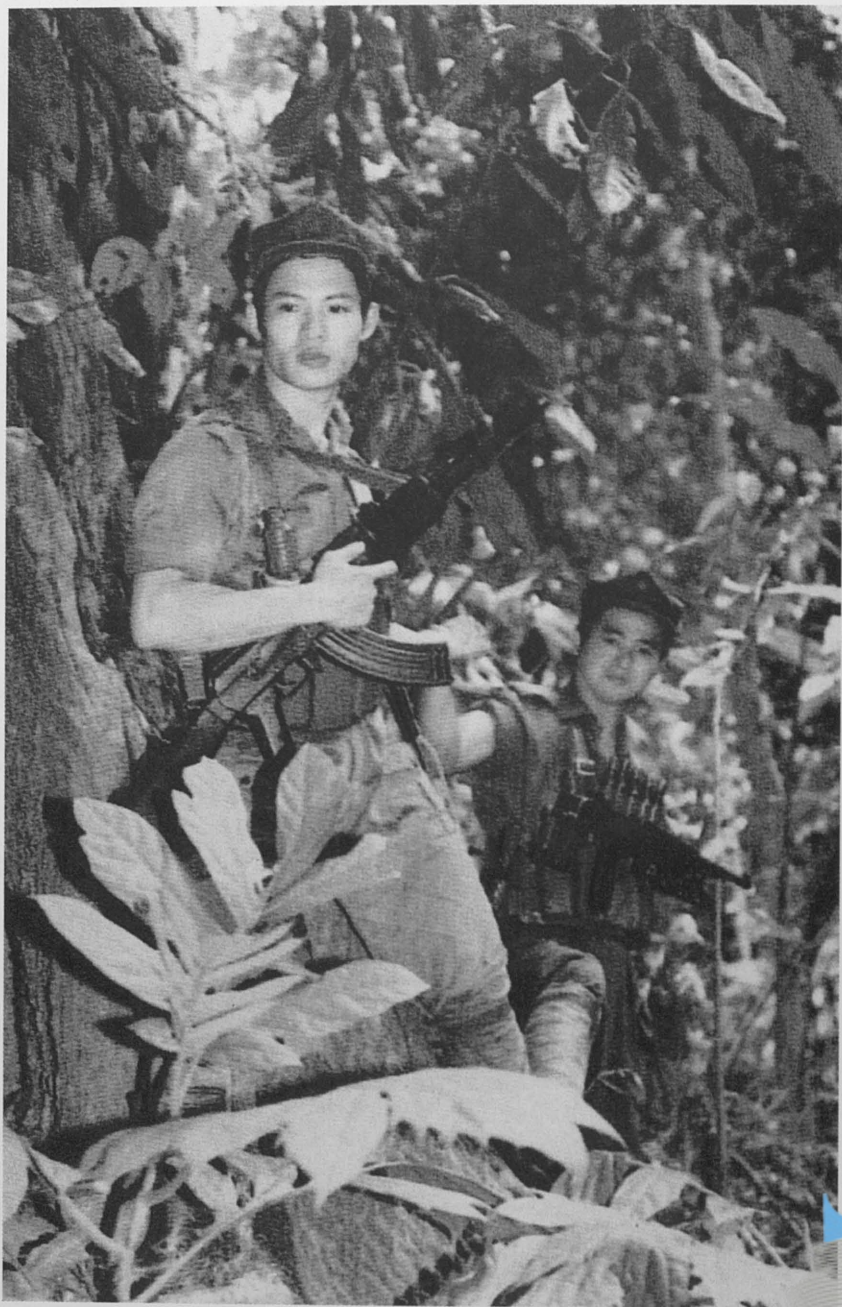


# DIALOGUES WITH CHIN PENG: NEW LIGHT ON THE ★ MALAYAN COMMUNIST PARTY

edited by C. C. Chin & Karl Hack





Communist picture of jungle fighters in the Malayan-Thai border area, around 1980s.

From the collection of C. C. Chin.

# Dialogues with Chin Peng

## New Light on the Malayan Communist Party

*Dialogues and Papers Originating  
from a Workshop with Chin Peng held  
at The Centre for the Study of  
the Chinese Southern Diaspora,  
Australian National University, Canberra,  
22–23 February 1999*



PERDANA  
LEADERSHIP  
FOUNDATION  
YAYASAN  
KEPIMPINAN  
PERDANA



PERDANA  
LEADERSHIP  
FOUNDATION  
YAYASAN  
KEPIMPINAN  
PERDANA

# Dialogues with Chin Peng

## New Light on the Malayan Communist Party

*Edited by*

C. C. Chin and Karl Hack



SINGAPORE

PUSTAKA PERDANA



1009322



PERDANA  
LEADERSHIP  
FOUNDATION  
YAYASAN  
KEPIMPINAN  
PERDANA

© Singapore University Press  
an imprint of NUS Publishing  
AS3-01-02, 3 Arts Link  
Singapore 117569

Fax: (65) 6774-0652  
E-mail: nusbooks@nus.edu.sg  
Website: <http://www.nus.edu.sg/npu>

First Edition 2004  
Reprinted 2005

ISBN 9971-69-287-2 (Paper)

All rights reserved. This book, or parts thereof, may not be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or any information storage and retrieval system now known or to be invented, without written permission from the Publisher.

Typeset by: International Typesetters Pte Ltd  
Printed by: Vetak Printers

959.51  
DIA



PERDANA  
LEADERSHIP  
FOUNDATION  
YAYASAN  
KEPIMPINAN  
PERDANA

# Contents

<i>Notes on Transliteration</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiii
<i>Glossary</i>	xvi
<i>Documents</i>	xvii
<i>Photographs and Illustrations</i>	xix
<i>Maps</i>	xxi
<i>Figures</i>	xxii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xxiii
<i>Preface</i>	xxv

## Part One: Background

1. The Malayan Emergency	3
<i>Karl Hack and C. C. Chin</i>	
2. Chin Peng—A Brief Introduction	38
<i>C. C. Chin</i>	

## Part Two: Dialogues with Chin Peng

3. I	Welcome	54
	- Background to the Workshop	54
	- Note	56
3. II	Early History of the Malayan Communist Party	57
	- Communist Influences on Chin Peng as a Student	57
	- Huang Shi	57
	- Li Liang	60
	- Date of the Founding of the MCP	61
	- Chin Peng's Patriotism and Ideology	62
	- The Malays and the MCP	69
	- Social Influences that Led Chin Peng to Communism	71
	- The Malays, Partai Komunis Indonesia and the MCP	73
	- Notes	

3. III	The Japanese Period	76
	- Chin Peng's Relationship with Lai Teck	76
	- Chin Peng's Position in the MCP During the Japanese Occupation	77
	- Chin Peng and Force 136	77
	- Radio Communications During the War	83
	- Kempeitai Infiltration of the MCP	84
	- Richard Broome and Lim Bo Seng	85
	- Lai Teck and the Japanese	86
	- Chin Peng is Captured	88
	- Military Encounters between the MPAJA and the Japanese	90
	- Chin Peng, Onishi Kempeitai and Lai Teck's Betrayal	94
	- Japanese Members of the MPAJA	95
	- Notes	97
3. IV	The Legal Period: 1945–8	100
	- MCP's Postwar Strategy	100
	- Chin Peng's Encounters with Lai Teck	103
	- Implementing MCP's Postwar Strategy	104
	- Chin Peng's Meeting with Davis	107
	- Investigating Lai Teck	107
	- Notes	113
3. V & VI	Adoption of the Armed Struggle in 1948 and Malayan Communist Party Strategy: 1948–55	116
	- MCP's Transition from the Legal Struggle to the Armed Struggle	117
	- Sharkey and the Central Committee Meeting	119
	- Lai Teck's Disappearance and Chin Peng's Investigation	123
	- Chin Peng in Bangkok	128
	- Chin Peng and the Burmese Communist Party	129
	- Chin Peng in Hong Kong: The Investigation Continues	130
	- Back to Bangkok: Lai Teck's Capture and Death	131
	- Initiating the Armed Struggle	13
	- Gathering the Force and Planning the Struggle	138
	- Notes	140
3. VII	Guerrilla Strategies and British Counterinsurgency in the 1950s–60s: Why Was the War Lost?	144

-	The Peak of the Insurgency?	144
-	Strength of the MNLA	148
-	A Protracted War: No Chance of Victory for the MCP	150
-	British Counterinsurgency: Forced Resettlement	151
-	The Gurney Incident	155
-	Impact of Communist Struggles Outside Malaya on the MCP	162
-	Chin Peng's Move to Cameron Highlands and Thailand	162
-	Impact of <i>Red Star Over China</i>	163
-	British Bombing	163
-	The Move to Thailand and the Plan to Seize Towns	164
-	Notes	168
3. VIII	The Baling Talks of 1955	171
-	MCP Demands and the Tunku's Promise	173
-	MCP's Negotiations for the Decommissioning of Arms	175
-	Recognition and Freedom of the MCP	176
-	MCP's Refusal to Surrender, David Marshall and Deadlock	177
-	Supporting the Tunku to Fight the British	178
-	Dato Onn	179
-	Lim Hong Bee	180
-	Plot to Assassinate Chin Peng	180
-	Impact of Malaysia's Internal Security Act of the Talks	182
-	Notes	183
3. IX	Opposition to Malaysia and Relations with the Partai Komunis Indonesia and Borneo Parties	186
-	MCP's Contact with the Communist Party in Singapore	186
-	The City Working Committee Flee to Indonesia	186
-	MCP's Foreign Bureau in Beijing	189
-	Sarawak Communist Organisation	190
-	Sarawak United People's Party	190
-	Barisan Sosialis and the MCP	190
-	The United Front, Lee Kuan Yew and The Plen	192
-	MCP's Support for Lee Kuan Yew	192
-	Partai Rakyat, The Labour Party and T. T. Rajah	196

	- The PKI: Djatikusumo and Aidit	196
	- The Chinese and the Soviets	197
	- Notes	201
3. X	Party Strategy from Malayan Independence, Through the 'Second Emergency' of the 1970s, to the 1989 Ceasefire	203
	- Khrushchev, Liu Shao Chi and the Cultural Revolution	205
	- After the Baling Talks	207
	- Dispersal and Surrender	208
	- Reviving the Armed Struggle	217
	- Chin Peng's Journey to Beijing from Thailand	217
	- Notes	224
3. XI	Closing Comments: Chin Peng and the Malayan Nationalist Cause	225
	- On the Workshop, History Writing and Historiography	226
	- The MCP at International and Local Levels	227
	- The MCP and Communism at the National Level	228
3. XII	Closing Questions	233
	- Chin Peng Affirms His Ideology	234
	- The MCP's Contribution to Malayan Independence	234
	- Impact of British Government Attitudes	235
	- Non-conducive Conditions for Revolution in the 1950s	237
	- John Leary Sums Up the MCP Struggle	239
	- Chin Peng on Why the MCP Were Compelled to Start the Armed Struggle	241
	- Notes	242

### Part Three: Supporting Material and Perspectives

#### Introduction

4. An Overview of the Malayan Communist Movement  
to 1942  
*C. F. Yong*

245

247