

MALAM TAK NAK POTONG 528

528不剪之夜

28 May 2010

Jointly Organized by :

**Writers Alliance for Media Independence (WAMI)
Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ)
Civil Rights Committee of KLSCAH
528 Media Action Group**

Supported by :

20 Year Plan of Action





PREAMBLE

Malam Tak Nak Potong 528 is jointly organized by WAMI, CIJ, CRC-KLSCAH and 528 Media Action Group on 28 May 2010 at KLSCAH with the support of "20 Year-of-Action-Plan". We also urge public to switch off their TV for 1 hour on 528 from 8pm to 9pm, do not buy newspaper on that day.

This is part of series activities organized by us to create awareness among public on self censorship and political interference into media industry, in the wake of resignation of NTV 7 senior producer Joshua Wong and termination of bakun documentary producer Chou Z Lam at TV2.

Joshua disappointed that he was disallowed to invite opposition politician to the talk show on Hulu Selangor by-election which ensures a balance reporting. Please read Chou's full story on the "Interview with Chou Z Lam" session.

前言

528 不剪之夜由维护媒体独立撰稿人联盟(WAMI)、独立新闻中心(CIJ)、隆雪华堂民权委员会(CRC-KLSCAH)和 528 媒体行动小组联办，并获得“20 年行动方略”的支持。我们呼吁公众于 2010 年 5 月 28 日当天从晚上八点至酒店，关电视机一个小时，当天也不购买报纸。

这是我们主办的系列活动之一，以提升公众对于媒体自我审查和政治干预媒体的醒觉。这个运动肇始于 NTV7 电视台资深制作人黄义忠辞职和国营第二电视台制作人周泽南被解雇。黄义忠对无法邀请反对党参与他制作的《非谈不可》清谈节目感到失望，这种做法以导致该节目无法平衡报导。请参阅“访问周泽南”项目。

Sign Online Petition to save media freedom / 签署网上诉求捍卫媒体自由:

<http://www.petitiononline.com/20100430/petition.html>

More Information please visit / 更多资讯请浏览:

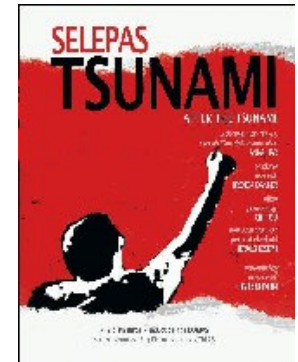
<http://528taknakpotong.wordpress.com/>

(1) SELEPAS TSUNAMI BY KOMAS

Four days before the Sibu by-election, on the 12th of May 2010, 243 "Selepas Tsunami" VCDs produced by Pusat KOMAS were seized by the Sibu police in a 4pm raid at a house in Jalan Bruang, Sibu.

Speaking to the press Sarawak CID chief SAC II Huzir Mohamed said the contents of the Iban language VCD was seditious in nature. Along with the VCDs, so called 'campaign' pamphlets were seized as well.

"Selepas Tsunami" was produced by the 'Big Pictures Production' for Pusat KOMAS to highlight the aftermath of the 8th of March, 12th general elections and to depict the power of the 'rakyat' in affecting change in the nation.

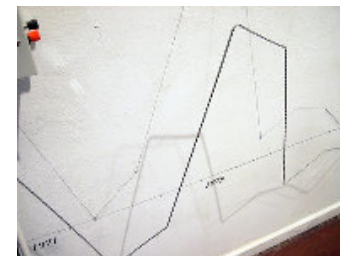


(一) 《海啸之后》，KOMAS 制作

诗巫补选四天之前，2010 年 5 月 12 日，诗巫警察在突击检查诗巫布鲁昂路的一间屋子时，没收 243 张 KOMAS 制作的《海啸之后》影音光碟。

砂劳越州刑事调查主任胡兹尔指出，这张伊班语影音光碟的内容具煽动性。其它被指为“选举传单”的印刷物也被没收。KOMAS 制作《海啸之后》，以突出 308 第十二届大选后，人民力量如何影响国家的改变。

(2) "BANNED BOOKS AND OTHER MONSTERS" BY SHARON CHIN



For her 2007 exhibition, visual artist Sharon Chin conducted research into the practice of book banning in Malaysia. Chin will briefly present the results of her research and talk about the idea of censorship that she explored in her work. For more information, please visit:



<http://bannedbooksandothermonsters.blogspot.com>

(二) “禁书与其它魔鬼”， Sharon Chin 制作

在 2007 年的一场展览中，视觉艺术家 Sharon Chin 研究马来西亚的禁书措施。她将简单呈现研究的成果和审查的概念。欲知更多详情，请浏览：<http://bannedbooksandothermonsters.blogspot.com>

(3) "18 MP" BY AMIR MUHAMMAD

Malaysian politicians say the darn-est things after watching Amir Muhammad's banned documentary The Last Communist.

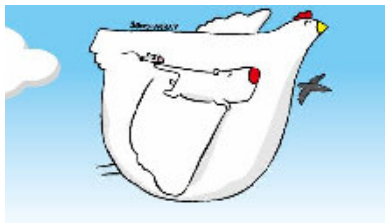
(三) 《十八国会议员》，阿米尔莫哈末制作

马来西亚政治人物观赏阿米尔莫哈末被禁的《最后一个共产党人》后说的最愚蠢的话。



(4) "CITY & LONELINESS" BY LIM SOW SENG

In year 2206, comic writer Lim Sow Seng has published his book, *Kuala Lumpur*. In September of the following year, Popular Bookshop continues their promotion and publicity on this book, through an exhibition and sharing session. For these activities, Lim has produced another 25 pictures of *Kuala Lumpur*, namely the *Kuala Lumpur Press*, as a series of previous production. His creative production mirrors the conventional print media, from media titles, news headlines, advertisement, news contents, pictures and so on. It carries hidden meaning that freedom is freeze as all the press has been monopolized by the government. The author of the book point this out in a sense of humor, as the press is not free, he can only produce one piece each day. However, it was a hiccup on the day before his comics' exhibition. He was requested to censor all the sensitive words, for example the



corruption index, figures on country reserve, and the numbers of snatch theft's victims. Otherwise, the exhibition will have to be canceled. Those pictures which portrait the city living in Malaysia, in a relatively political enclosed environment, has been getting more lonely and lonelier

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(四) 《鸡笼坡报》，创作者林绍胜

2006 年，绘本作者林绍胜的《鸡笼坡》出版了。次年 9 月，吉隆坡茨厂街大众书局继续宣传该书，举办了《鸡笼坡报》绘 本展与交流。绍胜配合此活动，炮制了 25 幅《鸡笼坡报》系 列作为《鸡笼坡》绘本的延续。这批画作拟仿一般华文报刊首页排版形式，譬如报头、标语、广告以及新闻 / 画面等，暗喻各大华文报被垄断 的僵化。作者幽默地点出，基于“新闻不自由”，致使该报只能每天刊印一版。岂知，展出前夕，主办单位忽然下达一道“善意指 令”，即要求创作者把所有“敏感字眼”，例如，“贪污指数”、“国库数据”、“遭攫杀人数”，等等，统统遮蔽，否则该活动将会面对取 消后果。令这些描述马来西亚封闭政治气候下的城市生活的绘本作品更显得孤单与寂寞。

(5) "528 Advertising Video Clip"

This is a short video clip created for the purpose of promotion of Malam Tak Nak Potong 528. We would like to thanks the producer and two New Era College students who take parts in this recording.

这是为宣传“528 不剪之夜”所制作的短片。我们谨此感谢制作人及参与演出的两位新纪元学院学生。

6. POETRY READING BY TEH HON SENG & YONG AI LIN, TRANSLATION BY LIM HONG SIANG 郑云城, 杨艾琳, 林宏祥



<Malam Tak Potong> : Rambut tak potong / Diri kat situ, denda cikgu / Misai tak potong / Tak bagi cium, kata awak / Reformasi tak potong / Demonstrasi menular di jalan raya / Demokrasi tak potong, Kuasa bergoyah di Putrajaya / Kebebasan akhbar, biar potong selalu / Takkan nak bagi rakyat tahu / Rupanya / Syaitan yang memerintah / 50 tahun yang



lalu / Malam ni tak nak potong, boleh / Tapi utusan diberitakan harian / Tetap akan kami potong / Si anu penyair ni.

<Aku Media Arus Perdana> : Berdusta kesukaanku / Juga, aku suka jilat dubur kuasa / Suka persembahan monopoli media 528 / Juga, aku suka pembalakan haram / (kerana haram lebih untung daripada halal) / Aku suka keadilan / Tak kisah kalau keadilan disindir tanpa sebab / Aku suka menabur cinta / Dermanya bernama namaku / (Dompetku di bawah perlindungan) / Ku suka menterjemah, kemudian dikirim ke JPM / Ku suka PPPA, untuk haramkan media pesaing / Ku suka munafik, dipuja jadi idola / (biar bulu di atas bibir dicukur, baru gah nampaknya) / Ku media arus perdana / Bukan media menteri perdana

<Hari Kebebasan akhbar sedunia> : Ketua pengarang bersahaje / Menghiasi bong sai yang diletakkan KDN dalam pejabatnya / Sekumpulan pemuda menemui kebenaran / Hanya apabila akhbar dibaca secara terbalik / Seekor nuri yang gemuk / Menggosok bulunya / Mengganggu ntv7 dengan sms lucu / (Joshua Wong letak jawatan, kerana geli sangat) / Bukan bersolek untuk BN / Nafi terus Timbalan Menteri Penerangan / Tak ada masalahnya, siar tanpa kesahan orang asli / Tapi, kalau pandang Empangan Baku dari perspektif orang asli / Ia semestinya sudah ketinggalan zaman (Chou Z Lam naik darah mendengar jawapan ni, jawatannya dilucutkan) / Meriah sungguh rancangan Hari Kebebasan Akhbar Sedunia tahun ini / Kedudukan tahun depan amat dinanti-nantikan

<Mesti bincang> : Isu ni tak boleh kalau tak dibincang / Berselindung dalam media arus perdana / Bertelanjang di kedai kopi / Dalam sms telefon bimbit // Dalam komunikasi youtube dan facebook / Dalam sidang media Joshua Wong / Dalam kolum intelektual / Pada malam yang dingin / Dalam bisikan bersama sayang, ada kalanya // Isu ini telah melangkaui batas perbincangan / menjangkau tahap mesti diberi kata putus / Bukan sekadar buah mulut / Semua orang tanpa kedekut / Mencapai kesimpulan sebulat suara // Datin, tutup bibirmu / Yang gatal.

<Dah potong?> : Dah potong belum? / Ku dah potong semua.

agar kerajaan bagi permit akhbar. // Dah potong belum? / Mestilah kena potong, / Agar caki-maki-ku pada kerajaan dapat disiarkan. // Dah potong belum? / Baru aku potong, / Agar pelan perpaduan aku direstui. // Dah potong belum? / Potong? Gila kau? Mengapa perlu aku potong? / Hanya ku yang potong orang / Potong pembangkang, potong Negara / Siapa berani potong aku?

<不剪之夜> : 不剪之夜 / 小时候的头发, 不剪 / 周会老师会叫罚站 / 长大后的胡须, 不剪 / 情人不让亲吻 / 婚后就算是阴毛, 偶也要修修 / 和情妇快活才比较卫生 / 热情, 不剪 / 街头示威的野火蔓延 / 民主, 不剪 / 政权就会摇摇欲坠 / 新闻自由, 当然时时都要修剪 / 不然人民很快发现 / 原来是魔鬼统治了国家五十年 / 询众要求今夜不剪, 可以 / 但是新闻明天见报 / 我们还是会将政治诗人的小鸡鸡 / 咔嚓! 给剪掉

注: 此诗为“528 不剪之夜”而作。2001年5月28日, 南洋沦陷。2010年5月28日, 又是新闻自由沦陷的纪念日。当天, 雪隆华堂 8pm—10pm, 大家一起来, 听听民间团体和媒体人以不同节目表演和控诉。本人也会朗诵几首政治诗。来不了的人, 请关掉家里的电视和收音机, 以对政治干预表示表示。



<我是主流媒体> : 我爱撒谎 / 爱舔政治权贵的屁眼 / 爱 528 媒体垄断大汇演 / 也爱非法伐木 / (因为非法比合法好赚好几倍) // 我爱正义 / 不在乎被正义无端端取笑 / 我爱将情义散播到人间 / 都是别人捐的款贴自己的名字 / (保护自己的钱包为首要任务) // 我爱翻译文章, 投稿到首相署 / 我爱印刷法令, 去禁敌对的媒体 / 我爱岳不群, 奉他为偶像 / 相信自宫, 才能成就大器 / (嘴上的阴毛掉光才比较帅气) // 我是主流媒体 / 绝对不是下流媒体

<世界新闻自由日> : 一个报社的总编辑怡然自得的 / 在修剪内政部寄存在他办公室里的盆栽 // 一群青年在公园表演倒读报纸 / 才有机会读到真相在大白天被骑劫的真相 // 一只妩媚的胖鸚鵡刷了刷她的羽毛发简讯去性骚扰 NTV7 / (黄义忠觉得恶心, 决定辞职不干) // 副新闻部长不认为国阵粉饰太平 / 没有向原住民求证就广播的报导有何不妥 / 但用原住民的视角看巴贡水坝的问题 / 就肯定是很落后了 / (对这个答案周泽南气得跳脚, 也辞职不干) // 今年的世界新闻自由日的节目很丰富 / 明年的排名让人非常期待



<非谈不可>：这课题，到了非谈不可的地步 / 闪闪缩缩的藏在主流媒体里 / 公开的在咖啡店里 / 在手机的简讯里 / 在网络视讯和面子的交流里 / 在黄义忠的记者会上 / 在知识份子的文章里 / 在寒冷的长夜 / 也偶尔在情人的窃窃私语里头 // 其实这课题，已经超越了非谈不可 / 抵达非议决不可的地步 / 不只议论纷纷 / 大家毫不吝啬地 / 给予一致性的结论 // 夫人，请闭上你的阴唇 / 注：阴唇，解读为阴险的嘴唇。

<你割咗未？>：你割咗未？ / 你割咗未？ / 我哋全部割咗啰 / 唔割政府点会俾我哋出报纸啲 / 你割咗未？ / 哽係俾人割咗啰 / 唔係我哋政府嘅文章就唔会俾登啦 / 你割咗未？ / 我哋割咗啰 / 唔係我哋团结方案边度会有着落啲 / 你割咗未？ / 割？你鬚线啊，我使乜割？ / 只有我割人，割反对党，割国家 / 边度有人敢割我？

(7) "BLACK OUT" BY WONG ENG LEONG

The mainstream media in our country is controlled by the political parties and business tycoon. They tend to support the government, and work as the voice machine of government officers, political parties and businessman. This art performance is a dissent voice against those actions which impose restriction to the press and editorial freedom, and the mainstream reports that losing their objective ground.

(七) “污”，Wong Eng Leong 创作与演出



我国主流媒体皆由执政党与财团控制，它们倾向支持政府，亦甘为官方、政党和富商喉舌。此艺术表演旨在抗议政治干预编采自由及主流媒体偏颇报导。

(8) "I'M PROUD TO BE A WOMEN" –SCRIPT BY JULYA OOI, DIRECTED BY TAN HUI KOON, PERFORMED BY WONG SU ZANE

This performance is about self censorship. Because of the media, culture and tradition, women believe that they are at fault for simply being women. The breast, vagina, buttocks and hair of a woman is generally associated with sexual perversion. A woman who exposes too much of her these body parts is always considered loose or tawdry and that she is asking for 'trouble' in a close minded society. A woman who has a voluptuous body is never free from gossips and accusations unless she hides them from the eyes of those who condemn her.

Censoring her mouth is the last act she could do because a woman's words usually don't carry as much weight as a man's. She is also expected not to speak her mind, utter an intelligent remark or tell the truth.

The self infliction with the frying ladle is to parody the ideology of 'a woman's place is in the kitchen'. In other words, since all women are expected to be good cooks, she might as well beat herself to death if she is not.



(八) “我以身为女人而荣”，编辑 Julia Ooi, 导演 Tan Hui Koon, 王好娴演出

这是关于自我审查的表演。因为媒体、文化和传统，女人相信他们仅因为身为女人而错。女人的胸部、性器官、臀部和头发向来和性挂钩。一个女人若过度曝露身体，将被视为有欠端庄和俗不可耐，在一个封闭思维的社会她被视为“找麻烦”。一个拥有丰满身体的女人将不能免于被搭讪和指责，除非她在谴责者面前把自己隐藏起来。

“审查”她的嘴巴是她所能做的最后一件事，因为女人说的话的分量通常不如男人。人们估计她不会说出自己的想法，不会说出充满智慧的言论或说出事实。以锅铲打自己是嘲弄“厨房是女人地方”的想法。换言之，既然所有女人被认为是好主厨，若她不能达致这个期许，她可能会被殴打至死。



(9) "ELECTION DAZE" BY FAIQSYAZWAN KUHIRI, ROGER LIEW & MARK TEH

Election Daze is a performed reading of the censored script used in Five Arts Centre's 2004 production of Huzir Sulaiman's Election Day.

(九) 《迷乱的选举》，Faiqsyazwan Kuhiri, Roger Liew 和 Mark Teh 演出

《迷乱的选举》是五艺中心演出，读出 Huzir Sulaiman 于 2004 年制作的《选举日》的被审查剧本。

(10) POP TEE VEE INTERVIEWS CHOU Z LAM



April 28, 2010, State broadcaster Radio Television Malaysia's Broadcasting Director-General Ibrahim Yahya directly instructed a Chinese-language documentary series "Galeri Mandarin Nasional" for TV2 to be taken off air after only two episodes. The 10-episode documentary series exposes the plight of more than 10,000 natives of Belaga, Sarawak, after their forced relocation to Sungai Asap and Sungai Koyan in 1998 owing to the construction of Bakun Dam. The documentary producer Chou reveals that his superior claimed that some "sensitive elements" in the documentary could be harmful to the Sibü parliamentary by-election to be held on May 16 and the upcoming Sarawak state election. He was terminated on 13 May 2010.

Thus, Pop Tee Vee speaks to Chou. He reveals the events leading up to his sacking, as well as some of the key findings of his documentary.

(十) Pop Tee Vee 专访周泽南

2010 年 4 月 28 日，马来西亚广播电视台(RTM)总监伊布拉欣雅耶指示停播第二电视台的《前线视窗》华语纪录片。这十个系列的纪录片揭露了，砂劳越柏拉格一万名原住民在 1998 年因建造巴贡水坝，而被逼迁至双溪阿萨(Sg Asap)和双溪果彦(Sg Koyan)后所面对的困境。制作人周泽南表示，他的上司说该纪录片奖对 5 月 16 日举行的诗巫国会补选，以及即将来临的砂劳越州选举不利。

因此，Pop Tee Vee 网站访问周泽南，周泽南说明了导致他被解雇的来龙去脉，包括纪录片内的主要内容。

(11) RAJA PETRA KAMARUDDIN ON PRESS FREEDOM

Self imposed exile prominent blogger Raja Petra Kamaruddin (RPK) speaks in support of Malam Tak Nak Potong 528, he tells us that why the annual permit system for printing press must be abolished.

In Aug 2008, RPK's *Malaysia Today* news portal was blocked by the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission (SKMM) because "its editor ignored many warning letters".

Former Home Minister Datuk Seri Syed Hamid Albar said that "When they publish things that are libellous, slanderous or defamatory, it is natural for the SKMM to act against these websites whenever necessary."

(十一) 拉惹佩特拉谈新闻自由

自我流放的著名部落客拉惹佩特拉亮相 528，声援《528 不剪之夜》。他将告诉我们为什么印刷媒体的每年更新准证制度必须被废除。2008 年 8 月，拉惹佩特拉的《今日大马》网站被马来西亚通讯和多媒体委员会查禁，原因是“编辑无视多封警告信”。





前内政部长赛哈密当时说过：“当他们刊登的内容具诽谤性、中伤他人和破坏他人声誉，马来西亚通讯和多媒体委员会对这种网站采取行动是当然的。”

Exhibition:

(12) "LONELY KL PRESS" BY LIM SOW SENG

As in session (4)

(十二) “鸡笼坡报”，林绍胜创作

同第四环节

(13) "GEDUNG KARTUN" BY ZUNAR



August 25, 2009, Officials from the Control of Publication Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs seized 408 copies of the inaugural issues of “Gedung Kartun” (Cartoon Store) from the publisher’s office in Kuala Lumpur. The magazine, published by famous political cartoonist Zunar, poked fun at Prime Minister Najib Razak’s alleged connection with the murder of Mongolian interpreter-cum-model Altantuya Sharibu. The Department’s Assistant Secretary Abdul Razak Abdul Latif said the magazine was confiscated “primarily” due to the lack of a publication permit as well as for content “checking”.

(14) 祖纳的《漫画库》

2009年，Sepakat Efektif公司发行的一本新漫画“Gedung Kartun”杂志甫面世便面对当局查禁。该期刊在8月底第一次出版后，警方就对该公司办公室进行检查，并且带走了所有能找到的印刷物。内政部表示，他们将根据《1984年出版与印刷法令》第5款第2条b的规定，对Sepakat Efektif公司因为涉嫌“无证出版”进行诉讼。然而“Gedung Kartun”发行人兼编辑Zunar辩称，他得到了内政部对于该杂志出版发行许可的口头答应；“Gedung Kartun”第一版便印了10000册，很快又

加印5000册。创刊号杂志封面很含蓄地描述了政治和犯罪事件的关系，当局害怕这些漫画，因为它们所表达的内容非常独立，而且能够吸引不同年龄、阶层和族群的读者群。

(14) "NAJIB'S HEAD STOLEN FROM BILLBOARD BY FAHMI REZA

“Najib’s Head Stolen From Billboard” (2009) by Fahmi Reza was an art installation for an art show at Valentine Willie Fine Art in Bangsar that was removed from the gallery’s wall due to pressure from a gallery visitor who turned out to be an aide working in the PM’s office.

(十四) “从广告布条偷走纳吉的头”，法米惹扎创作

“从广告布条偷走纳吉的头”本是在孟沙 Valentine Willie Fine Art 艺术坊展览的装置艺术。由于受到访客的压力，该作品被逼取下，这个访客后来成了首相署的一个助理。



(15) "RIGHT TO READ" SNAKES AND LADDERS GAME AND BANNED BOOKS INSTALLATIONS – TAN HUI KOON

Books are the keystone of information and expression. Books can feed the mind, nourish the soul, and promote positive change in individuals and society.

Living in a world without books is like living in a world without air. If we cannot survive without air, we definitely cannot survive without books. Banning books is like banning thought senseless. Not to mention, dangerous!

Yet, between 1971 and 2009, the Malaysian government saw fit to ban more than 1,500 books for reasons unknown and until very recently, unchallenged.

Mockups of a few books that are currently being banned in Malaysia are showcased in this installation. The work was shown in the "Right to Read" Exhibition as part of the Banned Book Festival organized by



Sister in Islam [SIS] in collaboration with Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ) in 2009.

**(十五) “阅读的权利”——蛇棋游戏和禁书装置
Tan Hui Koon 制作**

书是资讯和表达的重要媒介。书可充实我们的知识，丰富我们的心灵，促进个人和社会的正面改变。活在没书的世界就如活在没有空气的世界。若我们不能缺少空气，我们肯定也不能缺少书。禁书就如没有道理的禁止思考。无需赘言，这是危险的！



但是，在 1971 年至 2009 年之间，大马政府以不知名的理由查禁了超过 1500 本书，这些都没受到挑战。几本被禁的书的仿制品被展示。这是 2009 年禁书展览活动的一部分，主办单位是回教姐妹组织和独立新闻中心。

(16) "PULL OUT: PRINTING PRESSES AND PUBLICATIONS ACT 1984 " BY LIEW TECK LEONG

Freedom of expression – it is a form of human rights derived from the individuals, who able to share their willingness and wishes in a public sphere. In recently development, it also includes the creative arts, films, dance and other forms of free expression.

It needs people hard work to cut off the root of the bad law against the freedom of expression. Only when the bad law removed, the people will be able to enjoy the fruits of free expression and democracy.

(十六) "拔起:1984 年印刷与出版法令",Liew Teck Leong 制作

言论自由是按照自己的意愿在公共领域里，可以自由地发表言论以及听取他人陈述意见的权利，近来，它通常被理解为包含了充分的表述的自由，包括了艺术创作及发布电影，舞蹈及其它各种艺术形式的自由。这件作品需要通过人民的双手把这个“恶法”拔起，只要把这恶法拔起，人民才能享有言论自由与民主社会。

**(17) "ACTION TO BE CONFIRMED"
BY CHAI CHANG HWANG**

Why the fear? How we run away? To whom we surrender? What we are silence for? And we sigh for what? Be part of reformation, Say No to political suppression, and it is crucial (Shredding political interference & self censorship)

(十七) "干吗? ", 蔡长璜制作

恐惧干吗? 回避干吗? 屈服干吗? 肃静干吗? 叹息干吗.....? 参与改革, 反对压迫, 势在必行。(碎掉政治干预与媒体自由审查)

(18) "HEAVEN OF DEMONS" BY WONG ENG LEONG

The artist uses video clip downloaded from internet, by using editing techniques, the original digital video has been compressed, distorted and gradually changes to digital symbol; There is outline but cannot be distinguished, the politician's speech is akin to noise.

Mass media no longer freely reflects people's view. Moreover, it has put aside the well-being and democracy of people. It does not feel shameful for becoming a propaganda machine of UMNO and no longer as a channel of exploring the truth.

In order to find the truth, people will be desperate to "drill into" narrower and smaller tunnel

(18) "鬼造天堂", Wong Eng Leong 创作

炀皇帝上之下大业六年（庚午，公元六一零年）帝以诸蕃酋长毕集洛阳，丁丑，于端门街盛陈百戏，戏场周围 五千步，执丝竹者万八千人，声闻数十里，自昏达旦，灯光烛天地；终月而罢，所费巨万。自是岁以为常。诸蕃请入丰都市交易，帝许之。先命整饰店肆，檐宇如一，盛设帷帐，珍货充积，人物华盛，卖菜者亦藉以龙须席。胡客或过酒食店，悉令邀廷就坐，醉饱而散，不取其直， 给之曰：“中国丰饶，酒食例不取直。”胡客皆惊叹。其黠者颇觉之，见 以缿帛缠树，曰：“中

国亦有贫者，衣不盖形，何如以此物与之，缠树何为？”市人惭不能答。（《资治通鉴》，卷一八一）

(19) "IGNORING FREEDOM OF MEDIA IS TRAMPLING OUR FUTURE" BY SATU HULU ACTION GROUP

Satu Hulu is a group of artists who voice up through street performance to reflect the social phenomenon. They care about the present of Malaysia politics and its future, while believe that arts should not be absent on our pathway towards freedom and democracy. (Posters on journalist & press freedom)

（十九）"忽视媒体自由就是践踏我们的未来" Satu Hulu Action Group

Satu hulu 行动小组是一群以艺术为发声器，以街头为展演空间，反应社会事件的公民。他们关心马来西亚的现状和未来，相信艺术不应该在朝向自由民主社会的路上缺席。（记者与新闻自由海报）

(20) "KABAR ERA PAKATAN" BY MAT ZAHARI ALI

About 3,000 copies of *Kabar Era Pakatan's* debut April 5-20 edition as well as its third edition have been seized since 21 May 2010 from distributors' based in Ipoh and Taiping in Perak and Gombak, Selangor. The ministry claimed that the publication did not have a printing permit. The Chief editor Mat Zahari Ali said that the printing permit was obtained albeit for a publication entitled only as 'Kabar' - for a period of one year beginning Dec 28, 2009. Zahari clarified that 'Era Pakatan' was only a motto for the publication

（廿）“民联时代报”，玛扎哈利阿里讲解

自2010年5月21日始，大约3000份《民联时代报》在怡保、太平和莪麦的分销处被内政部没收，内政部指责该报没有出版准证。但《民联时代报》主编玛扎哈利表示他们有出版准证，虽然准证说明报名是《Kabar》，他解释Era Pakatan只是口号。