Ayub told reporters he did not know the reasons for the arrest yet.

Reports of ISA cases usually come to the ministry after 48 hours but there must be reasons for his arrest. We do not interfere," he said.

He declined to comment when asked if the arrest was linked to activities of the institute which has been accused of mixing with Federal Intelligence.

He said the Home Minister was empowered to make further decisions on the case under Section 8 (1) of the Act after the 48 days was up.

Asked whether there would be more arrests, Dattak Sani Joseph said there was only "one arrest as of today."

PIB secretary-general Dattak Bernard Joseph broadcast the news of Dr. Ongkili's arrest in the *De Waa* Malayzer when he raised a motion to postpone the debate on the Budget and discuss "the disappearance of Dr. Ongkili."

He said there was uncertainty whether Dr. Ongkili had been arrested under the ISA or not,

and this should be settled as it was causing a lot of distress to Dr. Ongkili's family and friends.

Deputy Speaker Jambin Marican reacted the motion, saying that even though "the motion has a specific name and is of public concern, it does not fulfil the third criterion of being urgent."

He, however, confirmed that Dr. Ongkili had been arrested.

He brushed aside the protests of Opposition Leader Lim Kit Siang and Puchong MP V David who wanted Dattak Sani Joseph to explain.

Dr. Ongkili, who holds a PhD in Agricultural Economics from LA, Truett University in Australia, joined the institute when it was set up in 1985 as a "think tank" under the Chief Minister's Department.

Prime Minister Dattak Sani Joseph had also read and as November that the Government was keeping watch on the minister because it was allegedly favouring anti-federal government sentiments through its newspaper courses.

This was denied by chief executive Dattak Sani Joseph Kittingan, the Chief Minister's brother.

Dr. Ongkili is a younger brother of former Minister of Justice Chuan Dr James Ongkili. He is married with a nine-year-old daughter.

(Dr. Ongkili 百林新闻顾问)

### The Sheila Majid Concert in the University of Malaya

In August 1989, a group of Muslim students protested against the Sheila Majid Concert, held at the Tunku Hall of the University of Malaya. They demonstrated outside the Concert Hall. Consequently, 2 of the Muslim students were arrested on the 25th August 1989. They were: Secretary General of the Islam Students Society of the University of Malaya Zamali Adnan and the Society's Treasurer Kamaruddin Ramli. (*Nanyang Siang Pao* 29th August 1989)

When a journalist who was a former student of the University of Technology of Malaysia, Ahmad Osman, went to the police station to bail the two students out, he too was arrested.

### The Return of "Friendship Village" villagers from Southern Thailand

The Marxist-Leninist faction of the CPM which broke away from the Party in 1974 signed a peace agreement with the Thai authorities in 1987, thus ended their armed struggle. They were given land by the Thai government to build the Friendship Village. Among the villagers who lived there, some are Malaysian citizens. Since the peace agreement was only signed between the Marxist-Leninist faction of the CPM and the Thai authorities, the Malaysian government refused to recognize the agreement. Therefore, the Malaysians if they come back to Malaysia from the Friendship Village are considered as making illegal entry. The police had used the ISA to detain those who tried to return and kept them at the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp to undergo so-called "rehabilitation".

According to *Berita Harian*, on the 3rd December 1989, Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp had 50 detainees. Among them, 30 were members of the CPM. They were the ones who tried to return from the Friendship Village. According to the *English Star*, on the 26th July 1991, 186 members of the Friendship Village had tried to enter Malaysia illegally and were detained at the Detention Camp.

### The Conspiracy of a Businessman to sabotage the National Economy

Before Jeffrey, the younger brother of PBS chairman Pairin, was detained, a businessman from Sabah Lin Yu Sheng was arrested on the 26th July 1989. Lin Yu Sheng was the second businessman arrested under the ISA after Perwira Habib Bank Executive Director, Raja Khalid, was arrested. However, Lin was the first businessman accused of plotting to sabotage the national economy and subsequently detained at the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp. According to newspaper reports; Lin Yu Sheng and Dr. Jeffrey were both accused of corruption.

# 186 communists detained under ISA for illegal entry

THE Home Ministry has detained 186 members of the Communist Party of Malaysia under the Internal Security Act for entering the country illegally.

Parliamentary secretary Ong Ka Ting said they were being held at the Kamunting detention centre for rehabilitation.

He told the Dewan Negara that they were being exposed to various aspects of education, culture and had access to languages classes, library facilities and sports.

"This programme is aimed at, among other things, to provide understanding and bring about a change of attitude," he

added.

Mr Ong said he hoped they would also inculcate awareness that their past association with communist activities were in vain.

He said the Communist Party of Malaysia was a breakaway of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) which had entered an agreement with the Thai Government on Dec 2, 1989 in Haadyai to cease their arms struggle.

"The agreement did not involve the Communist Party of Malaysia," he said.

Members of the Communist Party of Malaysia, however, he said, had sur-

rendered in large numbers to the Thai authorities under an amnesty programme in 1987.

"Those who had surrendered to the Thais are not tied by any agreement with the Malaysian Government," he said.

Mr Ong said as such, the question of the Communist Party of Malaysia members being allowed to return to Malaysia did not arise.

He said the detainees were required to pledge to the Federal Constitution and the laws of the country, adding that their response towards the rehabilitation had been good and encouraging.

26/7/91 (6) Star.

PP  
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### Anti-toll demonstration at Cheras – 5 arrested

Dr. Mahathir began his economic policy of privatization soon after he became the Prime Minister. He privatized those public enterprises that were earning money. A number of highways in Kuala Lumpur were similarly privatized and high exorbitant toll fees were charged. When the toll was set up at Cheras, the company concerned forcefully closed all the surrounding roads, in order to force the residents to use the toll. This infuriated the Cheras residents. They swarmed en masse to the toll to demonstrate, expressing their extreme discontent. Due to the tremendous pressure exerted by the residents, Dr. Mahathir and his UMNO government had no choice but to give in this time, despite his earlier declaration that he would never bow to pressure. At the end, the toll was temporarily closed and when it reopened, the toll fee was reduced by half.

5 persons were arrested in this Cheras incident; they were:

- Democratic Action Party Sungai Besi Member of Parliament Tan Kok Wai,
- Lim Yu Ji, special assistant of Democratic Action Party Member of Parliament Lee Lam Thye, and
- Lin Ya Zhi, Sungai Besi toll abolishment committee Chairman.

### The Arrest of Sabahan Villagers

According to a report in the *Malayan Thung Pau*, on the 12th November 1989, the villagers in Sabah set up roadblocks, to guard against the attacks of the "head-hunters". They were armed while on sentry duty. For this, 6 Sandakan villagers were arrested.

### Issuance of Forged Documents

There had been occasional disclosures of passport forgeries, counterfeit identity cards, citizenship papers and birth certificates for both locals and foreigners, for the purpose of earning a profit. In 1988, a batch of unidentified civil servants from the Immigrations Department and the National Registration Department were arrested. (1st July 1988).

In 1990, the authorities announced that 12 officials from the Immigration Department and the National Registration Department had been arrested under the ISA over the last 2 years. (21st August 1990).

Also in 1990, 2 Indian citizens, Suda Singh and Syaid Akbala Gain were detained under the ISA for forging the Malaysian International passports. A trader, Syed Monudeen Khan Syed Merican, 34, of Petaling jaya, was detained on 26 August 1994 for falsifying travel documents. On the 19th and 20th September 1995, 5 Malaysian and Indonesians were arrested for forging international passports and work permits.

# 流了血·路費照給



After shedding blood, toll remains. Beaten by the police and fainted

(top) a demonstrator, Liu Zhong Gui, protesting at the Cheras toll, Kuala Lumpur was beaten by the riot police with batons and fainted, but he recovered after a moment. Without the ability to fend off attacks and in a state of extreme tiredness, he was dragged into a police truck.

(middle) He was seen covering his head with hands at the moment. It seems that his head was very painful.

(bottom) fainted  
(Chinese daily: 9 September 1990)

↑ ↓ ● 還警製疊 其中一名示威人士約瑟其被執業人員以木棍擊中，  
他在被擊中後，同時在警棍的壓力下，頭部受傷，  
當時他手掩頭部，似乎感到痛苦。



# SIX WARDERS QUESTIONED ON BREAKOUT

17/7/90  
STW

TAIPING, Mon. — Police have questioned the six warders on duty when two Internal Security Act detainees escaped from the Kamunting detention centre last Sunday.

"We have also visited the scene of the escape and inspected the security system," OCPD Supt Mok Siew Hoong said today.

He said the investigations were ordered by the the Deputy Public Prosecutor in Ipoh.

The DPP would study the police findings and decide whether to charge any of the warders with criminal neglect, Supt Mok said.



Sukdev Singh

"The decision may be made in about a month," he told reporters here.

Sukdev Singh, 41, and Shahid Akthar Rana Abdul Majid, 27, both Indian nationals, escaped at about 4am during the 'live' telecast of the World Cup match between England and Italy.

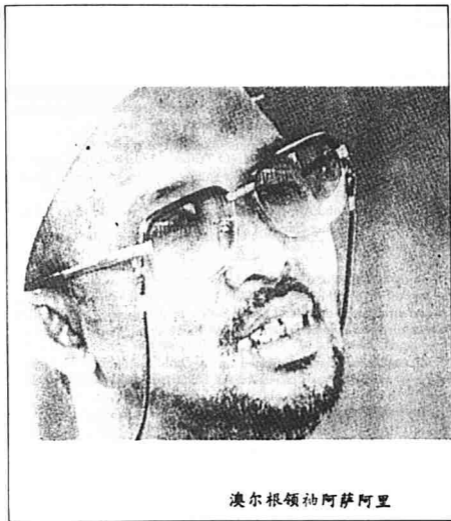


Shahid

Sukdev Singh was sent to the centre in January and Shahid in October last year. They had been found with fake Malaysian travel documents.

Police believe that they have left the district.

Supt Mok said all police districts had been alerted about the duo.



Ashaari, leader of the Al Arqam (4 September 1994, Nanyang Siang Pau)



### Counterfeit Identity Cards

On the 16th October 1995, the Sabah police announced that, from the month of July to October, there were already 26 persons arrested for forging identity cards. On the 13th July, the police detained Abdul Shah Nan bin Mohd Ibrahim (self-employed) at Kota Kinabalu; on the 17th they arrested Awang bin Ghani as well as Dadu Azam Pintar Du Ali Mohamed, the latter was intending to challenge the current Kayak Division Chairman of UMNO. On the 13th, Zulkifli bin Jee Ahmad from Tawau (National Registration Department Staff) was also arrested. On the 17th September, the Capital of Sabah saw 3 persons detained. They were:

- Jabar Khan Napi, 50, UMNO Tanjung Aru Division Executive Committee Member, who was going to run for the post of deputy president in the coming UMNO Division election.
- Sherdali Mohd Ali, 45, businessman he had been detained for two years, for faking identity cards
- Jibol Jungey, 65, self-employed

Andy Bandi Pilo, 45 years old, was arrested at Tawau. He was the deputy president of the UMNO Tawau Division, and intended to challenge the current division president, Datuk Salleh, in the coming party election. Datuk Salleh was also the Sabah Deputy Chief Minister cum State Minister for Finance.

4 other persons were arrested on the 22nd September. They were Dannis Mansuh (37 years old), Abu Ali Khan Dulun (53 years old), Haji Noor Tahih Suhari (43 years old) and Tashid.

On the 3rd October, those arrested were:

- Businessman Andy Said Mohamed (40 years old)
- Layinlah Zaha (37 years old, self-employed)
- Mohamed Nasir (41 years old)
- YifuMaulana (47 years old)
- Kadir Diman (30 years old, hawker)

According to the news on 17th October, those detained increased to 26, including the 6 arrested on the 15th and 16th. They were:

- Sabah Deputy Chief Minister Ghabu Salleh's Political Secretary Shamsul Alang (42 years old)
- Masuki Karim (41 years old), land resettlement settler
- Sawmill worker, Abdul Kadir Abi (43 years old)

- Driver of the Civil Defense Department, Sukido Shilaman (40 years old)
- Ahmad Sili (46 years old), religious teacher
- Casual worker Jackson Imbi (38 years old)

By 5th November, 36 persons had been detained in connection with identity cards forgery. Among them 24 were detained at the state Police Headquarters, 7 at the Bukit Aman Police Headquarters, 4 at the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp.

#### The Detention of 48 members of a forgery syndicate

Detention of those who were linked to identity cards forgery syndicate continued until 1996. On the 28 December 1995, 3 were detained. One was detained on the 30th. They were:

- Abdul Rashid bin Labi Tong, 32 years old
- Indonesian Larika bin Abdul Kadir, 62 years old
- Filipino Zulkifli bin Inban, 38 years old
- Amiruddin bin Mansuh of Bugis nationality, 45 years old

A few days later, 8 senior and general staff of the National Registration Department were also detained. One of them was a woman. They were:

- Identity Cards General Operation Section Senior Assistant Registrar Hamzah, 42 years old
- Record and Renewal Unit Assistant Registration Officer Asli bin Sidu, 32 years old
- Citizen Unit Assistant Registration Officer Azimi bin Abdul Karim, 33 years old
- General Unit Junior Assistant Registration Officer Yaakub bin Tanshah, 43 years old
- General Hospital Birth and Death Section Senior Assistant Registration Officer Julia binti Tanshah, 41 years old (female)
- Administration and Finance Section, Senior Assistant Registration Officer Zumaha bin Talibin, 44 years old
- Identity Cards Unit, Assistant Registration Officer Mohd Razali bin Shaben, 38 years old
- First time Identity Card Distribution and Special Registration Unit, Senior Assistant Registration Officer Brasubi Azen, 44 years old

From mid-1995 to January 1996, there were 48 persons in Sabah detained under the ISA in connection with counterfeiting identity cards. According to newspaper report on the 17th October 1996, there was a syndicate in Sarawak, which specialized in forging official documents. 11 of its members were detained for 2 years. 4 of them were civil servants. They were namely, Zhang Jin Fa, Isudi Abdul Karim, Syed Ali Syed Abdul Siha, Subramaniam Rahman, Mustafa Shamsuddin, Shahari, Liu Diao Quan, Welly Toumin, Zuki Anak Bangi, Rusmadison, and Aiwen Liu Hua San. They were arrested for selling identity cards, birth certificates and Malaysian International Passports.

According to the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, Megat Junid, by January 1996, there were altogether 128 persons detained in connection with counterfeiting identity cards and forging important government documents. This is a big number. During the debate on the 1995 Passport Act (amended), PAS Member of Parliament Mohamed Sabu had pointed out: *PAS was concerned that the real purpose of using the ISA by the authority to persecute persons charged with forgeries was in fact to cover up the truth.* It is to ensure that the names of more senior officials and other authorities would not be disclosed publicly in court. Even though the officials detained had disclosed names of some of these higher-ranking officials and authorities, the latter were never arrested.

### Sale of National Secrets

In 1989, the newspapers carried widely story about the case of officials and military officers from the Ministry of Defense caught selling state secrets to a neighboring country. 11 persons were arrested in this incident. 3 of them were civil servants working in the Ministry of Defense. 3 of them were Lieutenants of the Navy; 2 were Air force Military Officers (Sin Ming Daily 8th December 1989). 8 of them were further kept in Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp. Among them 2 were foreigners.

### Armed Robbery

Anthony Samy, 36 years old, was arrested on 4th October 1989 for armed robbery. He later died in police custody on 25th October. The others arrested together with him were Mayek Matas, 33 years old and Manica, 24 years old.

### Adam, the Army Deserter - Shooting Incident in Kuala Lumpur

Army man Adam Jaafar shot dead a passer-by with his rifle in the Tiong Nam area off Jalan Raja Laut of Kuala Lumpur on 18th October 1987. At the time, there was intense internal power struggle within UMNO. The opposition parties and social pressure groups were also dissatisfied with Dr.

# Arqam secretary also under ISA

**Petaling Jaya, Mon:** Police have detained another Al Arqam leader, bringing the number of ISA detainees to seven.

Hassan Mokhtar, 45 was picked up from his mother-in-law's house in Rawang Saturday.

Three policemen in plain clothes arrested the Arqam council secretary about 8pm before handing him over to the Special Branch, Bukit Aman said in a statement released to the press.

On Sept 8, another Arqam council member Ibrahim Mohamed, who operates a poultry business, was arrested at the Selayang wholesale market and detained under the ISA.

The others detained are leader Ashaari Muhammad and his wife, Khatijah Aam, spokesman Soid Sulaiman, press secretary Jallani Jasmani and legal adviser Zabidi Mohamad Ali.

An Arqam official said

he expects more council members to be held under the ISA. "This has forced some of the leaders to go into hiding to avoid detention.

"Recent arrests show that the police are going all out to arrest all our leaders so that the movement will be crippled."

It is learnt that police are looking for Arqam deputy leader Abdul Halim Abbas and Ashaari's son Fakhru Razi who is believed to be in Indonesia.

In Penang, Deputy Home Minister Datuk Megat Junid Megat Ayob said Malaysian police are working closely with their Asean counterparts in an effort to extradite them to Malaysia.

A special panel headed by the ministry's secretary-general is also monitoring the outlawed sect's activities. Its members include representatives of the police, immigration, religious councils and attorney general's chambers.

Mahathir and the abuse of power by his government. The people protested and demonstrated, for instance, against the United Engineers (M) Ltd (UEM) getting the contract to construct the North-South Highways. The behavior of Adam aroused tension, he was arrested under the ISA and then brought to court.

### The Al-Arqam Islamic Movement

In June 1994, the Director of the National Islamic Centre Zainal Abidin disclosed that the Al-Arqam Movement had 313 Jihad soldiers. Soon after that, the authorities mobilized public opinion to attack Al-Arqam. Finally, the ISA was used to arrest its leader and then forced the organization to disband.

On 3rd September 1994, the leader of Al-Arqam Ashaari Mohamed was extradited back to Malaysia from Thailand. He was subsequently detained under the ISA. The next day, wife of Ashaari, Kathijah returned to Malaysia with her 6-month-old daughter. She was immediately arrested at the Subang International Airport. His Assistant Nasharudin Ali and his wife Azura Mohamed Yusuf, the Secretary for Media Rani Kasmani and Spokesperson for Al-Arqam, Sungib were all detained at the same time.

Apart from Ashaari and those mentioned-above, many more key Al-Arqam leaders were arrested soon after that. They were:

- Legal Advisor, Zaibidi Mohamed arrested on the 6th September
- Al-Arqam Central Committee Member, Ibrahim Mohamed arrested on the 8th
- Secretary of Al-Arqam, Hassan Mokhtar detained on the 17th, he was once the Personal Secretary of former Deputy Prime Minister Anwar
- The son of Ashaari, Fakor Rashid was arrested on 7th November, as he returned to Malaysia
- On the 28th November, Shabri Abdul Rani was also arrested upon his return to Malaysia
- Assistant to Ashaari, Halim Abbas was also arrested when he returned from Indonesia

### Re-arrest of Al Arqam members after its dissolution

When the central figure of Al-Arqam, Ashaari agreed to give up his belief and disband the movement, the government's actions against the organization came to a halt. However by 1996, the police used the pretext that followers of Al-Arqam was attempting to revive the organization, and once again took actions against it. According to news reports on the 16th May 1996, 4 of its members were arrested under the ISA.

On the 7th of June, 3 members of Al-Arqam: Hashim Ahmad (42 years old), Ahmad Salim (49 years old) and Hashim Jaafar (40 years old) were detained at the same time. 2 days before this, the First Wife of Ashaari, Kathijah and the Managing Director of a publishing company Barokh were also arrested.

On the 8th June, the police announced that it had arrested in total, 10 members of Al-Arqam. Among them were the wife of Ashaari and his son, Mohamed Nejamuddin (about 30 years old). On the 11th, his younger brother Hashim Mohamed (30 years old) was also detained. On the 15th, another wife of Ashaari, Tunku Rolia (38 years old) was arrested, along with another son of his, Fahku Ladi (35 years old). Lastly, the police also took away the wife of another Managing Director of a publishing company Azura (29 years old).

By August, there were altogether 18 members of Al-Arqam detained, including a University lecturer. 7 of them were later kept in the Taiping Kamunting Detention Camp. These were: .

- Hashim Ahmad (42 years old)
- Hashim Jaafar (40 years old)
- Ahmad Salim (49 years old)
- Barukh Mohamad Gui (36 years old)
- Jaafar Ahmad (30 years old)
- Hashim Mohamed (40 years old)
- Nizamuddin Ashari

On 5th February 1997, the police released 14 of the detainees on the Day of Hari Raya Aidilfitri from Kamunting Detention Camp. 13 of them were restricted in residence, so as to facilitate police monitoring. The 14th was the former Federal Land Development Authority Deputy Director Ahmad Salim, who was released unconditionally. Among those mentioned above, there were senior staffs such as Managers of companies, Senior Officials of government departments as well as university lecturers.

Al-Arqam used to have tens of thousands of followers inside Malaysia. On top of that, the movement owned massive commercial enterprises both in Malaysia and in 16 other countries. Its wealth was worth as much as 2 billion Ringgit Malaysia. Even though the organization had been declared illegal by the government and its belief branded as un-Islamic, its massive commercial networks remained untouched. The networks were succeeded in transforming themselves and continue to exist. Perhaps, this explains why even after 2 years, the police still thought that some of the members intended to revive the activities of Al-Arqam and re-arrested them.

In this particular incident, there were also other Al-Arqam followers arrested under different laws and not under the ISA. For instance in Kedah,

THE STAR SATURDAY December 20 1997

# ISA used to detain Nigerian conmen

By LOURDES CHARLES

KUALA LUMPUR: Nine Nigerians have been arrested under the Internal Security Act recently for organising the "Advance Fee Scams/Fraud" and also for allegedly using tampered bank drafts to cheating several banks.

The suspects, including a man believed to be the mastermind, were members of a syndicate that invited locals and foreigners via letters to be "partners" to transfer millions of US dollars in so called "excess funds" from the Central Bank Of Nigeria.

CID director Commissioner Datuk Ismail Che Rus said the suspects were detained under the ISA because their illegal activities were detrimental to the economy and security of the country.

"Our investigations revealed that the syndicate had been operating here since 1991 and had ripped off several foreigners, including businessmen from Korea, New Zealand, Palestine, Austria and Malaysia, of more than RM2.5mil.

"We believe that the syndicate was also responsible for cheating several banks here using tampered bank drafts," he told reporters at a press conference at his office in Bukit Aman yesterday.

Comm Ismail said police got the "much-awaited break" when the police arrested a Nigerian in Langkawi on Aug 29 following a report by a local there who was approached by the suspect to become his partner to transfer US-\$27mil.

Police swung into action and investigations led them to a private institution of higher learning where two Nigerian students were detained, he said.

"Our investigations revealed the three were from the same syndicate and had made Malaysia as their base to cheat foreigners.

"Subsequent operations by us led to the arrest of the other syndicate members," he said.

Comm Ismail said the foreign-



EVIDENCE... police officers examining the money and mobile tele-phones seized from the syndicate.

based syndicate's *modus operandi* was to either fax or post letters to their intended victims, informing them of the "excess funds" and inviting the unsuspecting victims to be partners. The victims were told to keep the correspondence secret.

If their target responded to the invitation, the syndicate would follow up with letters purportedly issued by the Central Bank of Nigeria and the Debt Reconciliation Committee as "proof," he said.

Locals would be urged to go to Nigeria while foreigners would be asked to come to Malaysia to meet "officials" from the

and debt reconciliation committee to sign certain documents.

The syndicate based here would normally ask their foreign "partners" to meet at posh hotels and ask them to pay US\$15,000 as handling fees.

To convince their victims, they would show them an aluminium brief case said to contain money when in fact only a few pieces were real while the others were plain paper cut to the same size as US\$100 bills.

Comm Ismail advised locals to be wary of the syndicate and to report to the police if they received such letters.

up till 7th September, there were 26 Al-Arqam members detained for distributing pamphlets.

### The Young Drug Trafficker

On 9th November 1994, 25 year-old Yap Kam Choi was arrested under the ISA, for drug trafficking in Japan. He later hung himself with his trousers, in the Jalan Ipoh remand centre.

### Other Criminals

Apparently, the ISA is increasingly used to deal with ordinary criminals too. In 1996, there were 3 persons from Sabah detained in connection with the sale of weapons in the black market. One of them was even a female relative of one of the weapon dealers, Agnes Chew. The other two arrested were namely, Gerathis, the corporal of the License Department of the Jalawensin Police Station and a female civilian staff Ida Zunar.

According to the news report of 10th May 1997, the Sabah police had used the ISA to detain a staff of Celcom Telecommunications Company because in theft of the mobile phone lines.

In August 1998, an Internet-related incident occurred at about the time this book is to be published. In response, the Deputy Home Affairs Minister proposed using the ISA to deal with the so-called 'rumor -mongers' in the Internet.

In September of the same year, Anwar Ibrahim, the Deputy Prime Minister who was sacked by Dr. Mahathir, got arrested under the ISA. Consequently, this created a huge storm both inside and outside the country and up to now, the issue has yet to be resolved. Everyone was criticizing the government for abusing the use of the ISA.

### The Impact of the ISA on the society and on the Malaysian Politics

In 1960s, the ISA replaced the 1948 Emergency Ordinance. Its application was extensive and wide-ranging, affecting every level of the Malaysian society. It shrouded over the hearts of the people and became an invisible source of fear. The Alliance government and the succeeding UMNO government had mentioned the use of THE ISA from time to time and in various occasions. Even though they pretended to assure the public that they would not use it against so-and-so, in actual fact, it was meant to warn and threaten the people not to forget that the ISA is waiting to strike.

The general public tended to joke about the ISA; telling others that they should beware of it and its Article No. 8. Even though this is meant as a joke, it does reflect the fact that the ISA has become so much a part of our life. It is so deeply imprinted into our psychic that it even influences our thoughts and emotions all the time.



### The Characteristics of the Mahathir Period

Dr. Mahathir became the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia in 1982. By this time, the activities of the CPM had already declined to an all-time low. The Special Branch had already succeeded in crippling the organization of the CPM.

In 1979, Vietnam invaded Cambodia. Following that, China sent in its army to punish its 'Comrade Brother' Vietnam. At the same time, China was beginning to reform its economy. Malaysia's economy was developing very rapidly too. Life in Malaysia was generally improving. People began to turn their attention to fulfilling their daily needs. They work hard to attain their economic goals in order to improve their personal lives. The consequence of this was that social awareness and political activism became correspondingly low.

In 1989, the CPM signed peace agreement with the UMNO government, thus ending its armed struggle. Following that, the North Kalimantan Communist Party also reached a similar agreement with the Sarawak State government.

From mid 1980s onwards, China was opening up and implementing a series of economic reforms. Soviet Union was implementing political reforms at the same time. Finally, these dramatic changes of events led to the collapse of the Communist rule in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself. This finally ended the East-West Cold War, which had dominated the world scene for half a century.

The antagonism and conflict between the East and the West in the world was easing up gradually during the 1980s. With the collapse of the Eastern European Bloc, the East-West Conflict also came to an end. The world entered a relatively peaceful time.

The World in the 20th Century was dominated by political rivalries. Majority of the colonized countries struggled for their independence, in order to liberate themselves from colonial rule. Upon independence, they continued to fight hard to retain their autonomy. They refused to be neither dominated nor influenced by the 2 competing superpowers in the world at that time i.e. the USA and the Soviet Union. They require focusing all their energy on their political struggles then.

The colonial era finally disintegrated. Class struggles and the struggles brought forth by two competing and antagonizing ideologies, i.e. Capitalism and Socialism, which eventually evolved into an East-West Cold War, also came to an end. All these implied the disappearance of a polarized world with all its intense confrontations. The struggle for economic-construction, the aspirations for greater social freedom, democracy, openness, rule of law and human rights, soon overtook the struggles for political survival.

In the last 10 years of the 20th Century, humankind entered into a brand new historical phase. Both internationally and domestically, people's education has risen. People's productivity has also increased drastically due

to rapid industrial and technological development. The problems faced by humankind cannot be solved by any individual societies or nations. Economic development, freedom and democracy, rule of law, human rights and international solidarity, become the mainstream trend for future social development.

The Malaysian economy is developing in stride with the international trend. However, the Malaysian society and politics have become reactionary and authoritarian. Under Dr. Mahathir, Malaysia has become less and less democratic and free. Human rights were undermined gradually. Even though the CPM has ended its armed struggle, the UMNO government continued to insist on keeping the ISA.

From the kind of people arrested and detained during the period of Mahathir, one can see that internationally, as well as domestically, the threat of the communist movement no longer exists. Who were those detained under the ISA so far? They were:

- Social dissidents
- Opposition leaders
- Members of Parliament
- Trade unionists
- Environmentalists
- Consumer rights organizers
- Leaders of the Chinese community and Chinese educationists
- Drug traffickers
- Upper class businessmen
- Criminals such as those involved in armed robberies
- Ordinary villagers
- Consumers such as those who were against the Cheras toll fees
- Members of the ex-CPM Marxist-Leninist faction, now living in the Friendship Village in Thailand, who had given up armed struggle and were trying to return to Malaysia etc.

The range and variety of people detained under the ISA by Mahathir is by far the widest, as compared to the past three Prime Ministers even though the number of arrests may be small. This is especially true in the case of "Operation Lalang" which took place in 1987.

During the Mahathir's era, the ISA was increasingly used in wide-ranging circumstances, in order to deal with or eliminate critics and dissidents to his regime. Under him, some people from the ruling party even proposed using the ISA to punish pimps in the sex industry. This development in Malaysia is contrary to the historical trend of the post-Cold War period. It is going against the current of the world, which is to

focus on building a more democratic, open, free society that respects human rights and the rule of law.

## Conclusion

The government of Tunku Abdul Rahman was a favorite of the Colonial Master, as it was determined to be so by factors before and after its birth. The economic base of his rule relied heavily on the colonial economic structures such as big plantations, big mines, bureaucratic-comprador-type of trade and commercial enterprises, feudalistic and backward form of small peasantry, as well as small and medium-sized processing industries; which are not yet truly considered as industries.

The British cultivated and supported Tunku Abdul Rahman's rule with their weapons, army and destructive forces. His rule was meant to perpetuate the interest of its colonial master upon independence. Henceforth, his regime was ever more protective of the bureaucratic-comprador-type as well as feudalistic-elite type of political-economic networks.

Its popular base was weak and fragile. It has usurped the fruit of the people's independent struggle, and found itself in isolation vis-à-vis the people's aspiration for genuine independence. It is only logical that it tried all means to restrict and strangle the people's demands and struggle for democracy.

Due to the unique composition of the different races in Malaysia i.e. the characteristics of Malaysia's multiracial composition, it is expected that the powers-that-be would use it to divide and rule, utilizing racial politics to fulfill their own interests. Therefore, the parliamentary democratic system that is being practised naturally contains a much greater margin of hypocrisy, dishonesty and fragility. As a result, it needs to rely heavily on the colonial army, violent and repressive laws, to maintain its power.

That is how the ISA was conceived. We witnessed the amendments to our Constitution time and again, and to the ISA. For instance, the amendment to our Election Act, which manipulates unreasonable demarcation of seats by using tricks and dishonest means during elections to get votes etc. We also witnessed over the years, how the UMNO government did away with the elections of local councils and municipal councils, the basic unit building-block for a genuine democracy. Thus, it is not surprising that the UMNO government arrests whoever in the opposition, who can pose effective challenge and has the potential to replace their rule, such as the Labour Party and the People's Party that formed the Socialist Front, and trade union leaders in the sixties.

Leaders, cadres and even ordinary members of the opposition parties from the central committee level down to the local level were continuously detained. The government even went so far to suspend the Parliament and

install the "National Operation Council", after the 1969 "May 13th " racial riot, using it as a pretext to shroud the country with white terror.

The Cabinet of Tunku Abdul Rahman policies of cultivating Bumiputra, free and liberal economy and the slow pace of economic development in the country could no longer satisfy the demands of the Privileged Malay Bureaucratic Class, which has gradually grown stronger since independence. Therefore, in the 1971 New Economic Policy, Tunku installed privileges for the "Bumiputras" (Son of the Soil), on the pretext that it is to "restructure the society", and to 'eliminate poverty". One of the privileges provided to the Malays is the obligatory 30% share that companies in all sectors must provide for the "Bumiputras".

In the area of education, a quota system was put in place to produce, as quickly and as massively as possible, a bigger group of human resources and Bumiputra elites, to occupy the higher echelons of various sectors of the society. The University has to open the way for them. In order to suppress all possible forms of racial and social contradictions, as well as struggles; the Industrial Relations Act, the Seditious Act, the Publishing and Printing Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Universities and University Colleges Act etc. are imposed upon the people.

The more the authority tries to oppress the people, the more the people would resist. From late 1960s to the mid 1970s, because of the government's arrests and oppression, many freedom-loving patriots who have a sense of justice and who aspire for democracy, decided that they would not submit to such dictatorship, took to the streets and then into the jungle or turned underground to join various front organizations of the CPM, so as to continue with the struggle.

Just as the CPM jungle guerillas warfare, the urban guerillas struggle turned from an all-time high to an all-time low. At the same time, the police arrests were non-stop, with each arrest more serious than the previous. Those arrested were often accused of either being linked to the CPM or they were under its influence. Others, who were targeted for arrests by the government, were the villagers living along the Thai-Malaysian border, as well as the working-class and lower class in the city. Still others, who were detained, were accused to be cadres, belonging to the front organizations of the CPM. Last but not least, the middle and lower-level cadres, as well as members of the People's Party and the Labour Party who did not join the CPM, but were moving from place to place to avoid arrest, also became the targets.

By 1975, the global capitalistic economies had revived and even expanded rapidly in the United States of America, Europe, and Japan. The monopolistic capitalism pursued by countries in these places provided the Asia/Pacific Region with many opportunities and possibilities to develop its economy rapidly. Massive economic aid or capital from these countries

was pumped into the Asia/Pacific region because it is very strategically located, as the frontline States within the context of the Cold War.

Since the end of the 1970s, contradictions emerged between the USA and Japan. This created some opportunities for the Southeast Asian countries to look 'East', thus attracting more Japanese capital and economic aid into the region. The New Economic Policy of Malaysian government also became increasingly interventionist. Political and economic interests intertwine ever more strongly. Malaysia is propelled forward into privatization by such interests.

On top of that, there seemed to be a never-ending source of foreign capital and loans injecting into the 'bubble economy' of Malaysia. This promoted the mentality that 'Malaysia can' (Malaysia Boleh). The government constructed propaganda and myth about the economy as invincible. The indiscriminate foreign lending created this myth that by the year 2020; Malaysia shall emerge as 'an industrialized nation'. In turn, this shall promote the ambitious Dr. Mahathir to first place in the world. He begins to harbor international ambitions. His ambition and desires were to join the highest and the biggest league of leaders in the world.

The class of the Emerging Privileged Ruling Elite of Malaysia could no longer accommodate the expectations of the feudalistic elite class to have a share of the economic benefits. The former was keen to sweep the latter out of its way. Privatization and liberalized economy brought tremendous amount of wealth but it also induced more corruption and cheating. There are ample examples of how the elite abuse their power and positions, by reaping as much wealth as quickly as possible from Malaysia, through all sorts of despicable, criminal ways. The ruling party from its highest to the lowest level and in fact, the entire Malaysian society, were completely mesmerized by the 'bubble economy'. The society was rotting from its core.

Under such circumstances, all forms of social contradictions were sharpened and intensified. The religious community criticized the government's corruption and hypocrisy, which is so prevalent in nowadays-Malaysian society. The government has ruthlessly and arrogantly suppressed mother tongue education to distract attention away from the rot. People have become increasingly dissatisfied with the erosion of democracy and human rights. They also disagree with the government's racial assimilation policy. Therefore, voices of dissent could be heard from the educationists, the industrial and business sectors, social concerned groups and individuals.

The ISA has become an effective tool of the government to silence dissent. Also to attack any systematic, planned or organized criminal behaviors, regardless of where these take place; whether in the administrative or the commercial arenas etc. The government was even contemplating using the ISA to arrest pimps and naive youths who pass round information which are not true on the Internet!

Recently, people have witnessed how powerful the ISA can be, through the incident concerning the former Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim. The ISA was not only used against him and his supporters. It was even used to penalize and intimidate those who refused to take sides in the matter such as, the head of UMNO Youth. It is no wonder that this move by the government had infuriated the Malay community so much that it in turn catalyzed a unanimous call from the people to abolish the ISA. The dissent was so strong that even Dr. Mahathir had to pretend that he also intended to abolish the ISA but was opposed by the Intelligence Agency (the Internal Security Department). Dr. Mahathir's claim sounded more like an excuse, which only gave rise to further question; as to whether Mahathir himself, being also the Home Affairs Minister, was no longer in control of the ISD, which is under his leadership.

Our first Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman was perhaps, shocked by the mutant (i.e. the ISA) he had helped created and supported, as it once again reared its ugly head during the 27th October 1987's "Operation Lalang". He even stepped in to urge for the abolishment of the ISA. In addition, he jointly established the "The National Human Rights Society of Malaysia (HAKAM)" with our third Prime Minister, Dato' Hussein Onn. If Dr. Mahathir is really sincere about abolishing the ISA, he should do it straightaway, what is he waiting for?

# Changing attitudes towards the ISA

It has been 39 years since the ISA was first implemented. It has survived Prime Ministers from Tunku Abdul Rahman, Abdul Razak, Hussein Onn to Dr. Mahathir Mohamed. People have time and again voiced protests and called for its abolition. Even the leaders of the *Democratic Action Party (DAP)*<sup>1</sup> have changed their position on the ISA over time.

Comments from moderates and reformists, such as the President of Aliran<sup>2</sup> Dr. Chandra Muzaffar and even Tunku Abdul Rahman the former Prime Minister who proposed the ISA, have repeatedly pointed out that the ISA is a disgusting and appalling abuse of human rights.

## Comments on the ISA by a drafter of the Constitution

Justice Hamid, one of the members of the Reid Commission which drafted the Federal Constitution, said at a Conference held at the University of Malaya that he had criticized detention without trial before. He was of the opinion that the power of detention without trial is inconsistent with the rule of law. (*China Press* 12 April 1963)

## DAP – from supporting to opposing the ISA

The DAP was formed in 1966. During the early years, it was in full support of the ISA. It thought that the ISA was essential, influenced by its anti-communist stance.

However, DAP leaders have been detained under the Act. Its then-General Secretary Lim Kit Siang was detained for the first time on 15 May 1969. He was held at the Muar Detention Camp in the State of Johore.

In 1976, other DAP leaders, such as Chan Kok Kit and Tan Heng Kai were detained and held at the Kamunting Detention Camp in Taiping, Perak. The position of DAP on the ISA began to shift.

The change in the position of the DAP on the ISA has profound implications. It proves that the opposition parties were right in expressing

林吉祥稱行動黨原則上

# 支持內部治安令

## 可制止濫用暴力奪權者 惟反對濫用此權力人士

日訊

(本報馬六甲廿八日秘書兼馬六甲市區國會議員林吉祥昨晚指出)

該黨在原則上支持內  
部安全法令，且認為這  
是對於那些企圖使用暴  
力奪取政權的最佳方法  
。不過，林氏要求改  
項法令，並且查明濫用此  
項權力之人。他說濫用  
此項權力之內部安全法  
令已經濫用其自私自利  
因為有些人並未危害國  
家安全，可是卻遭扣留

林吉祥說：「我們  
是負責任的政黨，印  
尼武鬥記馬尼  
代理入，要使用暴力  
奪取政權，我們得來  
共曾試與人民黨在一  
政府與人民黨在一  
對抗年，印尼勾結推  
對抗年，印尼勾結推  
黨革命將被視為華人  
命他將因此導致流血  
鬥爭，且就價值觀中  
偉大成就。他一個不  
欺他們已得一個容  
用武力得權，他們為  
中或蘇聯只有一種民  
族。」

民族國家，我們認為  
能導致流血鬥爭。因此  
在原則上，我們同意  
內部安全法令，以阻止  
那些企圖使用暴力奪  
取政權的人。林吉祥  
不過我們要求徹底討  
不檢討聯盟在過去十  
同檢討聯盟在過去十  
濫用此權力之情形。及  
不能解決，失及  
不能解決，失及  
問題從根本上對用永  
人。我們反對用永  
該法令也反對用永  
久使

Lim Kit Siang: in principle, DAP supports the ISA, it can stop people who want to grasp power through violence but against those people who abuse the power of the act (Lim Kit Siang answered questions put forward by Hasnul of PRM and former President of the Socialist Front during the 1969 election. Lim Kit Siang was detained under the ISA two weeks after he had answered Hasnul.)  
(Chinese daily: 29 April 1969)



“朝更民主化迈进”

# 吉祥促政府 废除内安令

〔吉隆坡6日讯〕行动党促请当局废除内安法令以删除未经审讯即扣留的法律，作为朝更大民主化迈进的其中一部份工作。

行动党秘书长林吉祥今日发表文告指出，副内政部长拿督梅格提出的所谓政府有意修正内安法令，以便使扣留期限更具‘伸缩性’的声明其实并无新意，因为现有的法令已存有如此宽限。

“内安法令的出现基本上是为了应付当年的共产党武装斗争问题，到了现在这个时代，它应该废除。”

谈到现有法令的宽限条款，他说：当1987年发生茅草行动大逮捕事件时，被扣留的人士包括反对党国会议员、职工会领袖、教会工作者、华教人士、环保份子、社工、学术人员和知识份子。其中有66名被逮捕者在首60天调查期内即获释放。一些被释者的自由则是具附带条件的。

接著有7人在被扣留少过6个月后即被释放，而所有40位被扣留人士都是在2年扣留令届满前即被释放的。最后2名被释放的是行动党全国副秘书长兼社青团团长林冠英国会议员和林吉祥，他们在甘文丁住了16个月，从1987年10月27日被扣留的日期算起，总共被扣留18个月。

林氏认为，这种在2年扣留期结束前即释放40名被逮捕人士之举，仍无法为马来西亚的人权记录说好话。因此，修改内安法令以使到扣留期限具伸缩性的做法是根本无法被接受的，并且令人对副首相拿督斯里安华依布拉欣之前针对检讨内安法令一事所向国会作出的承诺丧失信心。

Move towards democratization, Lim Kit Siang call upon the government to abolish the ISA

their concern during the debate in the Parliament in 1960, that the ISA could be abused by the Alliance government against dissidents.

"The Emergency Ordinance 1948 enacted in response to the Communist Party's subversion still exists today (in the form of the ISA). However, the threat by the Communist Party has diminished. There are no more riots or chaos in the country. Yet the country still preserves its emergency legislation. This is abnormal. Needless to say, the ISA is a convenient weapon against political dissidents and rivals. ...." said Chen Man Hin, DAP Chairman, in his welcome speech on 20 November 1985 at the Human Rights Forum organized by his Party.

"The government's insistence in maintaining the ISA is another blemish in our record of human rights and fundamental liberties."

"The Deputy Prime Minister Musa Hitam told the media in the USA and Europe that: no one has been wrongfully arrested under the ISA."

"When Musa said this, he probably was unaware of the fact that even in implementing the ordinary law, mistakes could be committed."

"In April this year, the coffee shop assistant, Wen Jin-Cheng was almost made a scapegoat because of an erroneous report by the police. He was nearly given a mandatory death sentence for being in possession of a hand grenade. The Chief Police Officer of the Federal Territory, Zaman Khan, finally announced on 10 April at a press conference, that he was satisfied that Wen had nothing to do with the hand grenade."

"Wen was arrested by a police officer on 2 April, and admitted to be in possession of a hand grenade. He was later released on 6 April."

"The ISA gives the authorities the power to detain without trial. The detention order is issued based solely on the report of the Special Branch. The detention order issued by the Minister of Home Affairs need not be based on any first hand or even correct information. There is no effective and protective mechanism against abuse. The decision for further detention is solely based on the subjective discretion of the Minister. So how can one say that there is adequate protective mechanism in such a system?"

"The Advisory Board is only a bluff. There is no provision for evidence to be produced at the Advisory Board. There is also no possibility for the detainees to question the prosecutor. There is no provision for the detainees to be informed of the identity of the prosecutor either. A detainee is presumed guilty upon arrest until he/she can prove himself/herself innocent. In its true nature and in reality, the ISA does not contain any mechanism for protecting the detainee..."

If Musa is so convinced that 'no one has been wrongfully detained under the ISA', then he must prove the government's sincerity, by giving the 1,969 individuals still detained under the ISA a chance, by allowing them to prove their innocence in an open court. If the government is so confident that it has the legitimate reasons for depriving a citizen of his or her freedom, then it should also not be afraid to allow the court to scrutinize its reasons."

(Karpal Singh: 'Human Rights and Freedom', DAP Human Rights Assembly, 2-3 December 1985)

"The Bar Council called for an Extraordinary General Meeting to urge the government to abolish the ISA" (Sin Chew Jit Poh 11 Jan 1976: p30)

### Comments by Dr. Chandra Muzaffar

The moderate reformist, Dr. Chandra, President of Aliran (*The National Awakening Movement*)<sup>8</sup> in his article: *Reflections on the ISA* pointed out that:

"...Law itself must be fair and just. It is obvious that the ISA is unfair."

"...There must be an overall improvement of the treatment of the detainees, so that it adheres to the respect for human rights; most importantly, solitary confinement must be stopped. This is a cruel and inhumane form of political punishment."

In another article, "*ISA - An Uncivilized Law*", Chandra reiterated:

"Be it from the perspective of Western Democracy or Islamic Truth, S8 of the ISA and the related provisions are completely unjustifiable. Therefore the ISA must be abolished. This is because it originates from a judicial system which is already outdated. With the advent of Islam, it should all the more be abolished".

The author is of the opinion that the demand for all the ISA detainees to be charged in open court, or otherwise be unconditionally released, is a reasonable and democratic one. Moreover, it befits the standard of modern civilization and the desires of a highly developed human community.

"Detention without trial is an old law of the beast. Any normal thinking citizen should not accept any form of dictatorship built through the means of law. Dictatorships built upon the means of law are the lowest form of moral criminals." (ISA Keselamatan Negara)

### 1987 Operation Lalang

After mass arrests under the ISA in 1987, former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman called for the abolition of the ISA.

On 27 October 1987, the UMNO government led by Dr. Mahathir launched mass arrests, codenamed *Operation Lalang*. The operation was targeted at the opposition parties, leaders of civil and educational organizations, some leaders within the ruling party, as well as moderate, middle-class professionals, intellectuals and so on.

After the mass arrests, Tunku Abdul Rahman, in an interview with *Compass*, told the reporter that:

"...There have been too many changes. It is no longer democratic to detain political leaders and social workers under the ISA. Moreover, it is against the principles laid down in our Constitution. The ISA is to be used to arrest and detain Communists, not ordinary citizens."

When he was asked if there is still a need to maintain the ISA, Tunku replied that it should be abolished because the conditions of our country are already good. Tunku Abdul Rahman also pointed out that, since 1969, the ISA was rarely used, making it strange that it was being used again. (Excerpt from "ISA Keselamatan Negara 1988")

Even though these comments were not totally correct and true, they nevertheless reflect one truth: that the extent to which the Umno government

had abused its power had become unacceptable even to this former Prime Minister.

The branch Chairman of the Islamic Revival Society, Kamal Koh... pointed out: *our ISA is against the legal principle of Islam* (*Nanyang Siang Pao* 12 August 1985: p38)

#### Voice from Sabah

Pairin Kitingan, President of the *Party Bersatu Sabah (PBS)* is also against the ISA.

After 1989, the Umno government continued to use the ISA to make arrests, especially in Sabah, including those who were key cadres of the PBS, the ruling party of the Sabah State.

"PBS was originally one of the members of BN. It left BN during the 1990 General Elections. Furthermore, in its Manifesto in 1990, PBS called for the review of the ISA for the purpose of protecting human rights. Earlier, PBS leaders have also openly criticized that the ISA is inhumane and uncivilized." (Sin Chew Jit Poh 14 July 1990)

"The Chief Minister of Sabah, Dato' Pairin, pointed out that the ISA has been misused to seal the mouths of critics of the government. This is uncalled for. It is also oppressive and unfair." (*Nanyang Siang Pao* 18 May 1991)

"Dato' Pairin quoted the former Primer Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman that the establishment of the ISA was to fight the Communist Party. Today, communist activities have stopped in our country. Therefore, there is a need to review the ISA. From the legal point of view, detention without trial is an abuse of power" (Sin Chew Jit Poh 19 May 1991)

"Dato' Pairin in his Policy Speech, which he delivered at the Sixth Congress of the Party, reiterated the need to review the ISA because it has been abused and misused. It will destroy democracy and undermine the people's sense of security." (Sin Chew Jit Poh 26 August 1991)

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> The *DAP* opposes the ISA in Malaysia. However, it has refused to criticize the ISA of Singapore. As a result, differences arose between its leaders, e.g. there was a clash between Fan Yew Teng and Lim Kit Siang. Fan left the Party. Although, when Lim Kit Siang was detained under the ISA, Fan lobbied internationally to secure the release of Lim. Fan opposed the ISA in Malaysia as well as in Singapore. Fan Yew Teng left *DAP* mainly because of the *DAP* stance on whether the Singapore PAP should be sacked from Socialist International, "...The Singapore PAP violates human rights: arrests of students, suppress Nanyang University, gag the press, and the detention without trial of the opposition parties leaders. Therefore, when the Socialist International intended to sack the Singapore PAP in 1976, I supported strongly and majority of the *DAP* central committee members supported too, but later, because the then president disagreed and was

going to resign if DAP supported the sacking. Thus changed the stance of the committee. In May 1977, Lim Kit Siang defended Singapore in the Socialist International in London. I felt that DAP practises double standard, so I left DAP and furthered my studies.' Said Fan Yew Teng (Nanyang Siang Pao, 14 April 1996; pg C1).

<sup>2</sup> Aliran (The National Awakening Movement) is one of the NGOs formed after a series of student demonstrations which took place in the Institutions of Higher Learning in 1974. It was one of the NGOs established in response to the suppression by the *BN/Umno* government.

Its members are mainly middle-class intellectuals and professionals. On the 27 October 1987, the *BN* government launched *Operation Lallang*, involving the mass arrests of individuals from various social strata. Some of them are active members of NGOs. Their opinions and analyses concerning the ISA are similar to those mentioned above.

<sup>3</sup> In the interview, Tunku Abdul Rahman felt that no non-communist had been arrested under the ISA in the past. However, in a speech by Mohideen, a lawyer and a member of *PRM*, delivered on the International Human Rights Day, 10 December 1988, at a conference organized by the Bar Council said that the various *Alliance* and *Umno* governments had been using the ISA to attack its political dissidents regularly. See Chapter Two.

# Reactions to the Arrests under the ISA

In chapter 2, we saw that after the ISA was implemented, it has been repeatedly used by the ruling clique to deal with its political opponents and dissidents. What were the reactions at home and abroad when the ISA was used to arrest and detain people?

In this chapter, we shall study the reactions levelled by opposition parties, civic organizations and individuals against preventive detention conducted under the ISA for the past 40 years.

## In the Era of Tunku Abdul Rahman

In the previous chapter, we saw how, during the time of Tunku Abdul Rahman, those who were involved in the leftwing movement, especially SF leaders, cadres and members became victims of the ISA. In the face of such wave after wave of detentions, how did the opposition parties and the masses react and respond?

The reactions can be divided into 2 different stages:

1. 1960-1965 - The period from 1960 to "February 13, 1965 Struggle for the Human Rights Day"
2. 1965-1970 - The period from 1965 to "May 13" 1969 and the suspension of the Parliament

### 1960 - 1965: Struggle for the Human Rights Day

Before SF organized the "February 13" Struggle for Human Rights Day in 1965, opposition parties like SF, PPP, UDP and the Malaya Party had achieved greater consensus among themselves and shared similar reactions towards the ISA detentions, particularly during parliamentary debates.

Since SF was the main victim of the ISA, let us see their reactions and how they dealt with the issue.

# 馬勞工黨全國執委緊急會議

## 本月四日假檳城召開

### 討論抗議政府逮捕事

(本報駐檳記者昨晚電)馬來亞勞工黨籌備分部分部昨晚在隆召開緊急會議，會議決致電在檳城的該黨主席藍瑪納且促請於三天內召開該黨全國執委緊急會議，討論此次政府採取的大逮捕行動事件，

此情已誌今日本報。

據馬來亞勞工黨全國總秘書陳模根今日誌記者稱：該黨全國執委會經訂於三月四日(星期三)下午二時半，在檳城土庫街五十九號勞工黨總秘書辦事處，召開緊急會議，會議

之議程擬編定如后：

- 一，關於選派一代表團晉謁國防部長事。
- 二，召開羣衆大會，抗議逮捕事件。
- 三，關於警方搜查該黨會所事。
- 四，組織救濟委員會

LPM Central Executive Committee is to hold an emergency meeting to discuss the protest against mass arrest made by the government .

The agendas of the scheduled meeting to be held on 4 March in Penang are:

- 1) To choose a delegation to meet the Defence Minister.
- 2) To hold mass rally to protest against the mass arrest.
- 3) To discuss about the police searching of the party office.
- 4) To form a relief committee.

(Chinese daily, March 1959)



The Socialist Front, the People's Progressive Party and some independent MPs jointly held a mass rally in the expatriat assembly hall in Kuala Lumpur to protest against the constitutional amendment. Picture shows Dr. Tan Chee Koon, Selangor Chairman of the LPM, delivering a speech.

[20 January 1962, China Press]



### Moderate reactions from SF

According to news reports in the *China Press*, LPM and PRM, the member parties of SF were basically moderate in their reactions at this period i.e. from 1960-1965. They merely hung banners at their office, issued statements; organised protest rallies, demanding fair trials in open court. That is to say, they demanded that those detained "if found guilty, sentence them; If not, release them".

They tried to raise the awareness of the people, so that they were able to discern the true nature of the ISA. Their reactions were within the confines of law laid down by the Federal Constitution and as circumscribed by the Alliance government.

Usually, SF would adopt the following measures to register opposition against the arrests under the ISA:

- a) To condemn the arbitrary actions of the Alliance government in detaining people without trial. The government was urged to comply with democratic procedures and put the detainees on trial in open court. If they were found guilty, then passed sentence on them, otherwise they ought to be released unconditionally. "Apart from this normal approach, their detentions are unjustified and unacceptable", (*China Press*, 9 September 1961) SF also asked for abolition of the ISA. The Chinese-language newspapers often published these statements.
- b) To apply for police permits to hold protest rallies or demonstrations and marches. They also organized protest meetings in the party premises. The party leaders would condemn the Alliance government for effecting arbitrary arrests without trial. It was commonplace for them to pass resolutions in the meetings of the party branches and divisions as well as in national conferences, to condemn and protest against preventive detention without trial.

However, base on newspaper reports, right from the beginning of 1963, the police no longer issued permits for demonstrations. And permits for protest rallies became increasingly difficult to obtain. By 1965, the police no longer approved any applications for protest gatherings.

- c) Party members made house-to-house visits to launch signature campaigns. They put up banners in party premises. They wrote letters to the neighbours of party cadres and members who had been detained, to explain how unjustified their detentions were. SF MPs raised the issue during parliamentary debates. They also sent delegates to meet with the Home Minister. They even sent

petitions to Tunku Abdul Rahman, the then Prime Minister setting out their demands.

### Press Statements, Press Conferences and Parliamentary Debates

The following extracts from the China Press reflected SF's views and demands:

SF was of the opinion that:

"Detention without trial contravenes the Federal Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] of the United Nations. It is also against the basic principles of freedom and democracy. The ISA is a continuation of the Emergency Ordinance, and it is more draconian than the latter. It was enacted to suppress the opposition parties. It is undemocratic to detain someone without trial under the ISA immediately after the court had found them innocent after an open trial."

(Statement by *Karam Singh*, SF Member of Parliament on 21 December 1960.)

"It shows that the Alliance government is not concerned with democracy and freedom. In fact, the government is afraid of practising democracy, and they fear the increased influence and power of the opposition parties, including SF. It shows that the government intends to suppress the growth of SF and to paralyze its divisions"

(Statement by *Salleh Yaakub*, Penang state secretary of SF on 12 December 1961)

### Exposing the spurious assurances given by the Alliance Government

"Despite the Alliance government's assurances that the ISA would not be used against the opposition parties, yet it had been repeatedly used to detain SF cadres."

(Speech by SF general secretary cum LPM chairman *Pak Sako* on the first mass arrests under the ISA, 7th November 1960)

### Demand for explanation of the arrests

"It was useless to ask the government to justify the detentions. The answer would certainly be: the detentions had nothing to do with the political activities of the detainees, but rather their participation in subversive activities."

(Statement by *Boestamam* on the November 1960 mass arrests, 18 January 1961)

### Hidden Intention of the arrests revealed

The hidden intention of the arrests revealed falls into one of the following categories:

- "to intimidate the people, to create an atmosphere of fear, so that the people dare not go against the Alliance. This has seriously damaged the democratic process of this country."  
(Speech by Ooi Thiam Siew, secretary of Penang state SF cum Mayor of Georgetown Penang, 7th November 1960; SF Pahang state, 27th December 1962; 5 political parties condemned the arrest of SF Chairman, Ahmad Boestamam, 12th March 1963, 13th March 1964, 9th April 1964, 8th July 1964 and 26th July 1964);
- a tactic often adopted by the Alliance before the general elections to undermine the confidence and morale of the opposition parties;
- to maintain its ruling power and to suppress the opposition parties (23rd March 1964)
- PRM strongly condemned the ruling parties in Singapore and Malaysia for collaborating with the British government to attack the progressive elements in the country (5th February 1963)
- Lim Kian Siew, SF Member of Parliament, pointed out during the parliamentary debate that the Special Branch [SB] often threatened and intimidated members of the opposition parties. The SB officials pressured them into withdrawing their party membership and to join the Alliance instead. They were told that otherwise, they could be arrested; and
- intimidating the SF staff as well as voters who sympathized with and supported SF.

### Abuse of the ISA

The detentions proved that SF was right that the ISA was abused. The government's use of the ISA was so rampant that there was daily news about the raids and arrests by the Special Branch.

Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman condemned the supposedly 'subversive activities' of the opposition parties. He accused them of pursuing an anti-Malaysia and pro-Indonesia policy. PRM Chairman, Ahmad Boestamam challenged Tunku to substantiate his allegations. The former was of the opinion that in a democracy, it is legal and reasonable for the opposition parties to defend themselves against the onslaught of the ruling party. This could hardly be termed "subversive".

### Demand for just and open court trials

Any action that was prejudicial to the peace of the Federation must be dealt with in a fair and open trial. The opposition parties would only accept the judgment of a court of law. (Statement of the SF Selangor in response to the arrest of 5 of their key members, 9th September 1961) They demanded

open trials, otherwise the detainees should be released unconditionally. The legal procedures must be fair, just and transparent.

### Mass rallies, protests and demonstrations

Protest actions, mass rallies and demonstrations are some forms of expression of discontent in a democratic society. Besides issuing statements, SF also applied for police permits to hold mass rallies and demonstrations. Leaders of the Central Committee, State or Branches would protest and condemn the Alliance government in these meetings.

However by early 1963, the Alliance government no longer issued permits for such demonstrations. Since 1965, it began to ban all mass rallies organized by SF. Also from 1965 onwards, the police began to obstruct, disperse and suppress gatherings. Even concerts or cultural performances organised by SF in party premises were suppressed, to the extent that some party members were beaten and died of serious injuries

The followings were the reports from the China Press:

- SF organised a protest rally at the Pudu Car Park at 7 p.m. on 20 November 1960. All the SF leaders and Members of Parliament attended. They organized another protest rally on November 29, before Parliament met. (20 November 1960)
- Penang state SF decided on 20 November to organize a demonstration. It had notified its member parties i.e. PRM and LPM to attend (18 January 1962.) An SF Member of Parliament said that the police in Malacca and Penang had approved the demonstration but the police in Kuala Lumpur disallowed it (25 January 1962)
- SF organized a protest rally at 4 1/2 Miles, Klang Road, Kuala Lumpur against the arrest of its members. Woo Hong Kwong, chairman of the LPM of Kuala Lumpur, demanded open trials for those detained. (25 January 1962)
- PRM Semenyih Branch protested against the detention of its chairman Qiu Si Ling. They organised a mass rally on 22 December 1962 at 7 pm, at Semenyih New Village Field. (22nd December 1962)
- PRM Semenyih Branch organized a mass protest rally, demanding that the detainees be given an open trial. Qiu Guan Hua, Selangor state assistant secretary of PRM cum secretary of PRM Kajang Branch condemned the government for its ulterior motive. He claimed that the government actions had served to destroy democracy in Malaya and the freedoms of the people of Malaya. (24 December 1962)

### 抗议大逮捕示威游行

马六甲社阵党员在1962年1月2日发动一项抗议大逮捕示威游行。一千多名党员抬着一付象征民主已死的黑棺，戴着一顶红色大帽，踩着一辆“内安法令”的囚车，鼓声隆隆中象征民主的死亡。队伍游经马六甲市的主要街道，最后到怡力草场，三呼社会主义万岁声中结束。

40多年，马来西亚的民主还是  
封在棺木里面。



Demonstration against mass arrest in 1962, in Malacca, Picture shows democracy is in the coffin.

- LPM Ulu Selangor Branch organized a meeting at the Rawang Branch to protest against detention without trial. One of their resolutions was to support and respond to the Selangor state call for protest, namely, to take part in the demonstration that would take place on 30 December. It also resolved to hold a protest rally at Rawang on 20 December at 7.30 pm (24 December 1962)
- LPM of Pahang in its special working committee meeting, said "the fact that the Chairmen Abu Samah and Li Hai Gui have been prohibited from participating in political activities upon their release, once again shows that the arrests made were to instil fear among the people and thwart the development of the party ....."
- The meeting decided to organize mass rallies in 5 districts: Karak, Temerloh, Mentakab, Kuantan and Kemaman (27 December 1962)

LPM Ulu Selangor Branch organized a protest rally at its party premises and adopted the following resolutions:

- To abolish the ISA;
- To support and take part in the demonstration organized by the Selangor headquarter on the 30 December 1962;
- To demand for open trials;
- To wage a peaceful struggle within the framework of the Federal Constitution; and
- To support the people of Brunei in their struggle for national independence. (28 December 1962)

Ooi Thiam Siew, Penang state chairman of SF condemned the Alliance government for not having the detainees trialed in an open court, and for not permitting staging lawful protests against the government undemocratic actions.

He also asserted that early this year, those party members who participated in the protest demonstration were law-abiding citizens. The peaceful method of staging protests was adopted and nothing untoward occurred. (30 December 1962)

The police in Penang had rejected three times the SF application for demonstration. The reason given was that "the workers' strike was still on". (6 January 1963)

Penang state SF organized a mass rally. Its Chairman called for the repeal of the ISA on the grounds that it is an abhorrent piece of legislation. (11 February 1962)

Selangor state LPM planned to organise one week-long demonstration in November, to protest against the arrest of its top party leaders, such as Boestamam etc as follows.:

- March 11 - Sentul
- 12 - Klang
- 13 - Setapak
- 14 - the field opposite to the Odeon Cinema
- 16 - 6<sup>th</sup> mile Gombak
- 17 - Sabak Bernam, Selangor

(5 March 1963)

Selangor state SF intended to organize a week-long protest demonstration, however, it was not approved by the police (9 March 1963).

Selangor state SF was going to hold a mass rally at the Padang [the field] beside the Kuala Lumpur Star Cinema at Pudu on March 3 at 7 pm to protest against the arrest of the Chairman of PRM. The police rejected its application for a similar event planned on March 11. However, this time its application was approved. (2 April 1963)

SF Bangsar election committee and PRM Bangsar Branch held separate protest rallies against the arrest of Boestamam. (8 March 1964)

SF Bangsar election committee organised a series of mass rallies to protest against the arrest of its members involved in the election campaign.

- March 12 - Klang Road
- 13 - Petaling Jaya
- 13 - Loke Yew Road
- 18 - Brickfield
- 19 - Cheras

(10 March 1964)

SF Petaling Jaya Branch strongly protested against the unreasonable arrest of its branch members again. On March 9, a meeting was held to call for the repeal of the ISA at its branch premises (13 March 1964). It organised a mass rally to protest against the arrest of its party members on March 7. (16 March 1964)

At SF Kajang mass rally, the government was criticised for resorting to the ISA to detain its active and dedicated members. (11 April 1964)

LPM Mentakab Branch would organise a mass rally at the Mentakab Garden on 17 June at 7.30 pm, to protest against the re-arrest of its branch committee member Lin Ding Di (16 April 1964). It again called for a mass rally to strongly condemn the arrest of Lin Ding Di. (29 June 1964)

Perak state SF organised a mass rally at Kampar. At the rally, among other things, it registered its protest against the mass arrests. (30 December 1964)

PRM Kajang Branch organized a mass rally on December 27. One of the purposes of the rally was to make a strong protest against the detention of its party members. (31 December 1964)

SF top leaders made a decision to the surprise of all. They declared that the 2nd anniversary [February 13] of the arrest of Boestamam as the "Struggle for Human Rights Day". (20 January 1965)

On February 11, the police rejected the application made by SF for commemorating "February 13 - the Human Rights Day". SF went on with the demonstration as planned. It was met with the ruthless suppression by the police.

Signature campaigns, display of protest banners, sending letters and resolutions to the authorities

Signature campaigns, hanging banners in front of party premises, sending petitions or postcards to the government, were the popular means used by the party members and the general public to express their opinions and positions on the issues.

Compared with demonstrations and press statements, such measures, however, did not have that much influence and far-reaching effect, and the effect was far from being immediate.

The following are excerpts from the China Press:

SF sent out "special letters" to all its members and the detainees' neighbours, explaining the circumstances under which the arrests took place and the position taken by SF on the matter. (16 November 1960)

After an emergency meeting held by LPM Ulu Yam Branch members, they decided to issue a statement in protest of the detention of its members. They also put up protest banners in front of their party premises (22 December 1962)

One of the resolutions adopted by the joint meeting of the LPM Ulu Selangor District was to put up 'protest against arrests' banners at every branch premises. Selangor state LPM launched a signature campaign in Selangor, protesting against the detention of Boestamam and the other party members. (5 March 1963)

Selangor state SF intended to organize a week-long protest against the detention of Boestamam, but its application for a mass rally was turned down. It was compelled to launch a signature campaign instead. It demanded the immediate and unconditional release of Boestamam. (9 March 1963)

PRM and LPM Petaling Jaya members carried out a house-to-house survey, inviting voters to sign the petition demanding the release of Boestamam. (15 March 1963)



### SF National Conference

The arrests under the ISA and the ISA itself became the major issues taken up by SF states and branches. It was also one of the main items on the agenda in their national conference or the Central Committee's meetings. The ISA was subjected to severe criticism on such occasions.

### Annual General Meetings of SF branches

LPM 9<sup>th</sup> mile Cheras Branch passed the following resolutions at its general meeting:

- Protest against the detention of SF members;
- Condemning the move by the Prime Minister to set up a "Save Democracy Fund" providing India with financial aid. It worsened the border conflicts between India and China;
- Condemning the Alliance government for sending troops to assist the British government in its suppression of the armed uprising of the people of Brunei. (10 January 1963)

### Annual General Meetings of the delegates of state SF

On 24 June 1964, Selangor state LPM held its Annual General Meeting. One of the resolutions adopted at the meeting was:

"This Annual General Meeting strongly condemns the Alliance government for abusing the ISA by way of arresting our comrades. We demand for their unconditional release or else an immediate open trial be conducted."

### The Party's National Conference

In respect to the arrests under the ISA, SF in its report of the 5th National Conference held on 26 May 1963, pointed out the following:

"The Alliance government attempts to suppress the opposition forces. In furtherance of such attempt, the ISA has been subject to abuse. It invoked the ISA to detain many of our party members including PRM Chairman, Ahmad Boestamam without trial. Early last December, 50 persons were arrested in the Federation, 120 in Singapore and 100 in Sarawak".

In the National Conference, the detention of Boestamam was the focus of debates among the delegates. They condemned the government for keeping Ahmad Boestamam under detention and demanded that he be given the opportunity to be trialed in an open court.

### People's Progressive Party (PPP)

In the meantime, D.R. Seenivasagam, PPP's secretary-general also levelled criticisms against some of the arrests made under the ISA. On the other

hand, PAS, United Democratic Party, Malaya Party and the Malaya Nationalist Party did not express their views on the arrests at all, except on the arrest of SF Chairman, Ahmad Boestamam.

On the issue of the ISA detentions carried out in November 1960, D.R. Seenivasagam said in the Parliament: "The Alliance government has adopted undemocratic measures ". Even though he agreed that there was a need to outlaw subversive elements, however, he did not agree with the way the government had done it.

When the Parliament was debating on the setting up of an Internal Security Department (ISD), he thought that such a unit was unnecessary. He had sharply criticised the real intention and purpose for establishing such a department by the Alliance government. "... It can be inferred that the objective of the government in setting up an ISD, is to threaten opposition party members and those citizens who dare to criticize the government openly. It is similar to the "Gestapo" in Germany".

#### Special Branch infiltrated the opposition parties

D.R. Seenivasagam further pointed out that the Special Branch had infiltrated the opposition parties. They bought off the opposition party members to work as their informants and agents in order to monitor the activities of the opposition parties. He wanted the Alliance government to stop such activities.

"The police in Ipoh had bought over people in the central committee of PPP, in order to monitor the activities of its party members. The police in Kuala Lumpur had also co-opted the staff of PPP's Branch Office as their agents. He asked for guarantees that such activities of monitoring the opposition parties be stopped. " (Excerpts from the China Press, 21 December 1960)

#### Denial of open court trials violates human rights

In December 1962, Parti Rakyat Brunei [the People's Party of Brunei] staged an uprising. All the leftists in Malaya, Singapore and Sarawak expressed their support for the Brunei People's Party. Because of that, mass arrests took place in all the three areas. 50 were arrested in Malaya, 120 in Singapore, and 100 in Sarawak. Intense debate in the Parliament ensued:

D.R. Seenivasagam questioned in the Parliament:

"Since it is claimed that the detainees were found to have been in possession of subversive documents, if the government has in hand such solid evidence, why are these people not charged openly in court? It is very regrettable that they are not given open trials. It is inhumane to arrest people without giving them the opportunity to be heard. On humanitarian grounds, instead of detaining these

people without trial, they should be charged and convicted in court. Any moves to the contrary will only make people lose confidence in the government totally." "In India, preventive laws can be challenged in court, but the ISA here cannot be challenged at all" (China Press, 19 December 1962)

### Condemning the 1963 "Operation Cold Store" in Singapore

The uprising of the people in Brunei did not only concern Brunei itself, it was also related to the founding of Malaysia and the ensuing debates. The uprising had far-reaching implications. The two incidents, namely, the "Operation Cold Store" in Singapore on February 2 and the arrest of Boestamam, Chairman of PRM of Malaya cum Chairman of the SF, and the Brunei revolt were inter-related.

In respect of the "Operation Cold Store", S.P. Seenivasagam, vice-chairman of PPP indicated that "the Party is shocked by the arrests. We thought the government would only take such an action after the founding of Malaysia on August 31. However, the arrests took place much earlier than we expected." He condemned the arrests as an authoritarian act. It is a betrayal of democracy. (China Press, 3 December 1963)

### United Democratic Party of Penang

Dr. Lim Chong Eu, Chairman of the United Democratic Party [UDP], criticized the "February 2 - Operation Cold Store" in Singapore. "The people of the Federation are always very much concerned with the use of the ISA, even to the extent of fearing it. In fact, the ISA instils fear into them...."

The government should openly adduce evidence to substantiate its allegations. This can be done speedily by sending the detainees to an open court for trial (China Press, 5 February 1963).

### Demand for open court trials

Boestamam, PRM Chairman was the first opposition leader and Member of Parliament to be detained under the ISA. In respect of this matter, Tan Say Eng, general secretary of the People's United Democratic Party was of the opinion:

"Occasionally it may be necessary for the government to make arrests under the ISA. However, if the government does possess adequate evidence that the detainees are indeed involved in illegal activities, then it is only fair that they be brought before the court."

Lim Chong Eu, UDP Chairman in his criticism said, "He had mentioned earlier that, if the government has evidence which could support its actions in respect of the use of the ISA and the security laws, the best would be to put Boestamam on trial." (China Press, 15 February 1963)

The UDP also raised the issue of arrests of SF leaders, during the parliamentary debate in March. " We agree that the government should adopt measures to deal with subversive elements. However, to show that the government is fair, these people should be given open court trials." (China Press, 12 March 1963)

D.R. Seenivasagam, General secretary of PPP also was of the opinion that Ahmad Boestamam ought to be given the opportunity of an open trial.

#### Joint Statement by 5 Opposition Parties

The 5 opposition parties met to discuss issues concerning " Malaysia". They were namely, the UDP, PRM, LPM, PPP, PAS and the People's Convention Party led by the former Agriculture cum Cooperative Minister Abdul Aziz.

After the meeting, the 5 Parties issued a joint statement, declaring their strong opposition to the formation of "Malaysia". They also condemned the form and the principles adopted by the Alliance government for establishing "Malaysia". The statement also condemned arrests under the ISA carried out by the Alliance government.

"Such arrests instil fear in people that they would lose their freedom, thereby seriously affecting the development of democracy in the Federation." (China Press, 12 March 1963)

#### Reactions of PAS

Before the 1964 General Elections, several leaders from PAS were arrested. According to the Chinese newspapers, PAS hardly reacted to the ISA detentions. Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, SF Member of Parliament, in his speech in Parliament in 1966, said that PAS was in fact supportive of the ISA.

In December 1961, when the Parliament was debating on the setting up of the ISD, SF and PPP strongly opposed it while PAS Members of Parliament supported it. However, they did caution the government officials not to abuse the ISA. (China Press, 21 December 1960)

#### 1960-1965 - Reactions of the trade unions

On 30 November 1960, for the first time, 2 members of the Malaysian Trade Unions Congress (MTUC) were arrested under the ISA. The Federation of Trade Unions was extremely uneasy about the arrest and later issued a statement, requesting for a meeting with the Home Affairs Minister. They requested the Minister concerned to issue a detailed statement on the arrests, and to release the detained trade unionists.

During the meeting, the Home Minister explained that the 2 unionists were not arrested for their trade union activities. He reiterated the government policy to encourage the growth of strong, free, responsible and democratic trade unions.

However, the Federation of Trade Unions felt that the detention was inappropriate and the detained unionists had used words such as "class struggle", "society is unfair", and "the spirit of struggle" in their publicity drive was neither subversive nor criminal.

These slogans were frequently used by the Federation of Trade Unions of Malaya and the International Free Trade Unions.

The detainees should be released. The Federation of Trade Unions was dissatisfied with the findings of the Review Committee. (China Press, 20 June 1960)

The following are excerpts from the China Press:

The Malaya Federation of Trade Unions requested the government to justify the detention of two of its union leaders. They also requested the government to ensure that it was to support the development of a responsible and democratic trade union movement, and that the ISA was not meant to cripple the Federation of Trade Unions of Malaya. (20 June 1960)

The first two trade unionists arrested under ISA were namely, Su Bing Chun, general-secretary of the Federation of the Pineapple Workers' Union and Zeng Zhi, treasurer of the Federation of Malaya Transport Workers Union. The arrest had incurred the dissatisfaction of the Federation of Trade Unions of Malaya. They demanded a detailed statement from the authorities, justifying the arrests. They also asked the Home Minister to consider releasing the detainees. (20 June 1960)

In November 1962, Zhou Yu Qing, secretary of the Federation of the Shoe Industry Workers Unions was arrested. The Federation urged the government to have him tried in an open court. V. David, the legal advisor of the Union, also issued a statement requesting for an open trial.

#### Jinjang residents' signature campaign and petition

Jinjang Local Council in Kuala Lumpur reacted strongly to the mass arrests conducted in 1960. The Jinjang Local Council led by SF was popularly-elected. The Alliance was the opposition party in the Local Council.

Both Fu Chang Her, chairman of Jinjang Local Council, and Chan Peng King, the local councillor, were detained during the mass arrests in 1960. The Local Council sent 3 representatives to meet with the Home Minister. They demanded release of the 2 detainees. The meeting was conducted in an extremely cordial atmosphere. Zhou Qing Yu, representative of the Local Council sent in a petition signed by more than

3,000 villagers together with a statement, demanding for an unconditional release of the two detainees.

### Public Reactions

During the period 1960 - 1965, there was hardly any reaction from the public regarding the ISA arrests. Nor was there any press report on these reactions. The only discernible public reaction at that time came mainly from SF, for example, the signature campaign launched by Jinjang residents.

### Turning Point

From 1955 to the end of 1964, members of LPM and PRM and subsequently, SF [a merger of the two parties], became the main target of the arrests. However, their reactions were rather moderate. They confined their activities within the legal framework.

The surprise declaration by SF on 20 January 1965 signified that it was no longer willing to accept submissively the repeated amendments made to the laws, for the purpose of suppressing the opposition, particularly SF. Such amendments eroded human rights and the basic democratic rights of the people.

Tan Kai Hee, SF deputy general secretary, pointed out after its central committee meeting that:

" SF has all along been a victim of the government's tremendous pressure and suppression. However, given the current circumstances, we can no longer be silent about it. Therefore, SF Central Committee has decided to make February 13 the Human Rights Day".

It was the second anniversary of SF Chairman Boestamam's detention under the ISA. SF decided that it would withdraw its temporary support for the Emergency. It urged its party members not to join the vigilante corps and to refuse household registration. It also urged the public not to participate in the national service.

### "February 13 - Struggle for Human Rights Day" and After

From the day it was formed, SF faced government repression. In its struggle for human rights and democracy, it rarely got the support of other opposition parties. It felt extremely isolated and helpless. After staging the demonstration for the " Struggle for Human Rights Day" on 13 February 1965, SF became totally isolated.

Though PPP leaders would occasionally criticize the Alliance government for these arrests in the Parliament, it did not give its support

for the "February 13" demonstration initiated by SF. MTUC had advised its members not to participate in the demonstration.

In 1965, the non-left wing opposition parties such as the UDP, PPP, and PAP led by Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore formed an alliance, known as the "Solidarity Convention", an opposition camp resorting to racialism as its policy and strategy. PAP not only supported the ISA, but also used it to arrest and suppress the left-wing opposition members in Singapore.

All these developments further distanced SF from the other opposition parties. It became even more isolated. The other opposition parties showed less and less concern for the ISA arrests.

### 1965 - 1970 May 13 led to the suspension of the Parliament

After the "February 13 - Struggle for Human Rights Day", the arrests of SF cadres at different levels continued. During this period, the Alliance government no longer issued permits for peaceful demonstrations and rallies organized by the SF, though the Confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia had already ended in 1966.

This would mean that any demonstrations or protests organized without the police permit would be illegal. Permits for mass rallies became more and more difficult to obtain. Even when permits were given, conditions were attached. Furthermore, for those gatherings that did not require a permit before, the police insisted on production of police permits. It could be seen that the ruling elite were getting more and more impatient. They no longer bothered to put up with the pretension of democracy.

### News from the China Press in 1965

On May 16, the UMNO General Assembly urged the government to deal with the leaders of PAP in Singapore.

June 13 - Rajaratnam, the top leader of the Singapore PAP, disclosed that it could no longer organise its own mass rally inside Singapore.

August 16 - the Malaysian's Solidarity Convention held a mass rally.

September 21 - LPM Titi Branch in Negeri Sembilan planned to hold its mass rally

September 26 - Penang state SF held a mass rally. The police did not allow the representative of the SUPP from speaking on stage.

October 4 - The police prevented LPM Bidor Branch in Perak from holding a cultural festival night in commemoration of its 4th anniversary within its branch premises. The police later used tear gas to disperse the crowd and commotion ensued.

October 6 - Wee Lee Fong, LPM General Secretary, condemned the government for obstructing the meeting of the Bidor Branch and the Kelapa New Village Branch, and also condemned the police for thwarting the "September 30" party delegates' meeting of the Kelapa Branch.

October 18 - SF were refused police permit to hold a mass rally in Ipoh. The police then intervened with tear gas causing commotion, resulting in 6 persons being arrested.

October 19 - With regard to Bukit Merah incident in Ipoh, SF pointed out that all meetings held within the party premises should be considered legal. It was not necessary to apply for police permits.

November 2 - SF Ampang Branch in Ipoh held a cultural festival night in commemoration of its 5th anniversary. The police sent in two patrol trucks. However, no uncalled-for incident took place.

November 15 - SF was prevented from having a victory march after their success in the Penang by-election. Fortunately, no untoward incident took place, but the march was postponed. Lim Kian Siew won the by-election, defeating the candidates from UDP and MCA.

November 29 - The police refused to issue a permit to SF for holding the Malim Mawar Cultural Show in Perak. Clashes with the police took place.

November 29 - The victory march for the Penang by-election to be held by SF was called off at the last minute, as a result of the stringent conditions imposed by the police.

November 30 - The youth Tang Bao Guang injured in the Malim Nawar Cultural Show passed away.

December 11 - LPM issued a statement, pointing out that clashes with the police took place at the Malim Nawar Cultural Show held indoors. It caused the death of Tang Bao Guang resulting from the serious injuries inflicted by the police. The Party strongly protested against the government over the death of Tang Bao Guang, and urged the government to carry out investigation into the matter. The government was also requested to take action against the police officer who committed the crime.

December 18 - The printed material of the SF Perak state propaganda committee entitled "the Alliance government killed Tang Bao Guang" was banned from circulation.

September 1965, Penang state SF organized a protest rally against the arrests of its committee member cum vice-chairman of the Political Propaganda Committee, Tan Hock Hin.

SF continued to react strongly to the arrest of its cadres and members. They often held press conferences, issued statements and raised the issue in the Parliament. It also passed protest resolutions at the meetings of its state committee, branches as well as the central committee.

By the end of 1965, the Alliance government became more and more flagrantly repressive. The police began to interfere in and even restrain activities held within the party premises, for example, the office premises of the state LPM. One such instance was the cultural show held in the Perak state premises.



On 28 November, the cultural show performed by PRM Malim Mawar Branch was disrupted by the police. The police dispersed the crowd and this eventually led to clashes and chaos. Tang Bao Guang, an executive committee member of the LPM Kampar Branch was beaten and died on this occasion.

The massive onslaught on the SF gradually rendered the party alter its perspective and policies accordingly. SF and other left-wing organizations underwent some changes. They stopped applying for police permits for carrying out their activities. Such transformation did not happen overnight. It was the ultimate effect of the repression by the Alliance government over a long period of time.

### Situation in 1966

On January 10, Selangor state PRM condemned the detention of more than 10 persons in the State of Perak. SF in Perak issued a statement of protest.

January 13 - LPM Langkap Branch protested against the detention of its executive committee member.

January 20 - LPM Bidor Branch condemned the arrests.

May 3 - Penang state LPM gathered to celebrate the "May 1" International Labour Day, the police interrupted the celebration with tear gas, resulting in chaos.

Lim Kian Siew held a press conference, declaring his intention to send in a strong protest note to the Home Ministry. He said that the LPM had always held public rallies at the Gurney Drive Esplanade to celebrate the International Labour Day. Tens of thousands of people participated, but no untoward incident had occurred.

However, since the previous year [1965], the government no longer allowed public celebrations. This year [1966], many associations refused to rent out their premises for the celebration. In the end, the party had to rent the Assembly Hall of the City Council at Patani Road.

The police cordoned off the meeting place and insisted that the meeting must end. The police would only allow celebration within the party's own premises. When the party members were leaving the Assembly Hall to return to the Gangzai party premises, the police fired tear gas at them..

May 6 - Tan Chee Khoo issued a statement to protest against the restricted residence imposed on Wang Choon Soo and prohibiting him from taking part in political activities.

June 27 - Penang state LPM celebrated its 14th anniversary. The police insisted on compliance with the conditions specified in the police permit, demanded the removal of the banners and the party flags. It nearly led to clashes. The Solidarity Convention comprising other opposition parties faced similar difficulties in obtaining police permits for holding mass rallies.

### Reports from the China Press in 1966

- January 6 - Perak state SF decided to hold a peaceful demonstration on the 15th in Ipoh, Taiping and Kampar, as a gesture of protest against the government's ban on public gatherings. The police interfered with meetings held within the party premises in Bidor, Bukit Merah and other places. It resulted in unfortunate incidents.
- January 13 - PRM in Kuala Lumpur passed a resolution supporting the peaceful demonstration to be organized by the Perak state SF.
- January 15 - Perak state SF had to cancel its protest march because of sabotage by certain elements. Police arrested 7 party members and obstructed the preparation for the event. the Party was forced to cancel the protest march.
- March 9 - Approximately 300 youths staged an anti-American demonstration in Kuala Lumpur against the visit of Pandy, US assistant Secretary of State for the Far East Affairs . This was the first time a demonstration was held against the visit of US officials.
- March 10 - PRM general secretary supported the anti-US demonstration. Selangor state LPM and PRM jointly issued a statement expressing their support. Lim Kian Siew blamed the police for exceeding their power and authority in respect of the issue. Two party members were arrested and charged in court for putting up anti-American posters.
- June 25 - More than 1,000 youths from the Penang state LPM demonstrated in protest against the visit of the American soldiers to Malaysia for holidays. The police dispersed the demonstrators with tear gas. 6 persons were arrested.
- July 11 - More than 200 leftists held an anti-American demonstration in Kuala Lumpur.
- August 14 - PRM and LPM Branches in Klang organized an anti-American demonstration. Both the police and riot squad cordoned off the area. No incident occurred. Selangor LPM supported the protest against the visit of the US warship "Boyle" to Port Klang and the R & R visit of the American GIs.
- August 15 - About 300 youths held an anti-American demonstration at the Federal Capital. The police came in large numbers to disperse the crowd with tear gas. 3 journalists were beaten and arrested by the police. The incident aroused public indignation.
- August 16 - Dr. Tan Chee Khoo issued a statement: in the past, all allegations of police brutality were totally denied for lack of evidence. However, for this time around, there were both written reports and photographs to substantiate the allegations.
- August 22 - More than 300 people gathered at the Federal Capital and staged an anti-American demonstration. However, LPM was not aware of the organising of such demonstration.

September 8 - LPM decided to hold extraordinary meetings on September 24 and 25 at Johore Bahru, to clarify and affirm the Party's general line of struggle in the future, and to lay down guidelines for all party members as to the future direction of the struggle.

September 20 - More than 100 LPM members demonstrated at the Federal Capital. They were against amendments to be made to the Sarawak Constitution.

From the press coverage, one could see that the Alliance government intensified its repression on the activities of LPM and PRM during the period 1965 to 1966. As a result, by 1966, members of both parties no longer wished to apply for police permits for holding peaceful demonstrations. Both parties were sceptical of parliamentary democracy in Malaysia.

"The Socialist Front has all along been of the view that the Alliance government would only practise parliamentary democracy when it is confident of winning the elections by secret ballot. However, as soon as they realize that they could be defeated, they would not hesitate to throw overboard parliamentary democracy and enforce the rule by bullet." (Speech by Tan Chee Khoon during the parliamentary debates on Constitutional amendments relating to the Kalong Ningkan incident in Sarawak, 20 September 1966).

Therefore, after 1966, it was no longer material whether the Alliance government issued police permits for demonstrations and protests. During the 3 years from 1966 to 1968, LPM and PRM and left-wing trade unions had organized about 250 demonstrations.

The police continuously suppressed the demonstrators. During those 3 years, LPM and PRM hardly held any demonstration or protest march against detentions without trial. However, when the LPM Penang State Assemblyman Tan Hock Hin was arrested, the party members in Penang were compelled to go on the street to protest and demonstrate.

Apart from LPM and PRM, some left-wing trade unions and members also held demonstrations and protests.

### Situation in 1967 - 1969

#### Support for detainees in the detention camps in 1967

From 1967 onwards, the protests and demonstrations were held to support the struggle of the detainees in improving their living conditions in the detention camps.

To protest against detentions conducted by the Special Branch, the actions were confined to issuing statements, holding press conferences and adoption of resolutions at the Annual Congress. On the other hand,

demonstrations were organized in respect of important issues raised at home and abroad, for example, support for the Vietnamese People and Anti-US Vietnam War Movement, support for the Palestinian people, protest against the devaluation of currency, support for workers on strike and so on.

Reactions from other opposition parties:

"...Since a long time ago, the government has moved towards authoritarianism. The Socialist Front has continuously warned about this danger over the last 10 years. We had paid a high price for maintaining our position on this issue. Socialist Front top leaders, except for Lim Kian Siew, Dr. Wee Lee Fong and myself, have all been imprisoned".

"It is highly regrettable that, when our leaders were arrested and detained, other opposition parties did not express solidarity nor register any protests on our behalf. The arrest of Dr. Rajakumar was the most glaring example. The government allegations against him were so fragile and stupid. However, when the Socialist Front called for the protest against his arrest, the other opposition parties did not lend us a hand".

Dr. Tan Chee Khoon proposed a motion in Parliament urging the government to be tolerant towards criticisms, so as to avoid the danger of becoming a one-party dictatorship. (China Press, 3 September 1965)

From what Dr. Tan Chee Khoon had said, one could discern that the reactions from the opposition parties regarding the ISA were at best, lukewarm and distant. Before 1966, when SF still had confidence in the system of Parliamentary Democracy, and its members and cadres were adopting a moderate and mild approach, the other opposition parties were already quite indifferent.

When SF turned more radical, LPM was expelled from the International Socialists on 7 May 1966. The Reason: the LPM had come under the control of pro-Communist elements.

Dr. Tan Chee Khoon was not in favour of staging demonstrations and protests during this period. Thus, all the more, the other opposition parties refused to support those members of LPM and PRM who were detained under the ISA. On the contrary, some opposition parties such as DAP were even supportive of the arrests.

" The Democratic Action Party supports the ISA" (China Press, 19th March 1966)

From 1966 to 1969, some opposition parties began to show some reactions when Karam Singh of PRM, Tan Hock Hin, Cheah See Liang, Ang Sin Hup of LPM, and Hamid Tuah were arrested.

April 22 - The leader of the PPP, D.R. Seenivasagam, urged the government to issue a White paper or a comprehensive report on the activities of Karam Singh, and to produce evidence for his arrests under the ISA.

"... in the absence of an accurate public statement, the people of Malaysia must condemn the government for using the ISA on him [Karam Singh]" (Nanyang Siang Pao).

April 24 - UDP wanted the government to issue a White Paper on the arrest of Karam Singh or otherwise release him. If Karam Singh has indeed violated the law, he should be openly charged and tried in court (Sin Chew Jit Poh).

July 10, - UDP Chairman in Penang, Zheng Yao Lin criticized the government for arresting 3 LPM key members (Tan Hock Heng, Cheah See Liang, Ang Sin Hup). "We urged the government to charge all those who have been detained under the ISA in court, including the three arrested yesterday, so that they could be given a fair trial." (Sin Chew Jit Poh)

#### Reactions from the various strata of society

Among the many ISA arrests, only the detention of Karam Singh and Hamid Tuah aroused concerns from the other people.

On April 23, 15 lawyers met to discuss the detention of Karam Singh, and decided to write to the International Council of Jurists as well as the Selangor State Bar Committee, urging them to take necessary actions. (Sin Chew Jit Poh)

#### Reactions from the Families

The British colonialists arrested and deported people in order to protect their interests in Malaya. Imposing restriction on residence of those detained was also one of the usual measures adopted by them. They did not even hesitate to kill anti-British elements whose remains were left unattended by the families because of the fear that they themselves would be victimised.

On top of that, it spread white terror among the people and in the communities. This had created tremendous fear across all segments of society. Though discontented with the authorities, no one dared to voice their dissatisfaction. Family members of political detainees had to face similar difficulties, for they would be subjected to threats by the authorities.

According to newspaper reports, before 1967, no family members of the detainees would come forward to oppose the ISA. Nor would they stage any protest march or demonstration in support of the detainees.

However, from 1967 onwards, some detainees' families, in coordination with PRM and LPM, began to support the detainees who went on a hunger strike in the detention camp. These family members even set up a Detainees' Family Committee, enlisting domestic and international support.

They opposed the ISA and demanded for the release of the detainees. In the years 1967, 1968 and 1969, the detainees in the Batu Gajah detention camp and Muar detention camp asked for improvement in their living



(top) The FRU rushed to the Odeon Theatre in Kuala Lumpur to stop the petitioners from proceeding to the Home Ministry after the police were informed of the march by the families of the political detainees.

(bottom) 32 members of the families of political detainees from Kedah, Penang, Perak and Selangor gathered at the former Socialist Front headquarter at Batu Road (now Tunku Abdul Rahman Road). They marched to the Home Ministry to hand in a memorandum in solidarity with the detainees in Batu Gajah Detention Camp who were on hunger strike.

(Chinese daily, 6 June 1967)

(top) 39 families of the political detainees who are currently on hunger strike in Batu Gajah Detention Camp assembling at the entrance of the Home Ministry.

A delegation of six headed by LPM Batu leader, Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, negotiated with the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry, Mr. Zainal Abidin Othman for an hour. The delegation requested to go to the Camp to meet the detainees at 3.00 p.m. that day, and the request was approved.

They pointed out that the detainees were not well treated and called upon the authority to take immediate actions on the matter.

Dr. Tan Chee Khoon requested to meet the detainees at 3.00 p.m. and the request was accepted.

Picture shows that 25-family members had picketed outside the Home Ministry holding a banner.



(bottom) Over 50 persons comprising of members of the political detainees' families and friends, planned to meet the Home Minister at 12.00 noon, but not successful. They could only meet the Ministry secretary at 3.30 p.m.

Picture shows that while waiting, the petitioners had lunch outside the Ministry. (Chinese daily, 6 June 1967)







About 40 members of the political detainees' families started to stage a sit-in at the entrance of the Law Ministry yesterday.

(11 September 1967, Nanyang Siang Pau)

The hunger strike by political detainees had entered into the 25<sup>th</sup> day, and the families gathered at the Law Ministry entered the third day today. They hung banners outside the Ministry, but the police did not interfere. The secretary of the Ministry would meet the LPM detainees' representatives today.

(10 September 1967, Sin Chew Jit Poh)

隨着在蘇坡談判五小時成功後

# 蔴華營政治犯

## 結束絕食行動

### 當局全部或部份接受十七要求 勞黨家屬代表今往華營述經過

【蘇坡十一日訊】蔴華及摩牙兩地拘留營一百廿三名政治拘留者，經過連續二十七天的絕食行動，已於今日獲准結束。阿都阿芝與其助手今日在蔴華拘留營內和政府拘留營內的五名代表，二名家屬代表及二名勞工拘留者代表，與政府代表進行近五小時的談判後，達成成功的解決政治犯的解決辦法。

阿都阿芝說，拘留者能得到的供應，拘留者每年能關手此一舉，阿都阿芝表示此舉將會情形而定，當然不會利用手錶。

阿都阿芝說，拘留者能會被接受的。他指出，今日出席代表政府拘留者的五名代表，有兩名是勞工，一名是家屬代表，一名是勞工代表。阿都阿芝說，拘留者能得到的供應，拘留者每年能關手此一舉，阿都阿芝表示此舉將會情形而定，當然不會利用手錶。

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(news) After five hours of negotiation in Muar, the authority accepted all or part of the 16 demands out of the 25 demands asked by the detainees. The Muar and Batu Gajah detainees had succeeded and stopped the hunger strike which lasted for 27 days. The meeting in Muar participated by the Law Ministry secretary, Abdul Aziz, and his assisant and five representatives from the detainees ie LPM representatives Soo Jin Siang and treasurer Y.C. Choy, the family representatives Chen Wu Mei and Huang Hua Yin and the detainees' representative Tan Kai Hee. (12 September 1968, Nanyang Siang Pau)

# 司法部長同意

## 親赴華都牙也

### 解決絕食事件

● 拘留犯種可自由活動

【吉隆坡十四日訊】在勞工黨和加用內閣地獄的壓力下，司法部長巴哈曼今日表示同意將於本月二十日上午十時親自前往華都牙也拘留所解決拘留犯的絕食事件。

這是勞工黨法律顧問巴哈曼今日下午在吉隆坡與該黨領袖及該黨全國副秘書長兼前司法部長巴哈曼會見時，巴哈曼對記者說，巴哈曼部長將往巴都牙也，與勞工黨各分區三黨以惠亞亞爾在，駐紮地獄以及家屬代表，包括地獄下前往麻坡牙也拘留所。

這是他們第二次會見。巴哈曼部長說，他今日將與華都牙也拘留所內五名巴哈曼拘留所，他將親自前往。

巴哈曼部長又說，他們並向司法部長提另一項建議，即由勞工黨、律師、地獄及拘留所代表與拘留所代表會談。

今日在會談中，是與華都牙也拘留所的女士、三黨及拘留所代表會談。

（我們約訪人約訪）



司法部長巴哈曼（右舉手者）前日在其辦事處接見馬勞工黨法律顧問拉亞星甘（有領帶者）及其他政治拘留犯家屬代表。

(photo) Law Minister, Bahaman (right with hand raised), met LPM Legal Adviser, Rajasingam (with necktie), and the representatives of the political detainees' families at his office.

(news) The Law Minister agreed to go to Batu Gajah Detention Camp to solve the hunger strike in the one-hour meeting. He would be assisted by Selangor LPM chairman, Dr. Rajakumar, the Director of Prison, and representaives of the families to go to Batu Gajah. Now the detainees can move around in the camp. They were kept in solitary confinement in their cells before the meeting. The meeting was the second with the Minister,

[12 April 1968, Nanyang Siang Pau]



解決是勞工的一個偉大勝利。他們由總會的領袖和東姑會使各項困難得實現的。總會的領袖和東姑會使各項困難得實現的。總會的領袖和東姑會使各項困難得實現的。總會的領袖和東姑會使各項困難得實現的。

（他保十八日訊）聯邦政府也拘留了七名。今日宣佈：在警內進行總食行動約七十名。總食事件為期約三星期。在員食期間，拘留犯在絕望中所供食物，僅吃幾人認之食物。

司法部長巴哈曼於日前親自前往該營視察。見獄犯。

（麻坡十八日訊）司法部長巴哈曼今日下午二時半鐘親臨被拘留營，他由該營中視察拘留營內的五十七名政治犯。除其中十一人將於今晚釋放外，其餘四十六人已於昨晚受食物。

重慶或拘留營內的政治犯於本月一日起採取總食行動，支持聯邦政府也拘留營政治犯的總食事件。

大馬首相東姑阿都拉曼和勞工黨代表會談之影。右二為該黨副主席蘇麟祥，其左為胡漢光，左為陳秀英，缺筆者為二相政治強權謀議食。

(photo) The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman (left), met the representatives of LPM. From right: Woo Hon Kong, LPM Vice President Soo Jin Siang, and Tan Siew Eng. Second from left is Tunku's secretary Yap Chin Kui.

(news) The detainees lost 3000 pound (about 1400kg) of weight in the hunger strike participated by 70 detainees including 13 women in Batu Gajah and 57 in Muar. The Law Minister visited the camp yesterday and the Muar Camp today. The Muar detainees started hunger strike on 1 April in support of the strike in Batu Gajah. The strike ended today when the demands were met.

(19 April 1968, Nanyang Siang Pau)

〔吉隆坡十一日訊〕全馬政治扣留者家屬於昨日假借交通工會聯合會禮堂舉行全國代表大會。出席者有來自吉隆、檳城、吡叻、雪蘭莪、森美蘭、馬六甲及柔佛州代表。與會者針對其被扣留親屬於獄中待遇提出多項申訴。為維護政治扣留者基本權益和加強家屬的團結和聯絡，產生了全國政治扣留者家屬委員會。茲將名單列下：

主席：祝俊雄家屬，副主席：N財政：S·拉惹家屬，秘書：陳志堅家屬，副秘書：陳福興家屬，委員：朱基菲家屬，鄭亞玉家屬，陳松生家屬，雷巨添家屬，黃春賢家屬，陳志光家屬，蔡小華家屬，吳維湘家屬，馮瑞展家屬，駱瑞忠家屬，黃九仔家屬，翁隆勝家屬。

大會除了通過發表致聯合國秘書長及人權委員會主席的公開信外，亦同意寄發政治扣留者的聲明給國內外團體。

**全國政治扣留者家屬委員會成立**  
 11/11/1973  
 將與國內外團體聯絡



影之署理總廳步，後錄忍備呈結東向日昨代表屬家者留拘治政及黨工勞

(photo) Representatives of the LPM and the detainees' families left the Prime Minister Department after handing in a Memorandum to Tunku. Tunku promised to look into the matter and solved it.

The memorandum pointed out that Tunku agreed in September last year whereby detainees leaving the camp for medical treatment or attending court hearing will not be handcuffed. But the Muar Camp authority disregarded such an agreement agreed by the Prime Minister. Because detainees refused to be handcuffed and refused to leave the camp to attend court case, FRU were called in to forcefully bring the detainees out. It caused serious injuries to the detainees including many others who were not involved in court case.

(15 April 1969, Sin Chew Jit Poh)

conditions and their welfare as well as better food and medical services. For this, several hunger strikes were organized. Some of these hunger strikes lasted for more than 40 days.

## 1971- 1982 The Era of Tun Razak - Hussein Onn

### Situation during the period 1969 - 1974

Before the May 13 incident in 1969, the police rarely announced in the press the names of those LPM and PRM members and cadres detained, except for the arrests of Ahmad Boestamam, Pak Sako, Burhanuddin and others in the years 1960 and 1961.

Usually, it was the LPM and PRM and the left-wing trade unions that announced in the press the lists of names of those detained. Thus, if both parties did not stage any public protests against these detentions, there was no way of learning about them. The Chinese newspapers were the only ones among the media reporting whatever arrests announced, and usually there was no other ways of knowing the names of those arrested. Such situation existed before 1969. Since then, it had changed for the worse.

After 1969, arrests took place frequently, especially during the period from 1974 to 1978. For instance, in 1976 alone, the police arrested about 1000 people, but only very few arrests and the detainees' names were announced by the police. There was some coverage in the press. However, only the names of those journalists from the New Straits Times and the 6 top leaders of the ruling and opposition parties detained were widely publicised, and a few others were released from time to time. There was a complete news black out of the arrests of the other few thousand detainees.

"According to the statement issued by the police headquarters, from November 15 onwards, for security reasons, it would not announce the names of those detained in Kuala Lumpur and Kepong during a series of mass arrests." (Sin Chew Jit Poh, 29 November 1970)

There were hardly any reactions from the general public to these arrests, except for a few outstanding cases.

### Outstanding Cases

#### The detention of MU student leaders

Three days after the announcement of the results of the 1969 General Elections i.e. on May 13, racial riot erupted in Kuala Lumpur. President of the University of Malaya Student Union (UMSU), Syed Hamid Ali and chairman of the University of Malaya Malay Language Society, Anwar Ibrahim were also arrested.

Their arrests met with strong reactions from the student organizations at home and abroad. It constituted such a heavy pressure that Tunku Abdul Rahman had no choice but to release them two weeks later. However, all others arrested at about the same time hardly attracted any attention of the public.

#### The arrest of the newly-elected DAP MP Lim Kit Siang

According to Fan Yew Teng, after Lim Kit Siang was detained under the ISA, he took over Lim's position in the Party. Lim Kit Siang was arrested on May 15, 1969. During Lim's detention at the Muar detention camp, Fan Yew Teng met with numerous Members of Parliament from many countries and leaders of organizations, to explain the truth behind Lim's detention. The response was extremely good.

It helped the foreigners to have a deeper understanding of the nature of the ISA. DAP passed a resolution in its 1971 Party Congress, opposing the ISA and demanded its abolition. This signified a radical change in the DAP policy. DAP became one of the main critics of the ISA from then on.

#### 2 PRM state assemblymen - Siva and Zulkifli arrested

In February 1970, 2 PRM state assemblymen from the State of Pahang, namely Siva Subramaniam and Zulkifli were arrested because of an open letter to Tunku. The Party issued a strong protest.

#### Anti-eviction campaign - leaders of Kepong squatters arrested

Dr. Tan Chee Khoo, the secretary general of Gerakan, issued a statement criticizing the police for detaining 11 persons from Kepong (4 of them were leaders of the Kepong Squatters Committee). He said that the government was authoritarian and abusing the ISA by detaining these people simply because they were protesting against their eviction.

At the same time, the *Kepong Squatters Anti-Eviction Action Committee* issued a statement that the unreasonable eviction measures were against the welfare and housing rights of the squatters. They felt that it was their right to elect leaders to deal with the housing issues on their behalf.

Thus, the Committee urged the authority to bring the detainees to an open court trial. Otherwise, their 4 representatives ought to be released unconditionally.

The DAP Selangor Organizing Secretary cum Serdang State Assemblyman Yap Pian Hon who later crossed over to MCA also issued a statement. He strongly urged the Internal Security Department to explain to the public, particularly the Kepong squatters, the real reasons for arresting their village representatives. At the same time, they demanded the government not to abuse the ISA.

### Datok Wong Kim Meng of Sarawak arrested

Datok Wong Kim Meng was arrested at his home on 30 October 1974 at 7 a.m. Lim Kit Siang, general secretary of DAP issued a statement the next day to express his shock at the arrest of Datok Wong Kim Meng. He urged the government to explain to the people of Sarawak and Malaysia the reasons for arresting Wong.

### The Student Movement of 1974

In September 1974, the *secretary general of UMSU, Hishammuddin Rais* and Exco member Yunus Ali and Eow Boon Poh were arrested for their support of the Tasek Utara squatters in Johore Bahru. The squatters were struggling against their eviction. The students within and outside the country protested strongly against the arrests. They stage a demonstration in Kuala Lumpur to demand for their release. Following that, the students took over the administration of the MU campus. This only ended after a 'counter' takeover by another group of students. UMSU was suspended a few days later.

More than 2 months later i.e. on December 3, a massive student movement in support of the anti-hunger struggle of the Baling peasants engulfed all the institutions of higher learning in the country. As a result, many students, leaders of youth organizations and lecturers as well as professors were detained.

Some of those detainees were:

- Anwar Ibrahim, ABIM President;
- Kamarulzaman Yacob, President of UMSU ;
- Adi Satria, Assisant Secretary General of UMSU;
- Ahmad Kamal Selamat, President of Science University Malaysia Student Union;
- Rahman Rukhaini, President of the National University of Malaysia Student Union;
- Ibrahim Ali, President of the MARA Institute of Technology (ITM) Student Union;
- Prof. Syed Husin Ali, Tunku Dr. Bahrin, Dr. Lim Mah Hui, and Nijar , University of Malaya;
- Nakhaie, lecturer of ITM who became PAS Deputy President and later joined UMNO;
- Salbiah, a female lecturer at ITM;
- Lai Sin Siang and Yong Ah Chik, former chairman of the University of Malaya Chinese Language Society; its exco member Huang Zong Xuan; Law Heng Neng, Eow Boon Poh, and
- Lai Soon Kit, chairman of the USM Chinese Language Society.



Apart from the detention of these well-known personalities under the ISA, more than 1,000 students were also detained at the National Mosque after the police dispersed their gathering at the Selangor Padang. They rushed to a mosque for cover. The students were under the wrong impression that the authorities would not arrest them once they were inside the mosque.

Unexpectedly, the riot squad surrounded the mosque and started to fire tear gas at the students seeking refuge in the mosque. The riot squad charged into the mosque and arrested all of them. They were detained for one night. The next day, a temporary court was set up at the Police Training Centre. The students were released on personal bail. After the court hearings were postponed on several occasions, all were discharged and released.

This round of mass arrests had a serious impact upon many people. University and college student organizations, especially those within the country, strongly condemned such action. As usual, PSRM [Parti Sosialis Rakyat Malaysia, formerly PRM] strongly condemned the mass arrests.

It signified that the popular understanding of the nature of the ISA had changed, despite the UMNO government's repeated efforts to conjure up the "communist threat" through its propaganda machinery. Obviously, the intention of the government was to divert the attention of the people from the truth about the student movement.

However, the people did not buy the story. For example, after Ibrahim Ali, who later joined UMNO and was appointed a Deputy Minister in 1990s, was arrested, the villagers from his hometown went to the police station to explain that he was not involved in any communist activities. They urged the police to release him.

The MU student leaders protested against the arrests, explaining that the so-called firearms, which the authorities had found, were in fact wooden stage props used by the MU Chinese Language Society in a play. It was about "how the British colonialists used gunboat policy and the pretext of eliminating pirates to occupy Malaya". A number of lawyers volunteered to defend the students charged in court for participating in the demonstration.

In response to this round of arrests, PSRM convened a meeting of opposition parties to discuss the detention without trial under the ISA on the 26 January 1975 at the Petaling Jaya Transport Workers Trade Union Building. DAP sent a delegation to the meeting. The issues discussed were: the recent arrest of Johore chairman of PSRM, Abdul Razak Ahmad and other leaders like Prof. Syed Hussein Ali and Gurdial Singh; the incident of Wong Kim Meng; the issue of Guo Yu Hua who hang himself at the Taiping detention camp; the deplorable conditions of the detention camps; the abolition of the ISA; the arrest and detention for an indefinite period taking place in Sabah and Sarawak (*Nanyang Siang Pao*, 26 January 1975).

After the emergence of the "3 December 1974" student movement, the people of Malaysia had somewhat changed their attitude towards the ISA. Before this, only organizations or communities affected by the ISA voiced

their opposition. Others were not concerned at all. The non-government organizations (NGOs) never condemned or opposed the ISA and the detention without trial under the ISA.

#### Formation of Malaysian human rights pro-tem committee

In March 1974, a group of people concerned with human rights, together with the Detainees' Families Committee, convened a meeting at the Petaling Jaya Transport Workers Trade Union building, to discuss the increase in human rights violations in Malaysia. They formed the Malaysian Human Rights Pro-tem Committee. However, the application for its registration as a lawful society was rejected by the government under the leadership of Dato' Hussein Onn.

#### "29 December 1973" - 47-day hunger strike

It was commonplace to have hunger strike in the detention camps. The detainees often staged hunger strike as an ultimate means of struggle to counter the oppression of the authorities and to demand for an improvement in their living conditions.

Wong Sui Sang of the Taiping detention camp was severely tortured, and he committed suicide in the camp as a form of protest against the authority's oppression. When the news reached the Batu Gajah detention camp, the detainees tried to find out the truth from the camp authorities.

However, the unarmed and defenceless detainees were charged with brutality by the authority instead. They were tortured both physically and psychologically. This consequently led to a prolonged hunger strike in protest against the inhumane treatment meted out by the authorities.

During this episode of 47-day hunger strike, the detainees' family members comprising mainly wives and aged mothers, sent written petitions to the Secretary General of the United Nations, as well as leaders and governments of many countries and organizations at home and abroad. PRM, DAP and individuals gave them support.

The members of the detainee families organised a march to the Parliament to petition in Kuala Lumpur. However, the government adopted a hard and uncompromising attitude towards the family members of those who participated in the peaceful match. The brutal and violent treatment given by the police towards the petitioners was given tremendous media attention. This attracted the attention of the people within and outside the country, and brought pressure to bear upon the authorities.

During the prolonged hunger strike, the detainees' family members, despite the stifling atmosphere of white terror, courageously supported the detainees. Even though the public were not involved directly, they showed sympathy and gave their support. The hunger strike finally ended after the authorities accepted the demands put forward by the detainees.

### General public remained silent

According to Fan Yew Teng, during this period, apart from the opposition parties and the family members of the detainees condemning the use of the ISA, NGOs and civic organizations seemed to be totally indifferent. The newspaper reports showed that this period was quite akin to the 1960s: only the victims and the organizations they belonged to, opposed the ISA detentions.

For instance, the 1974 arrest of Anwar Ibrahim and other student leaders only aroused strong reactions from student bodies at home and abroad; besides, only the Kepong squatters petitioned against the arrest of their leaders.

### The situation during the period 1975 - 1982

#### The arrest of journalists

In June 1975, two journalists from the Singapore Daily News were arrested under the ISA by the Singapore government. Not long after, Samad Ismail in Kuala Lumpur along with some others were implicated and subsequently arrested in Kuala Lumpur too. This round of arrests had attracted widespread attention. The mass media such as the newspapers gave wide coverage. However, the general public hardly reacted to the matter.

#### The arrest of 6 prominent figures from the ruling and opposition parties

In November 1976, 6 top leaders from both the ruling and opposition parties were arrested. Among them were two former Deputy Ministers of UMNO, a key member of MCA, PSRM President and 2 key members of DAP. The impact of this incident was even greater. It received widespread media coverage.

The Parliament debated intensely about the arrests. The government began to use the ISA to deal with the opponents within UMNO who were involved in power struggle. The top leaders of the PSRM, DAP and MCA, however, ended up in detention camp along with the deputy ministers from UMNO which is the dominant partner of the ruling coalition. All those who were concerned with democracy in Malaysia were shocked by such development.

#### 1979 MAS arrest

In 1979, members of the Malaysian Airlines Trade Union decided to go on strike. The government immediately used the ISA to detain the trade union leaders. This had incurred criticisms at home and abroad.



全馬各州政治拘留者家屬昨日上午十一時許在交通工友聯合會大廈舉行大會討論聯邦也與太平營二百多名拘留者已晉入第四十二天之糧食問題。圖為出席大會的一部份拘留者家屬和各反對黨以及學生團代表。

上圖右角為代表家屬第三次會上發言之全國政治拘留者家屬委員會主席黃彩虹(黃彩虹)女士。

(photo) The families of political detainees met at the Transport Workers Unions hall in Petaling Jaya at 11.00 a.m. to discuss the hunger strike which entered the 42<sup>nd</sup> day. Over 200 detainees in Kamunting Detention Camp, Taiping and Batu Gajah Detention Camp carried out the hunger strike. The picture shows part of the detainees families, opposition parties' and student organizations' representatives that were present at the meeting.

Photo at top right corner is Huang Chai Hong, chairperson of the Detainees' Families Association and she is the wife of C.C. Yong, former SF Johore state assemblyman and currently detained in Seremban Special Gaol pending on deportation.

# 全國政扣者家屬

## 昨舉行抗議大會

### 促當局答應要求

(吉隆坡八日訊) 抗議大會，會議要求  
全國政治扣留者家屬委員會，今日舉行

9/2/74

這些要求包括，  
撤走駐紮在營內的鎮  
壓隊，迅速取消日夜  
單獨監禁，不准會見  
家屬，閱讀和通訊等  
決定，改善拘留營內  
的生活待遇與衛生設  
備，以及設立調查死  
等。這項抗議大會，  
是於今日中午假光  
八打靈再也一會議  
舉行。  
大會結束後，近  
約百名的政治扣留者  
之家人，並前往總理  
署請願。  
自從去年十二月  
廿九日政治扣留者在  
華都牙也扣留營與在  
地會以來，迄今已進  
入第四十二天，六平  
扣留營之扣留者具了  
亦獲食了廿八天。

(Kuala Lumpur, 8 Feb) The Detainees' Families Association organized a protest meeting in Petaling Jaya this morning. The meeting demanded that the demands of the detainees are met by the Government.

The demands includes: withdraw the FRU from the camps, abolish 24-hour solitary confinement, allow families members to visit detainees, allow detainees to read books, newspapers and write letters, improve the conditions of living in the camps, improve health and medical facilities in the camps, set up a committee to look into the causes of the death of Wong Sui Sang.

After the meeting, about a hundred members of the detainees' families went to petition in the Prime Minister Department.

Since 29 December last year when the Batu Gajah detainees started the hunger strike, it enters the 42<sup>nd</sup> day today and the Kamunting Detainees' hunger strike enters the 28<sup>th</sup> day.

(9 February 1974, Sin Chew Jit Poh)

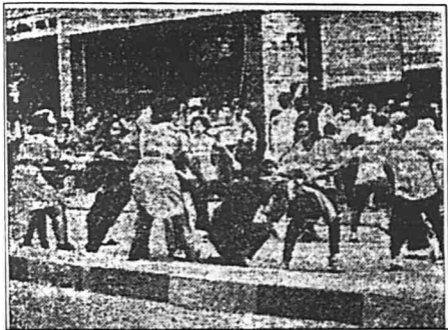




During 12.29 Hunger Strike, peaceful petition by the families who were mostly wives and old mothers met with violent oppression.

(PSRM Party Organ, Chinese edition)





The families of political detainees carried out a peaceful march (to the Parliament House) to hand in a petition were forcefully dispersed and arrested by the police. The policewomen and the wives and old mothers of the political detainees were seen in a state of tug-of-war in the middle of the road.

[10 February 1974, *Sin Ming Daily News*]





(top) The policewomen jointly carried an old grandmother away.

(middle) The petitioners resisted arrest. The FRU were summoned to carry out the arrest.

(bottom) This is a scene to resist arrest.



(Kuala Lumpur 15 Feb ) The Human Rights Organization of Malaysia was formed today. The convention was organized by the pro-tem committee. A committee was elected, the Constitution of the Organization and the Human Rights Declaration of Malaysia were adopted by the human rights convention held at 9.30 a.m. at the Transport Workers Unions hall in Pealing Jaya.

A few hundred people were present. They included teachers, doctors, representatives of political parties, families of political detainees, representatives of the political detainees' families of Singapore, human rights activists, members of UMNO present as individuals, universities students, and academicians. 13-year-old daughter of former Chief Editor of Utusan Melayu Said Zahari also addressed at the convention.

The Committee elected are as followed:

President: Usman Awang or Tongkat Waran, well-known Malay poet and literary figure

Vice-presidents: Sabariah and Haji Ibrahim

Secretary-General: Gamany, a lawyer

Ass. Secretary Generals : Azmi Khalid, lecturer at the Law Faculty of University of Malaya and Ng Eng Kui, lawyer

Treasurer: Rohana Arriffin

18 committee members: Eng Siew Yong, Chin Sek Yew, Leong Ti Mao, Lee Lam Thye, Kassim Ahmad, Hamid Tuah, Asmah Mena, Ibrahim Ali, Kamaruddin, Haji Sallehuddin, David, Razak Khalifah, Zunal Rampak, Hassan, Francis, Suhaimi Said, Boestamam.

(news summary 16 February 1976, Sin Chew Jit Poh)

## 四在野黨決設行委會

# 爭取無條件釋放

## 全體政治拘留者

### 人社黨勞工黨行動黨民政黨

#### 昨派出代表集議回教黨列席

馬來亞勞工黨，民主行動黨和民政運動黨的代表，甘瑪尼于會後發表文告透露，會議討論了有關各種不同形式的「任意」的逮捕和拘留的問題。

會議決定成立一個各黨行動委員會（計劃和組織）下列活動：

(一) 爭取無條件釋放全體政治拘留人士。

(二) 爭取撤銷加于已被釋放的政治拘留人士。

(三) 爭取撤銷全部關於逮捕的法令。

(四) 要求政府成立一個由各政黨代表組成的調查委員會，以調查關於拘留營中惡劣拘留人士指實和拘留營的現況。

出席今日會議的有甘瑪尼，西哇蘇伯拉馬尼亞，摩喜丁阿都加特（以上人民社會主義黨），崔耀才（勞工黨），李霖森，陳慶佳（民主行動黨）和潘勞社業（民政運動黨）。

泛馬回教黨亦派吳斯曼列席。

（本報吉隆坡十四日訊）本邦四個在野黨今日在吉隆坡聚會，決議成立一個行動委員會，爭取無條件釋放全體政治拘留者。

委員會全名是各政黨政治拘留者行動委員會，由人民社會主義黨的甘瑪尼出任臨時主席。

出席今日會議的有馬來亞人民社會主義黨

(Kuala Lumpur 14 Mar) 4 opposition parties formed an All Parties Action Committee in a meeting today. The parties were the Socialist People Party of Malaysia (PSRM), the Labour Party of Malaya, Democratic Action Party and Gerakan. The Islamic Party ( PAS ) was present as observer.

The Committee will carry out activities :

- (1) To strive for the unconditional release of all political detainees.
- (2) To strive for the rescind of all conditions imposed on released detainees.
- (3) To strive for the rescind of all detentions without trial laws.
- (4) To demand the setting up of a joint commission comprising of ruling and opposition parties to investigate allegations of ill-treatments, poor living conditions and the present conditions in the detention camps.

Gamany, Sivasubramaniam, Mohideen Abdul Kadir represented PSRM, Y. C. Choy from the LPM, Lee Lam Thye and Tan Heng Kai represented DAP and Panudurai from Gerakan. Osman Hamzah from PAS was present as an observer. Gamany was elected as Chairman.

(15 March 1971)

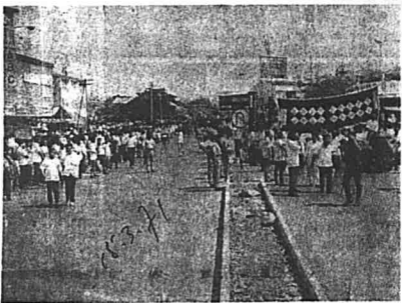
馮朝民遺孀許燕珠(左)痛不欲生之悲泣情景。

(本報黃義興攝)



The wife of Feng Chao Mien was sobbing in deep sorrow and sadness.  
(Feng Chao Mien passed away due to illness while he was detained in Muar Detention Camp.)  
(15 March 1971, Sin Chew Jit Poh)

甲馮朝民出殯時因路線問題一度發生爭執。上圖為喪家代表與警方交涉之影，右邊為總警長莫哈  
末哈亞夫。下圖為出殯隊伍到漢都亞路時，萬頭攢動之影。(古玉攝)



[top] On the day of the funeral procession, an argument erupted between the representative of the deceased (left) and the police regarding the route of procession. On the right is the CPO of Malacca Mohamad Haniff.

[bottom] When the procession was in Hang Tuah Road, people stopped to pay their last salute.

(15 March 1971, Sin Chew Jit Poh)

## Reactions of civil society

### Bar Council of Malaysia

In 1975, the Malaysian Bar Council was dissatisfied with the move by the government to introduce ESCAR. From then on, the Bar Council became increasingly discontented. It also began to criticize the use of the ISA for violating human rights. Their attitude towards the ISA changed. Whenever the families of the detainees lodged any complaint with the Bar Council, it would invariably render the necessary assistance.

### NGOs

Apart from the above-mentioned organizations, new public interest NGOs emerged during this period. These NGOs began to criticize the government over the abuse of the ISA and advocating for its abolition. In 1976, INSAN [*Social Analysis Society*] and Aliran [*the National Awakening Movement*] were formed. INSAN comprised mainly of University lecturers and , while ALIRAN largely consisted of academics, professionals and other intellectuals.

They levelled criticisms on the abuse of the ISA and called for its repeal. They were firm and uncompromising on the issue.

The NGOs, especially during this time and after, stood in solidarity with PSRM and DAP in opposing the ISA. They played an equally important role. Other bodies such as the *Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall* also began to change their attitude. They finally joined in the denunciation and the call for the repeal of the ISA.

### Malaysian students abroad

From the 1970s to the early 1980s, Malaysian students studying in New Zealand, Australia and Britain were very active. They were quite concerned with the domestic as well as international socio-political and economic issues. The ISA naturally became one of their concerns. They not only criticized the ISA, but also strongly urged the government to abolish it. FUEMSO was one of such organizations.

### The Era Of Mahathir

After Dr. Mahathir became the Prime Minister, the number of people detained under the ISA began to decline from 1981 to 1987. The political and guerrilla activities of the CPM were drastically reduced in the meantime.

However, during this period, one phenomenon attracted great attention. There was a clear and obvious increase in the concern for and criticisms against the ISA among the opposition parties and NGOs. Such change was

particularly strong within DAP and PAS. The PRM, on the other hand, continued to remain strong in opposing the ISA. The opposition parties protested against the ISA mainly through issuing statements and organizing seminars etc.

In November 1985, the Memali incident and the arrest of PAS Legal Advisor, Suhaimi Said aroused strong criticisms from PAS. After the Memali issue, though the media hardly discussed the incident, PAS continued to commemorate the event every year. PAS party organ often mentioned the Memali incident and the related activities they organized.

### PAS strongly opposed the ISA - a turning point

At this period, PAS became the main victim of the ISA. As a result, it became very critical of the law. Whenever there was a debate about the ISA, PAS would strongly oppose it and urge for its abolition. Its party organ often carried articles critical of the ISA.

Besides, the arrest of Raja Khalid, director of Perwira Habib Bank Executive, was another eye-catching incident.

### NGOs

The NGOs that were criticizing and opposing the ISA were very active. They often organized seminars on the ISA jointly with the opposition parties, and called for its repeal. *Aliran* and *INSAN* were two good examples. The Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall and the other 15 Chinese national organizations of guilds and trade came together to form the *Civil Rights Committees [CRC]*. A National Civil Rights Committee emerged to defend basic human rights.

In promoting and defending basic human rights, the NGOs played an increasingly important role. More and more NGOs such as women's organizations began to oppose the ISA. Members of these NGOs were mostly middle-class and well educated people. They emerged in the 1980s. It is a new social phenomenon.

These public interest organizations represented the interests of different social strata of society, such as women, children, plantation workers, labour, squatters, indigeneous people, Christians, human rights as well as solidarity groups for Burma and East Timor.

They formed a network within the country, and at the same time, established an international network with similar organizations abroad. Through the international network, they exchange information with one another and support one another in various campaigns. They adopt a common stand on certain social issues, speak in one voice and issue joint statements. They organized seminars and public forums, or conducted peaceful assemblies and demonstrations. They became part of the regional



and international networks of NGOs, disseminating information about human rights violation and other issues taking place in Malaysia to the outside world.

#### International human rights lawyers visited Malaysia

After assuming premiership for one year, Dr. Mahathir claimed that the ruling party had nothing to hide. So under international pressure, he allowed a team of human rights lawyers from various countries such as Britain, USA, France and Japan, to visit Malaysia from August 1 to August 6 in 1982.

They paid a visit to the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, and also to other officials, organizations, political detention camps etc. They also met with political detainees and former detainees.

After leaving Malaysia, they prepared a report. In the report they made suggestions to the Malaysian government, including the abolition of ESCAR, release of all ISA detainees, refraining from making arrests under the ISA, setting up mechanisms to prevent the abuse of power by the police and to monitor Special Branch activities.

#### Post 1987

After 1987, a complete change occurred in the people's perception and understanding of the ISA. Such change was caused by the mass arrests on 27 October 1987. The government could no longer convince the people of their justification for making the arrests under the ISA. Many NGOs, which were previously indifferent towards the ISA and had never opposed it, stood up to oppose the law on detention without trial, as a result of the impact of this round of arrests.

#### October 27 "Operation Lalang"

The targets of mass arrests codenamed "Operation Lalang" on 27 October 1987 were completely different from the previous ones. A lot of members from the upper segment of society were detained. The reactions from society as a whole were extremely strong. This had never happened before. So many organizations not opposed to the ISA previously, managed to convince their members to condemn the government's arbitrary arrests, and to oppose the ISA.

Some NGOs got together to form the ISA Detainees Support Group. They launched activities to publicize the issue at home and abroad. They enlisted support and sympathy from the general public, galvanising them into a strong force.

To mark the first anniversary of "Operation Lalang", the detainees staged a 7-day hunger strike in the Taiping detention camp, as a form of protest against the arbitrary and unreasonable detention.

On a Sunday morning, the detainees' families together with support groups and social activists gathered at the Lake Garden in Kuala Lumpur, to show solidarity with the detainees. The police resorted to brutality against the families. That aroused enormous reactions and discontent at home and abroad. The issue received wide publicity, drew more attention from the public.

Upon the release of all those detained under the Operation Lalang, the Support Group better organised themselves to promote human rights. The human rights activities carried out by Suaram [Suara Rakyat Malaysia] and Hakam [National Human Rights Society] were good examples.

### Tunku and Tun Hussein Onn opposed the Lalang Operation

Among the people who condemned and opposed the arrests under the ISA were two outstanding figures: the first Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman and the third Prime Minister Tun Hussein Onn.

They condemned the arbitrary measures taken by Dr. Mahathir. They even became the founding members of the *National Human Rights Association of Malaysia*, or Hakam. If not for the fact that two former Prime Ministers were among its founders, the human rights organisation would not have been registered as a society under the Societies Act.

[Note: The registered name of Hakam is "Persatuan Kebangsaan Hak Asasi Manusia" in Malay, and the "National Human Rights Society" in English].

### Voices of opposition from the elite

Apart from these two Prime Ministers, senior lawyers such as former Bar Council Chairman Raja Aziz Addruse and Param Cumaraswamy who were well-known figures in the legal circle, also stood up to defend fundamental human rights in our country by becoming founders of the national human rights association. Apart from members of the legal profession, other professionals also joined in.

### Detainees' Families harassed and intimidated at Lake Garden

On the first anniversary ie 27 October 1988 of the Operation Lalang, the detainees in the Kamunting detention camp in Taiping, started a week-long hunger strike, to protest against detention without trial. The families of the detainees, support group members as well as members of the public all gathered at the Lake Garden in Kuala Lumpur early in the morning, to



*Police officer threatening families and supporters of detainees with a tear gas canister during Lake Garden Incident*



*Anne being dragged away by plain-clothes police during the Lake Gardens Incident (Tong Bao pic)*

115 Days Under Detention by Dr. Koa Kia Soong)



(top) Dr. Kua's wife Anne, was consoling the crying son.

(bottom) When the police tried to grasp the balloon tied with banner from Dr. Nasir's wife, a tussle for the balloon ensued.

(31 August 1988, Sin Chew Jit Poh)





Dr. Kua Kia Soong's son holding a placard for his father's freedom.



( top ) The detainees' children want their father free after a year of separation.

( bottom ) The families of the detainees support their hunger strike.

show solidarity with the detainees. The police had already stationed themselves there.

It was a peaceful gathering with many old people and children participating. There was no obstruction to the traffic or disturbance to anyone. It looked more like a morning picnic. Nevertheless, when the families were about to release their balloons, the police manhandled them. They snatched away the balloons and arrested a few members of the detainees' families. The arbitrary action of the police infuriated the people. There was wide media coverage at home and abroad on how the police disrupted a peaceful gathering of its citizenry.

#### Semangat 46 and PBS opposed the ISA

After the court pronounced UMNO illegal, Party Semangat 46 was formed. It opposed the ISA. In the 1990 General Elections, PBS [ Party Besatu Sabah] withdrew from BN. Thus, the opposition parties expanded further and the forces opposed to the ISA was instantly strengthened.

#### 1990s - Awakening of Malay Masses

As we entered the 1990s, those condemning, opposing and demanding for the abolition of the ISA were mostly opposition parties. Public interest bodies such as NGOs, which emerged in mid 1970s, also joined in.

However by this time, there was a conspicuous change among the members of the public. More and more Malays, particularly those who are well-educated, demanded for the repeal of the ISA. Even PAS, which used to support the ISA in the past and was only ready to caution the government against abusing it, was one of its fiercest critics, resolutely demanding for the abolition of the ISA.

#### Conclusion

When the British colonialists met with the strong resistance of the people of Malaya, who were struggling for independence, they began to adopt the policy of ruthless suppression and massacre. It instilled white terror and fear among the people. That was why few dared to resist or oppose the enactment of the ISA and its subsequent abuse. However, the people, after being mobilized by the opposition parties and the leftists, managed to achieve a breakthrough in the face of the "white terror".

In the 1960s, opposition to the ISA came mostly from the left-wing movement. However after the 1970s, the opposition voices became increasingly widespread. Finally, opposition even came from within the ruling elite. This goes to show that as more opposition was mounted against the ISA, the ruling clique dwindled and became more isolated.



Where there is repression, there is rebellion. If the country does not undergo any reform, discontent will increase leading to instability, ultimately bringing the downfall of the ruling clique. Whether our country will move towards peace or chaos, depends very much on the wisdom of the people of Malaysia.

## Appendix 1

## 47-Day Hunger Strike

by Koh Swe Yong

*This article is written to mark the International Human Rights Day which falls on December 10.*

*It is also to commemorate Tan Hock Hin who has passed away. He was a Socialist and a human rights advocate. He was arrested in 1967 and released unconditionally in 1982. He was under detention for 15 years. At the point of his arrest, he was the National Deputy General Secretary of the LPM. He was also the then Jelutong State Assemblyman of Penang. After his release, he carried on in promoting human rights.*

*Tan Hock Heng was firm and unflinching in his conviction. He was resolute and courageous. He persevered in upholding truth and justice, democracy and human rights in our country. He was against the rule by brute force, and would not tolerate high-handedness and authoritarianism. He was prepared to suffer personal losses and make sacrifices. He had no hesitation in sacrificing his personal freedom and material comfort for the cause of achieving a fair and just human society. He was the embodiment of high ideal and undaunting spirit of mankind.*

*It is hoped that this article may help bring about social awareness, and encourage more people to be more concerned with the human rights situation in this country, and to promote unrelenting fighting spirit of our predecessors. In the light of the new historical conditions and circumstances, we hope to preserve and promote human rights, with a view to making this world a better place to live in and live with dignity.*

On the 29 December 1973, detainees in the Batu Gajah Special Detention Centre requested to meet with those in authority. They insisted on knowing more about the cause of the death of Wong Sui Sang, who died in the recently built Taiping Detention Camp.

However, the authority refused to meet with the detainees' representatives. To make matters worse, those in authority called in the riot police to suppress the inmates. In fact, if those in authority had met the representatives, a long-drawn hunger strike would have been averted.

The detainees in the Batu Gajah Special Detention Camp were rather concerned with the death of Wong Sui Sang. This is because the incident concerned the welfare and the well being of political detainees, particularly

in respect of the medical care in the detention centres. They were aware that Wong Sui Sang was already seriously ill at the time of his detention.

All the detainees gathered at the gate, waiting for a response from those in authority. They waited until sunset and nightfall, but those in authority were adamant and refused to meet them.

As soon as darkness descended, the riot police (FRU) charged into the camp and started to manhandle any one who was found in their way. As a result, the detainees were badly injured and bruised. Those who sustained serious injuries were sent to hospital for stitches. Only a few detainees were able to dodge the police batons and avoided being hurt.

As a protest against unreasonable and violent repression and persecution by the Camp Authority, the detainees in Batu Gajah Special Detention Camp decided to stage a hunger strike. When the hunger strike started, the Camp Authority called in the riot police and the prison wardens to beat up whoever took part in the hunger strike. The detainees were beaten up if they were deemed to be slow in walking to take bath, slow in bathing, or taking too much time in washing toilet bowls.

#### Taiping detainees act in solidarity

When the detainees at the Taiping Detention Camp got wind of the fact that the detainees at the Batu Gajah Special Detention Camp were on hunger strike, they decided to join in the hunger strike too, to show their solidarity with the former.

Initially, 29 female detainees were kept in a section at the Taiping Detention Camp and more than 90 males in another. However, by the third day of their hunger strike, the Authority decided to transfer all the male detainees to an undisclosed destination.

On the day of the transfer, the male section was heavily surrounded by the riot police, soldiers and prison wardens. The situation was extremely tense. In order to ensure their personal safety, the Taiping detainees decided to negotiate with the Commanding Officer of the riot police. They put forward four demands:

1. No bloodshed incident.
2. No violence against the detainees.
3. All detainees to be transferred back to the Taiping Detention Camp after the hunger strike.
4. Ensure the safety of their personal belongings when they were away

The Commanding Officer of the Riot Squad removed the Queen's Crown badge from his shoulder to show that they would accept and abide by the 4 demands raised by the detainees. All the male detainees accepted

the order from the Commanding Officer and left Taiping Detention Camp. No incident took place during the entire journey.

However, upon arrival at their destination, the detainees realized that they were brought to the Batu Gajah Special Detention Camp for solitary confinement. As soon as they got off the truck, they saw riot police on one side and the prison wardens on the other side of the way leading to the cells, waiting for them. Apparently, the authority was prepared for a big show down.

### Ruthless suppression

The elderly and the sick detainees were made to march in front because the authority knew that they could not stand a blow. Entering the detention camp, they were shouted at and threatened by the riot squad and prison wardens. They were lucky enough to walk into the cells without any untoward incident.

Following behind them were the younger detainees. Upon descending from the truck, they were ordered into the cells. Along the way, they suffered blows, assaults and kickings from the riot squad and prison wardens. They even used their batons to strike at the vital parts of the body.

They might be able to ward off the blows aimed at their chests with their bags. However, they could not protect themselves against blows to their lower backs, waists and bellies at the same time. The vital organs were vulnerable and exposed to the assaults by police batons. Some fell to the ground, followed by flying kicks, while others were repeatedly kicked. They were seriously injured and some even suffered internal injuries, subsequently causing blood stains in their faeces.

Under such ruthless, ferocious assaults and humiliation, however, the detainees were hardly frightened. They kept on singing and shouting slogans as a protest against persecution and police brutality.

On the second day, when the detainees took turns to wash their toilet bowls as well as to take bath, the prison wardens selectively assaulted certain detainees. This continued for a few days. Then, the assaults took place at intervals. Some detainees fell ill and had to be hospitalised. When they refused to be handcuffed in the hospital by the authority, the wardens and riot squad manhandled them upon their return to the detention centre.

### Female detainees were also assaulted

The female detainees in the Taiping Detention Camp were assaulted immediately after their male counterparts were taken away from the detention centre. The Special Branch officers, the riot squad and the prison wardens all charged into the Female Section 1, shouting and howling at the female detainees. They then escorted them each to their own bed for a thorough search of their belongings. The authority confiscated their diaries

and notes, language exercise books and anything that was handwritten, Chinese medicine etc.

In the meantime, the other staff would use knives and hoes to destroy the flowers, vegetables and fruit trees which the female detainees had painstakingly planted. The officers not only destroyed the plants and trees, they even used the hoe to dig out the roots to ensure that the plants and trees would not grow again.

#### The plot met with failure

Violence could not force the political detainees to give up their hunger strike. When violence failed, the authority started to resort to other tactics to sabotage and break down the hunger strike.

When the Batu Gajah detainees announced their hunger strike, the authority immediately kept them in solitary confinement. Detainees transferred from Taiping were treated alike. By isolating the detainees, they were kept separately and apart from each other. That was the time-honoured "divide and rule" policy.

The authority tried to spread rumours about the detainees. They were pitted against one another, so that the hunger strike might fail. However, these detainees were the important cadres of LPM, PRM, and leftwing trade unions and other leftists. They all had high political awareness and strong fighting spirit. Such divide-and-rule tactics hardly affected them.

Normally, when the detainees were kept in solitary confinement, they must go to a designated area to collect their food. However, right after the hunger strike began, the authority became 'very caring' and rendered excellent service. The food was sent in punctually at each mealtime and it was exceedingly delicious. It would even be sent right into the cell. The detainees had to turn the bowl cover upside down, just to indicate that the food had already been touched.

Since it was solitary confinement, no one knew what the other detainees were doing. Thus, whenever the bowls and plates were collected, the authority would shout loudly claiming so and so had eaten and the number of persons who had eaten. At the same time, some prison wardens would also privately persuade individual detainees to give up their hunger strike.

In the women's detention section, the authority employed the same trick. They even brought the food all the way into the women's dormitory. Usually, it would be left at the gate, and the detainees had to carry the food into the dormitory themselves.

At the beginning of the hunger strike when the detainees were still physically strong, they would return the buckets of food to the main gate, but the authority would send the food back to their doorstep again.

During the Chinese New Year, the authority even allowed live broadcast of the speech by Ong Kim Meng, from the SUPP [Sarawak United

People's Party] especially dedicated to the Batu Gajah Special Detention Camp Detainees. He sent his festive greetings and expressed his deep concern and solicitude, he urge them to give up their hunger strike.

During the hunger strike, the Medical Officer of the Batu Gajah District Hospital was requested to give the detainees medical check-up. When he requested the authority to admit into hospital detainees who had blood stains in their faeces and those who were seriously injured for further check-up, it was flatly turned down by the authority.

### Support from the detainees' families

In the detention camp, the detainees were waging a serious and tough hunger strike struggle. Their family members were understandably very worried. They, in particular the wives and mothers, went from place to place to present their petitions to the relevant authorities and to seek support from all quarters.

The families later set up a "Solidarity and Support Committee". They held press conferences and issued statements. They appealed to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to communities at home and abroad. They also organized numerous peaceful pickets outside the Parliament.

When the hunger strike entered its 43<sup>rd</sup> day, the family members, the majority of them were women and old ladies, set out from the city centre of Kuala Lumpur, to present a petition to the authority. When the delegation reached the Information Department in Kuala Lumpur, the police suddenly intervened to disperse those female petitioners by force. The women and old ladies were forcibly dragged away by the police, and dumped into the police trucks one by one. They were later detained at the police station. The government's inhumane action sent a shock wave throughout the country and attracted tremendous attention. They were subsequently charged in court and fined.

The opposition parties came forward to give their support to the detainees' family members. Lim Kit Siang, DAP's Member of Parliament, upon being informed of the arrest of some detainees' family members, arranged accommodation for those who came from outside Kuala Lumpur.

During the hunger strike, MPs from DAP gave much timely support to the family members. PRM, particularly its legal adviser Mohideen from Penang, also actively supported the struggle.

Towards the later part of the hunger strike, many detainees became extremely weak and fragile. The majority of them were no longer able to take a shower. They started to shiver with cold as soon as they touched water. Everyone was very slow in his or her movement. Some of them would suddenly pass out when they tried to clean their toilet bowls, for they had hardly any strength left. Others had to be hospitalised as they were practically dying.

Then came to the 44<sup>th</sup> day. The detainees decided not to take glucose anymore. As a result, many of the detainees experienced a sudden drop in their blood pressure. They had to be hospitalised for emergency treatment.

In the next 2 to 3 days, the detainees occupied all the beds in the hospital. And it looked like the hospital could no longer admit any more detainees. Obviously, if the authority still did not try to resolve the dispute, the danger of detainees losing their lives was real.

Succumbing to internal and external pressure, the authority finally agreed to enter into negotiation with the detainees. The authority had no choice but to accept the detainees' demands.

After 47 days, the hunger strike finally concluded with the detainees emerging as the victor.

(Source: PRM's Newsletter, Issue No. 8, 1994)

## Appendix 2

## Abolition Of The PPSO: A perspective from 1960

On 11 September 1960, the Chinese newspapers in Singapore reported that: Zhang Guo Zhi a Chinese student who was jailed for three years for being in possession of communist documents was detained again by the government, this time under the Preservation of Public Ordinance (PPSO). It took place after he had served his jail term early that month. He was to be deported under the Banishment Act.

Both his parents and his elder brother were anxious and concerned. They appealed to the government to reconsider its decision. According to his parents, Zhang Guo Zhi migrated with them and his elder brother from China to Singapore at the age of two. He had been living in Singapore since then. He no longer had any relatives or friends in China. The family had long considered Singapore their home. So Zhang Guo Zhi and his family hoped that the government would not deport him. (*Nanyang Siang Pao* 11 September 1960, Singapore)

Although this was not an unusual piece of news, people with a sense of justice would feel angry and frustrated on hearing about the case. The injustice faced by this young man who was detained under the PPSO and then was to be deported from his home country under an outdated banishment law was evident.

## Detention under PPSO after serving jail term

According to the law, a person should be set free upon serving his sentence. He is entitled to live a normal life again, unless he commits another offence. However, under the PPSO, such protection does not exist.

Singaporeans and Malaysians had seen with their own eyes that many who genuinely loved Singapore and committed themselves to serve the nation, met with the same fate as Zhang Guo Zhi. They were forced to leave their homeland.

Such frustrating incidents repeated themselves. It made one feel infuriated. Is this not a crime committed as a result of the substitution of the PPSO for the Emergency Ordinance? The deportation of Zhang Guo Zhi was not the beginning, neither was it the end of oppression. It was merely the continuation of oppression by the ruling party!

This is not just a problem confined to Zhang Guo Zhi and his family. It concerns the security and safety of all Singaporeans. So long as



Singaporeans stand firm in their struggle against colonialism, they continue to face the wrath of the PPSO. This is an issue of principle.

### PAP's original stands on PPSO

We agree in total with the position presented in the book recently published by the People's Action Party (PAP). It was a collection of political discussions and articles. Its title: *Our Political Standpoint*. Included in the book was the manifesto the PAP promulgated when it was first founded.

Mention was made of the Emergency Ordinance. It said:

"Under the Emergency Ordinance, the Labour Law (Employment Act) and the Sedition Act, the people have been deprived of their freedoms of speech, association and assembly. As a progressive party, we would like to ask: How could we still operate effectively under such severe restrictions?"

This is entirely correct. The same is relevant and true of Singapore today. Even though Singapore attained self-rule with limitations, the people in Singapore continue to live under the yoke of colonialism. By virtue of the PPSO, Singaporeans are deprived of the freedom of speech, association and assembly. The fact that the PPSO was then extended for another five years implies that the people's lives and property are still under the control of a colonial administration.

The realities after a year have undeniably indicated that whatever attempts opportunistic politicians have made and argued for the existence of the PPSO, the true colours of the Draconian law remain the same, that it is reactionary and inhuman.

In 1955, yielding to popular pressure, the Singaporean government under David Marshall replaced the Emergency Ordinance with the PPSO. The people saw the true nature of the PPSO. The opposition to the PPSO is particularly strong among the working class.

The working masses are aware that as soon as the PPSO became law, the labour movement would be the first to bear the brunt. It would be crushed, suppressed and destroyed brutally. What has happened over the last five years bears testimony to this.

In the second year after the PPSO was passed, i.e. in 1956, the "September 18" mass arrests took place, followed by the "Aug 22" incident in 1957. Many workers' leaders of fine and excellent quality were arrested one after another in these two incidents. Some of them were even forced to leave the country. Still some others continue to be detained until this day.

Obviously, ever since the PPSO came into force, the colonial government has repeatedly used it to suppress the people of Singapore. The continued existence of the vicious PPSO testifies that colonial rule remains intact and has in fact been reinforced and enhanced. Till this day,

the British Imperialist continues to act through the existing government in its onslaught against progressive, enlightened and open-minded people through the use of PPSO.

Any vehement opposition to the PPSO is especially significant and progressive in nature. The current political tasks must be linked to the struggle against the PPSO. To oppose the PPSO is without doubt a matter of principle. It is a litmus test for any political party as to whether it is genuinely anti-colonial and keen to protect and promote the interests and welfare of the masses.

### Parti Rakyat is against PPSO

Until today, the position of the *Parti Rakyat* (*People's Party of Singapore*) in relation to the PPSO has been consistent. We are firmly against any law aimed at protecting colonial interests in any form. When the issue of extending the PPSO for another five years was raised in the Legislative Assembly last year, *Parti Rakyat* strongly opposed it. *Parti Rakyat* is definitely not a fly-by-night party, as alleged by some other political parties in their propaganda campaign during last year's election. The *Parti Rakyat* is a party for peasants and workers. It is never opportunistic on any crucial matters of principle.

Last October, the Legislative Assembly decided to extend the PPSO for a further period of five years. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew said:

"Unless the Federation abolishes the PPSO, Singapore is not in a position to abolish it unilaterally. The PAP's stand on emergency powers is that in a democracy, everyone has the right to propagate their political ideas and beliefs. The emergency powers should not be used to deal with enemies who are working for the (democratic) system."

The Federation government had already at least, on the surface, ended the Emergency and suspended the Emergency Ordinance. Yet, many political detainees were still behind bars. A fierce war was still going on along the Thai-Malayan border. The introduction of the ISA was a very sly move on the part of the (Federal) government. The ISA is far more severe and further from being democratic than the repealed Emergency Ordinance.

### "Old wine in a new sheep skin"

The *Malayan Socialist Front* (*SF*) fully reflected the opinions of the people in the Legislative Assembly, by strongly condemning it as "old wine in a new sheep skin". Its form has been changed but not its substance. The underlying purpose of the Federal government in enacting such a law is to deal with the people of Malaya and the progressive political parties, particularly the *SF*.

What is the stand taken by the policy-makers in the *PAP* then? Until now, we have yet to see their reaction to the issue. Perhaps, they have given

it their tacit consent. The PPSO in Singapore and the ISA in Malaya are the same in nature. Therefore, our position also remains the same.

Why is *Parti Rakyat* so resolutely opposed to the PPSO? The answer to this question is crystal clear. The PPSO continues to be an abominable tool used by the colonial administration to oppress Singaporeans up to this day. Even though *PAP* is a self-professed progressive ruling party in Singapore, the Singapore government does not take any positive step to discard the tool (i.e. the PPSO) meant to protect the British colonial interests.

However, some opportunistic politicians are shouting that since Singapore and Malaya have both obtained 'self-rule' and 'independence' respectively, the political situation has changed fundamentally and therefore, the position towards the PPSO ought to be changed accordingly; implying that support should now be given to it instead of opposing it. However, we all know very well that fundamentally, the nature of things remains the same. This is a fact that cannot be distorted.

Of course, we admit that politically, Singapore and Malaya have changed, even though the transformation is not fundamental. It is only a cosmetic change.

Singapore as a colony has been turned into a semi-self-rule country with no real power for self-government. Malaya has been transformed from a colonized Peninsula into a country ruled by feudal and comprador classes.

This is the basic political reality of Malaya and Singapore today. It also reflects the basic nature of the PPSO; it is cruel and detrimental to the interests of the people at large. It is certainly appropriate to make a demand for the abolition of the PPSO.

#### Lee Kuan Yew's assurance

Though Lee Kuan Yew gave an assurance in the Legislative Assembly that such emergency powers would not be used against political activists subscribing to democracy, we are in doubt whether the Singapore government will keep its promise, given that power corrupts.

#### Internal Security Council

The Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore Toh Chin Chye highlighted four points touching on the power conferred upon the Internal Security Council. They are:

1. The jurisdiction of the Singapore government to formulate and implement policies on internal security is subordinate to the supreme power of the Internal Security Council [ISC].
2. Apart from consultations and decisions, for the maintenance of the internal security of Singapore, such decisions shall be implemented immediately by the Singapore Government upon notice.

3. The Singapore government is entitled to decide on the implementation of decisions made relating to internal security. Over such matters, the Internal Security Council has the power to make decisions. If the Internal Security Council has reached decisions, then pursuant to Article 66 (2), such decisions shall supplement or prevail over those made by the Singapore government, and shall constitute orders to be complied with by the Singapore government.
4. The Singapore government shall not, without any prior notification to or consultation with the ISC, and under any circumstances take any action relating to policies agreed upon by the ISC or decisions made by the ISC or consequences that will affect the internal security

Judging merely by the statement referred to above, which outlines the powers of the ISC, it could clearly be discerned that the power of 'self-rule' granted to Singapore is pathetically weak and delicate. The ISC can brush aside the power of the Singapore government.

Under such circumstances, the Singapore government is not in a position at all to give the assurance that the Colonial Administration would not use the PPSO against democratic and enlightened elements.

A series of incidents taking place subsequently bears testimony to this.

Not long after the law was passed, two students from the Nanyang University were arrested. The arrests were ordered by the Federal government but conducted by the Singapore government. This was unprecedented.

Following this, there were further arrests of Singaporeans and Malaysians working in Singapore. Then there was the most recent incident of Zhang Guo Zhi being re-arrested immediately upon having served his jail term. All these were unprecedented examples.

*Parti Rakyat's* stand on the PPSO has always been clear and unambiguous. As long as the PPSO exists, *Parti Rakyat's* position will never change. Certain self-righteous politicians sneered at the stand taken by *Parti Rakyat* as one of sheer arrogance. They hinted that only the politically bankrupt, brags and swindlers would adopt such a stand. Brushing aside such allegations, *Parti Rakyat* firmly believes that the labouring masses will be the ultimate judge of rights and wrongs. Whatever position adopted by every political party, such position will have to be assessed by the people. Let the people of Singapore be the final judge.

[From *Parti Rakyat Singapore - the People's Party of Singapore, Newsletter Issue No. 5, October 1960*]

## Appendix 3

### Abolish Detention Without Trial Under The ISA by Yang Pei Keng

#### Introduction

Detention without trial is inconsistent with the rule of law. It should only be used sparingly in extra-ordinary circumstances, such as during the wartime.

In Malaysia today, there are three pieces of legislation providing for detention without trial, namely:

- Internal Security Act 1960 (ISA)
- Emergency Public Orders and Prevention of Crime Ordinance 1969 (EPOPCO)
- Dangerous Drugs (Special Preventive Measures) Act 1985 (DD (SPM) A)

There is a common feature in such laws. That is, anyone who is deemed to have violated them may be detained for a maximum period of 60 days. Thereafter, the Minister may further detain him for a further period of two years. And the two-year detention order is renewable indefinitely.

The police have the power to detain anyone under the ISA without trial, if they suspect that he is a threat to the security of the country. They may also detain any suspect under the EPOPCO even if the crime committed by him cannot be proved in an ordinary court. The police may similarly detain a person under the DD (SPM) A, if they suspect him to be in possession of dangerous drugs.

There is no right to judicial review in any of such cases, regardless of whether or not the detention is justified. The process of judicial review does not apply to such cases. The person detained may only appeal to court on procedural grounds.

Apart from the three pieces of legislation providing for detention without trial, there are at least 11 other Acts and Regulations which seriously infringe upon the basic democratic and human rights of our citizens. They are:

- Restricted Residence Enactment 1933

- Sedition Act 1948
- Public Order (Maintenance) Act 1959
- Prevention of Crime Act 1959
- Trade Unions Act 1959
- Societies Act 1966
- Universities and University Colleges Act 1971
- Official Secrets Act 1972
- Essential (Security Cases) Regulations 1975
- Printing Pressed and Publications Act 1984
- Dangerous Drugs (Special Preventive Measures) Act 1985

These Acts and Regulations undermine every one's human rights. According to official statistics, since the replacement of Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948 by the ISA, about 20,000 people had been detained under the ISA. This is the estimated figure given by the Internal Security Department and there is no way to verify the figure. Under the ISA, the authorities may detain anyone without any restraint. This invariably affects human rights.

#### The origins of detention without trial in Malaysia

The "detention without trial" in Malaysia is also known as "preventive detention". It was originally a political as well as an administrative measure. The British colonial masters were the first to use legislation relating to detention without trial. It was known as the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1930*.

As early as 1914, the British High Commission of Malaya had already used the then *Emergency Enactment* to detain persons during the war. They learnt their experience of enforcing law on detention without trial from India and applied it to Malaya.

After Independence, the colonial masters withdrew from the political scene of our country and transferred their political power to the ruling elite. After taking over the political power, the local ruling elite continued to make use of the laws on detention without trial.

In the early years of the 20th Century, the political development of our country led to the emergence of the ISA. At the material time, Malaya consisted of the Malay Peninsula and Singapore.

In 1928, the British colonial rulers had to deal with the "Nanyang Communist Party" which was founded in Singapore. In 1930, the "Communist Party of Malaya" [CPM] was formed in Malaya. Since then, the British colonial masters had to deal with the communist activities. The "*Restricted Residence Enactment*" was originally meant to curb the activities of secret societies in Malaya. It was also used against the CPM members.

In 1948, the British High Commissioner in Malaya, Sir Edward Kent declared emergency as a response to the armed struggle waged by the CPM. From then on, the CPM was declared an illegal organization.

With the coming into force of the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948*, the earlier *Emergency Enactment* was repealed.

On 12 August 1948, the High Commissioner invoked the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance*, and declared the whole of Malaya under martial law. Regulation 17 of the Ordinance empowered the authorities to detain any person without trial for one year. Obviously, the real purpose of preventive detention law was to counter the armed struggle of the CPM.

According to the *Annual Report of the Federation of Malaya* published by the Government Printer, the total number of people detained was 5,110 in 1948. The number was increased to 8,500 by 1949.

In 1950, the number of non-citizens deported was 3,773. Under Regulation 17C, the government was empowered to deport non-citizens. 3,324 people were deported to China and 73 to India. (See *Annual Report of the Federation of Malaya* p.94)

#### Preventive detention law is wartime legislation

The expression "preventive detention" originated from the British Court. The British judges used it to describe the actions they took during World War I. Preventive detention law was a wartime legislation. The purpose of such legislation was to prevent anyone from exchanging information with the enemy or to prevent anyone from rendering assistance to the enemy.

Preventive detention is not meant for imposing punishment but for preventing or stopping someone from carrying out certain criminal activities. It is meant for stopping him from committing an offence before he actually commits it, with a view to preventing him from engaging in any activity which is prejudicial to the community.

It is not meant for punishing any one who has already committed an offence. Lord Atkinson defined "preventive detention" as "restraining a man from committing a crime he may commit but has not yet committed, or doing some act injurious to members of the community, which he may do but has not yet done."

A well-known judge refused to invoke such law during peace time. His reason was that any Minister who was empowered to use such law was likely to abuse it.

The non-government organizations (NGOs) have always used words such as "draconian", "inhumane" or "authoritarian" to describe the preventive detention law. This is because such law undermines and attacks the basic rights of a person. Detention without trial is the most draconian and controversial administrative power of the government.

### The Internal Security Act 1960

The ISA was introduced to deal with the armed struggle waged by the CPM. Its predecessor was the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance 1948*. On 30 July 1960, the Emergency finally ended in our country and the Ordinance was repealed after it had accomplished its 'historical mission'.

However, the ISA was immediately passed in 1960 in place of the Ordinance. Regulation 17 relating to detention without trial of the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance* was simply transformed into one of the provisions in Part II of the ISA. This led to the criticism that it was merely "old wine in a new bottle".

Professor H.R.Hickling who drafted the ISA commented in 1962 that the ISA was only a temporary measure. He said:

"... I must hope that the practice of imprisonment without trial, charge or conviction admitted by the Act 1960 will not be regarded as a permanent feature of the legal and political landscape of Malaya or for that matter of Asia generally." (See *The Five Years of the Federation of Malaya Constitution*.)

On 21 June 1960, the then Deputy Prime Minister cum Minister of Home Affairs, Tun Razak, since deceased, disclosed during his speech in Parliament that 583 CPM armed guerrilla members were still active at the Thai-Malayan border in the western part of Kelantan, the northern part of Perlis, in the States of Kedah and Perak etc.

Tun Razak urged the Parliament to enact the ISA for the purpose of dealing with CPM guerrilla activities. He gave the assurance that such law would only be implemented with caution. Abuse of such wide-ranging power would as far as possible be avoided.

Therefore, the original intention of such legislation was clearly to quell organised violence by CPM. It was not meant to be a political tool to suppress non-violent and legal political activities.

Since the 1989 Haadyai Peace Accord reached between the government and the CPM, the CPM's armed struggle had ceased altogether. There is no more organised violence by CPM since then. Under such circumstances, the existence of the ISA is no longer legally justified.

The ISA consists of 3 parts with 86 sections and 3 schedules. In their comments on the content of the ISA, the *International Commission of Jurists* described it as "the most comprehensive and complete set of laws for the ruling elite".

The respectable "Mr. Opposition", the late Dr. Tan Chee Khoon pointed out during the parliamentary debate on 27 March 1966 that:

"the Alliance government passes this extremely bad, savage and draconian law just after the Emergency ended. It contains all the provisions found in the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance*. The Emergency Ordinance had to be passed each year by Parliament before it could be extended. However, the ISA will remain for an indefinite period in the statute books."



Even our current Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohammad had said before:

"No one in his right senses like the ISA. It is in fact a negation of all the principles of democracy." (See Parliamentary Debates, 22 March 1966)

At the material time, he was a government back-bencher.

### The controversy over the ISA

There are a few controversial provisions in the ISA. One of the provisions says that, as long as the Home Minister thinks that there is a need to prevent that person from acting in any manner prejudicial to the national security, or essential services and the economy of the country, the Minister has the power to detain him without trial (section 8). The period of detention can last for two years.

The original section 8 vested such power in Yang Dipertuan Agong (not the Home Minister). In 1966, however, this power was transferred to the Home Minister. Until today, Singapore has yet amended its ISA to such an effect.

Such transfer of power is beyond comprehension. In fact, there is no necessity to have such amendment. Though the Head of State is vested with such power, he has to make his decision on the advice of the Home Minister. Any detention order signed by Yang Dipertuan Agong is in reality the administrative order of the Home Minister.

Another provision, section 73 states that so long as a police officer has reasons to believe that the act of any person is likely to be a threat to the national security, the police officer has wide-ranging power to detain him even without any warrant of arrest.

The Minister also has the power to prohibit the printing and distribution of any publication that he may consider to be a threat to the national security (section 22).

Under section 57, death penalty will be imposed on anyone found in possession of firearms and weapons, gunpowder and explosives etc. within any security zone. However, under the *Firearms Act 1960*, the offender need not face death penalty. The Attorney General has the absolute discretionary power to prefer a charge against the suspect under either of the two pieces of legislation.

Since the implementation of the ISA in 1960, 19 amendments have been made. Each amendment only served to enhance the power of the Home Minister and the police. These amendments are not meant for preserving the rule of law in our country but rather, to inflate the administrative power of the government.

### Is the ISA still necessary?

The answer is no. According to Rais Yatim, the reasons for abolishing the ISA are as follows:

1. The government declared emergency in response to the "May 13" incident in 1969. Since then, there has not been any real subversion. Even if there is, article 150 of the *Federal Constitution* is more than sufficient to cope with the situation. This is because under article 150, the government is empowered to declare emergency at any time.
2. There is enough legislation at the disposal of the government to take care of every conceivable situation that may occur, including another state of emergency. In fact, there are already many laws that contain similar provisions found in the ISA. For instance, the *Emergency (Public Order and Prevention of Crime) Ordinance* contains many of the provisions similar to those of the ISA. Overlapping of such laws is superfluous.
3. It should be emphasized that, the ISA is wartime legislation. Its original purpose was to fight the CPM and its armed struggle. However, such conditions no longer exist. By 1989, the few hundred members of the CPM armed guerrillas had already confined themselves and their activities only to the areas along the Thai-Malaysian border.

On 24 December 1989, our government signed the Haadyai Peace Accord with the CPM in Thailand. The CPM ended its armed struggle. Many of those CPM members, who were formerly from Malaysia, have since returned home. In August 1992, our Deputy Chief Police Officer announced that 220 ex-CPM members had already returned to their homes in Malaysia from the Thai-Malaysia border. The government should repeal the ISA in the circumstances.

The ISA is now being invoked to deal with those who hold different political views from the government. They are detained under the ISA simply because their activities are not in the interest of, or beneficial to the ruling party. This is certainly inconsistent with the original purpose of the ISA.

The ISA has been employed to threaten dissidents so that they would not dare to voice their dissent. The number of people detained under the ISA over all these years confirm this. Those detained were mainly leaders of the opposition parties, academicians and social activists. The argument is particularly true in view of the categories of people detained under the "Operation Lalang" in 1987.

4. Wartime legislation should not be used in the day-to-day administration of the country. In UK, the laws for detention without trial are only applied during an emergency. However in Malaysia, the power bestowed upon the government by the ISA is in fact used in its day-to-day administration.

The government should revoke the power of detention without trial under the ISA. This is because the situation that justifies its application no longer exists. The only reason for the government to continue to use the ISA can only be for its own political motives.

It is obvious that the powers-that-be are making use of the laws for detention without trial to persecute those who have different political beliefs. In reality, the different political beliefs of these people and their activities have nothing to do with the threat to national security.

The ISA has become a very powerful tool for the authorities to make arrests and keep any one under detention, almost to the extent that it is no longer subject to judicial review.

#### Conclusion -The ISA should be abolished

Every democracy must uphold the rule of law. Detention without trial is undoubtedly inconsistent with the principles of fair trial.

Today, when the Minister resorts to the ISA to detain some individuals, more often than not, it is done largely out of political motives, frequently under the pretext of 'national security', 'national interests' or 'public order'. The expressions such as being prejudicial to "public order" or "national security" commonly appear in the Constitution. Their implications are so wide-ranging that they cover any political ideas and activities which are not palatable to the powers-that-be.

In the last 30 years or so, the ISA has become the most complete and comprehensive political tool for those in power. The ruling elite is not answerable to the court when it invokes the use of the ISA. The ISA has often been used to control the mass media, public-interest groups, political parties and so on.

At the same time, ISA has a profound impact upon the attitude, ideas and conduct of the citizens. This law does not augur well for the future of the rule of law in our country. It is a deadly weapon against those who advocate human rights, justice and fairness. Therefore, it is imperative that the ISA must be abolished.

(Note: A loose translation of an article [written in Chinese by the author] appearing on 25 December 1996 in *Nanyang Siang Pau*. Source: Dr Rais Yatim: *Freedom under Executive Power in Malaysia - A Study of Executive Supremacy*)

## Appendix 4

Internal Security Act 1960  
– Viewed From The Legal Perspective

By Yang Pei Keng - 17-3-2003

The "*Internal Security Act 1960*" (ISA) has been in existence for about 42 years. It came into force on the 1 August 1960. It was revised in 1972. The revised Act came into effect on the 1 August 1972.

Of late, numerous people have focussed their attention on the pros and cons of the ISA and debated the issue on whether or not it should be abolished. This ISA has attracted public attention because in recent years, it has frequently been invoked by the police to arrest and detain persons without trial.

The ruling elites are against the abolition of the ISA, whereas the civil society [comprising NGOs, individuals, opposition parties and the Bar Council] has advocated for its abolition. The movement to abolish the ISA is gathering momentum.

How would we examine the issue from the legal perspective?

Without any doubt, the ISA has become irrelevant and must be abolished. Among other things, below are some of the arguments for the abolition of the ISA:

- I. The ISA is against the rule of law.
- II. The ISA has outlived its purpose.
- III. Federal Court Decision against the ISA
- IV. S17A, Interpretation (Amendment) Act 1997: legality of the ISA is in question

The ISA is against the rule of law

Any country subscribing to the rule of law will only introduce and implement laws which are fair and reasonable, protect and promote human rights, and they must be consistent with the basic principles of democracy.

### a) 'Rule of law' and 'rule by law'

We must make a distinction between the 'rule of law' and the 'rule by law'. They are two different legal concepts. Even though they sound similar, they are poles apart in their meanings and practice.

In the case of the "rule of law", any law implemented is always fair and reasonable. It conforms to the democratic process and principles, and it protects and promotes fundamental human rights.

On the other hand, the "rule by law" is exactly the opposite of what has been mentioned. It implies the practice of bad laws that contravene democratic principles, and they are far from fair and reasonable. Therefore, the "rule by law" is always negative and used in a derogative sense.

What a democracy needs is the "rule of law", and not the "rule by law".

Any country committed to the "rule of law" will always adhere to the basic legal concept that "a person is presumed innocent unless proven guilty". This is because the "rule of law" is founded upon the principle of humanitarianism.

On the other hand, if a country practises the "rule by law", the powers-that-be can be ruthless and would "rather kill a hundred innocent lives by error, than let a guilty person go free". At times, they believe in inflicting 'group punishment' simply because of the fault of a few individuals.

Such unwarranted approach often causes grave injustices. An excellent example is the barbaric domination of countries by fascist aggressors during World War II. Adopting the policy of the "rule by law", innumerable innocent lives were killed or lost and grave injustices committed against the populace.

Only dictators and authoritarian rulers will indulge in the insensitive "rule by law."

What we want is a society committed to the "rule of law", and not the "rule by law".

### b) Why is the ISA against the "rule of law"

To put it simply, the ISA is against the "rule of law" for it violates one of the basic tenets of the "rule of law", that is, "a person is presumed innocent unless proven guilty".

Every law student is well versed with this basic legal concept.

### c) How does the ISA contravene the "rule of law"?

The ISA operates in such a way that it totally disregards the basic principle that a person ought to be presumed innocent unless he is proven guilty.

Normally, only when a person is charged in court and found guilty by the judge, can any punishment be imposed on him. If he is not given the

opportunity to be heard in court, he is deemed not guilty in law, and he is not liable to any punishment.

This is a basic legal principle that is universally recognized. However, it is usually ignored by a country practising the "rule by law".

By virtue of Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ["UDHR"], any person who is charged for a criminal offence has the right to be presumed innocent, unless he is proven guilty.

However, under the ISA, so long as the Home Minister is of the opinion that a person is a threat to the national security, he is deemed to be guilty, and liable to be arrested and detained without trial.

The police may detain him for a period as long as 60 days, for the purpose of so-called investigation. He is not charged in court. He is usually subject to physical abuse and mental torture. The police do not require a detention order or a warrant of arrest for such purpose: Section 73, ISA.

Immediately after the 60-day detention, the person may be detained for a further period of two years pursuant to a detention order issued by the Home Minister: Section 8. The two-year detention order is renewable indefinitely. Some detainees have been behind bars for more than 15 years under detention without trial.

It is to be emphasised that under the ISA, a person is detained without trial. That is to say, he has not been charged in court at all. He is not given a fair and open court trial. He is deprived of his personal freedom without having been found guilty of any crime by a judge.

Nelson Mandela, the world-renowned former President of South Africa, was detained under a similar security law in his country for as long as 27 years. Chia Thye Poh, a Member of Parliament of Singapore during the 1960's, was kept under detention without trial pursuant to the ISA for 22 years.

In Malaysia, thousands have been detained over the years. Just to mention one or two of those detained for unreasonably long periods under the ISA: Ng Wei Seong, a member of the Labour Party of Malaya, had been detained for 15 years and 7 months; and Tan Hock Hing, a member of Party Rakyat Malaysia [People's Party of Malaysia] was detained for 15 years.

However, by way of comparison, a criminal is entitled to exhaust his avenues of the whole process of open court trial. If he is found guilty and convicted by the court and sentenced to life imprisonment, he will be in jail for about 13 years only.

An ISA detainee is never given any fair and open court trial. He might be detained simply because the Home Minister suspects that he is likely to be a threat to the internal security. The Home Minister wields tremendously great and almost unfettered power under the ISA for detaining persons without trial.

He can be kept behind bars for over 20 years though no convincing evidence has been adduced against him. Such a 20-year period is much longer than a life imprisonment for a criminal. How can such a cruel and inhumane law be allowed to remain in the statute books of a democracy supposedly committed to the "rule of law"?

### The ISA has outlived its purpose

The ISA was introduced in Parliament by the powers-that-be in 1960 to replace the Emergency Regulations 1948, which were invoked by the British colonial masters in their combat against the Communist activities.

The ISA was meant for the sole purpose of continuing the operations to quell the armed struggle of the CPM. It was in fact wartime legislation. It was only meant to be resorted to when the country was at war, certainly not in times of peace [See Rais Yatim: *Freedom under the Supremacy of the Executive*].

- The ISA was enacted 42 years ago

The ISA was passed in 1960, about 42 years ago. The preamble of the Act clearly spells out the real purpose of the law. It was solely for the purpose of foiling the armed struggle waged by the CPM. Yet, those in power today choose to ignore or appear to be oblivious of such preamble.

These days, the ISA is subject to frequent abuse. More often than not, it has been invoked in cases which have nothing to do with the armed struggle of the CPM.

- The purpose of the ISA as stated in its preamble

The preamble of the ISA expressly provides to the effect that, by reason of a substantial number of persons inside and outside the country having taken action or having threatened to take action:

i. to commit organized violence or likely to resort to organized violence against the lives or property of a considerable number of citizens; and

ii. to change or overthrow the legitimate Government of Malaysia by illegal means,

and that is likely to be prejudicial to the national security of Malaysia, the Parliament is therefore of the opinion that it is necessary to take precautions, and pursuant to Article 149 of the Federal Constitution, the ISA is enacted.

No doubt, the "organised violence" referred to in the preamble of the Act was none other than the armed struggle of the CPM at the material time. It does not refer to any other organised violence, or any other activity.

It is no mere co-incidence that the ISA bears a striking resemblance to section 18B of the "*Defence of the Realm Act 1939*", enforced by the British during World War II. The British government only resorted to such draconian law in times of grave emergency occasioned by the War.

It is inappropriate to invoke such wartime legislation as the ISA in the country during peacetime. Dr. Rais Yatim, the present *de facto* Law Minister in the Prime Minister's Office, wrote in his thesis for his doctorate to the effect that: it is a mockery that whilst the British only resorts to detention without trial during emergency, in Malaysia, such power is being exercised in the daily administration of the country. Without any legal justification, our government chooses to use on a long-term basis, this formidable power conferred by the ISA. This, in fact, is solely a strategic policy decision." (see Dr. Rais Yatim: *The Study of Freedom under the Supremacy of the Executive*)

#### - The 1989 Haadyai Peace Accord

On 2 December 1989, a tripartite Peace Accord was jointly signed by the CPM, the Malaysian government and the government of Thailand in the town of Haadyai, Southern Thailand. It effectively brought the armed struggle of the CPM to an end.

Since the CPM had ceased all guerrilla activities, the ISA has outlived its purpose as spelt out in the preamble of the Act. Therefore, the ISA, which is only suitable for use in times of war, should be abolished.

Some have proposed that the ISA be used against racial riots or racial violence, or to fight infringement of copyright, rumour mongering on the Internet and so on.

This is not right because it is inconsistent with the original purpose of the ISA. It amounts to a blatant abuse or misuse of the ISA. The ISA does not serve any lawful purpose other than the one mentioned in its preamble. This is also substantiated by some recent court decisions in our country.

### III. Federal Court decision against the ISA

#### Federal Court: Hansard may be referred to

In the past, the law of interpretation would not allow reference to the Hansard for purposes of interpretation. This would mean that parliamentary debates could not be referred to for ascertaining the original purpose of any legislation passed.

In 1994, our Federal Court handed down a historic decision of great significance. It was held that the Hansard might now be referred to for ascertaining the underlying purpose of any statute passed. This legal decision has in a way re-written the law of interpretation.

In 1994, a Federal Court Judge Edgar Joseph J. was quoted as saying that in the landmark decision of *Pepper v. Hart* [1992], the House of Lords held that the interpretation rule should be relaxed in certain circumstances. Parliamentary material could be referred to for assisting in the interpretation of any law which is ambiguous.



In other words, the highest court of the land in Britain - the House of Lords - expressed the opinion that a change was necessary. Apart from a document itself, other extrinsic evidence could be used to assist in the interpretation of the document.

The law of interpretation has therefore been amended. In three other decisions, the House of Lords also adopted the same principle. Other jurisdictions such as Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, followed suit and applied the same principle.

Malaysia is no exception. In 1994, the Federal Court, after due and careful consideration, decided that our country should also follow the trend of accepting extrinsic evidence in interpreting any document.

Parliamentary debates may be referred to for purposes of interpreting a statute, particularly when the relevant provision of the statute is vague or ambiguous. However, the reference is only limited to the speeches made in Parliament by the Minister and the mover of a particular legislation.

#### IV. S17A Interpretation (Amendment) Act 1997

In 1997, the Parliament introduced an amending Act, known as the *Interpretation (Amendment) Act 1997*. It has far-reaching ramifications on the application of the ISA and other legislation. It commenced operation on the 24 July 1997.

##### S17A rewrites the law of interpretation

One of the provisions, section 17A has in a certain way re-written the law of Interpretation. The new section provides that when interpreting statutes, an interpretation that promotes the underlying purpose of the statute must prevail.

To put it in simple language, the new S17A is to the effect that, in the interpretation of any provision of a statute, (if there are two possible interpretations), the interpretation that promotes the underlying purpose of the statute should be preferred; and the interpretation that does not promote its underlying purpose is not to be adopted.

It is obvious that the new provision is to realise the underlying purpose of the statute as indicated in the Parliament at the time of passing the Bill. The interpretation of any statute must promote its underlying purpose, and not any other purpose.

Conversely, any interpretation that deviates from the original purpose of the statute should not be accepted, as it contravenes s17A. The Court ought to declare such wrong interpretation as null and void. However, we need some principled judges to act without fear or favour in this matter.

As far as the ISA is concerned, its underlying purpose or basic objective is crystal clear. It is expressly enunciated in the preamble of the Act itself.

That is to say, the underlying purpose of the ISA is none other than the suppression of the armed struggle of the CPM.

It is not meant for any other purpose. Even the then Deputy Prime Minister Tun Razak, had unequivocally confirmed the underlying purpose of the ISA when he moved the Bill in the Parliament. This is an irrefutable fact.

Therefore, it is unlawful for those in power today to invoke the ISA for dealing with criminals, infringers of copyright, rumour mongers and so on.

Obviously, to do so is to deviate from the underlying purpose of the ISA. This is not in conformity with s17A of the Interpretation (Amendment) Act 1997.

### Conclusion

Strictly from the legal point of view, the ISA being wartime legislation, has outlived its purpose, and it should be abolished.

It is a product of a particular period in our national history. It is now anachronistic, and it is as antiquated as a prehistoric dinosaur, no longer relevant to our modern society.

These days, mankind is moving towards the process of greater democracy, the rule of law and the protection and promotion of human rights. The continued existence of the ISA is an obstacle to the realization of such high ideals.

The rule of law in our country is undergoing steady and fast erosion, to say nothing of its improvement.

To invoke the ISA in a democracy is inhumane, leading to the disillusionment of the general populace. If the powers-that-be are genuinely committed to democracy as well as the rule of law, and have due respect for basic human rights, they must be sensitive to the aspirations of the people.

They ought to take immediate and effective steps to refrain from indulging in the abuse and misuse of the ISA.

Instead, they ought to protect and preserve the fundamental liberties as enshrined in our Federal Constitution and to promote the basic human rights as enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights including, but not limited to, the right to personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of association and peaceful assembly, only then can our country claim to be a true democracy, committed to the just rule of law.

Note:

- 1 This article, originally in Chinese, was published in the *Nanyang Siang Pau* on 10 December 1998.
- 2 This English rendition is a loose translation of the Chinese version with some amendments. Its substance remains basically the same.
- 3 However, due to time constraints, the exact passages taken from cases and books, exact words of the provisions from statutes, originally in English, are not cited verbatim in this article, but paraphrased.
- 4 A point of clarification may not be out of place here. The title of this article – *Internal Security Act 1960 – viewed from the legal perspective* – clearly indicates that the article was written strictly from the legal point of view, and not from the social point of view. There is a vast difference between the legal point of view and the social point of view.  
Some readers do not seem to understand, and do not appear to have made any attempt to understand such difference, but they have ventured some unwarranted remarks. Such unnecessary remarks could have been averted if they had made an effort to understand the difference.)
- 5 The preamble of the ISA:  
“Where as action has been taken and further action is threatened by a substantial body of persons both inside and outside Malaysia—  
(1) to cause, and to cause a substantial number of citizens to fear, organised violence against persons and property; and  
(2) to procure the alteration, otherwise than by lawful means, of the lawful Government of Malaysia by law established;  
and whereas the action taken and threatened is prejudicial to the security of Malaysia; and where as Parliament considers it necessary to stop or prevent that action” pursuant to Article 149 of the Federal Constitution, the Internal Security Act is hereby enacted.
- 6 Edgar Joseph J.: “The historic rule of the Common Law, has been... that it is not permissible, when construing a statute, to refer to the reports in Hansard of proceedings in either House of Parliament. The traditional basis of this rule... being that written instruments should be construed having regard to what is within the four walls of the written instruments, all external references being excluded.

“However, in the landmark decision of *Pepper v. Hart* [1992] 3 WLR 1032, the House of Lords, by a majority of 6 to 1 (Lord Mackay LC dissenting) held that subject to any question of parliamentary privilege, the exclusionary rule should be relaxed in certain circumstances. What these circumstances are, appear sufficiently from the leading speech of the House delivered by Lord Brown-Wilkinson at p.64 d:

"... In my judgment, subject to the question of the privileges of the House of Commons, reference to Parliamentary material should be permitted as an aid to the construction of legislation which is ambiguous or obscure or the literal meaning of which leads to an absurdity. Even in such cases references in Court to parliamentary material should only be permitted where such material clearly discloses the mischief aimed at or the legislative intention lying behind the ambiguous or obscure words. In the case of statements made in Parliament, ... I cannot foresee that any statement other than the statement of the minister or other promoter of the Bill is likely to meet these criteria."

## Appendix 5

## The Chronology of Events

1948	
June 18	The British Colonial Government imposed Emergency Rule
June 20	Mass arrests took place all over the country, more than 600 people arrested. 300 political parties, trade unions and organizations were banned
1948 - 1957	34,000 persons were detained without trial in concentration camps. 26,000 persons, from all over the country, mainly Chinese, were deported
1950 May	The British Lt. General Sir Harold Briggs was appointed the Director of Operations, responsible for the implementation of the Emergency Ordinance, also for the coordination between the Civil Government and the security army
1951 June	There were in total 11,000 persons detained in concentration camps all over the country. The New Village plan was implemented and completed at the end of 1952. There were altogether 480 new villages built during the Emergency period, 80% of which were in the West Coast of Peninsular Malaysia. Among which, half were in the States of Perak and Johor. The population affected was 572,917 persons. Among them 86% were Chinese
1952 June 26	The <i>Pan Malayan Labour Party</i> was founded. On 15 May 1951, the <i>Labour Party of Penang</i> was formed
1948 - 1960	There were 11, 103 persons killed and 6,113 persons injured
1951	The British Colonial Authority began constitutional reforms
1952	Local Council Elections took place
1955	The First Five-Year Plan announced (1956 - 1960)
July	Election of the Federal Legislative Assembly of the Federation of Malaya took place. Some Legislative Councilors were elected. The government appointed the rest. The Alliance led by Tunku Abdul Rahman won 51 seats out of 52. The Pan Malayan Islamic Party won the other seat.

- The only two candidates fielded by the Labour Party lost in the election
- 1955 November 11 The People's Party of Malaya was founded
- 1957 The struggle of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) suffered setbacks and had to retreat northwards into the Malayan-Thai border
- August 31 Malaya became independent The People's Party and the Labour Party formed the Socialist Front
- 1958 The Parliament passed the Public Order Maintenance Act
- May Four leaders of the All Malaya Common Trade Unions were arrested
- October 4 The Malaya Socialist Youth League was formed, and intended to join the Malaya People's Socialist Front but was banned by the government a day before that The Municipal Council Election of Georgetown in Penang was won by the Socialist Front
- 1959 The First General Elections took place. The Pan Malaya Islamic Party won two States ie the states of Trengganu and Kelantan, the Malaya People's Progressive Party won 4 seats in the Parliament
- The People's Party and the Labour Party formed the Socialist Front and won 8 seats in the Parliament
- Barisan Socialis (the Socialist Front) won the Municipal Council Election of Georgetown. The Malacca Municipal Council, the Kluang Municipal Council in Johore and the Local Councils of Serdang, Salak South and Jinjang also came under the control of the Barisan Socialis. It looks like the oppositions may eventually control the Municipal Council of Kuala Lumpur, the Capital
- The Singapore People's Action Party portrayed itself as a left-wing party, defeated the coalition government of Lim Yew Hock and came into power. According to the plan of the British Colonial Authority, Singapore shall be given self-rule and eventually merge with the Federation of Malaya
- 1960 The first Federal Constitutional Amendment took place and the ISA was introduced. Nyala (Huo Yan) of the Barisan Socialis was published April The Parliament passed the Internal Security Act
- July 31 1948 Emergency Ordinance was formerly abolished
- August 1 The ISA officially came into effect
- August 4 The report of the Education Policy Evaluation Committee, also known as the Talib Education Report was announced publicly. Chinese medium secondary schools were forced

- to choose between becoming National schools or Independent schools
- November 6 In the States of Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Perak, more than 20 persons were arrested under the ISA. A total of 60 persons were detained by Feb 1961
- 1961
- August 15 The citizenship of Lim Lian Geok, the Chairman of Jiao Zong, the United Chinese Schools Teacher Association of Malaya, was cancelled
- September 18 Tunku Abdul Rahman accused Lim Lian Geok of Chinese chauvinism, he was not a Malayan and therefore was deprived of his Malayan citizenship
- 1961
- November 25 Secondary School students from the State of Selangor were arrested under the ISA
- December 5 key party members of the Barisan Socialis in Selangor were arrested
- 1962
- January The Five States Socialists Assembly was firmly against the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia, the 5 states were Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo ( Sabah )
- March Key party members of the Labour Party in the state of Pahang were arrested
- August The key leaders of the Labour Party in Pahang; Lim Chok Tong, Cai Jian Nian and Lin Huang Qiu were arrested
- December The People's Party of Brunei staged an uprising  
More than 50 persons were arrested through out the country, including Abu Samar, the key leader of the People's Party in Pahang
- 1963
- Feb 2 More than 120 well-known leaders of the left-wing movement were arrested in "Operation Cold Store" in Singapore, including Lim Chin Siong
- Feb 13 The Chairman of the People's Party cum Barisan Socialis Ahmad Boestamam was arrested
- September 16 A group of student leaders from the Nanyang University was arrested  
Sabah and Sarawak declared independent and formerly joined Malaysia
- December 37 persons were arrested in Singapore and in the States of Johore and Kelantan  
The Secretary General of the Malay Peninsula Alliance, Ishak Hussein was arrested

- 1964  
 March The General Secretary of the People's Party cum the Barisan Socialis of the Johor state, Roslan Shariff was arrested
- June The General Secretary of the National Convention Party Jailani Sulaiman; the Secretary of the Barisan Socialis of Johore State, Ibrahim; the Chairman of the People's Party in the State of Johor cum Vice-Chair of Barisan Socialis, Abdul Ghani; the State Assemblyman of Selangor cum the Vice-Chair of the People's Party, Nazar Nong; the Chair of the People's Party of the State of Penang Abu Bakar were all arrested.
- The Pan Malayan Islamic Party Kelantan State Assemblymen Nik Abdullah Arshad, Shafie Idris and Haji Hassan were also arrested
- August Many leaders of the Labour Party in the States of Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Johor, Perak etc. were arrested
- September Confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia began; the Parliament passed the 1964 Emergency Rule
- Four party branches of the Labour Party in the State of Johor were deregistered.
- 1965  
 Jan 26 Many key members of the Barisan Socialis, the National Convention Party and The Pan Malayan Islamic Party were arrested
- 28 The National Chairman of the Labour Party Ishak Muhammad (Pak Sako), the National Convention Party Chairman as well as the former Minister of Agriculture Abdul Aziz and the Chairman of the Pan Malayan Islamic Party Dr. Burhanuddin were arrested
- Feb 13 Barisan Socialis declared 13 February as "2.13 Human Rights Day", a peaceful demonstration was organized at the capital, Kuala Lumpur
- Many key members of the Labour Party and the People's Party were arrested
- September 30 The incident of "September 30" in Indonesia; the massacre of the members of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) began
- 1966  
 January Barisan Socialis broke up. Indonesia and Malaysia resumed diplomatic ties. American Imperialists invaded Vietnam. China began its Cultural Revolution
- More than 50 cadres of *the People's Party* and Labour Party in the States of Perak, Selangor and Malacca were arrested



- October 25 Protest against the visit of President Johnson of the United States of America to Malaysia. Mass arrests took place before the arrival of President Johnson. Wong Chong, a member of the Labour Party was shot dead during the demonstration in Kuala Lumpur
- 1967
- April The labour dispute led by the Asahan Branch of the Federation of Plantation Workers Union erupted
- June The Pahang Triang Branch of the Federation of Plantation Workers Union led a labour strike which sparked mass arrests; many key union leaders were arrested  
Many cadres of the Labour Party from the States of Malacca, Kedah and Johor were arrested
- July 3 Key members of the Labour Party from the State of Malacca were arrested
- July 8 Key members of the Labour Party from Penang, Tan Hock Hin, Cheah See Liang and Gan You Hua, the National Deputy General Secretary of the Labour Party, key members of the Kedah State and key members of the People's Party of Selangor State Chin Kek Kum were arrested.
- July 27 Many key members of the Labour Party of the State of Kedah and Johor were arrested
- July 31 In Johor, key members of the People's Party, the PRM Johore State Legislative Councilor Chu Choon Yong and of the Labour Party, Ng Wei Siong were arrested
- August 1 A key member of the Labour Party in the State of Johor, also a Muar Municipal Councilor; Tan Chee Kwong was arrested
- August 27 Many key members of the Labour Party in Johor and Kedah States were arrested
- September Many key members of the Labour Party in Johor were arrested
- November Campaign against the devaluation of the old currency, general strike took place in Penang
- November - December 29 cadres of the Labour Party arrested, including its National Deputy Chairman Lim Kian Siew  
Many key members of the People's Party and Labour Party of the Johor, Malacca and Negeri Sembilan States were arrested
- 1968
- January Many key members and cadres of the Labour Party in the States of Selangor, Penang and Johor were arrested

- May 2 The National Chairman of the Labour Party Koh Kay Cham and the Johore State Secretary of the Labour Party Liu Yuan Hua were arrested
- June More than 100 workers from the Johor State Chuan Seng Pineapple Plantations went on strike. Trade union officers and supporters were arrested
- August The incident of 11 persons on death roll who were given death sentences during the Konfrontasi between Malaysia and Indonesia
- November 9 National mass arrests took place, more than 140 persons arrested including key cadres from the People's Party, the Labour Party, Trade Unions, Cultural and Teachers Associations etc.
- December The Central Committee of the Labour Party decided to boycott the National Elections
- 1969
- May 5 Lim Sun Seng, a Kepong member of the Labour Party was shot dead
- May 13 The Racial Riots in Kuala Lumpur
- May 15 The Member of Parliament of the Democratic Action Party (DAP), Lim Kit Siang was arrested  
Many cadres of the People's Party and Labour Party from the States of Johor, Negeri Sembilan, Malacca, Selangor and Perak were arrested
- 1970
- January 22 2 State Legislative Councilors of the *People's Party* in Pahang Zukifli Ismail and Siva Subramaniam were arrested
- April 30 The underground organizations of the CPM raised red flags all over the country
- 1971 Many cadres of the Labour Party from the States of Perak, Selangor and Johor were arrested
- November More than 200 people, mainly local workers and residents, were arrested in Grik under the "Bamboo Operation", in Chemor under the "Loyalty Operation" and "Awareness Operation" in Kroh, the state of Perak  
Many students, trade union members and cadres in Kedah, Perak, Penang, Johor and Selangor were arrested
- 1972 Many former cadres of Barisan Socialis were arrested in Penang, Selangor, Johor, Perak and Sembilan
- 1973 Many former cadres and members of the Labour Party were arrested in Johor, Pahang and Negeri Sembilan
- 1974 The Chinese Language Society of the University of Malaya (UMCLS) planned to perform a cultural show called "*Spring*

- Thunder*" (Chun Lei) in April, but was denied a permit. Chun Lei preparatory committee chairman Goh Kean Seng was detained
- The Tasik Utara Urban Squatters in Johor Bahru in the State of Johor waged an anti-eviction campaign in September. The Vice-Chairman of the People's Socialist Party, Razak Ahmad, was arrested for defending the settlers
- The students of the University of Malaya began a solidarity campaign supporting the Baling farmers in Perak, in their struggle against hunger on 3 December. Many students, lecturers and professors were arrested, among them included Dr. Syed Husin Ali and Anwar Ibrahim.
- 1975 The "Industry Coordination Act" stipulates that investments which exceed 250,000 Ringgit (it was later amended to 500,000) and companies which hire more than 25 workers, must apply for license and at the same time comply with the policy that 30% of the company's shares must be owned by *Bumiputras*
- 1976 January 14 Prime Minister *Tan Razak* passed away in London, Hussein Onn succeeded him as Prime Minister
- 1976 June Two deputy ministers namely Abdullah Majid and Abdullah Ahmad, PRM president Kassim Ahmad, two DAP Members of Parliament Chan Kok Kit, Tan Kien Siew, MCA Chief Executive Secretary Tan Heng Kai, and journalists A. Samad Ismail and Samani
- 1978 July UMNO scored a landslide victory in the General Elections
- 1981 July 16 Hussein Onn stepped down and Dr. Mahathir Mohamad succeeded him as the fourth Prime Minister
- 1982 April 23 National Elections and UMNO once again made a landslide victory
- 1984 52 persons were detained
- 1985 November 19 18 persons died, 159 arrested in the "Memali Incident" in Kedah. Among them 36 were detained in the Taiping Kamunting Detention Centre
- 1987  
October MCA, GERAKAN and the Chinese Guilds and Associations were against the appointment of teachers who do not possessed the stipulated qualification in Chinese Language to fill in 4 key posts in the Chinese Primary Schools. They protested at the Tian-hou Temple in Kuala Lumpur
- UMNO celebrated its 41<sup>st</sup> Anniversary; the venue of the celebration was moved from Johor Bahru in Johor to Kuala Lumpur. The relations between the races were tense

- October 8 An absconded soldier, Adam, shot at passer-bys in the City Centre of Kuala Lumpur
- October 27 105 persons were arrested in "Operation Lalang". The publishing licenses of the Chinese Language daily newspaper 'Sin Chew Jit Poh', the English Language 'Star', the Malay Language 'Berita Harian', were all revoked. The government announced that CPM had nothing to do with this round of arrests, it was because of "racialism".
- 1987 - 1988 "Mingcourt Incident", General Election was held in Sarawak
- 1989 December 2 CPM signed Peace Agreement with the government, thus ended the civil war
- 1990
- July 8 4 persons were detained for supposedly plotting a secession of Sabah from Malaysia
- September General Elections
- 1991 January 4 Jeffrey, the younger brother of Pairin Kitingan, the Chief Minister of Sabah, was arrested
- 1994 September 3 Asyaari, the leader of the Islamic organization, Al Arqam was arrested
- 1996 August 18 Islamic Al Arqam members arrested
- 1998
- August The Deputy Minister of Home Affairs proposed the use of the ISA to detain those who were responsible for spreading rumors through the internet
- September Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim was sacked from his position and subsequently arrested under the ISA

	Name	Status	Date Detained
1	Koh Pak Ngee	SF (Socialists Front) Assistance Secretary General, Chief-editor for NYALA, the SF Chinese Language party organ, SF parliamentary candidate for 1959 General Election	5-11-1960 midnight
2	Foo Seong Foh	Age 24, technician of National Electric Board, Chairman of Labour Party Malaya (LPM) Jinjang Branch, elected local councillor in 1957, Chairman of Jinjang Local Council.	5-11-1960 midnight at residence no. 1761-2
3	Chan Ping Kin	Age 27, Assistance Secretary of LPM Jinjang Branch, elected Jinjang Local Councillor in April 1960	5-11-1960 midnight
4	Chen Po An	Treasurer, Parti Rakyat Malaya (PRM) Ampang Branch	5-11-1960 midnight
5	Li Jian Xing	Secretary, PRM Petaling Jaya Branch	5-11-1960
6	Tan Bing Ying	Secretary, SF Selangor State	5-11-1960
7	Chen Hai Chou	Exco, PRM Kuala Lumpur Branch	5-11-1960
8	Liu Xiao Hua	Secretary, LPM Jinjang Branch, salesman, age 25	5-11-1960
9	Hu Rong Shen	Treasurer, PRM Perak State cum Chairman, PRM Ipoh Branch	5-11-1960
10	Li Wen Qing	Member, LPM Jinjang Branch	5-11-1960
11	Gu Tian Fu	Worker of Serdang New Village Local Council, former Junior 3 student of Chung Hwa High School Kuala Lumpur, detained on 1 October 1958 under the Emergency Ordinance 1948 (EO) for almost a year, age 21	5-11-1960 at dawn
12	Huang Hai Qiu	Former Junior 2 student of Tsun Jin High School Kuala Lumpur, detained under EO on 1 October 1958 for a year plus, released in December 1959, worker of the Serdang New Village Local Council, age 22.	5-11-1960 at dawn
13	Yang Nan Xun	Worker in the Serdang New Village Local Council, former Senior 2 student of Confucian High School Kuala Lumpur, detained on 1 October 1958 for a year, released with conditions	5-11-1960 at dawn
14	Liang Wen Hong	Worker of Serdang New Village Local Council, former Junior 2 student of Chung Hwa High School Kuala Lumpur, later studied in a private English school, detained on 1 October 1958, released on conditions a year later, age 23	5-11-1960 at dawn
15	Ma Hui Qun	Female teacher, charged in court, detained again upon payment of fine, age 24	5-11-1960 at 1 15 am (midnight)
16	Ma Ming Xin (a Ma Jin)	Age 22	5-11-1960 at 1 15 am (midnight)
17	Shi Song	An insurance company staff	2-11-1960
18	Jian Hua Yang	Senior 1 student of Han Chang High School Penang, discharged by court but detained again by police, age 18	5-11-1960 midnight
19	Jin De Sun	Senior 1 student of Han Chang High School Penang, discharged by court but detained again by police, age 18	12-11-1960
20	Su Zhu Tai	Junior student of Chung Hwa High School Kuala Lumpur, age 15	10-11-1960 midnight

21	Chen Zhang	Junior student of Chung Hwa High School Kuala Lumpur, age 15	10-11-1960 midnight
22	Zhong De Ling (F)	Senior 3 student of Chung Hwa High School Kuala Lumpur.	10-11-1960 at 5.20 am
23	Qiu An	Student	10-11-1960
24	Kong Me	Student	10-11-1960
25	Kang Zi Kai	Student	10-11-1960
26	Lin Hui Huang	Teacher	10-11-1960
27	He Hui Fang	Student	10-11-1960
28	Tan Xin Jie	Student	10-11-1960
	Fok Yee Seng	Student	10-11-1960
29	Chen Ya Xi (女) Chen Yu Reng	Senior student of Hua Kiao High School Singapore, age 17	20-11-1960 at 6.15 am
30	He Guang Peng	St Michael Secondary English School	20-11-1960 at 6.15 am
31	Liu Xing Mei (F)	Senior student of Hua Kiao High School	20-11-1960 at 6.15 am
32	Zheng Zhi	Treasurer, the Malayan Federation of Transport Workers Unions, age 24	30-11-1960
33	Soo Bing Choon	Secretary General, the Malayan Federation of Pineapple Workers Unions, age 30	30-11-1960 at dawn
34	Zheng Zhong Rong	PRM member, age 19	14-01-1961
35	Chen Xiu Lian	Female student, age 21	14-01-1961 at dawn
36	Zhen Shi Sheng	Rubber tapper, age 18	14-01-1961 at dawn
37	Lai Bing Zhang	Age 25	14-01-1961 at dawn
38	Ye Guo Zhong	Senior student of Confucian High School Kuala Lumpur, age 21	14-01-1961 at dawn
39	Qiu Yu Jiao (F)	Rubber tapper, age 19	14-01-1961 at dawn
40	Liu Guo Chang	Rubber tapper, age 19	14-01-1961 at dawn
41	Chen Si Ting	Treasurer, PRM Semenyih Branch, rubber tapper of age 24	14-01-1961 at dawn
42	Jiang Jing Hua	Age 22	14-01-1961 at dawn
43	Luo Wen	Exco, LPM East Tanjung Branch, Penang	06-02-1961
44	Zhang Bai Ming	Exco, LPM East Tanjung Branch, Penang	06-02-1961
45	Xie Jing Xiang (女) Xie Xiang	Exco, PRM Penang cum Exco of Sungai Layang Branch, graduated from Zhong Zheng High School Singapore, aged 25.	06-02-1961 at dawn
46	Lin Yu Jin	Exco, PRM Sungai Pinang Branch, Penang, a printing worker	06-02-1961
47	Fan Zhong Liang	Secretary, LPM Tanjung Oya Branch Penang, printing worker	06-02-1961
48	Xie Han Qing	Executive secretary, LPM HQ and State of Selangor, NYALA editor	08-12-1961, at 2.00 am
49	Lan Xiao Yan	Organizing Secretary, LPM state of Selangor	08-12-1961, at 2.00 am
50	Chui Fang Ping	Treasurer, LPM state of Selangor	08-12-1961, 2.00am
51	Huang Ji Ling	Member, LPM Sekinchan Branch	08-12-1961, 2.00am
52	Li Qiong Wen	Treasurer, PRM state of Selangor	08-12-1961, 2.00am
53	He Ying	Student	10-11-1961
54	Xiao Yu	Student	10-11-1961
55	Huang Rong Quan	Student	10-11-1961
56	Zhang Hong	Student	10-11-1961
57	Huang Yang	Student	10-11-1961
58	Zhong Yong Yu	Student	10-11-1961
59	Li Lian	Student	10-11-1961
60	Si Huan	Student	10-11-1961
61	Chen Yang Zhu	Student	10-11-1961
62	Li Qing	Student	10-11-1961

63	Liu Xiang	Student	10-11-1961
64	Li Ming	Student	10-11-1961
65	Yang Hua	Student	10-11-1961
66	Chen Yang	Student	10-11-1961
67	Ding Ji	Student	10-11-1961
68	Mo Bang	Student	10-11-1961
69	Zhong Lan	Student	10-11-1961
70	Yen Guang Yao	Student	10-11-1961
71	Li Rong Guang	Senior 2 student of Han Chiang High School Penang, age 19	30-11-61 afternoon
72	Gong Xi Guang	Graduated from Han Chiang High School Penang, age 22	30-11-61 afternoon
73	Li Xiao Shen	Student of Chung Hua High School Seremban	15-02-1962
74	Lim Chok Tong	Executive Secretary, LPM state of Pahang, Chairman of LPM Mentakab Branch, Mentakab Local Councillor	04-03-1962, at around 9 00 am
75	Lin Huang Qiu	Exco, LPM Pahang, Chairman Of Kuantan Branch	04-03-1962
76	Xiao Qing Shui	Secretary, PRM Brickfield Branch, Kuala Lumpur	19-11-1962 at night
77	Ye Rui Guang	Secretary, Malaya Federation of Shoe Industry Workers Unions of Selangor Division	19-11-1962
78	Zen Xiao Qiang	Assistant Secretary, LPM Setapak Branch	30-11-1962 at 3.30 pm
79	Lin Guang Cheng (a) Lin Cheng Ji	Assistant Secretary, PRM Jelutong Branch Penang, age 25	15-12-1962
80	Fang Bing Lin	Organizing Secretary, LPM South Province Wellesly, Penang, age 20+	15-12-1962
81	Chen Mu Jin	Chairman, LPM South Province Wellesly, Penang	15-12-1962
82	Peng Chun Yen	Penang	15-12-1962
83	Gu Dan Zhu	Batu Layang Road English School student	15-12-1962
84	Tang Guo Ji	Hatu Layang Road English School student	15-12-1962
85	Lian Qing Shou	Nanyang University first year Economic student, age 20	15-12-1962
86	Feng Ya Chun	Nanyang University first year Economic student, age 20	15-12-1962
87	Maidin	A Seberang Prai Malay, non-party member	15-12-1962
88	Midwanzan		15-12-1962
89	Chen Hong Guang	Chairman, LPM Rawang Branch Selangor and Organizing Secretary, LPM Ulu Selangor District, age 24	16-12-1962 at dawn
90	Liu Jin Cheng (a) Liew Fut Tong	Chairman, LPM Titi Branch Negeri Sembilan (N.S.)	16-12-1962 at dawn
91	Zen De Zhong	Member, LPM Bahau Branch N.S.	16-12-1962 at dawn
92	Abu Samar	Chairman, SF cum PRM Pahang, age 35	
93	Li Hai Gui	Chairman, LPM Karak Branch Pahang	16-12-1962 at dawn
94	Zeng Nan Yu	Exco, LPM Kuantan Branch Pahang, age 21	16-12-1962 at dawn
95	Lin Heng Chang	Member, LPM Kemaman Branch Trengganu, age 21	16-12-1962 at dawn
96	Wen Hua	Protem- Chairman, LPM Chenderiang Branch Perak	16-12-1962 at dawn
97	Qiu Si Lin	Chairman, PRM Semenyih Branch Selangor, age 28	16-12-1962 at dawn
98	Zhang Yu Jun	Exco, LPM Mentakab Branch Pahang	16-12-1962 at dawn
99	Li Fu Jian	Deputy Chairman, former PRM Sungai Pinang Branch Penang	16-06-1962 3.00 am

100	Chai Jian Nian	Chairman, LPM Karak Branch and Exco, LPM Pahang and Secretary, LPM Bentong District	02-08-1962 2.00 am
101	Woodhull	Deputy Chairman, Socialists Front Singapore	02-02-1963
102	Fong Swee Suan	Secretary, Singapore Federation of Workers Unions	02-02-1963
103	Domonic Puthuchery	Exco, Socialists Front Singapore and Deputy President, Pan Singapore Federation of All Trade Unions	02-02-1963
104	James Puthuchery	Exco, Socialists Front Singapore and Deputy President, Pan Singapore Federation of All Trade Unions	02-02-1963
105	Zeng Chao Chuo	Deputy head, Publicity Committee of Socialists Front Singapore, detained the second time, the first was in October 1955	02-02-1963
106	Wahab Shah	President, People's Party of Singapore	02-02-1963
107	Chen De Hua	Chairman, Pan Singapore Federation of All Trade Unions	02-02-1963
108	Zhang Qi Chao	Former Min Po reporter, University of Singapore student	02-02-1963
109	Qiu Xiu Lan	Former Min Po reporter, University of Singapore student	02-02-1963
110	Li Chao Ming	Staff of Pan Singapore Federation of All Trade Unions	02-02-1963
111	Chen Hai	Union leader Singapore	02-02-1963
112	Su Zhi Rui	Union leader Singapore	02-02-1963
113	Ye Shu Ren	Member, Organizing Committee of Socialists Front of Singapore	02-02-1963
114	Lin Wen Chai	Staff, Federation of Rural Residents Associations Singapore	02-02-1963
115	Jamit Singh	Secretary, Trade Union of Port Workers Singapore	02-02-1963
116	Lum Shee Ping	Secretary, Trade Union of Port Workers Singapore	02-02-1963
117	Boestarnam	President, PRM and Member of Parliament	13-02-1963
118	Yang Fo Li	Assistant Secretary, PRM Kajang Branch Selangor	15-05-1963
119	Yang Wen Jing	Exco, PRM Kuala Lumpur Branch cum Malay Language class teacher	15-05-1963
120	A Mr Yap	A staff in Jiao Zong	15-05-1963
121	Huang Qin Shan	Deputy chairman, LPM Cheras Branch Kuala Lumpur	15-05-1963
122	A Hainanese youth		15-05-1963
123	Chow Ah Ming	Staff, Federation of Employees Unions	02-02-1963
124	Lim Yoke Hua	Secretary, LPM Setapak Branch K.L.	25-04-1963 evening
125	Shi Jun Xiong	Secretary, Serdang New Village Local Council, 2nd time, age 26	24-11-1963 at night
126	Yang Xiao Yang	Member, SF Salak South Branch	24-11-1963 at night
127	Ishak Hussain	Secretary, Malay Peninsular League	19-12-1963 at about 10.00 am
128	Huang Zhi Ren or Huang Xun Ming	Former Assistant Secretary, PRM Kuala Lumpur Branch, Secretary PRM Petaling Branch, Organizing Secretary of Federation of the Cinema Workers and Transport Workers Unions, SF Candidate for coming General Election, age 25	07-03-1964 at 1.30 am
129	Zhang Wu Mei	Secretary, PRM Petaling Branch and Head for the K.L. Bangsar General Election Campaigning Committee, a candidate for General Election	07-03-1964 at 1.30 am



130	Peng Jin Su (a) Peng Jin Shui	Work in Kee Hup Omnibus, former Exco of PRM Petaling Branch	07-03-1964 at 1.30 am
131	Loke Yoke Chin	Member, PRM Petaling Branch and graduated from Kuen Cheng Girls' High School and a teacher in Assunta Girls' School, age 24	07-03-1964 at 1.30 am
132	Roslan Shariff	Former Secretary, PRM cum SF Johore Baru Branch	11-03-1964
133	Mansur Subky	Member, PRM	08-04-1964
134	Salleh Riman	Member, PRM	08-04-1964
135	Saidin	Member, PRM	08-04-1964
136	Ng Eng Huat	Exco, LPM Pulau Branch Penang	08-04-1964
137	Liu Guo Shen	Campaigning agent for Dr. Tan Chee Khoon, the SF candidate for the state constituency of Kepong, secretary of LPM Junjang Branch and SF whip, Junjang Local Council	14-04-1964 at 1.00 pm
138	Loke Siew Ken	Head of PRM Woman Wing, Selangor State, secretary of SF Salak South Branch	14-04-1964 at 1.00 pm
139	Lee Yew Lai	Chairman, LPM Ulu Berenang Branch, N S and age 30	18-04-1964 at about 2.00am
140	Tuan Haji Mohammad	Leader of PMIP (PAS) Kelantan	22-04-1964
141	Chang Yee	Membre, LPM Pontian Branch Johore	12-07-1964
142	Woon Kim Guan	From Pontian Johore	28-07-1964
143	Nik Abdullah Arshad	PMIP Kelantan State Assemblyman for Pandi Kota Baru	24-02-1964 morning
144	Shaffie Deris	PMIP Kelantan State Assemblyman for East Kota Baru	24-02-1964 morning
145	Haji Hassan	PMIP Kelantan State Assemblyman for Tendong	24-02-1964 morning
146	Haji Abu Bakar	PMIP Kelantan member	24-02-1964 morning
147	Haji Mohammad	PMIP Kelantan member	24-02-1964 morning
148	Haji Ohman	Religious leader, PMIP Kelantan age 38	11-11-1963
149	Huang Zi Jian	Exco, SF Negeri Sembilan and assistant secretary, LPM Rahang Branch N S, age 30	27-07-1964
150	Wong Kye Wan	SF Malacca member	22-07-1964 at dawn
151	Zhou Chun Fu	SF Malacca member	22-07-1964 at dawn
152	Zhen Guan Sun	SF Malacca member	22-07-1964 at dawn
153	Huang Jin Yu	SF Malacca member	22-07-1964 at dawn
154	Zudan Kasradhi		
155	Xin Fu Chau	Secretary, LPM Linggi Branch N S	01-11-1964 at dawn
156	Li Ying	Head of LPM Woman Wing, N S	01-11-1964 at dawn
157	Li Xi Hua	Member, LPM Linggi Branch	01-11-1964 at dawn
158	Tan Hai Jia	Member, LPM Linggi Branch	01-11-1964 at dawn
159	Lin Jun Xiong	2 <sup>nd</sup> year political science student, Nanyang University	28-06-1964
160	Chen Jun Xiong	Vice President of Student Union and 3 <sup>rd</sup> Year political science student, Nanyang University	As above
161	Fu Guo Ming	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
162	Zhang Zi Xian	4 <sup>th</sup> year Chemistry student, Nanyang University	As above
163	Xie Mu Chai	4 <sup>th</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
164	Liu Fa Quan	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Economics student, Chairman of Student Union Welfare Committee, Nanyang University	As above
165	Lu Jin Xiong	3 <sup>rd</sup> year History student, Chairman of Student Union Organizing Committee, Nanyang University	As above
166	Xie Sheng Yuan	3 <sup>rd</sup> year History student, Nanyang University	As above

167	Lin Chun Sun	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Economics student, Vice-President of Student Union, Nanyang University	As above
168	Zhang Yao Xing	4 <sup>th</sup> year Economics student, former Vice-President of Student Union, Nanyang University	As above
169	Wu Shi Chai	4 <sup>th</sup> year Economics student, President of Student Union, Nanyang University	As above
170	Lan Chi Qun	4 <sup>th</sup> year Economics student, Secretary-General of Student Union, Nanyang University	As above
171	He Zhen Yuan	4 <sup>th</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
172	Li Ding Chai	2 <sup>nd</sup> year History student, Nanyang University	As above
173	Lin Wei Cheng	2 <sup>nd</sup> year History student, Chairman of Student Union External Relations Committee, Nanyang University	As above
174	Lin Jin Bing	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Mathematics student, Vice-President of Student Union, Nanyang University	As above
175	Xu De Ming	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
176	Weng Hong Ping	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Accountancy student, Chairman of Student Union Finance Committee, Nanyang University	26-06-1964
177	Chuo Hai sheng	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Political Science student, Nanyang University	As above
178	Wu Ding Ji	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Physics student, Nanyang University	As above
179	Mo Ze Xi	1 <sup>st</sup> year Chinese Language student, Nanyang University	As above
180	Wang Jin Fa	Chinese Language student, student leader Nanyang University	As above
181	Liu Qiu He	Staff of Nanyang University Student Union	As above
182	Lin Pei Mian	Matriculation student, Nanyang University	As above
183	Zhang Ya Guo		As above
184	Zhang Xi Ping	4 <sup>th</sup> year Geography student, former President of Geography Society, Nanyang University	As above
185	Huang Qin Xing	Female, 3 <sup>rd</sup> year Biology student, President of Biology Society, Nanyang University	As above
186	Fan Shun Hua	Female, 2 <sup>nd</sup> year Geography student, Vice-President of Geography Society, Nanyang University	As above
187	Gu Xi Zhu	Female, 3 <sup>rd</sup> year Economics student, Chairman of Student Union Sports and Recreations Committee, Nanyang University	As above
188	Lin Hui Quan	4 <sup>th</sup> year Mathematics student, former Vice-President of Student Union, Nanyang University	As above
189	Lin Hui Fang	Female, matriculation student, Nanyang University	As above
190	Li Feng De	Matriculation student, Nanyang University	As above
191	Su Qing Xiang	1 <sup>st</sup> year Modern Languages student, Nanyang University	As above
192	Chen Chao Yang	3 <sup>rd</sup> year History student, Nanyang University	As above
193	Yu Shen Xin	4 <sup>th</sup> year Geography student, Nanyang University	As above
194	Zhou Xiang Gui	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
195	Yun Jin Qiang	4 <sup>th</sup> year History student, Nanyang University	28-06-1964

196	Wang Hui Zhong	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Political Science student, Nanyang University	As above
197	Lin Yuan Ming	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
198	Chen Guan Shen	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Chinese Language student, Nanyang University	As above
199	Ouyang Yen Zhong	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Geography student, Nanyang University	As above
200	Xie Ji Zhong	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Chinese Language student, Nanyang University	As above
201	Chai Ya Han	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
202	Huang Xiang Nan	3 <sup>rd</sup> year Mathematics student, Nanyang University	As above
203	He Liang Hong	Matriculation student, Nanyang University	As above
204	Huang Hui Bi	Matriculation student, Nanyang University	As above
205	Chai Yuan Guo		As above
206	You Qian Hui	4 <sup>th</sup> year History student, Nanyang University	As above
207	Guo Xiao Xin	4 <sup>th</sup> year Economics student, Nanyang University	As above
208	Wang Hui Ping	2 <sup>nd</sup> year Political Science student, Nanyang University	As above
209	Chen Da Rong	1 <sup>st</sup> year Political Science student, Nanyang University	As above
210	Che Jailani Sulaiman	General Secretary, National Convention Party	27-06-1964
211	Lim Lian Suan	LPM Penang	28-04-1964
212	Li Qing Sai	Age 23	
213	Zhang Tian Zuo	Member, LPM Pandamaran Branch, Selangor	11-08-1964
214	Lee Jik Kim	Age 20,	04-07-1964
215	Lim See Ping	Former Exco, Barisan Sosialis Singapore, age 34	18-01-1965
216	Li Ming Xi	Secretary, LPM Pontian Kecil Branch Johore	31-08-1965 at dawn
217	Che Ibrahim	Secretary, SF Johore, Secretary of PRM Johore Baru Branch and Ulu Air Molek, Johore Baru Municipal Councillor	30-08-964 at 2.00 am
218	Huang Cheng Fa	Rubber tapper from Pontian Kecil, in possession of fire arms, detained with armed Indonesians age 18	02-09-1964
219	Soo Meng	Working Exco, LPM Johore, Secretary, LPM Bekok, Johore	02-09-1964
220	Wang Guo Zeng	Found in possession of fire arms in Pontian, Johore, from Batu Pahat Johore, age 27	18-08-1964
221	Lee Boon Ping	Working Exco, LPM Johore, Town Councilor of Muar Johore	20-09-1964
222	Liu Ji Nan	Pontian rubber tapper, landed in Johore with armed Indonesians	02-09-1964
223	Encik Abdul Ghani	Exco PRM, Vice Chairman SF Jonore, Chairman PRM Johore and Chairman SF Muar Branch	02-09-1964
224	Li Cheng Chai	Member, SF	03-09-1964 at dawn
225	Li Ji Chai	Member, SF	03-09-1964 at dawn
226	Li Fa Chai	Member, SF	03-09-1964 at dawn
227	Nazar Nong	Deputy Chairman, PRM, former Selangor State Assemblyman	26-09-1964 at 1.00 am
228	Fernandez	Secretary, former Singapore Port Workers Unson and a staff of Factories Trade Union	11-09-1964
229	Li Ping Ling	President, Singapore factories Trade Union	11-09-1964

230	Pan Xiong De	Secretary, Singapore factories Trade Union	11-09-1964
231	Govinda Samy	Exco, Singapore factories Trade Union	11-09-1964
232	Wu Nan San	Organizing Exco, Singapore factories Trade Union	11-09-1964
233	More Tyler	General Secretary, People's Party of Singapore	11-09-1964
234	Wu Nong Chun	Vice President, People's Party of Singapore	11-09-1964
235	Xu Zhang Chun	Chairman, Federation of Publishing and Printing Trade Unions of Singapore	11-09-1964
236	Ye Jin Sheng	Secretary, Federation of Rubber Industries Employees Unions of Singapore	11-09-1964
237	Li Tian Ji	Chairman, Federation of Marine Produce Workers Unions of Singapore	11-09-1964
238	Li Xi Kai	Secretary, Alumni of Nanyang University of Singapore	11-09-1964
239	Sun Chai Zhou	Chairman, Federation of Hotels and Restaurants Trade Unions of Singapore	11-09-1964
240	Wu Chun Sheng	Chairman, Guang Yang Old Boys' Association of Singapore	11-09-1964
241	Deng Xi Jiu	Chairman, Ping Yi Old Boys' Association of Singapore	11-09-1964
242	Guan Fu Xiang	Member, SF of Pinang, Village Councillor of Pinang Island	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
243	Zhong You Qing	Assistant Secretary, PRM Ayer Hitam Branch, Pinang Island	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
244	Chen Li Zhu	Village Councillor of Pinang Island	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
245	Adu Bakar	Former Chairman, PRM Pinang Island	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
246	Khor Kim Yong	Exco LPM, Executive Secretary, LPM State of Perak, 1964 SF candidate for Kampar Parliamentary Constituency	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
247	Kong Hoi	Secretary, LPM State of Perak	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
248	Li Quan	Secretary, PRM Sungai Siput (U) Branch, Perak	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
249	Zhang Xu Lan	Chairperson, Woman Wing of PRM Perak cum Treasurer of PRM Sungai Siput (U) Branch	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
250	Xiao Fo Jin	Exco, LPM Negeri Sembilan cum Titi Local Councillor	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
251	Li Miao Sun	Exco, LPM Negeri Sembilan cum Chairman, LPM Gemenchih Branch	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
252	Pang Han Meng	Working Exco, LPM Johore	28-11-1964 at 1.00 am
253	Yusof	Age 31	September 1964
254	Pang Lee Seng	Vice-chairman, LPM Johore	01-12-1964 afternoon
255	Pang Han Sang	Exco, LPM	01-12-1964
256	Chen Si Wen Chen Yuan Qin	Labourer from Bagan Serai Perak, in possession of fire arms, in accompany with armed Indonesians at Kg Sigali, Labis Johore	02-09-1964
257	Li Xing Xiao	In possession of fire arms, in accompany with armed Indonesians	17-06-1964 at 7.30 am
258	Khadizak	Distributing pamphlet, age 34	04-01-1965
259	Mohammad Amin	Distributing pamphlet, a clerk, age 25	04-01-1965
260	Abdul Rahman	Distributing pamphlet, a teacher, age 27	04-01-1965
261	Tengku Hassan bin Tengku Abdul Rahman	Distributing pamphlet	04-01-1965

262	Hussain Yacob	Former Secretary, SF Kelantan, Utusan Melayu reporter	26-01-1965 at dawn
263	Dato' Kampo Rajoo	Treasurer of SF, Secretary of National Convention Party, and Secretary of SF Selangor	26-01-1965 at dawn
264	Rais Annah	National leader of SF and National Convention Party	26-01-1965 at dawn
265	Datuk Hannifa	Vice-president, Pan Malaya Islamic Party (PMIP), age 42	26-01-1965 at 4.30 pm
266	Abdul Aziz	President, National Convention Party and Exco of SF, former Agriculture Minister	28-01-1965
267	Dr. Burhanuddin	President, PMIP	28-01-1965
268	Ishak Mohammad / Pak Sako	President of LPM, detained in 1948 for 6 years, detained in 1940, a magistrate for many years and a well-known writer in Malay Literary World	28-01-1965
269	Hasnul Hadi	President of SF	13-02-1965 at dawn
270	Tan Kai Hee	Assistant General-Secretary of SF	13-02-1965 at dawn
271	Tan Puah Khin	Vice-president, LPM Pinang Island	13-02-1965 at dawn
272	Tajuddin Kahar	General-Secretary of SF	13-02-1965 at dawn
273	V. David	General-Secretary, National Union of Transport Workers, Pantai State Constituency Assemblyman, Joint-Secretary for the SF "Feb. 13 Committee for Human Rights Days"	13-02-1965 at 10.00 pm
274	Zhou Qing Shan	Secretary, LPM Rawang Branch, Executive Secretary of LPM Ulu Selangor Zone, age 26	15-02-1965 at 9.00 am
275	Tengku Hashim		15-03-1965
276	Kaspin		15-03-1965
277	Mohammad Amin		15-03-1965
278	Yusof		15-03-1965
279	Abdullah		15-03-1965
280	Zeng Chuan	Head of Welfare Committee LPM Jinjang Branch, former Jinjang Local Council Councillor	15-03-1965 afternoon
281	Wu Yong Ming	Chairman, LPM Jinjang Branch, former Jinjang Local Council Councillor	15-03-1965 afternoon
282	Foo Seong Foh	Former Chairman, LPM Jinjang Branch, former Jinjang Local Council Councillor	14-02-1965 at 4.00 pm
283	Ye Zhong Wen	Chairman, LPM Sepang Branch Selangor, age 40	14-02-1965 at 4.40 pm
284	Ye Yu Dong		09-03-1965
285	Li Ya Ba/ Li Zhu Hua	In possession of fire arms and in company with armed Indonesians at FELDA Kota Tinggi Johore	09-03-1965
286	Lin Jin Feng	In accompany with armed Indonesians	22-08-1964 at 6.00 pm
287	Jiang Jin Yun	In accompany with armed Indonesians, age 25	22-08-1964 at 6.00 pm
288	Zheng Ya Jiu	In accompany with armed Indonesians, age 16	22-08-1964 at 6.00 pm
289	Dr. Rajakumar	Assistant Secretary, LPM and Secretary LPM Selangor	11-06-1965 at 8.00 pm
290	Anman Binmali Othman	Representative of Selangor National Convention Party, Banting Branch Publicity Chief	24-06-1965 at dawn
291	Wong Kiaw Kew	PRM member, Perak, 1964 SF candidate for Ipoh Parliamentary Constituency	1965
292	Li Xiong Qiang	Vice-chairman, LPM Batu Pahat Branch Johore, Local Councillor	04-07-1965 at night

293	Lin Jin Hua	Exco, PRM Batu Pahat Branch cum Local Councillor	04-07-1965 at night
294	Chen Qing	Secretary, LPM Batu Pahat Branch, Local Councillor	04-07-1965 at night
295	Tan Hock Lin	Exco, LPM Pinang Island, Deputy Publicity Chief LPM Pinang	30-08-1965
296	Yu Ya Ji	In possession of a hand grenade, age 23	15-10-1964 at 12.00 pm
297	Luo Ti / Luo Si Yuan	Assistant Secretary, PRM Perak	18-06-1965
298	Mao Tan Jin	Treasurer, PRM Perak	18-06-1965
299	Haji Fathi	Chairman, PRM Kuala Kangsa Branch	15-12-1965 at 11.03 pm
300	Tai Ming Zhong	President, Singapore Rubber Industries Employee Trade Union	29-04-1965
301	Liu Zai Chi	A staff, Singapore Coffee Shops Employees Union	29-04-1965
302	Qiu Xian Yuan	Secretary, Singapore Marine Produce Trade Union	29-04-1965
303	Yu Yi Fa	Publicity chief for "May 1 Labour Day Organizing Committee"	29-04-1965
304	Wang He	Chairman for "May 1 Labour Day Organizing Committee"	29-04-1965
305	Henry Wu	Acting Secretary for "May 1 Labour Day Organizing Committee"	29-04-1965
306	Chai Zi Xiu	Deputy Chairman, SF Telok Anson (Telok Intan) Branch Perak	07-01-1966
307	Zhang Han	Exco, Telok Anson (Telok Intan) Branch Perak	07-01-1966
308	Xu Ya Nan	Exco, Telok Anson (Telok Intan) Branch Perak	07-01-1966
309	Liu Qian	Vice-chairman, PRM Perak	07-01-1966
310	Zeng Fu Nong	Chairman, PRM Bidor Branch Perak	07-01-1966 at night
311	Tan Shao Xiang	Chairman, LPM Kuala Kangsa Branch	07-01-1966 at night
312	A Lim youth	Member, LPM Kuala Kangsa Branch	07-01-1966 at night
313	Jiang Yu Xiao	Exco, LPM Cold Stream Branch Perak	07-01-1966
314	Ye Yuan Shen	Exco, LPM Ringlet Branch, Cameron Highlands, Pahang	24-02-1966 at night
315	Chen Mu Dong	Exco, LPM Ringlet Branch, Cameron Highlands, Pahang	24-02-1966 at night
316	Liu Tian Jing	Acting Secretary, PRM Malim Nawar Branch, Perak	04-03-1966 around 5 pm
317	Wang Shu Mei	Exco, PRM Malim Nawar Branch, Perak	
318	Fan Feng Jia	Chairman, LPM Slim River Branch, Perak	06-03-1966
319	Tai Kim Tat	Chairman, LPM Malacca Branch	09-03-1966
320	Huang Chun Shu	Chairman, LPM Pandamaran Branch, Kelang Selangor	09-03-1966
321	Cheng Ah Nyok	LPM Kampong Timah Branch Perak	27-06-1966
322	Chow Ah Meng	Trade unionist, from Batu pahat Johore	25-10-1966
323	Tan Lian Sew	LPM Alor Setar Kedah	25-10-1966
324	Kam It Wang	LPM Baling Kedah	25-10-1966
325	Heng Teng Wai	LPM Pekan Lama, Pulau, Kedah	25-10-1966
326	Lee Kok Chiang	LPM Serdang Kedah	25-10-1966
327	Yong Poi Chong	LPM Serdang Kedah	25-10-1966
328	Lai Kim Song	LPM Serdang Kedah	25-10-1966
329	Chee Fah Chon	LPM Alor Setar, Kedah	25-10-1966
330	Chin Yoke Wan	Woman Wing, LPM Jinjang Branch Kuala	25-10-1966

331	Kho Siew Hua	LPM Muar Branch Johore	25-10-1966
332			
333	Tan Peng Que	LPM Batu Pahat Johore	25-10-1966
334	Ding You Chau	Graduated at Penang Chung Hua High School, PRM member, detained for more than 4 years, released two years ago, age 29	25-10-1966
335	Li Fu Lian	Contractor, PRM member, age 38, had been detained	25-10-1966
336	Ma Qing Cheng	Student, Nanyang University, age 25	25-10-1966
337	Chua Ah Ba	Acting Publicity Chief, LPM Alor Setar Branch, Kedah, age 27	25-10-1966
338	Lei Ji Lu	Assistant Chairman, LPM Kedah, age 26	25-10-1966
339	Lim Bak Yong	Exco, LPM Kedah, Local Councillor, age 26	25-10-1966
340	Tan Boon Song	Exco LPM and Secretary, LPM Kedah, Local Councillor, age 25	25-10-1966
341	Looi Kooi Hiam	LPM Alor Setar Branch, Kedah	25-10-1966
342	Lin Choon Wah	Exco, LPM Kedah, Local Councillor, age 25	25-10-1966
343	Quah Leong Tek	Official, LPM Alor Setar Branch, Kedah, age 25	25-10-1966
344	Teoh Sam Poh	Secretary, LPM Sungai Petani Branch	25-10-1966
345	Quat Kian Huat	Former Secretary, LPM Kedah	25-10-1966
346	Chen Hon Seng	Assistant Chairman, LPM Alor Setar Branch, Kedah	25-10-1966
347	Huang Mo Rong	Member, LPM Kedah	25-10-1966
348	Li Guo Zhang	Member, LPM Kedah	25-10-1966
349	Lau Siew Kee	Member, LPM Kedah, age 23	25-10-1966
350	Deng Fo Bao	Member, PRM Air Tawar Branch Perak	25-10-1966
351	Chai You Ming	Member, PRM Malim Nawar Branch and official of Kinta Zone Social Committee	25-10-1966
352	Li Fan	Member, PRM Tanah Merah Branch and Secretary of Kinta Zone	25-10-1966
353	Ma Rui Lin	Member, LPM Ipoh Branch Perak	25-10-1966
354	Zhuang Ming Li	Member, LPM Ipoh Branch Perak	25-10-1966
355	Li Xiu Ying	Member, LPM Ipoh Branch Perak	25-10-1966
356	Luo Wan Xin	Exco, LPM State of Pinang, and Secretary, Sungai Pinang Branch, Georgetown Municipal Councillor, age 46	25-10-1966 at dawn
357	Cheah See Liang	Exco LPM, LPM Organizing Secretary and member of Publicity committee of Pinang State, age 24	25-10-1966 at dawn
358	Huang Yu Xiu	Secretary, LPM Woman Wing, Head of Penang LPM Woman Wing and member of LPM Penang Publicity Committee, age 23	25-10-1966 at dawn
358	Lin Qing Shan	Secretary, LPM Datuk Kramat Branch Penang, Zone Committee Member, age 24	25-10-1966 at dawn
359	Wong Ah Keng	Exco, LPM Penang State, Chairman of Air Itam Zone, age 26	25-10-1966 at dawn
360	Ang Sin Hup	Secretary, LPM Economic Committee of Penang, member of Penang Publicity Committee, Vice-chairman of Kampong Baru Branch, age 25	25-10-1966
361	Kho Hock San	LPM North Province Wellesly Village Councillor, member of LPM Penang Organizing Committee, Secretary of Bakau Jati Branch Penang, age 26	25-10-1966
362	Li Guo Quan	Deputy-chairman, LPM Datuk Kramat Branch, Penang, age 29	25-10-1966
363	Huang You Cheng	Treasurer, LPM Jelutong Branch Penang, age 26	25-10-1966
364	Liu Han Kun	Secretary, LPM Kampong Baru Branch,	25-10-1966

365	Qiu Wu Tian	Secretary, Cultural Committee of LPM Tian Teik Branch Penang, age 23	25-10-1966
366	Chen Kai Chun	Typist, LPM Penang State, age 24	25-10-1966
367	Tang Jing Cheng	Chairman, LPM Telok Awah Branch Butterworth, Penang, Age 26	25-10-1966
368	Huang Mei Hua	Exco, LPM Woman Wing Penang, Head of LPM Woman Wing Butterworth, age 23	25-10-1966
369	Chen Jing Sheng	Exco, LPM Selangor, Secretary of LPM Kelang Branch Selangor	25-10-1966
370	Yen Nan Yu	Treasurer, LPM Kelang Branch	25-10-1966
371	Li Kuang He	Exco, LPM Kelang Branch	25-10-1966
372	Liu Chang Fu	Exco, LPM Kelang Branch	25-10-1966
373	Zhang Wen huan	Chairman, LPM Pudu Branch, Kuala Lumpur	25-10-1966
374	Chen Yong Piao	Vice-chairman, LPM Pudu Branch, Kuala Lumpur	25-10-1966
375	Liu Zao	Secretary, LPM Pudu Branch, Kuala Lumpur	25-10-1966
376	Wong Kee Seng	Exco, LPM Pudu Branch, Kuala Lumpur Zone Organizing Secretary	25-10-1966
377	Li Jin Long	Exco, LPM Ampang Branch Selangor	25-10-1966
378	Li Jing	Exco, LPM Ampang Branch Selangor	25-10-1966
379	Chan Peng Kwan	Secretary, LPM Jinjang Branch	25-10-1966
380	Chan Peng Hen	Member, LPM Jinjang Branch	25-10-1966
381	Shen Qi Jia	Vice-Chairman, LPM Pudu Branch Kuala Lumpur	25-10-1966
382	Chua Lim King	Member, LPM Ampang Branch	25-10-1966
383	Feng Chao Ming	Vice-Chairman, LPM Malacca State cum Malacca Municipal Councillor	25-10-1966
384	Tai Kim Tat	Exco LPM, Secretary of LPM Malacca state	25-10-1966
385	Huang Chun Shan	Exco, LPM Malacca State	25-10-1966
386	Ooi Seow Beng	LPM Kepala Batas Kedah	06-11-1966
387	Luo Jian Quan	Exco, LPM Perak cum Secretary Matang Balang Zone, age 26	20-11-1966
388	Yap Yoon Hing	LPM Kampong Timah Perak	21-11-1966
389	Mak Siang	LPM Ipoh Branch, Perak	21-11-1966
390	He Hai Ping	Member, LPM Perak, 26	21-11-1966
391	Chai Kow Pai	Secretary, LPM Kampar Zone Perak,	11-11-1966
392	Lew Wung Ming	Chairman, LPM Malacca State, Secretary of LPM Malacca Branch, age 27	02-01-1967
393	Lee Chung Hoh	Student, Nanyang University, age 33	09-03-1967
394	Karam Singh	Former PRM Member of Parliament, lawyer	19-04-1967
395	Chen Then Sang	PRM Kajang Selangor	29-04-1967
396	Lee Kow	LPM Kuantan Pahang	29-04-1967
397	Ong Loong Sheng	Trade unionist	16-05-1967
398	Kok Mei Ngoh	Female, LPM Johore Baru, Johore	24-05-1967
399	Lin Ai Yong	Female, LPM Johore Baru Johore	24-05-1967
400	Wong Ah Wah	Exco, LPM Perak, age 20	05-06-1967
401	Ho Nam Swee	Trade unionist, UMEWU of Triang Pahang	12-06-1967
402	Chin Choong Sang	Organizing Secretary, UMEWU, age 23	12-06-1967
403	Hwang Ching Yuh	Female, LPM Old Kelang Road, Selangor	12-06-1967
404	Lee Ban Chen	Secretary, UMEWU	12-06-1967
405	Lee Yew Hwa	Assistant Secretary, LPM Kampar Zone Perak, age 23	17-06-1967
406	Zheng Qiu Su	Secretary, LPM Perak, age 23	17-06-1967
407	Chun Pak Kee	Member, LPM Ringlet Cameron Highlands	17-06-1967
408	Luo Mo Sheng	Leftist, age 22	21-12-1967
409	Tan Hock Hin	Assistant Secretary, LPM State of Penang,	08-07-1967



410	Cheah See Liang	Organizing Secretary, LPM Penang, second detention, age 25	08-07-1967 at 2.00 am
411	Ang Sin Hup	Treasurer, LPM Penang, Vice-chairman LPM Kampong Baru Branch, age 26	08-07-1967 at 2.00 am
412	Zheng Jin Hang	Vice-chairman, LPM Malacca State, Exco of Malacca Branch, acupuncturist, age 29	25-06-1967 at 10.00 am
413	Tew Huat Kee	Exco, LPM Malacca State, Secretary of Industrial Area Branch, age 26	25-06-1967
414	Li Kuan He	Member of PRM, detained again after paying fine at the Kelang Court, Selangor	26-06-1967
415	Low Yew Khey	From Kuala Lumpur	26-06-1967
416	Hui Fang	Member, LPM Tampoi Branch, Johore	27-06-1967
417	Zhu Rui Yu	Member, LPM Tampoi Branch, Johore	27-06-1967
418	Li Zhao Ping	Member, LPM Tampoi Branch, Johore	27-06-1967
419	Huang Xi Guang	Member, LPM Tampoi Branch, Johore	27-06-1967
420	Fu Yi Shui	Member, LPM Tampoi Branch, Johore	27-06-1967
421	Chen Li Er	Member, LPM Tampoi Branch, Johore	27-06-1967
422	Jin Chun Dou	Member, LPM Tampoi Branch, Johore	27-06-1967
423	Koo Kok Eng	Unionist, from Pontian Johore	02-07-1967
424	Lee Sin Chong	Treasurer, LPM Malacca State, Exco of malacca Branch, age 22	03-07-1967 at 11.00 am
425	Gan You Hua	Assistant Secretary of LPM, former Local Councillor, age 28	12-07-1967 at 10.00 am
426	Chan Wai Ying	Unionist	16-7-1967
427	Chin Kek Kum	PRM State Assemblyman Selangor, Chairman of Serdang Local Council, Exco of PRM, Vice-chairman of PRM Selangor, Chairman of Serdang Branch, age 28	17-07-1967
428	Choo Eng Ket	Executive Secretary, LPM Kedah, Assistant Secretary of Alor Setar Branch	25-07-1967
429	Chu Choon Yong / C.C. Yong	Former SF State Assemblyman of Johore, Johore Baru Municipal Councillor, Secretary of PRM Johore, Executive Secretary of LPM Johore	31-07-1967 at 3.00 pm
430	Ng Wei Siong	LPM Kluang Town Councillor, LPM Johore Publicity Secretary, second detention	31-07-1967 at noon
431	Chia Pong Thia	Economic graduate of Nanyang University, LPM member in Muar Johore, working in a bank	31-07-1967
432	Tan Chee Kwong	Vice-president, LPM Jonre, Chairman of Muar Branch, Secretary of Muar Administrative zone, Local Councillor of Muar Johore	01-08-1967
433	Liao Zi Zhong	Assistant Secretary, LPM Kedah and Secretary of Alor Setar Branch, Kedah	27-08-1967
434	Zhang Quan Mai	Acting Secretary, LPM Kluang Branch Johore	27-08-1967
435	Zhang Quan Zhong	Member, LPM Kluang Branch Johore	27-08-1967
436	Shen Guo Chai	Exco, LPM Kluang Branch, Treasurer, LPM Kampong Paya Sub-branch, Johore	27-08-1967
437	Ye Da Jian	Secretary, LPM Renggam Branch Publicity Committee	27-08-1967
438	Ye Da Xiong	Exco, LPM Kluang Branch cum official of Choir Committee	27-08-1967
439	Ang Hooi Kim	Female, LPM Kulim Kedah	28-08-1967
440	Leow Soon Keat	LPM Teloh Wanjah, Kedah	28-08-1967
441	Yao You Bing	Exco, LPM Kluang Administrative Zone	04-09-1967
442	Zheng Ya Wei	Secretary, LPM Tampoi Branch Johore	26-09-1967
443	Lin Mu Kai	Chairman, LPM Tampoi Branch Johore	26-09-1967
444	Two persons	LPM Penang members	10-11-1967

445	Lim Kean Siew	Vice President of LPM, Member of Parliament	25-11-1967
446	Wong Chun Siang	Exco, LPM Malacca State, age 35	25-11-1967
447	Zheng Jin Wen	Age 24	25-11-1967
448	Kok Kai Teng	Treasurer, LPM Malacca State, age 24	05-12-1967
448	Ng Nam Hoa	LPM Ayer Hitam, Penang	25-11-1967
449	13 persons	Leaders of Jihad Army in Northern Kedah	27-11-1967
450	Khor Peng Seah	LPM Penang	27-11-1967
451	Koay Beng Cheng	LPM Pulau Penang	27-11-1967
452	Lai Chun Hong	Female, LPM Batang Berjuntai, Selangor	27-11-1967
453	Wu Yao Hui	Assistant Secretary, PRM Batu Pahat Branch Johore	27-11-1967
454	Yen Chi Zhong	Vice-chairman, LPM Negeri Sembilan, age 26	28-11-1967 at 8.00pm
455	Hng Peng Lim	LPM Bukit Tambun, Province Wellesly, Penang	28-11-1967
456	Chee Kim Chong	LPM Batu Lancang, Penang	28-11-1967
457	290 persons	Members of Jihad Army in Northern Kedah	
458	Zhong Jin Yu	Exco, PRM Malacca Branch, age 29	26-11-1967
459	Lin Yi	Exco, LPM Tampoi Branch Johore	26-11-1967
460	Chan Kau	Age 25	
461	Koo Voon Poon	LPM Sentul Pasar, Kuala Lumpur	01-12-1967
462	Ang Khoo San	LPM Jenjarom N/V, Selangor	02-12-1967
463	Soo Chee Meng	Secretary, PRM Batu Pahat Branch Johore, age 27	02-12-1967
464	Zhang Yi Xiong	Chairman, LPM Durian Tunggal Branch, Exco of LPM Malacca State and Secretary of Construction Workers Trade Union of Malacca	03-12-1967
465	Lim Leong Huat	LPM Beach Street, Penang	08-12-1967
466	Poh Chiap Aik	Secretary, LPM Gongwei Branch Penang, age 22	08-12-1967
467	Lian Yi Yong	Secretary, LPM Jeletung Branch Penang	08-12-1967
468	Khoo Hock San	Treasurer, LPM Penang State, age 28	12-12-1867
469	Ong Kean Chye	LPM Jelutong Penang	15-12-1967
470	Lee Kok Chuan	LPM Jelutong Penang	15-12-1967
471	Lim Choo Leong	Exco, LPM Kampong Tunku Branch Penang, age 20	27-12-1967
472	Leng Hun Meng	LPM Datuk Kramat Penang	27-12-1967
473	29 persons	Detained during anti-ringgit- devaluation campaign	29-12-1967
474	Zhuang chai Jin	Exco, LPM Batu Pahat Branch Johore, deported to China	January 1968
475	See Lye Keat	LPM Kampong Hijau 2, Penang	06-01-1968
476	Lee Beng Seng	Member, LPM Penang	12-01-1968
477	Li Ming Cheng	Secretary, LPM Sungai Pinang Branch, Penang, age 27	13-01-1968
478	Cheng Ai Ming	Organizing Secretary, LPM Johore, age 22	18-01-1968
479	Lee Hai Chew	LPM Kota Baru, Kelantan	21-01-1968
480	Wong Kit Ling	Exco, LPM Selangor, Secretary for Kuala Selangor Zone, age 30	23-01-1968
481	Chow Kong Ying	Auditor, LPM Penang	03-02-1968
482	Yap Bee Hooi	Member, LPM Jelutong Branch Penang, age 27	03-02-1968
483	Goh Seow Pheng	Member, LPM Penang, age 19	14-02-1968
484	Chang Siew Mei	LPM Kulim Kedah	29-03-1968
486	Lim Siew Boon	LPM Alor Setar Kedah	29-03-1968
487	Lin Yui	Age 23	10-03-1968

488	Ng Kor Lam	LPM Kuala Perlis Perlis	25-04-1968
489	Koh Kai Chiam	President of LPM	02-05-1968
490	Liu Yuan Hua	Secretary, LPM Johore	02-05-1968
491	Tan Tee Yong	LPM Ayer Hitam, Penang	03-05-1968
492	Chong Zert Ching	LPM Kluang Johore	03-05-1968
493	Chin Sau Tong	Kluang secondary student, Johore, age 19	03-05-1968
494	Lee Bak Leng	LPM Ayer Hitam Penang	04-05-1968
495	Ong Sim	Kluang secondary student, Johore, age 20	04-05-1968
496	Ooi Guan Lye	LPM Butterworth, Province Wellesly	30-05-1968
497	Li Qing Xiang	Age 26	08-06-1968
498	Cheung Pak Sang	From Kulai Johore, age 24	11-06-1968
499	Cheo Shing Sui	LPM Rawang Selangor	16-06-1968
500	Chen Zhen Nan	Age 24	16-06-1968
501	Lee Wei Chau	From Batu Pahat, Johore, age 31	16-06-1968
502	Xu Jin Long	From Batu Pahat, Johore, age 28	16-06-1968
503	Lee Kum Kam	From Ulu Choh, Johore, age 20	16-06-1968
504	Lem Heng Siew	From Johore Baru, Johore, age 28	16-06-1968
505	Ng Kooi Sang	Member, Dao Nan Old Boys' Association of Singapore	16-06-1968
506	Eng Kwee Ba	Worker, age 26	16-06-1968
507	Lee Bah Chik	Shop-keeper, age 28	16-06-1968
508	Tan Wa Ping	Store keeper, age 22	16-06-1968
509	Koh Sioh Ping	Worker, age 24	16-06-1968
510	Chong Tong Sin	Kluang secondary student, Johore, age 20	03-07-1968
511	Liew Thuan Lai	Member, LPM Penang	12-07-1968
512	Lau Seok Tiang	Female, member LPM Penang	13-07-1968
513	Tan Tee Choo	Female, LPM Sungai Nibong Penang	13-07-1968
514	Wang Xun Jie	From Benut, Johore, age 27	17-07-1968
515	Lin Liang Sheng	From Singgarang Johore, age 25	17-07-1968
516	Tew Chong Yew	Member, LPM Pasir Pinji Ipoh Perak	20-07-1968
517	Ooi Bee Hwa	Female, LPM Butterworth, Province Wellesly	21-07-1968
518	Tan Lip Chee	LPM Ayer Hitam, Penang	21-07-1968
519	Wong Yoke Fah	LPM Ayer Hitam, Penang	21-07-1968
520	Woo Hon Kong	Exco of LPM, Chairman of LPM Selangor, State Assemblyman	14-08-1968
521	Tan Siew Eng	Chairman of LPM Woman Wing	15-08-1968
522	Chan Meng Sing	Exco of LPM, LPM Johore and LPM Batu Pahat Branch	28-08-1968
523	Yeo Han Peng	Secretary, LPM Batu Pahat Branch Johore, age 22	29-08-1968
524	Chua Siau Hua	From Muar Johore, age 30	30-08-1968
525	Koay Chee Kiang	Member, LPM Penang	08-11-1968
526	Chong Cheow Moy	LPM Ayer Hitam Penang	09-11-1968
527	Lee Teik Wah	LPM Thean teik Penang	09-11-1968
528	Liu Wen Qi	LPM Perak Member	09-11-1968
529	Tan Mu Shui	Sungai Karak Johor, age 19	09-11-1968
530	Zhu Mao Qiu		09-11-1968
531	Zhou Yu Hua		09-11-1968
532	Yang Qing Yu	Exco, LPM Pro-Tem Committee of Malacca	09-11-1968
534	Zhang Liang Di	Exco, LPM Pro-Tem Committee of Malacca	09-11-1968
535	Zhuang Long Zhou	Member, LPM Malacca	09-11-1968
536	Zhong Jin Lu	Member, LPM Malacca	09-11-1968
537	Li Jing An	Student, Nanyang University	09-11-1968
538	Huang Qing Fu	Student, Nanyang University	09-11-1968
539	Lai Ya Xian	Student, Nanyang University	09-11-1968
540	Chen Zhen Wei	Graduated from Pay Fong High School, Malacca	09-11-1968

541	Lin Zhi Guo	Student, Nanyang University	09-11-1968
542	Yang Pan Zhao	Exco, LPM Negeri Sembilan, Vice-chairman, LPM Seremban Branch, N. S.	09-11-1968
543	Huang Ping Fu	Member, LPM Seremban Branch, N. S.	09-11-1968
544	Chen Jiang Ming	Exco, LPM Muar Branch, Johore, age 28	09-11-1968
545	Peng Zhu Sheng	Office staff, LPM Johore	09-11-1968
546	Guo Rong Ji	Pork seller, Johore Baru Market	09-11-1968
547	Soo Jung Xiang	Vice-President of LPM, age 38	09-11-1968
548	Liang Xin Ling	Unionist, Pan Malaya Printing Workers Union	09-11-1968
549	Wang Heng Guang	Spokeperson, LPM Selangor	09-11-1968
550	Tan Kim Kee	Secretary, LPM Tangkak Branch and Muar Administrative Zone, age 23	09-11-1968
551	Chen Wei Ming	Chairman, LPM Sabak Bernam Branch and Kuala Selangor Administrative Zone, age 29	09-11-1968
552	Chen Jun Sheng	Exco, LPM Sabak Bernam Branch, Selangor, age 22	09-11-1968
553	Xie Song Yang	Member, LPM Sungai Long Branch, Sabak Bernam	09-11-1968
554	Wei Zhi Yi	Chairman, LPM Pagoh Branch Johore	09-11-1968 at dawn
555	Chen Chang Jiu	Secretary, LPM Pagoh Branch Johore	09-11-1968 at dawn
556	Huang Sou Qing	Secretary, LPM Triang Branch Pahang, age 28	09-11-1968 at dawn
557	Zhou Chuan Fu	Age 26	09-11-1968 at dawn
558	Zhu Yun	Member, LPM Johore Baru Branch	09-11-1968 at dawn
559	Peng Du Sheng	Member, LPM Johore Baru Branch	09-11-1968 at dawn
560	Lai Tian Lai	Member, LPM Johore Baru Branch	09-11-1968 at dawn
561	Ling Zhi Qiang	Member, LPM Johore Baru Branch	09-11-1968 at dawn
562	Liu Yuan Fu	Member, LPM Johore Baru Branch	09-11-1968 at dawn
563	Chen Jing Xiong	Exco, LPM Working Committee and Head of Segamat Administrative Zone Johore	09-11-1968 at dawn
564	Liew Han Tai	Chairman of Segamat Administrative Zone Johore	09-11-1968 at dawn
565	Peng Zhan Fa	Secretary, LPM Segamat Administrative Zone and Bukit Sepok, Segamat	09-11-1968 at dawn
566	Qiu Yong Ling	Assistant Secretary, Gementah Branch Johore, detained 2 <sup>nd</sup> time	09-11-1968
567	Low Chin Chow	Factory worker	09-11-1968 at dawn
568	Chen Ze Nong	Secretary, Alumni Nanyang University	09-11-1968
569	Zhang Sun Nan	Local Councillor, PRM Salak South, K.L.	09-11-1968
570	Chen Zhi Jian	Secretary, LPM Cheras Branch K.L.	09-11-1968
571	Chin Chee Kong	Member, LPM Cheras Branch K.L.	09-11-1968
572	Siew See Lian	Chairman, LPM Kepong Branch K.L.	09-11-1968
573	Siew Liang Yun	Member, LPM Kepong Branch K.L.	09-11-1968
574	Fu Ji Bao	Exco, LPM Jinjang Branch K.L.	09-11-1968
575	Zhen Guo Xiang	Exco, PRM Kajang Branch Selangor	09-11-1968
576	Ban Ah Wan	Member, PRM Kajang Branch Selangor	09-11-1968
577	Liao De Xing	Former Executive Secretary, Rubber Plantations Workers Union	09-11-1968
578	Fan Zhi Ping	Graduate of Nanyang University	09-11-1968
579	Qiu Yi Po	A staff at the LPM HQ	09-11-1968
580	Chen Jing Ming	Exco, LPM Klang Branch Selangor	09-11-1968
581	Yang Wen Chou	Vice Chairman, LPM Jenjarom Branch Selangor	09-11-1968
582	Xu Shu Ning	Secretary, LPM Jenjarom Branch Selangor	09-11-1968
583	Huang Jian Hua	Exco, LPM Jenjarom Branch Selangor	09-11-1968

584	Hong Wen Shan	Member, LPM Jenjarom Branch Selangor	09-11-1968
585	Yang Chuan Lai	Member, LPM	09-11-1968
586	A Miss Hong	Member, LPM	09-11-1968
587	A Mr. Pan	Member, LPM	09-11-1968
588	Zhou Ye Shan	From Kulai Johore	09-11-1968
589	Ahmad Yatim	PMIP Kelantan Rantau Panjang State Assemblyman	09-11-1968
590	Shen Guo Chai	Exco, LPM Kluang Branch Johore	09-11-1968
591	Liu Er Mei	Member, LPM Kluang Branch Johore	09-11-1968
592	Zhu Tian Liang	A youth from Puchong Selangor	09-11-1968
593	Su Yu Hou	Vice Chairman, LPM Pahang State	09-11-1968
594	Feng Xian Xiu	Vice Chairman, LPM Kampong Baru Branch Penang, wife of detainee Huang Nan Hua, Secretary of the ISA Detainees' Family Committee, age 26	09-11-1968
595	Yeap Eng Leong	Exco, LPM Kampong Baru Branch Penang	09-11-1968
596	Loh Soo Eng	Exco, LPM Kampong Baru Branch Penang	09-11-1968
597	Lee Bak seng	Member, LPM Paya Terubung Branch Penang, age 17	09-11-1968
598	Loke Yoon Chai	Member, LPM Ayer Hitam Branch Penang State, female	09-11-1968
599	Li De Hua	Member, LPM Ayer Hitam Branch Penang State	09-11-1968
600	Ng Weng Teng	Member, LPM Paya Terubung Branch Penang, age 20	09-11-1968
601	Por Lean bee	Exco, LPM North Seberang Prai Branch, Province Wellesly Penang	09-11-1968
602	Gooi Teng Fong	Exco, LPM Datuk Keramat Branch Penang	09-11-1968
603	Yeoh Kim Booi	Member, LPM Penang, female	09-11-1968
604	Lin Ya Ling	Member, LPM Datuk Keramat Branch Penang, female	09-11-1968
605	Lin Qing Long	Treasurer, LPM West Tanjung Zone, Penang and Secretary of the Penang-Kedah Printing Industries Trade Union, age 26	09-11-1968
606	Lai Qing Yun	Member, LPM Batu Pahat Branch Johore	09-11-1968 at dawn
607	Huang Xing	Chairman, LPM Negen Sembilan State, Titi Local Councillor, detained in 1967 and charged and fined in Jejebu Court	11-11-1968 at dawn
608	Li Xian Ji	Graduate of Nanyang University, worked in Layang Layang estate Johore	11-11-1968 at dawn
609	Toh Gee Tin	LPM Muar Johore	11-11-1968
610	Seow Hock Seng	Member, PRM Selangor	15-11-1968
611	Kang Shan Dao	Secretary, LPM Simpang Renggam Branch Johore	17-12-1968 at night
612	Ye Da Xiong	Chairman, Social-education Committee LPM Kluang Branch Johore, detained and charged in court	18-12-1968
613	Lim Kean Hin	Member of Publicity Committee of LPM Kluang Branch Johore	19-12-1968
614	Chong Yin	Organizing Secretary, LPM Johore State, Chairman of LPM Kluang Administrative Zone, former Chairman of Simpang Renggam Local Council	27-01-1969
615	Lee Ah Beng	From Pontian Kecil Johore	09-02-1969
616	Hamid Tuah	Peasants leader, Telok Gong Selangor	03-04-1969
617	Cheng Ah Lee	Secretary, LPM Kota Tinggi Branch, Johore	03-05-1969
618	Lee Ang Guan	LPM Pontian Johore	04-05-1969
619	Hee Yoke Voon	Member, LPM Ampang Branch Selangor	15-05-1969
620	Siew Kok Thiam	From Kepong Selangor, age 21	15-05-1969

621	Zhuang Zhi Qing	Chairman, Printing Workers Trade Union Selangor Branch, age 30	16-05-1969
622	Tham Man Gong	From Port Dickson, Negeri Sembilan, age 20	17-05-1969
623	Su Long Zhou	Cadre, Nanyang Shoes Industries Trade Union Johore Baru, Johore	25-05-1969
624	Huang Hai Qiu	Chairman, PRM Serdang Branch Selangor	29-05-1969
625	Lee Kok Hong	From Muar Johore, age 24	29-05-1969
626	Wong Fook Hing	From Batang Melaka, Negeri Sembilan, age 21	30-05-1969
627	Chan Fok On	From Sentul Kuala Lumpur, age 21	30-05-1969
628	Zhang Wen Jin	Vice Chairman, LPM Selangor State, Chairman LPM Klang Branch, former Local Councillor	31-05-1969
629	Pan Zheng Shen	Exco, LPM Klang Branch Selangor	31-05-1969
630	Chia Meng Choon	From Sekinchan Selangor, age 24	31-05-1969
631	Huang Guan Hua	Founder member of PRM Kajang Branch, Chairman PRM Semenyih Branch, age 33	Jun 1969
632	Wu Pei Sheng	Leftist, age 30	Jun 1969
633	Chon Chee Ching	LPM Cheras, Johore	19-06-1969
634	Ye Shi Tian	Member, PRM Selangor	04-07-1969
635	Li Ya Mei	Detained at Semenyih Selangor	09-07-1969
636	Li Gui Jiao	Detained at Semenyih Selangor	09-07-1969
637	Xie Zhi Hua	Executive Secretary, PRM Malacca State, age 32	30-07-1969
638	Lee Kem	LPM Sungai Buloh Selangor	01-08-1969
639	Qiu Bao Guo	Former Chairman, LPM Tangkak Branch Johore ( the Branch chose to dissolve itself on 27-12-1968 )	10-09-1969
640	Chen Nan Du	Former Exco, LPM Tangkak Branch Johore	10-09-1969
641	Chan Beng Sam	Former Organizing Chairman, Singapore Factories Workers trade Union, age 30	13-09-1969
642	Theserra Eric	PRM Candidate for East Malacca State Constituency	13-09-1969
643	Xu Jin You	Exco, LPM Penang State	16-09-1969
644	Tang Leong Kee	Member, PRM Kuala Lumpur Branch, age 35	30-09-1969
645	Huang Ya Hong	Exco, LPM Datuk Keramat Branch Penang, age 26	08-10-1969
646	Hooi Chin Ham	Member, PRM Kuala Lumpur Branch	12-12-1969
647	Zhuang Jin Qin	Official, Printing Workers Trade Union Selangor, age 27	1969
648	Lim Joo	Member of PRM, Secretary General of UMEWU, age 30	31-12-1969
649	Low Say Yao	LPM Asahan Malacca	31-12-1969
650	Yu Kuan Fatt	LPM Asahan Malacca	31-12-1969
651	Loo Yong Soon	LPM On Lok N/V Malacca	31-12-1969
652	13 Kajang youths		04-01-1970
653	Zulkifli Ismail	PRM Ulu Kuantan State Assemblyman, Pahang	22-01-1970
654	Sivasubramaniam	PRM State Assemblyman of Pahang, lawyer	22-01-1970
655	Quek ChooHung	Student, Nanyang University	06-04-1970
656	8 Johore Baru youths		12-04-1970
657	Li Ya Shu	A youth from Ampang New Village, Ipoh	21-04-1970
658	Lim Yoke Hwa	Construction worker, age 30	25-04-1970
659	Neo Kong Se	Muar shopkeeper Johore, age 31	25-04-1970
660	See Sak Choo	From Gelang Patah Johore, age 22	25-04-1970
661	Mao Weng Qing	Youth age 19, charged in court on 27-06-1970	29-04-1970
662	Chai Chu Ling	From Malm Nawar, Perak, age 21	25-05-1970
663	Book Woon Yee	From Masjid Tanah Malacca, age 23	25-05-1970

664	Chee Kian Hwa	From Muar Johore, age 28	15-06-1970
665	Tai Nyok Faa	From Batang Malacca, Malacca age 21	19-06-1970
666	Ye Guang Hua	From Sekinchan, Selangor age 27	19-06-1970
667	Huang Jiu Zai	From Sekinchan Selangor, age 20	19-06-1970
668	Ow Yang Ah Thin	From Segamat Johore, age 22	20-06-1970
669	Ng Yeok Pak	Treasurer, LPM Perak state, age 26	30-06-1970
670	Tan Seng Huat	From Klang Selangor, age 24	06-07-1970
671	Neo Kong Tai	Member, LPM Muar Branch Johore	
672	Ng Choo Mean	LPM Muar Johore	25-07-1970
673	Lim Bok Eng	Treasurer, LPM Simpang Renggam Branch Johore, age 24	09-08-1970
674	Lai Nam	From Tangkak Johore, age 27	20-08-1970
675	Cheng Ah Lee	Secretary, LPM Kota Tinggi Branch Johore, age 24	27-08-1970
676	Tan Ley Kuan	From Sungai Mati, Muar Johore, age 22	28-08-1970
677	Phua Kee Hor	From Johore Baru, Johore, age 19	30-08-1970
678	Yong Chu Soon	From Masai, Johore	30-08-1970
679	Goh Cher Neo	From Muar Johore, age 20	31-08-1970
680	S. Thurairatnam	Member, LPM Sentul Branch Kuala Lumpur, age 40	13-11-1970
681	R. Gunaratnam	Member, LPM Sentul Branch Kuala Lumpur, age 24	15-11-1970
682	S.N Rajah	Former Executive Secretary of UMEWU, age 32	16-11-1970
683	Chai Nan Cheng	Acting Secretary, Printing Workers Trade Union, age 22	16-11-1970
684	Thiagaraja	Chairman, LPM Kuala Lumpur Branch, age 33	16-11-1970
685	Chong Soo	Secretary, LPM On Lok New Village Branch, Malacca	17-11-1970
686	Yap Sin Tian	Secretary, 5-zone Anti- eviction Joint- Committee of Kepong, Kuala Lumpur	25-11-1970
687	Siew Hoi Kam	Chairman, 5-zone Anti- eviction Joint- Committee of Kepong, Kuala Lumpur	29-11-1970
688	Huang Yuan Hua	Exco, 5-zone Anti- eviction Joint-Committee of Kepong, Kuala Lumpur	29-11-1970
689	Zhu Ya You	Exco, 5-zone Anti- eviction Joint-Committee of Kepong, Kuala Lumpur	29-11-1970
690	Wu Zhang	From Tapah Perak, age 27	11-01-1971
691	Chen Chuan Xing	From Kulai Johore, age 25	
692	Xu Yan Jiu	From Kulai, a leftist supporter	28-03-1971
693	Li Chai Ling		12-04-1971
694	Yang Guang Zhao	From Pelantong, Johore, age 29	23-04-1971
695	Wang Qi Nan	From Ulu Choh Johore, age 32	23-04-1971
697	A Mr. Kow	Former SF member, age 30	23-04-1971
698	Tan Shao Ji	Secretary, LPM Slim River Branch Perak, age 26	24-04-1071
699	Liao Wen Fang	From Pelantong Johore, age 30	25-04-1071
700	Xie Liang Sheng	A Penang printing worker, age 22	26-04-1071
701	Tan Fu Shi	Penang construction worker, age 22	26-04-1071
702	Liu Qi Hua	Member, PRM Petaling Jaya Branch, age 25	23-06-1971
703	Zeng Xian Xing	Exco, LPM Cheras Branch Kuala Lumpur	June 1971
704	Chin Chee Kong	Exco, LPM Cheras Branch Kuala Lumpur	June 1971
705	Hon Yew Ping	Bus conductor, age 23	26-06-1971
706	Yeh Choon Sang	Student of Nanyang University, age 29	09-08-1971
707	Lim Ku Huat	Rubber tapper	09-08-1971
708	Ling King Hue	Member, LPM Kluang Branch Johore, age 24	09-08-1971

709	Ma Hong Wan	Member, LPM Kluang Branch Johore, age 24	26-08-1971
710	Chai Koo Khook	Chairman, PRM Kinta Zone, Perak age 28	28-08-1971
711	Lee Lim	Age 23	28-08-1971
712	Lim Yong Kui	From Pekan Nenas Johore, age 26	01-09-1971
713	Wong Fei Loy	From Sungai Siput, Perak, age 32	24-09-1971
714	Chang Yok Lin	From Sungai Siput, Perak, age 28	25-09-1971
715	Ma Tong Keong	Secretary, PRM Tanah Merah Branch Perak, age 25	30-09-1971
716	Zheng Gou Zai	From Menglembu Ipoh Perak, age 29	01-10-1971
717	Lim Thean Seng	A staff of Penang Hawkers' Association, age 24	16-10-1971
718	Li Shi Rong	Member, LPM Batu Pahat Branch Johore	21-10-1971
719	Hoo Sin Wah	LPM Kluang Johore	26-10-1971
720	Wan Ah Ba	From Kulim Kedah, age 17	02-11-1971
721	Ho Seng Yong	From Johore Baru, Johore, age 21	02-11-1971
722	Wai Kay Chooi	From Sungai Petani Kedah, age 24	03-11-1971
723	Koh Peng Chia	From Singapore, age 28	04-11-1971
724	Xu Ya Li	United Malaya Pineapple Canning Industries worker	05-11-1971
725	Chen Jin Hong	United Malaya Pineapple Canning Industries worker	05-11-1971
726	Zheng Xiu Lan	United Malaya Pineapple Canning Industries worker	05-11-1971
727	15 workers		12-11-1971
728	Lee Kam Weng	From Perak, age 19	22-11-1971
729	Lim Tong Ann	Wood industries worker, age 21	24-11-1971
730	Chong Kim Yuen	From Sungai Terap N/V Selama Perak, age 21	01-02-1972
731	Wong Yong Huat	Rubber tapper from Yong Peng, Johore, age 33	24-04-1972
732	Liu Wan Xin	Exco, LPM Penang State, age 48	16-05-1972
733	Chen Guo An	From Cheras Kuala Lumpur, age 23	16-06-1972
734	Chin Chee Ken	Secretary, LPM Cheras Branch Kuala Lumpur, age 29	16-06-1972
735	Huang Po Sheng	Exco, LPM Cheras Branch Kuala Lumpur, age 26	16-06-1972
736	Gan Ah Peng	Member, LPM Batu Pahat branch, Johore age 35	28-06-1972
737	Lee Ah Par	From Sungai Petani Kedah, age 42	03-07-1972
738	Loh Swee Tiong	Garment industries worker, age 29	08-08-1972
739	Ng Teo Huan	Shopkeeper, age 25	18-08-1972
740	Yap Pow Kin	Exco, PRM Selangor State, age 23	26-08-1972
741	Low Ming Leong	Rubber tapper, age 28	12-10-1972
742	Chee Siew Ming	From Ringlet Cameron Highlands, age 28	09-01-1973
743	Lee Peng Kin	From Ringlet Cameron Highlands, age 31	16-02-1973
744	Pang Ching Fai	LPM Segamat Johore, age 33	25-02-1973
745	Zhang Guo Rong	From Sungai Besi Kuala Lumpur, age 23	27-02-1973
746	Lee Sing Kok	From Ringlet Cameron Highlands, age 17	10-03-1973
747	Fun Teck Chu	Member, LPM Bukit Siput Branch Johore, age 34	11-03-1973
748	Tee Ker	From Segamat Johore, age 35	11-07-1973
749	Pang Wan	Member, LPM Bukit Seput Branch Johore, age 35	11-07-1973
750	Wong Kued Tong	From Malim Nawar Perak, age 22	20-07-1973
751	Wong Chee Man	From Kampar Perak, age 23	17-08-1973
752	Chai Pat	From Malim Nawar Perak, age 31	24-08-1973
753	Yu Soi Chu	From Ipoh Perak, age 36	14-10-1973
754	Low Ah Kow	From Bekok Johore, age 25	20-10-1973
755	Yap Kok Ann	From Mantin Negeri Sembilan, age 25	01-11-1973
756	S. V. Chin	Graduate, UK University	1974



757	Goh Kean Seng	From Kuala Kangsar, Exco University of Malaya Chinese Language Society, Chairman of 'Spring Thunder' Cultural Show Organizing Committee, teacher age 24	12-03-1974
758	Juliet Chin	President, National University Of Singapore Student Union	1974
759	Wang Zheng Qun	From Bukit China, Malacca	
760	Wang Xing Wen	From Bukit China, Malacca	
761	Chew Wa Boo	From Sikamat Seremban Negeri Sembilan	30-03-1974
762	Chew Yue Shen	From Sikamat Seremban Negeri Sembilan	30-03-1974
763	Fu Ping Guo		16-07-1974
764	Abdul Rahman Nawi	Sarawak National Party	10-10-1974
765	ShahTashi	Sarawak National Party	10-10-1974
766	Bujang Nas	Sarawak National Party	10-10-1974
767	Haji Ibrahim Kassim	Sarawak National Party	10-10-1974
768	Datuk James Wong Kim Ming	Vice Chairman, Sarawak National Party	10-10-1974
769	Awang Abangsu	Sarawak National Party	10-10-1974
770	Abdullah Anthony Birayang	Sarawak National Party	10-10-1974
771	Fujung Yasisu	From Sarawak	30-10-1974
772	Chai Wei Te	From Sarawak	30-10-1974
773	Gawan	From Sarawak	30-10-1974
774	Dr. Syed Husi Ali	Professor, University of Malaya Sociology Department	04-12-1974
775	Anwar Ibrahim	Chairman, ABIM (Malaysia Muslim Youth Movement)	December 1974
776	Adi Satna	Exco, University of Malaya Student Union (UMSU)	December 1974
777	Kamaruzaman Yakub	President, UMSU	December 1974
778	Ahmad Kamal Selamat	President, University Science Of Malaysia Student Union	December 1974
779	Rahman Rukhaini	President, National University Of Malaysia Student Union	December 1974
780	Ibrahim Ali	President, Mara Institute Of Technology Student Union	December 1974
781	Omar Jaffar	Registrar, National University Of Malaysia	December 1974
782	Abdul Razak Ahmad	Deputy President, Socialist People Party of Malaysia (PSRM), Chairman, PSRM Johore, Lawyer	14-01-1975
783	Eow Boon Poo	Member, University Of Malaya Chinese Language Society (UMCLS)	March 1975
784	Ng Guan Long	Former Exco, UMCLS engineer	
785	Lai Sin Xiang	Former President, UMCLS	December 1974
786	Law Heng Neng	Exco, UMCLS	December 1974
787	Yong Ah Chik	Former President, UMCLS	December 1974
788	Tan Cheng Yong	Graduate, Singapore University, Lecturer MARA Institute of Technology	December 1974
789	Teo Sai Choo	Former Exco, UMCLS	December 1974
790	Huang Zhong Xian	Former Secretary, UMCLS	December 1976
791	Koh Swe Yong	Former member, UMCLS teacher	1976
792	Yow Lee Fung	Former Secretary, UMCLS, teacher	1976
793	Kow Yew Lee	Former member, UMCLS	1976
794	Kee Kok Kiao	Former President, UMCLS, doctor	1976

795	Lai Soon Keat	Former President, University Science of Malaysia Chinese Language Society	1976
796	Ho Yoke Choi	Exco, University Science of Malaysia Chinese Language Society	
797	Tan Eng Tiong	Member, UMCLS, engineer	December 1974
798	Wang Si Ben	Trade union activist, from Batu Pahat Johore	21-09-1975
799	Yu Kuen Seng	From Asahan Malacca	1976
800	Yu Guo Qiang	From cheras Kuala Lumpur	1976

## List of persons detained in Operation Lalang on 27 October 1987

Name	Particulars	Place detained
1. Lim Kit Siang	Age 46, Secretary General of Democratic Action Party (DAP), Opposition Leader in the parliament	About 7.00pm Tuesday at the High Street Police Station Kuala Lumpur
2. Lim Fong Seng	Age 62, Chairman of Dong Zong, the United Chinese School Committees Association Malaysia, a well-known tin-miner, Chairman of the School Board of Governors of Confucian High School Kuala Lumpur (K.L.)	at 4.20 pm Tuesday, at his residence in Setapak K.L.
3. Sim Mou Yu	President Jiao Zong, the United Chinese School Teachers Association of Malaysia	Early morning at his residence
4. Datuk Yap Pian Hon	Age 46, Chairman of Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) Youth, Exco of Selangor State Assembly	At 1.30 am yesterday at Serdang Residence Selangor
5. Karpal Singh	Age 47, Deputy-Chairman of DAP, Member of Parliament (MP) for Jelutong and State Assemblyman for Bukit Gelugor, lawyer	About 7.00 pm Tuesday at the High Street Police Station Kuala Lumpur
6. Chan Kit Chee	Age 56, Vice-President of MCA, Chairman MCA Liaison Committee of Perak	At 7.45pm at Merlin Hotel Coffee House K.L.
7. Dr. Tuang Pik King	Age 42, Vice-President of Jiao Zong, the United Chinese School Teachers Association of Malaysia, Principal of Confucian High School K.L.	At 12.50 am yesterday at his Kajang Jaya home
8. Dr. Kua Kia Soong	Director, Chinese Resource and Research Centre K.L., Publicity Chief of Civil Rights Committee	At 1.30 am at Cheras K.L.
9. Dr. Chandra Muzaffar	Age 40, President of Aliran, member of Asian Human Rights Commission	At 6.45 pm yesterday at Penang
10. Hu Sepang	Age 40, MP for Rasah, Organizing Secretary of DAP cum Chairman of DAP Negeri Sembilan	At 7.00 pm yesterday
11. Lim Guan Eng	Age 27, MP for Kota Malacca, son of Lim Kit Siang	At 12.35 am Tuesday at High Street Police Station
12. Dr. V. David	Age 55, MP for Puchong, Selangor, Secretary General of Malaysian Trades Union Congress (MTUC)	At 9.40 pm, at Merlin Hotel Coffee House K.L.
13. Tan Chai Ho	Age 37, Senator, Head of MCA Youth Vanguard, Vice-Chairman of MCA Youth	at 3.30 pm Tuesday at his office in Kepong Baru, K.L.
14. Lee Chan Fei	Age 48, former State Assemblyman for Tapah Perak, contractor, MCA Batu Gajah Division Chairman	At 5.45 pm Tuesday, at Stadium Indera Mulia, Kampong Siamee, Ipoh
15. P. Patta	Age 41, MP for Ipoh, DAP Deputy Secretary General	At 11.50pm Tuesday, at E.T. Coffee House Paramount Garden Petaling Jaya (PJ)
16. Kerk Kim Hock	Age 31, DAP State Assemblyman for Durian Daun	at 12.35 pm Tuesday, High Street Police Station K.L.
17. Hiew Yun Tat	Chairman of Perak Anti-Radioactive Committee	At 11.00 pm Tuesday, at his Tanah Merah New Village home
18. Hiew Yew Lan	Age 44, Gerakan Ipoh Municipal Councillor, Papan Action Committee advisor, Vice-Chairman of Perak Anti-Radioactive Committee, tin mine manager	At 8.45 pm Tuesday, at Stadium Indera Mulia, Kampong Siamee, Ipoh
19. Lee Koon Bun	Age 60, Vice-Chairman of Perak Anti-Radioactive Committee, Secretary of Papan Anti-Radioactive Action Committee	At 3.30 am Tuesday, at his Rapat New Village Papan home in Perak
20. Ibrahim Ali	UMNO MP for Pasir Mas Kelantan, detained under ISA in 1975 for a year as President of Mara Institute of Technology Student Union	At 9.30 am Tuesday, at Taman Melawati home, Ulu Kelang K.L.
21. Liew Chong Beng	Age 28, businessman, exco of the Selangor Chinese School Committee Association	At 3.15 p.m. Tuesday, at his office in Lee Rubber Building, High Street K.L.
22. Chee Heng Leng	Age 32, Agriculture University of Malaysia (now Putra University of Malaysia) lecturer, member of Insan	At 5.00am Tuesday at her home in PJ

23. Dr. Tan Ka Kheng @ K.K. Tan	Age 35, Agriculture University of Malaysia ( now Putra University of Malaysia ) lecturer Vice-Chairman of Environmental Protection Society of Malaysia, advisor to Perak Anti-Radioactive Committee	At 3.50 am Tuesday, at his home in PJ
24. Meenakshi Raman	Age 29, legal advisor to Consumer Association of Penang (CAP), one of the lawyers acting for residents of Bukit Merah, Ipoh who brought a suit against Asian Rare Earth Sdn. Bhd.	At 6.30 p.m. Tuesday, at her office in Penang
25. Song Sang Kwee @ S.K. Song	DAP State Assemblyman for Bandar Maharani (Muar), Johore	At 2.05 am Tuesday, at his Taman Sentosa, Johore Baru home
26. Sim Tong Him	DAP State Assemblyman for Tenggerah	At 1.30 am Tuesday, at Batu Berendam home
27. Yau Jiok Hua	DAP Malacca chairman, State Assemblyman for Kubu, lawyer	At 12.45 am Tuesday, at Durian Daun home
28. Yang Khar Ming	Night market hawker	At 2.45 am Tuesday in Ipoh
29. Lai Thean Loy	Businessman	At 11.30 pm Tuesday, in Seri Kembangan, Serdang Selangor
30. Tan Bee Hwa	Christian missionary	At 12.50 am Tuesday, in Setapak home K.L.
31. Pang Chau Nam		At 12.25 am Tuesday, At Khuang home Johore
32. Eng Thiang Lai	An MCA Youth leader	2.00am Tuesday in Khuang
33. Thean Koot	Businessman	At 1.30 am Tuesday in Taman Mewah Cheras home K.L.
34. Loong Ming	Age 50, rubber tapper	At Kampong Baru Liman Kati, Kuala Kangsar Perak
35. Lim Chin Chin	Age 32, Pro Tem secretary of Aliran K.L. Branch, coordinator for the research unit at the Christian Federation of Malaysia	At 10.30 pm Tuesday, at Kelana Jaya PJ
36. Lai Shew Yet	Businessman	At 4.15 p.m. Tuesday in his PJ home
37. Dr. Poh Boon Sing	Agriculture University of Malaysia engineering faculty lecturer	At 10.30 p.m. Tuesday, at his Taman Seri Serdang home, Kajang
38. Low Tin Hock	Self-employed	At 9.15 pm Tuesday
39. James Lai Chee Seng	pastor of the First Baptist Church in PJ	10.45 p.m. Tuesday, at the Merlin Hotel Coffee House
40. Wong Heng Wee	Rubber tapper, from Kampong Baru Cina, Air Hitam, bahau Negeri Sembilan	At 10.40 p.m. Tuesday, at Merlin Hotel Coffee House
41. Loh Foh Lai	Rubber tapper	At 10.30 p.m. Tuesday, in an unnumbered house in Ulu Yam, Selangor
42. Jamahudin Othman	Religious teacher	At 4.40 p.m. Tuesday, at Stadium Indera Mulia, Kampong Siamee, Ipoh
43. Abdul Latsiff Mohamad	Age 47, former PAS youth leader, detained under ISA in January 1983 and released in June last year, committee member of PAS Besut Division	At 10.00 p.m. Tuesday, in front of Jertih Police Station Terengganu
44. Haji Muhammad Ariff Yaacob	Perak PAS ulamak chief	At 9.40 p.m. Tuesday, Merlin Hotel coffee House
45. Bunyaman Haji Yaakob	Age 41, Exco PAS Youth, Kelantan PAS Youth leader, detained under ISA on 11 July 1984 with Trengganu State Assemblyman Abu Bakar Chik and Penang businessman Abu Bakar Sabu, released 3 month later	At 12.30 am Tuesday, at Kedai Lalat, Kota Baru Kelantan
46. Muhamad Sabu	Age 33, Penang PAS Youth Chief, detained in 1984 under ISA and released in September the same year	At 12.45 am Tuesday, at Kedai Lalat, Kota Baru Kelantan

47. Khaled Abu Samad	Age 32, PAS Youth secretary, younger brother of former Welfare Minister Shahrir Abdul Samad, consider a promising second echelon leader in PAS	At 12.50 am Tuesday, at Subang Airport
48. Mohamed Yusuf Karim	Age 40, head of the Naksabandiah Religious Group	At 1.30 am Tuesday, at Felda Trojak Selatan, Perak
49. Haji Suhaimi Said	Age 42, PAS legal advisor, detained in March 1985 and released on 13 March last year, restricted in Central Malacca	At 2.38 am Tuesday
50. Tajuddin Abdul Rahman	Exco of UMNO Youth and Deputy Chairman of Perak UMNO Youth	At 2.00am Tuesday
51. Arokiasass	Age 42, engineer, unionist, Parti Rakyat Malaysia member	At 12.45 am Tuesday, at his Lucky Garden home, Bangsar, K.L.
52. Dr. Mohamed Nasir Hashim	Associate Professor at the National University of Malaysia, Deputy Dean of the Medical Faculty, Chairman of Insan	At 5.20 am Tuesday, at 22 km Jalan Cheras
53. Mohamed Yunus bin Lebai Ali	Self-employed, PAS Baling Division secretary, Kedah	At 3.45 am Tuesday
54. Halim Arshat	PAS Youth Chief	At 7.30 am Tuesday, at the Alor Star Police headquarters, Kedah
55. Brother Anthony Rogers	Age 38, assistant director of the National Office for Human Development	At 1.30 am Wednesday, at the K.L. Archbishop House in Bukit Nanas
56. Chow Chee Keong	Engineer	At 8.35 am Tuesday, at the Federal Territory Drainage and Irrigation Department
57. Chew Wa Boo	Vegetable seller	At 11.30 p.m. Tuesday, at his 3 1/4 mile, Jalan SiKamat home
58. Sivamoorthy s/o Solai	Chairman of a factory in-house workers union, a lawyer	At 7.45 am Tuesday, at his Shah Alam home
59. Chay Tow Wah	Farmer	At 10.50 am Tuesday, at his Sungai Ruan, Raub home Pahang
60. Cheong Ah Kow @ Ah Kow	Insurance agent	At 2.55 am Tuesday, at his Subang Jaya home
61. Wee Choo Keong	Lawyer, DAP legal advisor	At 2.20 p.m. Tuesday, at his Jalan Laut office
62. Mohamed Fahru Ibrahim	Age 39, State Assemblyman for Pandan Selangor, UMNO Youth Exco,	At 4.00 p.m. Tuesday, At Subang Airport
63. Kee Chong @ Kee Choy	Sawmiller	At 3.10 p.m. Tuesday, at his sawmill in Uku Yam, Selangor
64. Ong Tin Kim	Gerakan Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Post And Telecommunications	After Parliament session on Tuesday
65. Hilmy Mohamed Nor	Marketing representative	At 1.00 am Tuesday, at his Tun Dr. Ismail Garden home

Source: New Straits Times 29-10-1987

## Appendix 6

## Suaram's Update

In early 1996, the government indicated its intention to review the ISA. No amendments have been presented to date. Non-governmental organizations and opposition political parties have consistently pressed for the repeal of all laws that allow detention without trial.

In December 1996, the Inspector General of Police, the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs Minister and the Prime Minister as Home Affairs Minister threatened to use the ISA against non-governmental organizer and participants of a public meeting convened to present cases of abuses of police powers to which the police had been invited. The organizers were labeled as "Marxist".

In August 1997, the government also threatened to use the ISA against stockbrokers and financial analysts and any individuals who were involved in purported "currency speculation" trading after the Malaysian ringgit took a sudden dip in value. Implied threats of arrest were used to warn persons speaking or writing to present a negative picture of the Malaysian economy.

Proposals and suggestions from government quarters to expand the use of the ISA, could well indicate that the existence of the draconian act can no longer be justified as easily as in the past. For example, Science, Technology and Environment Minister Datuk Law Hieng Ding was proposed to the cabinet that the ISA be used for those caught for open burning in 1998.

However, human rights NGOs and opposition parties continue to call on the government to repeal the ISA and all other legislation that allow for detention without trial.

In the run-up to the 1999 General Elections, SUARAM, together with over 50 NGOs and more than 2000 former ISA detainees called upon all electoral candidates to commit to a 'repeal the ISA' in their election platform.

This call was also taken up by a number of citizen's groups including the 'People Are the Bosses' campaign and the Malaysian Election Appeal Committee (SuQiu), which was endorsed by more than 2000 Chinese associations, guilds and NGOs nationwide.

The Barisan Alternatif (Alternative Front) that comprised the four main opposition political parties promised to repeal the ISA in their 1999 election manifesto.

Suaram, a non-profit, non-government organization committed to upholding human rights in Malaysia heightened its campaign against the ISA in year 2000, a year that marked the fortieth year of the draconian act. The campaign, which was initiated in 1998 following a mass detention without trial which the authorities referred to as 'Operation Lalang', is a long-on-going struggle to abolish the ISA.

In early 1998, a spate of ISA detentions took place-involving people who had allegedly brought in; harbouring facilitated the entry of illegal migrants from Indonesia. They include a lorry driver, police officers and 'tekong' or ferryman.

The Inspector-General of Police said the police would with immediate effect, use the ISA to arrest anyone caught for harbouring and bringing them into Malaysia. Caning was also proposed. All this, in spite of having other existing laws, which could be used to counter illegal entry into the country!

Two men from the Achehnese Refugee Movement in Malaysia were detained under the ISA, following the worst outbreak of violence in the detention camp of Semenyih, Selangor in last March 1999. Yusri Habib Abdul Ghani and Razali Abdullah were accused of masterminding the riots, which followed the forced repatriation of over 500 Achehnese who claimed to be seeking refuge in Malaysia. Yusri Habib was later released with the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees office in Malaysia and was immediately repatriated to Norway under the third-country repatriation programme.

A police photographer and former journalist whose name remains unknown to date, were threatened with ISA for allegedly giving photographs of the aftermath of the riot in Semenyih camp to foreign media.

In 1998, four people were detained under the ISA for allegedly spreading rumours over the internet on rumours of riots in Kuala Lumpur. They were later charged in September under the Penal Code (s.505.b) and their trial is still ongoing.

The highest profile ISA detention since the crackdown on 106 activists in 1987 was the arrests of 29 people under the ISA between September and December 1998. This was related to the dismissal of Anwar Ibrahim, then Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1998, which also launched the pro-reform or "reformasi" movement, calling for the resignation of Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohammad. The government also issued an ISA order restricting Dr. Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, wife of Anwar Ibrahim from speaking in public including nightly gatherings outside their home. The arrests also received worldwide attention from the media and the international human rights organization.

## Malaysian Human Rights Report 2001

The human rights situation in Malaysia worsened in several ways from the year before. Although several court decisions took the Malaysian public by (pleasant) surprise and the Federal Constitution amended to prohibit sex discrimination, in many other aspects, the human rights situation showed little improvement.

The number of people detained under the Internal Security Act for their political and religious beliefs went from 4 in the previous year to 25 persons in 2001, and hundreds were arrested in connection with peaceful assemblies. The government also seized on the September 11 incidents in the United States to legitimise its use of force and arbitrary detentions. Malaysians witnessed a massive crackdown on the student movement and on political rallies in the country and further curtailment on an already suppressed media. The by-election in Likas and the Sarawak state elections were stark reminders of the state of elections in the country.

The year also witnessed the "Islamic State" debate raging with greater gusto than ever before. While the Prime Minister's declared that Malaysia is already an Islamic state, the Democratic Action Party asserted that the state remained secular by virtue of the Constitution, while the Parti Agama Se-Malaysia argued that the state was nowhere near the 'ideal Islamic State'. Unable to come to an agreement on this particular issue saw the exit of the DAP from the Alternative Front in response to PAS' reiteration for its vision of an Islamic state.

The responses of the government to the initiatives undertaken by the National Human Rights Commission during the year not only begged the question of how they perceive Suhakam in the human rights landscape of the country, but also indicated that feathers had been ruffled. In November of this year, the government announced its intention to set up guidelines for Suhakam on its investigation procedures and the conduct of its inquiries.

The Prime Minister, in his keynote address at an International Forum in Dubai on 26 April said that he felt "good" dictators, rather than Western-style democracy, is what some countries in the developing world need to keep up with the challenges of globalisation. If these words are anything to go by, the status of human rights in the country may well be facing gloomier days.

In April 2000, when Suhakam called for the release of the ISA detainees, Minister in the Prime Minister's Department, Dr Rais Yatim reprimanded them for "behaving a little extraneous and exuberant". In addition, although the Commission is empowered to visit detention centres, it was made to wait for police clearance before finally being allowed to meet with the ISA detainees. Several official requests and seven weeks later, four commissioners were finally allowed to meet with the ten detainees under strict police supervision which clearly could not guarantee a fair investigation.



Equally disturbing was the response of several commissioners. One conceded that their hands were tied where the ISA was concerned, while the vice-chair responded with a defensive, "The public can't expect Suhakam to go to a detention camp, bang on the doors and shout for them to open the door". The comments of the Chair of Suhakam in the wake of the September 11 attacks in the US, i.e. that in Malaysia it was perhaps reasonable to suspend democracy and human rights, also raised ire and eyebrows though he later claimed to have made the comments in his individual capacity. The Vice-Chair commiserated, "The government has enough problems...we are going to cool down for a little while but we will remind the government quietly of human rights issues."

### Arbitrary Detention

During 2001, 2520 people were documented being detained under the various detentions without trial laws (see table below).

Name of Act	Number Detained up to June 31
Internal Security Act*	77
Dangerous Drugs Act (Special Preventive Measures) 1985	1,642
Emergency Ordinance *including those held in Simpang Renggam Detention Camp and those under restricted residence.	309
Restricted Residence Act 1933	159
Crime Prevention Act (Restricted Residence)	333
Total Documented Victims for Year 2001	2,520

\* up to November 15, 2001, Sources: Home Ministry July 25, 2001 and Suaram monitoring

The Internal Security Act (ISA) was used to systematically crackdown on dissent and opposition in year 2001. Malaysians were once again reminded of the range of torture that is perpetrated in the name of national security. The ISA allows for a 60-day 'investigation' period, during which those detained are subjected to physical and psychological torture, questions and insinuations by the interrogators that bear little connection to the alleged charges, coupled with threats of harm to their families. The affidavits of the ISA detainees, testify to this. Humiliation and abuse, in order to extract confessions were also evident in the affidavits.

In April, ten key leaders from Parti Keadilan Nasional (PKN, i.e. the National Justice Party) and the reform movement were detained without trial for alleged attempts to overthrow the government through "street demonstrations and militant means". Six have been sent to the Kamunting Detention Camp, two were freed unconditionally while the courts freed the remaining two. In May, the ISA was again used to detain two leaders of the student movement who were campaigning against the use of the ISA. The two were released prior to the first 60 days period.

March 2001 saw another member of the Syia' faith given a two-year detention order and Rais warning that anyone found using the word 'Islam' to propagate 'deviationist' teachings, the definition of which is left unclear, can be prosecuted under the Sedition and Public Order 1959, Emergency Public Order Ordinance 1969 or Internal Security Act.

Religious-based arrests were claimed to be justified on the grounds that they were members of Islamic militant groups with international connections, planning to wage a holy war on Malaysia. At least five were arrested in June, alleged to be propagating militancy and in connection several unsolved crimes in the country while two members of another religious-based group were arrested in Sabah.

Sixteen people closely linked to PAS were arrested, all of whom were said to be linked to a militant religious group, the Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia. Two more were arrested early September, the status of these arrests being still unclear. Mahathir hinted that some of the PAS members had gone for military training overseas and some were allegedly involved with the Taliban in Afghanistan. The terrorist attacks on the US on September 11 provided further fodder for the government to not only arrest arbitrarily but also to justify the use of draconian laws as being in the best interest of the nation.

In the same year, after several months of intense harassment from the government and government-backed NGOs and mass media, Suqiu, or the Malaysian Election Appeals lobby group, decided in January to set aside seven contentious points, which touched on the Malay affirmative action policies.

Crackdowns and punitive measures taken against university students for speaking up also increased tremendously in 2001. In addition to the two student leaders who were arrested under the ISA, students vocal in their dissent were either expelled, suspended or fined for charges ranging from illegal assembly, speaking to the media, protesting on campus, selling anti-ISA badges, protesting the government-proposed Vision School and managing the website of an unregistered student organisation.

### Right to Freedom of Movement

In May, 78 people were reported to have been banned by the Malaysian government from travelling overseas for having tarnished Malaysia's image on previous trips. This list was apparently expanded in August of this year. Approximately 22,910 foreign nationals have also been blacklisted from entering Malaysia, one of them being Mabel Au, fiancée of Keadilan vice-president Tian Chua (who is currently serving a two-year detention order under the ISA). Mabel was barred from entering Malaysia upon her arrival on July 20 and was deported after being held for 13 hours.

The immigration autonomy enjoyed by the state of Sarawak was also used to silent dissent. Tan Seng Hin 61-year old Chinese educationist, critical of state education policy was deported from Sarawak and barred from re-entering. No reason was given by the state.

### Habeas Corpus

While the High Court Judge Augustine Paul, on April 25, rejected the habeas corpus application of five reformasi activists detained under the ISA, Shah Alam High Court Judge Hishamudin Mohd Yunus ruled on May 30 that the detention of N Gobalakrishnan and Abdul Ghani Haroon under the ISA was unlawful and done in bad faith and that Parliament should thoroughly review the ISA. This judgement, which for many was a pleasant surprise, clearly did not sit well with the Prime Minister who berated the judge by saying that judges who do not agree with laws passed by Parliament should excuse themselves from hearing such cases.

June 8 saw the Sabah High Court Judge Muhammad Kamil Awang order Yong Teck Lee to vacate his state assembly seat due to the existence of 'phantom voters'. The judge also revealed that he had been instructed by a 'superior' to strike off two election petitions without a hearing. Once again, Prime Minister Mahathir sharply criticises the judge for "tarnishing the image of the court". Defacto Law Minister Rais Yatim immediately announced a proposal to amend the Election Court to allow for appeals.

Several cases related to the Anwar Ibrahim trials also concluded this year. Anwar lost his RM100 million defamation suit against Mahathir and was ordered to pay RM18,486 in court costs, in addition to the RM85,284 slapped on him in April. Two other judgements defied public prediction. Former Inspector-General of Police Abdul Rahim Noor lost his appeal against his two-month jail term and was sent to the Kajang Prison on April 30 while lawyer Zainur Zakaria was cleared of a contempt conviction imposed by Justice S. Augustine Paul in 1998. In their judgements, the judges ruled that Paul had not followed proper procedures in finding Zainur guilty of contempt.

### Detention without Trial Statutes

Several major statutes provide for indefinite detention without trial in Malaysia, namely:

- The Internal Security Act (ISA) 1960
- The Emergency (Public Order and Prevention of Crime) Ordinance 1969
- The Dangerous Drugs (Special Prevention Measures) Act 1985
- Crime Prevention Act (Restricted Residence)
- Restricted Residence Act 1933

Suaram documented at least 1,051 people detained under these laws in 2000, while the figure for 2002 was 2,520. The breakdown for detentions in 2002 are as follows.

Table: 1.1 Total number of documented victims of detention without trial for 2001

No.	Law	Numbers	Remarks Detained
1.	Internal Security Act (until November 15, 2001)	77	
2.	Dangerous Drugs Act (Special Preventive Measures) 1985 (until June 31, 2001)	1,642	
3.	Emergency Ordinance (EO) (until June 31, 2001)	309	* including those held at Simpang and those under restricted residence.
4.	Restricted Residence Act 1933 (until June 31, 2001)	159	
5.	Crime Prevention Act (Restricted Residence) (until June 31, 2001)	333	
	Total Documented Victims for Year 2001	2520	

Sources: Home Ministry July 25, 2001

The statistics disclosed by Home Ministry on September 5 on ISA arrests since 1960 are shown in the table below:-

Table: Arrests and detentions under the Internal Security Act from 1960 to Sept 5, 2001

Year	Arrests	Detention Orders	Restricted Orders
1960	30	23	5
1961	40	32	20

1962	37	25	12
1963	57	28	23
1964	265	228	29
1965	408	393	11
1966	143	117	20
1967	169	122	20
1968	278	131	142
1969	178	100	69
1970	265	72	55
1971	431	126	116
1972	411	71	128
1973	258	38	92
1974	635	112	121
1975	770	155	166
1976	1,118	316	187
1977	1,180	380	212
1978	728	307	195
1979	532	136	117
1980	326	106	101
1981	181	87	25
1982	76	24	16
1983	108	5	27
1984	58	11	14
1985	47	3	27
1986	67	47	31
1987	182	65	15
1988	214	155	16
1989	87	56	8
1990	154	118	5
1991	57	57	3
1992	50	41	5
1993	7	1	-
1994	52	22	7
1995	137	101	4
1996	139	118	3
1997	250	86	3
1998	216	136	1
1999	4	-	1
2000	89	30	3
2001	70	40	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,504</b>	<b>4,218</b>	<b>2,061</b>

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Table: ISA arrests in various decades

Year	Arrests	Detention Orders	Restricted Orders
1960-1969	1,605	1,119	351
1970-1979	6,328	1,713	1,389
1980-1989	1,346	559	280
1990-1999	1,066	680	32
2000-2001	159	70	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,504</b>	<b>4,218</b>	<b>2,061</b>

It must be noted that the actual number of persons arrested under the ISA is far more than the official statistics disclosed. It is believed that more than 10,000 people have been detained in total, including those that were detained and subsequently released before the end of the 60-day period

#### No. of ISA detainees in Kamunting 2000-2001

Held for alleged involvement in:	End-2000	31 July 2001	15 Nov 2001
Bringing in illegal immigrants	-	21	21
Al Maunah arms heist	16	15	15
Counterfeiting money	14	11	11
Falsifying documents	3	7	7
Firearms offences	3	3	3
Sub total	36	57	57
"Political" detentions:			
KMM (Kumpulan Mujahiddjin Malaysia)	-	-	9
'Militant' reformasi activities	-	6	5
Free Aceh Movement	4	4	4
Alleged Jihadi Gang Robbery	-	-	3
Spreading Shia teachings	-	3	3
Sub total	4	11	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>81</b>

Sources: Suhakam Report 2000; Home Ministry statistics Sept 5, 2001 & Suaram monitoring

Table: Current Status of ISA 10- Reformasi

	Name of Detainee	Age	Position/ Organisation	Date of ISA arrest	Current Status
1	Tian Chua	38	Vice President, keADILan	10 April	June 2: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years

2	Mohd Ezam Mohd Noor	34	Head, KeADILan Youth	10 April	June 2: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
3	Haji Saari Sungib	44	former president, JIM	10 April	June 2: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
4	Hishamuddin Rais	60	media columnist and social activist	10 April	June 2: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
5	Raja Petra Kamaruddin	51	Director, Free Anwar Campaign	11 April	June 2: Released by police

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6	N. Gobalakrishnan keADILan Youth	41	Secretary General,	10 April	May 30: Released by Shah Alam High Court. Police apply to overturn the judgment. Trial still going on.
7	Abdul Ghani Haroon	36	Central Committee	11 April	May 30: Released by Shah member, KeADILan Youth Alam High Court. Police apply to overturn the judgment. Trial still going on.
8	Dr Badrul Amin Bakarom	40	KeADILan Youth leader	20 April	June 13: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years. Nov 3: Released from Kamunting; put under Restricted residence briefly then sent back to Kamunting.
9	Lokman Nor Adam	28	Executive Secretary,	24 April	June 13: Sent to Kamunting keADILan Youth for 2 years
10	Badaruddin Ismail	56	Suaram activist	26 April	June 5: Released by Police



## ISA on Students

On May 11, several representatives from national level students groups, walked out in protest when handing an Abolish ISA memorandum to IGP, Norian Mai, when he instructed students to remove their anti-ISA badges.

On June 8, students organized a protest of 500 people in front of the National Mosque, after Friday prayers. Seven students were arrested, and were released on police bail the following day. The police bail was extended once before they were eventually charged in court for illegal assembly. Following this, several leaders were harassed, their houses raided and show cause letters were sent by their respective universities to the students.

On June 29, a fire razed the Universiti Malaya Tuanku Chansellor Hall. Ruling party politicians accused student activists of being involved in the fire, in order to prevent the Prime Minister from speaking at a scheduled symposium the day after.

Student activist Khairul Anuar Ahmad Zainuddin, 24, and Mohamad Fuad Mohd Ikhwan, 22, President of University Malaya student representative council, were detained under the ISA. Both were released before the end of the 60-day period. Khairul Anuar after his release claimed he was tortured during his detention and was forced to undergo non-stop interrogation. Mohamad Fuad, since his arrest, has opted to remain silent on his ordeal.

On July 19, Deputy Home Minister Zainal Abidin Zin said that the use of ISA is a symbol of the government's love for its citizens by rehabilitating them. He told the parliament that the purpose of detaining two university students under the Internal Security Act recently was to rehabilitate them.

A preliminary report from the fire department concluded that faulty wiring and not arson was the probable cause of the blaze.

No	Name	Background	Date of ISA arrest	State of arrest	Current Status
1	Mohamed Sobri B. Abu Hassan, 40 yrs	School bus driver	Was initially arrested on May 29 June 10: Rearrested under ISA after released from magistrate court	Selangor	Aug 11: Released unconditionally
2	Zainuri Kamaruddin, 34 yrs	N/a	Initially arrested on May 23 under Fire-arms Act 1971. June 18: Arrested under ISA	Selangor	Aug 11: Charged under Firearm Act 1971
3	Murad Halimudin Hassan, 35 yrs	N/a	May-June	N/a	Aug 11: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
4	Muhammad Azian Abdul Rahman Nazri, 29 yrs	N/a	May-June	N/a	Aug 11: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
5	Ustaz Mohamat Iqbal B. Abdul Rahman, 44 yrs	Religious speaker	June 30	Selangor	Aug 22: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years

## The Abolish ISA Movement

Concerned about the ongoing crackdown, NGOs, political parties and trade unions came together to form the Abolish ISA Movement (AIM), the biggest alliance in Malaysian history to campaign for the total repeal of the ISA. The alliance comprises 80 groups, and has its secretariat in the office of human rights group, Suaram.

Until the end of the third quarter of the year, the date for the hearing of the police appeal filed by Inspector-General of Police Norian Mai last May against the release of two former Internal Security Act (ISA) detainees, Abdul Ghani Haroon and N Gobalakrishnan, has not been fixed yet.

The appeal by the five ISA detainees against Kuala Lumpur High Court judge Augustine Paul's dismissal of their habeas corpus applications on the 25 April continued into October in the Federal Court. Five of them - social activist/columnist Hishammuddin Rais, Keadilan vice-president Tian Chua, party youth chief Mohd Ezam Mohd Nor, supreme council leader Saari Sungib and Freeanwar.com webmaster Raja Petra Kamaruddin, had appealed to the Federal Court against a High Court ruling that had validated their detentions under the ISA.

On August 6, they won the first round of a legal battle against their detention without trial when the Federal Court agreed to admit new evidence in their appeal hearing in the form of their affidavits.

The affidavits contained interviews with the ISA detainees which were previously unavailable as they were not allowed access to lawyers while in police custody. The testimonies of 10 reformasi activists detained under the Internal Security Act in April confirmed that their detentions were politically motivated and had nothing to do with national security.

According to the sworn affidavits of the detainees, none of them were questioned about the procurement of weapons or explosive materials and the use of dangerous weapons during street demonstrations.

On November 6, Deputy Home Minister Zainal Abidin Mohd Zin admitted in Parliament that the police had asked the ISA detainees a lot of questions that were not related to the allegations, including their sex lives, during the first 60 days of solitary confinement. According to the minister, questions relating to family problems, husband and wife relation, could be the core factors that motivate the ISA detainees to be involved in illegal activities that threaten national security.

On October 17, the Federal Court ruled that High Court judge Augustine Paul was not biased in dismissing the habeas corpus applications of five Keadilan and reformasi activists detained under the Internal Security Act. The five reformasi activists detained under the Internal Security Act (ISA) thus lost their appeal against the High Court judge's decision refusing to disqualify himself from hearing their applications for release.

Table: ISA arrests on alleged KMM (Malaysia Mujahideen Group)

Name	Age	Background/ Involvement	Date of ISA arrest	State of Arrest	Current Status
1 Asfawani Abdullah	36	PAS member; religious teacher	2-Aug	Kedah	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
2 Zainun Ismail @ Cikgu Nan	45	Ex-PAS member	2-Aug	Kedah	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
3 Solehan B. Abdul Ghafar	38	PAS member; religious school registrar	2-Aug	Terengganu	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
4 Alias B. Ngah	36	PAS supporter; farmer	2-Aug	Terengganu	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
5 Ahmad Pozi Darman	32	PAS supporter	2-Aug	Johor	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
6 Ahmad Tajuddin Abu Bakar	N/a	PAS youth leader for Larut branch	2-Aug	Perak	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
7 Mohd. Lofti B. Arnfin	N/a	PAS state Exco for Kedah; religious teacher	3-Aug	Kedah	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
8 Nik Adli Nik Abdul Aziz	N/a	Son of Kelantan Chief Minister Dato' Nik Aziz Nik Mat; Religious teacher	4-Aug	Kelantan	Sept 25: Sent to Kamunting for 2 years
9 Noor Arshid Sakib	32	PAS youth leader for Sungai Bemut branch	2-Aug	Johor	Sept 24: Sent for restricted residence

### Aftermath of September 11

The terrorist attacks on the US have provided an opportunity for the Malaysian government to justify its use of the Internal Security Act (ISA) in cracking down on alleged terrorist and militant actions in Malaysia.

Three days after the US tragedy, Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi told the Malaysian people that the Government had made the right move when it acted against KMM and that the situation was now under control. (STAR, Sept 15)

The next day, Abdullah told the press that the Internal Security Act (ISA), which human rights groups denounce as being against human rights, has indeed served its purpose in combatting terrorism.

On September 29, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad declared that countries which had accused Malaysia of being undemocratic and unjust by using the Internal Security Act to combat acts of terror are now learning to do the same thing. Dr Mahathir was further quoted as saying that, "One reason why the ISA was enacted and had not been repealed by the Government was because of its effectiveness in countering terrorism.

Malaysian Islamic Development Department (Jakim) Director-General Mohd Shahir Abdullah also announced that a special action committee would be formed to counter the emergence of militant groups and the use of violence among Muslims in the country. (STAR, September 14)

On October 10, six more people, allegedly members of KMM were detained under the ISA, bringing the total of recent ISA arrests in 2001 to 30. On September 29, Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad warned that

there would be more arrests of those involved in militant groups, and said members of "at least one political party" were veering towards militancy. The allegation was clearly targeted at PAS.

Human Rights Watch in a press statement released in September has identified Malaysian government as one of the countries that has taken the opportunity to increase repression in the name of anti-terrorism.

Table: Second round of ISA arrests on alleged KMM (Malaysia Mujahideen Group)

Name	Age	Background/ Involvement	Date of ISA arrest	State of Arrest	Current Status
1 Khairuddin Saad	30	Alleged link to KMM. A religious teacher at Sek. Men. Agama Sg. Petani, Merbok	10-Oct-01	Kedah	Nov 8: Released from the 60 days period. Sent for restricted residence.
2 Zulkifli @ Zul Memali Ahmad	39	Alleged link to KMM. A religious teacher at Sekolah Islahiah Dinniah, Kg. Memali, Baling.	10-Oct-01	Kedah	Nov 8: Released from the 60 days period. Sent for restricted residence.
3 Mohamad Zulkifli @ Pak Su Md. Isa	35	Alleged link to KMM. A religious teacher at Madrasah Islahiah Dinniah, Kg. Memali	10-Oct-01	Kedah	Nov 8: Released from the 60 days period. Sent for restricted residence.
4 Mohd Salleh Said	30	Alleged link to KMM. A religious teacher at Sek. Raja Perempuan Ta'ayah, Ipoh.	10-Oct-01	Perak	Nov 8: Released from the 60 days period. Sent for restricted residence.
5 Mohamad Zulkifli Mohamad Zakaria	32	Alleged link to KMM. A religious teacher at Pokok Qiam, Manjong.	10-Oct-01	Perak	Nov 8: Released from the 60 days period. Sent for restricted residence.
6 Hazani Ishak	33	Alleged link to KMM. A trader in Kota Bharu.	10-Oct-01	Kelantan	Nov 8: Released from the 60 days period. Sent for restricted residence

Up to November 15, Suaram had yet to verify the status of at least 4 persons arrested under ISA since July and September, ie. whether they had been released; sent to Kamunting or sent for restricted residence upon completing their first 60 days. Suaram has sent several letters to the Bukit Aman Police Headquarters regarding the matter but has not received any response. The details of these 4 people are shown in the table below:-

Table: Status Unclear after the 60 days period (until Nov 15)

No	Name	Age	Position/ Background	Date of Arrest	State of Arrest	Period of detention
1	Mohd. Rashid Ismail	35	Alleged members of "KMM 2" - Jemaah Tabligh Malaysia (JTM)	26-Jul	Sabah	117 days
2	Jaafar Karamah	42	Alleged members of "KMM 2" - Jemaah Tabligh Malaysia (JTM)	26-Jul	Sabah	117 days
3	Ariffin Jusoh	58	Alleged link to KMM.	2-Sept-01	Kedah	79 days
4	Maliki Jusoh	28	Alleged link to KMM.	6-Sep-01	Kedah	75 days