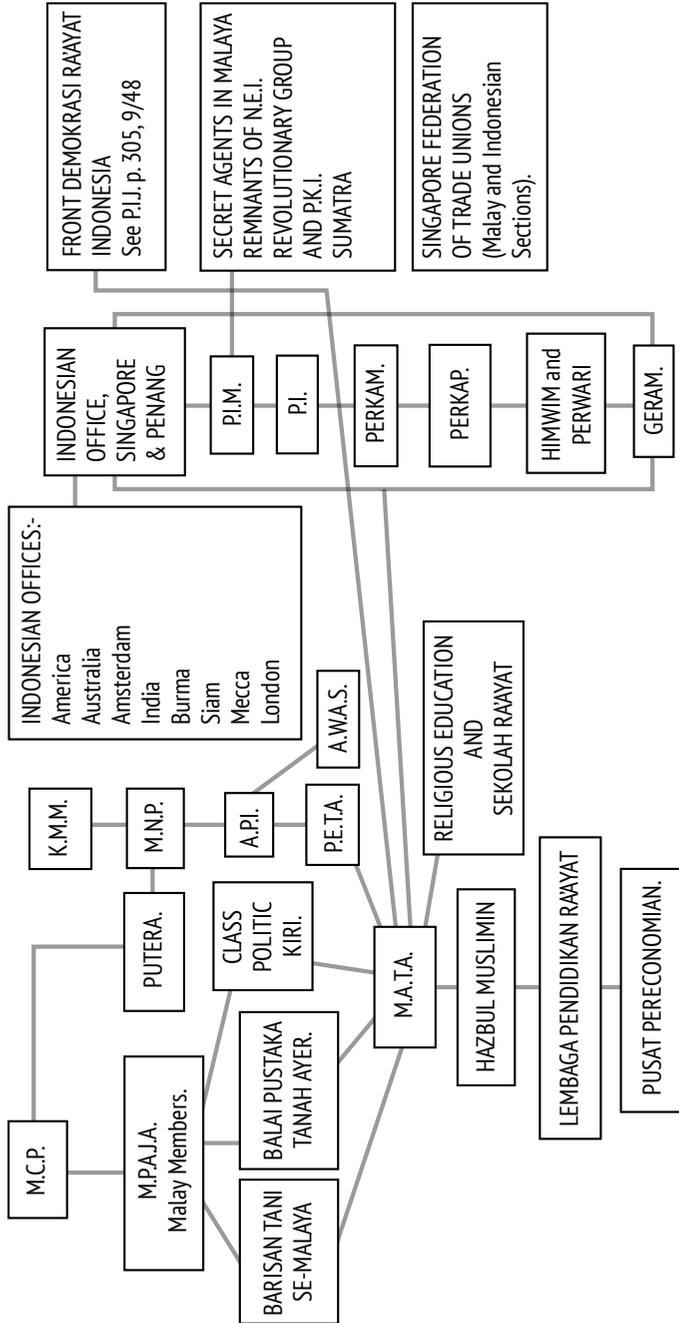


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## Appendices

# Appendix 1 Diagram of Communist & Left-Wing Malay and Indonesian Political Movements



**Key to Diagram**

M.C.P.	Malayan Communist Party.
M.P.A.J.A	Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army.
PUTERA	Pusat Tenaga Ra'ayat. (Malay Council of Joint Action).
BARISAN TANI SE-MALAYA	Peasants' Union, Malaya.
BALAI PUSTAKA TANAH AYER	Patriotic Publishing House.
CLASS POLITIC KIRI	Left-wing Political Class.
M.A.T.A.	Majlis Islam Tertinggi. (Supreme Islamic Council).
HAZBUL MUSLIMIN	Muslim Political Council.
LEMBAGA PENDIDIKAN RA'AYAT	People's Cultural Association.
PUSAT PERECONOMIAN	Economic Council.
K.M.M.	Kesatuan Melayu Muda. (Malay Youth Union).
M.N.P.	Malay Nationalist Party.
A.P.I.	Angkatan Pemuda Insaf. (Enlightened Youth League).
P.E.T.A.	Pembela Tanah Ayer. (Youth Defence Corps).
A.W.A.S.	Angkatan Wanita Sedar. (Assocn. Of Enlightened Women).
P.I.M.	Persatuan Indonesia Merdeka. (Indonesian Independ. Movement).
P.I.	Persatuan Indonesia. (Indonesian Association).
PERKAM	Perpaduan Ra'ayat Kalimantan. (Assocn. Of People of Borneo).
PERKAP	Persatuan Kurinchi Peranakan. (Kurinchi Association).
HIMWIM	Himpoean Wanita Indonesia Malaya. (Indonesian Women's Welfare Assocn.)
PERWARI	Persatuan Wanita Republic Indonesia. (Indonesian Women's Association).
GERAM	Gerakan Angkatan Muda. (Youth Movement).
FRONT DEMOKRASI RA'AYAT INDONESIA	People's Democratic Front of Indonesia.

Source: Secret, J.D. Dalley, Supplement no. 5, "Malay and Indonesian Communists", *MSS Political Intelligence Journal* no. 11/48 dated 15 June 1948.

## Appendix 2

### Supplement no. 9 of 1948 issued with Malayan Security Service *Political Intelligence Journal* no. 14/48 dated 31 July 1948

*This paper may have been Dalley's parting shot at MIS/SIFE before he departed from the political scene in Singapore to emphasize, as it were, that MIS/SIFE would not have been able to produce a report of this kind as it did not employ its own secret agents in Singapore/Malaya and had to rely for information on the local Special Branch.*

*He may have issued it, too, to counter the allegation that was often made that he was too "Malay oriented" and did not pay sufficient attention to the Malayan-Chinese dominated MCP.*

*Dalley's paper is not particularly elegantly written, has some omissions and appears to have been written in haste — perhaps for the reasons mentioned above. But it does nevertheless indicate his understanding of the MCP's aims.*

#### A REVIEW OF MALAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY POLICY.

##### Introduction [by MSS]

While the danger is still present and the smell of gunpowder is still in our nostrils it is important to look back and examine how this situation was permitted to arise in order that with determination equal to that with which the Emergency is now being tackled we may prevent a recurrence when the danger has receded.

The ensuing review of M.C.P. policy, supported by documentary evidence wherever possible, is submitted for this purpose together with landmarks of Government policy and other factors which may have had a bearing on the prolonged struggle between the two. (Some conclusions are given on the last page.)

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MALAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY POLICY.

1. In 1943 the M.C.P announced a 9-point programme which included:-

“(1) Drive out Japanese Fascists from Malaya and established [*sic*] a Malayan Republic.

(5) Reorganise the Malayan People’s Anti-Japanese Army into a regular army for national defence.

(9) Unite with U.S.S.R. and China to uphold the independence of Far Eastern oppressed races.”

2. In January 1945 the M.C.P. compiled “an analysis of the international situation and notes on the Malayan revolution” which contained the following passages:-

i. The M.C.P. is the only political party which has all along been leading the revolution in Malaya.

ii. All around Malaya are colonies in which revolutionary struggle against oppression and racial emancipation are being carried out by revolutionary organisations. They cannot achieve success unilaterally. Concerted action is necessary and there should be a common aim, unified policy and identical slogans.

iii. Today (1945) the anti-Fascist Allies (Britain and the U.S.A.) are reliable. Their attack on the Japanese is positive but this cannot bring about a change in their capitalistic policy.... If the Malayan people want to achieve their complete emancipation they must be self-reliant, expand their own strength and be prepared for a more determined and a more bitter bloodshed struggle.”

3. By August 27<sup>th</sup> 1945 the M.C.P. had deemed it wise to revise and reduce their previous policy from 9 points to 8 points, from which the following are those corresponding to the points quoted in Para. 1:-

“(1) Support the democratic alliance of Soviet Russia, China, Britain and America. Support the new international peace organisation.

(8) Treat the anti-Japanese armies kindly and help the families of the fallen warriors.”

Note: With regard to point (8) above, information obtained in June 1948 shows that the M.P.A.J.A. ex-Service Association were planning a large scale swindle to obtain demobilization gratuities for non-existent personnel, the money to go to the M.C.P. and not to members of the M.P.A.J.A. or their families.

4. In August or September 1945 the leaders of the M.C.P., then under WRIGHT alias LOI TEK (萊特) [Lai Teck] were said to have been offered the use of Japanese troops and arms to fight against the incoming Allied forces. WRIGHT refused this offer.

5. In September 1945, immediately after the liberation, the M.C.P. organised movements to mobilize the forces of labour, youth and women.

6. October 10<sup>th</sup> 1945 was one of the first days of celebration after the liberation and LIM AH LIANG (林亞亮) of the Singapore Town Committee of the M.C.P. commemorated this Double Tenth with an article in the Chinese press from which the following is a quotation:-

“We should not forget that it is through Soviet Russian leadership and sympathy for the weak and small nations and

the oppressed masses that China's successful war of national liberation and the Allied victory over world Fascism have been made possible."

7. On October 25<sup>th</sup> 1945 the inauguration ceremony was celebrated in Singapore of the General Labour Union, forerunner of the Singapore Federation of Trade Unions, and the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions. The organisers were pre-war leaders of the underground Red Labour Union now in 1945 free to operate unhindered.

### **[MCP Manifesto on Current Situation]**

8. On November 7<sup>th</sup> 1945 the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution was commemorated by the M.C.P. with the issue of a manifesto on the current situation and coloured printed posters calling upon the people to follow the lead of the Soviet. A brief summary translation of the main portion of the M.C.P. manifesto is as follows:-

This printed booklet entitled "M.C.P MANIFESTO ON CURRENT SITUATION" dated 7<sup>th</sup> November 1945, published by the Central Executive Committee of Malayan Communist Party and addressed to the dear brethren of all races in Malaya extols the remarkable achievements of the Communist Party of U.S.S.R. in abolishing the capitalist system and emancipating the Russians from poverty and servitude and then establishing in their stead a democratic Soviet Russia in which peasants, workers and the intelligentsia now all live in equality, freedom and happiness. It says that Soviet Russia is the champion for world peace and world security. It advocates the abolition of race oppression and the unreasonable social system of exploitation of men by fellow beings. It traces the historical facts from 1935-1939 showing

how the U.S.S.R. worked incessantly for a united front against the Fascist challenge but was betrayed by capitalist powers with the Munich intrigue plunging the world into a great catastrophe, but thanks to the immense strength of the Red forces the anti-Fascist war was brought to a victorious end." "But, however", the manifesto points out, "this success is temporary and the danger of war still exists for the following reasons:

- 1) Reactionary elements in many countries are still actively trying to revive the old form of domination to oppose democratic rule.
- 2) Reactionary elements are still trying to keep the small and weak nations in Eastern Europe and the Balkans in the hands of the puppets of the Capitalist Class, controlled by the Powers, but denying them their right of self-determination.
- 3) The British, Dutch and French Imperialists are bent on maintaining their system of colonial Government in Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia."

### **[Demobilization of MPAJA, 1 December 1945]**

9. On December 1<sup>st</sup> 1945 the M.P.A.J.A. handed in arms and was officially demobilised. The return of arms was claimed to be highly satisfactory but in spite of this it is now believed that the M.P.A.J.A. retained a secret army of over 4,000 men and that they may have retained a large number of arms previously reported as unaccounted for after parachute drops. The demobilised open army at once formed M.P.A.J.A. ex-Service Associations in all important districts, thus maintaining their organisation in being.

10. On December 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 the inauguration ceremony was celebrated of the New Democratic Youth League [N.D.Y.L.] representing the culmination of the M.C.P.'s efforts to reorganise the pre-war Communist Youth League.

11. In January 1946 the Party held its 8<sup>th</sup> Central Extended meeting at which WRIGHT was re-elected with universal acclaim as Secretary-General to the Party in spite of the circulation of accusations that he had betrayed the Party to the Japanese. In an article on the "present short-comings of the Party" it was agreed that the Party had not shown sufficient initiative in leading the masses and had relied too much upon the opportunist policy of following up behind the natural reactions of the people freed from the Japanese yoke.

12. In January 1946 a working plan for the unification of all Malaya was drawn up by the Central Executive Council describing the chief lines of policy in the labour and youth movements and for propaganda work. It is recorded in this plan that the "N.D.Y.L. should be regarded as an advanced political body of youths and as a first step Communist Youth Corps. The N.D.Y.L. should come within the jurisdiction of the Communist Youth Organisation".

Under propaganda, a list of anniversaries is given including the "15<sup>th</sup> February - Fall of Malaya". Although not mentioned in the document it is known that the Communists wished to celebrate this day as marking the date from which they took over control of Malaya from the defeated British in 1942.

With regard to labour an interesting warning is given in this plan as follows:- "Beware of the possibility of the British Imperialists importing labour into Malaya from Siam and other places as this will affect the establishment of Party strong-points in industry and the sponsoring of labour movements".

13. On January 29<sup>th</sup> 1946 the M.C.P. through G.L.U.s [General Labour Unions] tested its strength with a general strike which lasted for two days. It was regarded as a sweeping success by the M.C.P. The B.M.A. refrained from taking action under the Trade Dispute Ordinance against the organisers for calling an illegal strike.

### **[MSS Opinion of MCP]**

14. On February 14<sup>th</sup> 1946 the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the B.M.A. was obliged, if it was to continue to exist, to take action against the Singapore Town Committee of the M.C.P. for publication of seditious articles in the press defying the Administration's ban on processions and assemblies in celebration of February 15<sup>th</sup> in the manner referred to in paragraph 12. Ten Communist labour leaders or propagandists were arrested and subsequently banished. LIM AH LIANG (林亞亮), leader of the Singapore Town Committee, was arrested on the following day for obstructing the police and taking out a procession illegally and was subsequently convicted for rioting and also on two counts of sedition. It is known that it was WRIGHT himself who called off more widespread extremist operations at the last moment. This action by the B.M.A. had a very sobering effect on the activities of the M.C.P. but it was pointed out at the time in a memorandum dated February 19<sup>th</sup> 1946 that

“it is our (M.S.S.) opinion and the opinion of the majority of the Chinese population that if the present Communist Party is permitted to continue to exist as a legal society, it will become impossible for the British Government to maintain control and we may as well stop trying to do so now. Even though drastic action is taken for a short period and everyone detained is expelled from

the country, the same dangerous situation will soon arise again if the Communist Party is not declared illegal. We compare the Communist Party to a fruit tree which is rotten. No matter how many times the fruits are plucked, all are bad, and it would be much better to cut down the tree.”

In spite of this the Supreme Allied Commander showed the greatest reluctance to issue expulsion orders for the ten leaders arrested and he left the matter over to be decided as the very first act of the Civil Government on its resumption of authority on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1946.

### **[Outline for Malayan People’s United Front]**

15. On March 1<sup>st</sup> 1946 the M.C.P. issued a booklet entitled “An Outline for the Malayan People’s United Front”. This contained the following passage:-

“Based on the situation strategy of the Comintern, the strategy of the M.C.P. is to conduct and consummate a democratic revolution – which is to say an anti-Imperialist and a ‘landed property’ revolution – in order to build up a nation after the Soviet pattern with an absolutely democratic government of the industrial and rural masses, which is the prerequisite for a social revolution. Such indeed is the ultimate objective of the Malayan democratic revolution.”

It also contained plans for co-operation on an opportunist basis with the Malayan Democratic Union, the Malay Nationalist Party and with capitalists for specific objects of mutual advantage.

### **[1 May 1946 Labour Day Rallies]**

16. On May 1<sup>st</sup> 1946 the first monster Labour Day rallies were

held throughout the country and they demonstrated the capable organising capacity of the Party and an attitude of defiance towards any authority not imposed by their own officials. The Party appeared to have recovered completely from the set-back received in February 1946.

17. June 22nd 1946 was celebrated by the Party as the anniversary of the outbreak of war between Soviet Russia and Germany and the Soviet was again extolled as “the star of salvation of the weaker races of the world”.

18. In July 1946 the Central Executive Committee issued a review of the current international and Malayan situation from which the following are extracts:

“The duplicity of American foreign policy in Europe and China, aided and abetted by British reactionaries, is interpreted as an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-Democracy move on the part of the capitalist bloc.”

“Since the political development of Malaya is closely related to British Imperial policy, which is anti-Soviet and anti-Communist, political reform as advocated at the present moment is only meant as a temporary measure to dampen the fighting spirit of the people, gain time and place on firm ground colonial rule.”

[Missing Sections in Dalley’s report]

...exemption or registration. The M.C.P. in common with the K.M.T. [Kuomintang], C.D.L. and other political organisations staged a protest against the re-introduction of this Ordinance

which they deemed to be an infringement of free political rights. At the last moment the Government sought means of extricating itself from this awkward situation and amended the Ordinance to permit the Governor in Council to grant exclusion from the provisions of the Ordinance to established political organisations amongst which the M.C.P. and its satellites, the M.P.A.J.A ex-Service Association, the N.D.Y.L. and the Women's Federation were accepted.

### **[Wu Tian Wang Propaganda Tour]**

27. On June 17<sup>th</sup> 1947 WU TIAN WANG (伍天旺) returned from the United Kingdom and proceeded on a propaganda tour of Malaya. It is known that he was disappointed with the lukewarm reaction of the British Communist Party towards M.C.P. affairs. One tangible result of the conference was the distribution by the M.C.P. of newsletters to a number of Empire Communist Parties, but they have received very little in response. WU TIAN WANG (伍天旺) is believed to have been appointed a correspondent of the *Daily Worker* and also to have been given free cable facilities to the left-wing press agency Telepress, but has made little or no use of either of these facilities.

28. In June or early July 1947 the M.C.P. held its 9<sup>th</sup> Central Extended Conference at which a further plan was adopted to unite the masses (details are not available).

### **[Iron Discipline of MCP 1947]**

29. In June 1947 the M.C.P. issued "The Iron Discipline of the M.C.P. 1947". This contains details of the probationary period for qualification as a member of the Party which varies from 3 months in the case of the working class to 9 months or possibly

15 months in the case of the better educated. The following quotation from a chapter on "Obedience" is of interest:-

"Organisations of the lower stratum shall be obedient to organisations of the upper stratum in carrying out resolutely all resolutions and instructions received from the latter. At the same time, the organisations of the upper stratum shall have power, if deemed necessary, to dissolve or reconstitute organisations of the lower stratum. This is a method by which it is possible to maintain unanimity in the Party. Otherwise, there will be several groups in the Party, and there will be no central orders and no concerted actions."

30. In July 1947 the Selangor State Committee issued a booklet showing that in the past 18 months the strength of the Party in that State had steadily decreased and that only 27% of the Party members in the State were installed in Trade Unions. 29 members had been expelled or had left the Party.

### **[All Malaya Council of Joint Action, July 1947]**

31. In July 1947 the M.C.P. issued policy instructions on support for the All Malaya Council of Joint Action from which the following are quotations:-

- 1) The Party should support the Council of Joint Action, a propertied class set-up, at its initial stage of unity and induce it to take part in the Party-organised struggles, so that the democratic elements of which it is composed may improve and advance themselves. It is the aim of the Party to make this propertied class democratic movement become a branch of the people's democratic movement.

- 2) The Party, in its endeavour to bring the propertied class to align itself with the people's united front, should modify its own slogans and draw up a programme to be based on the needs of the propertied class as well as those of the labourers and peasants.
- 3) The Party should strive to win the respect and recognition of the propertied class for itself and for the labour and peasant forces. The Party would stand a better chance of attaining and maintaining a legal status if it were respected and its services appreciated by the propertied class. The Party must not allow itself to become the "tail" of the democratic movement, but it should have its own slogans and programme of activities and it should also create a solid mass force, having the innumerable labourers and peasants as its backbone. The Party should also support the propertied class democratic movement and help it to intensify struggles.
- 4) The Party should not be content with the announcement of anti-feudalist (anti-Sultans) slogans. It should exploit the conflict between the people's united front and the feudalist force, and artfully bring it to a climax at an early date. It should also employ the combined forces of the people, the Malay force in particular (note:- the M.N.P. are commonly referred to with XXs), to undermine the power and influence of the feudalists in the cause of anti-imperialist struggles.
- 5) The Party should show its respect for the Malay race by giving them concessions in its programme. The Party's Malay members who are participating in

XX (M.N.P.) activities should conceal their political identity and resort to secret techniques so as to avoid misunderstanding on the part of XX, which might think the Party is trying to manipulate its organisation and to gain control of its lower strata. Whatever proposals or requests for co-ordination of efforts the various State or District Party organisations may put before XX, they should relate to problems of the Malay race so that the Malay section will not be led to think that the Party is making use of the Malay force to support Chinese activities and also to further their interests.”

A warning was issued also about the weakness of the A.M.C.J.A.

### **[World Federation of Democratic Youth Convention, Prague]**

32. On July 4<sup>th</sup> 1947 CHEN TIAN (陳田) and LEE SOONG (李送) were sent by air to attend the World Federation of Democratic Youth Convention at Prague. They are known to have met Soviet officials in Paris. It is stated by the Perak prisoner, whose interrogation report has already been quoted, that there were three objects of this visit to Europe:-

- (a) To find out if WRIGHT had escaped to Europe.
- (b) To investigate his claims to international Comintern status in Europe.
- (c) To discover what support could be expected from Communists in Europe for a revolt in Malaya.

The same source reports that these two were successful in exposing WRIGHT's false claims but did not bring back any promise of

support for the M.C.P. owing to distance. CHEN TIAN was said to have been particularly disappointed with the British Communist Party which had tendencies towards the Right and was not extreme enough.

33. On August 10<sup>th</sup> 1947 the A.M.C.J.A. / PUTERA Group announced agreement upon the adoption of their so-called People's Constitution. The Singapore M.C.P. representative issued a statement that the Party would support the People's Constitution although it did not go as far as the Party would wish.

34. On August 16<sup>th</sup> 1947 LIM AH LIANG, Singapore M.C.P. leader, was released from prison and given a riotous welcome by the M.C.P. Although he was a more important leader than the ten men banished in April 1946, although convictions for criminal offences had been recorded against him and although there was not a single dissenting voice on the Advisory Council when his banishment was put up for consideration the Singapore Government decided that he would be regarded primarily as a political prisoner and that banishment action would be contrary to the spirit of instructions received from the Secretary of State.

35. On August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1947 the M.C.P. made much propaganda out of the funeral of an Indian coolie who was shot by the police in the Singapore Harbour Board while resisting lawful police action. An unruly and truculent procession was formed which adopted an anti-white and anti-police attitude.

36. On August 27<sup>th</sup> 1947 the M.C.P. went one better still on the occasion of the funeral of LIM AH LIANG who had died from natural causes on the previous day. Government were openly accused of being responsible for his death and many speeches and statements with a seditious tendency were made. An even larger and more unruly procession was taken through the town

and several excesses committed. The Party was at the peak of its exuberance during the period from August 16<sup>th</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> in marked contrast to its deflation after the action taken by the B.M.A. in February 1946 when LIM AH LIANG had been the ring leader. Such a complete reversal could not but be expected to breed an air of over-confidence in the M.C.P. and of bewilderment among the public at the apparent weakness of the Government.

37. On September 16<sup>th</sup> 1947 the C.E.C. issued a policy direction on how to make use of the strength of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the anti-Constitution campaign. A warning is given that the People's Constitution, the objective of the A.M.C.J.A. / PUTERA Group, must be kept firmly in view and the people must not be allowed blindly to follow the Chinese capitalists to any other goal. This was a piece of pure opportunism always strongly suspected and now confirmed.

38. On October 20<sup>th</sup> 1947 occurred the combined Hartal, the one occasion when even K.M.T. members of Chinese Chambers of Commerce were aligned with the M.C.P. against Government.

39. On November 20<sup>th</sup> 1947 CHEN TIAN and LEE SOONG returned from Europe.

40. In December 1947 the committee on WRIGHT reported results and it was decided to expel him from the Party. It was decided to announce this gradually step by step down the Party.

41. From the beginning of the year rumours of a third world war, which had been referred to as early as November 7<sup>th</sup> 1945 (see Para. 8 above), began noticeably to increase in intensity. It is thought that these rumours were deliberately spread as a part of M.C.P. propaganda policy.

### [Chou En Lai's Advice, 1948]

42. In January or February 1948, the Perak Communist under interrogation states, the M.C.P. sent a messenger to Hongkong to seek China Communist Party advice from CHOU EN LAI (周恩來) upon a revolt in Malaya. The latter is said to have replied that in a colony bloodshed was the only means of achieving a Communist revolution.

43. On February 1<sup>st</sup> 1948 the new Federation Constitution was introduced without much ado except in Singapore where the Communist-controlled S.F.T.U. decided, independent of instructions from the All-Malaya C.J.A., to call a one-day strike which did not cause very great inconvenience as February 1<sup>st</sup> was a Sunday.

44. On February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1948 LEE SOONG left by air to attend the South East Asia Youth Conference at Calcutta.

45. On February 15<sup>th</sup> 1948 the Pan-Malayan F.T.U. held a meeting in Singapore in celebration of its second anniversary. The Singapore M.C.P. representative CHANG MIN CHING (張明今) spoke and reminded his audience not to forget that February 15<sup>th</sup> was a day of vengeance and sorrow for the Malayan people as well as the day on which the P.M.F.T.U. was inaugurated. He went on to say that:-

“Bloodshed marked the inauguration of the P.M.F.T.U. two years ago. At that time the British Government made use of tanks and machine guns to suppress the people. Such action only increased the indignation and unity of the people. The British Government also made every attempt to undermine the Trade Union Movement.”

### **[Lance Sharkey, Australian Communist Party]**

46. On February 22<sup>nd</sup> 1948 L. SHARKEY, leader of the Australian Communist Party, passed through on his way to the Indian Communist Party Conference in Calcutta on February 26<sup>th</sup>.
47. On February 25<sup>th</sup> 1948 it is believed, from a secret source, that Dr. PHAM NGOC TACH, VIETNAM Communist leader, desired TAN PENG (陳平) alias CHEN PIN (陳平) M.C.P. leader, to attend a meeting in Bangkok.
48. From March 9<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> L. SHARKEY was in Singapore in transit for Australia after attending the Indian Communist Party Conference.
49. On March 16<sup>th</sup> 1948 the M.C.P. Central Executive Committee issued instructions to State Committees upon how labour should be organised to resist police action in labour disputes and cause sabotage.

### **[MCP Central Executive Committee 4th Plenary Conference, March 1948]**

50. From March 17<sup>th</sup> to March 21<sup>st</sup> 1948 the M.C.P. Central Executive Committee held its 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Conference. Full details are not known but the following are extracts from a resolution entitled: "Existing Situation" which was passed at this Conference:

"A fundamental change has taken place in the postwar International situation. As a result of her winning the war against Fascist aggressors, U.S.S.R. has emerged as a determining factor and enabled the democratic influence of the people adhering to socialism to occupy a transcendent position in the postwar world arena. This is made possible by the military defeats suffered by

the Fascist bloc, by the diminution during the war of the strength of Imperialism, thereby laying bare the emaciated condition of her capitalism after the war.”

“The serious split in the policies of these two camps (Imperialist and anti-Imperialist) has rendered it no longer possible for the world Powers to come to a compromise to co-operate. Instead, national, political, economic, ideological and sectional military struggles are spreading and tending daily to assume serious proportions. Confronted with such serious struggles some are inclined to ask: “Is there a possibility of another world war breaking out?” Whilst it is true that Imperialism now is putting more efforts into preparation for war than before, it is equally true that the strength of the peoples throughout the world for checking a war of aggression is greater now than ever before. Therefore, a distinction must be drawn between the theoretical efforts and aspirations of the Imperialists, which drive them to plan for war, and the practical possibility of their being able to organise for such a war. This is because it is one question whether they are thinking of fighting or not, and quite another whether they are “able to fight or not. This, however, is not to say that as a natural consequence war will never come because we must recognise the fact that as long as Imperialism exists, so long will the danger of war remain. Therefore, it is neither right to become panicky and lose one’s self-confidence upon hearing about the danger of war, nor is it right to adopt a carefree, complacent attitude and so relax one’s vigilance in the face of preparations for war on the part of the Imperialists.”

“Therefore, the danger facing the anti-Imperialist struggle of the labouring class and the people today lies in their underestimating their own strength while over-rating the

strength of the Imperialist camp. It must be clearly understood that in the world situation today, the leading power does not lie with Imperialism but with the peoples throughout the world. The dominant position is not occupied by Imperialism but by Socialism. The strength of the world anti-Imperialist democratic camp far transcends that of the Imperialist anti-democratic camp. While Imperialism is daily weakening and fading away through a series of crises, Socialism and the world democratic strength are marching on unchallenged. By reason of the fact that the colonial peoples are the direct objective of exploitation of the Imperialists, the emancipation struggles in colonies have become an important and inseparable component part of the anti-Imperialist struggles of the peoples throughout the world. There are several points in the postwar policy of the Imperialists in suppressing the national emancipation movement in colonies viz:

### **[Colonial Suppression of National Emancipation Movement]**

- 1) Resorting to military intervention and to armed attacks, hoping thereby to undermine the young Republics.
- 2) Setting up “independent nations” that actually do not enjoy any real independence, or enforcing “federal systems”, hoping thereby to pacify the struggle spirit of the people and to break the unity of the people.
- 3) Carrying out the policy of “divide and rule”.
- 4) Assisting in the growth of the feudalistic influence and the bourgeoisie, with a view to making them the running dogs of the Imperialists, and helping them to set up puppet governments, so as to divert the attention of the people from the real object of their struggle, and so combine to launch an attack on the people.

“All this, however, does not indicate that the foundation of the colonial rule of the Imperialists is becoming more stable, but shows in fact that that foundation is becoming more and more shaky in the face of strong resistance put up by the colonial people. The attacks launched by the Imperialists, coupled with the existence of some vacillating and traitorous upper stratum elements within the colonies, have given rise to new difficulties in the way of the emancipation movements in colonies, but the war has altered considerably the position in colonies, for the peoples have all awakened, and are resolutely pursuing the road to struggle. The wave of national emancipation is rising incessantly and the peoples in colonies are ceaselessly launching their counter-attack on the Imperialists. Under these circumstances, it is imperative that a new method must be adopted for the colonial people’s struggle. This is by establishing a united front with the lower stratum workers and peasants as its foundation, by abandoning and delivering a blow to those few renegades of the upper stratum and by a widespread rallying of the masses, by means of practical action, to defeat Imperialist policy and to strive for complete independence and emancipation. And under the many phases of the situation, an armed struggle (i.e. the people’s revolutionary war) is inevitable. For this reason, armed struggle bears a particularly important significance. In the struggles of the broad masses of the people within Imperialistic countries themselves and in their colonies, the world Communists are shouldering the most glorious task in history. It is clear that today only the Marxist Party – the Communist Party – is able to resolutely lead the masses to proceed with the anti-Imperialist struggle, to shoulder the task and responsibility involved, and to continue the struggle until complete victory is achieved. The peoples of the world are certain to support the leadership of the Communist Party, and unite within its fold.”

“Although after the war, the British Imperialists have brought into effect certain improvements, yet it is not because of their sign-board of socialism, nor is it a gift from them, but because pressure has been brought to bear on them by the people. But such improvements are only preparatory measures by which to launch their attack in a devious way. Therefore, it is wrong to repose any hope in the British Parliament, in the Labour Party government and in her ‘improvement’ tactics.”

“The conflict between the British Imperialists and the people is manifested in two phases: firstly economically, because of the intensification of exploitation of the British Imperialists, causing thereby a daily increasing suffering and hardship of the people, to which it is most imperative that we should start to take counter-measures, and secondly politically, because the British Imperialists are gradually wresting from the people whatever little democratic freedom they have, thereby creating widespread dissatisfaction among the people. It is imperative that we must struggle to strive for the basic human rights. These two phases of conflict continue to spread, and are becoming more and more acute daily.

In the course of this struggle, a change has taken place which indicates the weakening of the British Imperialists and the growth in that of the people, for the former has more and more to rely solely on their machineries of government to maintain their rule, while the latter, having been greatly disillusioned, being dissatisfied with, and even harbouring hatred for the British Imperialists and being greatly awakened, are continually increasing in their strength.

The demands or object of the struggle of the masses (more especially the labouring class) today though they principally involve the improvement of livelihood, do not stop short at

that. The maniacal policy of the British Imperialists has changed the masses today from what they were before. They demand struggles everywhere and are not afraid of the attack of the British Imperialists. The masses realise that holding talks or negotiations are useless. What they must do is engage in a united and determined struggle.

Economically, the bourgeoisie in Malaya are of a vassal-like character, while politically they are either vacillating or tending to be opportunist. Therefore there is little possibility of their opposing the British Imperialists today. The strength of the struggle of the masses must essentially depend on the lower-stratum workers and peasants for its foundation.

This Party has had a long revolutionary history in Malaya. The masses know that this Party is one that renders service to the people, and is in the front line in maintaining the struggle. The struggle of the masses today needs the direction of this Party to lead them on with determination until victory is achieved."

### **[Lee Song Returns from Calcutta, 22 March 1948]**

51. On March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1948 LEE SONG returned from Calcutta via Burma where he had been in touch with the Burma Peasant Organisation.
52. On March 26<sup>th</sup> 1948 D. PUHALO, W.F.D.Y. delegate to the Calcutta Conference, arrived from Rangoon, where he had been inciting the peasants to resist Government, and addressed a meeting of the N.D.Y.L. in Singapore. He was detained and expelled within 24 hours.
53. During the first week in April the rubber workers in several factories in Singapore showed signs of organised and truculent

resistance to lawful police action after their factories had been closed down and they had been given legal dismissal terms.

54. From April 5<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> the P.M.F.T.U. held its annual conference in Singapore at which it was made quite clear that the policy thenceforth was to be complete self-reliance and disregard for official mediation. All the regular Communist leaders of the P.M.F.T.U. were re-elected to office.

55. On April 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 1948 the following entries were recorded in a diary belonging to the North Johore guerrilla leader TAN KAN (陳幹) who was killed in action on July 8<sup>th</sup>:-

“April 8<sup>th</sup> 1948. The month of May is the time of struggle. It is the time when the oppressed revolt against the evil spirits and executioners, fighting a bloody battle. The great month of May I look forward to you.”

“April 9<sup>th</sup> 1948. Returned to Kluang today and making preparations to take part in the ... meeting. This is a very important meeting, it is the turning point of our work. Our policy, since the time of the anti-Japanese campaign, has been a wrong one. We seem to have fallen and surrendered into the doctrine of the rightists. Now is the time to wind up affairs. Human beings are born to struggle. It is hard to live in a Colonial Empire. To yield to hateful favours and to endure will not do any good, it is death. The way out is to stand united and to fight.”

**[Singapore Harbour Labour Union,  
10 April 1948]**

56. On April 10<sup>th</sup> the Singapore Harbour Labour Union issued seditious pamphlets from which the following is an extract:-

“Our strength of struggle cannot be overshadowed (sic) by the plotting, deceit and cunning measures of the British Imperialists. During the last 2 years odd the British Imperialists with their armed police have frustrated our strikes, culminating in 5 shooting incidents in which altogether 3 fellow labourers were killed. Several of those supervisors who maintained “order” during strikes were arrested and beaten and furthermore supervisor ANG KAH SENG (洪加成) is about to be banished by the British Imperialists.... All our fellow workers must settle these dripping drops of blood debt with the British Imperialists. We have already contracted with the British Imperialists such an enmity that both parties can no longer exist under the same sky. We have already got rid of our illusions about the British Imperialists and we are confident of our strength. All difficulties can be fundamentally solved only by the strength of our unity. If the employers continue to be obstinate and ignore the labourers’ strength by being stubbornly reactionary to the end, we will start a sanguinary struggle against the British Imperialists with more intensity and on a larger scale.”

### **[MPAJA Security Instructions, 15 April 1948]**

57. On April 14<sup>th</sup> police action was taken against the S.H.L.U. and several arrests were made.
58. On April 15<sup>th</sup> 1948 the M.P.A.J.A. issued security instructions regarding documents, photographs, passes, etc. (Agent B.2).
59. On April 17<sup>th</sup> 1948 until the end of the month the S.F.T.U. did their utmost to maintain a strike in the Singapore Harbour Board and on several occasions hand-grenades were thrown and other acts of violence committed. In spite of this the strike was

unsuccessful, partly due to K.M.T. intervention but more, it is thought, to a fall in the labour market.

### **[MCP New Line Policy, April 1948]**

60. On or before April 20<sup>th</sup> 1948 an article appearing over the name of CHENG CHIEH (鄭傑), a member of the Central Executive Committee of the M.C.P., was published in Chinese. This article contains indications of the adoption of a new line of policy by the M.C.P. The following is a quotation:-

“Until recently our Party had committed very serious mistakes in the course of struggles. Such mistakes originated from our Party’s political line which, as pursued until recently, was one of rightist opportunism. It was manifested by our Party’s abandonment of the programme for national liberation immediately after the war. Under the influence of such an opportunist line our Party was hoping against hope that Britain might reform her policy in Malaya and this in turn resulted in the unconditional yielding of our Party in the face of the British Government’s reactionary offensives.... Under the influence of such an opportunist line our Party also committed certain mistakes in the course of “supporting the Constitutional struggle. We gave our support to the People’s Constitution although its basic contents were incorrect. Its basic viewpoint was one of wistfully hoping that Imperialism might automatically reform its policy. Another mistake that we committed in connection with the Constitutional campaign was the mechanical separation of the top level activities among the various political bodies from the mass movement.”

61. On April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1948 the S.F.T.U. staged a one-day strike in protest against search of their premises in connection with the offence of sedition committed by the S.H.L.U.

62. On April 24 and 25<sup>th</sup> 1948 the A.M.C.J.A./PUTERA held a conference in Singapore at which it was agreed that \$4000 out

of the anti-Constitution fighting fund totalling \$8000 should be given to the S.F.T.U. to aid persons on strike. Resolutions were adopted to fight against “the Red bogey campaign”. TAN CHENG LOCK (陳禎祿) was eased out of his position as Chairman of the A.M.C.J.A.

63. On April 28<sup>th</sup> the S.F.T.U. defiantly challenged the decision of the Colonial Secretary that no procession should be allowed on May Day. This challenge was withdrawn on the following day after the Government had in return cancelled permission for a May Day assembly which had previously been granted.

### **[Labour Day, 1 May 1948]**

64. On May 1<sup>st</sup> 1948 Labour Day was celebrated very quietly in the Federation and not at all in public in Singapore. The Singapore M.C.P. representative issued a statement from which the following is an extract:-

“Reactionaries are not strong and are no cause for fear. They are handicapped by numerous difficulties and weaknesses.

Being more weakened after the war, they have already lost their prestige. The Malayan democratic forces which won a victory over the Japanese Fascists will not withdraw in the face of intimidation.

If we fail to realise our own strength, become frightened or disheartened, or should we yield or compromise and depend on mediation and arbitration, our fate will be inevitable.

We do not want bloodshed but the authorities want us to shed our blood. We want tranquillity in Malaya but the authorities have created chaos.”

The M.C.P. representative also said that under a financially weakened Imperialist British Government there was absolutely no hope of rehabilitation in Malaya.

65. On May 5<sup>th</sup> 1948 the M.P.A.J.A. held an executive council meeting in Kuala Lumpur. (Details not available).

66. By May 15<sup>th</sup> 1948 there were signs of mobilization of armed mobile corps in the Federation.

### **[Expulsion of Wright (alias Lai Tek)]**

67. On May 28<sup>th</sup> 1948 the C.E.C. issued a pamphlet explaining the reasons for the expulsion of WRIGHT alias LOI TEK from the Party. This included the following extracts regarding policy:-

“After peace was declared, the policy fixed by him was essentially a ‘running dog’ policy, traitorous to the cause of the revolution. It can be clearly seen that he had been in league with the Imperialists to sabotage the revolution.”

“Comrades of Central have endeavoured their utmost in getting the Party to turn away from a blind alley to a new path as evidenced by the recent fixing of a new policy which has gained the full and unanimous support of comrades of the entire Party.”

68. At last on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1948, when the house had been burning for over two months and the fire could no longer be disregarded, the Secretary of State consented to the proscription of the M.C.P. and its satellites in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore.

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### **[MSS Conclusions of Review, 31 July 1948]**

Conclusions drawn by M.S.S. from this review are as follows:-

- 1) M.C.P. policy was completely dominated by the traitor WRIGHT both before and after the liberation and his

prestige was so great that although he had run away in March 1947 it was not until December 1947 that the leaders of the Party considered that they had sufficiently convincing proof to be able to face the lower levels with the news of his exposure.

- 2) The opportunist policy adopted by WRIGHT continued after his departure until the end of 1947 when the extremists in the Party began to adopt a new line as they gradually became assured that they had survived the news of the expulsion of WRIGHT.
- 3) It is probable that the final decision to adopt a policy of violence was made at the C.E.C. meeting held in March 1948. The first stage was a stiffening on the labour front resulting in widespread labour agitation, particularly in Singapore and Johore during April. The second stage, of open armed revolt, was by April 9<sup>th</sup> already being looked forward to by the Johore leader, TAN KAN, for the month of May but the firm action taken by the Singapore Government in April may have affected their plans.
- 4) While it is obvious that external factors have influenced the change in M.C.P. policy since January 1948, in the absence of any definite evidence on this point no more can be said than that, at a minimum, external circumstances may have raised hopes, if they did not actually bring instructions, but that the immediate cause of the change could have been developments entirely internal, namely, reaction to WRIGHT's treachery, lack of progress, and frustration over alleged British restrictions, particularly the policy towards Trade

Unions. Since 1943 the M.C.P. has been endeavouring to build up an organisation through which they could bring about an armed revolt against the Governments of Malaya. There have been numerous indications that it was their intention to bring about such a revolt sooner or later and once they had completed their period of consolidation and eradicated the influence of WRIGHT the stage was set. Events in Europe and events in neighbouring countries would indicate that the time was set by external influences.

- 5) On the question of prevention it is only possible to say that internal measures, free from hampering external considerations such as effect on world opinions at a period when delicate international negotiations were taking place, could have lessened the magnitude of the Emergency if the Governments had tackled it in their own good time but there have always in any case existed conditions for an inevitable clash. As to prevention of a recurrence, until the people as a whole have shown themselves able to withstand organised intimidation by recourse to law there is no alternative but to ban any organisation, trade union or political party which is even suspected of using intimidation, as the M.C.P. has done, as a means of progress.

MALAYAN SECURITY SERVICE  
31<sup>st</sup> July 1948  
Singapore.