

Malayan Chinese
and China

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Malayan Chinese and China
Conversion in Identity Consciousness, 1945–1957

by

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INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPING ECONOMIES

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Malaya and British Borneo



Note on the Romanization of Chinese Names

- (1) Personal names: The local Malaysian or Singaporean way of romanization has been used in this book. Only when not available, is pinyin spelling used. For instance, Tan Kah Kee is used rather than Chen Jia Geng.
- (2) Place names: Pinyin has been used, i.e., Nanjing, Fujian, and Guangdong rather than Nanking, Hokkien, and Kwangtung.
- (3) Clan-association names: In principle, the associations' own inscriptions have been used. If these have not been available, the place name of the association has usually been written in pinyin.

The personal-names list at the back of the book shows the the name of each person in local (when available) and pinyin romanization as well as in Chinese characters.

The glossary at the back provides the translated English names, the thorough pinyin spellings, and the Chinese characters of the important organizations.

Acknowledgments

This book is fundamentally a result of my research conducted when I was attached to the History Department, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Malaya as a visiting researcher between 1987 and 1989. During that time I was usually seated either at the Central Library of the university or at the Arkib Negara Malaysia (Malaysian National Archives) reading various historical documents. I am very grateful to the staff of these three institutions.

During my stay in Kuala Lumpur, I visited Singapore a few times in order to get relevant information which was not available in Kuala Lumpur. In Singapore I was especially obliged to a prominent historian, Mr. Chui Kwei Chiang, who was affiliated with the Chinese Language and Research Centre of the National University of Singapore at that time. He kindly taught me the whereabouts of the necessary materials including the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* and the *Zhan You Bao* (Combatants' Friend). I also want to thank the staff of the microfilm section of the National University of Singapore Central Library who kindly allowed me read its invaluable collection of Malayan newspapers.

During my stay in Malaysia I was also given an opportunity to visit Britain for two weeks. There I rushed to read documents kept at the Public Record Office as well as at the British Library. I appreciate the kind service provided there, including sending photostat copies to me after I returned to Kuala Lumpur.

All the chapters contained in this book were first published in a Japanese-

language book entitled *Tōnan Ajia kakyō to Chūgoku* [Southeast Asian Chinese and China], edited by Hara (IDE, 1993). For this English version, some portions have been revised and supplemented.

In the editing of this book, I am deeply indebted to two staff members of the IDE, namely Ms. Akiko Akemine and Mr. Yukio Saito. I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. William L. Swan, Mr. John Wisnom, and Mr. Tadatoshi Higashizono for their efforts in translating this work.

I would like to believe that this study stands firmly on historical facts. Nevertheless there most likely are still points that can be disputed. I would greatly appreciate any corrections or further suggestions.

Introduction

In a previous analysis of Chinese-language newspapers and journals and Chinese organizations in Malaya (present-day Malaysia and Singapore) from the end of World War II until around 1960, I discussed the rise among the Chinese in Malaya of a China-oriented identity consciousness (i.e., viewing China as one's homeland, having a stronger interest in developments happening in China than in Malayan affairs, and getting involved in Chinese internal politics), its eventual decline, and the appearance of a deep-rooted Malayan identity in its place.¹ However, the analysis only dealt with the editorial opinions of Chinese Communist Party (CCP)-related periodicals and the size and activities of the major Chinese organizations, such as the Malayan branch of the China Democratic League (CDL; *Zhongguo Minzu Tongmeng*).

However, that earlier study did not examine how the China-oriented identity of the whole Chinese community in Malaya was reflected in their political and social activity, what kind of organizations participated in such activity, and when and how such organizations began to foster (or be converted to) a Malaya-oriented identity, or when and how they disappeared (or were compelled to disband) before Malayanization could occur.

The earlier study also did not discuss important elements for measuring the level of China-oriented identity, such as the policy that the Chinese government (including the Chinese consulates in Malaya) implemented at the local level, the influence that this policy exerted on Malayan Chinese, and the perception that the Chinese community in Malaya had of the Chinese government and its consulates.

I would like to take up these yet untouched questions in the present volume, looking at the conditions under which the Chinese community nurtured its Malaya-oriented identity and at the kind of movements this phenomenon was linked to. For in order to gain a total picture of the evolution of identity consciousness and analyze its meaning, it is necessary to investigate not only the depth of China-oriented identity, but also the process by which a Malaya-oriented identity came into existence.

I.

Much of the research to date has focussed on the connection between social movements among Malayan Chinese and their Chinese homeland prior to the outbreak of World War II, especially from 1937 when the Sino-Japanese War broke out and they lent support to China's struggle against the Japanese. However, concerning the postwar period, when connections with China continued to run deep and were even strengthened in part, there has been almost nothing written about the relation between China and the Malayan Chinese community or the changes that were taking place in those relations. This is because the main current in the study of overseas Chinese shifted toward the analysis of their economic power and their contributions to national independence in their countries of residence, and any connections to China were for the most part ignored, thus creating a gap between the content of the prewar and postwar research.

In Wang Gungwu's "Chinese Politics in Malaya," still the best piece of basic analysis on the political history of the Malayan Chinese, the community is divided into three groups according to their levels of "commitment to politics in China," a typology that remains the most widely accepted approach to the subject. Wang describes his categories in the following manner.

Group A which maintains links with the politics of China . . . and is concerned always to identify with the destiny of China. . . . Group B which consists of the hard-headed and realistic majority of the Chinese who are more concerned with the low-posture and indirect politics of trade and community associations. . . . [They] rarely express themselves on questions of political ideals and long-term political goals. . . . Group C, it is . . . generally committed to some sort of Malayan [now Malaysian] loyalty.²

Wang sums up the characteristic features of the period from the end of the war to Malayan independence as follows.

The Chinese in Malaya . . . [were] jubilant at the Allied victory and by the emergence of China as one of the Great Powers. . . . Group B . . . looked forward to

benefits which a strong China might, perhaps only indirectly, bring to them, and Group A resumed their enthusiastic involvement in China's politics, some returning to China in the hope of joining its reconstruction on the ground floor.

... a new element had entered their calculations—the power and organizational skill of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) *with their mainly Group A Chinese leadership*. . . .

... we should examine the reconstitution of the three groups. . . . First, Group A and its immediate division into those who favored Kuomintang (KMT) nationalists or some of the ineffective anti-KMT liberal democrats and those who threw in their lot with Communists and actively supported what they saw as their Malayan counterpart, the MCP. . . . The divisions had no real local context and the issues were mainly those related to the reunification of China. . . . The MCP leaders, which included Group C Chinese recruited into the movement during the war, did make an effort to define their political goals in local and Malayan national terms, but within the community as a whole this was not seen as its central aim and most Chinese either supported or rejected the MCP because of its relationship with the larger aims of Chinese communism. [3] (*italics added*)

Wang had an accurate understanding of the postwar issues and discussed them objectively and incisively, showing that Malayan Chinese interest in China peaked just after the war and pointing out that leaders of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) whose utmost objective was to liberate Malaya consisted mainly of China-oriented members. However, as indicated by his analysis and methodology, Wang's aim was to present an overview of the political consciousness and activities of the Malayan Chinese since the end of the nineteenth century, and not to give a detailed period-by-period description of the evolution of such consciousness and activities. Therefore, he did not delve specifically into the kinds of movements that were created in Malaya during the postwar peak of interest in China, how these affected the movements of MCP-based Group A Chinese, or how they evolved. Such analysis had to await future research. Unfortunately these questions were not taken up with the interest they deserve.

The research that has been done to date can be summarized as follows.

Within the enormous amount of literature that has been published on the postwar political consciousness and activities of the Malayan Chinese, there are very few works expressing the opinion that they were not interested at all in what was happening in China. The only research that this author is aware of in this vein is the book by Edgar O'Ballance in which he describes "a new spirit: a sense of pride in the achievements of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA), and determination to take a part in shaping the future of the country." He then adds, "The thoughts and ambitions of many Chinese were suddenly switched from their old homeland and re-focused on

Malaya, where they intended to go on living."⁴ Using the word "sudden" to describe this postwar switch in thoughts and ambitions is not appropriate or accurate.

The Malayan Union Scheme proposed by Great Britain in October 1945 was discarded due to opposition from Malay conservatives, and in its place the Federation of Malaya was formed in February 1948, under which sweeping restrictions were imposed on residents of non-Malay origin for gaining citizenship. The Chinese showed little enthusiasm about getting involved in the Malayan Union issue, even though citizenship became the focal point of disputes. Victor Purcell, a pioneer in the study of the Malayan Chinese community wrote, "Altogether there was apathy among the Chinese to the Malayan Union. . . . The Chinese press still showed very little interest, though their columns were filled with China news."⁵

Many other researchers concurred with Purcell.⁶ From a similar point of view, Khoo Kay Kim commented that the relaxation of conditions for granting citizenship by amending the constitutional law in 1952 had aimed at shifting interest among Malayan Chinese from events in China to Malayan affairs.⁷ The editorial of the June 16, 1947 issue of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* argued that Malaya was still not an independent state at that time, and it was still unclear what rights would actually be bestowed on a "citizen," thus it was only natural that the Chinese would prefer to retain their Chinese nationality.⁸ While there were also such opinions as "their disinterest in Malaya stemmed from a deep interest in China,"⁹ and "feelings of loyalty towards China continued,"¹⁰ another writer stated, "the non-Malays were probably more pre-occupied with the problem of personal rehabilitation. . . ."¹¹

The MCP had been an organization made up mainly of Chinese since its founding in 1930. It directed the anti-Japanese movement during the Japanese occupation of Malaya, and in the early postwar years until its call for an armed struggle in June 1948 to overthrow the colonial government, it had held legal status and had become the main organization for political activity in the Chinese community. Thus it was quite natural that the MCP would become an important topic of research when studying the pre- and immediate postwar periods.

Cheah Boon Kheng, the leading expert on the MCP, made the following comment about the party's view of China.

"The leading part played by the MCP/MPAJU [Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Union]/MPAJA [Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army] in these celebrations [the Double Tenth of 1945] attested to the fact that they were seen by Chinese and by themselves as Chinese organizations and Chinese patriots owing a loyalty to China."¹² On the other hand he stated elsewhere

that "it was only from 1937 to 1941, because of the anti-Japanese movement, that the MCP drifted with the current of Chinese nationalism."¹³

Cheah saw an MCP with China leanings only during the period 1937-41, and he was of opinion that in the postwar period only in 1945 could the party be seen as Chinese patriots.

Regardless of the character of the MCP itself, there is the view that the party's emphasis on China was merely a tool to expand its organization;¹⁴ but this view does not clarify how the party evaluated its relations with China.

Charles Gamba, a scholar on the postwar Malayan labor movement, views the China-inclination of the communist sympathizer in Malaya as more steadfast and long lasting: "Chinese 'patriotism' and Communism, in so far as the Chinese Communist sympathizer was concerned, seemed to blend and often to be interchangeable."¹⁵

Leong Yee Fong has recently provided the following interesting insight concerning the labor movement under the direction of the MCP.

The General Labour Unions [GLU; MCP-influenced national trade union, renamed to the Federation of Trade Unions in 1947], while emphasizing on Indian labour mobilization, did not make any positive efforts to win over Chinese labour. . . . On the contrary, the GLUs instead of concentrating on the Chinese labour problems. . . . were more concerned with political issues in China that had little relevance to labour struggling amidst the confusion of post-war economic shortages and low wages.¹⁶

Unfortunately Leong does not go any further into the MCP's China connection, thus leaving us without any idea of how the MCP, GLU, and FTU got involved in Chinese politics and what kinds of specific activities they carried on.

In the above literature we do find reference to China-oriented tendencies among the Malayan Chinese in general and the MCP in particular, but we are given no analysis of the phenomenon. As a result, these studies fail to deal with the kinds of China-related activities that were carried on, how widespread these activities were, and how they evolved; moreover, we have no clue as to either why, or in what manner the Malayan Chinese community's orientation toward China changed. The present volume will attempt to fill this gap in the analysis.

II.

The bond between the Malayan Chinese and China proper was made up of three elements: the strength of China-oriented identity among the Malayan

Chinese, the existence of Malayan Chinese organizations and activities that pursued involvement in China's internal politics, and the Chinese government's involvement in Malayan Chinese affairs.

What will be referred to as "China" here is the Republic of China until September 1949 and the People's Republic of China that was established in October of that year. Both Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and Kuomintang (KMT) factions existed since their split in the 1920s, and openly vied with each other to obtain the support of overseas Chinese all over the world. The KMT factions not only established branches of the Kuomintang, but also were able to bring under their influence Chinese Chambers of Commerce in each country of the world. However, their supporters constituted only a small number of elite Chinese, including the business community, and rarely appealed to the overseas Chinese masses. In contrast, the CCP factions were able to garner support from among educators, students, workers, farmers, small-scale merchants, shop assistants, petty traders, and hawkers, and thus enjoyed greater influence than the KMT factions in local politics and society. Furthermore, after moving to Taiwan, the KMT government lost its largest base of support from overseas Chinese when its administrative control of the home provinces of Fujian and Guangdong ended. In effect, leftist and CCP organizations, until their suppression and dissolution, embodied general overseas Chinese perceptions and became community spokespersons. This is why leftist/CCP organizations and their development need to be at the center of any analysis concerning Chinese sympathies and China-oriented identity consciousness.

However, when we analyze overseas Chinese of the postwar era till the late 1950s, studying only leftist/CCP organizations will not suffice to explain the sense of belonging or identity of overseas Chinese on the whole. When dealing with Malaya, there are three reasons for having to broaden one's analytical focus.

To begin with, leftist/CCP organizations in postwar Malaya were suppressed, and many of them declared illegal or at least rendered ineffective. These organizations' cessation of operations, their going underground, or disappearance cannot necessarily be equated with a mental transformation in their supporters resulting in disinterest toward China and an orientation toward Malayan affairs, because there is a fairly long time gap that exists between organizational disappearance and mental transformation.

We are also faced with a serious paucity of information related to the activities and opinions of these leftist/CCP groups after they were outlawed, making it very difficult to ascertain what exactly happened to cause changes in the perceptions of the majority of Chinese who had formerly participated

in and supported these groups and later chose to remain in Malaya. Publications by central organizations, such as the *Min Sheng Pao* of the MCP and *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* of the CDL Malayan branch, are excellent sources of information about perceptions and activities, but after they were banned in June 1948 and September 1950 respectively, one only rarely heard about the MCP which continued illegal activities. The leftist/CCP groups that were not outlawed at the time (several mass and united front organizations apparently continued to exist) lost their organs and thus the ability to impart information on their own behalf. This loss of leftist/CCP sources has made it necessary for researchers to seek out other means for measuring changes in China-oriented identity consciousness and orientation toward China.

A preliminary attempt to trace how long these leftist/CCP organizations were able to continue operations has produced only a very small amount of data, and even if we could obtain information on how long they continued, it would be impossible to discover from this such important facts as organization size, character, membership, and perceptions. Therefore, any analysis of those organizations which were left untouched by official suppression and allowed to exist would turn out to be very limited in scope.

However, there are records of those who left the CCP factions and concomitantly began to express an increasing interest in Malayan affairs. This information has allowed us to trace these people and will be the source for the analysis presented in this volume.

The second reason why we must focus also on non-leftist/CCP groups has to do with non-political groups, like mutual assistance and friendship associations, which did support the leftist/CCP organizations, but were not disbanded after the latter were outlawed. One example of such an association is the Singapore Hokkien Huay Kuan (the Fujian Association). After the leftists were outlawed, these associations continued their CCP sympathies for a time, but given the anti-CCP and repressive policies implemented in Malaya, they quickly distanced themselves from the CCP and became increasingly interested in local affairs. It is therefore necessary to examine the relationship between these mutual aid/friendship associations and political organizations having CCP sympathies, as well as how they lost interest in China.

The third reason is the existence of a China-oriented identity that went beyond the rivalry between the CCP and KMT factions. It is an emotional attachment to China that ran deeply within overseas Chinese regardless of their political leanings. This identity is probably best characterized by how Malayan Chinese came to understand the Chinese consulates in Malaya, believing that they should protect them whenever their civil rights were infringed

upon. In fact, the Chinese would request direct protection from the consulates or at least that they come to terms with the local colonial authorities on their behalf.

One more important indicator that should be taken into account concerning the perceptions of overseas Chinese in general is the editorial positions taken by the Chinese-language newspapers they read. While the CCP Chinese newspapers were banned from publication, during the early 1950s following the establishment of the People's Republic, many of the Kuomintang and neutral newspapers gradually became pro-CCP in their views, thus similarly influencing their readerships, and then gradually switched their attention and sympathies to local Malayan affairs.

After Malayan governments (Federation of Malaya and Singapore) banned the celebration of National Day on October 1 commemorating the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the celebration of the Double Tenth (on October 10) commemorating the founding of the Kuomintang government began to take on an emotional sense of belonging to China over and above party lines. Those who were no longer able to celebrate October 1 took part in celebrating the Double Tenth at the grass-roots level and separated themselves from the elite who openly supported the Chiang Kai-shek regime. However, these Double Tenth celebrations were gradually scaled down and eventually disappeared altogether due to the growth of a deeper Malaya-oriented consciousness, restrictions imposed by the Malayan authorities, and the growing isolation of the die-hard Kuomintang supporters from the overseas Chinese masses.

Therefore, discovering how Malayan Chinese placed the Chinese consulates in their lives, how the position of Chinese-language newspapers changed regarding China and Malaya, and how the celebration of the Double Tenth evolved is probably the most effective way available for viewing the changes in China-oriented identity consciousness among Malayan Chinese after the break up of the leftist/CCP organizations.

Finally, the term "China-oriented identity consciousness" will be used in this book to indicate how overseas Chinese looked upon the Chinese mainland as their homeland and how they felt in one way or another obligated to participate in Chinese internal politics. We should emphasize that whether or not one wanted to return home to China or actually did is not the point here. On the other hand, "Malaya-oriented identity consciousness" is the term that will be used to describe Malayan Chinese who believed their home country was Malaya, consciously sought to participate in local politics, and desired to obtain the legal rights granted to the citizens of Malaya. The most important question that will be taken up in the following pages is by what process China-

oriented identity consciousness was transformed into Malaya-oriented identity consciousness within the local Malayan Chinese community.

III.

This book is structured as follows.

In Chapter 1, I will try to discover how important the involvement of Malayan Chinese in China's internal politics was. Such involvement will be gauged from the scope and diversity of organizations that participated in various public gatherings and assemblies, sponsored mainly by the Malayan Communist Party, which in the research to date has been discussed only in relation to its involvement in Malayan local politics. I will then trace when, how and why these gatherings died out, in other words, the process by which Malayan Chinese became oriented toward Malayan local politics. I will follow the way in which the celebration of China's national day, the Double Tenth, which formed the broadest base of China-oriented identity consciousness, completely disappeared by 1958, after not only leftist and Malayan Communist Party organizations and activities but also Kuomintang movements were restricted and banned in Malaya.

Chapter 2 investigates when and how Chinese-language newspapers, which often referred to China as "the homeland" and "our country," began to use these same terms in reference to Malaya. This change of editorial perception that took place in these newspapers is symbolized by publication holidays related to Chinese events becoming holidays for no specific reason and finally disappearing during the 1950s.

In Chapter 3, the topic of the Chinese consulates in Malaya is dealt with in relation to how they were unable to meet the expectations of Malayan Chinese concerning the protection of their civil rights. Such powerlessness on the part of the Chinese consular corps to help the Malayan Chinese politically and socioeconomically became one important factor in the growing disinterest toward China's internal affairs. In place of the Chinese consulate, the Malayan Chinese Association took on the central role in the struggle for civil rights protection. This further accelerated the turning of Malayan Chinese away from China and toward greater identification with Malayan affairs.

In Chapter 4, I will take up the question of how important and influential the Chinese government's overseas Chinese policy was at the local level in Malaya and the circumstances under which such importance and influence soon waned. In order to answer this question, I will first describe the process for selecting representatives to the Republic of China's National Assembly of 1948, a process that was repeated for the selection of representatives to the

People's Republic of China National People's Congress in 1954. Then I will look at China's involvement in overseas Chinese education, and the selection of athletes for the 1948 Olympic Games in London.

The examination and discussion of all the above issues seeks to explain the extent that postwar Malayan Chinese identified themselves with China, and the way this identity consciousness was reoriented toward Malaya.

Notes

- 1 Fujio Hara, "Sengo Maraya no aikoku kakyō (I)" [The patriotic overseas Chinese of postwar Malaya (I)], *Ajia keizai* 27, no. 1 (1986); idem, "Sengo Maraya no aikoku kakyō (II)" [The patriotic overseas Chinese of postwar Malaya (II)], *Ajia keizai* 27, no. 2 (1986); and idem, "Maraya ni okeru Chūgoku-ha kajin soshiki no keisei to shōmetsu" [China-oriented organizations in Malaya: Their emergence, development, and demise], *Ajia keizai* 31, no. 12 (1990).
- 2 Wang Gungwu, "Chinese Politics in Malaya," *China Quarterly*, no. 43 (July–September 1970), pp. 4–5.
- 3 Wang Gungwu, pp. 17–18.
- 4 Edgar O'Ballance, *Malaya: The Communist Insurgent War, 1948–60* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 62.
- 5 Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 286–87.
- 6 See C. M. Turnbull, *A History of Singapore 1819–1975* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 229, 232; K. J. Ratman, *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965), pp. 149–52; and Cheah See Kian, *Malaixiya huaren zhengzhi sichao yanbian* [Changes in the political thought of Malaysian Chinese] (Penang: Yunitra Enterprise, 1984), p. 33.
- 7 Khoo Kay Kim, and Adnan Hj. Nawang, *Darurat 1948–1960* [The emergency, 1948–1960] (Kuala Lumpur: Muzium Angkatan Tentera, 1984), p. 88.
- 8 See also Yeo Kim Wah, *Political Development in Singapore, 1945–1955* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1975), pp. 19, 229, 258–59, 280; Mohamed Noordin Sopiee, *From Malayan Union to Singapore Separation: Political Unification in the Malaysia Region 1945–65* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 1974), p. 33.
- 9 Cheah See Kian, p. 33; Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency, 1948–1960* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 23.
- 10 See Yeo Kim Wah, pp. 125, 144. Anthony Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948–1960* (London: Frederick Muller, 1975), pp. 254, 257, 269. On the other hand there is research outright refuting any loyalty on the part of Malayan

- Chinese to China: Michael R. Stenson, *Repression and Revolt: The Origins of the 1948 Communist Insurrection in Malaya and Singapore*, Southeast Asian Series, no. 10 (Athens, Ohio: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1969), p. 27. We may therefore conclude that Stenson is of an opinion similar to O'Ballance, 1966.
- 11 Mohamed N. Sopheer, pp. 38, 49. Albert Lau expresses a similar viewpoint in his *The Malayan Union Controversy, 1942-1948* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 127.
 - 12 Cheah Boon Kheng, *Red Star over Malaya: Resistance and Social Conflict during and after the Japanese Occupation of Malaya, 1941-1946* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1983), p. 252.
 - 13 Cheah Boon Kheng, *The Masked Comrades: A Study of the Communist United Front in Malaya, 1945-48* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1979), p. 58.
 - 14 Stubbs, p. 50.
 - 15 Charles Gamba, *The Origins of Trade Unionism in Malaya: A Study in Colonial Labour Unrest* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1962), pp. 372-73.
 - 16 Leong Yee Fong, "The Emergence and Demise of the Chinese Labour Movement in Colonial Malaya, 1930-1960," photocopy (1993), p. 22.

China-Related Public Gatherings and Their Participating Groups

Among the Chinese residents of Malaya were people who actively supported Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement, and the Kuomintang (KMT) that he formed began establishing branches throughout Malaya as early as 1912. However, its supporters did not form a very large group. The predecessor to the KMT, the Revolutionary United League (est. 1906), had set up branches in Malaya and by 1911 had enlisted only 2,000–3,000 members, or about 0.3 per cent of the total Malayan Chinese population. By comparison the KMT in the early postwar years was able to muster a much larger number of supporters. As of 1948 the KMT Malayan membership had grown to 45,000, or about 1.75 per cent of the total Chinese population in the region. Sun Yat-sen supporters among the Malayan Chinese tended to come from a segment of the upper class which included wealthy merchants, large-scale plantation owners, lawyers, and physicians.¹ The educational efforts of the KMT carried out through mass education and primary/middle school programs was intended to foster a sense of Chinese nationalism among the community; however, these activities invariably faced suppression under British colonial policy and were not very effective up through the late 1930s. The fact that the number of Malayan-born Chinese was increasing acted to restrain feelings within the general Chinese population of affinity towards China. The Malayan Communist Party (MCP), which was founded in 1930, was made up mostly of Chinese members and received its greatest support from the Chinese community. However, since the MCP did not originally openly support Chinese nationalism in its activities, choosing instead to concentrate its efforts in the labor

movement, its influence on the Chinese community as a whole was limited. Also, the clashes that arose in the early 1930s between the KMT and MCP over affairs outside of Malaya became one more problem obstructing the involvement of the general Malayan Chinese population in China-oriented political movements.

On the other hand, Japan's series of incursions into Chinese affairs and the eventual invasion of China stimulated a sense of patriotism and attachment to China among Malayan Chinese. Such events as Japan's "Twenty-One Demands" during World War I (1915) to insure its vested interests in China, the advance of the Japanese army into Shandong Province in 1928 to block the northern advance of the KMT forces, the Manchurian Incident of 1931, and the Shanghai Incident of 1932 caused a pro-China reaction among Malayan Chinese in the form of resistance movements and the boycott of Japanese products. All of these actions were quelled within several months; but when total hostilities broke out between China and Japan in 1937, a very large and long-term wave of reaction began. Following the collaboration between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1936, the MCP and KMT in Malaya promised to collaborate among themselves in resisting the Japanese invasion, and this contributed to an upswell of activity. Both parties led the resistance movement in Malaya as part of a similar movement in China, and as a result both were able to increase their influence and support. During the late 1930s various resistance and China aid organizations sprung up all over Malaya, and eventually banded together into the Southeast Asia Federation of China Relief Funds (Nanyang Geshu Huaqiao Chouzen Zuguo Nanmin Zonghui).

The MCP, which up until now has been regarded as having been interested only in Malayan political affairs, reminisced after the war,

We thought China's resistance against the Japanese invaders would guard the Malayan national liberation struggle and called upon all the peoples of Malaya to support China in its efforts. We promoted and led a movement of the Malayan Chinese people to save the "fatherland" from destruction, formed the Malayan Chinese Anti-Enemy Backing-Up Society (Malaiya Huaqiao Kangdi Houyuanhui) and supported the efforts of the Relief Fund Associations (Chouzen Hui).²

The MCP had also come to realize that the defense of China had to be given top priority in its own agenda.

As the MCP could not include the Malayan national liberation struggle within its vision of the situation at that time, it had to exploit the defense of China for its own purposes, and in the process was able to strengthen its influence within the local Chinese community.

In this way Chinese nationalism was combined with a China-oriented identity consciousness. This situation continued into the war when the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA; *Malaiya Renmin Kangrijun*), which drew members mainly from the Chinese community, fought against Japan's occupation of Malaya. For both the Chinese resistance fighters and the Chinese in general, the struggle against the Japanese was not only a struggle for Malayan national liberation, but also one linked to the war of resistance going on in China. Moreover, because they believed that victory against the Japanese in China was the ultimate objective, the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army ceased their armed struggle in Malaya when that objective was achieved.³

The idea of "why should we as nationals of China risk our lives for the sake of revolution in Malaya?"⁴ was a deep-rooted perception in the Malayan Chinese consciousness at the time, making it very difficult for even the relatively influential MCP to recruit from the Chinese community on any large scale to carry on the armed struggle for Malayan national liberation.⁵

Probably the best indications of the continuation of a China-oriented identity consciousness among Malayan Chinese in the post-World War II era are the public gatherings that assembled to celebrate the "Double Tenth" commemorating the beginning of the revolution on October 10, 1911 that resulted in the establishment of the Republic of China. The first postwar Double Tenth celebration was held in 1945 within an atmosphere of victorious euphoria and adulation of China as "one of the world's five great powers." Similar celebrations would be held until 1957 despite restrictions placed on them by the colonial authorities and the separation of venues sponsored by the KMT and CCP factions. During that time, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on October 1, 1949, giving rise to celebrations beginning the following year commemorating this event, known as "National Day." However, the British authorities stepped in to scale down the celebration of 1950 and thereafter refused to issue permits allowing any more. For this reason, this chapter will be forced to limit the discussion of the nature of public gatherings mainly to Double Tenth celebrations, despite the overall emphasis of this study on CCP- or PRC-oriented factions. However, I think that the following discussion will contribute to understanding the transition that took place within the Malayan Chinese community from a China- to a Malaya-oriented identity consciousness.

Public gatherings related to mainland Chinese politics held during the early postwar years for purposes other than celebrating the Double Tenth included demonstrations against the KMT-CCP civil war and Chiang Kai-shek's "dictatorship," and the commemoration of Sun Yat-sen's birth and death. Appen-

dix 2 provides a listing of the main gatherings of this type held until 1957, after which all vestiges of them disappeared from the Malayan scene. I would like to single out the Double Tenth celebration first, before dealing with the others.

I. The Celebration of National Day

The first postwar celebration commemorating the Double Tenth was held on October 10, 1945 with gala public gatherings all over Malaya. With the exception of the festivities in Kuala Lumpur, all were jointly sponsored by the CCP and KMT factions. The gathering held in Kelang, which hoisted the portraits of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and Mao Zedong, best characterizes the solidarity and unity as Chinese nationals that the Malayan Chinese felt at the time. The fact that large contingents of British officials participated in Rawang and Kuala Selangor also indicates a perception among the British colonialists that the Malayan Chinese were overseas "citizens of the mainland."

However, the most important aspects of the celebration were (1) the MCP and its affiliated organizations played the central role, as typically seen in the case of the gathering in Kepong on the outskirts Kuala Lumpur, where the People's Representative Congresses (Renmin Daibiao Dahui), which had just been instituted under the auspices of the MCP, were also honored; and (2) organizations like the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, which would cease having any relations with China later, came forward to sponsor the event. (The Chinese Chambers of Commerce would become increasingly involved as growing tension between the CCP and KMT compelled it to step in as a mediator.)

The People's Representative Congresses were legislative bodies established in each state to help the MCP govern postwar Malaya. At these congresses, People's Committees were elected as their administrative organs usually with an MCP leader acting as the chairperson. (The Double Tenth celebration in Malacca was actually sponsored by the local congress.)

While the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army was the military force organized by the MCP during Japan's occupation of Malaya, Anti-Japanese Unions (Kangri Lianghehui or Kangri Tongmenghui) had been their mass civilian participation and united front counterparts. The groups that appeared at the local Double Tenth celebrations, like the Literators' Union (Wenhuaeren Lianhehui), the Youth Union (Qingnian Lianhehui, Qing Lian), and Workers' Union (Gongren Lianhehui, Gong Lian), were all MCP-associated mass organizations and were looked upon as participants in the Malayan democrati-

zation movement under the MCP's leadership. From this type of widespread participation of the Malayan Chinese masses in the Double Tenth celebrations, we can gauge the degree of China-oriented identity consciousness that had permeated the Chinese community in general. Unfortunately we know nothing about the celebration scheduled for the following year, 1946, due to a lack of relevant source materials.

Before the 1947 celebration, both the People's Anti-Japanese Army and the Anti-Japanese Unions were disbanded, and in their place the MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association (Renmin Kangrijun Tuiwu Tongzhi Hui) was formed and acted as the MCP's rank-and-file working force. At the time of its formation on December 1, 1945, the association boasted a membership of 6,800.⁶

As to the other major leftist groups that participated in the 1947 Double Tenth gatherings, there was the Pan-Malayan General Labour Union (GLU), an organization that was formed in February 1946 to encompass all of the MCP-affiliated workers' unions born in the midst of the lively postwar labor movement. Due to the strengthening of control by the colonial authorities on nationwide general unions, the GLU was reorganized into the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions (FTU) at its general congress held in February 1947, but remained under the influence of the MCP. At the time of its formation, the GLU had 465,000 members, which decreased to 264,000 when the FTU was inaugurated;⁷ but in either case this organization was the dominant force in the labor movement of the time.

There was also the Malayan New Democratic Youth League (Malaiya Xin Minzhu Qingnian Tuan) founded in September 1946 and organized on a state-by-state basis with a total of 23,000 members.⁸

It was reported that as of the beginning of 1946, the MCP itself, which controlled the above leftist groups, had a membership of 10,000.⁹

Concerning the Malayan branches of political parties active in China, the Malayan branch (Malaiya zhibu) of the China Democratic League (CDL; Zhongguo Minzhu Tongmeng) was set up at the end of September 1947 and proceeded to form sub-branches (fenbu) all over the region. At its peak of popularity the CDL's membership numbered around 2,000,¹⁰ a scale much smaller than the MCP-affiliates; however, its de facto organ, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (first published in November 1946), boasted a circulation of 22,000 (according the *Straits Times*, May 3, 1950) and thus exerted tremendous influence upon the Malayan Chinese community. The CDL was involved in sponsoring public gatherings throughout the region for the purpose of supporting the CCP and opposing the KMT. Those who actually planned and organized the meetings were the above-mentioned MCP-affiliated organiza-

tions, an activity that would have been impossible if the MCP and its affiliates had not felt it their duty to get involved in Chinese internal political affairs.

Another mainland import was one of China's non-partisan political organizations, the Zhigong Party (Zhigongdang), a group of democratic factions which actually leaned toward the CCP. A directly controlled branch of the Zhigong Party was set up in Selangor in March 1947 and became one of the sponsors of the local Double Tenth celebration that same year. Participating in the celebration in Singapore was the Comrades' Association of the CNLVC (Minxian Tongzhi Hui), a revival of the Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps (CNLVC; Zhonghua Minzu Jiefang Xianfeng Dui), an anti-Japanese resistance group formed in the late 1930s that had fallen into disarray during the war.

CDL-, CCP- and MCP-affiliated groups formed an alliance called the Federation for Peace and Democracy in China (Cujin Zuguo Heping Minzhu Lianhehui). In the Chinese name for the group, the term "fatherland," *zuguo*, clearly designates mainland China. We know that this organization existed in Singapore, Negeri Sembilan, Keluang (Johor State), Muar (Johor), Tangkak (Johor), and Bentong (Pahang State),¹¹ but Muar is the only place where we find it participating in Double Tenth festivities.

What is interesting about the federation is the alliance formed between China-oriented and Malaya-oriented groups, no doubt for the purpose of involving themselves in the politics of mainland China. However, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* covered its activities only up to May 1948 indicating that it may have been forced to cease operations when MCP-affiliated organizations were outlawed.

Independent Malayan organizations with no headquarters in China nor direct affiliation to the MCP included the Chinese Chambers of Commerce (Zhonghua Zongshanghui), Chinese Associations (Zhonghua Gonghui), Chinese Assembly Halls (Zhonghua Dahuitang), various clan organizations, Chinese schools, cultural groups, the Mutual Aid Association of Demobilized Drivers and Mechanics (Fuyuan Jigong Huzhuhui), and the Singapore Women Mutual Aid Association of Victims' Families (Xingzhou Beijianzhe Jiashu Funu Huzhuhui).

The Mutual Aid Association of Demobilized Drivers and Mechanics was made up Malayan Chinese youths who had acted as lorry drivers and mechanics carrying provisions and necessities on the so-called "Trail of Supporting Chiang" (Dianmian Gonglu) from Burma to Yunnan during 1939-41. They joined in the anti-Japanese activities in China, and finally came back to Malaya soon after the end of the war. Altogether 3,193 Chinese youths from

Southeast Asia participated in this volunteer corps organized by the Southeast Asia Federation of China Relief Funds. Of these youths, 75 per cent was from Malaya. The organization was formed after its members returned to Malaya. It is said that one-third of the volunteers died in the field, one-third stayed in China, and the rest returned to their homes in Southeast Asia.¹² Those who returned to Malaya, with only the shirts on their backs, found it difficult to find jobs. After forming their mutual aid association, they petitioned the Chinese consulate to be paid the per diem allotments due them during active duty. Despite being separated from China, China-oriented identity consciousness and interest in mainland Chinese internal affairs no doubt remained strong within this group of war veterans.

The Singapore Women Mutual Aid Association of Victims' Families was organized by the families of persons who had been slaughtered in the "cleansing" (*shukching*) or "screening" (*jianwen*) perpetrated just after the Japanese occupation of Singapore. Many of the victims had been under suspicion as anti-Japanese resistance members loyal to the Chinese (Chongqing) government, but the association itself had no direct affiliation to mainland China.

Probably the most representative of the cultural groups was the Mayfair Musical and Drama Society (Aihua Yinyue Xiju She), formed in 1934. After the war the society took a stance in favor of the CCP and CDL, but the "group marriage ceremonies" the society held several times a year possessed a definite Chinese nationalist flavor with such symbols as the portrait of Sun Yat-sen on display; and up until April 1948 the group invited Singapore's Chinese Consul General Dr. Wu Paak Shing (Wu Bo Sheng), to these weddings as the "marriage witness" indicating a certain proper solicitude toward KMT partisans during the early postwar years and also indicating the consul's symbolic role in the "belonging to China" identity consciousness so popular at the time. On the occasion of the May 1948 marriage ceremony, however, the invitation for the Chinese consul general to stand as witness was for some unknown reason canceled in favor of the presence of a KMT intellectual, Dr. Lim Boon Keng (Lin Wen Qing). From that time on until the Mayfair Society was outlawed, its "marriage witnesses" included, among others, Lim Keng Lian (Lin Qing Nian), vice chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (Qiaowu Weiyuanhui), and Hsue Yung Shu (Xue Yong Shu), principal of Hua Chiao High School.

One example of how the Mayfair Society placed mainland China within its philosophy is its 1950 offer to all of the students attending Singapore's kindergartens, primary schools, and middle schools inviting them to the city's fifteen cinema theaters and handing out a booklet entitled "For all the Children of Singapore," in which we find the words,

We overseas Chinese are all nationals of the People's Republic of China sojourning abroad. Overseas Chinese nationals must all love their fatherland and obey its laws. The People's Republic of China changed Children's Day to June 1. As its nationals, we think it only right that we observe the holidays our country has designated.¹³

Chinese Chambers of Commerce, the first of which was founded in Penang in 1903, existed in all the states and major cities in Malaya. Originally Chinese Chambers of Commerce functioned as quasi-consulates for the Qing Dynasty, indicating a close connection to the Chinese government at the time. Following World War II, they tended to lean politically toward the KMT, but they were not die-hard supporters of the nationalists and often sought compromise between CCP and KMT factions in their localities.

The Chinese Associations and Chinese Assembly Halls were established in some fairly large Malayan towns and states as groups crossing both regional and kinship lines. Many were KMT supporters, but there were a few that favored the CCP, including the Yong Peng (Johor), Kuala Pilah and Tampin (both Negeri Sembilan State) Chinese Associations, which participated in the anti-KMT gatherings to be discussed later.

Regional organizations like the Fujian Association (Hokkien Huay Kuan), Guangdong Association (Kwang Tung Huay Kuan), Khak (Hakka) Association (Keshu [Kejia] Gonghui), Qiongzhou (Hainan Island) Association (Khengchew Hwee Kuan), and Fui Chiu Association (Huizhou [Guangdong Province] Huiguan) all enthusiastically participated in the Double Tenth celebrations when jointly sponsored by the KMT and CCP, but many tended to hesitate when separate gatherings were held along party lines, indicating differing responses according to region. For example, the Guangdong Association of Teluk Anson (present-day Teluk Intan, Perak State) participated in the CCP-sponsored gatherings, but there is no evidence that the Guangdong Associations of other places did. We also find the Qiongzhou Associations of Teluk Anson and Temerloh (Pahang) in the CCP camp, while that of Segamat (Johor) participated in the KMT-sponsored events. Here we are presented with a thumbnail sketch of one source of confusion and headache for the overseas Chinese community of the early 1950s.

The remarkable contrast between the unified 1945 Double Tenth celebration and the separate public gatherings organized along party lines that took place in Singapore, Penang, and Selangor, and many regions in 1947, clearly reflected the growing opposition between the KMT and CCP in China. The core of the CCP-supported gatherings were the MCP and CDL, while the nationalist-oriented events centered around the KMT Malayan branches and the San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps (the KMT's youth organization that was

absorbed into the KMT proper in the summer of 1948), the Chinese Chambers of Commerce, and the Chinese Associations; however, the latter two organizations were not necessarily in perfect unity with the KMT. Rather, they acted to the end as mediators everywhere, promoting discussions that would hopefully avoid separate venues for the celebration. They were successful in negotiating jointly sponsored events in the state capitals of Ipoh (Perak), Alor Setar (Kedah State) and Kuantan (Pahang), and in the statewide celebration held in Kelantan. In all four of these locations, the major sponsors for the events were the local Chinese Chambers of Commerce. Only after the negotiations failed, resulting in separate CCP and KMT venues, would the Chinese Chambers of Commerce and Chinese Associations choose to participate in the KMT-sponsored festivities, one exception being the Temerloh (Pahang) Chinese Chamber of Commerce which participated in the CCP-sponsored events on the strength of the leftist influence of its chairman, Yan Jin Di.¹⁴

The largest single point of dispute that arose between the CCP and KMT factions tended to be whether or not a reverential telegram would be sent in the name of all gathered to President Chiang Kai-shek. Generally speaking, if a compromise were reached not to send such a message, a jointly sponsored celebration would result; otherwise separate venues would be held.

The 1947 Double Tenth celebrations exhibited three important points. (1) Gatherings organized by the CCP factions mobilized far more of the Chinese masses than did the KMT factions thanks mainly to the support of the MCP and its affiliates. (2) This was the last Double Tenth in which the MCP-affiliated organizations participated because almost all of them were banned in June of the following year. Because of this, (3) 1947 witnessed the largest Double Tenth celebrations in all respects, whether viewed from the number of places that events were held, the number of organizations that were sponsors or participants, or from the numbers of those who attended the rallies.

The Double Tenth celebrations of 1948 were held just four months after a nationwide state of emergency was declared on June 18. The colonial authorities imposed severe restrictions on the events, causing all festivities to be greatly down-scaled and held completely indoors, thus eliminating the traditional public marches.

The declaration of the MCP as an illegal organization and the de facto cessation of CDL and Zhigong Party activities (see Appendix 1) resulted in the cancellation of almost all CCP-related events, as in Singapore where only the Mayfair Society gathering and the Fujian Association-sponsored events were held.¹⁵

The Double Tenth celebration of 1949, held just after the establishment of

the People's Republic of China, was the last "national day" to be commemorated commonly by Malaya's CCP and KMT supporters. The restrictions on the events that could be held were slightly relaxed due to (1) a slight stabilization in Malaya's internal political situation, (2) the support and cooperation shown by KMT factions concerning the suppression of leftist Malayan Chinese, and (3) repeated statements by the CCP/CDL factions that they did not intend to intervene in Malayan internal affairs. The resulting festivities turned out to be more diversified than the previous year, but outdoor gatherings continued to be banned, and the Chinese flag was allowed to be unfurled only side by side with the British flag.

Many of the gatherings were KMT-sponsored and these sent reverential telegrams to Chiang Kai-shek; however, at the gatherings sponsored by the Mayfair Society and the Fujian Association in Singapore, as well as a few in Penang and Malacca, the flag of the People's Republic of China was displayed and the new national anthem of China sung. Both the Singapore gatherings and the Youth Association of Sibu, Sarawak, then a British crown colony, sent congratulatory telegrams of support to the PRC government and its leaders.

On October 1, 1950, the first, and what turned out to be the last, celebrations in Malaya of the PRC's National Day were held. The colonial authorities would not allow the official Chinese name of the holiday, *guoqing*, to be used. According to the *Straits Times* (October 2, 1950), the musical concert held by the Mayfair Society was attended by an audience of 3,000, and several groups and schools hoisted the Five-Starred Red Flag at their respective premises to celebrate the PRC's first year of existence. However at the end of 1950, before the next National Day could be celebrated, the Mayfair Society was declared illegal, and its chairman, Wu Sheng Yu, arrested and deported to China. What had become the last bastion of the CCP factions in Malaya following the cessation of Zhigong Party activities on July 27, 1948 and the banning of the CDL on May 12, 1949 was finally torn down completely, leaving no organization behind to sustain PRC National Day celebrations in the region. The Singapore Fujian Association was already in transition toward Malayanization, and in the process had ceased all its pro-CCP activities, and would never again celebrate China's National Day.

The Double Tenth celebrations of 1950 which took place throughout Malaya were attended only by organizations supporting the KMT. The festivities in Singapore were attended by 206 such groups, a little less than two-thirds of the attendance of two years before. That number would never again reach 300.

On November 17, 1950, the Federation of Malaya (established on Febru-

ary 1, 1948) prohibited Chinese schools from taking "political holidays" and limited holidays they could take to Qing Ming Jie (day of reverence of ancestors), Commonwealth of Nations Day, the British Monarch's Birthday, Teachers' Day, and Sun Yat-sen's Birthday. The *Straits Times* (November 18, 1950) stated that the ban on political holidays was aimed directly at eliminating the celebration of the national days of the two Chinese republics. Despite their wariness concerning any strengthening of China-oriented identity consciousness in Chinese schools, the colonial authorities no doubt judged that it would have been impossible to rid Malayan Chinese schools of all China-related holidays in one fell swoop.

On the occasion of Double Tenth in 1951, all of the Chinese schools and Chinese shops took the day off in Singapore, while in the Federation of Malaya, though Chinese shops were also closed, schools were open as usual in almost every region. The first shot had been taken in the effort to Malayanize the Chinese schools.

That year the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce made halls available and chamber representatives attended the festivities, but it did not sponsor them. It was the first step in the Malayanization of the organization. According to Chui Kwei Chiang of Singapore National University, in February 1951 the Singapore Chamber of Commerce submitted a petition to the colonial authorities requesting a relaxation of the conditions necessary to obtain citizenship in the colony and began voter registration activities.¹⁶ There is no doubt that both actions were steps on the road to Malayanization.

At gatherings in Singapore to celebrate the Double Tenth in 1952, "God Save the Queen" was sung in deference to the colonial authorities and the Commonwealth. Meanwhile, in Malaya, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), which had that January formed an Alliance Party in conjunction with the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), a conservative Malay political party, called upon all of its branches to obey what was called "a cabinet decision" to stay away from Double Tenth gatherings. The KMT faction in the MCA bitterly opposed the action,¹⁷ but was unable to reverse the decision. This move on the part of Malaya's largest Chinese political party signified one giant step toward the Malayanization of Chinese attitudes in the region.

While the Chinese schools in Singapore were again closed for the holiday, their counterparts in the Federation of Malaya remained in session in compliance with the Department of Education's decision on the matter, and in a few cities shops did not take the day off.

Double Tenth 1953 showed very little difference from what had happened on that day the previous year, and in 1954 we have no reports of shops closing

and school holidays, probably due in part to the fact that October 10 landed on a Sunday. However, October 10, 1955 saw Chinese schools in Singapore holding classes as usual, and it may just be that the coincidence of Double Tenth 1954 being a Sunday made it easier to bring about the abolition of the occasion as a school holiday.

A significant change did occur in 1956 in the way the Double Tenth was celebrated in the Federation of Malaya's capital city of Kuala Lumpur. The Chinese Assembly Hall, which up until that time had sponsored public gatherings on the occasion, announced that "our decision to conduct a campaign for obtaining Malayan citizenship is not compatible with any sponsorship on our part of Double Tenth day," and the festivities were turned over to local Chinese who did not hold Malayan citizenship. However, there were still Chinese shop closures in many Malayan cities.

In 1957, the Double Tenth came in Malaya just after Merdeka (independence) was attained on August 31. While in Singapore the day was commemorated as usual by KMT-related groups, no events were scheduled in Malaya at the request of the newly formed independent government. All public gatherings disappeared in Singapore the following year. A local autonomous government was set up in Singapore in 1959. Therefore the attainment of political independence in both Malaya and Singapore and the disappearance of Double Tenth gatherings coincided as if a trade-off were negotiated beforehand. It could also be said that while political independence would not have been possible without such a change in identity consciousness; at the same time the formation of an independent state played the decisive role in fostering a Malaya-oriented consciousness within the local Chinese community.

II. Other China-Related Public Gatherings and Activities

The anti-Civil War rallies that were held in May and June of 1946 were not as much protests against the armed hostilities that had broken out in China between the communists and the nationalist as opposition to the attempts by the KMT to suppress the CCP, indicating strong support for the communist cause. The major participants in the rallies were from MCP-related organizations; but in Kampar, Perak, the MCP was joined by the Chen Long Association (Zeng Long Huiguan) of the Hakka community and the Guangxi Association (Kwongsi Wooi Koon).

The gathering held on July 7 of that year commemorating the ninth anniversary of the war of resistance against Japan was centered around the CDL which had already formed several state sub-branches and city/district-level

chapters, but was also supported by the MCP organizations. The gathering in Johor Bahru was also attended by the Malayan Democratic Union (MDU), a political party that was formed in December 1945 as a MCP united front organization and was completely unrelated to the CDL. Its membership consisted mainly of Malayan Chinese, though not as overwhelmingly as in the MCP.

The fact that Chinese consul Hsu Meng Hsiung (Xu Meng Xiong) took part in the Kuala Lumpur events certainly symbolized the strong ties between China and the participating organizations and their members. Hsu, who served as consul from March 1946 to June 1947, was very active in defending the rights of Malayan Chinese, causing the British to claim that he was exceeding his authority, while at the same time upsetting the KMT for being too friendly with the local CCP-affiliated organizations.¹⁸ As a result, he was replaced, an action that gave rise to protests from Malayan Chinese all over the region, including some involved with KMT branches, calling for his reinstatement. After the final decision was made to transfer Hsu to India, going away parties to wish him well were held in every part of Malaya (see Appendix 2). In a telegram sent on May 5, 1947 to Chiang Kai-shek himself by twelve organizations in the state of Perak requesting Hsu's reinstatement, we find the names of the KMT together with the MCP-affiliated New Democratic Youth League and MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association side by side, suggesting that the MCP was very strongly China-oriented during that time.

The commemoration of the anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's passing that was held in Singapore in March 1947 was divided into separate KMT- and CCP-sponsored venues, and we have no reports from other regions that any joint celebrations were held. From what we are able to ascertain, one major bloc of participants consisted of MCP-affiliated groups.

At the rallies against the three evils of famine, civil war, and dictatorship in China held in May and June of 1947, which were ultimately anti-KMT demonstrations, in attendance along with the CDL-, Zhigong Party- and MCP-affiliated groups we find such future influential Singapore entrepreneurs as Lee Kong Chian (Li Guang Qian) and Ng Aik Huan (Huang Yi Huan) rubbing elbows with MCP leaders Lau Yew (Liu Yao) and Chow Yam Peng (Zhou Yang Bin), amidst such clan organization (hometown groups) as the Fui Chiu Association of Kulai (Johor), the Khek Association of Sungai Patani (Kedah), and the Fujian Association of Alor Setar (Kedah). Here we discover the existence of clan associations in the leftist camp.

The second victory anniversary gatherings were held on September 3, 1947 in commemoration of China's successful war of resistance against the Japanese, since the anniversary of Malaya's war victory was celebrated on Sep-

tember 12. These occasions were celebrated in 1946 and 1947 only, and were probably not held in 1948 due to the state of emergency that had developed. The main sponsors of the victory celebrations on September 3 were Chinese Associations, among which the Tampin Chinese Association clearly demonstrated an anti-KMT posture.

From a check of the organizations (including the MCP) that were invited as guests to the CDL congresses held at the end of September 1947 for establishing its Malayan branch, we can see the involvement of the MCP in Chinese political affairs.

The last large-scale public gatherings held before the declaration of the state of emergency and the outlawing of MCP organizations were the CCP-sponsored congresses to disavow the appointment of Chiang Kai-shek as president of the Republic of China and the KMT-sponsored celebrations of the event, both held all over Malaya during the month of May 1948. Participating in the former were such CCP-affiliates as the CDL, Zhigong Party, and such MCP-related organizations as the New Democratic Youth League, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, labor unions, and the farmers' unions. However, the Chinese clan associations, with the exception of the Fujian Association in Singapore, balked at the purpose of the gatherings, seemingly due to increasing disinterest in Chinese politics and stronger orientation toward Malayan affairs. It was at this time¹⁹ that the MCP announced the change in its strategy from peaceful means to an armed struggle in order to attain its objectives. The Chinese clan associations were undoubtedly unable to stay in line with such a strategy.

The main sponsors of the presidential celebration events were as usual the Chinese Chambers of Commerce and the Chinese clan associations who had nothing to fear from the crack down measures of the British due to their publicly avowed anti-communist positions.

During September and October 1949 congratulatory telegrams of support were sent from this region to the newly established PRC government and leaders; however, we know of only three that were sent from Singapore and the Malay Peninsula. These telegrams, which represented a large number of people, were sent from Sabah and Sarawak. Particularly in Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, the senders of one telegram included the Khek Association, which was the city's largest Chinese clan group, labor unions, youth associations, women's groups, and cultural societies. It seems that at the time the colonial authorities were not very worried about the connection of either Sabah or Sarawak to the CCP or the PRC government.

This point is also evident in the events held in early 1950 to celebrate the establishment of diplomatic relations between the UK and the PRC. In order

to avoid suppression that was anticipated by praising the PRC outright, these gatherings were probably held in the name of the diplomatic accord of January 6 (although some took the opportunity to jointly celebrate the establishment of the new Chinese regime). The British, as one of the principals being celebrated, were obviously in no position to ban the events. However, with the exception of Singapore, the Malayan gatherings did not turn out to be all that enthusiastic or jubilant; and in Singapore the gathering planned to be held by the local leftist labor unions was refused a permit from the authorities.

The gathering that was held in Singapore was sponsored by the clubs led by Tan Kah Kee (Chen Jia Geng), pro-Tan Kah Kee entrepreneurs like Tan Lark Sye (Chen Liu Shi), Lee Kong Chian, Ng Aik Huan, and Soon Peng Yam (Sun Bing Yan), CCP-affiliated businessmen like Ong Guan Hin (Wang Yuan Xing), who would later return to China, and the Mayfair Society, the Singapore Chinese School Teachers' Association (Xingzhou Huaxiao Jiaoshi Gonghui), the Journalists' Association (Jizhe Gonghui), and the New Teochew Society (Xin Chao She). These latter four groups were known as "the big four overseas Chinese leftist/CCP groups." The same people gathered again in March to welcome Tan Kah Kee back from a China trip that began in May 1949 and ended in February 1950. Tan left Singapore for good on May 21 of that year. Fearing a large gathering on the occasion, Tan departed for China secretly three days before originally scheduled, thus avoiding the notoriety of a gala send-off.²⁰ As it turned out, the diplomatic accord celebration, the welcoming back of Tan Kah Kee, and the CCP's Youth Day held on May 4 would be the last hurrah for the Malayan Chinese CCP supporters.

The Fui Chiu Association, which sponsored the events in Selangor to celebrate the British-Chinese diplomatic pact and provided office space in its head office building for the Zhigong Party's Malaya General Branch and the MCP Kuala Lumpur headquarters, was a stronghold of leftist/CCP activities; but this gathering would be its last.

Meanwhile, in Kuching and Sibul large-scale celebrations were held that included almost the entire Chinese population of these localities, no doubt made possible by the authorities' looser restrictions.

However, the story changed between 1951 and 1953, a period during which the Sarawak government outlawed Kuching's pro-CCP Youth Society and Sibul's pro-communist Youths' Co-Progress Association, Chinese Athletic Club, and Chung Hwa Alumni Association, and then ban the publication of Kuching's *Chung Hua Kung Pao* (published between 1945-51) and Sibul's *Chiao Sheng Pao* (published during 1950-52), newspapers that were editorially favorable to the CCP. At the same time, many people were deported.

From that time on no CCP-related events or gatherings were permitted.²¹

In Api (Jesselton, now Kota Kinabalu), Sabah, the Chinese Youth Society, one of the signers of the previously mentioned congratulatory telegram, sponsored a celebration of the UK-China diplomatic agreement; however, for some unknown reason no large-scale public gathering of the city's Chinese population materialized. It is quite possible that the wave of stiffened British rules and regulations had already washed ashore there as well.

Exactly from what time CCP-related gatherings in Sabah were banned cannot be ascertained due to a lack of documentation; however, given the fact that it was a British Crown Colony, such a ban was not far off.

From October 1949 restrictions were strengthened on how foreign flags were to be flown. The Chinese flag was permitted to be displayed only indoors and had to be accompanied by the British flag. Particularly in Singapore, the Emergency (National Emblems—Restriction of Display) Regulations of 1949 were proclaimed, stating that any flag other than the Malayan and British flags could not be publicly displayed, nor could the portrait or photograph of the chief or sovereign of any foreign state.²² These restrictions no doubt presented significant barriers to the holding of public gatherings in Malaya and Singapore, since in Sabah and Sarawak, which had no such restrictions until 1950, public gatherings continued as before.

We do not know what form the gatherings sponsored by CCP-affiliated groups took after these restrictions were imposed, in part due to the ban imposed in September 1950 on the publication of the CDL's *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* and *Xian Dai Ri Bao* (Penang), newspapers that reported what happened at CCP-related events. However, probably a more important reason may be that such gatherings no longer took place, as the result of not only stiffer restrictions, but also the fact that the leftist organizations that sponsored the events had been outlawed and forced to operate underground.

From that time up through 1954, the only event reported was the KMT-sponsored Youth Day celebrated every March 29. Previously Youth Day had been celebrated by the Malayan Chinese on May 4 to commemorate the anti-Japanese student demonstrations held all over China on that day in 1919; but from 1947 on, the KMT preferred to celebrate Youth Day in conjunction with the Huang Hua Gang uprising of 1911. (For more details see Chapter 2, second section.)²³ However, these celebrations in Malaya soon disappeared, and did so even more quickly than the Double Tenth celebrations, as the Chinese youth of Malaya became more and more engulfed in the wave of Malayanization that was spreading over their community.

Finally, in response to the bombing of Fujian Province by KMT forces at the end of 1949, the CCP-affiliated Fujian Association and the KMT-affili-

ated Guangdong Association sent a joint telegram to Chiang Kai-shek deploring the incident. Anger over the destruction of their home province was strong enough to override any political differences and allegiances they may have normally held.

III. The Pro-CCP Chinese Organizations

In this section, we will look at such organizations as the Chinese clan (home province) associations, friendship bodies, Chinese Chambers of Commerce, Chinese Associations, and outstanding entrepreneurs who supported the PRC and the CCP.²⁴

One group we have already seen was the Mayfair Musical and Drama Society, one of the main organizations supporting the CCP in Singapore with 300 members (as of the end of 1946),²⁵ and which was declared illegal at the end of 1950.

Another group was the Singapore Chinese School Teachers' Association (CSTA) formed in 1905.²⁶ In April 1946, when the association was under the chairmanship of Lu Xin Yuan, 145 members, mainly school principals including Hsue Yung Shu, headmaster of the Hua Chiao High School, dropped out of the organization,²⁷ but decided to rejoin at the CSTA annual conference held that June. At that time, the association's membership totaled 500.²⁸ Lu, who had been a member of the CCP since 1927, was deported back to China in 1949. Hsue, who became the leader of the CDL Malayan branch in March 1948 after his predecessor, Hu Yu Zhi, returned China via Hong Kong, was arrested in 1951 and died in prison.²⁹

The CSTA edited part of the June 4, 1950 issue of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* which was entitled "Special Teachers' Day Issue," and then on the 6th held a Teachers' Day celebration attended by over 200 members representing over forty schools (*Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 7, 1950). However, after this event the association disappeared without a trace. From the fact that in 1953 a group calling itself the Federation of Chinese School Teachers, Singapore, with a membership of 1,000, filed a petition with the local government demanding "the same wages as English teachers,"³⁰ we may assume that the CSTA had been declared illegal by that time.

The time around 1950 marked a period when the colonial authorities in Malaya and Singapore stepped up their regulation of the Chinese schools with two purposes in mind: controlling leftist elements in the community and Malayanizing the school curriculum. In the process some schools were actually closed. It was also a time during which a shortage of Chinese teachers

occurred due to educators returning to China for the purpose of assisting in the building of the new PRC state, causing Hsue Yung Shu to announce a crisis in Singapore's Chinese education.³¹

It may have been this complex set of circumstances marked by colonial repression, the return of pro-CCP teachers (who formed the core of CSTA) to China, and a growing Malayanization of the Singapore Chinese identity consciousness that resulted in the disappearance of the CSTA.

It is still uncertain when the Singapore Chinese Journalists' Association was founded, but from the fact that it selected its third term board of directors on November 4, 1947, we may assume that it was founded sometime in late 1945. For the third term, the Journalists' Association replaced its former chairmanship style with a three-member standing committee style of leadership, to which Luo Ruo Xue of the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* and Hu Wei Fu of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* were elected. The next level was the general manager, Peng You Zhen of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*. These four leaders then joined an executive committee totaling twelve members. The assistant executive committee consisted of three members, namely Zhang Ming Lun of the *Nan Yang Siang Pau*, and Zhu Qi Zhuo and Li Gong Yi (also known as Li Wei Gang) of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*.³² Six of the journalists listed above would return to China: Hu, Peng, Zhang and Zhu being deported, Luo and Li leaving voluntarily. All were CDL members except for Luo; and Li was also a member of the MCP. Given that at least six of the fifteen Journalists' Association executive committee members including their assistants returned to China and at least five of them belonged to the CDL, it would not be at all surprising that the association led by them actively participated in Chinese politics.

The six who left Singapore seem to have done so between 1948 and 1950; and during that time as well, the Journalists' Association was probably disbanded by the local authorities. Although we do not know the exact date of disbanding, Lee Khoo Choy (Li Jiong Cai), a reporter for the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* and later a member of parliament, then ambassador to Japan, in a book touching upon the Singapore Chinese Journalist Club that was active from around 1947 into the early 1950s, mentions that the president of the club was Hu Wei Fu, that the Singapore Federation of Journalists (a pro-People's Action Party [PAP] organization) was formed in 1956 and headed by future Foreign Minister Rajaratnam, and that after the PAP took power in 1959, the Journalist Club, on the occasion of Chinese Newspaper Journalists Day on September 1 of that year, invited Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew to speak before it. In his speech, Lee Khoo Choy recalls, Prime Minister Lee urged the Chinese journalists in Singapore not to remain as nationals of China for-

ever; and to start fostering a more Malaya-oriented consciousness. After this speech the club disbanded and all of its members joined the Singapore Federation of Journalists.³³

The "club" that Lee Khoon Choy mentions may just be the Chinese Journalists' Association; and if so, it would mean that it disbanded in 1959. Chinese Newspaper Journalists Day, which was marked by a publication holiday, was traditionally celebrated both in China and Malaya. According to Table 2-2 in Chapter 2, the holiday disappeared from the Malayan Chinese community after it was celebrated in 1960. Both this holiday and the Chinese Journalists' Association had stopped playing a useful role at the time when newspaper reporters were deepening their orientation toward a Malayan identity. However, we must not forget that in the background of such a development there was much mental and physical anguish that occurred, as exemplified by the large number of association members who were separated from their families and forcibly deported with nothing but the shirts on their backs.

According to Lee Khoon Choy, the Journalists Federation of Penang began operations just after the end of the war (no mention is made of its formation period) and had a membership that spanned the political spectrum. Leftist members included Fang Tu, Fang Jun Zhuang, Peng You Zhen, Zhu Qi Zhuo, Ang Shih Shih (Hong Si Si), and Cai Chu Kun (actually Cheong Choo Kun [Zhang Chu Kun]), all of the *Xian Dai Ri Bao*.³⁴

The Journalists Federation of Penang should actually be the Penang Chinese Journalists' Association. As of 1947 the Penang Association was led by the Fang brothers, Tu and Jun Zhuang, but the other leftist journalists moved to Singapore to work for the *Nan Chiau Jit Pau*. The Fang brothers were arrested in September 1950, when the *Xian Dai Ri Bao* was banned, and then deported to China. It is not clear when the Penang Association was disbanded.

The New Teochew Society was formed on October 20, 1946 by people with Teochew (Chaozhou) origins. Its first term executive committee included CDL members Xu Xia and Cai Gao Gang. On October 27 the first executive committee meeting unanimously decided to participate in the Federation for Peace and Democracy in China (Minlianhui).³⁵ An introduction to Chinese clan associations published in Singapore in 1975³⁶ makes no mention of the New Teochew Society. It was probably forced to disband in the early 1950s.

The Fujian Association, the Ee Ho Hean Club, and the Goh Loh Club were organizations operated by Tan Kah Kee and the entrepreneurs in his group, like Tan Lark Sye. All three organizations were taken over by Tan Lark Sye as chairmen when Tan Kah Kee returned to China. Therefore, the Malayanization of these three organizations became synonymous with group members like Tan Lark Sye. Such businessmen will be dealt with in more detail later, but it

should be mentioned here that as of 1948 there were still many CDL members associated with the Fujian Association. Of the one hundred "representatives" that were elected at the association's 1948 annual conference held on March 8, twelve (other than Chairman Tan) can be identified as CDL members. They included Lee Tiat Min (Li Tie Min), Cheong Choo Kun, Lu Xin Yuan, Ang Shih Shih, and Zhuang Xi Quan. Among the ten "assistant representatives," we find three CDL members, including Wu Sheng Yu and Guo Rui Ren, the latter later becoming the governor of Fujian Province in 1988.³⁷ Given the nature of its leadership, in all likelihood the Fujian Association's identity consciousness was very China-oriented at that time.

Exactly when MCP-affiliated agricultural and women's organizations were ordered to disband has not been documented. The All-Malayan Federation of Farmers' Unions (FFU) held a convention during July 6-10, 1947.³⁸ The federation's chairman was Musa Ahmad, who would later become chairman of the MCP. At the meetings of the federation's central committee on the 18th and 19th of April 1948, it was decided to protest the Malayan authorities' move to forcibly relocate Chinese farmers as part of the government's program against pro-communist elements.³⁹ At FFU regional conventions held all over Malaya, the resolutions passed were mainly focused upon protesting forcible relocation and the protection of farmers' rights.⁴⁰ We can observe from these resolutions that the most serious problems to the FFU were related to everyday life, and that the Malayanization of its identity consciousness was already progressing. It is unclear exactly when the FFU was declared illegal, but it was probably sometime during the latter half of 1948, not long after the MCP was outlawed. We do not know anything about the FFU leadership, with the exception of the MCP member Musa, but we can be fairly sure that many of its members were arrested and deported along with tens of thousands of Chinese farmers during the late 1940s and early 1950s. In contrast to the strong China-orientation among the intellectuals in the cities, the FFU fully realized that at least the basis of its supporters' livelihood was rooted in Malaya. The fact that many Chinese farmers were deported to China, a country with which they had no real ties, is evidence of the senseless, cold-hearted nature of colonial policy at the time, making it clear that the "Malayanization" sought by the British authorities was only of the type that would protect their vested interests in the region.

We know nothing about the Singapore Agricultural and Horticultural Association (Nongyi Xiehui), except that it was formed in November 1945.⁴¹

There also existed a Women's Federation made up of a coalition of women's associations which included statewide bodies in Johor, Perak, Kedah, Singapore, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, and Terengganu, and local bodies in

West Pahang, East Pahang, North Kedah, Taiping (Perak), Sungai Patani (Kedah), Keluang (Johor), Tangkak (Johor), Segamat (Johor), and Lembing (Pahang).⁴² The Women's Federation of Singapore consisted of seven associations in all, including the aforementioned Singapore Women Mutual Aid Association of Victims' Families, the Women's Fraternal Society (WFS), and the Thompson Road Women's Mutual Aid Society (TRS).⁴³ The Women Mutual Aid Association was founded in late March 1946 and was chaired by Li Poay Keng (Li Pei Qiong).⁴⁴ Li was from time to time a contributor to the monthly journal, *Xin Funu* (New Woman), which was published by Shen Zi Jiu (Mrs. Hu Yu Zhi), a female leader in the CDL. Li's viewpoints were very similar to those held by the CDL. From the large number of Singaporeans (reported locally as in the tens of thousands) who were "cleansed" by the Japanese army, the Mutual Aid Association must have included a very wide cross section of the city's Chinese women. And the fact that such a group was led by an influential associate of the CDL also suggests that this Chinese-based political group was well known and supported by the city's Chinese women at the time.

An essay published in the July 8, 1946 special issue of the *Min Sheng Pao* devoted to the "Ninth Anniversary of the Beginning of the War of Resistance against the Japanese on July 7"⁴⁵ touched upon the Malayan women's movement, arguing that "By protesting against the civil war and promoting the establishment of a coalition government in the fatherland and joining the democratic movement here in Malaya, Malaya's Chinese women would be able to improve their social position." At this time as well, the women's movement affiliated with the MCP was, at least in part, strongly oriented towards Chinese affairs.

Lee Khoon Choy relates that the Singapore "Women's Association (Funu Xiehui)" was declared illegal around the middle of September 1956;⁴⁶ he was probably referring to a group in the above-mentioned Women's Federation.

Turning to the question of how leading businessmen in Malaya's Chinese community gradually drifted away from interest in Chinese affairs, let us first look at Lee Kong Chian and Tan Lark Sye, two of the most influential leaders of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Chui Kwei Chiang tells us that Lee, the son-in-law of Tan Kah Kee, served as the twenty-fourth chairman of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce during 1946–48, while Tan Lark Sye served as its twenty-sixth chairman during 1950–52. Lee also served as the first chairman of the Associated Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce, founded on February 23, 1947.

Lee and Tan Lark Sye were also leaders in the Fujian Association, Singapore's largest Chinese clan association. By tracing the changes that took

place in the orientation of their identity consciousness, we can measure how the Fujian Association, a group that had become actively involved in Chinese internal political affairs under the guidance of Tan Kah Kee, lost interest in China and became Malayanized. What follows is based on the conclusions reached by Chui.

From 1947 Lee Kong Chian became a pioneering activist for relaxing conditions for obtaining citizenship and strongly opposed the proposed draft of the Federation of Malaya constitution. During the 1950s he became alienated from China's political scene. Soon after the end of the war, Lee called for cooperation with Malays, saying, "Political affairs in China should be put aside because they are causing divisions among overseas Chinese. We should be getting more involved in local politics." He was one of the founders of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) that was formed in February 1949.

Tan Lark Sye, who had supported the communist cause during the CCP-KMT civil war, began to call for "hometowns here in Malaya" during the 1950-51 voter registration drive carried out by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Also at the time Tan called for the active support of the colonial authorities' plan to register Chinese for the military draft as an effective anti-MCP guerrilla measure, and scolded those Malayan Chinese youth (already some 10,000 according to the *Straits Times* of August 2, 1951) who were returning to China in order to avoid the draft. (The *Straits Times* goes on to say that many of these draft dodgers had not adapted well to Chinese life and were trying to return to Malaya, but the British authorities would not allow them back into the country.) With Tan Lark Sye's rubber enterprises reaping gigantic profits during the Korean War, along with Singapore's smooth transition toward autonomy, a transformation in his sense of national attachment from China to Malaya was only a matter of time.⁴⁷

The clear disinterest in Chinese affairs developed within Lee Kong Chian, a middle-of-the-roader, during the late 1940s, and within Tan Lark Sye, who was very close to the leftist sentiments of Tan Kah Kee, during the early 1950s. However, in Chui's view, this was only a beginning in the localization of the Singapore Chinese community's identity consciousness. The most significant transformation occurred on the occasion of Singapore's independence in 1965.⁴⁸ The conversion of these businessmen was only a harbinger of what was to occur within the whole community ten to fifteen years in the future.

Actually, we have an account by Tan Lark Sye himself concerning his conversion to a Malayan identity consciousness. At a charity performance given by the Beijing Drama Circle of Shanghai (Shanghai Tongle Jingban) at the Fujian Association on September 9, 1950, after calling for the establishment of a Chinese University in Malaya, Tan, then the association's chairman, added,

When I left our country twenty years ago, I wanted to make a lot of money, then triumphantly return home to the fatherland as a rich man, raise a prosperous family and enhance the fame of my ancestors. I don't think like that anymore. Since the end of World War II, I have come to think of Malaya as my home. . . . There are many Chinese residents in the South Sea area and many children of high school age. We should build for them a university in the region's center, Singapore, as soon as possible.⁴⁹

This speech was reported in the CDL's Penang sub-branch organ, *Xian Dai Ri Bao*. The same paper also covered the speech in the "short commentary" section which put the existence of a "Chinese University" in the following context.

Tan Lark Sye's call for the establishment of Chinese University in Singapore is evidence of his overflowing patriotism, a sentiment that should be praised.

However, even if he were to raise ten million or twenty million Straits dollars to build such an institution, it would be very difficult to achieve the goal of *weiguo xingue* [promotion of education for the sake of China]. The reasons are fivefold. First, from where would the faculty be hired? Secondly, the education policy of the local government is promoting English-language education in the Chinese community, while de-emphasizing Chinese-language education and a *strong sense of patriotism towards China*. Next, on the occasion of the recent incidents involving the Hua Chiao and Nanyang Girls' High Schools [in which communist-related activities on the part of many of their students resulted in school closures], despite the long and arduous negotiations between the Chinese community leaders, including Lee Kong Chian, and the local authorities, the chains have not yet been removed from the school doors. What would be the consequences if [anti-government] pamphlets were found in the Chinese University's lavatory? Could closure be avoided in that case? . . . Mr. Tan's determination to promote education in the community is very gratifying, but a university is not a pressing issue for the time being.⁵⁰ (italics added)

It has been stated that Tan Lark Sye made his Nanyang University proposal in January 1953⁵¹ but from the above sources we know that the plan for a university was being publicly discussed some two and a half years earlier.

More important, however, is the fact that the editors of the *Xian Dai Ri Bao* interpreted Tan's university proposal, which had been made from the standpoint of Malaya as his home country and human resource development among the Chinese of the South Seas, as a plan to foster and strengthen patriotism toward China among the local Malayan Chinese community. Within less than ten days the publication of the *Xian Dai Ri Bao* would be banned. We can observe at this fairly early point in time that Tan Lark Sye was beginning to distance himself from the CCP factions and from the CDL which was represented by the *Xian Dai Ri Bao*.

It can also be said that the growing disinterest in Chinese affairs of Lee Kong Chian and Tan Lark Sye and their Malayanization symbolized a similar change taking place in the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Fujian Association, and which opened the way for the Malayan Chinese community in general to begin changing its identity consciousness from a Chinese to a Malayan orientation.

The Fui Chiu (Huizhou) Association of Selangor, one of the most powerful leftist/CCP-affiliate Chinese clan associations on the Malay Peninsula, provided offices for the MCP and the Zhigong Party at its headquarter's building located in central Kuala Lumpur, until these groups were declared illegal in July 1948.⁵²

The Selangor Fui Chiu Association in 1939 formed the Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Returning Home Service Troop (Dongjiang Huaqiao Huixiang Fuwutuan) which enlisted young natives of Huizhou, Guangdong and sent them back to China as a battalion of Malayan Chinese to fight for the army of resistance against the Japanese. After China's victory, the battalion roamed Guangdong Province, refusing to join forces with the KMT, and was sent monetary aid by the Fui Chiu Association in June 1946.⁵³

According to the association's yearbook of 1961, its main activities were in the fields of "philanthropy, physical education, music, and social welfare," with absolutely no influence from mainland China. This agenda shows a big change of the association's activities which took place in the 1950s. The facts concerning what exactly happened in the transformation experienced by the association in the 1950s are not clear; however, according to a brief history of the group, from 1954 on there was an organizational reform effort to expand its membership, and in 1957 "innovations" were made in its bylaws. Thus by opening its doors to wider groups of people, the association claims it was able to contribute to the good of not only natives of Huizhou, but also to society and the nation in general.⁵⁴ One can also read inferences here to the association having been manipulated by certain political factions before the reform. Judging just from their timing, the "reforms" and "innovations" that were made by the association were probably part of a process of growing disinterest in China and increasing Malayanization.

The Chinese Associations were organizations that attempted to go beyond regional and kinship ties in order to unite all Chinese in the local community. The presence of CCP influence in the Chinese Associations of rural areas was fairly strong. The Kuala Pilah Chinese Association (Negeri Sembilan),⁵⁵ established under the auspices of the MCP,⁵⁶ and those in Tampin (Negeri Sembilan)⁵⁷ and Yong Peng (Johor)⁵⁸ often participated in anti-KMT gatherings sponsored by the Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, a CCP-

affiliated united front organization. (These gatherings were attended by not only CCP factions, but MCP groups as well.) In fact, the Chinese Associations in Kuala Pilah and Tampin were members of the federation. Similar activities are reported up through 1949 concerning Chinese Associations in Muar,⁵⁹ Keluang,⁶⁰ Tangkak⁶¹ (all in Johor), and Jerantut (Pahang).⁶²

While participating in MCP-supported democratization and independence movements, such as opposing the draft of the Federation of Malaya constitution that refused Malayan Chinese civil rights, the Chinese Associations also participated along with MCP-affiliated organizations in supporting the CCP. Here we can observe a strengthening and expansion in the postwar period of a China-oriented identity consciousness among the Malayan Chinese in general.

Unfortunately, what became of the Chinese Associations during and after the 1950s is unknown. A business directory entitled *Malaixiya gongshang zhinan* [Malaysia business guide], published in 1990, lists Chinese Associations in Johor Bahru, Batu Pahat, and Muar (all in Johor), and Rantau (Negeri Sembilan),⁶³ but almost all of the above-mentioned CCP-affiliated associations have disappeared, probably due to closures during the 1950s and 1960s.

Notes

- 1 C.F. Yong and R.B. McKenna, *The Kuomintang Movement in British Malaya, 1912–1949* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), pp. 16, 209. Ouyang Chengda, *Xinjiapo huaren dui Xinhai gemin de fanying* [Response of the Singaporean Chinese to the Xinhai Revolution], in *Xinjiapo huazu shi lunji* [Anthology of historical articles on Singaporean Chinese], ed. Kua Bak Lim and Ng Chin Keong (Singapore: Nanyang University Alumni Association, 1972), pp. 107–9, 118.
- 2 Chen Yan, *Zhandouzhong de Malaiya* [Malaya in battle] (Shanghai: Dongfang Shushe, 1951), p. 141.
- 3 On this point see, Fujio Hara, "Maraya Kyōsantō to kō-Nichi sensō—'Sokoku kyūen' 'Maraya minzoku kaihō' no kōsaku—" [The Malayan Communist Party and its anti-Japanese war—Blending the salvation of China with the liberation of Malaya—], *Ajia keizai* 19, no. 8 (1978)
- 4 From an interview on August 26, 1991 with a Malayan Chinese who returned to China.
- 5 The MCP organ, *Min Sheng Pao* (March 12, 1948) laments, "The majority of Malayan Chinese still do not understand that Malaya is their permanent home," indicating that even three years after the war, the Chinese community in Malaya was still strongly oriented towards mainland Chinese affairs.

- 6 Edgar O'Ballance, *Malaya: The Communist Insurgent War, 1948–60* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 66.
- 7 Fujio Hara, "Maraya ni okeru Chūgoku-ha kajin soshiki no keisei to shōmetsu" [China-oriented organizations in Malaya: Their emergence, development, and demise], *Ajia keizai* 31, no. 12 (1990).
- 8 Hara, "Maraya ni okeru," pp. 16–17.
- 9 This figure was made public at the Eighth Enlarged Plenum of the Central Working Committee of the MCP held during January and February 1946, and reported in *Zhan You Bao* (Combatants' Friend), October 17, 1947, the organ of the MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association.
- 10 Hara, "Maraya ni okeru," pp. 10–12.
- 11 Hara, "Maraya ni okeru," pp. 13–14.
- 12 Concerning the activities and plight of workers, see Khoo Shin Min, *Jiannan de xingcheng* [Difficult journey] (Singapore: Wenxue Shuwu, 1985); Lin Shao Chuan, "Huiguo canzhan, gongzhao riyue—Jinian nanqiao jigong huiguo canzhan wushinian (1939–89)" [Return to the home country to participate in the war: Days and months of distinguished services—Commemorating the 50th anniversary of returning home and participation in the war by the Chinese drivers and mechanics of Southeast Asia, 1939–89], vol. 3 of *Huaqiaoshi yanjiu lunwenji* [Anthology of articles on overseas Chinese history] (Quanzhou: Huaqiao Daxue Huaqiao Yanjiusuo, 1990); and Chui Kwei Chiang, "Huanxiang xinyuan yechang mengduo—Zhanhou chuqi Xin Ma fuyuan jigong" [Repatriation of Singapore and Malayan Mechanics after the Second World War], *Nanyang xuebao* (Journal of the South Seas Society) 42, pts. 1–2 (1987).
- 13 *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, April 4, 1950 (evening edition).
- 14 *Min Sheng Pao*, November 4, November 5, and November 12, 1947.
- 15 While Singapore Fujian Association chairman, Tan Kah Kee, remained a loyal supporter of the CCP throughout his career, his influence did not extend to Fujian Associations outside of Singapore.
- 16 Chui Kwei Chiang, "Cong Xinjiapo Zhonghua Zongshanghui kan huaren guojia rentong de zhuanxiang" [A view of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce on the change of national identity of the Chinese], in *Zonghui sannian* [Three years of the federation], ed. Xinjiapo Zongxiang Huiguan Lianhe Zonghui (Singapore Federation of Clan Associations) (Singapore, 1989), pp. 95–99.
- 17 Concerning the reaction of KMT supporters in the MCA, see Heng Pek Koon, *Chinese Politics in Malaysia: A History of the Malaysian Chinese Association* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 91.
- 18 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, April 18 and April 23, 1947, June 16, 1947, and November 21, 1949. *Min Sheng Pao* (June 15, 1946) reported that Consul Hsu had attended a CDL dinner in Selangor accompanied by his wife. See also May 28, 1946 and July 16, 1947 edition.

A British document concerning Hsu states that he "would see anyone from KMT leader to the most rabid communist, and would go anywhere to clear up

- trouble. He was most active in trying to prevent Chinese home politics in Malaya and as a worker for Sino-British friendship. His methods were far too unorthodox for the Consul General [sic] and he was sent to the Embassy in India. I believe that the deciding factor was his quarrel with and attempt to expose a local Chinese, Lee Hau Sik (H.S. Lee now a O.B.E. [a note in original]), for what he is, but he was not left time to complete his investigations." ("Memoir of O. H. Morris, para. no. 52," in "Chinese Affairs and Correspondence with Mr. H. T. Pagden," PRO, CO 537/3757, 1948.)
- 19 Fujio Hara, "Liberation of Malaya and Liberation of China," in *Emergence, Development and Dissolution of the Pro-China Organizations in Singapore*, by Chui Kwei Chiang and Fujio Hara, J.R.P. Series, no. 87 (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1991), pp. 85–86.
 - 20 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (May 22, 1950) reported that Tan Kah Kee had said "I will return at the end of this year [1950] or early next year," but Tan would never return to Singapore.
 - 21 Niew Shong Tong and T'ien Eng Seng, eds. *Shalao yue huazu yanjiu lunwen ji* [Selected articles on Sarawak Chinese] (Sibu: Shalao yue Huazu Wenhua Xiehui [Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association], 1992), p. 199; John M. Chin, *The Sarawak Chinese* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 108; and Craig Alan Lockard, *From Kampung to City: A Social History of Kuching Malaysia, 1820–1970* (Athens, Ohio: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1987), p. 169.
 - 22 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 7 and October 8, 1949, November 11, 1949, and September 6, 1950; *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, November 11, 1949 and September 7, 1950.
 - 23 *Min Sheng Pao*, March 27 and March 28, 1947 and March 23, 1948.
 - 24 Hara, "Maraya ni okeru," p. 17.
 - 25 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, December 23, 1946. The Mayfair Society had celebrated its twelfth anniversary the day before during which Consul Kuang Da called for efforts in realizing a democratic political system in China.
 - 26 Wang Shiow Nan, *Xin Ma jiaoyu fanlun* [On education in Malaysia and Singapore] (Hong Kong: South East Asia Research Institute, 1970), p. 163. Probably the year 1905 is a misprint of 1945.
 - 27 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 6 and May 15, 1946.
 - 28 *Min Sheng Pao*, June 18, 1946.
 - 29 Concerning Hsue Yung Shu, see Hu Yu Zhi, *Wode huiyi* [My recollection] (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 1990), p. 71.
 - 30 Wang Shiow Nan, p. 167.
 - 31 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 7, 1950. During the early 1950s, at least several thousand young men in Malaya traveled to China for the purpose of either higher education or avoiding the military draft (initiated by the British to combat the MCP armed struggle). In the first three months of 1951, a total of 10,100 certificates of admission had been applied for in order to leave Malaya and return at some future date (*Straits Times*, April 11, 1951). Also, between 1949 and 1952 at least

- 200 to 300 students departed Sarawak "to return home and participate in building a socialist China" (Niew Shong Tong and T'ien Eng Seng, eds., p. 198). However, because the British would not allow them reentry permits, most of the students were unable to return to Malaya or Sarawak after completion of their studies.
- 32 *Min Sheng Pao*, November 7, 1947. The new executive committee elected at the end of August remained unchanged, with the exception of Zhang Ming Lun and Li Gong Yi who disappeared (*Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 1, 1949).
- 33 Lee Khoon Choy, *Zhuixun ziji de guojia—Yige Nanyang huaren de xinlu licheng* [In search of a nation—The personal Odyssey of a Nanyang Chinese] (Taipei: Yuanliu Chuban Shiye Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1989), pp. 266–69.
- 34 Lee Khoon Choy, p. 103.
- 35 In the "Special Issue Celebrating the First Anniversary of the Singapore New Teochow Society" of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 29, 1947, there is an essay signed merely "Si Ming," who may have been pro-MCP teacher Shen Si Ming (also known as Guang Ming), Shen returned to China around 1949.
- 36 Ngow Wah, *Xinjiapo huazu huiguan zhi* [Historical record of the Chinese associations of Singapore], 3 vols. (Singapore: Nanyang Xuehui [South Seas Society], 1975).
- 37 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 9, 1948.
- 38 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 17, 1947 and *Min Sheng Pao*, July 15 and 18, 1947.
- 39 *Min Sheng Pao*, April 14, 1948.
- 40 *Min Sheng Pao*, January 7, 1948 (on the Farmer's General Union of Penang), March 9, 1948 (on the Farmer's General Union of Pahang), March 26, 1948 (on the Farmer's General Union of Perak), April 4, 1948 (on congress of representatives from the six Perak districts).
- 41 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (November 10, 1947) reported the second anniversary of its formation.
- 42 Johor: *Min Sheng Pao*, March 5 and March 21, 1947.
Perak: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 21 and March 25, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, March 22 and March 27, 1947. It was reported that the second convention of the Perak Women's Federation was held on March 15–18 with forty-five representatives from twenty-seven units attending, and Perak CDL sub-branch director Wang Ting Jun was the guest of honor.
Kedah: *Min Sheng Pao* (June 21, 1947) reported the name of the organization as the Women's Promotion Society (Funu Cujinhui).
Singapore: *Min Sheng Pao*, February 4, 1948.
Selangor: *Min Sheng Pao* (March 9, 1948) reported that the Selangor Women's Federation held a gathering on March 8, International Women's Day, with more than 300 participants in attendance and that the representative of the CDL, He Jia Yu gave an address on the occasion. On the same day, gatherings were held by the Women's Benevolent Society (Funu Cishanhui, a cultural organization with more than a hundred members) and by the Chinese Women's Li Chi Association (Funu

Lizhishe]. According to the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (March 9, 1949), the Selangor Chinese Women's Li Chi Association held a gathering on Women's Day of 1949 with 300 participants in attendance. The association still continues to exist.

Negeri Sembilan: *Min Sheng Pao* (March 6, 1948) reported the second anniversary of the Negeri Sembilan Women's General Federation.

Terengganu: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 28, 1948.

West Pahang: *Min Sheng Pao* (February 25, 1948) reported that the fourth convention of the Women's Federation of West Pahang was held on February 21 and 22 with about thirty participants in attendance.

East Pahang: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (July 19, 1947) reported that a general assembly was held and new officers elected.

North Kedah: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 3, 1948.

Taiping (Perak): *Min Sheng Pao*, November 6, 1947.

Sungai Patani (Kedah): *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (December 15, 1947) reported the second anniversary of the Sungai Patani Women's Federation.

Keluang: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (August 22 and October 1, 1947) reported that the Keluang Women's Federation celebrated its second anniversary on September 28.

Tangkak: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 6, 1947 (a special report commemorating the second anniversary of the organization) and October 14, 1947.

Segamat: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 3, 1948.

Leming (Pahang): *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 17, 1948.

43 *Min Sheng Pao*, February 4, 1948.

44 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 12, 1947, March 9, and March 10, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, February 13 and March 11, 1947. The association's 500 members petitioned on March 6 to meet with the Chinese consul general to Singapore, Wu Paak Shing, to complain that "In spite of all we have done for the 'fatherland,' why can the 'fatherland' not do anything for us?" They also requested support for the war crimes tribunal trying the Japanese and applied for 50,000 yuan in relief funds from the Chinese government.

45 Wang Jing Ying, *Mahua funu yu qi-qi jinian* [Malayan Chinese women and the commemoration of July 7], n.d.

46 Lee Khoon Choy, p. 291.

47 Chui Kwei Chiang, "Cong Xinjiapo," pp. 93-106.

48 Chui Kwei Chiang, "Cong Xinjiapo," p. 106.

49 *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, September 11, 1950.

50 *Ibid.*

51 This statement is contained in the section devoted to Tan Lark Sye (on pp. 88-98) in Cai Ren Long, ed., *Dongnanya zhumin huaqiao huaren chuan* [Bibliography of prominent overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia], vol. 1 (Beijing: Haiyang Chubanshe 1989); and is based on *Nanyang Daxue chuanguang shi* [History of the establishment of Nanyang University] (Singapore: Nanyang Wenhua Chubanshe, 1965). The chronology (p. 229) in Lim Lian Geok, *Fengyu shiba*

- nian* [Weather-beaten eighteen years] (Kuala Lumpur: Lim Lian Yu Jijin Weiyuanhui [Lim Lian Geok Fund Committee], 1988) also states the same.
- 52 *Min Sheng Pao*, March 29, 1947 reported that the Zhigong Party offices were moved to the Fui Chiu Association due to a lack of space in their previous accommodations at the Gongshang Julebu (Commercial Athletic Club) on Sultan Road.
- 53 *Min Sheng Pao*, June 13, 1946.
- 54 "Xuelan-e Huizhou huiguan jianjie" [Brief introduction of the Selangor Fui Chiu Association], in *Senmeilan Huizhou Huiguan bainian jinian tekan* [Special issue for the 100th anniversary of the Negeri Sembilan Fui Chiu Association], ed. Senmeilan Huizhou Huiguan Bianji Weiyuanhui (Editorial Committee of Negeri Sembilan Fui Chiu Association) (Seremban, 1971), p. 72.
- 55 *Min Sheng Pao*, June 11, 1947 (on the gathering against hunger, civil war, and dictatorship), June 23 and August 13, 1947 (on joint activities with the Minlianhui), and September 3, 1947 (on participation in a gathering against civil war and mass mobilization). All of the above-mentioned activities concern the internal affairs of China; however, on February 10 the *Min Sheng Pao* reported on the movement opposing the proposed draft of the Federation of Malaya Constitution.
- Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (May 4, 1948) reported that the Chinese Associations in Kuala Pilah and Tampin were members of the Negeri Sembilan Minlianhui.
- 56 *Min Sheng Pao*, July 18 and July 23, 1946.
- 57 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 9, 1946 (on the merger of the South Hokkien Chamber of Commerce [Min Nan Shanghui] with the Overseas Chinese Chamber of Commerce [Huaqiao Shanghui] to form the Chinese Association); June 5, 1946 (on the celebration of the above-mentioned merger marked by display of the Chinese flag by Chinese organizations, schools, shops, and homes in Tampin, the appearance of Consul Hsu, who called for unity of the Chinese nation, a pledge made by the executive committee before Consul Hsu, and attendance at the celebration by the state General Labour Union and the state MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association); June 11, 1947 (on participation in a gathering against hunger, civil war, and dictatorship); June 26, 1946 (on joint activities with the Minlianhui); September 18, 1946 (opposing the CCP-KMT civil war). *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 5, 1947 (opposing the mass mobilization order), May 3 and May 4, 1948, and November 21, 1949.
- 58 *Min Sheng Pao*, February 26, 1947 (opposing the proposed draft of the Federation of Malaya Constitution); *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 6, 1947 (on gatherings to commemorate China's victory in the war of resistance against the Japanese).
- 59 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 5, 1947 (on gatherings to commemorate China's victory in the war of resistance against the Japanese), November 21, 1949; *Min Sheng Pao*, March 11, 1947 (on participation in committees to ratify the Malayan People's Constitution).
- 60 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 5, 1947.
- 61 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 13, 1948 (opposing Chiang Kai-shek).

- 62 *Min Sheng Pao*, September 27, 1946 (supporting Tan Kah Kee's anti-KMT activities).
- 63 Huashe Zhiliao Yanjiu Zhongxin (Chinese Resource and Research Centre), ed., *Malaixiya gongshang zhinan* [Malaysia business guide] (Kuala Lumpur: Xuelan'e Zhonghua Dahuitang [Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall], 1990), p. 47.

2

Chinese-Language Newspapers in Malaya

For the first ten years following the end of World War II, the Chinese-language newspapers published in Malaya referred to China as their "homeland" and gave events in China equal, if not more, importance than local Malayan affairs. This fact will be immediately apparent to anyone who opens up any such newspaper published at the time and peruses the headlines. Even the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) organ, *Min Sheng Pao*, referred to China as "our homeland" (at least up through April 1948; it was banned that June, and I have not had the opportunity to check the May and June issues), as did the China Democratic League's (CDL) *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* and *Xian Dai Ri Bao* (both banned in September 1950). During their postwar existence, both also used the expression "our country" for China.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain how long the general commercial newspapers, such as *Nanyang Siang Pau*, which stayed politically neutral with a slight tilt toward the Kuomintang until the early 1950s, and *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, a Kuomintang supporter until the early 1950s, began to refer to Malaya and Singapore as "the homeland" and "our country," or when they ceased using the terms in reference to China. However, an important watershed in the usage of the terms can be seen in a short essay that was printed in the October 7, 1957 issue of *Nanyang Siang Pau* and entitled "Woguo yu Zhongguo zhi bie" [The difference between our country and China]. It was authored by Dang Xiong, who wrote,

After reading Mr. Xin Hua's essay in the September 25 issue, entitled "Guoyu

keyi gaicheng huayu" [We should change the term "national language" to "Chinese"], I was confronted with a similar problem The Merdeka [national independence] celebration of August 31 (for the Federation of Malaya) changed completely the political terminology used in Malaya up until that time. First, the two terms "our country" and "China" present a problem that needs to be settled by the Chinese residents of Malaya as soon as possible. A month before the celebration, a Malayan Chinese referring to China as "our country" would not have caused any misunderstanding, but from Merdeka day onward, Malaya, the place of permanent residence for Malayan Chinese, became a sovereign nation. From now on we should call Malaya "our country," not China.

From now on, we must make a clear distinction between "our country" and China; and by establishing such a viewpoint, we will be able to eliminate any misunderstanding that may arise among our Malay compatriots and rifts we may have with them. Calling glorious Malaya "our country" is only common sense and the correct path to take. Furthermore, our national founding father is no longer Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but Prime Minister Tengku Abdul Rahman [first premier of the Federation of Malaya]. Our "national portrait" is no longer a Chinese picture scroll, but rather a *batik sarong* work of art. Our "national language" is no longer Mandarin, but Malay, the language spoken by Malays. Our "national products" are no longer items manufactured in China, but Malayan products, like rubber and tin. In other words, we should place the term "national" before all the things that are representative of Malaya. The character for "country" is not the "guo" in Zhongguo [China]; it is the "Federation" of Malaya.

Certainly it should not be concluded that before this short essay was printed, "our country" referred exclusively to China within the Malayan Chinese community, and after it appeared, the term switched completely to Malaya; however, it is certain that the views expressed by Dang Xiong are an important indicator showing a definite Malayan identity consciousness having come to the fore by this time among the region's Chinese language newspapers, their readers, and within the Chinese community in general.

On March 18, 1956 the Grand Rally of Literators Responding to the Independence Movement appealed for a patriotic movement pursuing the Malayan independence of Malayan Chinese.¹ On April 27 of that year, one thousand people representing 454 Chinese organizations gathered together to hold the Representatives' Congress of All Malayan Registered Guilds and Associations to ratify a declaration demanding Malayan citizenship.² Both events suggest that the 1956–57 period marks the era when Malayan identity among the country's Chinese residents became firmly established.

Although it is not possible to go into a detailed account of how the meaning of such terms as *zuguo* (land of our ancestors) and *guguo* (homeland) changed in Chinese newspapers, we can look at the transition to the Western

TABLE 2-1
THE ADOPTION OF THE WESTERN CALENDAR
BY CHINESE NEWSPAPERS IN MALAYA

<i>Nan Chiau Jit Pao</i>	October 4, 1949
<i>Xian Dai Ri Bao</i>	October 4, 1949, the evening edition (October 5, 1949 for the morning edition)
<i>Sin Chew Jit Poh</i>	October 20, 1949
<i>Nanyang Siang Pau</i>	January 7, 1950 (Corresponds to the day on which the United Kingdom officially recognized the PRC.)

Source : The author.

calendar dating system that took place in their dateline headings and at the changes that took place in publication holidays, and we can check to see how long correspondents continued to be dispatched to China. All these point toward the Malayanization of these newspapers.

I. Issue Dating

Following the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, the Malayan Chinese newspapers adopted the Republic of China calendar, which marked 1912 as "the first year of the republic." Then after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, a CCP supporter, did away with the republican calendar and adopted the Western system on October 4. The *Sin Chew Jit Poh* followed suit a little later in the month, while the *Nanyang Siang Pau* waited until the United Kingdom's official recognition of the PRC before it switched over to the Western system (see Table 2-1). Even the newspapers that supported the Kuomintang were unable to continue their anti-CCP editorial positions, probably due to the fact that (1) loyalty to the nationalists lost its meaning after the Kuomintang government was confined to the island of Taiwan, and (2) the papers desired the patronage of readers most of whom were originally from such areas as Fujian and Guangdong, which had changed hands from nationalist to PRC governance.

However, this move away from the "republic" dating system does not necessarily indicate increasing disinterest in Chinese affairs, because it is clear that the newspapers adopted the Western system because the PRC had done so. Moreover, the terms "homeland" and "our country" continued as before to refer to China.

TABLE 2-2 (Continued)

Holiday Name	Publication Holiday Date	1949	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
Memorial Day of the Union of Chinese Printing Workers	August 28					○	○	○	○	○									
Publication holiday	August 28												○	○					
Chinese Journalists' Day	September 2	○	○	○	○ ^a	○	?	○											
Chinese Newspapers' Journalists' Day	September 2								○	○	○	○	○	○ ^c					
Double Tenth	October 11	○	○	○	○ ^a	○	○	○ ^d	○ ^d	○ ^d									
Publication holiday	October 11												○	○	○				○
Founding Father's Birthday	November 13	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○									
Publication holiday	November 13											○	○	○					○
Christmas Day	December 26													○					

Source : The author.

Notes : 1. Ordinarily the publication holiday would fall on the day after the commemorative day.

2. The dates in parentheses designate exceptions.

3. The symbol ○ indicates one day off; ⊙ indicates two days off.

^a The reason for the publication holiday (i.e., the commemorative holiday name) was not included in the publication holiday announcement.

^b The announcement of the publication holiday substituted the words "Dr. Sun Yat-sen" for "Founding Father."

^c This day may correspond to the commemoration of the independence of the Federation of Malaya.

^d The announcement of the publication holiday did not contain the words, "National Celebration."

II. Publication Holidays

Table 2-2 traces the changes that took place in newspaper publication holidays between 1949 and 1966, and Table 2-3 shows the situation as of 1990.

The thirteen days (eleven occasions) on which publication holidays were observed in 1949 included six days (six occasions) related specifically to China (excluding Chinese New Year): the Passing of the Founding Father (Dr. Sun Yat-sen), Huang Hua Day (commemorating the Huang Hua Gang Uprising of March 28, 1911), Confucius' Birthday (in conjunction with Teachers' Day), the Double Tenth, and the Founding Father's Birthday. In short, half of holidays related to China.

The first of these holidays to disappear was Huang Hua Day in 1950, which reappeared briefly in 1960 as an anonymous "regularly scheduled publication holiday," then disappeared again for good in 1961.

The next to disappear was the publication holiday on the day after Confucius' Birthday/Teachers' Day celebrated on August 27. This holiday was removed in 1953, probably due to the fact that in 1950 the PRC established a Teachers' Day on June 6,³ and in 1951 the Federation of Malaya designated a similar day on October 21.⁴ In 1958 Singapore established a Teachers' Day on October 9,⁵ then changed it to August 31. But the occasion did not merit a publication holiday in either Singapore or Malaya. However, August 28 continued as a publication holiday under the name Memorial Day of the Union of Chinese Printing Workers, indicating perhaps some negative sentiments toward the country of China. Later, in 1958, the name of the day was again changed to a "regularly scheduled newspaper holiday," possibly, like Huang Hua Day, due to fears about some connotation of ties to China. In 1960 the day was completely removed from the publication holiday schedule.

Chinese Journalists Day became Chinese-Language Newspaper Journalists Day in 1956 and was removed altogether in 1961, although a "regularly scheduled publication holiday" was observed one day earlier on September 1. This latter holiday disappeared in 1962 either.

From 1955, the announcement of a publication holiday on the occasion of the Double Tenth excluded the words "*guoqing*" (national celebration), then in 1958 it became a "regularly scheduled publication holiday," and finally disappeared in 1960, as did the commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth and death.

In this way Malayan Chinese newspaper publication holidays which in the early years after the war had matched China's commemorative holidays, began to remove specific commemorative names in the mid-1950s. Their veiled

TABLE 2-3

PUBLICATION HOLIDAYS OF PRESENT-DAY CHINESE NEWSPAPERS IN MALAYA, 1989, 1990

Holiday Name	Publication Holiday Date	Malaysia	Singapore	
		1990	1989	1990
New Year's Day	January 2	○	○	
Chinese New Year	Late January or early February	⊗	⊗	⊗
Hari Raya	A day in February and March	○		
Labour Day	May 2	○	○	
Newspaper Deliverers' Day	June 14	○		
Deepavali	October 25	○		
Christmas Day	December 26	○	○	○

Source : The author.

Note : The symbol ○ indicates one day off; ⊗ indicates two days off.

and increasing anonymity before they were completely removed in 1962 indicates a clear intent by the newspapers to avoid any connotation concerning ties to China or even to deny such ties altogether. Together with concern about the feelings of Malays, such actions also document the establishment of a Malayan identity consciousness in the Malayan Chinese community. The transition that was taking place in the holidays of the Chinese newspaper industry during the late 1950s matches with the years 1956-57 which mark the establishment of Malayan identity within the general Chinese community in other aspects that have been mentioned.

As shown in Table 2-3, today the yearly Chinese newspaper publication holiday schedule contains nothing that could be construed as connected with China. Although the Memorial Day of the Newspaper Deliverers' Association established around 1950 has been revived in Malaysia as Newspaper Deliverers' Day, there is no connotation concerning China. Transformation of publication holidays thus symbolizes well the transition that has taken place in the identity consciousness of the Chinese from China- to Malaya-oriented.

III. News Correspondents in China

The following is a list of the names and locations of special correspondents—*tepai* (Malayan Chinese journalists on assignment; SpC), stationed correspondents—*zhuzai* (probably journalists who had returned to China permanently; StC), specially contracted correspondents—*teyue* (probably native Chinese

journalists; SCC) dispatched or hired by the *Nanyang Siang Pau* in 1950.

Wu Li (StC)	Xiamen
Di Ya (StC)	Fujian or Fuzhou
Shu Ping (StC), Tie Min (StC)	Shantou
Ying Zhi (SpC), Gong Bo (SCC), Xing Guang (?)	Guangzhou
Xiang Dong (SpC), Yi Xing (StC)	Guangdong
Chen Ping (SCC), Meng Bo (StC)	Hainan
Wang Can Bao (SpC), Wang Li Shen (SpC)	Shanghai
Zhong Heng (StC)	Nanjing
Ding Ming (SCC)	(unknown)

This list tells us that the *Nanyang Siang Pau* had a total of fifteen journalists—four special correspondents, seven stationed correspondents, and four specially contracted correspondents—active in China in 1950, one year after the establishment of the PRC. It is unclear how many of these reporters made a living solely as employees of the *Nanyang Siang Pau* (probably very few even among the special correspondents); however, for a newspaper with a circulation of about 100,000 copies⁶ to dispatch and hire that many reporters to cover one country, that country must have had a very special place in its editorial policy. There is no doubt that the *Nanyang Siang Pau* at that time had a readership with a very strong China-oriented interest, a group without which the paper could not have existed.

We know very little about the journalists listed above. Chen Ping was the name of the Malayan Communist Party secretary general at the time, but they could not have been the same people. Tie Min may have been Lee Tiat Min (Li Tie Min; 1897–1956), who was a secretary to Tan Kah Kee (Chen Jia Geng), returned with Tan to China, and became the first vice-president of the All China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese; but there is no way of knowing for sure.

In 1951 Bi You Ji was hired as a stationed correspondent in Fujian, Hua Wei was dispatched as a special correspondent to Fujian, and Lei Yu was added to the Fujian staff as a contract correspondent. Shu Ping in Shantou seemed to have moved to Taiwan, given the articles he wrote concerning his travels there.

From 1950 to 1952, several articles a month written by correspondents stationed in China filled the pages of the *Nanyang Siang Pau*; however, in 1953, the number of articles submitted from China had dwindled to about once in two months; and only Ying Zhi and Hua Wei remained employed as

China-based correspondents. Ying's last article, a report on the discovery of an ancient tumulus in suburban Guangzhou, appeared on November 2 of that year, while Hua's last contribution on a lantern festival to celebrate a bumper harvest in Fuzhou appeared on March 9 of the following year, marking the last time an article written by a reporter stationed in China would be published by the *Nanyan Siang Pau*. The articles that appeared thereafter were written by China watchers and experts in Malaya or Hong Kong, or merely translated from English-language reports written by Westerners.

In September 1956 the Singapore-Malaya Foreign Trade Mission, headed by the chairman of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Ko Teck Kin (Gao De Gen), visited China at the invitation of the PRC government. The news reporters that accompanied the group covered the conference that the group held with Prime Minister Zhou Enlai (at which Zhou urged overseas Chinese to try their best to acquire citizenship in their countries of residence),⁷ the conference held with Tan Kah Kee,⁸ and articles on what the trade mission actually got to see.⁹

A report by Cao Ju Ren about the mission's attendance at National Day festivities in Beijing on October 1, 1956 appeared in the pages of the *Nanyan Siang Pau* on October 10th, and his account of the mission's travels in Zhejiang during October of the following year appeared in the same paper from October 2 through 8, 1957; however, it is not clear what Cao's relationship to the newspaper was.

While trade between China and Malaya (Malaysia and Singapore) continued, exchanges between newspaper reporters stopped. The reason for the cessation lies mainly with the Malayan side of the connection. The disappearance of reporters stationed in China and the corresponding devaluation by the Malayan Chinese newspapers of the newsworthiness of the China scene that occurred in the mid-1950s is very significant, in that this aspect also closely matches the 1956-57 transition to a Malaya-oriented identity consciousness in the local overseas Chinese community as a whole.

Not until May 1994, nineteen years after the establishment of official diplomatic relations between Malaysia and China, would there be the reappearance of a China-based news reporter working for the *Nanyan Siang Pau*. Kiu Chow Fooi (Qiu Zhao Fei), a visiting research fellow since 1992 in the Chinese Literature Department at Nanjing University, began sending reports as the newspaper's "special correspondent."¹⁰

Notes

- 1 Miao Xiu, ed., *Xin Ma huawen wenxue daxi* [General collection of Chinese literature of Singapore and Malaysia], vol. 1, *Rirun* [Theory] (Singapore: Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1971), p. 316.
- 2 Chui Kwei Chiang, *Xin Ma huaren guojia rentong de zhuanxiang, 1945–1959* [Change of national identity among Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia, 1945–1959] (Xiamen: Xiamen Daxue Chubanshe, 1989), pp. 334–36. *Nanyan Siang Pau*, April 27, April 28, and April 29, 1956. These articles were received from Professor Chui.
- 3 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 7, 1950. The Singapore Chinese School Teachers' Association also celebrated Teacher's Day on this date by holding a gathering during the afternoon; and another gathering was also sponsored by the Mayfair Musical and Drama Society in the evening. However, this date was not a news publication holiday.
- 4 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 21, 1951.
- 5 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 3, 1958.
- 6 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 12, 1956.
- 7 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 4 and October 18, 1958; *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, October 4 and October 5, 1956.
- 8 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 1, 1956; *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, October 13, 1956.
- 9 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 2, 1956.
- 10 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 26, 1993.

3

The Role of the Consulates

In the prewar era there were four Chinese consulates in Malaya. In 1877 Hu Xuan Ze (also known as Hoo Ah Kay [Hu Ya Ji]), an overseas Chinese, was appointed consul in Singapore. Four years later (in 1881) a permanent consulate was established in Singapore and upgraded to consulate general status in 1891.¹ Other Chinese consulates were opened in Penang in 1893,² in Api in 1913, and in Kuala Lumpur in 1933.³ The consulate in Api was relocated to Sandakan in 1933. In the postwar era, China reopened its consulate general and other consulates early in 1946, though the consulate in Sandakan was again relocated to Api (present-day Kota Kinabalu). In 1948 new consulates were opened in Kuching (in Sarawak), Ipoh, and Malacca. In February 1948, the Federation of Malaya was created, but Singapore did not join and remained as a British Crown Colony. In the circumstances the Kuala Lumpur consulate was upgraded to consulate general status to head the Chinese diplomatic organizations in the new federation (see Appendix 1). As a result, China had two consulates general and five consulates in the Malayan region from August 1948 onwards. This situation continued until January 1950 when all of the consulates were closed after the United Kingdom recognized the new government of mainland China (the People's Republic). In contrast with today's situation where China's only representation in Malaysia is its embassy in the capital, China's consuls were able to undertake a wide range of activities in those days.

After taking office as consul general in Singapore in February 1946, Dr.

Wu Paak Shing (Wu Bo Sheng) undertook fact-finding visits to various parts of Malaya. During these visits, he was enthusiastically welcomed by local Chinese associations. When the consul general arrived in Kuala Lumpur on May 4, a local newspaper, the *Min Sheng Pao* (the de facto organ of the Malayan Communist Party [MCP]), carried an editorial welcoming him as "the representative of our homeland." It urged the consul general to find solutions for the problems facing all the overseas Chinese irrespective of their political belief and called for solidarity in the Chinese community. Apparently even the MCP looked upon China as the homeland in this period, and the Chinese consul, even though he represented the Kuomintang government, was seen as a vital source of aid and protection in times of difficulty.

The principal postwar activities of the consulate general and consulates in Malaya were as outlined below.

I. Recording Human and Material Losses during the Japanese Occupation

As soon as they were reopened after the war, the consulate general in Singapore and the consulate in Kuala Lumpur initiated an audit of damage and losses suffered during the Japanese occupation. This process continued until August 1947. The report sent to the Chinese Foreign Ministry recorded 4,522 cases of injury and death and property losses totaling U.S.\$29,002,861.55 just in the area covered by the consulate general (Singapore, Johor, Malacca, Terengganu, Kelantan, Sarawak).⁴ In the period to the end of September 1947, the consulate general also surveyed the circumstances of the families of Chinese killed during the occupation. This survey was also the subject of a report to the Chinese Foreign Ministry.⁵ However, China's Kuomintang government ultimately waived any claim for reparations from Japan, with the result that this record of losses and damages was never used. Nor are there any reports that the consulate general or consulates provided any financial assistance to victims on the basis of this record and survey. (The demands of victims for financial relief is discussed in endnote 44 of Chapter 1.)

II. Demand for War-Crimes Tribunals over the Murdering of Overseas Chinese by the Japanese Military

War criminals were put on trial between 1946 and 1948. It was the overseas Chinese themselves who exerted the strongest pressure on the Allied Forces to punish those responsible for massacres of overseas Chinese. The families of victims formed organizations in areas where massacres had occurred to

track down those responsible and provide mutual assistance. These included the Joint Appeal Committee (Mingyuan Weiyuanhui) and the Mutual Aid Association of the Bereaved Families (Yizu Huzhuhui).

In Kuala Lumpur, the Joint Appeal Preparation Committee was established on July 3, 1946 to demand trials for those responsible for the big roundup incident of March 6, 1942 in which 1,000 Chinese were put to death there. Groups represented at the inaugural meeting included the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (Zhonghua Zongshanghui), the MPAJA (Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army) Ex-Service Comrades Association (Renmin Kangrijun Tuiwu Tongzhi Hui), the China Democratic League (CDL) (Zhongguo Minzhu Tongmeng) (its representative was Kon Voon Sem [Guan Wen Sen]), the Kuomintang's Selangor branch, and the Pan-Malayan General Labour Union (PMGLU). Also among those present was the Chinese consul in Kuala Lumpur, Hsu Meng Hsiung (Xu Meng Xiong),⁶ who made a speech.

In Singapore, the Japanese army officers who were primarily responsible for the general roundup were sentenced on April 2, 1947 at the tribunal held there. However, the sentences were far more lenient than expected by the bereaved families. The editorial in the April 3 edition of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* expressed the strong dissatisfaction felt by the bereaved families in the following terms.

We should work through the Joint Appeal Committee to seek a re-trial. If that is not possible, we should ask the Chinese government to use diplomatic means to bring about a new trial. The victims were overseas Chinese, and the Chinese government surely cannot allow the wrongs suffered by them to go unpunished.

The Singapore Women Mutual Aid Association of Victims' Families (Xingzhou Beijianzhe Jiashu Funu Huzhuhui) held a rally on April 6 and resolved to ask the Chinese Foreign Ministry to negotiate with the Japanese government regarding the payment of compensation to victims. They also called on the Chinese Foreign Ministry to open negotiations with the British government regarding a new trial for those responsible for the massacre. A letter requesting the fulfillment of their demands was handed to Consul General Wu Paak Shing.⁷ In the same month, Consul General Wu responded to the wishes of the bereaved families by sending a letter to the governor of Singapore, Franklin Gimson, demanding the death penalty for those responsible.⁸ However, no new trial was ever held.

In May 1947, the consul general, with the support of many Chinese, asked the British colonial government to seek the return of compulsory "donations" amounting to 50 million Straits dollars that the Japanese military had levied from overseas Chinese.⁹ This request was also rejected by the British authori-

ties. These facts are reflections of China's situation at this time and its limited influence in international affairs. The consulates thus lacked the power to protect the rights of overseas Chinese in these areas.

In March 1948, the United Kingdom and China agreed to work toward returning to their original owners of assets seized by Japan in British territories (*Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 29, 1948). Unfortunately, this agreement had little effect and was simply filed away.

III. Relief for Suffering Overseas Chinese

The political and economic upheavals that affected postwar Malaya were reflected in frequent labor disputes, especially at rubber plantations and tin mines. There was also increasing political conflict driven by pressure for democratization and self-rule. After the Malayan Communist Party initiated its armed struggle in 1948, most of the Chinese living in outlying areas were forcibly relocated by the British authorities. They were suspected of supplying food and new recruits to the guerrillas and providing support, including bases and refuges, to the MCP. Most of the Chinese in outlying areas were people who had fled inland to escape the calamities of the Japanese occupation. In the early 1950s, this forced relocation program moved into high gear, and ultimately between 500,000 and 600,000 people were shifted.

In addition to oppression by the British authorities as a result of frequent disputes, conflicts, and confrontations, the overseas Chinese were also deprived of their economic base, including jobs and housing, due to a campaign by Malays, the majority ethnic group, to drive them out. They were called the *nanqiao*, or "suffering overseas Chinese."

1. Relief Measures for People Forcibly Relocated during the Japanese Occupation

The consuls began to provide assistance to the *nanqiao* in 1947. The *Min Sheng Pao* reported the following case. The Japanese military had forced about one hundred households consisting of over two thousand people to settle in Badong New Village in Kuala Selangor (Selangor State). In February 1947 these people were again forcibly relocated, this time by the British authorities. The reasons are not clear, but it appears that Malays had sought the return of the land, which was originally a Malay reservation. The Chinese inhabitants asked the Chinese consul in Kuala Lumpur, Hsu Meng Hsiung, to approach the British authorities in order to seek the cancellation of the evacuation order.¹⁰ On May 22 he met with the Sultan and asked his help in having the order rescinded. The consul also worked to restore relations between lo-

cal Malays and the Chinese residents, and on May 27 the communities held a friendship meeting.¹¹ However, it is not known if the evacuation order was ever rescinded, since there are no records.

According to the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, a community of just over five hundred Chinese residents in New South Sea Village (Xin Nanyang Cun) on the outskirts of Sungai Way (Selangor) sought the assistance of the consul general in Singapore, Wu Paak Shing, in October 1947. The population of the village (all Chinese) were originally residents of the Ampang 6 and 7 sections on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur. They were relocated by the Japanese military in March 1943 on the grounds that they had links with anti-Japanese guerrillas. Unable to establish an adequate agricultural base, the people were living under considerable hardship.¹²

In late June 1947, the Chinese consul in Penang, Li Neng Geng, promised Chinese farmers in Penang and Province Wellesley, who had been resettled on barren land after repeated forced relocations, that the Chinese government's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission would provide financial aid totaling U.S.\$60,000. However, the money failed to materialize, and in late July, the Province Wellesley Farmers' Union, an MCP-affiliated organization consisting of 5,274 people in 979 households, sent a letter to the consulate seeking immediate payment. The aid was never sent.¹³

In June 1948, Chinese farmers who had been resettled at Kulim in Kedah State during the Japanese occupation were ordered to leave the area by the British colonial authorities. According to a media report, they asked the acting consul to intercede on their behalf.¹⁴

The Chinese government's aid programs for overseas Chinese were not limited to farmers. On May 7, 1946, for example, Consul General Wu Paak Shing was quoted in the *Straits Times* as saying that the Chinese government would provide aid totaling 30 million Straits dollars for the restoration of overseas Chinese industries in Malaya. However, this was not forthcoming.

2. Relief Efforts Following Clashes with the Malay Population

On March 6, 1946 a clash between Malays and the Chinese at the village of Bekor in Perak State left fifty-six Malays dead. Eighteen Chinese were charged with responsibility for the incident. In June 1947, nine of these people were found not guilty and released, but the other nine were sentenced to death. Many Chinese associations expressed outrage that the British authorities had chosen to put the entire blame for the incident on the Chinese community, and the Chinese consuls in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Penang were asked to assist the defendants. On July 23, 1947 the three consuls met in Kuala Lumpur to consider their response. They then issued a call for reconciliation

between the Malay and Chinese communities. The consul general in Singapore, Wu Paak Shing, met with the governor of the Malayan Union, Edward Gent, and asked for clemency. Kuang Da, who had succeeded Hsu Meng Hsiung as consul in Kuala Lumpur that May, had observed the trial and also met with the governor. As a result of this campaign, the death sentences imposed on the nine defendants were commuted on August 13 and replaced with jail terms of between five and fifteen years.¹⁵

The consulates were keen on monitoring the legal actions, not only the imposition of death sentences but also the overall pattern of arrests, imposed on the Chinese. The Anglo-Chinese Treaty of January 11, 1943 required the British authorities to notify a Chinese consulate immediately in the event that any overseas Chinese was arrested, detained, or deported, but it seems this requirement had been left unattended. According to newspaper reports, the Chinese consul in Penang, Li Neng Geng, demanded notification in March and May of 1947.¹⁶ The British authorities accepted the consul's demands and began to provide notification from November 17, 1947.¹⁷

Yet this was not merely a matter of the Chinese government exercising sovereignty over overseas Chinese. Complex domestic political issues in China were also involved. For overseas Chinese affiliated to the Chinese Communist Party, which opposed the Kuomintang government in power, notification was something to be avoided, since it could result in their being handed over to the Kuomintang regime with the prospect of extremely harsh treatment.

In its editorial of November 29, 1947, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, which was sympathetic to the Chinese Communist Party, was critical of this situation, saying that in a sovereign state, crimes by foreign residents should be subject to trial by the authorities of that nation. It condemned the notification requirement as mechanism used by the Kuomintang to threaten overseas Chinese. (Yet this position is self-contradictory because those who were affiliated to the Chinese Communist Party had firmly held that the British authorities should not restrict the political activities of overseas Chinese unless they became involved in local politics.) The *Min Sheng Pao* (the organ of the Malayan Communist Party) also criticized the notification system in its editorial of November 24, describing it as a pretext for driving out the Chinese. Lee Kong Chian (Li Guang Qian), chairman of the Associated Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce (formed in February 1947 through the merger of all Chinese Chambers of Commerce in Malaya), stated that while such an arrangement might be acceptable in a country with few overseas Chinese, it was unacceptable in a country with a large Chinese community, such as Malaya. He said the consulates should first of all consult with the overseas Chinese community. This view was echoed by Secretary-General Eu Chooi Yip (Yu

Zhu Ye) of the Malayan Democratic Union (MDU), a moderate left-wing political party that was part of a united front with the Malayan Communist Party. In addition to his concern about the risk that Chinese would be excluded from Malaya, Eu also stated that the Kuomintang government in Nanjing did not know the circumstances of overseas Chinese in Malaya.¹⁸

The above criticisms reflected on the one hand the views of people sympathetic to the Chinese Communist Party and on the other the thinking of people whose lives were beginning to be rooted in Malaya. Analyzing more specifically some of the factors that characterized the Chinese community in this period, the overseas Chinese community was divided into supporters of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party and was thus unable to take united action to protect Chinese rights. As a result, it lacked the influence to force the British authorities to accept Chinese demands. In addition, anti-Kuomintang groups were not united in support for the Chinese Communist Party or democratization in China. In fact, there were already people whose first aim was to secure rights in Malaya.

Apart from China's lack of influence in the international community, the limited effectiveness of the consulates in protecting the overseas Chinese was also due to internal conflicts within the Chinese community itself. The pro-communist faction opposed any involvement of (the Kuomintang government's) consulates in political activities by overseas Chinese but wanted the consulates to protect the overseas Chinese from oppressive policies imposed by the colonial authorities in Malaya. The consulates were probably confused somewhat by their dual stances.

The determination of the Chinese government to prevent clashes between Malays and overseas Chinese was apparent from the type of person it chose to head the new consulate that it established in Ipoh in August 1948. The new consul, Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma (Ma Tian Ying), was a Muslim and had been director of the Chinese Islamic Association. In 1938 he had visited Malaya as a leader of the China Muslim Goodwill Mission to Southeast Asia. After taking office, Ma undertook frequent trips to mediate clashes between the Malays and Chinese and called for the restoration of good relations between the two communities. When his consulate was closed after Britain severed relations with the Kuomintang government in January 1950, Ma resigned from the government service and remained in Malaya to pursue a career in commerce. He continued to call for unity between the Malays and Chinese.

The consulates worked to prevent Malay-Chinese conflicts and protect the Chinese on a number of occasions. On April 21, 1947 a clash between the two communities at Jugra in Selangor left one Chinese dead, one wounded, and one missing. Consul Hsu Meng Hsiung took steps to protect the Chinese com-

munity while appealing for calm on both sides.¹⁹

On April 28, 1947 a police squad opened fire on Chinese workers at the Dublin Estate, an American-owned rubber plantation in the Kulim District of Kedah. One person was killed and five wounded. After inspecting the scene on May 4, the consul in Penang, Li Neng Gong, demanded that the British authorities should punish those responsible and pay compensation. In mid-May, three thousand rubber plantation workers went on strike against what they saw as British oppression. The British authorities put the police officers involved in the incident on trial. However, despite calls from Chinese groups in various places and Consul Li for severe penalties to be imposed, the sentences were light.²⁰

At the end of December 1948, the disappearance of two Malays at Beruas in Dindings District of Perak sparked a clash that left five Chinese dead and nine missing. As a result of this incident, a thousand Chinese residents fled the area. Representatives of these people sought assistance from Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma, the Chinese consul in Ipoh. In mid-January 1949, Ma visited the scene of the clash to investigate the circumstances of the incident and tried to calm the tension. The Sultan of Perak also became involved in mediation efforts, and by the end of January 1949 the situation had been resolved.²¹

According to a report in July 1949, a Chinese village on the outskirts of Kampar in Perak was attacked by the Sakais, a native ethnic group, causing forty-eight people to flee the area. Consul Ma was again asked to help.²²

3. Protecting the Rights of Petty Traders and Hawkers

Another focus of the consulates' efforts to help economically underprivileged people was the protection of the rights of petty traders and hawkers. Many overseas Chinese worked as hawkers, an occupation that was seen as the starting point for a career in commerce. Some became traders after traveling to Malaya from China and working on rubber plantations or in other occupations, while others took to trading immediately after their arrival in Malaya. Petty trading yielded a small and very uncertain income, and it was difficult to secure licenses and business areas. Hawkers faced severe restriction by local governments and were frequently driven out of areas. For this reason, hawkers often asked the consulates to approach local governments on their behalf over such matters as the extension of trading licenses. This type of problem occurred in Seremban in 1946, in Singapore and Kuala Pilah (Negeri Sembilan) in 1947, and again in Singapore in 1948. In August 1947 the Chinese consul in Kuala Lumpur, Kuang Da, attended the first anniversary meeting of the Kuala Lumpur Hawkers' Association and made a speech.²³ However, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (August 5, 1947) was critical of Kuang's

activities in Kuala Pilah, expressing disappointment at his ineffectiveness in negotiations with the authorities. Although the consuls were a focus of hope for the petty traders and hawkers, it seems that they were often unable to fulfill those expectations.

4. Aiding Chinese Farmers during the Emergency

After the Malayan Communist Party launched its armed struggle in June 1948, the British authorities mobilized troops and police in an effort to eliminate communist supporters. The State of Emergency was declared nationwide on June 18. Rural Chinese communities were seen as a support base for the Malayan Communist Party, so Chinese villages were burned and their residents forcibly relocated. This forced resettlement program began in earnest with the adoption of the Briggs Plan in 1950, but the prototype of the scheme was already being implemented as early as the closing months of 1948. In October and November of that year, the entire village of Kachau in Selangor, which had several hundred residents in over seventy households, was burned.²⁴ The villages of Jalong and Lintang on the outskirts of Sungai Siput in Perak, which had a total of five hundred households, were also burned, and approximately two to three thousand people, including children, were forcibly relocated.²⁵ The Chinese residents of Shanding Village (Malay name unknown) in Muar District of Johor State were forcibly resettled under a clearance program.²⁶

In December 1948 twenty-four Chinese workers were shot dead on a British-owned rubber plantation in the village of Batang Kali on the outskirts of Kuala Kubu Baru in Selangor.²⁷ In 1949 Chinese residents were forcibly relocated from a number of places, including Hylam Kang in Senai District of Johor,²⁸ Changkat Jong in Perak, and the Sungkai hunting area also in Perak.²⁹

Among the organizations that provided assistance to the Chinese victims (*nanqiao*) of this program of village-burning and forced resettlement were Chinese Chambers of Commerce (*Zhonghua Zongshanghui*) in various parts of Malaya, Chinese Assembly Halls (*Zhonghua Dahuitang*) which were overseas Chinese organizations at state level, Chinese Associations (*Zhonghua Gonghui*) which were overseas Chinese organizations at municipal level, and clan associations (*Hui Guan*) which were state-level as well as regional associations of overseas Chinese who belong to the same clan. These groups also went to the consulates with representatives of the victims in order to seek assistance from the consuls.

As early as August 3, 1948 the consulate general in Kuala Lumpur reported that it was investigating casualties and damages among Chinese under

the Emergency (*Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, August 5, 1948). In Ipoh, Consul Ma convened a rally of overseas Chinese organizations on November 17 and 22, 1948 to discuss relief measures for the thousands of Chinese refugees within his consulate's jurisdiction. Groups participating in this meeting included the General Federation of Trade Associations in Perak (Pili Hangtuan Lianhe Zonghui), the Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Perak Chinese Assembly Hall, and the Kuomintang's Malayan branch.

The Kuomintang's involvement in efforts to aid pro-communist elements may seem surprising. However, it is indicative of a number of factors, including the party's judgment that the number of pro-communist people and communist sympathizers was not large and that the party would risk alienating the masses of the Chinese in Malaya if the party ignored the sense of crisis keenly felt by Malayan Chinese in general as well as the existence of extremely strong sympathy for the sufferings of fellow Chinese.

The consulates found themselves in a delicate position. As representatives of the Chinese government, they had to strive to protect overseas Chinese, but as representatives of the Kuomintang government it was preferable for them to suppress pro-communist elements. For this reason, most of the consuls were reluctant to become involved in efforts to alleviate the sufferings of Chinese refugees.

Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma, the Chinese consul in Ipoh, played the most active role in relief efforts for overseas Chinese after the declaration of the Emergency. On December 3, 1948 he visited Teluk Anson (present-day Teluk Intan) in Perak to express sympathy to Chinese refugees who had fled to that town, and he appealed to them saying, "The 2.5 million Chinese throughout Malaya must unite. I urge you to participate actively in the Chinese Union (Huaqiao Lianhe) which is now being established by volunteers in Singapore and Malacca."³⁰ (The Chinese Union denotes the Malayan Chinese League [Malaiya Huaren Lianmeng] proposed by Tan Cheng Lock [Chen Zhen Lu] in November 1947.) The consul appears to have recognized that his ability to provide assistance would be limited.

The consul general in Kuala Lumpur, Li Qing, said that he would not criticize the Kachau Incident if it was carried out to root out "bandits," by which he apparently meant Malayan Communist Party guerrillas. However, he stated that more time should have been provided to enable people to prepare for resettlement. At the same time, at the request of the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall and other groups, he sent a consul on a fact-finding visit to the area and asked the British authorities to investigate the situation and pay compensation.³¹ However, it appears that no compensation was paid.

In December 1948 Consul General Li entered into negotiations with the

British authorities over compensation and other matters pertaining to the Batang Kali Incident, and about the accidental bombing of the village of Salak South by the British air force in August 1948 which left three Chinese dead and nine wounded. Eventually compensation amounting to 4,300 Straits dollars was paid.³² In January 1949 Li made a speech in which he summed up the activities of the consulates and the consulates general since the declaration of the Malaya-wide Emergency in June 1948 and outlined their future policy. He said that it was difficult to distinguish bandits and their supporters from law-abiding citizens. He then urged Chinese farmers in Malaya to cooperate with the government (the British colonial authorities), and called upon all Chinese in Malaya to provide aid to farmers who had been resettled.³³ Li advised farmers to leave areas designated for evacuation,³⁴ and urged the British authorities to release the innocent without delay.³⁵

In February 1948 the consulate general in Kuala Lumpur issued a warning that failure to cooperate with the British military and police or report information about communist elements to the Malayan (i.e., British) authorities could result in deportation.³⁶

The consul in Malacca, Cheng Jia Hua, received an appeal for assistance following the Hylam Kang Incident. After consulting with the consul general in Singapore, Wu Paak Shing, in January 1949, he traveled to Batu Pahat in Johor and was welcomed at a reception attended by representatives of thirty-nine overseas Chinese organizations. In his speech he urged these people to cooperate in the efforts of the Malayan government (i.e., the British colonial authorities) to put down the uprising. He also urged the Chinese to move from areas affected by disturbances without delay, and to build friendly relations with the Malay people.³⁷

In February 1949 the local Chinese Association in Muar (Johor) responded to Consul Cheng's recommendations by calling a meeting for representatives of Chinese organizations. Six people were chosen to represent these groups at a convention to form the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) (Malaiya Huaren Gonghui).³⁸ Based on a concept put forward by Tan Cheng Lock, the MCA was the first ethnic Chinese party in Malaya to participate in Malayan politics. The convention was held on February 27, 1949.

As the insurgent activities of the MCP intensified, the Chinese consuls, Li Qing and Cheng Jia Hua, were forced to make their positions clear and finally demonstrated that their first priority was to oppose communism. Abandoning their avowed policy of protecting all Chinese, they not only cooperated willingly with the colonial authorities in efforts to suppress communist elements, but even urged the overseas Chinese in Malaya to cooperate in the suppression of communist activities. In the author's view, this stance may have had

the effect of causing the majority of overseas Chinese, especially those involved in farming, to shift their attitudes away from China.

The consul who showed the greatest dedication to the cause of alleviating the sufferings of overseas Chinese during this period was Consul Ma. Yet even he, like Consul Cheng, saw that the overseas Chinese would ultimately need to unite and form their own organization (i.e., political party). The consuls sought to bring about a shift in attitude among overseas Chinese, and to end their reliance on the Chinese government. In retrospect it is clear that their stance was an extremely wise one. As demonstrated by the events in Muar, their advice actually contributed indirectly to the formation and growth of the Malayan Chinese Association. At the time, however, the attitude of the consuls was seen as an indication that the Chinese government was turning its back on the many overseas Chinese and overseas Chinese organizations that had sought its protection. The disappointment felt by many overseas Chinese seems to have strengthened their identification with Malaya.

Between March 1949 and the closure of the consulates general and all of the consulates in January 1950, there were almost no articles in the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* about the efforts of the consuls and consuls general to relieve the sufferings of overseas Chinese. In fact, the main source of assistance from this period onwards was the new political party, the Malayan Chinese Association.³⁹ There can be no doubt that the activities of the MCA in this area encouraged Chinese farmers and the Chinese community as a whole to identify more closely with Malaya.

In addition to the role of the consulates, we also need to examine the relationship between China and the *nanqiao* after the establishment of the People's Republic in October 1949. This will be analyzed in more detail later. First, there is another aspect of the Emergency that should be considered.

Not all Chinese farmers saw their homes burned and were forced to leave their communities and settle in the "new villages." Tens of thousands were deported to China after being categorized as supporters of the Malayan Communist Party. Most of these people had lived for decades or generations in Malaya. Not only did they have no economic ties with China, but many did not even have relatives there. According to British reports on the 1950-51 period, despair drove some of these people to commit suicide by leaping into the sea from the vessels on which they were being deported.⁴⁰

The deportation program was suspended after the establishment of the People's Republic of China but was resumed in November 1950. It was again halted on January 25, 1951 due to China's refusal to accept any more deportees, but deportations resumed on March 20.

The Chinese government did everything possible to provide livelihoods

and work for the returnees. In November and December of 1950, returned overseas Chinese, democratic parties, and the General People's Association of Relief (Renmin Jiuji Zonghui) held rallies throughout China to protest the oppression of their "fellow Chinese" by the British authorities. On December 29 a China's foreign ministry spokesman issued a statement criticizing the oppression of "China's overseas nationals."⁴¹

In March 1951 the Chinese government established the Chinese People's Relief Committee for the Overseas Chinese Refugees of Malaya (Zhongguo Renmin Jiuji Malaiya Nan Qiao Weiyuanhui). This committee consisted of twenty-nine people, including several Malayan Chinese, such as Tan Kah Kee (Chen Jia Geng), Hu Yu Zhi, and Cheong Choo Kun (Zhang Chu Kun). It asked the British government to allow a survey team to visit Malaya in order to investigate the tragic situation of overseas Chinese there. The seventeen-member survey team included a number of overseas Chinese who had been returned to China from Malaya. Cheong Choo Kun was one of the three deputy leaders of the mission, and five of the other thirteen members were also former Malayan Chinese. These were Wu Feng, who had been a member of the education committee of the Federation of Malaya, as well as Hu Yi Sheng, Huang Lu Ping, Zhang Zhuang Fei, and Lu Xin Yuan. However, 203 Kuomintang-affiliated organizations in Singapore urged the British authorities to reject the mission, and the application was refused.⁴² The British attitude toward China at this time was manifested in the words of Henry Gurney, the High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya: "If they feel that Chinese detainees in Malaya are not getting fair treatment they can solve the problem by opening their ports and allowing them to enter China."⁴³

Between August 1950 and mid-1951, the British authorities considered a number of options for the five thousand communist detainees and their dependents who numbered ten thousand. These included dumping the people on China's coast, resettling them on an island off Borneo's north coast (the island of Balambangan was selected after surveys), and deportation to the Solomon Islands, the Seychelles, or East Africa.

The first option was suggested in November 1950 by Harold Briggs, who had devised the New Village scheme. However, it was abandoned in June 1951 for military reasons (the unavailability of naval vessels which were being used for other duties). There were also technical problems, since it would have been necessary to move the entire group in one operation, which meant that it would not have been possible to complete the process quickly enough to avoid detection by the Chinese authorities. From the foreign policy perspective, it was feared that the scheme would cause a worsening of relations with China and could jeopardize the safety of British nationals in China. The

second option was rejected in July 1951. Reasons included the difficulty of policing the settlement, a lack of arable land, and opposition from native chiefs and the governor of the Crown Colony of North Borneo. The British were also forced to abandon the third option due to opposition from colonial authorities in the target regions.⁴⁴

Britain had long criticized China for interference in matters pertaining to British colonial subjects. It was clearly inconsistent for the British to attempt to push the responsibility for the Malayan Emergency onto China by sending back overseas Chinese. For China, which had only just emerged from a civil war, the acceptance of tens of thousands of overseas Chinese would have been a heavy financial burden. Although the new China constantly called for protection of overseas Chinese, it had no substantial economic or social links with overseas Chinese communities, and in some ways it was as if it was being forced to strengthen a relationship that suddenly appeared from nowhere. For their part, the overseas Chinese felt that Britain was forcing them to view China as their protector.

This situation demonstrates the harsh attitude of the British colonial government toward overseas Chinese. It also illustrates the foolishness of the forced expulsion policy which served only to worsen the situation. Instead of this policy the colonial government should have taken the responsible measures to encourage overseas Chinese to identify more closely with Malaya.

IV. Resident Registration

The consulates and the consulates general also provided resident registration services for overseas Chinese and issued them with registration certificates. The *Min Sheng Pao*, the organ of the Malayan Communist Party, criticized these services which began on November 1, 1947, arguing in its November 6, 1947 issue that they represented "a new means of earning funds." It again wrote in its November 11, 1947 issue that progressive overseas Chinese would not register because they would be able to retain their Chinese citizenship even if they did not register, and it added that (the registration is redundant because) even if they registered they would not lose their Malayan citizenship. It also emphasized that the status of overseas Chinese depended on the strength and prosperity of their motherland and their own enthusiasm for participation in Malayan politics. This criticism suggests that the leftist Chinese's attitude toward the consulates was again inconsistent as was observed with the issue of notification when overseas Chinese were arrested. Their mixed attitude toward the consulates' policy for strengthening protection over the Chinese in turn seems to have thwarted the efforts of the consulates.

Initially registrations at the consulates general in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur were scheduled from November 1, 1947 to October 31, 1948. However, the number of registrations during this period fell short of expectations, and the period was extended to the end of 1948 in Kuala Lumpur, and to April 30, 1949 in Singapore.

In Singapore the actual business of registration was undertaken by more than eighty overseas Chinese organizations, including the Johor State Chinese Association, the Batu Pahat Chinese Association (in Johor), and the Kuomintang-affiliated Singapore San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps.⁴⁵ Registrations were also conducted in early 1949 by the consulate in Malacca, which had been established in August 1948.⁴⁶ The final number of registrations is unavailable, but it was significant that the consulates and consulates general in those days had the role of registering the entire overseas Chinese population.

From the standpoint of the consulates, registration must have been a necessary prerequisite for the protection of overseas Chinese. On the other hand, the opposition of leftists seems to have been directed not so much at the intervention of the Chinese government in Malayan internal affairs, as at the oppression of Chinese communist elements by the Kuomintang government. The consulates' role in registration itself had long been accepted by both the British colonial government in Malaya and the entire overseas Chinese community. Therefore, it is not clear how far Chinese attitudes turned against registration at that time. What is more important in this issue is the fact that the consulates clearly played a role in registration in that period, in contrast with the situation today.

The consulates and consulates general in Malaya were viewed with high expectations by broad sectors of the overseas Chinese community which saw them as a source of protection from a war-devastated economy and the disorders of the nationwide Emergency. In many cases, however, their expectations were betrayed.

Hsu Meng Hsiung, consul in Kuala Lumpur, played the most active role in efforts to protect Chinese and was the most trusted of the postwar consuls and consuls general among the Chinese community. Consul Hsu also busied himself in rescuing many evacuated Chinese who had fled to Kelang in Selangor from the confusion caused by the rise of the independence movement and anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia. (Other consuls also worked to rescue Chinese refugees from Indonesia.) His activities included the demobilization, through persuasion, of members of the Kuomintang-affiliated Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Army which had engaged in continued guerrilla warfare in mountainous areas after the Japanese army surrendered and become a

serious problem for the British army.⁴⁷ He also negotiated with the British authorities to obtain business licenses for petty traders and hawkers,⁴⁸ and worked to bring about a reconciliation between the rightist and leftist elements of the Chinese community. In addition, he attended a meeting of the Selangor sub-branch of the China Democratic League, a leftist party which was sympathetic with the Chinese Communist Party, in an effort to promote unification of all overseas Chinese.

However, Consul Hsu's conciliatory stance toward leftists seems to have displeased the Kuomintang government, while his enthusiastic protection of Chinese was regarded by the British authorities as an act of arrogation and interference in internal affairs. Presumably for these reasons, the Kuomintang government suddenly decided in April 1947 to transfer Hsu to the embassy of India. When his transfer was reported, Chinese organizations in Kuala Lumpur, Seremban, and other cities cabled the Foreign Ministry in Nanjing requesting that Consul Hsu stay in his current post. When he was transferred in spite of those requests, the Chinese communities held farewell parties for him, as described in the previous chapter.

A month or so after Hsu Meng Hsiung left Malaya, the *Min Sheng Pao*, the organ of the Malayan Communist Party, ridiculed the new consul, Kuang Da, and the Kuomintang government, saying that the new consul preferred to attend only such occasions as wedding ceremonies and receptions to welcome or bid farewell to people, while praising Hsu's efforts to unify the Chinese community (July 16, 1947).

These developments concerning Consul Hsu indicate that however serious and enthusiastic he might have been in his efforts to protect overseas Chinese, his ability to respond to requests from the Chinese community was limited by the international circumstances of the time, as well as by a lack of unity and rights among the Chinese themselves. The consul's personal qualities could not offset the powerlessness of his consulate.

Lee Kong Chian, chairman of the Associated Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce and chairman of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, remarked in July 1947 that the Chinese Chambers of Commerce were powerless, and that the consulate was responsible for protecting Chinese.⁴⁹ The fact was that the consulate itself was unable to provide effective protection for the overseas Chinese people. This powerlessness, which was the unavoidable result of prevailing circumstances, affected the attitudes of overseas Chinese, who became estranged from China and were thus motivated to remain and settle in Malaya.

V. The Role of the MCA

As stated earlier, the consulates' role of rescuing evacuated Chinese, which was the biggest problem facing Malayan Chinese between the late 1940s and early 1950s, was taken over by the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). While the consulates ultimately failed to meet the expectations of many overseas Chinese and their associations, the MCA, which was established on February 27, 1949, enjoyed considerable success in its rescue operations which were financed in part with revenues from lottery sales.

The MCA's established profile today is different from the way in which it was represented in the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* and the *Min Sheng Pao*. We will comment briefly on this difference.

According to the MCA's own written history, Tan Cheng Lock announced the concept of the association's prototype, the Malayan Chinese League, in September 1948.⁵⁰ Another book on the history of the MCA, written by Heng Pek Koon, says that the organization was proposed in May 1948.⁵¹ However, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* and the *Min Sheng Pao* both reported that Tan proposed the establishment of the Malayan Chinese League as early as November 25, 1947.⁵² At that time, Tan was opposed, together with Malay and Chinese leftists, to the plan to establish the Federation of Malaya. He was regarded as the unchallenged leader of the nationwide unified front, Putera-AMCJA. ("Putera" stands for "Pusat Tenaga Rakyat" [the Centre of People's Power], a Malay leftist group, and AMCJA for the All-Malayan Council of Joint Action, a group led by Chinese moderate leftists.) Tan won the support of the Malayan communists during this period.

Until April 5, 1948 the *Min Sheng Pao*, the de facto organ of the MCP, frequently carried highly favorable reports about Tan's concept of the Chinese League. However, the newspaper suddenly reversed its position in its edition of April 11 which criticized Tan as "a mouthpiece for the benefits of the bourgeoisie." This reversal appears to have foretold a change in the MCP's policy toward its armed struggle which was openly declared in June 1948. Or it can be assumed that the MCP had already started the process of changing its policy around this period.

The established theory today is that the Malayan Chinese Association was organized entirely by rightists from the outset. The evidence put forward to support this conclusion includes the fact that Tan himself was a wealthy businessman, and the fact that the formation of the MCA was supported by the British government and the Kuomintang government. (For instance, Cheng Jia Hua, the consul in Malacca, was involved in the formation of the Muar MCA, as explained earlier, while Consul Ma in Ipoh helped to establish the

Perak State MCA.)⁵³ Also cited is the fact that MCA leaders included many Kuomintang leaders. However, it appears that this theory does not reflect the real situation of the time. The positive view of the MCA held by the Malayan Communist Party up until April 1948 must have been shared by a broad range of overseas Chinese, especially Chinese farmers, who formed the support base of the Malayan communists. Some of these people must have found the abrupt censure of Tan by the MCP unacceptable, with the result that they became estranged from the MCP and began to support Tan and the MCA. For instance, Lim Lian Geok (Lin Lian Yu), who was reinstated as chairman of the school administration committee of Confucian Secondary School in Kuala Lumpur immediately after World War II, resisted the Kuomintang government's intervention in education and often sided, as a member of the school's alumni, with Chow Yam Peng (Zhou Yang Bin), the alumni chairman and an influential member of the MCP Selangor State Committee.⁵⁴ After the MCA was formed, however, Lim became one of the leading figures of its Malacca branch.⁵⁵

Less than two weeks after the formation of the MCA in February 1949, an editorial in the *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, which was virtually an organ of the Penang sub-branch of the China Democratic League (CDL), a leftist party of mainland China that sympathized with the Chinese Communist Party, predicted that the MCA would succeed in uniting Malaya-born Chinese with other overseas Chinese. The editorial continued, "Since the member organizations of the MCA did not hold general meetings of their members to ratify their decision to join the MCA, their legitimacy is still a little doubtful, and it will be necessary to follow its future course to see whether its name will agree with its nature." The editorial concluded with a eulogy that if unity among Chinese as well as ethnic cooperation between the Chinese and Malays had been realized two years earlier, the tragedy of the Emergency would surely have been avoided. Thus it expressed generally favorable comments, though with some reservations, on the MCA and concluded that they hoped that the MCA would succeed, and that the sufferings of overseas Chinese would be eased.⁵⁶

Other evidence of the complex situation concerning the support basis of the MCA is the Selangor Chinese Women's Li Chi Association, an MCP-affiliated organization, which joined the MCA's Selangor branch.⁵⁷ This was not an exceptional case. As was mentioned before and will be discussed in detail later, many regional Chinese Associations (Zhonghua Gonghui), which would be core elements in the formation of the MCA, had been associated with the CCP and the MCP.

Some among the British authorities took the view that Tan Cheng Lock was being manipulated by Malayan communists.⁵⁸ After the MCA was orga-

nized, J. J. Paskin, Secretary of State for the Colonies, received a letter dated March 1, 1949 from Henry Gurney, the High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya, to the effect that he welcomed the formation of the MCA as an organization that would cooperate with Britain and abide by its laws. Paskin wrote back on March 8 saying that he was a little surprised to see Tan, who had led leftist activities, being elected the MCA president.⁵⁹

In her book, Heng Pek Koon states, "The CWC [Central Working Committee] members [of the MCA] held major positions in almost every type of Chinese association."⁶⁰ She also notes that the MCA was launched with the cooperation of leaders from the most important Chinese associations in the country, and that Chinese association leaders were the founders and promoters of the MCA.⁶¹

However, this description overemphasizes the personal role played by the leaders of Chinese organizations in setting up the MCA and fails to explain properly the MCA's relationship with those organizations. Contrary to Heng's view, the author regards the role played by various Chinese organizations *per se* as more important, and this stance is endorsed by many press reports. For instance, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* reported that Tan Cheng Lock and Lee Hau Sik (Li Xiao Shi) reached a final agreement on the formation of the MCA on February 1, 1949, and that they decided to request the presence of two leaders each from local Chinese organizations at the MCA Foundation Convention on February 27.⁶²

In Selangor, representatives of fifty-nine Chinese organizations met a week before the convention and selected fifty-five preparatory committee members with Lee Hau Sik appointed as chairman.⁶³ As noted earlier, the Chinese Association of Batu Pahat in Johor selected four representatives for the convention. The Kwangtung Association of Malacca also selected four representatives on February 23.⁶⁴

Incidentally, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* noted in its report on the MCA Foundation Convention that the convention elected Tan Cheng Lock as president and decided to appoint the chairmen of the Chinese Associations of ten states as MCA vice-presidents.⁶⁵ This report is, however, erroneous. It was the chairmen of the MCA branches of ten states that became vice-presidents. Yet this report reflects the prevailing perception that the MCA was established upon the foundation of the existing Chinese organizations. Indeed, the February 28 issue of the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* reported on the first day of the convention under the headline, "Representatives of All the Malayan Chinese *Organizations* Meet in Kuala Lumpur" (*italics added*).⁶⁶

In March, the Chinese Association of Batu Pahat convened a meeting of the representatives of Chinese organizations, and decided to establish an MCA

sub-branch composed of representatives of the Chinese Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and various clan associations. The Keluang Chinese Association was reported to have taken a similar step.⁶⁷

In Menglembu (Perak), nine organizations selected thirty-one sub-branch preparatory committee members,⁶⁸ while in Teluk Anson, also in Perak, a conference of Chinese organizations sponsored by the Chinese Association selected preparatory committee members.⁶⁹

The MCA's Penang branch convened the Chinese Organizations' Representatives Convention at the Chinese Chamber of Commerce on March 26, 1949. The convention was attended by representatives of ninety-one organizations, including the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Penang Chinese Town Hall (Ping Zhang Huiguan, which was renamed Huaren Dahuitang in 1974), and the Straits Chinese British Association. In a vote on whether its committee members should be selected from individuals or organizations, twenty-six persons voted for selection from individuals and fifty-eight for selection from organizations. As a result twenty-five organizations were elected as committee members.⁷⁰ In May of that year around a dozen Chinese organizations held a meeting in Tampin (Negeri Sembilan) and formed an MCA sub-branch preparatory committee.⁷¹

The Federation of Kwangtung Associations of Malaya decided to call upon all of its members to join the MCA at its convention in March 1949.⁷² The Federation of Teochew Associations of Malaya, which was established in 1934, also urged all of its affiliated Teochew Associations to join the MCA at its eleventh convention in August 1949 at which Consul General Wu Paak Shing gave an address.⁷³

In view of the processes that led to the foundation of the MCA, Heng's statement that MCA leaders held major positions in almost every type of Chinese association is simply a reversal of cause and effect. At the initial stage at least, the Chinese organizations were the basic units of the MCA, and their leaders participated in the formation of the MCA in their capacity as representatives of their organizations. Heng's implication that only leaders participated in the MCA is not true. The MCA appears to have had a far broader membership base than the Democratic Party of Singapore, which was established in 1955 with a membership drawn entirely from the leaders of Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

The fact that a wide range of Chinese organizations took part in the MCA's formation seems to have helped the MCA immensely in its efforts to secure broad support from the Chinese people. The MCA's activities also appear to have been facilitated by the fact that hundreds of thousands of Chinese farmers, who were forced to relocate by the colonial authorities, found themselves

unable to go along with the growing radicalism of the Malayan Communist Party, which they had once supported, and thus refrained from entirely rejecting Tan Cheng Lock and the MCA under his leadership.

Immediately after its formation, the MCA began rescuing evacuated Chinese farmers and completely took over the role of the consulates. In February 1950, Tan Cheng Lock, as president of the MCA, remarked that the credit for the change in the colonial authorities' attitude toward villagers should go to the MCA. This remark was affirmatively reported by the *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, which was affiliated with the pro-CCP China Democratic League.⁷⁴ These activities, which were based in effect on approval by the British colonial authorities, were intended primarily to keep farmers away from the influence of Malayan communists and did not necessarily represent a genuine effort to rebuild the livelihoods of farmers. Nevertheless, they undeniably helped to divert the attention of Chinese farmers away from the consulates and China and toward Malaya.

Notes

- 1 Lim How Seng, "Qingzhao zhuxing lingshi yu haixia zhimindi zhengfu jiande fenjiu (1877-94)" [Frictions between the Chin dynasty's consuls in Singapore and the Straits Settlement government, 1877-94], in *Xinjiapo huazu shilunji* [Anthology of historical articles on Singaporean Chinese], ed. Kua Bak Lim and Ng Chin Keong (Singapore: Nanyang Daxue Biyesheng Xiehui, 1972), pp. 13-29.
- 2 Kuang Kuo Hsiang, ed., *Bingcheng sanji* [Historical notes on Penang] (Singapore: Shijie Shuju [World Book Co.], 1958), p. 90.
- 3 Chui Kwei Chiang, "Zhongguo zhu Xinjiapo zonglingshi Wu Bo Sheng (1946-1950)" [Wu Po-sheng: Chinese consul-general in Singapore, 1946-1950], *Nanyang xuebao* (Journal of the South Seas Society) 39, pts. 1-2 (1984), p. 13.
- 4 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 8 and August 21, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, June 27, 1946 and June 3, 1947; *Nanyang Siang Pau*, August 21, 1947; *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, August 21, 1947.
- 5 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 8, June 20, and September 18, 1947. Upon return from his fact-finding visits to forty places in North Borneo and Sarawak in January 1947, Consul General Wu Paak Shing reported that the bereaved families of those killed in both areas (including 3,000 revolvers against Japan in Api) were demanding that the Kuomintang government in Nanjing provide relief (*Straits Times*, January 10, 1947).
- 6 *Min Sheng Pao*, July 4, 1946.
- 7 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, April 7 and April 8, 1947.
- 8 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, April 15, 1947.

- 9 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 24, 1947.
- 10 *Min Sheng Pao*, February 1 and February 6, 1947.
- 11 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 26 and June 2, 1947.
- 12 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 21 and November 5, 1947.
- 13 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 31, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, June 30, July 28, and November 24, 1947. Before that, the June 7, 1947 issue of the *Straits Times* carried the comments by Consul Li Neng Geng that the Chinese government would pay 130,000 Straits dollars to 4,200 Chinese in hardship (including 3,000 Chinese on Bertam Plantation which had been created by the Japanese army through the relocating of Chinese in Penang to Province Wellesley to increase food production).
- 14 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 7, 1948.
- 15 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 8, June 27, June 30, July 22, July 24, July 25, and August 8, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, March 20, June 24, June 27, June 28, July 24, July 30, and August 14, 1947. According to the *Straits Times*, April 12, 1946, the scene of the atrocity was a mosque in Bikaw. See also *Straits Times*, October 24, 1946 and February 20, 1947.
- 16 *Min Sheng Pao*, March 15, 1947; *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 23, 1947.
- 17 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 19, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, November 20, 1947. According to the official record of the United Kingdom, "Malaya: Law and Order: Attitude of the Government of China to Deportation of Chinese" (PRO, CO 537/4240, 1948), in September 1948 the British colonial government in Singapore discontinued advance notice to the Chinese consul general regarding forced deportations (letters dated September 21, 1948 of Malcolm McDonald, Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in Southeast Asia, to the U.K. Foreign Office and to L. H. Lamb, Chargé d'Affaires, British Embassy, Nanjing).
- 18 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 22, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, November 23, 1947.
- 19 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, April 22 and April 26, 1947.
- 20 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 7, May 11, May 14, May 15, May 19, May 26, May 28, May 30, May 31, and June 22, 1947. Charles Gamba, *The Origins of Trade Unionism in Malaya* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1962), p. 269.
- 21 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 1, January 4, January 7, January 11, January 12, and January 27, 1949.
- 22 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 20, 1949.
- 23 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 22 and August 3, 1947 and March 11, 1948; *Min Sheng Pao*, June 26 and June 27, 1946 and June 21 and August 4, 1947.
- 24 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 5, November 6, November 8, and November 22, 1948. Francis Loh Kok Wah, *Beyond the Tin Mines: Coolies, Squatters and New Villagers in the Kinta Valley, Malaysia, c.1880-1980* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 106.
- 25 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 8, November 18, November 19, November 25, December 2, December 4, and December 6, 1948. Francis Loh Kok Wah, pp. 106-8. According to the British official document (PRO, CO 537/4240), F. T.

Cheng, a staff member of the Chinese Embassy in London, sent a letter of protest dated October 23, 1948 to the British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, saying that on October 16, 1948 the local authorities suddenly set fire to three hundred Chinese dwellings in Tronoh, Linlang [*sic*], and Alang [*sic*] in Perak, thus rendering homeless about a thousand "Chinese nationals." Cheng pointed out that the Chinese consuls in Malaya had repeatedly urged the "Chinese nationals" to give their unreserved cooperation to the British authorities in their task to suppress subversive elements, and protested that the measures taken by the colonial authorities not only victimized innocent law-abiding citizens but also would inevitably affect the prestige of the Chinese government. (The letter was written in English and the term used in it was "Chinese nationals." The author presumes that Cheng employed this English term to denote the *Zhongguo qiaomin*.)

Based on a report dated December 2 from the High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya, Head of the Far Eastern Department of the British Foreign Office, P. W. Scarlett, sent a reply dated December 22, 1948 to the Chinese Ambassador in London, Cheng Tien Hsi (Zheng Tian Xi), explaining that twenty huts were burned in Tronoh on October 17 and 700 persons were moved out of their own accord and that 456 persons were moved out in Lintang and Jalong on October 20-29, adding that these were all necessary measures.

Before that, on instruction from his government, Consul General Wu Paak Shing in Singapore, who had been informed by Consul Ma in Ipoh of plans for forced relocation and hut burning, sent a letter dated October 21, 1948 to the British colonial government in Singapore, requesting that although the situation behind the measures was understandable, the plans be stopped in consideration of the residents' right to life. The request was ignored. (Professor Yōichi Kibata of the University of Tokyo kindly provided the author with P. W. Scarlett's correct title at that time.)

- 26 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 22, 1948.
- 27 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, December 21, December 22, December 23, 1948 and January 10, 1949. Francis Loh Kok Wah, p. 108.
- 28 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 22, 1949; *Straits Times*, January 27, 1949.
- 29 Francis Loh Kok Wah, pp. 106-8.
- 30 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, December 6, 1948.
- 31 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 5, November 6, November 10, and November 22, 1948.
- 32 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, December 23 and December 25, 1948 and January 10 and February 19, 1949; *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, January 21, 1949 (evening edition).
- 33 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 12, 1949.
- 34 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 22, 1949.
- 35 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 18, 1949.
- 36 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 8, 1949.
- 37 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 22, January 23, and January 24, 1949.
- 38 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 16, 1949.

- 39 For details, see Francis Loh Kok Wah, *Beyond the Tin Mines*.
- 40 "Repatriation of Chinese: November 1950 to 25th August 1951," in "Malaya: Law and Order: Repatriation of Chinese," PRO, CO 537/7273, 1950–51.
- On the other hand, the *Straits Times* reported in its May 17, 1951 issue that there were illicit passport dealer groups in China for forced deportees who wanted to return to Malaya and that ten returnees with forged passports had been arrested recently in Johor Bahru alone.
- 41 PRO, CO 537/7273; Beijing Guiguo Huaqiao Lianyihui (Returned Overseas Chinese Fraternal Association of Beijing), ed. *Kangyi Yingdi pohai Malaiya Huaqiao* [Protest against persecution of Malayan Chinese by the British imperialist] (Beijing [1951]).
- 42 *Nanyang Siang Pau*, March 22 and March 28, 1951 (the author is grateful to Professor Chui Kwei Chiang for supplying the information carried in the *Nanyang Siang Pau*). PRO, CO 537/7273.
- 43 Henry Gurney's letter dated May 18, 1951 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (PRO, CO 537/7273).
- 44 PRO, CO 537/7273; "Malaya: Law and Order: Repatriation of Chinese," PRO, CO 537/7274, 1951.
- Balambangan Island drew renewed attention as a politician affiliated with the Malaysian Federal Government disclosed in May 1993 that some persons related to the ruling party in Sabah (Parti Bersatu Sabah) hired "American marines" to train private soldiers on Balambangan Island from 1986 to 1990. So far there has been no information to support this report. *Utusan Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur), May 27 and May 28, 1993; *Nanyang Siang Pau*, June 3, 1993.
- 45 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 28 and October 30, 1947, October 25 and October 30, 1948, and March 31, 1949.
- 46 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 24, 1949.
- 47 Chui Kwei Chiang, "Zhongguo zhu Jilongpo lingshi Xu Meng Xiong" [Hsu Menghsiang: Chinese consul in Kuala Lumpur, 1946–1947], *Nanyang xuebao* (Journal of the South Seas Society) 39, pts. 1–2 (June 1984), p. 10.
- 48 Chiu Kwei Chiang, "Zhongguo zhu Jilongpo . . ." p. 11.
- 49 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 27, 1947.
- Heng Pek Koon seems to be wrong when she writes that the AMCCC was formed under the chairmanship of H. S. Lee. The first chairman was Lee Kong Chian. See Heng Pek Koon, *Chinese Politics in Malaysia: A History of the Malaysian Chinese Association* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 65.
- 50 Mahua Gonghui (Malaysian Chinese Association), *Mahua gonghui ershiwu zhounian jinian tekan* [MCA 25th anniversary souvenir publication] (Kuala Lumpur, 1974), p. 17.
- 51 Heng Pek Koon, p. 57.
- 52 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 26, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, November 27, 1947.
- Moreover, the *Min Sheng Pao* reported in its February 7, 1948 issue that Tan Cheng Lock, dissatisfied with the attitude of the Associated Malayan Chinese

Chambers of Commerce about accepting the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, proposed again the formation of a Chinese League (Huaren Lianmeng).

In its March 22 issue, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* reported that Tan was preparing for the formation of a Malayan Chinese League (Huaren Tongmeng).

The name of the Malayan Chinese Association (Huaren Gonghui) first appeared in the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* on January 13, 1949.

- 53 Heng Pek Koon, p. 88.
- 54 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 24 and May 28, 1946, September 26, 1947, and February 3, 1948. Pili Huaxiao Dongshihui Lianhehui (United Chinese School Committee's Association of Perak), *Lin Lian Yu* [Lim Lian Geok] (Ipoh, 1986), pp. 1-2.
- 55 Heng Pek Koon, p. 71. Since there is no mention in Lim Lian Geok's own memoirs, in a collection of his reviews, or in biographies that he joined the MCA, it is likely that Heng Pek Koon has mistaken Lim for Sim Mow Yee, who hailed from Malacca and was also an educational activist. Heng, however, clearly confirmed in personal discussion with the author that Lim had been actively involved in the MCA at the early stage of its establishment.
- 56 *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, March 11, 1949 (morning edition).
The *Xian Dai Ri Bao* had a stance that was identical to that of the Malayan communists. It was banned, together with the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, on September 21, 1950.
- 57 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 23, February 28, and March 9, 1949.
- 58 "Memoir of O. H. Morris," par. 68, in "Chinese Affairs and Correspondence with Mr. H.T. Pagden," PRO, CO 537/3757, 1948.
- 59 "Malayan Chinese Association," PRO, CO 537/4242, 1948-49.
- 60 Heng Pek Koon, p. 63.
- 61 Heng Pek Koon, p. 139.
- 62 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 4 and February 5, 1949.
- 63 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 20, 1949.
- 64 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 24, 1949.
- 65 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 28, 1949.
- 66 *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, February 28, 1949.
- 67 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 14 and March 21, 1949.
- 68 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 22, 1949.
- 69 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 23, 1949.
- 70 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 29, 1949; *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, February 16, 1949.
- 71 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 11, 1949.
- 72 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 28, 1949.
- 73 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, August 18, 1949.
- 74 *Xian Dai Ri Bao*, February 4, 1950 (morning edition).

Chinese Government Policy toward Overseas Chinese

Chinese government policy toward overseas Chinese covered a wide range of activities. This report will not touch on the entire range of policy because it has already been analyzed by others from many perspectives, and because of space limitations. Instead, we will review three major issues that had direct effects on the Malayan Chinese from the late 1940s through the early 1950s, and which were often taken up by the press. These issues were: (1) the selection and sending of delegates to the National Assembly under the Kuomintang government and to the National People's Congress set up by the government of the People's Republic of China, and also the role of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (Committee), (2) administrative involvement in the education of overseas Chinese, and (3) procedures for selecting delegates to the Olympic Games. The policies we will analyze are those adopted by the Kuomintang government until the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, and those followed by the PRC after its foundation.

I. Selection of Congressional Delegates and the Role of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (Committee)

1. Selection of Delegates to the National Assembly, 1946-48

A four-member delegation "returned to the country in response to the call-

ing" (*feng zhao fan guo*) to attend the Constituent National Assembly which was held in Nanjing in November–December 1946 to establish a new constitution. The members were Lim Keng Lian (Lin Qing Nian), Quek Sin (Guo Xin), Wang Mo Ren, and Ho Ju Khoon (He Ru Qun). Quek and Wang returned to Malaya in February 1947.¹ It is not clear when Lim and Ho returned. The procedures followed for their selection as delegates are also uncertain.

The 1946 Constitution was adopted at this Constituent National Assembly and promulgated on January 1, 1947. In order to elect members to the Legislative Yuan (which functioned like parliaments in Western countries), the Law for the Election of the Members of the Legislative Yuan was enacted on March 31, 1947. It was agreed to elect nineteen members from among overseas Chinese and Chinese nationals residing abroad. It was also agreed to entrust the business of election management to various local Chinese organizations designated by the government's Election Office for the Overseas Chinese and to give the vote to those who were resided in a constituency for at least three years.² Malaya and North Borneo were designated as the twelfth constituency with a quota of two seats.³

In parallel with the election of the members of the Legislative Yuan, delegates were also to be elected for the First National Assembly, the primary purpose of which was to amend the 1946 Constitution. In late June 1947, the following list of overseas Chinese constituencies for the National Assembly was announced.

- Constituency 28: Singapore
- Constituency 29: Malacca
- Constituency 30: Johor
- Constituency 31: Selangor
- Constituency 32: Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Kelantan,
Terengganu
- Constituency 33: Perak
- Constituency 34: Penang, Kedah, Perlis
- Constituency 35: British Borneo.

The fixed number of seats was one each for all constituencies except Constituency 28, which was given three seats (including one for a female delegate).⁴

However, this program was criticized by Lee Kong Chian (Li Guang Qian), chairman of the Associated Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce, who argued that with no police powers the consulates were unable to determine the qualification of voters or the eligibility of candidates, and that as univer-

sal suffrage would be difficult to implement within the Chinese community under British rule, elections should be entrusted to individual clan associations.⁵ Lee, who was ahead of his time in terms of his sense of identity with Malaya, disliked consular intervention, but was not opposed at this stage to participation in Chinese politics by overseas Chinese in general.

In early September 1947 a Malay language newspaper criticized the elections that were to be conducted in Malaya as an act of "extraterritoriality."⁶ On September 6, 1947 the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* also editorialized that the elections would violate the sovereignty of the local government, and that direct voting, if implemented, should be conducted by mail. It then criticized in sympathy with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) that the National Assembly itself was illegal.

Despite these criticisms, there were some moves to push ahead with voting, including the nomination of a member for the election administration committee by the Keluang Chinese Association.⁷ However, those involved began to recognize that it would be difficult to overcome all the opposition from the British colonial administration, Malay nationalists, and leftist Chinese. The heads of all constituency offices in Malaya gathered to discuss the implications of the elections on domestic laws and the opposition to them from many quarters.⁸ Also, all the consuls held meetings with those involved in the elections to discuss the matter.⁹ Meanwhile the British ambassador to China, acting under instructions from his government, submitted a request to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs calling for the suspension of elections involving the Chinese in British colonies.¹⁰ Liu Wei Chi, chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, commented that "North and South America are sympathetic toward elections, but we are negotiating with some opposing countries in the South Seas."¹¹ In October the Thai government announced that organizations participating in elections would be "severely punished."¹² Because of the unfavorable outlook for the elections in many Southeast Asian countries, the Chinese government abandoned the plans for overseas elections later that month on the pretext of "respect for the sovereignty of host countries."¹³ In February 1948 the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission notified government establishments abroad of the discontinuance of elections.¹⁴

Nevertheless, it appears that the Chinese consulates in Malaya were secretly exploring the possibility of elections. In Keluang, elections were conducted through door-to-door canvassing in early November of 1947,¹⁵ while later that month the consulate general announced a provisional measure to carry out the elections and made known that elections would be held shortly provided that there would be no intervention by the local government, and

that a notice would be issued if such intervention occurred.¹⁶ As no approval came from the British colonial administration, delegates to the National Assembly were eventually selected secretly through voting within the KMT Malayan branch which was under the direct control of the party headquarters.

Of the six candidates (Chua Hui Seng [Cai Hui Sheng], Tay Koh Yat [Zheng Gu Yue], Teh Sin Kwang [Zheng Xin Guang], Teo Chin Seng [Zhang Qin Sheng], Ho Lai Eng [He Li Ying: Quek's wife], and Chew Pei Ching [Zhou Pei Zhuang: female]), Chua and Teo were elected. Since visits to China as delegates to the assembly were prohibited under local law, the two delegates and Ho Lai Eng, who was appointed directly by the Overseas Department of the Chinese government, returned to China on March 25, 1948 under the pretext of private sight-seeing to attend the First National Assembly held in Nanjing from March 29 to May 1.¹⁷

These facts were reported by the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, a paper sympathetic to the CCP, and as such it continued its criticism that the three delegates did not represent Malayan Chinese because of illegal and improper election procedures.

2. Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission

Lim Keng Lian, an influential member of the Kuomintang and a businessman in Singapore, attended the 1946 National Assembly as a delegate. After returning to Singapore, he visited China again in August 1947 to be appointed vice chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.¹⁸ When he returned to Singapore in August 1948, Lim stated that he did not know when he would go back to China.¹⁹ The fact that he never did go back was due in part to the establishment of the People's Republic of China. How long Lim remained as vice chairman is unclear, but it was in this capacity that in September 1949 he acted as a wedding witness, a function that had been performed by Consul General Wu Paak Shing until early 1948, at a group wedding sponsored by the Mayfair Musical and Drama Society (Aihua Yinyue Xiju She), a cultural group affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party.²⁰ In addition to Lim, a member of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission was stationed in Singapore, and his expenses were tentatively borne by the city's Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the early days of the postwar period.²¹

It is assumed from many press reports that the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Kuomintang government had the following duties.

(1) Licensing and Authorization of Chinese Newspapers and Journals Abroad

In July 1947 the Chinese government announced that the publication of newspapers and magazines by overseas Chinese should be registered with

the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, and that the publication of any articles unfavorable to the Chinese government would lead to the revocation of publication permits, a prohibition on the importation of the newspapers or journals in question into China, and a prohibition on the return of their publishers to China.²² However, the announcement had little practical effect since magazines and newspapers affiliated with the Chinese communists had already secured a firm footing in Malaya. Indeed, even Consul General Wu Paak Shing confided that the effect would be no more than a mere "import prohibition."²³

(2) Registration of Overseas Chinese Organizations

The Keluang Chinese Association in Johor applied for registration with the Commission and obtained its certificate by early 1948.²⁴ It is not clear, however, how many out of the numerous organizations applied for registration and how many certificates were granted. Applications seem to have been the exception rather than the rule, since there were few reports on the subject.

(3) Financial Assistance to Chinese Schools

The consulate general in Singapore announced in June 1947 that the Commission would provide 450,000 yuan worth of books and teaching materials to more than seventy Chinese primary and secondary schools in Singapore.²⁵ It is uncertain if similar projects were undertaken in other parts of Malaya, or if the plan was implemented as announced.

(4) Protection of the Rights of Overseas Chinese

In November 1947, Liu Wei Chi, chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, stated that he had requested the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take action to rectify discrimination against the Chinese often practiced in other countries. As examples of discrimination he pointed to the strict citizenship provisions imposed on local Chinese as set forth in the preliminary draft of the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, to the very small quota for Malayan Chinese in the Legislative Council, and to the exclusion of Singapore from the Federation of Malaya which would favor Malays as a ratio of total population.²⁶ However, his remarks only angered overseas Chinese in Malaya. Lee Kong Chian commented that neither the Commission nor the Nanjing government had anything to do with the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya, and that the chairman's remarks had to be treated as strictly personal.²⁷

The moderate leftist Malayan Democratic Union (MDU) made the following criticism: "The person who made these remarks does not know the Malayan situation. The British government's draft of the Constitution does have

some drawbacks, in the sense that it encourages overseas Chinese and others to retain their original nationalities, thus impairing their patriotism toward Malaya. However, Liu's remarks will disrupt ethnic harmony and stir up alienation among different ethnic groups (*minzu*). Liu says that the non-Malays will have no right to vote even after they become citizens, but such right is not given to the Malays either."²⁸

In its editorial, the *Min Sheng Pao*, an organ of the Malayan Communist Party, labeled Liu's remarks as thoughtless words by a person who did not understand the special situation of Malayan Chinese who were expected to comply with the common interests of all ethnic groups in Malaya.²⁹

Responding to these criticisms in a statement released late in December, the chairman questioned why the Democratic League (Minzhu Tongmeng), which was outlawed in China in October 1947, did not dissolve itself in Malaya. As this refutation was based on the chairman's confusion of the Malayan branch of the China Democratic League (Zhongguo Minzhu Tongmeng) with the Malayan Democratic Union (Malaiya Minzhu Tongmeng), he was ridiculed by the MDU as "having revealed his ignorance of Malaya again."³⁰

These facts suggest that, despite the seeming importance of nominal assignments, the Commission played a very limited actual role in Malaya. It appears that the overseas Chinese, for their part, did not feel close to the Commission unlike their feelings toward the consulates.

3. Selection of Delegates to the National People's Congress, 1953-54

The First Session of the People's Political Consultative Conference of China was held in October 1949, immediately after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Overseas Chinese participants numbered eighteen, including five returnees from Malaya. Above the quota for overseas Chinese delegates, there were another five people connected with Malaya, such as Hu Yu Zhi who represented the China Democratic League. Most of the returnees from Malaya had already settled in China and none of them went back to settle in Malaya after the conference. Probably these returned overseas Chinese were selected not through voting by Malayan Chinese, but through consultation between the Chinese Communist Party and influential pro-CCP people like Tan Kah Kee (Chen Jia Geng), who had returned to China in May 1949. However, there are indications that the new Chinese government was not without its own plan for the selection of delegates by overseas Chinese themselves. Signs of this emerged in 1950.

In January 1950, Huang Sheng, secretary-general of China's Shantou Military Administration Committee, wrote a letter to the New Teochew Society

(Xin Chao She) in Singapore asking the society to select eight or nine delegates from among the Malayan Chinese who were of Teochew (Chaozhou) origin and send them to the Chaozhou-Meixian People's Congress (Chao Mei Gejie Renmin Daibiao Dahui) to be held in Shantou from February 22. Shantou, Chaozhou, and Meixian are cities or districts in the eastern part of Guangdong Province and Huang himself was from Chaozhou.³¹

The society lost no time in soliciting views about the sending of a delegation,³² while a group of Teochew Chinese issued an open letter urging the Teochew community to accept Huang's request.³³ However, as there was no follow-up on this request, it seems that there was no delegation, let alone an election, probably because of obstacles such as Singapore's statutory barriers.

In March 1953 the Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee of the PRC announced that overseas Chinese would be represented at the National People's Congress, and that there would be elections for delegates.³⁴ According to a November 1953 announcement, overseas Chinese delegates numbered thirty (five from Malaya, four from Thailand, four from Indonesia, two from Indochina, one from North Borneo, and one each from fourteen other places).³⁵

While the announcement of the actual method of delegate selection was delayed, the British administration discussed various ways to prevent elections from being held in Malaya and North Borneo. They exchanged views on possible legal grounds for prohibiting the elections, which could be held either at the discretion of private overseas Chinese associations or by postal elections. They also discussed the possibility that since even Malayan or Singapore citizens were permitted to hold Chinese nationality, voting by overseas Chinese with Chinese nationality would not infringe against Malayan or Singaporean laws. Finally they concluded that voting would constitute interference with the sovereignty of the local government, subjecting voters to disciplinary action and possible rejection of any applications for naturalization in Malaya that they might file in the future.

The Chinese government started preparations for elections in August and September of 1953 in Indonesia, with which it maintained diplomatic relations.³⁶ In late November of that year, He Xiang Ning, chairman of the committee, announced that overseas Chinese delegates would be selected through deliberations by the committee (not by elections).³⁷ In December British officials reached the conclusion that China had presumably withdrawn its election plans.³⁸ Eventually overseas Chinese delegates were elected from among returned overseas Chinese, except for delegates from certain countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines. The delegates from Malaya were all returned Chinese.

This process indicates that although China still shared the Kuomintang government's perception that its sovereignty covered the entire overseas Chinese community, it had already adopted a cautious stance in actually exercising its "sovereign rights." The situation had changed since 1947, and there were no official Chinese establishments in Malaya in 1953. In other words, there was no entity to promote elections for overseas Chinese groups. Accordingly, overseas Chinese for their part must have had little enthusiasm for elections. Yet the considerable nervousness of the British government suggests that an acute sense of identity with China still prevailed among overseas Chinese.

II. Education

From around 1920 the Kuomintang government and the British colonial administration had been disputing over the right to control and supervise Chinese schools. However, the basic British stance was to refrain from oppressive action unless there was intolerable activity against the British colonial administration at Chinese schools. What was taught at these schools was generally based on a line set by the Chinese government and reflected China's domestic situation.

Having experienced extreme oppression during the Japanese occupation, Chinese schools were reconstructed after the war. At first they followed the prewar educational policy, but gradually the British colonial administration tightened regulations on these schools. The Federation of Malaya enforced its Education Ordinance in November 1952, and by the mid-1950s the schools had been compelled to operate under the Malayan school education system.

However, during a transitional period in the latter half of the 1940s, the Chinese government still retained links with Chinese schools in Malaya in the following areas.

I. School Registration

The Chinese consulate general in Singapore announced a simplified procedure for school establishment in late February 1947.³⁹ In June Consul General Wu Paak Shing talked with the director of Singapore's Education Department over the issues of school registration and textbooks.⁴⁰ How many Chinese schools registered with the Singapore government and how many with the Chinese government is not certain. In early 1949 a Chinese school inspector for the Singapore government stated that more than forty schools were authorized in 1948, with more than a hundred remaining unregistered, and that most school buildings had been found inadequate.⁴¹ It seems that at

the time more schools chose to register with the Chinese than with the Singapore government.

2. Appointment of Principals and Teachers

The Chinese consulate in Kuala Lumpur announced in late May 1946 the Provisional Law on Assistance for Travel Expenses and Departure Formalities for Teachers in Overseas Chinese Schools in accordance with an official notification from the Ministry of Education of the Kuomintang government. The law was intended to help teachers from China with both financial and procedural requirements.⁴² The July 18, 1946 issue of the *Min Sheng Pao* reported that the Kuomintang had assisted a great number of teachers departing for southern countries after the war. Conceivably this type of financial assistance started soon after the war.

No statistical data are available regarding the total number of such teachers, but an official document of the Chinese government records that a total of 183 teachers were sent to Thailand, Java, Borneo, and Malaya between July and September 1947.⁴³ It is estimated that in one year around this time the number of teachers sent to Malaya alone reached 100. These teachers gave students lessons on Chinese history and geography and inspired them with patriotism for China and the Sinocentric spirit. Leftist Malayan Chinese repeatedly criticized this manner of education as "Kuomintangization education" (*danghua jiaoyu*).⁴⁴ On the other hand, a significant number of teachers who had been sent out by the Chinese Communist Party provided education according to their own version of patriotism as well as pro-CCP lessons, only to incur strong suppression from the British authorities.⁴⁵

In August 1947 the Ministry of Education of the Chinese government announced the appointment of a Kuomintang member, Lin Bing Yin, as the principal of the Chong Hwa Secondary School of Kuala Lumpur. In late December Lin assumed that position in the face of vehement opposition from pro-CCP local Chinese. Out of fourteen teachers, thirteen resigned in protest. The one remaining teacher was a Kuomintang member.⁴⁶

It was variously reported that the Chinese government's education subsidies toward overseas Chinese in 1946 would amount to U.S.\$4 million,⁴⁷ U.S.\$3 million,⁴⁸ or U.S.\$6 million (including U.S.\$1 million for Malaya).⁴⁹ However, this subsidy plan was not implemented, probably because the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission had diverted the money.⁵⁰

3. Textbooks

Overseas Chinese schools used textbooks edited and printed in China, but in 1947 Shanghai Shuju in Singapore published new textbooks on civics

(equivalent to social studies) which incorporated the regionalism of southern countries and areas.⁵¹

In the Federation of Malaya, the federal government in 1952 launched an initiative to Malayanize textbooks by establishing the General Chinese Textbooks Committee and the Chinese Textbooks Advisory Committee. The General Chinese Textbooks Committee was composed of government officials (British officials and Chinese school inspectors) and citizens (including representatives of the United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaya [Malaiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui: Jiao Zong] which had been founded in late 1951). By contrast, the members of the Chinese Textbooks Advisory Committee were all Chinese educators. After frequent discussions, the two committees compiled textbooks in sufficient quantities to allow Chinese schools in the country to choose freely. This process took five years. The Chinese members of the committees were most intent on presenting Chinese culture, traditions, and spirit in textbooks in ways that would enable these subjects to be taught efficiently to students. As a result, in history textbooks, for instance, China accounted for 50 per cent of the total pages, Malaya 30 per cent, and the world at large 20 per cent.⁵²

The completely Chinese-compiled textbooks of the immediate postwar period were all replaced with Malayan-compiled textbooks by the mid-1950s. This change coincided with the time when the sense of belonging to Malaya began to take root among ethnic Chinese.

4. The Roles of Consuls and Consulates

In May 1946 the Federation of Chinese Schools in Selangor was formed on the initiative of Hsu Meng Hsiung (Xu Meng Xiong), consul in Kuala Lumpur, who made a congratulatory speech on that occasion.⁵³

In the summer of that year, Wu Paak Shing, consul general in Singapore, summoned the people in charge of education for overseas Chinese throughout Malaya, and formed the Guidance Committee for Reopening of Overseas Chinese Schools. Those present at the committee meeting, which included two educators from the Ministry of Education of the Chinese government, discussed how to reconstruct the Chinese schools that had been devastated during the Japanese occupation. Shortly thereafter the committee established branches in Selangor and Penang under the leadership of the consuls. The Guidance Committee planned to commence activities with a subsidy worth U.S.\$1 million from China. The subsidy plan was canceled, however, and the committee seems to have vanished like the mist.⁵⁴

It was announced in 1948 that graduation certificates required the consulate's seal of approval according to the rules of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Com-

mission.⁵⁵ No data are available that show how long that practice continued.

5. Inspection Teams from China

In May 1946 a Kuomintang government inspection team headed by Chen Shao Xian, chief inspector of schools, visited Malaya (traveling overland via Burma) to inspect Chinese schools in many parts of the country.⁵⁶ The chief inspector's behavior was criticized as "aiming to force government-designated textbooks on students and publicize the Kuomintang" by Lim Lian Geok, who was busily engaged in the reconstruction of the Confucian Secondary School in Kuala Lumpur and who later became chairman (December 1953 to December 1961) of the United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaya (Jiao Zong).⁵⁷

The Kuomintang government's involvement in the inspection of overseas Chinese education drew criticism from a wide range of leftist Chinese groups including the pro-CCP factions, who labeled it "Kuomintangization education." Interference in school management and the content of teaching as well as forced reshuffles and teacher dismissals by school committees, many of which were dominated by Kuomintang factions, were also denounced as typical tricks of the Kuomintang.⁵⁸

The Kuomintang government had a perception that overseas Chinese education was under its jurisdiction. That jurisdiction was, however, severely limited by the British colonial administration's strict management and control, and by opposition from leftist elements in the Chinese community. It seems that textbooks were the only area where this jurisdiction could be exercised.

6. The People's Republic of China and Overseas Chinese Education

On the first New Year's Day after the establishment of the new China, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, which was essentially the organ of the China Democratic League's Malayan branch, published a twenty-four-page special New Year's edition (January 1, 1950) which carried an article by Li Xun entitled "A Review and Outlook for Chinese Education in Singapore" that argued the following.

Chinese education in Singapore should not be a replica of China's domestic education. The new Chinese education should be changed into a new overseas Chinese education and then into a Singaporean overseas Chinese education. This final form of education must be nationalistic and popular in nature and should be based on love and respect for the motherland [i.e., China], people, labor, science, and public assets. "Nationalistic" implies an attitude of promoting ethnic harmony, not of excluding other ethnic groups.

It is possible to swear loyalty to Malaya and become genuine citizens of Malaya while loving our motherland. Overseas Chinese education should aim to instill this sense of citizenship. As Malaya has not achieved real independence, the complete discontinuance of efforts to foster patriotism [toward China] will not achieve the intended purpose of education, just as the abandonment of nationalism for the sake of enhancement of internationalism will prevent the unification of patriotism with internationalism. In today's world, in which the state system has become established, patriotism is a basic human right. The nurturing of patriotism is compatible with the nurturing of a sense of Malayan citizenship.

As society advances and suitable conditions are established, overseas Chinese education in Malaya and Singapore should naturally change into Malayan education, and overseas Chinese education will become a matter of the past.

Overseas Chinese education in Singapore in 1950 should proceed, *under the guidance of consulates*, through cooperation with the Department of Education of the local authorities and on the basis of consultation with the Chinese Chambers of Commerce, school committees, and teachers. (italics added)

"Consulates" in this context meant those of the new government to be set up in place of the Kuomintang government consulates. On January 6, 1950 the British government recognized the new Chinese government, and the former consulates were all closed. However, no consulates of the CCP government were established, since the British government decided not to allow them in Malaya for the duration of Emergency. (It was in 1974 when China and Malaysia opened diplomatic relationship that the Chinese embassy was first established in Malaysia.) The concept of overseas Chinese education under the guidance of the consulates ended up as a pie in the sky.

Li Xun's statement was, as far as patriotism is concerned, in line with the stance of the Kuomintang government on overseas Chinese education, but differed in terms of such goals as ethnic harmony, the nurturing of a sense of Malayan citizenship, and integration into Malayan education in the future. Signs of the Malayization of overseas Chinese education were already evident in his statement.

In February 1950 Tan Kah Kee, a committee member of the Central People's Government, who had returned temporarily from China to Singapore, made the following comments during an interview with the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*.

The present education of overseas Chinese is inconsistent, and the schooling system is not unified. After the consulates of the People's Republic government are established, professionals should be stationed, depending on the circumstances, in order to instruct and guide overseas Chinese education. However, efficient arrangements will be possible only with the unification of overseas Chinese organi-

zations and will be impossible as long as reactionary elements remain active. Since these elements behave as if Taiwan is as large as the entire world, the unification of overseas Chinese and the organization of overseas Chinese education must wait at least until Taiwan is liberated.⁵⁹

It is not clear how serious Tan was when he said "to wait until the liberation of Taiwan." In any event, as explained earlier, consulates were not established and the new government's policy of "guidance and instruction" never saw the light of day. It may be assumed that he intentionally referred to reactionary elements and Taiwan simply because he knew that realization of Chinese government's policy was unfeasible.

Although direct guidance of Malayan Chinese education by the CCP government was not realized, the establishment of the government itself had a substantial indirect effect. Considerable number of Chinese teachers returned to China in the first half of the 1950s. The situation created by the continuing repatriation of numerous teachers without replacement, and by tighter regulation by the local colonial administration, was viewed as "a crisis in overseas Chinese education" even by Hsue Yung Shu (Xue Yong Shu), the leader of the Singapore Chinese School Teachers' Association and an official of the Singapore sub-branch of the China Democratic League, which was close to the Chinese Communist Party. At the commemorative conference for Teachers' Day on June 6, 1950, he lamented this fact and added that under the present situation it was impossible to nurture the spirit of patriotism. The preparatory report on the commemorative conference which was compiled after Hsue's speech, included the following observation.

There are two alternatives for educators to choose. One is to proceed with educational work under the guidance of the People's Republic government, and the other is to surrender and create *bai Hua* [white Chinese: presumably denoting overseas Chinese with the attitudes of white people]. There is no middle way.⁶⁰

Although there was no direct guidance over overseas Chinese education by the new Chinese government, overseas Chinese educators in Malaya around 1950 still had a strong sense of belonging to China. It would be safe to say that the sense of belonging to Malaya was instilled in the overseas Chinese educational community during the mid-1950s when the Malayanization of textbooks was completed.

III. Selection of Olympic Athletes

Before World War II, overseas Chinese took part in the Olympic Games as athletes representing China. In late February of 1948, it was decided at a

meeting of the Malayan Chinese Physical Education Representatives Conference (whose chairman, Aw Kow [Hu Jiao], was the son of Aw Boon Haw [Hu Wen Hu], a noted businessman) that overseas Chinese should participate in the London Olympic Games of that summer in the same manner as in the prewar era.⁶¹ Malayan athletes were required to take part in China's Seventh National Athletic Games held in Shanghai on May 5–16, which doubled as a preliminary for the Olympics. Qualified entrants were required to be citizens of the Republic of China aged eighteen or over for men and sixteen or over for women,⁶² which meant that overseas Chinese in these age brackets were all eligible.

The Malayan preliminaries for the National Athletic Games to select Malayan participants for each event were held in many parts of Malaya. They started with the All-Malayan Chinese Track and Field Championship on March 28 and 29 in Penang, which was followed by preliminaries for swimming, water polo, soccer, basketball, badminton, table tennis, and weight lifting. With the inclusion of officials, the participants on the Malayan team headed by Aw Boon Haw is said to have numbered either 83,⁶³ or 123,⁶⁴ or 135.⁶⁵ The team's expenses were not borne by China but funded with donations from overseas Chinese individuals and organizations.⁶⁶ The team leader, Aw Boon Haw, donated 2,000 Straits dollars.⁶⁷

Participants in the National Athletic Games in Shanghai numbered 2,233, including officials. From outside China, 104 participated from Hong Kong, 83 from Malaya, 62 from the Philippines, 47 from Indonesia, 24 from Vietnam, 3 from Hawaii, and 1 from Canada.⁶⁸

The National Athletic Games did not proceed without disturbances, including a scuffle caused by political antagonism sparked by the virtual civil war then under way in China. Yet all the events were somehow completed on schedule by May 16.

Malayan competitors took part in all events except volleyball and achieved excellent results, despite the cold weather that they were not accustomed to.⁶⁹ They won a number of events, including group badminton, the men's swimming races in the 400- and 1,500-meter freestyle, 100-meter backstroke, and 200-meter relay, the women's 100- and 200-meter backstroke, and the men's 110- and 440-meter track hurdles.⁷⁰

Participants in the Olympic Games had to be strictly screened due to a shortage of funds. The chosen athletes announced at the close of the National Athletic Games numbered four for track and field (including Ng Liang Chiang [Huang Liang Zheng] from Malaya), one for swimming (an Indonesian Chinese), and a basketball team (including Huang Tian Xi from Malaya and a Philippine Chinese).⁷¹ Just before the Olympics (held on July 29–August 14),

another track and field athlete, Li Shi Qiao (a Malayan Chinese), was added to the list.⁷²

The soccer team members, who included three Malayan Chinese, had been selected in April before the National Athletic Games. However, this decision was opposed by some people who argued that the Olympic athletes should have been selected at the National Athletic Games. After a period of heated debate,⁷³ soccer matches were held at the National Athletic Games, but no names of Olympic participants were announced. The decision made in April seems to have been finally accepted.

In May to June, the selected Chinese soccer team visited Southeast Asian cities such as Hong Kong, Manila, Bangkok, Saigon, Singapore, and Jakarta to compete in friendly games and raise funds. In late May and late June, the team visited Singapore where it played against the all-Malaya Malay team, the Malayan Chinese team, and the all-Malaya team,⁷⁴ drawing capacity crowds each time. The fact that the team competed with an overseas Chinese team only once and played with an all-Malay team as well seems to have reflected the visiting team's consideration for the issue of Malayan ethnicity. Meanwhile, on June 4 a Chinese basketball team visited Singapore.⁷⁵

The Olympic performance of the Chinese athletes was unremarkable, and they won no medals. Nevertheless, the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* and its evening edition, *Nan Chiau Ban Pao*, gave a lot of coverage to events every day, especially to soccer and basketball games, arousing wild audience enthusiasm. The publishers arranged to have Olympic news cabled during the daytime for inclusion in the evening paper. The arrangement helped to bring a sharp increase in the circulation of *Nan Chiau Ban Pao*, Singapore's only evening paper, which was inaugurated on April 1, 1947.⁷⁶ This is further evidence of the strong sense of belonging that overseas Chinese felt toward China in those days.

From the Federation of Malaya only one player participated in the Olympic Games. Lloyd Valberg, a Eurasian high jumper, finished in eighth place.

Before it could participate in the Olympics, a country was required to establish a national Olympic committee. The June 13, 1951 edition of *Nanyang Siang Pau* reported the existence of an Olympic committee in Singapore, adding that there would soon be a Malayan committee and then an all-Malaya (including Singapore) committee. (The Federation of Malaya Olympic Council [*sic*] was formed in 1953.)⁷⁷

The forty-member team that the People's Republic of China sent to the Helsinki Olympics in 1952 included a swimmer who had represented China as an Indonesian Chinese in the 1948 Olympics. Taiwan withdrew its delegation from the Games in protest against the PRC's participation.

There were no National Athletic Games of the kind that had been held prior to the London Olympics, either in China or in Taiwan. Singapore sent its own five-member delegation, but the Federation of Malaya sent none.⁷⁸

It was to the Melbourne Olympics in 1956 that the Federation of Malaya sent its first delegation. The federal government's *Official Year Book* reported that "Australia's proximity made it financially feasible to send a contingent there whereas the cost of sending teams to London in 1948 or Helsinki in 1952 would have been prohibitive."⁷⁹

Malayan Chinese athletes now had no ties with the Chinese delegation and began to participate in the Olympics as members of Malayan (or Singaporean) delegations. This change, which was prompted by a growing sense of Malayan identity among Malayan Chinese, seems to have deepened these feelings even more.

Notes

- 1 *Min Sheng Pao*, February 6, 1947. The paper criticized that the four persons did not represent Malayan Chinese. *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 22, 1947.
- 2 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, April 1, 1947.
- 3 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, August 9, 1947. Announced by the Singapore Consulate General on August 3.
- 4 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 23, 1947.
- 5 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, August 9, 1947.
- 6 According to the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 5, 1947.
- 7 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 11, 1947.
- 8 The *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (September 5, 1947) reported that this consultation was scheduled for September 8.
- 9 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 22, 1947.
- 10 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 22, 1947. The British Ambassador to China protested this matter as "an unwarrantable interference with the sovereignty [of Malaya]" (quoted in "Election of 30 Overseas Chinese Delegates to the All China People's Congress," in "Proposal to Elect Delegates from Territories Having a Community of Overseas Chinese, to Represent Them at an All-China People's Congress to Be Held in Peking," PRO, CO 1022/404 [1953-54], p. 62).
- 11 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 23, 1947.
- 12 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 24, 1947.
- 13 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, October 31, 1947.
- 14 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 5, 1948. The notification was dated February 24 (announced by the Singapore Consulate General on March 4).
- 15 *Min Sheng Pao*, November 7, 1947.

16 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 26, 1947.

17 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 25 and April 28, 1948.

However, there is some confusion in the reports of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* about the participation of three "Malayan delegates" in the National Assembly, as well as some contradiction with the data of the Kuomintang government.

The March 25, 1948 issue of the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* said that the three delegates represented Singapore. This description coincided with the Singaporean quota of two men and a woman. However, as there was no mention of delegates from other parts of Malaya in the paper's other reports at that time, it cannot be confirmed whether they were really delegates selected within Singapore's delegation quota. The paper's April 28 issue said that the three were Malayan delegates.

On the other hand, their names do not appear in the delegation list of China's two official reports: *Di-yi-jie Guomin dahui di-yi-ci huiyi jilu* [Document of the first conference of the first-term National Assembly] and *Guomin dahui shilu* [Minutes of the National Assembly] (both reports were edited by the Guomin Dahui Mishuchu and published in 1948 at Nanjing).

According to the Minutes of the National Assembly, it had been decided to elect sixty-five overseas Chinese delegates from forty-one areas throughout the world. However, only twenty-two delegates from seventeen areas including South and North America arrived in time for the assembly. Malayan and Singaporean delegates had not been selected (p. 90), and thus there was no participation from these two areas. This leads us to assume that the three were Malayan delegates not to the National Assembly but to the Legislative Yuan and they attended the conference of the Legislative Yuan which was held from May 8 to July 21, 1948 after the end of the National Assembly.

However, according to China's official document, *Zhonghua nianjian, 1948* [China yearbook, 1948], 2 vols. (Nanjing, 1948), out of the quota of nineteen seats reserved for the overseas Chinese to be represented in the Legislative Yuan, including two seats for Malaya and North Borneo (vol. 1, p. 447), only two were filled, one each from Canada and Europe (vol. 1, p. 455).

There is no trace of the three Singaporean delegates in the official document, presumably because of consideration for the British government or for the delegates' safety after their return.

18 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 19 and August 19, 1947.

19 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, August 17, 1948.

20 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, September 8, 1948.

21 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 27, 1948. After the war the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce paid 3,600 yuan to support the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission and had received 2,000 yuan in repayment by July 1948. In other instances, China's official establishments requested overseas Chinese associations for funds. For instance, the Penang Chinese Chamber of Commerce donated 7,770 Straits dollars for the establishment of the consulate, and had the custody of nineteen

- items at the time of closure of the consulate in January 1950 (*Xian Dai Ri Bao*, January 24, 1950).
- 22 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 18, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, August 15, 1947.
 - 23 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 19, 1947.
 - 24 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 8, 1948.
 - 25 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 27, 1947.
 - 26 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 3 and November 7, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, November 3, 1947.
 - 27 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 4 and November 7, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, November 6, 1947.
 - 28 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, November 7, 1947; *Min Sheng Pao*, November 8, 1947.
 - 29 *Min Sheng Pao*, November 24, 1947.
 - 30 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, December 25, 1947.
 - 31 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 25, 1950. This article carried the following brief personal history of Huang Sheng: "Also known as Gao En, he is well versed in economic issues. He founded the Nanqiao Secondary School in Jieyang, Guangdong Province, China in the early years of the anti-Japanese war. Just before the Pacific War broke out, he came to Singapore and taught guerrilla tactics to the Squad for Training Youth Cadets, which was established by the Singapore Chinese Anti-Enemy Mobilization Council (Xingzhou Huaqiao Kangdi Dongyuan Zonghui). He went back to the home country guarded by his students just before Singapore surrendered to the Japanese. In the early postwar years when Hu Yu Zhi founded the New Nanyang Press [in November 1945], Huang came back to Singapore and renewed old friendship with cultured people. He also visited Penang and Ipoh and frequently contributed thought-provoking essays to the *Xian Dai Ri Bao*. His speeches impressed audiences immensely. Then he went to Bangkok [where he led in establishing the China Democratic League Thai branch serving as *zhuren* or director]. He also edited the *Mangu Shang Bao* [Bangkok Commercial News], and wrote coherent and lucid economic essays under the pen name of Lang Zhu Gao which were highly received by Thai Chinese. With a person having a profound knowledge of the situation for overseas Chinese in the new position, it is expected that their interests will be duly respected."
 - 32 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 31, 1950.
 - 33 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 3, 1950.
 - 34 PRO, CO 1022/404, p. 135.
 - 35 PRO, CO 1022/404, pp. 33, 55, 56.
 - 36 PRO, CO 1022/404, pp. 66, 89.
 - 37 PRO, CO 1022/404, p. 55.
 - 38 PRO, CO 1022/404, pp. 45, 47.
 - 39 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, March 1, 1947.
 - 40 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 29, 1947.
 - 41 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, January 6, 1949.
 - 42 *Min Sheng Pao*, June 1, 1946.

- 43 Republic of China, Ministry of Education, Jiaoyu Nianjian Bianzuan Weiyuanhui, ed., *Di-er-ci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* [Second educational yearbook of China] (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan [Commercial Book Co.], 1948), p. 1274.
- 44 For example, see *Min Sheng Pao*, November 20 and November 27, 1947.
- 45 Beijing Guiguo Huaqiao Lianyihui, ed., *Kangyi yingdi pohai Malaiya huaqiao* [Protest against persecution of Malayan Chinese by the British imperialist] (Beijing [1951]), pp. 110–21.
- 46 *Min Sheng Pao*, August 21, August 23, September 4, September 7, and November 18, 1947 and January 5, 1948.
- 47 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 22, 1946.
- 48 *Min Sheng Pao*, July 18, 1946.
- 49 Lim Lian Geok (Lin Lian Yu), *Fengyu shiba nian* [Weather-beaten eighteen years] (Kuala Lumpur: Lin Lian Yu Jijin Weiyuanhui, 1988), pp. 19–22.
- 50 Lim Lian Geok, p. 22.
- 51 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 3, 1947.
- 52 Lim Lian Geok, pp. 32–43; Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui, *Jiao Zong sanshisan nian* [Thirty-three years of the United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaysia] (Kuala Lumpur: Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui, 1987), pp. 321–23, 356–57.
- 53 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 20 and May 30, 1946.
- 54 Lim Lian Geok, pp. 19–22.
- According to the *Min Sheng Pao*, July 11, 1946, the two experts from China talked with people concerned with Chinese education in Kuala Lumpur as well.
- 55 *Min Sheng Pao*, March 3, 1948.
- 56 *Min Sheng Pao*, May 11, 1946.
- 57 Lim Lian Geok, pp. 14–17.
- 58 *Min Sheng Pao*, November 20 and November 27, 1947 and April 3, 1948.
- 59 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 25, 1950.
- 60 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 7, 1950.
- 61 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, February 29, 1948; *Min Sheng Pao*, March 1, 1948.
- 62 *Min Sheng Pao*, February 20, 1948.
- 63 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 5, 1948.
- 64 *Min Sheng Pao*, April 30, 1948.
- 65 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 17, 1948.
- 66 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, April 21 and April 23, 1948.
- 67 *Min Sheng Pao*, April 15, 1948.
- 68 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 5, 1948.
- 69 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 4, 1948.
- 70 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 17, 1948.
- 71 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 22, 1948.
- 72 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, July 28, 1948.
- 73 *Min Sheng Pao*, April 8 and April 15, 1948.
- 74 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, May 23, May 24, and June 28, 1948.

- 75 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, June 5, 1948.
- 76 *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, August 8, 1948.
- 77 Federation of Malaya, *Official Year Book, 1961*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur, 1961), p. 369.
- 78 *Nanyang Siang Pau*, July 19, July 20, July 24, July 25, July 26, and July 31, 1952.
- 79 Federation of Malaya, *Official Year Book, 1961*, vol. 1, p. 369.

Conclusion

During the first few years following the end of World War II, Malaya's Chinese community continued to hold on to the strong China-oriented identity consciousness that it had developed during the late 1930s. On questions concerning the protection of their rights in Malaya and what the future of Malaya ought to be, the actions of the Malayan Chinese centered largely around the activities of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), and they showed little interest in the comparatively broad range of rights guaranteed them under the Malayan Union scheme proposed in October 1945, due by and large to apathy caused by a feeling among the majority of Chinese that Malaya was not their homeland but merely a temporary place of residence. The prevailing feeling at the time was that even if they would obtain Malayan citizenship, they should hold on to their Chinese nationality, and since the legal scheme offered by the British allowed them to do so, it is little wonder that no one in the Chinese community thought of discarding his Chinese nationality and giving up his right to participate in China's internal affairs. Under such conditions, the Malayan Chinese movement to demand legitimate rights in their country of residence was by no means contradictory to the movement to strengthen China. It is for this reason that we see even the MCP referring to China as the homeland and becoming actively involved in supporting the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) efforts in China.

Involvement in China's internal affairs usually meant supporting either the CCP or the Kuomintang (KMT). Immediately after the war, both CCP and KMT support groups in Malaya joined together in commemorating such events

as China's victory in its anti-Japanese war and the Double Tenth, the beginning of the Republican revolt against the Qing dynasty on October 10, 1911. As tensions and rivalry between the two parties increased in China, these celebrations in Malaya were divided into separate venues along party lines.

The gatherings and activities supporting the CCP were quashed in January of 1950, ironically in the same month in which diplomatic relations were established between Britain and the People's Republic of China. The last large-scale public gatherings in Malaya to support the CCP were none other than the celebrations commemorating that event.

From the frequency with which CCP support rallies and gatherings were taking place up until their suppression, the diversity of the groups participating in them, and the number of Malayan Chinese who got involved, we can get a very good idea of the level of influence which China exerted within the Chinese community during the late 1940s.

Both the Malayan-born leftist groups, beginning with the MCP, and the China-born leftist organizations, beginning with the Malayan branch of the China Democratic League (CDL), had been declared illegal by the British colonial authorities during the late 1940s; and from that time on those Malayan-born leftist factions which were able to survive lost interest in Chinese affairs and began concentrating on Malayan national liberation struggles, primarily because in Malaya the main issue had become the obtaining of rights as Malayan citizens. (Nevertheless, the political stance and struggle strategy taken by these groups almost always followed the CCP party line; in this regard, the MCP made no effort to develop a position and strategy of its own right up until it was virtually disbanded in 1989.) The Malayan Chinese farmers, who formed one of the main bases of support for the MCP, were no different. They too became well aware of the importance of gaining guarantees to landownership rights and earning a livelihood in Malaya, and in the process lost interest in what was happening in China's politics. There were three political forces during that time which grappled with the issues of obtaining and protecting the rights of the local Chinese as Malaysians. These three were the MCP, the Chinese consulates in Malaya, and the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). Due to its suppression and subsequent underground guerrilla activities, the MCP lost the ability to play any legal and active role in protecting the civil rights of the local Chinese, while the Chinese consulates, on which the Malayan Chinese community had high hopes, were shown to be powerless to help. In the end, it was the MCA which played the most effective role as a legitimate Malaya-oriented organization able to bring forth a Malayan identity consciousness within the local Chinese community including the Chinese farmers.

Many of the nonpolitical organizations which sympathized with the CCP went through a period of transformation during the early half of the 1950s during which they either disappeared altogether or lost interest in the CCP and China and transformed themselves into Malaya-oriented organizations. The organizations which disappeared were primarily those which had been directly associated with the CCP or CDL, or had become deeply involved in the activities of these two China-based political parties. Those who transformed themselves into Malaya-oriented organizations were mainly those which had been tied to China for more emotional than ideological reasons. The main motivation for their transformation, as we have seen in the case of the Singapore Fujian Association (Hokkien Huay Kuan), lay in the all important necessity to obtaining legitimate rights as full-fledged citizens of Malaya, or at least in the all important necessity perceived by the leadership ranks of these organizations.

While many leaders of the CCP-affiliated political groups in Malaya were deported to China, many others returned to China of their own accord in order to battle the KMT or participate in the People's Republic state-building process. Of the leaders who remained in Malaya, there were those who were arrested and imprisoned or fled underground to join the MCP's guerrilla forces; but the majority gradually adopted a strong sense of belonging to Malayan society. Judging from the changing editorial position presented in local Chinese-language newspapers and the conditions under which Malayan Chinese became involved in local politics, it seems that over several years the whole Chinese community in Malaya followed a similar path.

It is difficult for us to determine whether it was the strong-arm, repressive tactics of the British authorities or the transformation in consciousness taking place in the Malayan Chinese community that resulted in what actually came to pass. Both were indeed important factors, but probably more important were (1) it becoming crucially important for the Malayan Chinese to obtain legitimate rights to a livelihood in Malaya, and (2) the establishment of the PRC no longer requiring support to the CCP from overseas Chinese, or conversely, economic policies of land reform, implemented by the new PRC regime to confiscate the wealth of overseas Chinese or their families on the mainland, sparking an anti-PRC reaction abroad. One more important internal factor was undoubtedly frustration over the local Chinese consulates' powerlessness to help the Malayan Chinese community in any way.

After CCP organizational activities were completely blocked, KMT-affiliated groups were tacitly allowed to continue. However, restrictions on these groups were gradually strengthened, and the KMT's biggest yearly event, the Double Tenth celebrations, ceased to be held in 1958, the year after Malayan

independence was attained. Here we find a very important indicator of the local Chinese community's level of Malayanization at the time.

In Chapter 2 we looked at the Malayanization of the local Chinese-language newspapers. On October 20, 1949, the largest of these publications, the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, changed the way it dated issues from the system used by the Republic of China to the Western calendar format. The second leading Chinese-language newspaper, the *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, followed suit on January 7, 1950. Moreover, just after the war, over half of the newspaper publication holidays were connected to such Chinese holidays as the commemoration of the birth and death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of Republic of China; however, by the mid-1950s the relation of such holidays to Chinese events was becoming blurred, as newspapers merely announced that a "regularly scheduled publication holiday" would be taken. Then in the 1960s the holiday schedule was changed altogether.

In addition, the fifteen-member staff of overseas correspondents in China employed by the *Nanyang Siang Pau* in 1950 had dwindled to none by March 1954.

In October 1957, shortly after the August 31 independence of the Federation of Malaya, the *Nanyang Siang Pau* featured an essay on the theme of "'our country' is no longer China but Malaya."

The above facts represent ample proof of the way in which Chinese-language newspapers gradually Malayanized their editorial position through the 1950s, making Merdeka on August 31, 1957 their biggest and most noticeable indication of Malayanization.

There were two Chinese consulates general and five consulates in Malaya and British Borneo. The Chinese government regarded all of the overseas Chinese as Chinese nationals from the standpoint of *jus sanguinis*. Here lies the main reason why Chinese consulates took up the issue of protecting the civil rights for all overseas Chinese, and overseas Chinese communities, in their turn, looked to "their" consulates to help protect their civil rights. However, due to a number of reasons including (1) the weak stand of China in international relations, (2) China's exhaustion stemming from the CCP-KMT civil war, and (3) the division of the Malayan Chinese community along CCP and KMT party lines (not to mention the CCP factions demanding that consulates defend their rights while warning them not to interfere in Malayan issues), the Chinese consulates were in most cases not able to meet the expectations of the local Chinese community. On the other hand, during the first half of the 1950s, the MCA, which was founded in 1949, stepped in to play the role that the Chinese consulates were unable to play. The process that produced this state of affairs decisively diluted any sense of belonging that

the Malayan Chinese community had toward China and enhanced the growth of a Malaya-oriented identity consciousness.

Due to the positions taken by the governments of both the Republic of China (ROC) and the PRC stating that Chinese people residing outside of their borders were still under their jurisdiction and protection, the ROC National Assembly in 1948 and the PRC National People's Congress in 1954 both tried to select overseas Chinese representatives to these congresses through local elections in the countries of residence. However, in Malaya such decisions prompted reactions from the British authorities, forcing the ROC to hold irregular, limited elections, and the PRC to select representatives based on discussions among those who had returned to China from Malaya. In the view of the leftist supporters in Malaya, the National Assembly elections were merely shabby performances by the KMT and were none of their business; but the way that elections were held for the People's Congresses worked to distance the Malayan left even farther from what was happening on the mainland.

In the field of education, textbooks used in Chinese schools, which had formerly been written and published in China, began in the early 1950s to be compiled in Malaya; and the content began to refer increasingly to the real local situation. By the mid-1950s textbooks had been completely Malayanized. Many of the CCP-inclined teachers, who had so greatly influenced the Chinese youth of Malaya through a curriculum based on patriotism toward China, returned to China around 1950.

The year 1948 marked the last time the Olympic Games would provide an occasion for overseas Chinese to demonstrate their China-oriented identity consciousness as overseas Chinese athletes participated as members of the team from China. Singapore began sending its own team to the games in 1952, and the Federation of Malaya followed suit in 1956. Malayan and Singaporean Chinese athletes were selected as members of their respective national teams.

In terms of a time frame for the conversion of consciousness discussed in this book, all of the major developments as below that indicate the firm establishment of a Malaya-oriented identity consciousness within the Malayan Chinese community centered around the mid-1950s, on the eve of Merdeka which came in 1957: the disappearance of the Double Tenth celebrations in the Federation of Malaya (1957) and Singapore (1958), the complete disappearance of CCP-affiliated organizations or their transformation into Malaya-oriented groups (mid-1950s); convening the Grand Rally of Literators Responding to the Independence Movement (1956); holding the Representatives' Congress of All Malayan Registered Guilds and Associations (1956);

the change in reference of the Chinese terms for "fatherland," "homeland," and "our country" from China to Malaya that took place in the local Chinese-language newspapers (1957); the blurring and eventual end of Chinese factors in determining Chinese-language newspaper publication holidays (latter half of the 1950s); the disappearance of foreign correspondents hired by Chinese-language newspapers to work in China (first half of the 1950s); the substitution of the MCA for Chinese consulates in the task of protecting the rights of local Chinese (first half of the 1950s); the Malayanization of Chinese school textbooks (mid-1950s); and the Malayanization of local Chinese Olympic athletes (1956). The process of forming an independent, sovereign nation-state in any region is deeply connected to the fomentation and promotion of a national consciousness among its people. In the case of Malaya, such a phenomenon occurred among its Chinese residents who realized in just ten years a tremendous reduction in the passionate sense of belonging they had felt toward China immediately after the end of the war.

This conversion was not totally voluntary, for the repressive measures, such as mass deportation, that the British implemented cannot be brushed aside as insignificant. There is no denying that the process had its painful aspect. Furthermore, to assume that Malaya-oriented identity consciousness of Malayan Chinese had already been well established at the end of the war, without trying to analyze the conversion of their identity consciousness after the war, is equivalent to ignoring the pain and anguish experienced in the process. This is an important reason why examining this China connection has been necessary.

Following Merdeka, it is possible to divide the political organizations active in the Malayan Chinese communities into roughly three types: middle-of-the-road and right-wing groups centered around the MCA; legally active moderate leftist groups centered around the Labor Party (LP; est. 1952) and received support from workers, farmers, small-scale merchants, and intellectuals; and the outlawed left-wing centered around the MCP. The MCP would soon be forced further deep into the jungles and thus cease to influence the Chinese masses. Taking its place was the LP, which strove to protect the rights of workers and "New Village" farmers and promote Chinese education, while at the same time emphasizing collaboration with the Malay non-elite community. In 1957 the LP was successful in forming the Socialist Front in conjunction with the Party Rakyat (PR), its moderate Malay leftist counterpart. However, in 1966 the parties split over the language question. From that time on the LP became radicalized under the influence of the Cultural Revolution in China, and decided to conduct a struggle outside the realm of parliamentary politics. Its suppression by the Malaysian government brought on the

loss of support within the local Chinese community, and it was officially deregistered as a political organization in 1972. There is no doubt that the LP was a Malaya (Malaysia)-oriented political party, but the Cultural Revolution being the decisive factor in its radicalization during the late 1960s indicates that the party had an inclination toward ideologies and ideas Chinese, or at least had CCP sympathies. However, the LP had absolutely no connection with or involvement in Chinese internal affairs, making the nature of its orientation totally different from what was embraced by leftist organizations which existed in the 1940s and 1950s. Prior to the time of the Cultural Revolution, the China-orientation of the late 1940s and the 1950s had already become archaic remnants never again to be revived. After the LP's blacklisting, it was the Democratic Action Party (DAP; est. 1964) that stepped in to represent the lower-class Malaysians of Chinese descent. While the DAP has emphasized both the protection of legitimate civil rights of the Chinese and the preservation of Chinese culture, it has given no special meaning to nor held any sympathy for China.

As for the MCA, despite being rocked by internal strife and schisms from time to time, it has remained the mainstream political organization of the Chinese community through its emphasis on compromise and cooperation with the United Malays National Organization, Malaysia's overwhelmingly largest party in the ruling coalition party. In the 1974 parliamentary elections that were held just after the establishment of diplomatic relations with the PRC, the MCA won a resounding victory over the DAP, no doubt a result of the joy felt in the Chinese community in general over the treaty. Although it showed their deeply rooted nostalgic sentiment toward China, such sentiment at that time was no more than a familiarity with China felt by Malaysian Chinese as unwavering Malaysians, and cannot be interpreted as "China-oriented" by any stretch of the imagination. Since that time the MCA and DAP have both experienced ups and downs in the elections, based on the popularity of their exclusively Malaysia-oriented platforms. No Chinese issue has ever become a focal point of any election. The Malaysian identity consciousness of Malaysian Chinese has long since become soundly and deeply established.

Appendix 1

Chronology of Events in Postwar Malaya (Until the Dissolution of Major Pro-China Organizations)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1945			May– July Overseas Chinese are assaulted by Malays in Johor.	
Aug. 15 Japan's surrender (ending World War II)		Aug. 26 The <i>Min Sheng Pao</i> (Kuala Lumpur) is launched.	Aug.– Mar. '46 Anti-Chinese "holy war" (jihad) by Malays develops in many places.	
Sept. 12 The Japanese army officially surrenders (in Singapore).	Sept. The Malay Nationalist Party (MNP) is formed. Sept. 25–30 The Selangor People's Representative Congress is held. Sept. 27 The Selangor People's Committee is formed. Sept. The Malacca People's Representative Congress is held and the Malacca People's Committee is formed.	Sept. The <i>Xian Dai Ri Bao</i> (Penang) is reissued.		
Oct. 10 The Malayan Union is officially proposed.	Oct. 1 The Singapore New Democratic Youth League is organized. Oct. 22–29 The Negeri Sembilan People's Represent-			

Appendix I (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
<p>1945</p> <p>State and State Proposals</p>	<p>ative Congress is held.</p> <p>Oct. 25 The Singapore Federation of Trade Unions is formed.</p> <p>Oct. 25-30 The Pehang Ulu People's Representative Congress is held.</p>	<p>Dec. 1 The <i>Feng Xia</i>, weekly magazine, is launched.</p> <p>Dec. 8 The <i>Zhan You Bao</i> (Kuala Lumpur), the organ of the MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association is launched.</p>		
<p>1946</p> <p>Jan. 22 White Paper on the Malayan Union is published.</p>	<p>Dec. 1 The Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) is disbanded. The MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association is formed.</p> <p>Dec. 11 The Malayan Democratic Union (MDU) is formed.</p>		<p>Jan.-Feb. A nationwide strike takes place. Deportation of strike leaders to China begins.</p>	<p>Jan.-Feb. Singapore Consulate General reopens (Consul General Wu Paak Shing arrives at his post on February 22) followed by the consulates in Kuala Lumpur (Consul Hsu Meng Hsiung arrives at his post on March 19), Penang, and</p>

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1946				Jesselton (currently Kota Kinabalu).
	<p>Feb. 16 The Pan-Malayan General Labour Union (PMGLU) is formed.</p> <p>Feb. 17 The Angkatan Pemuda Insaf (API: Generation of Aware Youth) is formed.</p>	<p>Feb. The <i>Xian Dai Ri Bao</i> supports Soviet military action in the northeastern region of China only to incur the indignation of overseas Chinese.</p>		
Apr. 1	The Malayan Union is founded (with the termination of British military administration).			Apr. 18 The China Democratic League (CDL) opens its Singapore office.
	<p>May 11 The United Malays National Organization (UMNO) is formed.</p> <p>Around May The Perak People's Committee and the South Johor People's Committee are formed.</p>			
	June The MNP withdraws from the UMNO.			
	Aug. 22 The Selangor People's Committee is			Aug. 13 The Muar Federation for Peace and De-

Appendix I (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1946	dissolved.			democracy in China is formed.
	Sept. 29 The Malayan New Democratic Youth League is organized.			Sept. 25 The Johor Chinese Grand League against the Civil War is formed.
				Oct. The Singapore Federation for Peace and Democracy in China is formed.
		Nov. 21 The <i>Nan Chiau Jit Pao</i> (Singapore) is launched.		
Dec. 24 "The Federation of Malaya" proposal is made public.	Dec. 14 The Council of Joint Action led by Tan Cheng Lock is formed. Dec. 22 The Pan-Malayan Council of Joint Action (PMCJA) led by Tan Cheng Lock and the MDU is formed.		Dec. The MNP is repressed.	
1947	Feb. 17 The PMGLU is re-named the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions (PMFTU). Feb. 22 The Pusat Tenaga			

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1947	<p>Rakyat (Putera) led by the MNP is formed.</p> <p>Feb. 23 The Associated Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce is organized.</p>			
				<p>Mar. The Zhigong Party's Selangor branch is established.</p>
		<p>Apr. 1 The <i>Nan Chiau Ban Pao</i> (Singapore) is launched.</p>	<p>Apr. 15 The Societies Ordinance of 1936 is reinstated.</p>	
	<p>May The Putera-PMCJA alliance is formed. The UMNO adopts a direct membership system.</p>			
	<p>June 3 The Malayan Communist Party (MCP), MDU, MNP, China Democratic League (CDL), and Kuomintang are legalized.</p> <p>June 22 Seven organizations, including the API, PMCJA, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, and</p>			

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1947	New Democratic Youth League, are legalized.			
July 24 A proposed amendment of the Federation of Malaya Constitution is announced.	July The PMCJA incorporates the Associated Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce to form the All-Malayan Council of Joint Action (AMCJA). The Putera-AMCJA alliance is formed.		July 18 The API is illegalized.	
Aug. 10 A People's Constitution is drafted by the Putera-AMCJA.				
Sept. 11 The draft of the People's Constitution is announced.				Sept. 29 The CDL's Malayan branch is established (the First All-Malayan Representative Congress is held on September 27-29).
			Oct. 20 The nationwide <i>harians</i> (general strikes) are staged against the Federation of Malaya Constitution proposal.	

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1947	Nov. 25 Tan Cheng Lock proposes the formation of a Malayan Chinese League.			
1948				Jan. 20 The Kuching Consulate is established with Chen Ying Rong as the first consul.
Feb. 1 The Federation of Malaya is founded.			Apr. The Putera-AMCJA alliance is dissolved.	Apr. 15 The New China News Agency is authorized to open its Singapore branch. Late Apr. The Zhigong Party opens its Malayan general branch.
			May 19 The colonial administration warns the CDL, New Democratic Youth League, PMFTU, and Fujian Association "not to bring foreign politics into the country." May 28 The same warning is issued to the Kuomintang.	May 19 The consulate in Kuala Lumpur is upgraded to consulate general, with the first consul general, Li Qing, arriving at his post in September.

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1948		<p>June 1 The <i>Min Sheng Pao</i> becomes the MCP's official organ.</p> <p>June 17 Publication of the <i>Min Sheng Pao</i> and <i>Zhan You Bao</i> is banned.</p>	<p>June 13 The PMFTU is illegalized.</p> <p>June 18 A State of Emergency is declared nationwide.</p> <p>June 24 The MDU is disbanded. CDL sub-branch activities are suspended.</p>	
			<p>July 23 The MCP, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, New Democratic Youth League, and League of Defenders of the Homeland (Ikatan Pembela Tanahair; Peta) are illegalized.</p> <p>July 25 The AMCJA falls apart.</p> <p>July 27 The Zhigong Party suspends its activities.</p>	
				<p>Aug. Consulates are opened in Ipoh and Malacca with Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma and Cheng Jia Hua as their respective first</p>

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
				consuls.
1949	Feb. 1 The Malayan National Liberation Army is founded. Feb. 27 The Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) is formed.			
			May 12 The CDL and Kuomintang are illegalized.	
			Sept. 11 Kuomintang branches are dissolved.	
				Oct. 1 The People's Republic of China is founded.
			Nov. 10 The hoisting of foreign flags is prohibited in Singapore, and in Malaya and North Borneo in late December.	
				Dec. 15 The Singapore branch of the Kuomintang government's Central News Agency discontinues

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1950				news transmission.
				Jan. 6 The U.K. government recognizes the People's Republic government.
				Jan. 6-8 The Kuomintang government's consulates general and consulates are closed.
				Jan. 7 The Bank of China's general branch in Singapore and branches in Kuala Lumpur and Penang express their loyalty to the new Chinese government.
Jan. 21 The Singapore branch of the Kwang-tung Provincial Bank expresses its loyalty to the new Chinese government.				
	Feb. The Persatuan Ulama ² Se-Malaya (UMNO's religion division) is formed.			Feb. Lu Huai Jun, consul in Kuching, identifies himself with the new Chinese government.

Appendix 1 (Continued)

State and State Proposals	Political Parties and Organizations	Newspapers and Magazines	Political Situation	Sino-Malayan Relations
1950			Apr. 21 The MNP is illegalized in Malaya.	
			May 24 The Briggs Plan (forced relocation of 500,000 Chinese farmers) is announced.	
			June 1 The MNP is illegalized in Singapore.	
				July All staff members of the former Kuching Consulate identify themselves with the new Chinese government.
		Sept. 21 Publication of the <i>Nan Chiau Jit Pao</i> , <i>Nan Chiau Ban Pao</i> , and <i>Xian Dai Ri Bao</i> is banned.		
			Dec. 29 The Mayfair Musical and Drama Society is illegalized.	

Appendix 2

China-Related Public Gatherings, Their Locations, Participating Groups, Events, and Attendance Records, 1945–1958

(1) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1945)

Singapore

- Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce etc.
- Attendance : 30,000 (300 Chinese organizations)

Selangor State

State gatherings

- A. Main sponsor : State Federation of People's Anti-Japanese Unions
- Other sponsors : Literators' Union, Women's Federation, etc.
- Attendance : in the thousands
- Location : Selangor Club Square (present-day Dataran Merdeka)
- Events : reverential telegram to Chairman Chiang Kai-shek; celebration march in the evening.

B. Kuomintang gatherings

- Attendance : 200

Regional gatherings

Kuala Lumpur

- Main sponsor : Popular Arts Research Co.

Kepong

- Main sponsor : four large organizations (names unknown)
- Attendance : over 5,000
- Events : Combined with Celebration of the Selangor People's Representative Congress (Sept. 25–30).

Setapak (held on the evening of October 9)

- Attendance : in the thousands

Rawang

- Guest : British civilian administrators

Banting

- Main sponsors : Workers' Union, Farmers' Union, Commercial Employees' Union, Women's Federation, Youth Union
- Attendance : in the thousands

Kuchau (Malay name uncertain; near Salak Selatan)

- Main sponsors : Youth Union, Workers' Union, Women's Federation
- Other sponsors : Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) etc.
- Attendance : in the thousands

Kuala Selangor

- Main sponsor : various kinds of local Chinese associations and schools
- Guests : many British army members

Jugra

- Main sponsors : Farmers' Union, Workers' Union, Youth Union, etc.
- Participants : MPAJA etc.
- Attendance : over 500

Kelang	
Main sponsors	: Youth Union, Women's Federation, Workers' Union, etc.
Events	: display of portraits of Prime Minister Sun Yat-sen, President Chiang Kai-shek, and Chairman Mao Zedong.
Port Swettenham	(present-day Pelabuhan Kelang)
Tanjung Karang	
Events	: resolution for a telegram expressing eternal cooperation between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), support for MPAJA and the Malayan Communist Party (MCP), etc.
Selangor	
Main sponsors	: various left-wing unions
Kuala Kubu Baru	
Negeri Sembilan State	
Seremban	
Cosponsors	: State Anti-Japanese Union, MCP, MPAJA, etc.
Rompin (?)	
Main sponsors	: Workers' Union etc.
Kuala Pilah	
Main sponsors	: various Chinese organizations, MPAJA, etc.
Attendance	: in the thousands
Events	: reverential telegrams to the MPAJA, the Allied Forces, the Chairman of the Republic of China Government and the leaders of both the KMT and CCP, etc.
Tampin	
Main sponsors	: Anti-Japanese Union etc.
Attendance	: over 2,000
Titi	
Events	: resolution to support the independence movement in Annam (Vietnam) etc.
Pahang State	
Bentong	
Cosponsors	: Kai Mun Primary School, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Shops, Workers' Union, Women's Association
Participants	: representatives of the government, MCP, MPAJA
Attendance	: 2,000
Lower Pahang	
Main sponsor	: Pahang Chinese Celebration Committee of National Celebration Day
Malacca State	
Main sponsor	: People's Committee
Attendance	: in the thousands
Other places	: other gatherings held in 15 places, including Besaroh (?) (Pahang), Sungai Way (Selangor), Sikamat (Negeri Sembilan), Kuala Lipis (Pahang), Mentakab (Pahang), Sungai Selim (Perak), Gemas (Johor).

(Sources: *Min Sheng Pao*, October 9, October 12-13, and October 15, 1945.)

(2) Rallies Opposed to the KMT-CCP Civil War (May-June, 1946)

Johor State (Mid-May)

South Johor (Mid-May)

Singapore

A. Labor unions' rally on May 26.

Main sponsors : Furniture Workers' Mutual Aid Association, Malayan Pineapple Workers' Mutual Aid Society, Bakery Workers' Union, etc.

Attendance : in the hundreds

B. Youth rally on June 1.

Main sponsors : over 10 associations of Malayan New Democratic Youth League (MNDYL), Singapore Chinese Youths' Mutual Aid Society, etc.

Attendance : 5,000

Selangor State

Kuala Lumpur (June 11)

Main sponsor : MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association

Attendance : over 600

Pudu (June 18)

Main sponsors : Workers' Union, Youth Union, Women's Federation, Hawkers' Association, MCP, etc.

Attendance : 500-600

Kelang (June 30)

Main sponsors : MNDYL etc.

Attendance : in the hundreds

Ampang (June 30)

Main sponsors : MCP etc.

Attendance : over 1,000

Negeri Sembilan State (June 22)

Main sponsors : People's Committee, MCP, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Federation, Literators' Union, etc.

Kedah State (June 26)

Main sponsors : MNDYL etc.

Perak State

Taiping (June 28)

Main sponsors : People's Committee etc.

Attendance : in the hundreds

Kampar (June 25)

Main sponsors : MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, MNDYL, Workers' Union, Women's Federation, Chen Long Association, Moi Keng Death Benefit Society, Guangxi Association, Workers' and Farmers' Mutual Aid Society, etc.

(Source: *Min Sheng Pao*)

(3) Farewell Party for Consul Hsu Meng Hsiung (May 5, 1947)

Kuala Lumpur

Participants : 146 Chinese organizations and 100 private guests including Chinese Assembly Hall, etc.

Attendance : in total 600

(4) Anti-Famine, Anti-Civil War, Anti-Dictatorship Rally Responding to the Student Movement of the Homeland (May-June, 1947)

Singapore (May 31)

Participants : Representatives of 174 Chinese organizations; Lee Kong Chian, Li Leung Kie, Ong Guan Hin, Ng Aik Huan, Liu Yun Xian (the Principal of Nanyang Girls' High School), Hsue Yung Shu (the Principal of Hua Chiao High School), Lin Xue Da, Chen Yue Shu, See Tong (Singapore Federation of Trade Unions), Li Ji Zhong, Li Poay Keng, Tan Kah Kee, etc.

Attendance : over 700

Selangor State (June 1)

Participants : Representatives of over 30 organizations of the Zhigong Party, China Democratic League (CDL), MNDYL, Literators' Union, Chinese Workers' Section of the FTU, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, etc.; Kon Voon Sem, Li Jia Yao, Zeng Rong Long, Hu Yi Sheng, Zhang Xiao Guang, Lau Yew, Chow Yam Peng, etc.

Attendance : over 200

Kajang (June 2)

Main sponsors : CDL, Jimei Alumni Association, Women's Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, etc.

Attendance : over 300

Penang State (June 3)

Main sponsors : 54 Chinese organizations: CDL, Penang Chinese Committee against the Civil War, Chinese Workers' Section of the FTU, MNDYL, Women's Federation, etc.

Attendance : over 200

Anti-Famine, Anti-Civil War, Anti-Dictatorship Week, June 6-13 to advertise the movement throughout the state was carried out.

Johor State

Layang Layang (June 1)

Participants : over 70 representatives of the Workers' Union, Farmers' Union, Women's Federation, CDL, etc. Dai Zi Liang, etc.

Tangkak (June 20)

Main sponsors : CDL, MNDYL, Workers' Mutual Aid Society, Rubber Employees' Union, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Mutual Aid Society, Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions (PMFTU), etc.

- Johor Baru (June 2)**
 Participants : Representatives of 26 Chinese organizations:
 CDL, Wood Workers' Union, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Rubber Employees' Union, Batu Pahat Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, MNDYL, Barbers' Union, Grand League against the Civil War in the Homeland, Women's Federation, etc.
- Attendance : 49
- Keluang (June 8)**
 Main sponsors : 23 organizations of the Women's Federation, Building and Construction Workers' Union, Guangxi Association, Workers' Union, Rubber Employees' Union, MNDYL, CDL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Hawkers' Union, etc.; Principals from over ten schools including Yok Eng Primary School (Layang Layang) etc.
- Attendance : over 200
- Muar (June 7)**
 Main sponsors : CDL, MNDYL, etc.
- Attendance : over 100
- Kulai (June 4)**
 Participants : 18 Chinese organizations:
 Chinese Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, Workers' Mutual Aid Society, Barbers' Union, Fui Chiu Association, Women's Federation, Women's Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, MNDYL, etc.
- Attendance : over 50
- Perak State**
Perak State Public Gathering (June 7)
 Main sponsors : 92 organizations of the CDL, Women's Federation, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Gopeng Chinese Association, etc.
- Attendance : in the hundreds
- Teluk Anson (present-day Teluk Intan) (May 30)**
 Main sponsor : CDL
- Attendance : in the scores
- Events : panel discussions
- Pahang State**
Kuantan (June 2)
 Main sponsors : CDL etc.
- Attendance : 60
- Kedah State**
Alor Setar (May 31)
 Main sponsors : CDL, Foochow Association, PMFTU, Women's Federation, MNDYL, etc.
- Sungai Patani (June 18)**
 Main sponsors : 23 Organizations of the CDL, Automobile Association,

- PMFTU, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Promotion Society, Khok Association, Federation of Shop Assistants' Union, etc.
- Attendance : in the scores
- Baling (July 3)
- Attendance : over 300
- Anti-Famine, Anti-Civil War, and Anti-Dictatorship Week throughout central Kedah, June 21-29.
- Malacca State (June 7)
- Main sponsors : PMFTU, CDL, etc.
- Attendance : over 2,000
- Negeri Sembilan State (June 8)
- Main sponsors : 30 Chinese organizations of the CDL, Women's Federation, MNDYL, Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, Kuala Pilah Chinese Association, Tampin Chinese Association, etc.
- Attendance : 200
- (Source: *Nan Chiau Jit Pao, Min Sheng Pao*)

(5) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1947)

Singapore

- A. Main sponsors : CDL, Chinese Workers Section of the Singapore FTU, Women's Federation, MNDYL, Agricultural and Horticultural Association, Teachers' Association, etc.
- B. Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, KMT, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, Thong Tek Reading Room, Qiao Feng Club, etc.
Events : greetings from Chinese Consul General Wu Paak Shing.
- C. Main sponsors : 7 Organizations of the Fujian Association (1,000), Jinjiang Association (over 300), Xing'an Association, etc.; Foochow Association (over 300), New Teochew Society
- D. Various schools (4,000 of 10 schools in Western district alone)
- E. Main sponsors : Comrades' Association of the CNLVC (former Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps) (over 400), Mutual Aid Association of Demobilized Drivers and Mechanics
- F. Main sponsors : Farmers' Union (over 100), Confederation of Singapore Engineering Tradesmen, Rubber Employees' Union, Hong Kong-Swato Shiploading and Unloading Workers' Union (700), Barbers' Union (over 200), 6 labor unions of the Amalgamated Malayan Pineapple Workers Union etc. (in the hundreds)
- G. Main sponsor : MNDYL (over 1,000)
- H. At Changi (over 600) etc.
- I. Lantern parade, mainly sponsored by over 30 Chinese organizations of the Mayfair Musical and Drama Society, etc., with the participation of over 60 Chinese organizations including 4 schools affiliated with the Fujian Association, the Mutual Aid Association of Demobilized Drivers and Mechanics, Women's Mutual Aid Association, Singapore Women Mutual Aid Association of Victims' Families

- Penang State
- A. Main sponsors : over 50 organizations of the CDL, Journalists' Association, New Democratic Co-Progress Association, MNDYL, PMFTU, Federation of Farmers' Unions, Yik Khuen Club, etc.
 - Attendance : over 1,000
 - B. Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese School Teachers' Association, etc.
 - C. Main sponsors : (neutral factions) Penang Importers and Exporters Association, Qiongzhou Association, etc.
- Perak State
- Ipoh
- A. Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 - Events : united rally in the morning.
 - B. Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Federation, MNDYL, Guangdong Association, Fujian Association, Mutual Aid Association of Demobilized Drivers and Mechanics, Chinese Merchants Association, PMFTU, Fui Chiu Association, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, etc.
 - Attendance : 3,000
 - Events : united march, at 4 in the afternoon.
 - C. Main sponsors : CDL, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Federation, PMFTU, etc.
 - Attendance : over 800
 - Events : entertainment gathering of the left wing, at 8 in the evening.
- Pangkor
- Main sponsors : unified rally
 - : MNDYL, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, Women's Federation, PMFTU, Fujian Association, Fishermen's Association, KMT, etc.
- Taiping
- Main sponsors : unified rally
 - : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Fujian Association, etc.
- Tanjung Rambutan
- Main sponsors : unified rally
 - : Farmers' Association etc.
- Sungai Siput
- Main sponsors : unified rally
 - : Chinese Merchants Association etc.
- Keroh
- A. Main sponsors : MNDYL, PMFTU, etc.
 - B. Main sponsors : KMT, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, etc.
- Teluk Anson
- A. Main sponsors : CDL, Guangdong Association, Qiongzhou Association, MNDYL, Women's Mutual Aid Society, Hawkers' Association, Building and Construction Workers' Union, etc.
 - B. Participating organizations unclear.

- Kedah State
- Alor Setar
Main sponsors : unified rally
: Chinese Chamber of Commerce, CDL, MNDYL, Grocers Association, KMT, Chinese Workers Section of the FTU, etc. (Unified through the mediation of the Grocers Association.)
- Gurun
Main sponsors : unified rally
: Chung Hua School, Farmers' General Union of Central Kedah, KMT, MNDYL, Workers' Union, Women's Federation, etc.
- Padang Serai
Main sponsor : National Li Chi Association
- Johor State
- Johor Baru
- A. Main sponsors : CDL, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Federation, Machinery Industry Workers' Federation, Barbers' Association, etc.
- Attendance : over 700
- B. Main sponsors : Chinese Association, KMT, etc.
- Muar
- A. Main sponsors : Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, CDL, MNDYL, Chinese Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Association, etc.
- Attendance : over 600
- Events : telegram to the CDL in China.
- B. Main sponsors : Chinese Association, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps
- Batu Pahat
Main sponsors : unified rally
: over 40 organizations of the Chinese Association, Diligence and Advance Society, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, CDL, Qiongzhou Association, Women's Federation, Rubber Employees' Union, MNDYL, Shop Assistants' Union, Guangdong Association, Fujian Association, etc.
- Attendance : over 2,000
- Keluang
- A. Main sponsors : 21 organizations
- Attendance : over 1,000
- Events : joint student athletic games
- B. Main sponsors : 26 organizations of the MNDYL, Women's Federation, CDL, Chinese Workers' Section of the FTU, etc.
- Attendance : over 1,200
- C. Main sponsor : the Chairman of Kai Ming School Committee
- D. Main sponsors : Chinese Association etc.
- Segamat
- A. Main sponsors : MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, MNDYL, Rubber Employees' Union, Women's Association, Workers' Mutual Aid Society, Hawkers' Association, etc.

- B. Main sponsors : Chinese Association, KMT, Qiongzhou Association, Teochew Association, Rubber Dealers' Association, etc.
- Labis
Main sponsors : Chinese Association, CDL, MNDYL, Rubber Employees' Union, Women's Federation, KMT, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, etc.
- Kulai
Main sponsors : Chinese Association, CDL, Rubber Employees' Union, Women's Federation, KMT, MNDYL, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, Qiongzhou Association, Teochew Association, etc.
- Terengganu State
A. Main sponsors : MNDYL, PMFTU, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Federation, etc.
- B. Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce etc.
- Pahang State
Kuantan
Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, CDL, MNDYL, Women's Federation, Hawkers' Union, Workers' Union, KMT, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, etc.
- Raub
Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, PMFTU, MNDYL, Khok Association, KMT, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, etc.
- Temerloh
A. Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Chung Hwa Alumni Association, Qiongzhou Association, Workers' Union, MNDYL, Women's Federation, etc.
- Attendance : over 1,000
- B. Main sponsors : Kuomintang (KMT), San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps
- Lembing
A. Main sponsors : Chung Hua School, Tin Mines Employees' Union, etc.
- B. Main sponsors : KMT etc.
- Malacca State
Machap
A. Main sponsors : CDL, Chinese Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, Women's Association, MNDYL, etc.
- Events : Telegram to the CDL in China.
- B. Main sponsor : KMT faction
- Selandar
- Malacca
A. Main sponsors : CDL, Chinese Section of PMFTU, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Rubber Employees' Union, Women's Mutual Aid Society, Huilai Association, etc.
- B. Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, KMT, etc.

- Negeri Sembilan State
 Seremban separate rally
 Kuala Pilah unified rally
 Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese Association, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, MNDYL, Rubber Employee's Union, KMT, Chung Hua School, etc.
- Selangor State
 A. Main sponsors : CDL, Zhigong Party, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, PMFTU, MNDYL, Women's Benevolent Society, Hawkers' Association, Fui Chiu Association, etc.
 B. Main sponsor : Chinese Assembly Hall
 Kelang
 Main sponsor : Chinese Chamber of Commerce (not known whether unified or separate rally)
 Kelantan State
 Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese School Teachers' Association, KMT, San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps, Chinese Workers Section of the FTU, Shop Assistants' Union, etc.
- (6) Congresses to Disavow the Appointment of Chiang Kai-shek as the President of the Republic of China (May, 1948)**
- Singapore (May 4)
 Main sponsors : CDL, Democracy Promotion Society, Zhigong Party, Chinese Workers Section of the FTU, Women's Federation, MNDYL, Singapore Chinese Literature Association, Singapore Chinese School Teachers' Association, Agricultural and Horticultural Association, Fujian Association, Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, Comrades' Association of CNLVC, Youths' Promotion Society, etc.
 Participants : 119 organizations with memberships of over 200,000
 Attendance : over 560
 Events : youth rally on May 13 (over 400);
 "Farmers' anti-Chiang rally" on May 18, participated in by the Agricultural and Horticultural Association, Agricultural Mutual Aid Society, Federation of Farmers' Unions, etc.;
 "Workers' anti-Chiang rally" on May 19 participated in by the Rubber Employees' Union, Building and Construction Workers' Union, Furniture Workers' Union, etc.
- Johor State
 Johor Baru (May 4)
 Main sponsors : CDL etc.

- Keluang (May 4)**
 Participants : representatives of 22 Chinese organizations of the Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, Chinese Workers Section of the FTU, Shop Assistants' Association, Chinese Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, Farmers' Mutual Aid Society, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Federation, CDL, MNDYL, etc.
- Attendance : over 30
- Batu Pahat (Date unclear)**
 Main sponsors : over 10 Chinese organizations of the CDL, Rubber Employees' Union, Shop Assistants' Union, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, etc.
- Layang Layang (May 4)**
 Main sponsors : Oil Industry Employees' Union, Farmers' Mutual Aid Society, MNDYL, Women's Federation, CDL, etc.
- Segamat (May 4)**
 Participants : representatives of 16 organizations of the CDL, Sawmills' Employees' Union, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Rubber Employees' Union, Shop Assistants' Mutual Aid Society, Women's Association, MNDYL, etc.
- Attendance : over 30
- Tangkak (May 4)**
 Main sponsors : CDL, MNDYL, Women's Federation, Chinese Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, etc.
- Attendance : in the hundreds
- Events : "Anti-Chiang campaign rally" sponsored by the Federation for Peace and Democracy in China on May 19 (200).
- Muar (May 4)**
 Main sponsors : CDL, Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Rubber Factory Workers' Union, Rubber Employees' Union, Shop Assistants' Union, Women's Association, etc.
- Attendance : 100
- Pagoh**
 Events : resolution passed on April 30 by sponsoring organization representatives for telegrams disavowing Chiang's presidency to be sent to the Malayan branch of the CDL, Singapore Federation for Peace and Democracy in China.
- Selangor State (May 4)**
 Main sponsors : 39 organizations of the CDL, Zhigong Party, Commercial Athletic Club, Rubber Employees' Union, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Tin Mines

	Mechanics' Union, Women's Federation, PMFTU, etc.
Attendance	: 500
Ulu Langat (May 1)	
Main sponsors	: over 20 organizations of the CDL, MNDYL, Rubber Employees' Union, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Amateur Musical Society, etc.
Attendance	: over 1,000
Kelantan State (May 4)	
Perak State (May 4)	
Main sponsors	: 104 Chinese organizations of the CDL etc.
Attendance	: in the hundreds
Teluk Anson (May 5)	
Main sponsors	: CDL, MNDYL, Women's Mutual Aid Society, Forest Workers' Union, Building and Construction Workers' Union, etc.
Kerian (May 5)	
Main sponsors	: MNDYL etc.
Attendance	: over 300
Malacca State (May 2)	
Participants	: representatives of 27 organizations of the CDL, Federation of Trade Unions, Women's Association, etc.
Attendance	: in the scores
Pahang State	
Kuantan (May 4)	
Main sponsors	: MNDYL etc.
Attendance	: over 100
Bentong (May 9)	
Participants	: representatives of the Chinese Workers Section of the FTU, Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, Chinese Section of the Rubber Employees' Union, Shop Assistants' Association, etc.
Attendance	: 200
Mentakab (May 12)	
Main sponsors	: CDL, Chinese Workers Section of the FTU, MNDYL, Chung Hwa Alumni Association, Women's Federation, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, etc.
Negeri Sembilan State (May 4)	
Main sponsors	: Federation for Peace and Democracy in China, CDL, PMFTU, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Kuala Pilah Chinese Association, Tampin Chinese Association, MNDYL, Women's Federation, Mantin Chinese Merchants' Reading Room (Philomathic Union), etc.
Titi (May 19)	
Main sponsors	: MNDYL, Rubber Employees' Union, Farmers' Mutual Aid Society, Women's Federation, etc.
Kedah State	

- Alor Setar (May 2)
 Main sponsors : over 120 organizations of the CDL, Women's Federation, MNDYL, Hawkers' Union, PMFTU, etc.
 Events : preparation committee meeting.
- Baling (May 5)
 Participants : MNDYL, Federation of Farmers' Unions, etc.
 Events : panel discussions
- Sungai Patani (May 4)
 Main sponsors : CDL, Rubber Employees' Union, Traction Employees' Union, Women's Promotion Society, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, MNDYL, Federation of Shop Assistants' Union, etc.
- Terengganu State
 Dungun (May 4)
 Main sponsors : PMFTU, MNDYL, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Women's Federation, etc.
 Attendance : in the scores
 Kemaman
 Main sponsors : MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Rubber Employees', Wood Workers', Shop Workers' and Miners' representatives.
 Attendance : in the scores
 Events : preparation committee meeting on May 9 (details of rally unknown)
- Penang State (May 18)
 Main sponsors : CDL, PMFTU, Women's Federation, MNDYL, Shop Assistants' Union, etc.
 Participants : representatives of 65 organizations with memberships of over 100,000
 Attendance : over 100
- Perlis State
 Kangar (May 4)
 Main sponsors : 8 organizations of the MNDYL, PMFTU, MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association, Farmers' Union, Women's Federation, etc.
- (7) **Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1948)**
 No celebration marches held.
- Singapore
 A. Main sponsors : representatives of 329 Chinese organizations of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce etc.
 Guests : Chinese Consul General Wu Paak Shing, Lim Keng Lian (Vice-chairman of Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission), etc.
 Attendance : in the hundreds
 Events : Congratulatory telegram to the Republic of China government.

- B. Main sponsors : Mayfair Musical and Drama Society and "general Chinese organizations"
- C. Main sponsors : Fujian Association and its four affiliated schools (Nan Ch'iao Girls High School, Tao Nan School, Ai Tong School, Chong Hook Girls School)
- Participants : Tan Kah Kee etc.
- Attendance : about 1,000
- Selangor State
- Main sponsors : Chinese Assembly Hall etc.
- Participants : limited voluntarily to 2 persons per organization
- Location : permit issued for the use of Selangor Club Square in late September, but eventually withdrawn on October 4. The celebration held in the Chinese Assembly Hall.
- Johor State
- Batu Pahat
- Main sponsors : Chinese Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, etc.
- Attendance : over 100
- Kulai
- Main sponsors : Yu Hwa School etc.
- Perak State
- Teluk Anson (present-day Teluk Intan)
- Sponsors : separate gatherings by the Chinese Association, Guangdong Association, Ku Kong Chow Association, etc.
- Taiping
- Main sponsors : Fujian Association, Guangdong Association, Rubber Trade Association, etc.
- Penang State
- Main sponsors : 50 organizations
- (8) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1949)**
 Restricted to indoor events by the British authorities. Chinese and British flags flown together.
- Singapore
- A. Main sponsor : Mayfair Musical and Drama Society
- Participants : representatives of the Journalists' Association, Fujian Association, Teachers' Association, Lung Yen Association, etc.
- Attendance : over 300
- Events : telegrams of support to the Chinese government and Chairman Mao Zedong; evening of performing arts attended by 10,000; PRC flag flown and national anthem sung.
- B. Main sponsors : Fujian Association and its four affiliated schools
- Attendance : 4,491
- Events : PRC flag flown and national anthem sung.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| C. | Main sponsor | : Chinese Chamber of Commerce |
| | Events | : greeting by Chinese Consul General Wu; no reverential telegram to President Chiang Kai-shek. |
| D. | Others | : separate rallies by the Agricultural and Horticultural Association, etc. |
| Selangor State | | |
| | Main sponsor | : Chinese Assembly Hall |
| | Other sponsor | : Consulate general |
| Kelang | | |
| | Main sponsors | : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese Merchants Association, Chinese Rubber Growers' and Trade Association, Chinese Provision and Sundry Traders Association, Fujian Association, Construction Workers' Mutual Aid Society, Qiongzhou Association, etc. |
| Penang State (Reported in October 11–12, 1949 of the <i>Xian Dai Ri Bao</i>) | | |
| A. | Main sponsor | : Chinese Chamber of Commerce |
| | Other sponsors | : 55 organizations including the Toi Shan Ningyang Wui Kwon, Li Tek Seah, Kwangtung and Tengchow Association, Foochow Association, Ming Xin She, Hui Aun Association, Chinese School Teachers' Association, Chung Ling High School, Penang Lodging House Proprietors Association, Chinese Fraternal Society, Chinese Commercial Union, Penang Philomathic Union, etc. |
| | Events | : reverential telegram to President Chiang. |
| B. | Main sponsors | : separate gatherings by the Building and Construction Workers' Association, Tong Sian School, etc.; PRC flag flown and national anthem sung. |
| | Events | : Dinner party (300) sponsored by the <i>Xian Dai Ri Bao</i> |
| Malacca State | | |
| | Main sponsors | : some of Chinese organizations |
| | Events | : PRC flag flown. |
| Johor State | | |
| Muar | | |
| | Main sponsor | : Chinese Association |
| Sarawak | | |
| Sibu | | |
| | Main sponsor | : Youth Association |
| | Attendance | : in the hundreds |
| | Events | : celebration march |
| (Thai government placed a ban on displaying PRC flag.) | | |
| (9) Telegrams of celebration, reverence, and support sent to the government and leaders of the People's Republic of China (September–October, 1949) | | |
| Singapore | | |
| A. | Double Tenth Celebrations rally sponsored by the Mayfair Musical and Drama Society (October 10) | |
| B. | Fujian Association (October 10) | |

Penang State

Xian Dai Ri Bao She (September 28), according to the Sept. 29 issue

Sabah

Api (present-day Kota Kinabalu) (date unclear)

Xie Yi Jian (Chairman of the "Api Chinese Youth Society"), Zhang Xiao Yu, and 100 signers.

Sarawak

Kuching (November 12)

Khek Association, Youth Society, Wharf Workers' Union, Amateur Club, Federation of Coffee Shop Assistants' Union, Chinese Women's Association, Bau Youth Society, Chung Hua Kung Pao Co. (Representatives of half the city population)

Sibu (October 10)

Youth Association

(10) Celebration of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Peoples' Republic of China on January 6, 1950 (January–February, 1950)

(Some locations jointly celebrated the establishment of the People's Republic of China)

Singapore

- A. Main sponsor : Mayfair Musical and Drama Society on January 8
 Attendance : over 1,000
 Events : Cheers of "Overseas Chinese unite", "Let's build a new China", "Promotion of friendship between China and Britain", "The Peoples' Republic forever"; The British and Chinese flags were flown; The new China anthem was sung; Mayfair Musical and Drama Society Chairman Wu Sheng Yu called for effort and cooperation in building both a new Malaya and a new China.
- B. Main sponsors : Mayfair Musical and Drama Society, Teachers' Association, Journalists' Association, New Teochew Society, on January 9.
 Attendance : over 200
(Xian Dai Ri Bao, January 10, evening edition)
- C. Main sponsors : Ee Ho Hean Club, Goh Loh Club, Tanjung Rhu Club, on January 15
 Participants : former Kuomintang supporters, Aw Kow, Lee Kim Chuan, together with such supporters of Tan Kah Kee as Tan Lark Sye, Lee Kong Chian, Ng Aik Huan, Ong Guan Hin, Low Boh Tan, Soon Peng Yam
 Attendance : over 1,000
- D. Main sponsor : Qiongzhou Association, on January 22
 Events : a telegram calling for the liberation of Hainan and Taiwan by the government of the People's Republic.
- E. Labor groups, including the Amalgamated Malayan Pineapple Workers' Union and 9.8 Rubber Workers' Union, decided on January 11 to hold celebrations on the 22nd, but rescinded their decision on the 12th.

Selangor State

Main sponsor : Fui Chiu Association, on January 10

- Events : congratulatory telegram to Chairman Mao Zedong
- Kuala Lumpur
- Main sponsor : Confucian School Old Boy's Association, on January 9
(Reported in the January 10 evening edition of the *Xian Dai Ri Bao*)
- Negeri Sembilan State
- Main sponsor : Rickshaw and Trishaw Workers' Union, on January 7
- Sarawak
- Kuching (January 28)
- Main sponsors : Women's Association, Fujian Association, Federation of Shop Assistants' Union, Wharf Workers' Union, Chinese Commercial Employees' Union, Lei Yang Association, Amateur Club, Kaying Community Association, Thoo Ngiap Association, Chinese Youth Society, Khek Association, etc.
- Attendance : over 1,000
- Events : reverential telegram in the name of the "Grand Assembly for Celebrating the Establishment of both the People's Republic of China and Diplomatic Relations between the PRC and UK" to Chairman Mao Zedong; a celebration march in the evening by 4,000-5,000 participants watched by a crowd of 30,000.
- Sibu (February 17)
- Main sponsors : 17 Chinese organizations of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Khek Association, Foochow Association, Sibu Labourers' Association, Physicians Association, Sibu Carpenters and Mason Association, Vermicelli Association, Youths' Co-Progress Association, Qiongzhou Association, Wharf Workers' Union, Chinese Athletic Club, etc.
- Events : a torch light parade in the evening by several thousand participants watched by a crowd of 10,000.
The enthusiasm of the celebration can be seen in a recently published collection of photographs entitled, *Shiwu huazu shiliao ji* [Historical materials on the Chinese in Sibu], ed. Cai Cun Xiong et al. (Sibu: Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association, 1992), p. 112.
- Sabah
- Api
- A. Main sponsor : Api Chinese Youth Society (January 7)
- B. On January 14 representatives from 23 organizations and 32 individuals convened a 100 odd-member congress and resolved to hold the "Sabah West Coast Chinese Celebration of the China-Great Britain Diplomatic Treaty" on February 17; no information can be found in the *Nan Chiau Ban Pao* or *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* about the gathering being held. (No March issues of these newspapers were available.)

(11) Welcome Back Party for Tan Kah Kee (March 5, 1950)

- Main sponsors : 180 organizations
 Attendance : over 1,000

(All of the above information was taken from the *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* unless otherwise mentioned.)

(12) PRC National Day (October 1, 1950)

Singapore

- Main sponsors : Mayfair Musical and Drama Society
 Other sponsors : 3 organizations
 Participants : local celebrities including prominent businessmen
 Attendance : 3,000
 Events : musical concert, photo exhibit, dinner party; the PRC flag was displayed at several organization offices and schools.

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 1, 1950, Oct. 2, 1951, and Oct. 12, 1952; *Straits Times*, Oct. 2, 1950)

Sibu (Sarawak)

- Main sponsor : Youths' Co-Progress Association
 (Source: Cai Cun Xiong et al. eds., p.112.)

Kuching (Sarawak)

Six Chinese labor unions and trade guilds asked the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to arrange celebrations for October 1, but the Sarawak Government did not approve the celebrations.

(Source: Craig Alan Lockard, *From Kampung to City: A Social History of Kuching Malaysia 1820-1970* [Athens, Ohio: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1987], p. 169.)

(13) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1950)

Singapore

- Main sponsors : 206 organizations of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chung Hsing Club, Cheang Chew Association, Thong Tek Reading Room, Hua Ch'iao Club, Guangdong Association, Khek Association, etc.
 Chairman : Lee Chin Tian
 Attendance : near 1,000
 Events : congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek.

Ipoh

Penang

Seremban

Kelang

Batu Pahat

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, October 12, 1950)

On November 12, the Federation of Malaya government banned schools from observing "political holidays"; the main objects of the ban were the two Chinese National Days during October (Reported on November 18, 1950 in the *Straits Times*).

(14) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1951)

Singapore

- Main sponsors : Nan An Association, Guangdong Association, Thong Tek Reading Room, Chung Hsing Club, etc. (The Chinese Chamber of Commerce only participated in the gathering.)
- Participants : representatives of 226 organizations
- Attendance : over 400
- Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
- Events : ROC flag flown; congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; dinner party (600-700); shops closed, schools closed.

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Sept. 29, and Oct 12, 1951)

Kuala Lumpur

- Participants : representatives of over 100 organizations
- Attendance : over 400
- Location : Chinese Assembly Hall
- Events : Congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek.

Port Swettenham

- Participants : representatives of 33 organizations
- Attendance : over 100
- Events : ROC flag flown and national anthem sung

Kelang

- Main sponsor : Tai Pu Association
- Attendance : over 100

Ipoh

- Chairman : Lau Pak Khuan
- Attendance : over 200
- Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce

Teluk Anson (present-day Teluk Intan)

- Events : shops closed; schools opened as usual.

Seremban

- A. Participants : representatives of 58 organizations of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, etc.
- Attendance : over 100
- Location : Miners' Association
- Events : ROC flag flown and national anthem sung; congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; shops closed.
- B. Main sponsor : Shang Yu Club
- Attendance : over 140

Batu Pahat

- Main sponsor : Chinese Association
- Attendance : over 200
- Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, October 12, 1951)

(15) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1952)

Singapore

- Main sponsors : Chung Hsing Club, Thong Tek Reading Room, Khek Association, Cheang Chew Association, Nan An Association
- Participants : representatives of 236 organizations of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce etc.
- Attendance : over 500
- Events : congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; playing of the ROC and British national anthems; Dinner party attended by 1,000 people including Chua He An, Lee Wee Nam, Lim Keng Lian, Ong Kiat Soo, Chuang Hui Chuan, etc.

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 10 and Oct. 12, 1952)

Kuala Lumpur

- Chairman : Cheong Yoke Choy
- Location : Chinese Assembly Hall

Ipoh

- Attendance : over 300
- Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
- Events : congratulatory telegrams to the Republic of China Government and President Chiang; shops closed; schools opened as usual.

Penang

- Chairman : Ong Keng Seng
- Attendance : 300
- Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
- Events : national anthem played; dinner party attended by 80 organizations.

Kelang

- Main sponsors : 35 organizations of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Guang Zhao Association, Fujian Association, etc.
- Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
- Events : ROC flag flown and national anthem sung

Seremban

- Participants : representatives of 59 organizations
- Attendance : over 200
- Location : Miners' Association
- Events : shops closed; schools opened as usual.

Malacca

- Main sponsor : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
- Attendance : over 1,000
- Events : congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; ROC flag flown and national anthem sung

Keluang

- Main sponsor : Chinese Association

Pontian

Main sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Enlightenment Reading Room, Qiongzhou Association, etc.

The Malayan Chinese Association obeyed a cabinet decision not to participate and notified its members (including those in Singapore) to the effect. Malayan Chinese schools were kept open based on a Board of Education decision.)

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 12, 1952)

(16) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1953)

Singapore

Main sponsor : Chung Hsing Club
 Participants : 127 organizations of the Thong Tek Reading Room, Hua Ch'iao Club, Cheang Chew Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, etc.; chaired by Lee Chin Tian.
 Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Events : ROC flag flown and national anthem sung; British national anthem sung; congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; dinner party attended by 500-600 people; shops closed; schools closed.

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Sept. 15, Oct. 5, Oct. 9, and Oct. 11, 1953)

Perak State

Main sponsor : Building Workers' Union

Muar

Location : Chei Chih Assembly Hall
 Events : congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; shops closed.

Port Swettenham

Main sponsors : 28 organizations of the Chinese Rubber Trade Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, etc.
 Location : Chinese Merchants Association

(Source: All of the above information was taken from the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 13, 1953)

Keluang

Main sponsor : Chinese Association
 Other sponsors : Chinese Chamber of Commerce etc.

Kuantan

Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce

Pontian (Johor State)

A. Main sponsor : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Attendance : over 100
 B. Main sponsor : Enlightenment Reading Room
 Events : many shops closed; schools opened as usual.

Seremban

Main sponsor : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Other sponsors : 64 organizations
 Events : ROC flag flown and national anthem sung; shops closed.

(Source: All of the above information was taken from the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 14, 1953)

(17) Youth Day (March 29, 1954)

Singapore

- Attendance : near 2,000
 Events : congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek.
 (Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, March 30, 1954)

(18) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1954)

Singapore

- Participants : representatives of 215 organizations of the National Benevolent Mutual Aid Society, Chung Hsing Club, Thong Tek Reading Room, etc.
 Attendance : over 400
 Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Events : congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; singing of the ROC and British national anthems; raising of the ROC flags.

(The Chinese Chamber of Commerce was not listed among the members of the preparation committee.)

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Sept. 19, Oct. 10, and Oct. 12, 1954)

Ipoh

- Chairman : Lau Pak Khuan
 Attendance : over 300
 Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce

Penang State

- Chairman : Ong Keng Seng
 Participants : representatives from various organizations and individuals including the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Penang Philomathic Union, Khek Association, etc.
 Attendance : 400
 Location : Khek Association

Seremban

- A. Participants : representatives of 54 organizations
 Attendance : over 100
 Location : Miners' Association
 B. Main sponsor : Shang Yu Club
 Attendance : over 30

Kelang

- Main sponsors : 32 organizations of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Guangzhao Association, Fujian Association, etc.
 Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce

Malacca State

- Attendance : over 1,000

Gatherings also held in Pontian, Kuala Pilah, Keluang, Kuala Selangor, Bidor (Perak), Bentong (Pahang) (Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Sept. 19, Oct. 10, Oct. 12-14, 1954)

(19) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1955)

Singapore

- A. Participants : representatives from nearly 200 organizations
 Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Events : dinner party attended by 400 people.
- B. Youth gathering
 Attendance : in the hundreds
 Location : Federated Teochew Club

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 12, 1955)

Perak State

- Main sponsor : Chinese Assembly Hall

Penang State

- Main sponsor : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Other sponsors : Penang Philomathic Union, Khek Association,
 Kwangtung and Tengchow Association, etc.

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 1, 1955)

(20) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1956)

Singapore

- Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Events : singing of the ROC and British national anthems and
 ROC flag flown; congratulatory telegram to Taipei

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 10, 1956)

Kuala Lumpur

- Main sponsors : Tu Qiang Athletic Society, Fujian Association, Teo
 Chew Pooi Ip Huay Kuan, etc. (Those who yet to hold
 Malayan citizenship). Forty-one organizations partici-
 pated in the preparation committee meeting.
 (The Chinese Assembly Hall declined to sponsor the
 celebration due to its involvement in the citizenship
 acquisition movement.)

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Sept. 30, 1956)

Malacca State

- Chairman : Tan Kee Gak
 Attendance : about 1,000
 Events : ROC national anthem sung; dinner party attended by
 about 500 people; most shops closed; the ROC flag
 unfurled.

Seremban

- Main sponsor : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Location : Miners' Association

Ipoh

- Attendance : over 200
 Location : Chinese Chamber of Commerce
 Events : congratulatory telegram to Chiang Kai-shek; dinner
 party.

Taiping	
Attendance	: in the scores
Events	: dinner party; shops closed.
Penang State	
Chairman	: Ong Keng Seng
Participants	: representatives of 60 organizations
Attendance	: about 600
Location	: Khek Association
Events	: ROC and British flags flown and national anthems sung; congratulatory telegram to the Taiwan government.

(Source: All of the above information was taken from the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 13, 1956)

(21) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1957)

Singapore

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| A. Main sponsors | : Thong Tek Reading Room, Chung Hsing Club, National Benevolent Mutual Aid Society, Cheang Chew Association, etc. |
| Attendance | : over 300 |
| Location | : Chinese Chamber of Commerce |
| B. Main sponsor | : Singapore Youth Society of Academic Studies |
| Attendance | : over 100 |

(Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 12, 1957)

No celebrations held in Malaya (Source: *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Oct. 13, 1957).

(22) Double Tenth Celebrations (October 10, 1958)

No celebrations held in Malaya or Singapore.

Glossary

Agricultural and Horticultural Association	Nongyi Xiehui	農藝協會
Agricultural Mutual Aid Society	Nongye Huzhuhui	農業互助會
Ai Tong School	Aitong Xuexiao	愛同學校
All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese	Zhonghua Quanguo Guiguo Huaqiao Lianhehui	中華全國歸國華僑聯合會
All-Malayan Federation of Farmers' Unions	Quan Malaiya Nongmin Lianhehui	全馬來亞農民聯合會
Amalgamated Malayan Pineapple Workers' Union	Malaiya Huangli Gongyou Lianhe Zonghui	馬來亞黃梨工友聯合總會
Amateur Musical Society	Yeyu Gejushe	業余歌劇社
Anti-Japanese Union	Kangri Lianhehui (Kangri Tongmenghui)	抗日聯合會 (抗日同盟會)
Associated Malayan Chinese Chambers of Commerce	Malaiya Zhonghua Shanghui Lianhehui	馬來亞中華商會聯合會
Automobile Association	Qiche Gonghui	汽車公會
Bank of China	Zhongguo Yinhang	中國銀行
Barbers' Union	Lifa Gonghui	理髮工會
Bau Youth Society	Shilongmen Qingnian She	石龍門青年社
Beijing Drama	Jing Ju	京劇
Beijing Drama Circle of Shanghai	Shanghai Tongle Jingban	上海同樂京班
Building and Construction Workers' Union	Jianzhu Gonghui Lianhehui	建築工友聯合會
Building Workers' Union	Jianzhu Zhigong Zonghui	建築職工總會

Central News Agency	Zhong Yang She	中央社 (中央通訊社)
Chao Mei People's Congress	Chao Mei Gejie Renmin Daibiao Dahui	潮梅各界人民代表大會
Cheang Chew Association (Fujian Province)	Zhang Zhou Shishu Xiehui	漳州十屬協會
Cheang Chew Association	Zhang Zhou Zonghui	漳州總會
Chei Chih Assembly Hall	Qi Zhi Huitang	啓智會堂
Chen Long Association (Guangdong Province, Hakka Clan)	Zeng Long Huiguan	增龍會館
<i>Chiao Sheng Pao</i>	<i>Qiao Sheng Bao</i>	僑聲報
Chief Inspector of Schools	Shixue Dayuan	視學大員
China Democratic League (CDL)	Zhongguo Minzhu Tongmeng	
Chinese Assembly Hall	Zhonghua Dahuitang	中華大會堂
Chinese Association	Zhonghua Gonghui	中華公會
Chinese Athletic Club	Huaqiao Tiyuhui	華僑體育會
Chinese Chamber of Commerce	Zhonghua Zongshanghui	中華總商會
Chinese Commercial Employees Union	Huashang Zhiyuan Lianhehui	華商職員聯合會
Chinese Commercial Union	Shangye Lianhehui	商業聯合會
Chinese Communist Party (CCP)	Zhongguo Gongchandang	中國共產黨
Chinese Fraternal Society	Huaqiao Lianyi She	華僑聯誼社
Chinese Merchants Association	Huashang Gongsuo	華商公所
Chinese National Liberation Vanguard Corps (CNLVC)	Zhonghua Minzu Jiefang Xianfeng Dui	中華民族解放先鋒隊
Chinese People's Committee for Relieving the Overseas Chinese Refugees of Malaya	Zhongguo Renmin Jiuji Malaiya Nan Qiao Weiyuanhui	中國人民救濟馬來亞難僑委員會
Chinese Provision and Sundry Traders Association	Huaqiao Zahua Shanghui	華僑雜貨商會
Chinese School Teachers' Association (Penang) (different from Singapore)	Jiaoshi Hui	教師會

CSTA)		
Chinese School Teachers' Association (Singapore)	Jiaoshi Gonghui	教師公會
Chinese Section of the Rubber Employees' Union	Shujiao Gonghui Huagongbu	樹膠工會華工部
Chinese Union	Huaqiao Lianhe	華僑聯合
Chinese University	Zhongguo Daxue	中國大學
Chinese Workers Section of the FTU	Zhizong Huagongbu	職總華工部
Chinese Youth Society	Huaqiao Qingnianhui	華僑青年會
Chong Hook Girls School	Chongfu Nuxue	崇福女校
Chongqing	Chongking	重慶
Chung Hsing Club	Zhongxing Julebu	中興俱樂部
<i>Chung Hua Kung Pao</i>	Zhonghua Gongbao	中華公報
Chung Hua Kung Pao Co.	Zhonghua Gongbao She	中華公報社
Chung Hua (Hwa) school	Zhonghua Xuexiao	中華學校
Chung Hwa Alumni Association	Zhonghua Xiaoyouhui	中華校友會
Chung Ling High School	Zhongling Zhongxue	鍾靈中學
Clan Association	Hui Guan	會館
Commercial Athletic Club	Gongshang Julebu	公商俱樂部
Comrades' Association of the CNLVC	Minxian Tongzhi Hui	民先同志會
Confederation of Singapore Engineering Tradesmen	Jigong Lianhehui	機工聯合會
Confucian School Old Boy's Association	Zunkong Xiaoyouhui	尊孔校友會
Confucian Secondary School	Zun Kong Zhongxue	尊孔中學
Confucius	Kong Zi	孔子
Construction Workers' Mutual Aid Society	Jianzhugong Huzhuhui	建築工互助會
Day of reverence of ancestors	Qing Ming Jie	清明節
Democracy Promotion Society	Minzhu Cujinhui	民主促進會
Diligence and Advance Society	Qingong Lijin She	勤工勵進社

Dongjiang Overseas Chinese Returning Home Service Troop	Dongjiang Huaqiao Huixiang Fuwutuan	東江華僑回鄉服務團
Double Tenth	Shuang Shi Jie	雙十節
Ee Ho Hean Club	Yihexuan Julebu	怡和軒俱樂部
Enlightenment Reading Room	Juemin Shubao She	覺民書報社
Farmers' General Union of Penang	Bingcheng Nongmin Lianhe Zonghui	檳城農民聯合總會
Farmers' Mutual Aid Society	Nongmin Huzhuhui	農民互助會
Farmers' Union	Nongmin Lianhehui	農民聯合會
Federated Teochew Club	Chaozhou Lianqiao Julebu	潮州聯僑俱樂部
Federation for Peace and Democracy in China	Cujin Zuguo Heping Minzhu Lianhehui (Minlianhui)	促進祖國和平民主聯合會 (民聯會)
Federation of Chinese School Teachers, Singapore	Xingzhou Huaxiao Jiaoshi Zonghui	星洲華校教師總會
Federation of Farmers' Unions	Nongmin Zonghui	農民總會
Federation of Kwangtung Associations, Malaya	Malaiya Guangdong Huiguan Liahehui	馬來亞廣東會館聯合會
Federation of Shop Assistants' Union	Dianyuan Lianhehui	店員聯合會
Federation of Teochew Associations, Malaya	Malaiya Chaozhou Gonghui Lianhehui	馬來亞潮州公會聯合會
Fishermen's Association	Yuye Gonghui	漁業公會
Five-Starred Red Flag (the national flag of the PRC)	Wuxing Hongqi	五星紅旗
Foochow Association	Fuzhou Gonghui	福州公會
Forest Workers' Union	Senlin Gongyou Lianhehui	森林工友聯合會
Fui Chiu Association (Guangdong Province, Hakka Clan)	Huizhou Huiguan	惠州會館
Fujian	Hokkien	福建
Fujian Association	Hokkien Huay Kuan	福建會館
Furniture Workers' Mutual Aid Association	Muqi Gongyou Huzhuhui	木器工友互助會

Furniture Workers' Union	Muqi Gongyou Lianhehui	木器工友聯合會
Fuzhou	Foochow	福州
Fuzhou Association	Foochow Hoay Kuan	福州會館
General Federation of Trade Associations, Perak	Pili Hangtuan Lianhe Zonghui	霹靂行團聯合總會
General People's Association of Relief	Renmin Jiuji Zonghui	人民救濟總會
Goh Loh Club	Wulu Julebu	吾盧俱樂部
Grand League against the Civil War in the Homeland	Fandui Zuguo Neizhan Datongmeng	反對祖國內戰大同盟
Grand Rally of Literators Responding to the Independence Movement	Wenyijie Duli Yundong Huyendo Dahui	文藝界獨立運動呼應大會
Grocers Association	Zahuoshang Gonghui	雜貨商公會
Guang Zhao Association (Guangdong Province)	Kwong Siew Wui Koon	廣肇會館
Guangdong	Kwangtung	廣東
Guangdong Association	Kwang Tung Huay Kuan	廣東會館
Guangxi Association	Kwongsi Wooi Koon	廣西會館
Guangzhou	Kuangchou or Canton	廣州
Guidance Committee for Reopening of Overseas Chinese Schools	Huaqiao Fuxiao Fudao Weiyuanhui	華僑復校輔導委員會
Hainan	Hylam	海南
Hakka Association	Keshu Zonghui	客屬總會
Hawkers' Association	Xiaofan Gonghui	小販公會
Hawkers' Union	Xiaofan Lianhehui	小販聯合會
Hong Kong-Swatow Shiploading and Un- loading Workers' Union	Xiangshan Qixiegong Lianhehui	香汕起卸工聯合會
Hua Ch'iao Club	Huaqiao Julebu	華僑俱樂部
Hua Chiao High School	Huaqiao Zhongxue	華僑中學
Huang Hua Gang	Huang Hua Gang	黃花崗

Hui Aun Association (Fujian Province)	Huian Gonghui	惠安公會
Huilai Association (Guangdong Province, Teochew Clan)	Hooi Lye Kong Hoay	惠來公會
Jieyang	Jieyang	揭陽
Jimei Alumni Association	Jimei Xiaoyouhui	集美校友會
Jinjiang Association (Fujian Province)	Chin Kang Hoay Kuan	晉江會館
Johor Chinese Grand League against the Civil War	Roufo Huaqiao Gejie Fanneizhan Datong-meng	柔佛華僑各界反內戰大同盟
Joint Appeal Committee	Mingyuan Weiyuanhui	鳴冤委員會
Journalists' Association	Jizhe Gonghui	記者公會
Kai Ming School	Kaiming Xuexiao	開明學校
Kai Mun Primary School	Qiwen Xuexiao	啓文學校
Kaying Community Association	Jiaying Tongxianghui	嘉應同鄉會
Khek (Hakka) Association	Keshu (Kejia) Gonghui	客屬(客家)公會
Ku Kong Chow Association (Guangdong Province)	Gugangzhou Huiguan	古岡州會館
Kuching Hakka Community Association	Gujin Keshu Gonghui	古晉客屬公會
Kuomintang (KMT)	Zhongguo Guomindang	中國國民黨
Kwangtung and Tengchow Association	Guangdong Ji Tingzhou Huiguan	廣東暨汀州會館
Kwangtung Provincial Bank	Guangdong Sheng Yinhang	廣東省銀行
Legislative Yuan	Lifa Yuan	立法院
Lei Yang Association (Guangdong Province)	Lui Yang Huoy Kuan	雷陽會館
Li Tek Seah	Li Ze She	麗澤社
Literators' Union	Wenhuaren Lianhehui	文化人聯合會
Lung Yen Association (Fujian Province)	Long Yan Huiguan	龍岩會館
Machinery Industry Workers' Federation	Jiqi Gongye Lianhehui	機器工業聯合會
Malayan Chinese Anti-Enemy Backing-Up Society	Malaiya Huaqiao Kangdi Houyuanhui	馬來亞華僑抗敵後援會

Malayan Chinese Association (later Malaysian Chinese Association)	Malaiya Huaren Gonghui	馬來亞華人公會
Malayan Chinese League	Malaiya Huaren Lianmeng	馬來亞華人聯盟
Malayan Communist Party (MCP)	Malaiya Gongchandang	馬來亞共產黨
Malayan Democratic Union	Malaiya Minzhu Tongmeng	馬來亞民主同盟
Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army	Malaiya Renmin Kangrijun	馬來亞人民抗日軍
Malayan Pineapple Workers' Mutual Aid Society	Malaiya Huangli Gongyou Huzhuhui	馬來亞黃梨工友互助會
<i>Mangu Shang Bao</i> (Bangkok Commercial News)		曼谷商報
Mantin Chinese Merchants' Reading Room (Philomathic Union)	Wending Huashang Yue Shubao She	文丁華商閱書報社
Mayfair Musical and Drama Society	Aihua Yinyue Xiju She	愛華音樂戲劇社
Member of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission	Qiaowu Weiyuan	僑務委員
Memorial Day of the Union of Chinese Printing Workers	Zhonghua Yinshuaye Gonghui Jinianri	中華印刷業工會紀念日
Miners' Association	Kuangwu Huiguan	鑛務會館
Ming Xin She		明新社
Moi Keng Death Benefit Society (Guangdong Province; Hakka Clan)	Meijiang Shanhouche	梅江善後社
MPAJA Ex-Service Comrades Association	Renmin Kangrijun Tuiwu Tongzhi Hui	人民抗日軍退伍同志會
Mutual Aid Association of Demobilized Drivers and Mechanics	Fuyuan Jigong Huzhuhui	復員機工互助會
Mutual Aid Association of the Bereaved Families	Yizu Huzhuhui	遺族互助會
Nan An Association	Lam Aun Hoay Kuan	南安會館
Nan Ch'iao Girls High School	Nanqiao Nuzi Zhongxue	南僑女子中學校
Nanjing	Nanking	南京

Nanqiao Secondary School	Nanqiao Zhongxue	南僑中學
Nanyang Girls' High School	Nanyang Nuzi Zhongxue	南洋女子中學
Nanyang University	Nanyang Daxue	南洋大學
National Assembly	Guomin Dahui	國民大會
National Athletic Games	Quanguo Yundonghui	全國運動會 (全運)
National Benevolent Mutual Aid Society	Guomin Cishan Huzhu She	國民慈善互助社
National Day	Guo Qing Jie	國慶節
National Li Chi Association	Guomin Lizhi She	國民勵志社
National People's Congress	Quanguo Renmin Daibiao Dahui	全國人民代表大會
New Democratic Co-Progress Association	Xin Minzhu Xiejinhui	新民主協進會
New Democratic Youth League	Xin Minzhu Qingnian Tuan	新民主青年團
New Nanyang Press	Xin Nanyang Chubanshe	新南洋出版社
New South Sea Village	Xin Nanyang Cun	新南洋村
New Teochew Society	Xin Chao She	新潮社
<i>New Women</i>	<i>Xin Funu</i>	「新婦女」
9-8 Rubber Workers' Union	Shujiao Jiuba Gonglianhui	樹膠九八工聯會
Oil Industry Employees' Union	Yougongye Gongyohui	油工業工友會
Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (ROC)	Qiaowu Weiyuanhui	僑務委員會
Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee (PRC)	Huaqiao Shiwu Weiyuanhui	華僑事務委員會
Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Army	Huaqiao Kangrijun	華僑抗日軍
Overseas Chinese Chamber of Commerce	Huaqiao Shanghui	華僑商會
Pan-Malayan (later All-Malayan) Council of Joint Action	Quan Ma Lianhe Xingdong Weiyuanhui	全馬聯合行動委員會
Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions	Quan Malaiya Zhigong Lianhe Zonghui	全馬來亞職工聯合總會
Pan-Malayan General Labour Union	Quan Malaiya Geminzu Geye Zong-gonghui	全馬來亞各民族各業總工會 (總工會)
Penang Chinese Committee against the	Binghua Fanneizhan Weiyuanhui	檳華反內戰委員會

Civil War		
Penang Chinese Town Hall	Ping Zhang Huiguan (1883-1974)	平章會館
Penang Chinese Town Hall	Bingzhou Huaren Dahuitang (1975-)	檳州華人大會堂
Penang Importers and Exporters Association	Bingcheng Jinchukoushang Gonghui	檳城進出口商公會
Penang Khék Association	Bingcheng Keshu Gonghui	檳城客屬公會
Penang Lodging House Proprietors Association	Kezhan Gonghui	客棧公會
Penang Philomathic Union	Yue Shubao She	閱書報社
People's Action Party	Renmin Xindongdang	人民行動黨
People's Committee	Renmin Weiyuanhui	人民委員會
People's Political Consultative Conference of China	Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi	中国人民政治協商會議
People's Representative Congress	Renmin Daibiao Dahui	人民代表大會
Perak Fujian Association	Perak Hock Kean Kong Hoey	霹靂福建公會
Physicians Association	Yishi Gonghui	醫師公會
Popular Arts Research Co.	Dazhong Yishu Yanjiushe	大眾藝術研究社
Qiao Feng Club	Qiaofeng Julebu	僑峰俱樂部
Qiongzhou Association (Hainan Island)	Khengchew Hwee Kuan	瓊州會館 (海南島)
Relief Fund Association	Chouzhen Hui	籌賑會
Representatives' Congress of All Malayan Registered Guilds and Associations	Quan Ma Zhuce Shetuan Daibiao Dahui	全馬註冊社團代表大會
Representatives' Congress of Malayan Chinese Athletic Societies	Malaiya Huaqiao Tiyujie Daibiao Huiyi	馬來亞華僑體育界代表會議
Republic of China calendar	Zhonghua Minguo Li	中華民國曆
Rickshaw and Trishaw Workers' Union	Renli Sanlunche Gonghui	人力三輪車公會
Rubber Employees' Union	Shujiao Gongyohui	樹膠工友會
Rubber Employees' Union	Shujiao Gonglianhui	樹膠工聯會
Rubber Trade Association	Shujiao Gonghui	樹膠公會

San Min Zu Yi Youth Corps	Sanminzhuyi Qingnian Tuan	三民主義青年團
Selangor Chinese Women's Li Chi Association	Funu Lizhishe	婦女勵志會
Shang Yu Club	Shangyu Julebu	商余俱樂部
Shanghai	Shanghai	上海
Shantou	Swatow	汕頭
Shop Assistants' Association	Dianyuan Gonghui	店員公會
Shop Assistants' Mutual Aid Society	Dianyuan Huzhuhui	店員互助會
Shop Assistants' Union	Dianyuan Gongyouhui	店員工友會
Sibu Carpenters and Mason Association	Shiwu Tumu Gonghui	詩巫土木工會
Sibu Hakka Association	Shiwu Keshu Gonghui	詩巫客屬公會
Singapore Chinese Anti-Enemy Mobilization Council	Xingzhou Huaqiao Kangdi Dongyuan Zonghui	星洲華僑抗敵動員總會
Singapore Chinese Journalist Club	Huaren Jizhe Julebu	華人記者俱樂部
Singapore Chinese Journalists' Association	Xinghua Jizhe Gonghui	星華記者公會
Singapore Chinese Literature Association	Xinghua Wenyi Xiehui	星華文藝協會
Singapore Chinese School Teachers' Association	Xingzhou Huaxiao Jiaoshi Gonghui	星洲華校教師公會
Singapore Chinese Youths' Mutual Aid Society	Xinghua Qingnian Huzhushe	星華青年互助社
Singapore Federation of Trade Unions	Xingjiapo Zhigong Lianhe hui	星加坡職工聯合總會
Singapore Federation of Journalists	Xinjiapo Jizhe Lianhui	新加坡記者聯會
Singapore Women Mutual Aid Association of Victims' Families	Xingzhou Beijianzhe Jiashu Funu Huzhuhui	星洲被檢者家屬婦女互助會
Singapore Youth Society of Academic Studies	Xingzhou Qingnian Xueshu Yanjiuhui	星洲青年學術研究會
South Fujian Chamber of Commerce	Min Nan Shanghui	閩南商會
Southeast Asia Federation of China Relief Funds	Nanyang Geshu Huaqiao Chouzen Zuguo Nanmin Zonghui	南洋各屬華僑賑祖國難民總會

State Federation of People's Anti-Japanese Unions	Zhou Renmin Kangri Lianhe Zonghui	州人民抗日聯合總會
Suffering overseas Chinese	Nanqiao	難僑
Tai Pu Association	Da Pu Tong Xiang Hui	大埔同鄉會
Tanjung Rhu Club	Danrongyu Julebu	丹戎禺俱樂部
Tao Nan School	Daonan Xuexiao	道南學校
Teo Chew Pooi Ip Huay Kuan	Chaozhou Bayi Huiguan	潮州八邑會館
Teochew Association (Guangdong Province)	Chaozhou Gonghui	潮州公會
Thong Tek Reading Room	Tongde Shubaoshe	同德書報社
Thoo Ngiap Association	Tuye Gonghui	屠業公會
Tin Mines Employees' Union	Xikuang Gongyou Lianhehui	錫鐵工友聯合會
Tin Mines Mechanics' Union	Xikuang Jigong Lianhehui	錫鐵機工聯合會
Toi Shan Ningyang Wui Kwon (Guangdong Province)	Taishan Ningyang Huiguan	台山寧陽會館
Tong Sian School	Tong Shan Xuexiao	同善學校
Traction Employees' Union	Yunshu Gonghui	運輸工會
Tu Qiang Athletic Society	Tu Qiang Tiyuhui	圖強體育會
United Chinese School Committee's Association of Perak	Pili Huaxiao Dongshihui Lianhehui	霹靂華校董事會聯合會
United Chinese School Teachers' Association of Malaya (later, Malaysia)	Malaiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui (Jiao Zong)	馬來亞華校教師會總會 (教總)
Vermicelli Association	Mianye Gonghui	麵業公會
White Chinese	Bai Hua	白華
Witness of Wedding	Zheng Hun	証婚
Women's Association	Funu Xiehui (Funuhui)	婦女協會 (婦女會)
Women's Benevolent Society	Funu Cishanhui	婦女慈善會
Women's Federation	Funu Lianhehui	婦女聯合會 (婦聯)
Women's Fraternal Society	Funu Lianyihui	婦女聯誼會

Women's General Federation	Funu Lianhe Zonghui	婦女聯合總會
Women's Mutual Aid Society	Funu Huzhushe	婦女互助社
Women's Promotion Society	Funu Cujinhui	婦女促進會
Wood Workers' Union	Muye Gongyohui	木業工友會
Workers' Mutual Aid Society	Laogong Huzhuhui	勞工互助會
Workers' Union	Gongren Lianhehui (Gong Lian)	工人聯合會 (工聯)
Xiamen	Amoy	廈門
Xing'an Association (Fujian Province)	Hin Ann Hui Kwun	興安會館
Yik Khuen Club (Yi Qun Club)	Yiqun Julebu	益群俱樂部
Yok Eng Primary School, Layang Layang	Laiyang Yuying Xuexiao	賴央育英學校
Youth Association	Qingnian Xiehui	青年協會
Youth Day	Qing Nian Jie	青年節
Youths' Co-Progress Association	Qingnian Xiejinhui	青年協進會
Youths' Promotion Society	Qingnian Cujin She	青年促進社
Youth Union	Qingnian Lianhehui (Qing Lian)	青年聯合會 (青聯)
Yu Hwa School	Yuhua Xuexiao	育華學校
Zhejiang	Chekiang	浙江
Zhigong Party	Zhigongdang	致公黨

Personal Names

Local Romanization	Pinyin	
	Cai Cun Xiong	蔡存雄
	Cai Gao Gang	蔡高崗
Chua He An	Cai He An	蔡和安
Chua Hui Seng	Cai Hui Sheng	蔡暉生
	Cai Ren Long	蔡仁龍
	Cao Ju Ren	曹聚仁
Tan Kah Kee	Chen Jia Geng	陳嘉庚
Tan Lark Sye	Chen Liu Shi	陳六使
	Chen Ping	陳平
Tan Kee Gak	Chen Qi Yue	陳期岳
	Chen Shao Xian	陳紹賢
	Chen Yan	陳炎
	Chen Ying Rong	陳應榮
	Chen Yue Shu	陳岳書
Tan Cheng Lock (Tun Sir)	Chen Zhen Lu	陳楨祿
	Cheng Jia Hua	程家驊
Chui Kwei Chiang	Chui Gui Qiang	崔貴強
	Dai Zi Liang	戴子良
	Dang Xiong	當雄
	Di Ya	迪亞
	Ding Ming	丁明
	Fang Jun Zhuang	方君壯 ^a
	Fang Tu	方圖
Ko Teck Kin	Gao De Gen	高德根
	Gao En	高恩
	Gong Bo	公伯
Ku Hung Ting	Gu Hong Ting	古鴻廷
Kon Voon Sem	Guan Wen Sen	官文森
	Guang Ming	光明
	Guo Rui Ren	郭瑞人
Quek Sin	Guo Xin	郭新
	He Jia Yu	何家瑜
Ho Lai Eng (?)	He Li Ying	何勵英
Ho Ju Khoon	He Ru Qun	何如群
	He Xiang Ning	何香凝

Local Romanization	Pinyin	
Ang Shih Shih	Hong Si Si	洪絲絲
Aw Kow	Hu Jiao	胡蛟
	Hu Wei Fu	胡偉夫
Aw Boon Haw	Hu Wen Hu	胡文虎
	Hu Xuan Ze	胡旋澤
Hoo Ah Kay	Hu Ya Ji	胡亞基
	Hu Yi Sheng	胡一聲
	Hu Yu Zhi	胡愈之
Ng Liang Chiang	Huang Liang Zheng	黃兩正
	Huang Lu Ping	黃綠萍
	Huang Sheng	黃聲
	Huang Tian Xi	黃天錫
Ng Aik Huan	Huang Yi Huan	黃奕歛
Chiang Kai-shek	Jiang Jie Shi	蔣介石
Kua Bak Lim	Ke Mu Lin	柯木林
	Kuang Da	鄺達
Kuang Kuo Hsiong	Kuang Guo Xiang	鄺國祥
	Lang Zhu Gao	廊主高
	Li Gong Yi	李公儀
Lee Kong Chian	Li Guang Qian	李光前
Lee Kuan Yew	Li Guang Yao	李光耀
	Li Ji Zhong	李基中
	Li Jia Yao	李家耀
Lee Kim Chuan	Li Jin Quan	李金泉
Lee Khoon Choy	Li Jiong Cai	李炯才
Li Leung Kie	Li Liang Qi	李亮琪
	Li Neng Geng	李能梗
Li Poay Keng	Li Pei Qiong	李佩瓊
	Li Qing	李琴
	Li Shi Qiao	李世僑
Lee Tiat Min	Li Tie Min	李鉄民
	Li Wei Gang	李維剛
Lee Wee Nam	Li Wei Nan	李偉南
Lee Hau Sik (Tun Sir)	Li Xiao Shi	李孝式
	Li Xun	勵遜
Lee Chin Tian	Li Zhen Dian	李振殿
	Lin Bing Yin	林丙寅
Lim Lian Geok	Lin Lian Yu	林連玉
Lim Keng Lian	Lin Qing Nian	林慶年
	Lin Shao Chuan	林少川
Lim Boon Keng (Dr.)	Lin Wen Qing	林文慶
Lim How Seng	Lin Xiao Sheng	林孝勝
	Lin Xue Da	林學大

Local Romanization	Pinyin	
Lau Pak Khuan	Liu Bo Qun	劉伯群
	Liu Wei Chi	劉維織
Low Boh Tan	Liu Wu Dan	劉武丹
Lau Yew	Liu Yao	劉堯
	Liu Yun Xian	劉韻仙
	Lu Huai Jun	呂懷君
	Lu Xin Yuan	盧心遠
Loh Kok Wah	Luo Guo Hua	駱國華
	Luo Ruo Xue	羅若雪
Haji Ibrahim T. Y. Ma	Ma Tian Ying	馬天英
	Mao Zedong	毛澤東
	Meng Bo	孟博
	Miao Xiu	苗秀
	Ouyang Changda	歐陽昌大
	Peng You Zhen	彭友真
Khoo Shin Min	Qiu Xin Min	邱新民
Khiu Chow Fooi	Qiu Zhao Fei	丘肇飛
Niew Shong Tong	Rao Shang Dong	饒尚東
Sim Mow Yee	Shen Mu Yu	沈慕羽
	Shen Si Ming	沈思明
See Tong	Shi Dong	史東
	Shu Ping	叔平
Soon Peng Yam	Sun Bing Yan	孫炳炎
Sun Yat-sen (Dr.)	Sun Yi Xian	孫逸仙
(Sun Mun)	(Sun Wen)	(孫文)
(Sun Chung-shan)	(Sun Zhong Shan)	(孫中山)
T'ien Eng Seng	Tian Ying Cheng	田英成
Heng Pek Koon	Wang Bi Jun	王璧君
	Wang Can Bao	王參保
Wang Gung Wu	Wang Geng Wu	王廣武
Ong Kiat Soo	Wang Ji Shi	王吉士
Ong Keng Seng	Wang Jing Cheng	王景成
	Wang Li Shen	王李深
	Wang Mo Ren	王謨仁
	Wang Ting Jun	王廷俊
Wang Siow Nan	Wang Xiu Nan	王秀南
Ong Guan Hin	Wang Yuan Xing	王源興
Wu Paak Shing (Dr.)	Wu Bo Sheng	伍伯勝
	Wu Feng	吳風
Ngow Wah	Wu Hua	吳華
	Wu Li	無历
	Wu Sheng Yu	吳盛育
Ng Chin Keong	Wu Zhen Qiang	吳振強

Local Romanization	Pinyin	
	Xiang Dong	向東
Cheah See Kian	Xie Shi Jian	謝詩堅
Cheah Boon Kheng	Xie Wen Qing	謝文慶
	Xie Yi Jian	謝一堅
	Xin Hua	新華
	Xing Guang	星光
Hsu Meng Hsiung	Xu Meng Xiong	許孟雄
	Xu Xia	許俠
Hsue Yung Shu	Xue Yong Shu	薛永黍
	Yan Jin Di	顏進迪
Yong C. F.	Yang Jin Fa	楊進發
Yeo Kim Wah	Yang Jin Hua	揭金華
	Yi Xing	伊行
	Ying Zi	穎子
Eu Chooi Yip	Yu Zhu Ye	余柱業
	Zeng Rong Long	曾榮隆
Cheong Choo Kun	Zhang Chu Kun	張楚琨 ^b
	Zhang Ming Lun	張明倫
Teo Chin Seng	Zhang Qin Sheng	張芹生
	Zhang Xiao Guang	張曉光
	Zhang Xiao Yu	章嘯宇
Cheong Yoke Choy	Zhang Yu Cai	張郁才
	Zhang Zhuang Fei	張壯飛
Tay Koh Yat	Zheng Gu Yue	鄭古閱
Cheng Tien Hsi	Zheng Tian Xi	鄭天錫
Teh Sin Kwang	Zheng Xin Guang	鄭心廣
	Zhong Heng	重衡
	Zhou Enlai	周恩來
	Zhou Nan Jing	周南京
Chew Pei Ching (?)	Zhou Pei Zhuang	周佩莊
Chow Yam Peng	Zhou Yang Bin	周洋濱
	Zhu Qi Zhuo	朱奇卓 ^c
Chuang Hui Chuan	Zhuang Hui Quan	莊惠泉
	Zhuang Xi Quan	莊希泉

^a In Lee Khoo Choy the Chinese characters 方君莊 are used for 方君壯.

^b In Lee Khoo Choy the Chinese characters 蔡楚坤 are used for 張楚琨.

^c In Lee Khoo Choy the Chinese characters 朱奇作 are used for 朱奇卓.

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