மலேசிய இந்தியர்கள் அரசியல் தன்னாளுமை வியூகம்

முன்னேறுவதற்கான வழி

MALAYSIAN INDIAN POLITICAL EMPOWER MENT STRATEGY THE WAY FORWARD



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P. Uthayakumar

This book is dedicated to the Hindraf 'Makkal Sakti' supporters who triggered the political tsunami of 8th March 2008 for the first time in Malaysia's 52 years of independence.

Malaysian Indian Political Empowerment Strategy - The Way Forward

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First Edition: 19th July 2009

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Human rights lawyer P Uthaya in the dock 3rd Feb 2009

Dear members and supporters of Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi.

My ISA Detention

It has been about seventeen months since I have been arrested and detained arbitrarily on the Decrees of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO's) former Prime Minister Badawi and present Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak. My detention is without trial in an open court of law, without having been found guilty in any court of law but I have been sentenced and punished to imprisonment for two years jail with effect from the 13th day of December 2007 to the 12th day of December 2009 and continuing thereafter for an indefinite period of time which technically can mean a life sentence at the Kemta Prison Kemunting, Taiping @ Malaysia's Guantanamo Bay, under the draconian Internal Security Act 1960 (ISA). When Justice is not served to myself as a lawyer of eighteen years standing what Justice can the common man expect under the UMNO regime. This prison sentence is because of my minority and human rights work as a lawyer and activist championing in particular the ethnic minority Malaysian Indian rights who have been and are still suffering from the worst forms of atrocities at the hands of the UMNO controlled "apartheid" Malaysian government for over the last 52 years. At UMNO's 59th General Assembly the new UMNO leadership promised change. But UMNO will never change because it

has been in power continuously for a far too long period of 52 long years and will never change. We will have to change UMNO at all and any cost.

There are prisoners of conscience here serving the eight year of their ISA sentences. I have no regrets having been detained under the ISA. I have always amply prepared myself mentally for the worst under the cruel UMNO regime but of course hoping that the worst would not happen. In every people power struggle, personal and other sacrifices have to be made and I take this my imprisonment as my part and sincere contribution to this Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi struggle. I believe this my unlawful imprisonment has triggered and will further spur the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi supporters in their quest for justice, freedom, prosperity, dignity, equality and equal opportunities in particular for the Indians in Malaysia. I take this my imprisonment as the next level in our struggle against racial and religious discrimination, extremism and supremacy, oppression, suppression and the Indians being segregated and excluded from the national mainstream development plans, programmes and policies and the permanent colonialisation of the Indians under 52 long years of the neo colonialist UMNO controlled Malaysian government rule.

My health has been affected by this prolonged incarceration. I have now been diagnosed to be a heart patient having suffered from a silent heart attack whilst in detention at a time when I was denied of my diabetic medication, my diabetes has got worse especially when I was earlier deprived of my medication and up to this day still denied a diabetic diet and the prison authorities still put sugar into my food and my high blood pressure having gone up created largely because of the depressive prison conditions and the pain of being thrown into the jail for over 500 days now. I now suffer from two kinds of skin diseases, lumbar spondalysis (backbone damage) and arthritis of my knees and fingers as a result of being forced to sleep on a cement concrete floor on a mere one inch thin form mattress. With effect from July 2008 I have also refused all medical treatment at government hospitals

as the police special branch and the Kemta Prison authorities have been interfering and compromising the independence of the government service doctors that I am taken to for treatment. On 31/1/2009, I had accidently fractured my left toe as a result of having been forced to walk on an uneven pothole riddled road in the convicted prisoners block that I have now been thrown into. My appeal to be sent to a private hospital was turned down by a Sessions Court Judge. Under protest and as an emergency I agreed to be treated at the KL General Hospital when I was brought for trial at the KL Sessions Court. The Kuala Lumpur government hospital doctor had refused to admit me because "there is no hospital bed", did not put a cast or prescribe medication especially so when I am a diabetic and the X-ray confirming a fracture and my left leg severely swollen and blackening. The said government doctor and even the government specialist orthopedic surgeon (later) at the Taiping General Hospital said that the fracture would heal on its own. No medication even was prescribed to me. The food in prison is tasteless "pale and stale". In fact with effect from 22/3/2009, I have refused to consume the prison food as I discovered a few small pieces of beef in my chicken sambal. When I enquired with two of the kitchen staff they had confirmed that my chicken was cooked in the same pot with beef. The beef was scooped out for the others and the chicken served on me. I have lodged a police report. As per my police report I now only eat bread on a day to day basis. Based on my eighteen years experience as a lawyer, I know that the UMNO government will not bother to take any action. They just don't care. Do you think UMNO will really change? Imagine what UMNO would do had it been "UMNO" that was the detainee in place of myself and pork cooked this way and served on the detainee. As usual one rule for us and another rule for them. The living conditions here is an insult to human dignity especially so after having lived comfortably for so many years in my near "five star" condominium. My legal firm of seventeen years standing has been forced to be closed down within months of my ISA detention. Since my imprisonment I get zero income. UMNO has succeeded in financially draining me out. But I have no regrets and will never give up the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi cause and in championing the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi's 18 point demands to former Prime Minister Badawi and the current Prime Minister Najib Razak dated the 12th day of August 2007. Not a day goes by in Kemta Prison without my reading, researching, writing, thinking, strategizing and reflecting on the best plans for all of you and on the critical Indian issues for an average of about thirteen to fourteen hours per day and seven days in a week. This is my one and only and full time job in prison. I have grown wiser! On a positive note may be god destined this imprisonment onto me in order for me to reflect on the critical Indian problems and to seek possible solutions.



P Uthaya at Taiping Hospital 3rd Feb 2009

Indians excluded and segregated from the national mainstream development by UMNO

In this 52 years of the independence of Malaysia, the Indians have been systematically and deliberately excluded and segregated from about 99% of the national mainstream development plans, policies and programmes directly benefiting the people. The Indians instead are merely given the "crumbs" and "peanuts" for show or puppet shadow play "wayang kulit" largely through the agency of a "Mandore" (supervisor) Indian political party. And then UMNO expects the Indians to be grateful to them for these "crumbs" and "peanuts" in the name of their racial and religious supremacy. The rare successful Indians who we see today are the cream of the crop who would succeed anywhere, anyhow, anyway or who had to work exceptionally hard and against the odds and the waves and with some luck made it but certainly with no or very little help or support from the UMNO controlled government.

But 70% of the Indians in Malaysia are suffering from poverty, being pushed to or remaining poor, retained as the low wage earners, underprivileged, living in mystery and suffering on a day to day basis and with 90% being pushed to remain as daily and monthly wage earners (NST 25/11/2008 at page 14), all because of UMNO's racism, religious extremism, inequality, inequal opportunities, discrimination, segregation and merge upward mobility opportunities although Equality before the law and non discrimination is specifically enshrined, entrenched and guaranteed in Article 8 of the Malaysian Federal Constitution and also classified as a fundamental liberty. UMNO also has no respect for the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (U.N.), Economic Social and Cultural rights (ESCON), the Commonwealth Harare Declaration and the other international treaties and obligations which guarantees equity, equal opportunities, non discrimination, basic human rights, human dignity prosperity, the right to co-exist, freedom, prosperity etc. Even after 52 years of independence we still have Indian sex slaves and Indian slaves in Malaysia (NST 15/9/2008 at pages 12 and 13). A 17 year old Indian girl sitting for her SPM exams is forced to wake up at 3.00am to tap rubber and then goes to school at 7.30 am as both her parents are sickly and are unable to work anymore (Tamil Nesan 23/11/2008 front page) The New Straits Times has reported that 50,000 (mostly third, fourth, fifth and even sixth generation) Malaysian born Indian children and almost all with either one or both of their parents being Malaysian Indian citizens have been



Released from ISA, Kamunting Prison, 9th May 2009.

denied even their innate and birth right to be issued their Birth Certificates and have been made stateless. Our estimate is that there are about 150,000 stateless Indians in Malaysia. The single parent rate among the Indians (due largely to poverty and poverty related matters) is 500% higher than in the Chinese community (Tamil Nesan 21/6/2008), Indian poverty is so bad that a mother living in a slump in Penang had to feed her baby with rock sugar water and sweetened condensed milk because she could not afford to buy milk. Another mother had to stop her children from going to even Primary school because of poverty (NST 23/10/2008 at page 15) The suicide rate in

Malaysia is highest among the Indians largely because of poverty and poverty related problems and which is at about 600% higher than in the Malay community (NST 14/9/2008 at page 21). In one day alone six Indians have been reported to have committed suicide (NST 14/4/2008), 70% of the Indians are in the poor and hard core poor category and 90% being mere daily and monthly wage earners (NST 25/11/2008 at page 14), 370 or about 70% out of the 523 Tamil schools have been denied the right to be made fully government funded government schools (NST 11/6/2008 at page 24) which if made fully government funded schools would take almost all of them out of being in cramped "cowshed" like dilapidated pre war wooden structures and in turn being on par with Malay and Chinese schools.

In every ten days one hindu temple is maliciously demolished by the UMNO government in the state of Selangor alone (Tamil Nesan 30/10/08 at page 3) and based on this we estimate one hindu temple being maliciously demolished nationwide in Malaysia every week. Only about 1% of government civil service jobs are given to Indians (refer NST 13/6/2008 at page 14) and only 0.001% are allowed top executive jobs in the Corporate, Banking, Industrial, government linked companies corporations and in the business sectors however qualified or capable they are. Licences, permits, government contracts projects and fair business opportunities are denied to 99% of the deserving Indians. Fair upward mobility opportunities are denied to 99% of the Indians across the board. Further and better particulars are as per Hindraf Makkal Sakthi's paper presented at the Pravasi Bharathiya Divas Conference at Chennai, India dated 7/1/2009 and the appeal Memorandum dated 24/1/2009 by Hindraf Makkal Sakthi to President Obama of the United States of America on his first day of office. In short the Indians have been almost wholly excluded and segregated from the national mainstream development of Malaysia. These atrocities hardly happens to the Malays or Chinese. It happens only to the Indians and that too only in Malaysia. Malaysia Boleh! Overseas Indians in almost all other parts of the world having been granted equality, equal opportunities and non institutional discrimination have turned out to become about the most successful professionals, businessmen, entrepreneurs, industrialists etc in Europe, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Africa, Singapore and almost every other part of the world except in Malaysia. UMNO has succeeded in instilling the fear of violence and that things would only get worse if the Indians did not support them or if UMNO was questioned on equality and equal opportunities. Over the last 52 years, millions of especially hard working Indians have been denied equality, equal opportunities and equal upward mobility opportunities by the UMNO controlled government simply because they are Indians. Millions of Indians have lived and died in misery in this land of aplenty. In short UMNO has succeeded in ruling by instilling fear, playing politics and cheating the Indians for 52 long years.



Beard shaving ceremony, Batu, Caves 17th May 2009



'Cry freedom', Batu Caves, 17th May 2009

Origins of People Power Makkal Sakthi

The seeds of the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi wave was planted at the Klang dinner forum in June 2007 and took off formally at the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall forum on 28/7/07 where my Kew, London, Public Records Office research findings book titled "50 years of Constitutional violations by the UMNO controlled Malaysian government" was launched after which Hindrafs' 18 Point Demands about the oppression, suppression, exclusion and segregation of the Indians from the national mainstream development of Malaysia was presented to former Prime Minister Badawi and the current Prime Minister Najib Razak at Putrajaya on 12/8/07. When as usual and as anticipated UMNO did not bother Hindraf's four trillion Sterling Pounds Civil Suit against the British Government was filed in London as planned and as scheduled on the 30th day of August 2007 is on the eve of Malaysia's 50th year Golden Jubilee Anniversary Mega Independence celebrations. On popular demand our nationwide public forums unfolded without having been pre planned and which climaxed in our about 100,000 Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi peaceful assembly on the 25th day of November 2007. On this day history was created when the usually passive, docile, timid and the threat of UMNOs' violence as in the 13th May 1969 and the Kg Medan racial attacks on the Indians (fearing Indians) assembled peacefully at the Kuala Lumpur City Centre streets to register their 50 years of pented up pain, suffering and misery against the UMNO controlled Malaysian government.

A hard hitting letter also alleging "ethnic cleansing" believed to have been sponsored by "the most powerful forces in Malaysia" in the Kampung Medan racial attacks and murders targeted specifically at the Indians where five Indians were killed and some one hundred over Indians were caused grievous bodily harm even in broad day light and many of these atrocities having unfolded right before the very eyes of the Royal Malaysian police force members who stood by and watched silently for fifteen days in a row with effect from the 8th day of March 2001 to the 23nd day of March 2001 was sent to H.R.H. Queen Elizabeth II, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown and to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Harare on 24/11/2007 vide my letter dated 15/11/2007. This letter was also faxed to the International Press and the International community and circulated widely on the internet via e-mail. Note: there was a whole scale cover up when UMNO refused to hold a Royal Commission of Inquiry or present a White Paper in Parliament, Suhakam refused to hold an Inquiry and the High Court struck out our civil suit without even (UMNO) having to reply to our very serious allegations of "ethnic cleansing". The Chief Judge and the Attorney General had refused to hold an Inquest into the five cold blooded killings. Hundreds of pages of my letters and Memorandums were never replied to.Scores of police reports by the Kampong Medan "ethnic cleansing



In solidarity with Kg. Buah Pala villagers, Penang, 13th June 2009

"victims alleging organised crime were never investigated. Had these been transparently and accountably clarified there may not have been basis for this my "ethnic cleansing" allegation to have surfaced in the first place. For exposing this "ethnic cleansing" truth to the international community I was prosecuted for the criminal charges of Sedition. I have also been prosecuted and investigated for a series of other allegedly Seditious statements uttered in the Hindraf people power makkal sakthi's nationwide public forums. I can only say that the 50 years of distress, misery, heartache, pain and sufferings of the Indians had unprecedentedly brought us together on the 25th day of November 2007 Hindraf people power makkal sakthi peaceful Rally.

UMNO teaching Indians a lesson

To teach the Indians a lesson for daring to unprecedentedly and seriously standing up to speak up for Indian minority rights for the first time in the history of Malaysia, UMNO retaliated by arresting and detaining at least two hundred and forty one Hindraf peaceful assemblers on 25/11/2007 alone (NST 16/10/08 at page 6) and scores of others thereafter. Of these peaceful Hindraf assemblers some 54 were falsely, vindictively and maliciously prosecuted at the Kuala Lumpur Sessions Court for unlawful assembly. At the Shah Alam Sessions Courts, 31 out of 65 (NST 25/3/2009 at page 25) of them were falsely, maliciously and vindictively prosecuted also for the attempted murder of one policeman which is an impossible charge which even a first year law student would know but which the learned Attorney General had turned a blind eye to, chose not to know and which in fact succeeded in even getting the Malaysian courts to deny all 31 of them bail (Malaysiakini 5/12/2007) with especially the UMNO controlled Attorney General's personal appearance in Court. UMNO then detained without trial in an open court of law under the draconian Internal Security Act (ISA) and sentenced to two years imprisonment and continuing indefinately thereafter the four Hindraf lawyers, thinking that the Indians would be cowed and frightened. But UMNO has forgotten that they are now dealing with the third, fourth,

fifth and even the sixth generation Indians and no longer our grandparents and great grandparents. This backfired on UMNO with the explosive Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi movement which in turn precipitated into the political tsunami general election results on the 8th day of March 2008 by also moving a majority of the Chinese and many Malay voters away from the traditionally tried and tested UMNO and BN government rule. The Hindraf people power makkal sakthi had openly pledged and supported the Opposition PKR, DAP and PAS parties as a result of which for the first time in the history of Malaysia UMNO and BN lost its two thirds majority in Parliament and with PKR, DAP and PAS unprecedentedly winning 82 out of the 222 Parliamentary seats contested. In 67 of these 82 Parliamentary seats won by PKR, DAP and PAS and similarly in 142 state assembly seats the Indians were the deciding voters forming between 9% to 46.2% of the voters (Dewan Masyarakat Edisi Khas 2008 - Pilihanraya Umum ke 12 at page 44). Or the Indian voters representing over 10% of the elect rate in 62 Parliamentary constituencies and 138 state Assembly seats (Lim Teck Ghee's paper "Rising to it or denial of challenges? Paper at the Regional outlook Forum 2008, 7th to 8th of January 2008, Singapore).

From being traditionally about 95% loyal voters of UMNO and BN there was a complete and contrast paradigm shift and pandeleum swing when about 95% of the Indian voters unprecedentedly voted for PKR, DAP and PAS which in turn led them also to successfully forming the four state governments in Kedah, Penang, Perak, Selangor and "capturing" the Wilayah Persekutuan of Kuala Lumpur by winning ten out of the eleven Parliamentary seats therein. Hindraf was the tipping point for UMNO and BN's massive loss in the 8th March general elections. (Tipping points, viewpoints on the reason for and impact of the March 8th election earthquake at page 51, edited by Oon Yeoh). Hindraf tilted the scales and made that difference. Hindraf set the ball rolling which snow balled into the political tsunami of the 8th day of March 2008 general elections. But did PKR, DAP and PAS reciprocate in fulfilling in at least these five PR States on their part vis a vis Hindraf's 18 point demands? The answer is no.

Hopes in PKR, DAP and PAS dashed

Since the 8th day of March 2008 general elections and before the start of Parliament on the 28th day of May 2008, Hindraf still believing and harbouring hopes in the multi racial PKR, DAP and PAS had submitted our initial 13 most critical Parliamentary questions by personal hand delivery to Y.B. Dato' Seri Anuar Ibrahim, Y.B. Lim Kit Siang and Y.B. Hadi Awang arising primarily out of the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi's 18 point demands. But PKR, DAP and PAS did not bother to raise even one single critical Indian question on their own accord or any of Hindrafs' said 13 Parliamentary questions or on any of the aforesaid Hindrafs' 18 point demands.

Thereafter we had stopped sending them any further Parliamentary questions. Not to mention the scores of pre 8th March 2008 earlier Parliamentary questions, hundreds of letters, protest notes, memorandums etc. addressed to the top UMNO leadership and copied to the aforesaid top most leadership of PKR, DAP and PAS and running into thousands of pages over the last ten years running from 1999 to 2008. Neither PKR, DAP nor PAS replied to us or called us for a discussion. All these said letters are available for perusal at the Hindraf websites and/or at www.policewatchmalaysia.com. PKR, DAP and PAS did not bother because the Indians do not have the political or economic clout and they do not get to score very much political points or do not get to play to the gallery or to the populist sentiments by doing so. This is the political reality staring at us today. It has now become quite plain and obvious to us that all what PKR, DAP and PAS wanted from us was merely the crucial Indian votes. Politicians are Politicians! How much different are especially these five PKR, DAP and PAS state governments compared with the previous UMNO state governments or the current Federal UMNO government in so for as the Indians are concerned?

The truth is that out of no other alternative and sheer desperation we had been patiently hogging on to PKR, DAP and PAS since 1999 for some semblance of justice and fairness at the least. But alas, we got almost none, lest we were only made use of and had our hopes dashed again and again repeatedly. In fact I would go further to say that the Indian problems has hit this critical stage also because of PKR, DAP, PAS, almost all NGOs' and the Malaysian civil society abandoning the critical Indian issues and because over the last 52 years we did not have even one Indian majority Parliamentary or state seat whose Member of Parliament or State Assemblyman was able to speak up without fear or favour and not having to play to the majoritarian racialist Malay, Chinese, orang asli and other natives and populist sentiments.



P. Watha Moorthy - international lobby at United Nations

Pakatan Rakyat have started demolishing Hindu Temples

To add insult to injury the Kedah PAS controlled Pakatan Rakyat (PR) state government had on the 15th day of August 2008 demolished the Sri Muneswarar hindu temple in Kubang Pasu, Kedah. The top PKR, DAP and PAS national leaders did not condemn the Kedah PAS controlled Pakatan Rakyat state government nor was an apology tendered with an undertaking given that this would never ever happen again. PKR, DAP and PAS would most likely have otherwise reacted swiftly had it been a Mosque, Church, Chinese or a Buddhist temple. Even the PKR Indian Exco Member cum supervisor (mandore) in the PAS controlled Kedah state government was powerless to stop this demolishment as had been the case with the immediate past Indian Exco member cum supervisor (mandore) who had been under the UMNO controlled Kedah state government. So was the PKR Indian Councillor cum "mandore" for the Kubang Pasu Municipal Council (MPKP) who confirmed that no such decision to demolish this temple had ever been made at any of the MPKP Council meetings (Tamil Nesan 16/8/2008 page 6). Why then was this temple demolished? Why is there no criminal prosecution against the Menteri Besar of Kedah and/or the President of MPKP?

Similarly on the very next month of September 2008 the Selangor PKR led State Government was responsible for the demolishment of the Sri Maha Kaliaman Hindu Temple in Jalan Ulu Langat, Ampang (Tamil Nesan headlines 25/9/2008). Just like UMNO the Pakatan Rakyat top most leaders and the PKR Selangor Menteri Besar sent their Indian EXCO Member cum supervisor (mandore) to the forefront to do the usual UMNO style puppet shadow play "wayang kulit" and to do damage control. There has also been no apology nor an undertaking by the Pakatan Rakyat National Leadership or the state governments that this will not happen again in the future and neither was the Selangor Menteri Besar and/or the Ampang Municipal Council President sacked and/or prosecuted for the criminal offence of demolishing this hindu temple in violation of Section 295 of the Penal Code for defiling a place of worship. In fact the Selangor Menteri Besar vide an official reply at the Selangor State Assembly on 29/10/2008 to the State Assemblyman of Kota Alam Shah had replied that "kerajaan negeri berpandangan tindakan perobohan ke atas kuilkuil hindu semasa dibawah kerajaan negeri sebelum ini (96 hindu temples demolished from 2004 to 2007 ie at the average of one hindu temple demolished in every ten days) telah dijalankan mengikut peraturan dan perundangan yang berkuatkuasa..... Walaubagaimanapun kerajaan negeri dibawah Pakatan Rakyat akan mengambil pendekatan yang lebih mesra dimana sebelum perobohan PBT atau Pejabat Daerah perlu mendapatkan kebenaran kerajaan negeri terlebih dahulu". This new PKR Selangor government like the previous Selangor UMNO government are still insisting that they are entitled to continue to unlawfully demolish hindu temples especially in contravention of Article 11 of the Federal Constitution which guarantees freedom

of religion. Just like UMNO, a strong stand was never taken by PKR, DAP and PAS top leadership just because the Indians once again do not have the political or economic clout.

The DAP led Penang State government on the other hand vide the Penang Street District and Land Office gave the 72 year



Thanksgiving at Thanirmalai Temple, Penang, 13th June 2009

old Sri Batrakali Amman Hindu Temple two weeks notice to move out (NST 2/11/2008 at page 26) Since the 25th day of November 2007 Hindraf Rally, UMNO seem to have stopped demolishing hindu temples but now Pakatan

Rakyat have just seem to have started! Written requests to meet these PKR, DAP and PAS top leadership to discuss this hindu temple and other matters arising out of Hindrafs'18 point demands in particular in the four Pakatan Rakyat states were never entertained because again the Indians have no political or economic clout.

But Hindraf said: Vote for PKR, DAP & PAS

But you could now turn around and ask us "but why did Hindraf tell us to vote for PKR, DAP and PAS on the 8th day of March 2008 general elections? Our answer is what choice did we have at that time and bearing in mind the fact that we had at that time made a stand to remain apolitical. PKR, DAP and PAS also knew fully well that the Indians had no other choice or alternative and took full advantage of them. Having said that, even now we have no regrets for having fully supported PKR, DAP and PAS and in fact are proud of the fact that we played that crucial role and part in the history of Malaysia and the tipping point in denying UMNO/BN their 51 years record hold on their two thirds majority in Parliament. Something which I had never dreamed nor imagined would ever happen during my lifetime

PKR, DAP & PAS state governments like UMNO also ignore critical Indian problems

However, over one year after the political tsunami of the 8th day of March 2008 it has today become plain and obvious that the supposedly "multi-racial" PKR, DAP and PAS just like UMNO have chosen to ignore even the most critical Indian problems especially as per Hindrafs' aforesaid 18 point demands. We now have come to the point of the naked truth and are ready to talk about the political reality. We have to face the bare facts as it is. For example one of these 18 point demands is for all 523 Tamil schools, all hindu temples, crematoriums, burial sites and Indian squatter colonies to be granted state government land and for the same to be gazetted accordingly

which would in turn qualify all 523 Tamil schools to be converted into fully government funded Tamil schools and which would then become part and parcel of the national mainstream education system with equal status to the Malay schools which is managed by the UMNO controlled Federal Education Ministry or the Chinese Corporate and business community sponsored Chinese schools for that matter. Also so that all Hindu temples would no longer be maliciously demolished and hindu crematoriums, burial grounds and also Tamil schools and Indian squatter colonies which are also of historical value and in fact the history and heritage of this country would no longer be forced to be destroyed or relocated at the whims and fancies of particularly UMNO and which now seem to have started by Pakatan Rakyat especially and conveniently done most of the times in the pretext of "development".

Further to the National Land Code and the Land Acquisition Act the Menteri Besars and Chief Minister of these said five Pakatan Rakyat states have 100% control and power to grant land to all these Tamil schools, hindu temples, hindu crematoriums, hindu burial grounds and Indian squatter colonies which would mean that these Tamil schools, hindu temples, hindu crematoriums, hindu burial grounds and Indian squatter colony problems could be solved merely by the stroke of the pen by the five said Menteri Besars and Chief Minister. This way at least half of the critical Indian problems in Malaysia would be solved as about 70% of the Malaysian Indian population live in these five states. But PKR, DAP and PAS just like UMNO are not interested in a permanent solution to these Tamil schools, Hindu temples, Hindu crematoriums, Hindu burial grounds and Indian squatter colony problems etc. These are of public and not private interest. In fact it is in the public interest to grant land for these critical Indian concerns. It appears that PKR, DAP and PAS therefore are not interested in solving even one of these 18 point demands or any of the critical Indian problems which is in any event is 100% within their control and power and independent of the Federal UMNO government. This again is because of the simple reason that the Indians again do not have the necessary political power or economic clout

and also do not draw sufficient political mileage to move and push PKR, DAP, PAS or UMNO for that matter. To the contrary the Pakatan Raykat State governments have very liberally granted state land and huge financial allocations where it concerned the Malays, Chinese and orang asli and for merely private concerns on top of that. For example the RM100 Million and 400 hectares pig project in Sepang, Selangor (NST 11/4/2008 and 26/8/2008 at page 3) 60,000 (102,000) Chinese new villagers in Perak to be granted permanent land titles (UM 5/4/2008 at page 14).

This was done with lightning speed and in about one month of the Selangor and Perak State governments taking power. "Perak ingkar arahan Majlis Tanah Negara" was the headlines in Utusan Malaysia on 1/1/2009 which reported that "349 Rancangan Perkampungan Tersusun (RPT) and 134 New Villages in Perak with 110,000 and 102,000 (60,000) titles respectively to be given out irrespective of the National Land Councils orders involving almost all Malay and Chinese owners and land recipients. Freehold titles for just RM63.00 for 110,000 planned villages (almost 99% Malay) and 102,000 (60,000) (estimated at almost 99% Chinese) Chinese New Villagers in Perak. "The value of these properties will then go up and they can apply for bank loans to rebuilt their houses" says Datuk Ngae Koo Ham, the Senior DAP EXCO Member for Perak (NST 10/10/2008 at page 23). The PKR, DAP and PAS Perak State government also allocated 1,000 hectares (about 2,500 acres) of land to nine Chinese schools "for them to generate revenue to pay for their operational expenses" says PAS Perak Menteri Besar Datuk Nizar Jamaluddin (NST 31/8/2008 at page 38). The schools were urged to form a company to work the land and share the profits among themselves. The Pakatan Rakyat Menteri Besar also donated RM30,000.00 for each of the nine schools. Even after UMNO/BN taking over power in Perak in February 2009, the new UMNO Menteri Besar Zambry Kadir in about one months time confirms "State BN to carry on with (permanent) land title plan to the said 132 Chinese New Villages and in the 349 (Malay) planned villages (NST 7/3/2009) and "The BN Government in Perak will give due consideration to the 1,000 hectre piece of land meant to help the nine Chinese independent schools in the state to be financially self reliant said BN Menteri Besar Zambry after flagging off a cross country run involving representatives of the independent Chinese schools (The Star 8/3/2009). The Perak Menteri Besar Datuk Zambry Kadir said a solution would be worked out to safeguard the interests of the orang asli community and customary rights to their ancestral land. It is a state priority. (NST 9/3/2009 at page 8). But what about land for the landless indians, tamil schools, Hindu temples and crematoriums? Why is this not a state priority by both UMNO and PR. Because we are Indians? This the clearest ever and latest example of how both UMNO/BN and PAS, PKR, DAP/PR does not care for the Indians.

Then the 3.3 hectares of land for every orang asli family was approved. 18,000 hectares of forest land have been gazetted as orang asli reserve and another 30,000 hectares more are waiting to be gazetted, says Perak Senior EXCO Member Datuk Ngae Koo Ham (NST 20/9/2008 at page 20). The PR Perak State government then again granted a 99 year lease for 101 hectares of land to the proposed RM450 Million and private profit motivated Premier International University and with the possibility of an additional 20 hectares (NST 18/9/2008 at page 20). But 110 out of 138 or about 80% of the Tamil schools in Perak are still not fully aided because the land these schools are sitting on does not belong to these schools and on this grounds the UMNO Federal government has refused to grant full financial assistance to these schools. (UM 3/9/2008 at page 27). Similarly there are 97 Tamil primary schools in Selangor (TN 26/11/2008 at page 1) and 28 Tamil Primary schools in Penang (TN 24/6/2008 at page 3). Out of the 58 Tamil schools in Kedah 48 are not fully government funded schools again because the land/ estate the schools are sitting on does not belong to the them. Up to date no policy statement has been made to compulsorily acquire the land all these Tamil schools are sitting on in these five P.R. States pursuant to Section 76 of the National Land Code where the land is to be used for a public purpose. Also acquiring the Tamil school land using the Land Acquisition Act 1960

and by paying compensation to the land owners therein. These land that we are asking are for public purposes. But even for private purposes as aforesaid, the Senior Exco Member for Perak Datuk Nga Koo Han and some Pakatan Rakyat leaders have argued that the "special circumstances" of this case involved undoing the injustices caused to the New villagers when they were uprooted and relocated to New Villages during the emergency" (NST 4/1/2009 at page 26). But what about the injustices to the Indians who are still right up to this day are being colonialised by the neo colonialist UMNO and now by PKR, DAP and PAS to a lesser extent in these five states! Why? The DAP, PKR and PAS state governments in these five states have refused to grant land to these Tamil schools in order for them to qualify them to receive full financial assistance from the UMNO controlled Federal Government. Why?

But for the Tamil schools, hindu temples, crematoriums, burial sites, Indian squatters and the Indian landless, the Pakatan Rakyat State governments just like UMNO get their "Mandore" Exco Members to make empty or piecemeal promises of land, or a one off mere promise of land allocation for the odd and rare Tamil school, hindu temple, hindu crematorium or the local authority flats for rental for the Indian squatters, Indian poor and landless Indians. And that too almost always on condition that they have to relocate to another "back water" land and vacate the prime land that the school, hindu temple, crematorium or squatter area is sitting on and no firm land title or at least in written form to the new land. You too Brutus! – PKR, DAP and PAS!

Take the latest example of the brutal killing of A. Kugan in police custody for instance. None of the non Indian top leaders of PKR, DAP or PAS attended his funeral at the hour and time they were needed most in at least a symbolic gesture of support for justice for in particular the Indian victims shot dead, abused, tortured and killed in police custody by the police for so many years now. These five P.R. State governments have also like UMNO denied the poor and landless Indians in land schemes like Felda, Felcra, Risda, Fama, Agropolitan or other state sponsored agricultural land schemes etc. Never Mind!

But to the contrary the latest atrocity committed by the Pakatan Rakyat is by the PAS led Kedah State Government which had ordered the Sungei Petani Municipal Council (MPSP) to use their bulldozers to destroy the vegetable farms and flower nurseries of some 20 former Indian rubber tappers who have resettled for the past 18 years on this land and are now living in the nearby Taman Sejati Indah, Sungei Petani where farming has become their sole livelihood and rice bowl. Their banana, fruit, serai, sugar cane, flower plants and fruit trees were destroyed by MPSP (Tamil Nesan 26/1/2009 at page 6). Even the cruel immediate past UMNO Kedah State Government did not do this to the Indians and left them alone. But what is clear now is that both the Pakatan Rakyat and B.N. did not grant land titles to these landless Indians ie the land that they have been occupying and have lived in for so many years and to give their problems a permanent and lasting solution.

PKR, DAP and PAS may or may not win to form these state governments again in the 2012/2013 general elections. But why can't they in the meantime grant state land to all these Tamil schools, Hindu Temples, crematoriums, burial sites, and Indian squatters now while they are in power as has been done for the Chinese, Malay and the orang asli communities. I had posed this question to a PR Exco Member and a Parliament member who had visited me in Kemta Prison in mid 2008 but they had no answer and have since stopped visiting me thereafter. My answer is he/they are not empowered to solve this and the aforesaid critical Indian problems even from within the PR. (Note: UMNO has amply done so for the malay muslim community for over the last 52 years). This problem could be solved once and for all by the five PKR, DAP and PAS state governments. Why not a wholesome solution instead of the usual piecemeal solutions as had been practiced by UMNO and ably aided and abetted by their Indian "mandores" on the Indians for over the last 52 years.

Indians had no Political Voice for 52 long years

The Indian "mandore" (supervisor) party which basically wins on UMNO votes has been playing puppet shadow play "wayang kulit" politics in collaboration with UMNO for the past 52 years in exchange for "cari makan" opportunities, small contracts, petty businesses, token government jobs and posts, positions, licences, royal awards etc. We have wasted 52 long years

talking and harping about this party not helping us. The fact is that this party has no power and cannot help the Indians. The Indian leaders in this party are merely the puppets and "mandores" of the puppet master UMNO. Only UMNO has the real power. Only UMNO can help the Indians that is if they want to



Thanksgiving Mariamman Temple, Kulim, 14th June 2009

but which they have refused to seriously and sincerely do so in all these 52 long years. Just like for PKR, DAP and PAS we should also no longer waste any further time talking about this Indian "mandore" party either as we have wasted enough precious time in doing so. We now have to move on and move on fast! Pakatan Rakyat is no angel either. To cite the latest example despite we indicating to Dato Sri Anwar Ibrahim and the Pakatan Rakyat leadership that our preferred Hindraf candidate for the Bukit Selambau by-election is lawyer N.Surendran we were ignored. They chose someone alien to the Hindraf Makkal Sakthi people power movement. Their candidate Manikumar just like almost all other PR Indian candidates are unable to also champion

MALAYSIAN INDIAN POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY THE WAY FORWARD



Thanksgiving Kanthan Kallumalai Temple, Ipoh, 21st June 2009

the critical Indian issues.Immediately after being accepted as the PR candidate for Bukit Selambau, Manikumar immediately went on to distance himself from the critical Indian issues by declaring and proclaiming that he is a "bangsa Malaysia" candidate and not an Indian candidate . As usual this means championing all Malaysian issues except the critical Indian issues. But these are the kind of candidates P.R. wants ie to play to the majoritarian gallery! But under this Hindraf people power Indian Political Empowerment Strategy we will decide our own candidates.

Moving forward with people power

But now the time has come for us to move forward with the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi wave and forces and to put the past PKR, DAP and PAS and UMNO/BN behind us. We cannot be blind followers of Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Lim Kit Siang or Hadi Awang. Just like how we had made a decision to put our foot down and not to be blind followers and remaining at the mercy of UMNO, former Prime Minister Badawi and the present Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak. We have to chart our own destiny and future. We have to stand up on our own two feet. The writing on the wall is very clear that we have to end up fighting our own battle. We have to carry our baby. PKR, DAP and PAS are not going to help us very much save and except for the token help or may be slightly better than UMNO because it is our baby. PKR, DAP, PAS or UMNO are not going to bother. It is also plain and obvious and a fact that PKR, DAP and PAS are not multi-racial enough to also seriously encompass, champion, endeavour and to seriously help solve and resolve especially the critical Indian problems. PKR, DAP and PAS preach that they are multi-racial parties but this is largely only in theory and not in practice in particular when and where it concerns the Indians. We do not want to talk about PKR, DAP and PAS anymore as we have exhausted all our diplomatic avenues with them. In fact it was a non starter as the PKR, DAP and PAS top leadership did not even want to meet us despite even scores of our written letters to them

Indian Political Empowerment Strategy

Anyway we now have the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi's Human Rights Party choice or alternative where we can stand up on our own two feet and no longer need to rely on PKR, DAP PAS. The time has come for the HINDRAF PEOPLE POWER INDIAN POLITICAL EMPOWER-MENT STRATEGY where we will have a political voice at the top, highest political level and at the international forums. The suitable age at which a child should learn about politics is from the moment he or she can talk, says Bermuda House of Assembly deputy Speaker Jennifer M. Smith (NST 5/8/2008 page 10). Note: What was meant was more political work and social justice and not so much political talking, political gossip, political shadow play (wayang kulit), political "cari makan" or political "talk shop". What she must have meant is understanding and standing up for equality, equal opportunities, fairness, justice, prosperity, freedom for all and co-existence. Politics should be issue based and not personality based. It doesn't matter who is bringing that particular policy or issue as long as it is the best for the people says UMNO Youth Vice President Khairy Jamaluddin (NST 15/3/2009 at page 7). By this Indian political empowerment strategy we have to end up fighting our very own battle and championing our very own causes. HOW? Through the Register as a voter at your Hometown Campaign!

As at the 8/3/08 General Election electoral Roll there were 715,099 registered Indian voters in Malaysia according to the Malaysian Election Commission records. We estimate about another 400,000 Indian voters or so who we believe did not bother to register themselves as voters or not eligible to vote because they were denied their Birth Certificates and Identity Cards by UMNO. But the Indians never had a majority in even any one of the 222 Parliamentary or the 576 State Assembly seats. The state of Sabah as a comparison has only a slightly more ie 802,683 voters but they control 25 Parliament seats, 60 state Assembly seats and the whole of the state government of Sabah. Another comparison is the mostly indigenous Sabah and Sarawak population is merely 11.8% of the Malaysian population (EPU Statistics, UN Universal Periodic Review dated 19/11/2008) but between them they control 56 Parliament seats and about 135 state seats. (Note: Minus the handful Chinese majority urban seats). But the Indians form about 10% of the population (UMNO says 7.5%) but we have zero Indian majority Parliament and state seats. At least one UMNO Parliament seat (P 55 Lenggong, Perak) has been crafted to begin from one end of the Perak touching the Andaman sea on the West Coast and ending at the Thai border.

This is because the UMNO controlled Malaysian government in collaboration with the Malaysian Election Commission is believed to have tampered with and jerry mandered the constituencies so as to deprive the Indians of even one Indian majority Parliamentary or State seat for over the last 52 long years. This is so that the Indians would not have an effective political voice at the top most and highest political level, regional or at the international level. To the contrary almost all UMNO seats have been shrewdly crafted with a far smaller number of malay muslim majority voters. For example the Padang Renggas UMNO Parliamentary seat has a mere 24,397 voters and with 73.9% malay muslim voters (NST 9/3/2008 election pullout at page 17) as opposed to the Parliamentary seat of Bukit Raja which has the highest number of Indian voters at 28.3% but has 71,887 voters and which is about three times bigger then the Padang Renggas Parliamentary seat in terms of voters.

Worst still the Parliamentary seat of Putrajaya has a mere 5,079 voters out of which 94.6% are (almost all) Malay muslim civil servants. Putrajaya is even smaller than about almost any state constituency in terms of voters. Kota Raja is about 15 times bigger then Putrajaya with the Indian votes alone being 20,344 which could create four Parliamentary seats going by the Parliamentary seat of Putrajaya. In fact the Election Commission which is supposed to be an independent body to the contrary should have bent backwards to have carved out Indian majority Parliamentary and State Assembly seats and with a smaller voter population in proportion to the Indian population in Malaysia in the true spirit of democracy, the protection of minority Indians, proportional representation, justice and fair play. At least 22 Indian majority Parliament and 58 state Assembly seats should have been carved out and made out to have become Indian majority seats based on the 10% Indian population and out of the total of 222 Parliamentary seats and 576 state Assembly seats. The Election Commission is expected to delineate the Parliamentary and state constituencies again for the 2012/2013 General Elections. Let us see if they will abide by the principles of true democracy this time to also create Indian majority Parliamentary and state seats. I doubt it very much.

Changing the political landscape

With the wholehearted, committed and dedicated Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi support, we have the power to change and shape our fair share of the political landscape in Malaysia and carve out some token political representation and voice for the Indians today and for our future generations to come. We have only one chance and the time is now. It is now or never. If we fail to unite, strategies mobilize and move forward collectively we are doomed and we may never ever get a second chance ever again for us and for our future generations to come. I have identified an initial 15 Parliamentary and 38 state assembly seats out of the 222 parliament and 576 state seats in Malaysia with about 20% to 46.2% Indian voters in nine (9) states including the Wilayah Persekutuan of Kuala Lumpur based on the 8/3/2008 general election electoral roll. I have outlined six steps towards changing this political landscape as follows:-

STEP 1 - One Indian voter registers two Indian voters

For example if every one Indian voter from Lunas can invite at least two Indian voters from any part of Kedah and Perlis to register as a voter at their hometown address in Lunas then we can easily have one Indian majority Parlimentary Constituency with the existing average of about 20% Indian voters x 3 voters = 60% Indian voters per Parliamentary constituency. The respective state constituencies to register your voting address are as per items 1 to 15 in column D as outlined in the state seats with higher Indian voters to register as a voter column as hereinbelow mentioned. Similarly if all the voters in Perai get at least two other Indian voters from all over the State of Penang to register as a voter at their hometown address in the Perai state constituency, all Indian voters in Machap get at least two other Indian

voters from all over the state of Melaka, North and Central Johor and other areas which are nearer to the Machap state seat to register as a voter at their hometown address in the Machap state constituency, all Indian voters in Tiram get at least two other Indian voters from, in and around Johor Bahru, South Johor and the estimated 100,000 or so Indian workers working in Singapore based on the 500,000 Malaysian workers working in Singapore figure (UM 14/11/2008 at page 24) to register as a voter at their hometown address in the state constituency of Tiram. All Indian voters in Tanah Rata must get at least two other Indian voters from Pahang, Kelantan, Terengganu, Tapah and the surrounding areas nearest to Tanah Rata to register as a voter at their hometown address in the Tanah Rata state constituency.

All Indian voters in Mambau and Port Dickson to get at least two other Indian voters from Negeri Sembilan to register as a voter at their hometown address either in the Mambau or Port Dickson state constituencies whichever is nearer, practical or convenient to them. For all Indian voters in Kuala Kubu Baru, Ijok, Kota Alam Shah and Seri Andalas please get at least two other Indian voters from Selangor to register as a voter at their hometown address at either Kuala Kubu Baru, Ijok, Kota Alam Shah or the Seri Andalas state constituency hometown addresses whichever is nearer, practical or convenient to them. For all voters in Jalong, Buntong and Hutan Melintang to get at least two Indian voters to register as a voter at their hometown address at either Jalong, Buntong or Hutan Melintang state constituency hometown address or whichever is nearer, practical or convenient to them. For the Lembah Pantai Parliamentary constituency every Indian voter from

the Bangsar area should invite at least two other Indian voter from any part of the Wilayah Persekutuan of Kuala Lumpur, Sabah, Sarawak and Labuan to register as a voter in their hometown address in the Bangsar area. Note: Being a Federal Territory Lembah Pantai does not have a State seat.

STEP 2 - All voters register in state seat

On a similar note Indian voters from the state of Kedah and Perlis on their own accord must register as a voter using a Lunas state seat local hometown address. Indian voters from Penang, must register as a voter using a Perai local hometown address in the State seat of Perai. For the states of Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan there are more than one state seat for you to choose from. For Indian voters in Perak you can choose to register as a voter using a Jalong, Buntong or Hutan Melintang local hometown address either in the Jalong, Buntong or Hutan Melintang state constituency local hometown address whichever is convenient, practical or nearer to you. For all the Indian voters in the state of Selangor you can register as a voter using a Kuala Kubu Baru, Ijok, Kota Alam Shah or Seri Andalas local hometown address in the Kuala Kubu Baru, Ijok, Kota Alam Shah or Seri Andalas state constituency whichever is convenient, practical or nearer to you. For the Indian voters in Negeri Sembilan you can register as a voter using a Mambau or Port Dickson local hometown address in the Mambau or Port Dickson state constituency whichever is convenient or nearer to you.

The Indian voters in Tapah and the surrounding areas who are nearer to Cameron Highlands please register as a voter using a Tanah Rata local hometown address in the Tanah Rata state constituency because of the road accessibility to Tanah Rata which is very restricted. Similarly all voters from Kelantan, Terengganu and Pahang to preferably register as a voter using a local hometown address at the Tanah Rata state constituency. The Indian voters in the whole of Melaka, North and central Johor who are nearer to Machap must register as a voter using a Machap local hometown address in the Machap state constituency. Indian voters from in and around Johor Bahru and Malaysian Indians working in Singapore must register as a voter using a Tiram local hometown address in the Tiram state constituency. For Indian voters from the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur, Sabah, Sarawak and Labuan you are encouraged to register as a voter using a Bangsar local hometown address in the Parliamentary Constituency of Lembah Pantai.

In this way every state in Malaysia will have their own Indian Member of Parliament (MP) except for Perlis who will have the Padang Serai MP representing them and the Kelantan and Terengganu Indians who will have the Cameron Highlands MP representing them and the Sabah, Sarawak and Labuan Indians who will have the Lembah Pantai M.P. representing them. In addition to each and every of the aforesaid Parliamantary seats in items No 1 to No 15 in column B hereinbelow, there will come with it at least two State seats each. The exception is in the Lembah Pantai Parliamentary constituency where there are no State seats as the same is a Federal Territory.

In addition each and every voter must also get at least two other Indian voters to register as a voter in the aforesaid 14 state seats or in the Bangsar area in the Lembah Pantai Parliamentary constituency local hometown address. This above proposal is a general guide but you are free to register as a voter in any one of the aforesaid fourteen state seats or in the Bangsar area which you consider is your hometown. We suggest that you make an effort to travel to these aforesaid state constituencies on a Makkal Sakthi "Yathirai" (pilgrimage) meet the local people, identify your local hometown voting address and register as a voter there accordingly.

STEP 3 - Unregistered voters

Indian voters who have not yet registered as a voter please register as a voter at your local hometown voting address in any one of the 14 Indian state constituencies hereinbelow or in the Bangsar area in the Lembah Pantai Parlimentary constituency in column D of the Chart hereinbelow which are nearest, most practical or most convenient to you. Each and every unregistered Indian voter must also get at least two other voters to register in the aforesaid 14 State constituencies which they consider is their hometown or in the Bangsar area. We estimate that as at the 8th day of March 2008 General Elections about another 400,000 Indian voters or so had not registered as a voter based on the about Two Million Indian population and with about

two thirds being above the voting age of 21 years of age and with only 715,099 registered Indian voters having registered as a voter as at 8/3/2008. The Election Commission Chairman Tan Sri Abdul Aziz said that there are four Million Malaysians eligible to vote who have yet to register with most of them in their 20s' (NST 30/1/2009 at page 12). Assuming 10% of these 4 Million voters are Indians there are at least 400,000 unregistered Indian voters. This may include the Indian voters who did not bother to register themselves as voters or not eligible to vote because they were denied their Birth Certificates and Identity cards by UMNO. And/or the under quoted Indian population in Malaysia by the UMNO government.

The late Dr. V. David in his book "Freedom that never came" had at page 330 in a paper presented at the Wallangong University, Australia on 21/7/1985 stated the Indian population in Malaysia as being 16% of the total population. But today the UMNO government states that the Indians are at about 55% lesser at a mere 7.5%. But with this Indian political empowerment strategy the truth should surface. There are a total of 10,988,536 registered voters overall in Malaysia according to the latest Election Commission Electoral list (NST 19/6/2008 at page 2). These unregistered Indian voters may have thought that they may not make a difference or that they may have thought why bother voting for PKR, DAP or PAS as they would not make a difference to even the critical Indian issues anyway! May be these people had the foresight! But today the scenario is completely different in that each and every Indian voter counts. There is now a reason for you to register as a voter at your hometown as proposed hereinabove. You must also get at least two other Indian voters to register as a voter in their hometown using a local hometown voting address in any one of the aforesaid fourteen (14) state constituencies or in the Bangsar area in the Parliamentary constituency of Lembah Pantai as per the chart in column D hereinbelow.

STEP 4 - New voters

All new voters who have just attained the voting age of 21 years please register immediately as a voter using your local hometown voting address in any one of the aforesaid fourteen (14) state constituencies or in the Bangsar area in the Parliamentary constituency of Lembah Pantai as hereinbelow referred to which is nearest, most practical or most convenient to you. You must also get two Indian voters to take an active part in this Register as a voter in your Hometown Campaign and register as a voter using a local hometown voting address in any one of the aforesaid fourteen (14) state constituencies or in the Bangsar area in the Parliamentary constituency of Lembah Pantai as per column D of the chart hereinbelow.



Thanksgiving at Subramaniar Temple, Sungai Petani, 4th July 2009

STEP 5 - Voter registration campaign

Each and every Indian in Malaysia not only have a role to play in this People Power Indian political empowerment strategy but it is also their duty and responsibility for the present and also for the future generations to come. Each and every Indian please help out and actively participate by checking with every of your other Indian friends, relatives acquaintances or even a total Indian stranger as to whether they have registered as a voter in the 14 state constituencies or in the Bangsar area in the Parliamentary constituency of Lembah Pantai hereinbelow and then persuade, help, guide, assist and ensure that they register as a voter in their hometowns accordingly. The IT and Internet users who form at least half of the total Indian population can volunteer to become the voter checking agents in their respective housing estates and areas by accessing www.spr.gov.my using their wireless portable laptops with internet connection. You could take proactive action by going on a house to house "mission" and Register as a voter in your hometown campaign or try and campaign at markets, temples, weddings, temple festivals etc where you could put a table right at the entrance to offer your voter checking and voter registration advise accordingly. One could also do the SMS check for voters. Please call the Election Commission at 03-88856500 for further details. When about 100,000 Hindraf supporters from nationwide could physically attend the 25th November 2007 Hindraf Rally you could also help make this register at your hometown campaign a success. Thus this our Hindraf Makkal Sakthi People Power Indian political empowerment strategy will become a reality. The Indians will become politically relevant with a small but effective political voice, clout and a force to be reckoned with in Malaysia. PKR, DAP, PAS and UMNO will then have to recognize and be forced to hear our mobilized, concentrated, collective and strategic political voice. With as low as nine Parliamentary seats (Dewan Masyarakat Edisi Khas 2008 Pilihanraya Umum ke 12 at page 45) the DAP literally held the whole of the democratic and Opposition fort in Malaysia almost single handily for about 40 long years since 1969 until just before the 8th day of March 2008 general elections. But here we are talking about 15 Parliamentary seats under the Hindraf Makkal Sakthi People Power Human Rights Party's Indian political empowerment strategy and would certainly be able to do a lot more than what the DAP had done.

We will then be in the best position to champion our 18 point demands and the critical Indian problems overselves independently and without fear or favour. We would no longer have to beg and without getting much positive results from even PKR, DAP and PAS or UMNO for that matter. We would then be able to fight our own socio economic and political battles at the top and highest political level locally. Our 15 Members of Parliament would be able to bring the critical Indian problems and the 18 point demands right up to Asean, the Commonwealth, United Nations, European Union, Pravasi Bharathiya Divas, Gopio, United States Human rights bodies and also to many other International forums if need be especially so when all local avenues have been exhausted. Violations of human rights is no longer a state but an international community concern. Our 38 state Assemblyman would similarly be able to discharge their duties without fear or favour at the state level in the eight states. By this plan we would have thus created a first line of national leaders and a second line of state leaders for a start. I have plans to thereafter also create Divisional and branch leadership and with the effective Hindraf Makkal Sakthi people power Human Rights Party's empowerment centres (service centres) at every divisional level if not also at branch levels. We now no more have the excuse of whether Rama or Ravana rules and that it would not make a difference to us. Each and every one of us can and will make the difference. We will make that difference in the 2012/2013 General Elections. We will campaign and contest as the Human Rights Party candidates. We would hold election courses to familiarize candidates with the election process and strategies. We would also get the election NGOs and other present and retired opposition party elected representatives and former candidates to help out in this campaign. One important aspect of this training is to minimize the Indian spoilt votes as there are even up to one thousand over spoilt votes in many Parliamentary Constituencies.

Jeyalalitha's ADMK party in Tamil Nadu with a mere 20 odd Parliamentary seats could determine that the central (Federal) BJP government in India fell and only to be replaced by the Congress Party when a snap election was

called for in 2004. So can we to a lesser extent contribute in democratically changing the UMNO controlled Malaysian government. In New Zealand the Maori minority have only seven Parliamentary seats reserved for them under their constitution. (The Indians in Malaysia have zero such reservation). It is unlikely that any party will win an outright majority which would make the Maori Party crucial to either of the two main parties to form a coalition government in New Zealand (NST 4/11/2008 at page 31). In fact the March 2008 general elections was only narrowly won by UMNO/BN where the total percentage of votes casted was 51.08% for UMNO/BN and 48.92% for the Opposition parties which is a mere 2.16% difference. (NST 12/10/2008 page 21). From now onwards we will make that difference and become the tipping point. This is where the Indian voters forming at least about 10% of the Malaysian voters become extremely crucial in the 2012/2013 General Elections. Please remember that every Indian vote counts and so does every little ounce of effort by your goodselves. This is a collective Hindraf Makkal Sakthi people power effort, vision and mission. This is your Hindraf Makkal Sakthi people power movement and mission in this Register as a voter in your hometown campaign.

STEP 6 - Best Indian candidates

We will select the best 15 Parliamentary and 38 state assembly candidates who would have in particular the Indian communities paramount public interest in their hearts and minds and who would be prepared to fearlessly raise Indian issues and not "shy away" or be afraid of even being maliciously branded as a "racist", "extremist" or even "terrorist" but who are prepared to champion without fear or favour the critical Indian problems and the Hindraf 18 point demands. Incidentally in our said 18 point demands we had in the last and in the 18th point demanded 20 Parliamentary seats as Indian Reserve seats which was never honoured by both UMNO or PKR, DAP or PAS for that matter. We would contest using our very own Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi political party the Human Rights Party (HRP). If UMNO abuses their powers and rejects our application to register this

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Thanksgiving at Subramaniar Temple, Sungai Petani, 4/7/09

our political party, all our candidates would then contest as a group of Independent candidates but linked nationwide under our pro-tem Human Rights Party (HRP) as had been done by a group of independent candidates in Kelantan in the 1970s'. While we would initially be concentrating on these fifteen Parliamentary seats and the 38 state seats therein as hereinbelow mentioned we would be working on the five more additional Parlimentary seats with higher Indian voters ie. Merbok (17.3%), Nibong Tebal (16.6%) Teluk Intan (19.9%), Sepang (17.9%) and Kuala Langat (18.5%) and the further 13 state seats that come with it. This would be in Phase II of our action plan. People intending to make money "cari makan", looking for business opportunities, royal awards, puppet shadow play "wayang kulit" shrewd, crafty and shrewd politicians or people who want to merely play politics or be in the political power play game, wanting to play "mandore politics" fence sitters or people who want to play safe or want to play both sides are not welcome. "You are either with us or you are with the enemy" to quote former President George Bush of the USA.. We are looking out for social and political workers and not mere political players. We appeal for minimal politicking

and for the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi's Human Rights Party to focus on the critical Indian problems and on our 18 point demands as we are already 52 years behind time. As long as we stick to this mind set we cannot go wrong.

We have plans to train our very own future Members of Parliament and State Assemblymen and to familiarize and sensitive them with the 18 point demands, the critical Indian problems and the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi hopes and aspirations. I am in fact in the midst of finalizing our very own 25 topics training manual based on the latest 2008/2009 real "kisah benar" critical Indian problems which is in turn based on our 18 point demands and also the segregation and exclusion of the Indians from the national mainstream development of Malaysia. You now have the option of voting for the best Human Rights Party (HRP) candidates who we will determine after consultations with the Politbureau who would in turn have taken into consideration the views and wishes of the majority based on the feedback of the Hindraf People Power Makkal Sakthi's wishes and aspirations and announce the same at the appropriate time just before the 2012/2013 General Elections. In the years after the 2012/2013 general elections when things are more settled these candidates would be selected on a more grassroots and democratic manner and when by which time we would have stabilised this our Human Rights Party (HRP). The front line Hindraf Makkal Sakthi defenders are requested to fax to me their proposed candidates' C.V/Resume. Please do not be disappointed when only the best candidates are selected. Sincere lawyers, professionals, graduates or people with political and current affairs knowledge and able to do paper work and who are interested in being considered as candidates and leadership roles please fax your resume to me at 03-22825245 or SMS to 013-3504711 for any brief feedback.

General

The General rationale for registering as a voter in in your hometown in the aforesaid 14 state constituencies and in the Bangsar area in the Parliamentary constituency of Lembah Pantai as opposed to the larger said 15 Parliamentary constituencies is to make it more difficult for UMNO and the Election Commission to jerry mander with the view to deny us of the Indian majority seats as they have been doing very successfully for over the last 52 years. But now Hindraf people power makkal sakthi is empowered to change this as long as we remain united, committed and dedicated to change our fate and our future. It is all in our very own hands. We will be able to make this change. In the 8th March 2008 General Elections an estimated 350,000 voters living outside the state of Kelantan were allowed to register and vote in Kelantan including unconfirmed sources stating thousands of voters believed to have been from South Thailand who hold dual Malaysian and Thai citizenships. Lim Kit Siang easily moved from Kota Melaka to Petaling Java and then to Penang and now to Ipoh Timur irrespective of where he actually lived or resided. His son Lim Guan Eng who used to live in Melaka, where his wife still lives and is still a State Assemblywoman moved from Kota Melaka to Bagan after which he actually become the present Chief Minister of Penang.

The Prime Minister has said that a voter may move to another constituency without updating the information on his MyKad (NST 6/5/2008 page 8). But it would be best if we also change our Mykad address to our hometown voting address as per the 14 state constituencies and the Bangsar area in the Lembah Pantai Parliamentary constituency hereinbelow. But UMNO the bully and their Election Commission may try disrupting this our Hindraf Makkal Sakthi People Power Indian Political Empowerment Strategy plan as they may still consider us the weak and frightened minority pushovers they used to know. No more now though! But we have to stand up and fight for our democratic rights as is enshrined in the Federal Constitution. Yes,

one man one vote. It should not matter where you vote. Should UMNO their Election Commission the police Special Branch or their police force and the Attorney General unlawfully disrupt this our democratic right to register and vote in the Parliamentary or state constituencies which we consider is our hometown we will be left with no option but to seek redress in the Election Courts or the International Courts and the International Democratic forums. When all else fails we will be forced to move the peaceful Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi forces as per the 25th day of November 2007 Mass Rally yet again. This is going to be a do or die democratic mission through peaceful legal, constitutional and legitimate means for us.

Winning Formula

A sure formula where we are doomed to fail is when Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi forces falls prey to the police Special Branch psychological and operational warfare strategy, indulges in excessive politicking, getting sidetracked by petty issues, petty politicking and petty quarrels and not focus on this Hindraf People Power Indian political empowerment strategy, the 18 point demands and the critical Indian problems. We must avoid this at all any and every cost especially so when we have come thus far. We are nearing the tail end of our winning formula. Especially so when there is a conflict between public interest and personal interest, we must allow the public interest to take precedence. By practicing and implementing this we will never go wrong. So let us stick to the winning formula. We want to win. We want changes. We want to change UMNO in the 2012/2013 general elections.

We want change. President Barack Hussein Obama a black "muslim" son of a Kenyean immigrant succeeded in winning the American Presidential elections to become the first ever black President of the USA, the world's richest and most powerful nation and in an 88% white man country and with blacks forming only about 12% of the population. African Americans only gained the right to vote a year after Malaysia's independence(in 1957) (NST 5/9/2008 at page 27). But today they can have a black President. But in Malaysia even the fifth and sixth generation ethnic minority Indians cannot dream of even becoming an Assistant District Officer (A.D.O.), not even in the five Opposition Pakatan Rakyat held states! This is how thick racism, religious extremism and racial and religious supremacy has degressed to in Malaysia in direct contrast to the leap frog jump and quantum leap in politics in America and in fact the rest of the civilized Western World has got to in so far as race relations and racial and religious co-existence is concerned. Obama used the campaign tag line of "Change we want". The Malaysian Indians too can win on this "Change we want" campaign by focusing on winning these 15 Parliamentary seats and the 38 state seats therein.

Beware Police SB!

At the same time we are also alert of especially the Indian members of the Police Special Branch (S.B.) who under UMNO's instructions have succeeded in infiltrating the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi movement by even planting and "creating" one member of their SB who has under false pretences been made out to be a Hindraf "top" leader by continuously highlighting him as a "top" Hindraf leader through their print and electronic media propaganda. This SB now claims to be a "top" Hindraf leader without even myself or Hindraf Chairman P.Waytha Moorthy ever having appointed him as a Hindraf leader. He appears to be more of an UMNO/ Police SB appointed Hindraf Leader. He is believed to be assigned by UMNO/SB to create an lead "Team B" within Hindraf to create confusion, split up and destroy Hindraf. Beware! The truth is we do not really know this SB plant who is believed to be an E3M Police S.B. Agent. He was known to us for only about two and a half months before the 25th November 2007 Rally. The now Kapar Member of Parliament S. Manickavasagam and Hindraf co-ordinator S.Jayathas who were next in command in case I was arrested on the 25th November 2007 Rally and Hindraf frontline lawyer N.Surendran were never arrested under the ISA! So were many other key Hindraf members.

Why? Beware of this S.B. Agent and scores of the other SBs who have already infiltrated into our movement. These SBs' modus operandi is to make themselves relevant, reliable responsible and would even "get arrested" together with us. These planted SB's specific assignment, mission and instructions are to create confusion, quarrels among ourselves, tarnish and then to break up, divide and destroy the Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi mass movement vide their tried and tested psychological and operational welfare strategy. Similarly some Hindraf Makkal Sakthi "leaders" have been turned over for the same purpose.UMNO has allocated millions of Ringgit if not Billions in this operation to destroy Hindraf. Hindraf leaders must be judged by what they build and not by what they destroy. The UMNO/ Police SB planted Hindraf "leaders" have only destroyed but never built. Destroying Hindraf is the main trait of these UMNO/ Police SB plants and similarly the turncoats. So keep a lookout for them. Remember, their trait is to destroy! Anyone who attempts to destroy the Hindraf Makkal Sakthi movement is a suspected UMNO/SB plant. A check on the suspected SBs' background through his friends and relatives and people who know him or a simple Google search on his pre 25th November 2007 Hindraf Rally would help expose him. It is the duty and responsibility of each and every one of us to keep a lookout, be alert and ensure that these SBs' do not get anywhere near to attempt to destroy us.

People Power Campaign

You can advertise your services of this People Power Indian Political Empowerment Strategy by an SMS campaign giving your hand phone number for people to call and check on the internet if they are registered in any one of these 14 state constituencies and Bangsar in the Lembah Pantai Parliamentary constituency. And you could further provide clarification, internet verification on voters using wireless internet connected laptops, transport or any other help to ensure that these voters register accordingly and as early as possible. Please do not wait for the very last minute. As part of this Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi campaign please photocopy and circulate this

book to at least 100 of your friends, relatives and others and also send out at least 100 SMS each as follows:-

"Register as a voter in your hometown campaign in Lunas, Perai, Jalong, Buntong, Hutan Melintang, Tanah Rata, K.K.B, Ijok, Kota Alam Shah, Seri Andalas, Mambau, P.D, Machap, Tiram and Bangsar for the 2012/2013 General Elections. Hindraf Makkal Sakthi's Human Rights Party (HRP). *www.makkal.org* and *www.hindraf.co.uk* **OR**

Kempen daftar sebagai pengundi di kampong anda di Lunas, Perai, Jalong, Buntong, Hutan Melintang, Tanah Rata, K.K.B., Ijok, Kota Alam Shah, Seri Andalas, Mambau, P.D, Machap, Tiram dan Bangsar untuk pilihanraya 2012/2013. Hindraf Makkal Sakthi(Parti Hak Asasi Manusia (HAM) *www. makkal.org* dan *www.hindraf.co.uk.*

- Note 1: 87.9% of Malaysians or 25 Million people own handphones (NST 16/10/2008 at page 4).
- Note 2: The Election Commission can be contacted at 03-88856500 or *www.spr.gov.my*
- Note 3: We may not be able to take all phone calls but please send only important messages to me at 013-3504711 or fax your resume to me at 03-22825245 or call 03-22825622 or 03-22825241.

Conclusion

Having thought out this Hindraf Makkal Sakthi People Power Indian political Empowerment Strategy over and over again I cannot think of another non political solution to the critical Indian problems as we originally had set it out to be. If there is one, even at this juncture I am prepared to make way for a non political strategy and solution. This People Power Indian Political Empowerment Strategy is the last resort. After continuous strategizing and planning over these seventeen months of imprisonment at Kemta Prison, Kamunting, Perak this is my contribution to the present and future generations of Indians in Malaysia. I have drawn out a list of the initial fifteen (15) Parliamentary and thirty-eight (38) State Assembly seats as outlined hereinafer for us to work on. God willing should everything go on well according to our plans we will become a political force about as big as the MIC and Gerakan put together but minus the Penang State government as at before the 8th March 2008 General Elections.

My Final Appeal

Having attended our political workers training programme, and god willing successfully elected in the 2012/2013general elections these our 15 Members of Parliament and 38 State Assemblyman would be able to ventilate, pressure and make possible changes at the highest policy making and decision making Parliament and State Assemblies. We no longer need to beg or rely on PKR, DAP, PAS or UMNO/BN to champion and ventilate especially the critical Indian issues. In Parliament and the State Assemblies, the critical Indian problems would get the required national attention and also the local and international media attention not for just one day but for five long years. Any Government or Government body be it from UMNO, BN or Pakatan Rakyat would be forced to take our MPs' and State Assemblymen seriously. That is how the administration of our country or any country for that matter works. The collective voice of these 15 MPs and 38 Assemblymen will be a

small but effective force to be reckoned with. From behind bars in Kamunting Prison, I have felt bad about the Hindraf Makkal Sakthi boys carrying



Subramaniam Temple, Butterworth, 5th May 2009

even the PAS flags during the general elections. I know PR otherwise does not care for the Indians. But now with this People Power Political Empowerment plan our boys will now be carrying the Hindraf People Power Makkal Sakthi Party's Human Rights Party(HRP) flags during the elections.

Please bear with us as we are trying very hard to undo the 52 year old UMNO atrocities. Please be patient. Please bear with us and give us time at least until the 20/2/2013 general elections. We need time to organise ourselves and to get the right people moving. We know we would not be able to satisfy all of you especially in the short term. Our advance apologies. But please give us a chance. Please support us.

My final appeal from Kemta Prison to all of you is to stay united, to stay focused on the 18 point demands, the critical Indian problems and especially

on this People Power Indian Political Empowerment Strategy and to keep politicking to the barest minimum if not out all together. There are bound to be some teething problems from time to time but please bear with the anticipated problems or at least until I am released. I am confident that things will begin to fall in place after my release from Kemta Prison if not just before the 2012/2013 general elections. Hindraf would remain apolitical and remain an NGO under the Chairmanship of P. Waytha Moorthy.

Hindraf People Power Makkal Sakthi is now in your hands. You decide. Change we want. It is now your move to make the change. Mahatma Gandhi said "When you want to see changes you must be part of that change". With the 25th November 2007 Hindraf Rally we have now organized ourselves and are able to mobilize people power makkal sakthi which we were earlier unable to do. We have brought the critical Indian issues to become relevant at the national level which we were earlier unable to do. We have today become a small but effective political voice to be reckoned with at the national political level which we were unable to do earlier. Hindraf Makkal Sakthi today has become the WOW factor in itself!

From behind bars at the Kemta Prison, Kemunting, Taiping this is my personal and final appeal to all Hindraf people power Makkal Sakthi supporters and to each and every Malaysian Indian. This is our only hope. This is probably also our last hope and our last chance. We cannot afford to bungle and please keep to our focus as hereinabove mentioned. If one cannot help for any reason whatsoever or one cannot agree with or have difficulties or communication problems with us we can understand if you choose to stay away quietly. We seek your kind indulgence in bearing with us as we are working under tremendous pressure and with very limited and bare resources by trying to embark on this gigantic and mammoth historical task against the giant, mighty and bully UMNO an their gangsters, their police force, their police special branch, army, civil service, Attorney General, Courts and their Election Commission. Finally, as long as we stay united keep politicking to

the barest minimum and stay focused we will certainly succeed. Good luck and god bless.

Thank you P. Uthayakumar Kemta Prison Kemunting @ Malaysia's Guantanamo Bay Kemunting Taiping, Perak. Dated: 5/5/2009

Seats
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Anticipated percentage of Indian voters in Parliament seat in Column B	(1) 54.82%	(2) 63.91%	(3) 54.81%(4) 45.14%(5) 62.30%	(6) 62.34%
Percentage and total number of Indian voters in state seats in Column D	(1) (22.5%) 7,286	(2) (35.8%) 5,074	 (3) (26.7%) 6,810 (4) (46.2%) 10,017 (5) (32.1%) 6,663 	(6) (27.3%) 3.977
State Seats within Parliament seat in Column B with higher Indian voters to Register as a voter and total number of voters	(1) Lunas 32,386	(2) Perai 14,175	 (3) Jalong 25,509 (4) Buntong 21,682 (5) Hutan Melintang 20,758 	(6) Tanah Rata (14,569)
Total number and percentage of Indian voters in Parliament seat in column B	(1) (22.6%) 13,383	(2) (22.8%) 10,802	3) (22.6%) 10.578 (4) (22.5%) 15,504 (5) (23.3%) 8,078	(6) (23.2%) 5,442
Parliament seats identified and total number of voters in Parliament seat	(1) Padang Serai (59,218)	(2) Batu Kawan (47,378)	 Sungei Siput (46,808) Ipoh Barat (68,910) Bagan Datok (34,670) 	(6) Cameron Highlands (23,461)
Total number and percentage of Indian voters in States <i>M.P.</i>	(1) 54,431 (6.2%) 1,200 (1.5%) 55,631 (7.7%)	(2) 64,776 (9.2%)	(3) 131,875 (11.4%) (Note: 131,875+3= 43,958) voters average in each of these three constituencies	(4) 28,794 (4.8%) 1,043 (0.2%) 29,837 5.0% =====
State, total number of voters & number of Parliamentary seats	1 Kedah/Perlis (Kedah 877,934 voters and 15 Parliamentary seats)	2 Pulau Pinang (704,097 voters and 13 Parliamentry seats)	3 Perak (1,156,806 voters and 24 Parliamentary seats)	4 Pahang, Kelantan & Terengganu (Pahang-599,885 voters and 14 Parliamentary seats)

POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY THE WAY FORWARD

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MALAYSIAN INDIAN

MALAYSIAN INDIAN

Political Empowerment Strategy

THE WAY FORWARD

5 Selangor (1,565,493 voters and 22 Parliamentary seats)	(5) 211,341(13.5%) (Note: 211,341+4= 52,835) voters average in these four constituencies	 (7) Hulu Selangor (63,593) (8) Kuala Selangor (47,203) (9) Klang (77,816) (10) Kota Raja (71,887) 	(7) (19.0%) 12,082 (8) (23.3%) 10,998 (9) (18.6%) 14,475 (10) (28.3%) 20,344	 (7) Kuala Kubu Baru 8,212 (8) Ijok 5,467 (9) Kota Alam Shah 24,168 (10) Seri Andalas 38,833 	(7) (21.5%) 3,915 (8) (31.6%) 4,887 (9) (23.3%) 5,631 (10) (33.0%) 12,814	(7) 50.63% (8) 59.33% (9) 45.47% (10) 50.61%
6 Negeri Sembilan (462,015 voters and 8 Parliamentary seats)	 (6) (5,606 (14.2%) (Note: 65606+2= 32,803 voters average in these two constituencies 	(11) Rasah (72,115) (12) Teluk Kemang (60,186)	(11) (21.6%) 15,576 (12) (24.0%) 14,444	11. Mambau 16,298 12. Port Dickson 11,848	(11) (22.3%) 13,634 (12) (30.2%) 3,578	(11) 36.71% (12) 41.76%
7 Melaka (371,594 voters and 6 Parliamentary seats)	(7) 21,924 (5.9%)	(13) Alor Gajah (54,097)	(13) (12.09%) 6,978	(13) Machap 10,358	(13) (14.64%) 1,516	(13) 31.75%
8 Johor (1,231,194 voters and 26 Parliamentary seats)	(8) 75,102 (6.1%)	(14) Tebrau (62,505)	(14) (13.05%) 8,156	(14) Tiram 34,018	(14) (14.39%) 4,895	(14) 58.01%
9 Wilayah Persekutuan (704,031 voters and (3 Parliamentary seats)	(9) 61,250 (8.7%)	(15) Lembah Pantai (55,989)	(15) (20.1) 11,253	(15) Bangsar area* (55,989)	NA	(15) 57.79%
10,988,536 – total number of registered voters in Malaysia (registered with SPR) (NST 19/6/2008 at page 2)	715,099 (total number of Indian voters in Malaysia as at 8/3/2008) (registered with SPR)	Total number of Parliamentary seats identified (15)	Average Indian voters per Parliamentary constituency (20%)	Total number of State Assembly seats identified (38)	r of bly ed	Anticipated Indian Voters to be registered in Column D from 31.75% to 63.91%

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Notes:

- 1. * In Lembah Pantai there are no state seats
- 2. Details herein are as per the 8th March 2008 general elections electoral roll and with some additions
- 3. In all the aforesaid ten (10) Parliament seats of Padang Serai, Batu Kawan, Sungei Siput, Hulu Selangor, Kuala Selangor, Klang, Kota Raja, Rasah, Teluk Kemang and Lembah Pantai, in their present form they have never ever been won before by the Opposition parties. These seats were all won largely with the Indian vote swing.
- 4. As for the Ipoh Barat Parliamentary seat it was won from a mere majority of 628 votes in the 2004 general election to a majority of 15,534 votes in the 8th March general elections.
- 5. As for the Bagan Datuk Parliamentary seat the majority was reduced from 12,539 in 2004 to a mere 2,692 majority votes in 2008. Similarly for Cameron Highlands the majority was reduced from 6,260 votes to 3,117 vote majority, Alor Gajah from 22,548 majority votes to 12,884 majority, Tebrau from 26,011 majority to 14,658 votes majority. (Note: The area in and around Tiram is an Indian "catchment" area. This big vote majority in Ipoh Barat and the big reduced majority for the B.N. in these other four constituencies is also as a direct result of the Indian vote swing.
- 6. Our Headquarters telephone number is 03-22825622/Fax No. 03-22825245/ H/P No. 013-3504711.
- 7. Please call us at these above telephone numbers only two weeks after the launching of this booklet as we need time to properly brief the aforesaid representatives.

MALAYSIAN INDIAN POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY THE WAY FORWARD

Gun. . guyguni, 18 mois@aanna walla a flance auguagherora. MANSONA. Gun Gaugenig Banto Samanig INGALIST. 25. 2007 BL 355 LOTGLASS Guyanfing அடித்தனம் அமைத்தவர். ஹிண்ராப் மக்கள் aid allowing Caremanity fin manadi seithmoniami. Guganfidia -NASSA ATTROUT A a wave Gu LITERATULI ai 1 adies a in arga Garry SEL allarymorenio Bergi, 514 priam Curra againfiel gyarar aqueing is stilling aradio முகாமில் இருத்தவர்.



P. Uthayakamar, a human rights lawyer of eighteen years standing, together with P. Waytha Moorthy, has been instrumental in the massive 25th November, 2007. Hindraf Makkal Sakti People Power Peaceful Assembly in Kuala Lumpur, for which he was with effect from 13th December 2007, incarcerated under the Internal Security Act, without charge, trial or conviction for 514 days in Kamunting Prison, Taiping, Perak.

It was during this period of incarceration that this Malaysian Indian Political Empowerment Strategy was formulated.

Despite having served this sentence, UMNO is still attempting to further incarcerate him by way of a series of 'sedition' charges. He has no regrets and has vowed to continue with his legal, constitutional, democratic and peaceful struggle. டுபந்தனையின் பேரில் விடுவிக்கப்பட்டு இருந்தாலும் மகேசிய இந்தியர்களின் அரசியல் தன்னாளுமைக்கான செயல்வாயத் தினை வடிவமைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்.

இருந்தும் அம்னோ அரசாங்கம் மேலும் மேலும் அவரை பங்மோலு வகையில் விசுரணைக்குள்ளக்கிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள், ஆனால் அலற்காக ஒரு துளியும் வருத்தப் படாமல் தனது போராட்டத்தைத் தொடர்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்.

மலேசிய இந்தியர்கள் அருசியல் கன்னாளுமை வியூகம் முன்னேறுவதற்கான வழி