

The Government detained G RAMAN on 10 FEB 77 under the ISA for pro-communist activities. The allegations are that :

- (i) G RAMAN and a group of local pro-communists had plotted with a group of Euro-communists to exert pressure through the Socialist International on the Singapore Government to release hard-core communist detainees in readiness for the General Elections due 1976/1977. The released detainees could then group and rebuild the Communist United Front (CUF) to complement the armed struggle of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) to overthrow the elected Governments of MALAYSIA and SINGAPORE.
- (ii) G RAMAN instigated local groups including students and workers to resort to agitation as part of the plan to rebuild the CUF in SINGAPORE.

G RAMAN has admitted the allegations. See attached.

When G RAMAN was arrested, the Police also recovered from his home a large amount of pro-communist publications and his correspondence with the Euro-communists. These publications and correspondence provide further evidence to substantiate the allegations against G RAMAN. However, only the more important publications and correspondence will be made public.

The Socialist International (SI) Episode

The move to expel the Peoples Action Party (PAP) from Socialist International was initiated in June 1972 or earlier, as evidenced in three letters from AMIR DASTAN to G RAMAN, one undated and the other two dated 20 Jun 72 and 15 Dec 72 respectively. The letters had requested G RAMAN and two others in his group, namely CHAN KET TECK and ONG BOCK CHUAN to provide materials to justify the expulsion of PAP from SI. They also showed that the British Labour Party and similar-minded groups in Scandinavia and West Germany were supporting the move.

AMIR, in his letter dated 15 Dec 72 urged G RAMAN to form a group to service the radicals with a flow of regular information. It also revealed that the Journal of Contemporary Asia (JCA) would be used to propagate the communist allegations against the Singapore Government. AMIR also urged G RAMAN to set up local propaganda groups to disseminate communist or pro-communist propaganda among workers.

Appended hereunder are some other correspondence showing G RAMAN in touch with and supplying information to the Euro-communists:-

- (1) Letter dated 10 Sep 74 from G RAMAN to MALCOLM CALDWELL providing him with information on political detainees in Singapore and enclosing therewith the Detention Order served on T T RAJAH for publishing in the JCA.
- (2) Letter dated 9 May 74 from G RAMAN to MALCOLM CALDWELL, informing him of the de-registration of the Industrial Workers' Union and the introduction of the Newspaper and Printing Presses Bill in Singapore. G RAMAN also promised to write an article on the industrial situation in Singapore for the JCA.
- (3) Letter dated 17 Jan 76 from MALCOLM CALDWELL to G RAMAN informing him that the Dutch Labour Party and the British Labour Party have both voted to expel the PAP from the Socialist International. CALDWELL also said that he had already given G RAMAN's name to a Swedish Trade Union fact-finding mission which would be coming to Singapore to gather material. The material gathered will "swing the Swedish Social Democrats on the side of expelling the PAP".
- (4) Letter dated 9 Feb 76 from G RAMAN to GEOFFREY WILKINSON advising him on the various points in relation to the Emergency (Internal Security and Detention Order) Regulations and the Internal Security Act.
- (5) Letter dated 22 Oct 74 from ERNST UTRECHT to G RAMAN expressing his desire to introduce 'Comrade DAVE BOGGETT' to RAMAN. DAVE is the Chief Editor of Ronin, a revolutionary magazine published in Japan. RAMAN could then publish articles and documents in the magazines on the situation in Singapore and 'expose the bad practices of the present regime of the city state'.
- (6) Letter dated 19 Mar 73 from AMIR DASTAN to G RAMAN enclosing therewith three news items highlighting the "autocratic and despotic nature of the PAP Government". RAMAN was asked to indicate the progress on the "repressive legislation analysis". AMIR stressed the importance of "a regular flow of information

from home", adding that even regular newspaper cuttings with relevant items would be quite useful.

- (7) Letter dated 30 Aug 74 from MALCOLM CALDWELL to G RAMAN requesting him to write a short background and commentary on Lee Kuan Yew's new repressive press laws for the JCA, or send him some local press regarding comments and reactions for the documents section.
- (8) Letter dated 24 Apr 74 from G RAMAN to AMIR DASTAN, telling him that more must be done "to expose the 2 regimes here". RAMAN also enclosed some university student publications and telling AMIR about the new SU leadership. He further advised AMIR to co-ordinate programmes, using issues such as multi-national corporations, students' rights and basic economic issues.
- (9) Letter dated 24 Dec 73 from G RAMAN to ARA (probably referring to ARAVINDAN BALAKRISHNAN) enclosing therewith Dr POH SOO KAI's statement and asking ARA to give it maximum publicity.
- (10) Letter dated 8 Jan 74 from MALCOLM CALDWELL to G RAMAN informing RAMAN that the statements made by the released political detainees (including Dr POH SOO KAI's) would be published in the JCA. CALDWELL added that arrangements had also been made to have the statements translated and published in Germany.
- (11) Letter dated 28 Aug 73 from AMIR DASTAN to G RAMAN informing RAMAN that the Association of Radical East Asian Scholars (AREAS) had chosen Malaya and Singapore as their targets of work for the year, and he wanted "those at home" to organise themselves to ensure "a systematic and regular flow of information" for discussion. AMIR added that they should be "cautious and critical, particularly because we are entering a new and more developed phase in our struggle where the proletarian forces are getting stronger and the reactionary forces are weakening".
- (12) Letter dated 14 Mar 74 from MALCOLM CALDWELL to G RAMAN saying that he has given G RAMAN's name and address to a Swedish TV man;

PER-OLOF KARLSSON, who "will certainly make good use in the Swedish media of anything he learns (from RAMAN)".

PER-OLOF KARLSSON, a radical liberal, was responsible for supplying TV interviews on Vietnam to MALCOLM CALDWELL.

(Note: This shows how they made use of foreign mass media to achieve their goal).

G RAMAN's Role in Agitating Students

In his statement, G RAMAN had admitted that he instigated the students of the University of Singapore and the Singapore Polytechnic to adopt agitational tactics. He also referred to the legal advice he gave to TSUI HON KWONG, then the General Secretary of the University of Singapore Students' Union (USSU), that it was proper and constitutional for the USSU to be involved in the Tasek Utara issue. His letter dated 27 Sep 74 to TSUI HON KWONG is also attached.

Ideology of G RAMAN and MALCOLM CALDWELL

A large quantity of pro-communist documents were recovered in G RAMAN's house, including 2 proscribed publications:

- (i) Poems from Changi Prison by SAID ZAHARI;
- (ii) Peking Review;

In a preliminary hand-written statement, G RAMAN had admitted his role as the communication centre and link man between local pro-communists and Euro-communists. He received the following publications for distribution:

- (a) Mimbar Socialis published by the Partia Socialis Rakyat Malaya
- (b) Journal of Contemporary Asia
- (c) Bulletin of the Committee for Democratic Rights in Malaya - a procommunist publication from London.
- (d) Poems from Prison by SAID ZAHARI

He monitored the Voice of Malayan Revolution (VMR), the clandestine radio station of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM). A transcript of a VMR broadcasts in his own handwriting was recovered.

In a letter to PETER LINQUECO dated 21 May 75, he ended it by writing:

"Salute to Uncle Ho (Ho Chi Minh)
Fraternally".

In a similar letter to MALCOLM CALDWELL dated 21 May 75, he wrote the ending paragraph thus:

"Our salutes go to all those who are fighting the oppressors. It was a fitting honour to see the portrait of Uncle Ho (Ho Chi Minh) being carried throughout the capitals of the world".

The same could be said about MALCOLM CALDWELL. Outwardly, he is an academic. He heads the School of Oriental and African Studies at the London University. He is one of the editors of the JCA. But his true colours were revealed in the following two letters of his to G RAMAN:

(i) Letter dated 8 Feb 72, he wrote:

"I particularly want to talk to you about the possibilities of obtaining Xeros or micro-film copies of Plebian and Fajar for serious research (and political!) purposes."

(ii) Letter dated 10 May 75, he rejoiced the fall of Vietnam in May 1975, writing:

"Spectacular news from Indo-China! The reactionaries are really trembling in their shoes - E & W (East and West)!!"

Ministry of Home Affairs
Singapore.

February 12, 1977.
