

By the same author:

ACROSS THE RIVER (as Richard Jocelyn)
THE LONG LONG WAR
PROTEST AND THE URBAN GUERRILLA
RIOT & REVOLUTION IN SINGAPORE & MALAYA 1945-1963
LIVING WITH TERRORISM
GUERRILLAS AND TERRORISTS
KIDNAP AND RANSOM
BRITAIN IN AGONY
THE MEDIA AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE
INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT AND DEMOCRACY

1973 *First published by Faber & Faber Ltd, London*

1984 *Revised, updated and enlarged edition*
First published by Graham Brash (Pte) Ltd
36-C Prinsep Street, Singapore 0718

ISBN 9971-947-66-8

All rights reserved

To
LEE IM and FONG AIK
who were born in 1959 and 1960,
the years in which Lee Kuan Yew
came to power and the
Malayan Emergency ended.

M
320-9
CLU

M 836151

© 1985 Richard Clutterbuck
Printed by Singapore National Printers (Pte) Ltd

19 SEr 1996
Perpustakaan Negara
Malaysia

Contents

Abbreviations	<i>page</i> 11
Preface	15
1. INTRODUCTION	17
The Aim of this Book	17
Urban and Rural Revolution	18
How a Revolution Ends	19
The Developing Pattern of Urban Revolution	20
Revolutionary Errors Between the World Wars	23
The Reaction Against Leninism	24
The Pattern of Guerrilla Revolution	28
Popular Support	29
Escalation	31
Malaya and Singapore - The Background	32
The Malayan Communist Party and the Japanese Occupation	37
Reoccupation by the British	39
Part I - Urban Revolution - Singapore	
2. THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT AN URBAN REVOLUTION - 1945-8	45
The Decision to Adopt an Urban Strategy in 1945	45
The Difficulties of the MCP as an Open Political Party	47
The British Military Administration	49
'Peaceful Agitation'	51
A Change of Leader	53
The Government Reacts	56
3. THE COMMUNIST PARTY STRUCTURE IN SINGAPORE - 1946-50	58
The Open and Secret Organizations of the Party	58
Recruitment and Advancement	63
The Student Organization	65
1948 - A Drastic Reorganization	66
A Tightening of Security in the MCP in Singapore	66
The Arrest of the Town Committee	71
The Hertogh Riots	72
Reorganization of the Police	73

CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
4. THE SURVIVAL OF THE STUDENT ORGANIZATION - 1950-4	75
Resilience	75
Security - Strengths and Weaknesses	77
The Schools as a Training Ground for Party Workers for the Jungle War	79
The Revival of the Urban Campaign in Singapore	81
5. SUBVERSION IN THE CHINESE MIDDLE SCHOOLS 1954-6	84
Formation of the SCMSSU	84
Party and Open Front Structure in the Schools	86
The Secret Organization	91
Study and Tuition Cells	93
Self-criticism and Intimidation	94
The Position of the Teachers	96
The Baling Truce Talks and the Razak Report	98
6. SELF-GOVERNMENT	99
The 'Middle Road' Group of Trade Unions	99
Self-Government	101
The People's Action Party	103
The Emergency Regulations	106
The Hock Lee Bus Strike	108
David Marshall Faces the Communists	111
The London Talks of April/May 1956	112
The PAP Central Executive Committee Election	115
A New Plan for Internal Security	116
The Government's Ultimatum	117
7. THE RIOTS OF OCTOBER 1956	121
Clearing the Schools	121
Keeping the Crowds down to Manageable Size	123
The Special Branch Swoop	130
The Riots Subside	131
Summary of Events	132
The Performance of the Government Forces	133
The Performance of the Revolutionaries	136
A Comparison with the Hong Kong Riots of 1967	138
8. THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL CONTROL	142
Constitutional Conference in London 1957	142
Responsibility for Internal Security	144
The PAP Executive Committee Changes Hands	145
The Communists Send a Plenipotentiary	148
The 1959 Elections	150
Lim Chin Siong Released	151