

Literators of the *Feng Xia*

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Abstract

In December 1945, that is, soon after the end of the Pacific War, pro-Chinese Communist Party weekly journal, *Feng Xia*, was published mainly by Chinese literators (writers) who had come to Malaya prior to, or immediately after the War. In the following year, they published *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* as virtually an organ paper of the Malayan branch of the China Democratic League which was a pro-CCP party formed in China. Malayan-born leftist Chinese also contributed articles to *Feng Xia*. While the great majority of articles advocated to support the liberation movement in China, they appealed to fight for the liberation of Malaya as well. This article examines who were inclined to China and who were to Malaya. Why could these two sections co-exist in a journal? Did they support each other to the end? How were their activities forced to come to an end through deportation by the colonial authorities? Their later careers in China will be examined as well.

Keywords: *Chinese Communist Party, China Democratic League, Kuomintang, Malayan Communist Party, Zhi Gong Dang, home country, China-oriented, China-born, Malaya-oriented, Malaya-born, double nationality, Nan Chiau Jit Pao, Min Sheng Pao*

JEL classification: *B24, F54, H12, N45*

1. Introduction

Research on the political activities of the Malayan¹ Chinese has thus far been focused on the relations between the Chinese and China until the period of anti-Japanese movements. Their anti-Japanese struggle was cut off from China during the Japanese occupation period. As far as the leftists are concerned, direct political relations between the Malayan Chinese and China that were revived after the Pacific War were almost ignored.² In Malaysia and Singapore, it is generally accepted that Malayan Chinese regarded China as their home country before the Pacific War, gradually began to view Malaya as their own place to eternally live in, and during the Independence movements their Malayan orientation (sentiment to regard Malaya as their home country) was nurtured and established. This author once showed a hypothesis that the reason why the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) did not wage an armed struggle against the British when they came back to Malaya in 1945 was that most of its members considered their armed struggle had ended as a result of China's (their home country's) victory over Japan.³ Instead, the MCP hoped to win through the political process and did not abandon their struggle against the British.

This hypothesis was proven by the memoirs of former Party members as well as by interviews with them. Their memoirs stated as below:

Great majority of Chinese had close relations with China. Ever since Japan invaded China, they enthusiastically deployed anti-Japanese movements. Due to Japanese occupation of Malaya, their spite against Japan farther grew. Three ethnic communities, i.e., Malays, Chinese and Indians (who strongly demanded India's independence at that time) had different nationalisms and therefore could not form a united front to fight against the British colonial army with arms.⁴

A former Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) cadre recalled as below:

At that time, our nation was still China. Attacks against China were attacks against ourselves. We had never thought Malaya as our own country yet. We cannot deny we had a consciousness that our Anti-Japanese War was a part of China's Anti-Japanese War.⁵

With regard to Malayan Chinese involvement in Chinese politics, Professor Cheah Boon Kheng wrote:

The Chinese nationalists in Malaya, especially those in the Kuomintang [KMT. Nationalist Party of China], embroiled themselves fiercely in the affairs of their motherland and were only slightly interested in Malayan politics. The Chinese in the MCP were divided in their loyalties: some were oriented towards China and some towards Malaya.⁶

It cannot be denied that the China-oriented faction was still strong and the China-oriented sentiment of the Malayan Chinese in general remained substantive. Subjects of research on Chinese political movements of the early post-War years, however, were limited to their,

or MCP's anti-British colonial struggle opposing the Malayan Union and the Federation of Malaya. These were focused on Malayan internal politics only. Political movements relating to the China-orientation of the Malayan Chinese were set aside. Professor Cheah himself analyses the MCP's legal struggle for decolonization and the subsequent anti-British armed struggle. He, however, did not refer to what the China-oriented MCP faction did, or how this orientation affected their movements. The China-oriented groups were based on the nostalgic sentiment towards China of the Malayan Chinese in general at that time. There were influential persons who embodied this China-oriented sentiment. Typical examples were Tan Kah Kee 陳嘉庚, the most prominent leader of the anti-Japanese movement of the Nanyang (Southeast Asia) Chinese in the late 1930s, and writers who supported him.

On the other hand, the China-oriented faction also participated in Malayan politics. It was a new current of the era after the end of the War. Their mental complexity between the two orientations have not been well analysed yet either.

The China-oriented group consisted of pro-KMT and pro-Chinese Communist Party (CCP) factions. Reflecting the defeat inside China, the KMT faction was losing its influence in Malaya. For them, the way to be admitted as Malayan political power was open (like H.S. Lee 李孝式 and Lau Pak Kuan 劉伯群,⁷ many joined the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) which was formed in 1949). They became Malayan-oriented much more smoothly. As such, the analysis here is restricted to the pro-CCP, or leftist group.

Tan Kah Kee and his supporters founded a daily newspaper, *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* 南僑日報 on 21st November 1946. The paper continued speaking for the China-oriented Chinese, or patriotic Chinese 愛國華僑 until it was closed down by the British colonial authorities on 20th September 1950. Its chairman was Tan Kah Kee, managing director was

Hu Yu-zhi 胡愈之, chief publisher was Lee Tiat Min (Li Tie-min 李鐵民), and chief editor was Hu Wei-fu 胡偉夫. Its paid-up capital was 400,000 straits dollars (SD), of which Tan Kah Kee invested SD110,000.⁸ Of them, all but Tan Kah Kee were members of the China Democratic League (CDL, 中國民主同盟). Though Tan himself was not a member of the CDL, he was a strong supporter of it. The CDL was formed in 1941 in China as a political party to intermediate between the CCP and the KMT. Ever since then, it has kept close relations with the CCP. Soon after the end of the Pacific War, the CDL established branches in almost all Southeast Asian countries. Their leaders were generally secret CCP members at the same time who had been dispatched to these countries by the CCP in the late 1930s or soon after the end of the War. Its Malayan branch was set up on 29th September 1947. Main contributors of articles to the *Nan Chiau* were CDL members. *Nan Chiau*'s circulation number was around 20,000. This figure matched those of the largest commercial Chinese papers, *Nanyang Siang Pau* (NYSP, 南洋商報) and *Sin Chew Jit Poh* (SCJP, 星洲日報) whose circulation number at that time was around 30,000 each.⁹ When we consider that *Nan Chiau* was an organ paper of a political party, its circulation and influence among the Chinese should be regarded as quite large.

Before the War, *NYSP* was still under the control of Tan Kah Kee, its founder. That was why Hu Yu-zhi was invited to *NYSP* as chief editor in December 1940. After the War, though *NYSP* resumed publication on 8th September 1945, Tan Kah Kee had no influence on it. In China's civil war era (1946-1949), both of *NYSP* and *SCJP* were pro-Kuomintang. So Tan decided to publish a new paper which should reflect his pro-CCP stand. All these papers were China-oriented and their reports as well as commentaries on China far exceeded those on Malaya at that time.¹⁰

Prior to issuing *Nan Chiau*, those people who were involved in it had also inaugurated weekly magazines, *Feng Xia* (風下, meaning “leeward”), and *Xin Funü* (新婦女, meaning “new women”). *Feng Xia*, whose managing director cum chief editor was Sha Ping (沙平, pseudonym of Hu Yu-zhi), was issued from December 1945 till June 1948, that is, when the Emergency of Malaya¹¹ was proclaimed. *Nan Chiau* and *Feng Xia* were located in the same building. *Xin Funü*, whose chief editor was Shen Zi-jiu (沈茲九, Mrs Hu Yu-zhi), was issued from March 1946 till June 1948. After the respective closure, *Feng Xia Xin Funü Lianhe Kan* (風下新婦女聯合刊, “Unified Issue of *Feng Xia* and *Xin Funü*”) was subsequently issued from August 1948 till March 1949.

In this era, many Chinese youths lost education (as Chinese education was banned during the Japanese occupation period) and could not find jobs due to the un-restored economy. According to Chui Kui Chiang, *Feng Xia* tried to encourage and enlighten these youths. For this objective, it established Youths’ Self-study School (青年自學輔導社). Its students’ subscription fee was reduced and excellent students were given scholarship. In February 1948, its students exceeded one thousand. Thus *Feng Xia* received extensive support of the Chinese, especially youths and students.¹²

Hu Yu-zhi became a CCP secret member in 1933 and came to Singapore in December 1940 as a chief editor of the *NYSP* which was still under the control of its founder, Tan Kah Kee. With many other writers who came from China, he and Shen concealed themselves (all used pseudonym names) in Sumatra, mainly Bukit Tinggi and Paya Kumbuh, during the Japanese occupation. The reason why they took refuge in Sumatra was (1) only small boats were available to evacuate from Singapore; (2) their faces were not known there; (3) Chinese were scattered in various towns and thus difficult to be carefully watched by the Japanese military; (4) there was anti-Japanese Chinese network

before the War.

After the end of the War, they came back to Singapore. Ever since the CDL established its Singapore office on 18th April 1946, Hu was the highest leader of its activities in Malaya and was appointed the director (主任) of its Malayan branch which was established on 29th September 1947. Shen Zi-jiu also became a CCP secret member in 1939 and came to Singapore in August 1941. After the War, she also joined the CDL and became a leader of its women's section.¹³

This article examines the articles of *Feng Xia*. Though most of its articles naturally dealt with Chinese affairs, accusing the KMT and appealing to support the CCP, views on Malayan affairs were carried as well. As one of the objectives of this article is to explore how the China-oriented faction regarded and were involved in Malayan affairs, their views on Malaya are analysed here. Reversely, the Malaya-oriented faction also positively participated in China's politics in the early post-War years. This author would like to analyse how this situation emerged, proceeded and ended, and why the two groups could cooperate at that time.

Tan Kah Kee and many in the China-oriented faction involved in *Nan Chiau* and *Feng Xia* went back to China prior to or soon after the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Why they did not finally settle in Malaya but chose the way to go back to China will also be analysed.

Firstly, I show how the China-oriented writers led by Hu Yu-zhi commented on the developments in China and how they connected overseas Chinese with their home country, China. All are summaries. Emphasis is by this author. (Author, volume and date of publication of the *Feng Xia* are shown in parenthesis.) Inside the quotations, this author's annotations are shown in square brackets.

2. Views on China

Though articles of this kind far outnumbered those on Malaya, I show only a few here.

(1) “7th July: We will for generations never forget this day”

7th July 1937 was a day when China’s all-out resistance war against Japan began. There are people who say we should not commemorate 7 July. They are those who want split, civil war, dictatorship and colonization. Thinking of the war, miseries, cruelty and strutting secret agents in **our home country**, everyone recalls a glorious day of nine years ago.

(Hu Yu-zhi. Vol. 31, 6th July 1946)¹⁴

(2) “Civil war in China and American policy towards China”

The supreme leader of the KMT cum chairman of the central government [i.e. Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石] drove 450 million **compatriots** into war again. Though the United States of America wants peace of China for their business, if China is freed and democratised, its people will desert the US and overthrow imperialism. Therefore, the US has no other way but to assist the reactionary faction’s suppression of justice, freedom and democracy.

(Yang Dao-qing 楊道清 . Vol. 34, 27th July 1946)

(3) “Look at the creator of New China!”

Democrats should also devote themselves to armed struggle. Even though staying abroad, we have to support the struggle by various

means and form a formidable force of South Seas democratic movements.

(Rao Zhang-feng 饒彰風 . Vol. 90, 30th August 1947)

It can be discerned that the *Feng Xia* considered political development in China the most important and supported the CCP, regarded Malayan Chinese as Chinese nationals (compatriots), and requested them to participate in the revolution of their home country.

3. China and Malaya for the Malayan Chinese

In the early post-War period, gradually becoming a serious and important problem for the Malayan Chinese was that whether their home country was China or Malaya, whether they should participate in the political activities of China or of Malaya. Members of the *Feng Xia*, who were fundamentally China-oriented, could not help being involved in this mental conflict. There appeared subtle difference or split among them. Sometimes, a same person's view seemed contradicted at a different time.

3.1. Home country and Nationality

“Overseas Chinese came from China. Their ancestors' houses and graves are in China. Their genuine home country is China” ... This perception was scarcely questioned so far. After the end of the War, however, problem emerged. Nationals of colonial and semi-colonial Nanyang territories demanded to be hosts of their own lands. Overseas Chinese were also forced to choose, either to obtain equal political status as the natives, regarding Nanyang as their permanent home, or to be deprived of their political rights as sojourners as before. Nationality Law of China based on *jus sanguinis* made solution of Chinese status more difficult.

Those Chinese who, either born or living long in Nanyang, have foundation of life not in our country [i.e. China] but in Nanyang should not regard China as their sole home country. Otherwise they have no right to participate in local politics, and lose security of economic interests. If they demand equal right with local nationals, they must regard Nanyang as their home country.

Sentiment of the great majority of Chinese is, while participating in local politics on the one hand, to regard China as a sole home country on the other. But, we cannot concurrently obtain both.

(Hu Yu-zhi, “Overseas Chinese and home country”,
Vol. 93, 20th September 1947)

According to Chinese custom, the place in which one has lived long is an eternal homeland (永久家鄉), and ancestors’ place is a home country (祖國). Nationality based on a place in which one has lived long is progressive. Nationality based on patriarchal *jus sanguinis* is anachronistic.

(Hu Yu-zhi, “Home country and home land”,
Vol. 94, 27th September 1947)

Hu deeply understood the emerging complicated sentiment of the post-War Chinese. In the above articles, he clearly supported the newly emerged sentiment of the Chinese that they should regard Malaya as their home country and obtain single Malayan nationality. In this regard, Tan Kah Kee showed similar view in 1956. When he met the delegation of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce which visited China that year, Tan advised them that once decided that Singapore was their eternal homeland, they should endeavour to obtain its citizenship and to construct a new nation.¹⁵ Here we have to take the change of the CCP’s

overseas Chinese policy into consideration. Until the mid-1950s, the CCP as well as the Chinese government considered all overseas Chinese to be Chinese nationals and made various efforts to garner their support, and proclaimed that the Chinese government would protect them. In the late 1940s, Hu Yu-zhi already understood the new situation. Yet, he also well comprehended that his ultimate task was to implement CCP's policy. Thus he showed an opposite view as well that the Chinese were to be Chinese nationals. He wrote:

Ma Hua (馬華)'s view that overseas Chinese do not want to return home is wrong. **At least, more than half of them want to do so. Chinese participation in local national struggle has nothing to do with their insulation from China.** Even if not local nationals, the Chinese can support local national democratic struggle.

(Hu Yu-zhi, "Friend, you have entered too deep into ox-horns",
Vol. 108, 10th January 1948)

On nationality and political activities, Hu's wife, Shen Zi-jiu, wrote as below.

Political activities have two kinds. One is doing patriotic activities for the home country as an overseas Chinese. Another one is struggling for democracy and freedom of Malaya as a Malayan citizen. Choice should be an individual responsibility.

(Shen Zi-jiu, "Don't fear politics anymore",
Vol. 79, 14th June 1947)

In this era, the Malayan Chinese began to be bewildered about which nationality they should hold. This seems to have something to do with their cold-heartedness to the Malayan Union proposal of October

1945. As admitted almost equal citizenship to Chinese, the proposal met vehement opposition of Malays, especially Malay elites, and was eventually withdrawn. It was not because they were indifferent to Malayan politics, but because they could not make up their mind to renounce Chinese nationality in order to obtain Malayan citizenship.

A Malaya-born member of the *Feng Xia*, Chen Zhong-da 陳仲達 stated on the citizenship as below.

Of the over 2 million Chinese in Malaya, except for a few who came from our country (國內), who have families there and intend to return there within a short period, a great majority of them have close economic relations with this land (當地) and can hardly emigrate. They face a common problem now: am I a Malayan citizen or Chinese national? If possible, keeping Chinese nationality, can't I become a local citizen?

As China adopts *jus sanguinis* and Britain *jus soli*, the problem has become more complicated. Before the War, nationality was also a diplomatic problem. But Malaya was still a colony at that time and there was neither democracy nor freedom. The Chinese considered themselves as Chinese (nationals).

After the end of the War, however, situation changed. The Malayan Union (MU) proposal referred to citizenship for the first time. The contents of citizenship of the Federation of Malaya (FM) proposal, which was announced recently, have no much difference. The People's Constitutional Proposal¹⁶ stipulates the contents of citizenship more clearly. Its main points are (1) denial of double nationality; (2) creation of a new unified national called Melayu that consists of various nations who make Malaya as their eternal homeland and swear allegiance to Malaya. In this situation, we have to immediately decide whether to be Malaysians or Chinese.

One and a half years ago, Qu Zhe-fu 屈哲夫 wrote “Nanyang Chinese (*Huazu* 華族) and politics” in Volume 6 of this magazine. There he asserted that the sojourning character does not exist among the absolute majority of the overseas Chinese. The word “overseas Chinese” should be replaced by *Huazu* or overseas *Huazu*. But as *Huazu* produces double nationality, it is not a good solution at all. Luo Sao 羅騷¹⁷ contributed a long article entitled “Chinese and Malayan political system” to the *Min Sheng Pao* 民聲報 [legally published organ paper of the MCP]¹⁸ in this year [1947]. There he also used “*Huazu*” and insisted that qualified *Huazu* could be a Malayan citizen without abolishing Chinese nationality.

Recently, Ang Shih Shih (Hong Si-si 洪絲絲), too, published a long article in Volume 70 of the *Modern Weekly* (現代週刊) [organ paper of the CDL Penang division]. He asserted that though he did not oppose to obtaining Malayan citizenship by renouncing Chinese nationality, and that if double nationality is possible, it might be the most ideal means.

The Chinese have two interpretations over double nationality. One is that if one obtains local citizenship, it is not necessary to renounce Chinese nationality. Another one is that after obtaining Malayan citizenship, one temporarily loses Chinese nationality while living in Malaya, and on return to China, will regain Chinese nationality and lose Malayan citizenship. This might bring about unsolvable difficulties. If the Chinese insist to have double nationality, it will cause other nationals’ misunderstanding and discontent, and jeopardise the future of nation-building. The representative of the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC),¹⁹ Mr John Thivy, also asserts that Malayan Indians could have only one nationality. While the Chinese should abandon the consciousness of great nationals and obtain

Malayan citizenship, the Chinese government should change its Nationality Law.

(Chen Zhong-da, “To be Chinese or to be Malaysans?”,
Vols. 95, 96, 9th October 1947)

Chen stated that citizenship stipulated in the MU and in the FM were almost same. In reality, one of the most important objectives of the FM was to severely restrict the qualification of non-Malays for citizenship. It seems that what mattered for Chen was the consciousness of the Chinese, and not the restrictions by the colonial government. Nonetheless, compared with Hu and Shen, we can discern Chen’s strong inclination to Malaya.

3.2. Participating in Malayan politics or in Chinese politics?

The question of which country, China or Malaya, is regarded as a home country is related to in which country’s politics the Chinese should be involved. In this era, such Malaya-oriented writers as Ma Hua and Zhou Rong (周容, alias Jin Zhi-mang 金枝芒, referred to later) insisted that the Malayan Chinese should write novels narrating the Malayan situation in order to liberate Malaya. Criticizing them, Sha Ping (Hu Yuzhi) wrote as below.

Everything is a product of unification of two opposing sides. The overseas Chinese unify two opposing elements, that is, relation with China and relation with the living place. By participating both in local and homeland politics, their position can be raised. If one proceeds exclusively deep into one side only, one would come to a dead end. In the field of literature, Zhou Rong’s opinion that the Malayan Chinese novelists should only write on Malayan problems means to repatriate sojourner as well as evacuee Chinese novelists to China.

(Sha Ping (Hu Yu-zhi), “Explanation of ‘ox-horns’ by chart”, Vol. 112, 7th February 1948; with regard to “ox-horns”, see p. 8.)

Hu said that the Malayan Chinese should be involved in both kinds of politics here. In reality, the *Feng Xia* was far less enthusiastic to inspire readers to be involved in the Malayan politics. Both views are shown below.

3.2.1. Involvement in or concern about Malayan politics

Malayan Chinese were indifferent to the first proposal on the Malayan political system [i.e. the MU proposal]. Proclaiming “to become a Malayan citizen is to forget the home country; if you want to unite with the savages, you should become a savage”, some Chinese showed off Great Han nationalism (大國民主義). They, especially the upper strata of them such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, however, began to demand equal rights for them in Malaya. Comparing with other Nanyang Chinese, this is a great progress.

(Shen Zi-jiu. Vol. 63, 22nd February 1947)

Nation-wide Hartal movement²⁰ to oppose an undemocratic constitution of the FM proposal was a peaceful resistance that was realized due to the progress and awareness of various Malayan nations.

(Shen Zi-jiu. Vol. 98, 25th October 1947)

In these two articles above, Shen regarded Malayanization of the Chinese as “progress”.

Xia Yan 夏衍 wrote in the *Nan Chiau* on 13th April 1948 that the present national, political cultural problem of Malaya was the most complicated and difficult one in the world. The real problem, however, lies in our lack of understanding of Malaya.

(Zhang Ming-lun 張明倫, “Understanding Malaya”, Vol. 126, 15th May 1948. On this issue, a notice to seek articles on Malayan affairs was carried. Notwithstanding it, such articles remained scarce till the end.)

The Malayan Democratic Union (MDU)²¹ is struggling for democracy in Malaya. The British Labour government, which claims to proceed with bloodless socialist revolution in its own country, implements unjust discriminatory policy towards nations in Malaya.

(Li Run-hu 李潤湖, “Post-War change of Malaya and the present crisis”, Vol. 66, 15th March 1947)

In the Federation of Malaya, the Legislative Council members are to be appointed, not elected. In Singapore, which is separated and kept as a colony, out of the 900 thousand population, only 22 thousand are given suffrage. This is a paper democracy.

(Hu Yu-zhi, “The first lesson of democracy”, Vol. 111, 31st January 1948)

If Britain postpones the self-government, various ethnic communities of Malaya should firmly unite to gain democracy and self-government.

(Hu Yu-zhi, “Go slowly”, Vol. 112, 7th February 1948)

While Li Run-hu's remark referred to concrete difficulties of the Malayan Chinese, Hu Yu-zhi's referred to colonialism in general. Li can be regarded as more familiar with Malayan affairs. Different stands on Malayan affairs are clearly shown on other occasions. First, on the upper-strata Malayan Chinese:

The Associated Chinese Chambers of Commerce of Malaya [the then president was Lee Kong Chian 李光前] protects the dictator-cum-traitor (獨裁賣國) government [meaning the Chiang Kai-shek government] on the one hand, and supports local struggles to obtain democracy and self-government as well as nation-wide hartal on the other.

(Hu Yu-zhi, "People's wish", Vol. 98, 25th October 1947; Shen Zi-jiu, "Contradictory, strange phenomena", Vol. 100, 8th November 1947)

Among the Malayan Chinese (*Ma Hua* 馬華), there are such enlightened national bourgeoisie as Tan Cheng Lock (陳禎祿)²² and Tan Kah Kee. Contradiction between the upper-strata Chinese and the lower-strata Chinese is much smaller than that between the British colonialists and the upper-strata Chinese. There are KMT members among the upper-strata Chinese. They, however, joined the KMT to merely pursue profits in Malaya and not to sympathise with the dictatorship of the KMT in our home country. They can be included in our united front.

(A letter from a reader named Liu Shan-shang 劉杉上 .
Vol. 119, 27th March 1947)

To this view, a CDL member, Wang Jin-ding 汪金丁, replied in the same issue that the fact that they joined the KMT to pursue profits itself shows that their interests accord with the reactionaries.

While the Malaya-inclined personnel of the *Feng Xia* were sympathetic to the Chinese social leaders who participated in the anti-colonial movements in Malaya, such China-inclined personnel as Hu Yu-zhi, Shen Zi-jiu and Wang Jin-ding criticised them as pro-KMT. Meanwhile, the MCP, through its various affiliated organisations, participated in anti-FM struggle led by Tan Cheng Lock, and subsequently supported Tan's proposal of the Malayan Chinese League (MCL, 馬來亞華人聯盟)²³ until early April 1947. MCP's organ paper *Min Sheng Pao* positively referred to the MCL several times.²⁴ Interview records with Tan were also carried on the paper twice.²⁵ Its stand suddenly changed when the paper criticized Tan as a representative of the capitalists on 11th April 1948. This change coincided with the fundamental change of the MCP from the legal struggle line to the armed struggle line. Positive view towards these upper-echelon Chinese might be relevant to the stand of the MCP in this short period of legal struggle.

Secondly, with regard to the Malay leftists, the Malay Nationalist Party (MNP)²⁶, conflicting views were shown as below:

Under the leadership of the aristocrats, the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)²⁷ deceived and sold Malays in order to protect the interests of a few. On the contrary, supported by passionate youths and enlightened masses, the MNP is steadily opening the way.

(Ma Hua, "Progress of the Malays",
Vol. 100, 8th November 1947)

The UMNO, which is based on the feudal forces, aristocrats and the colonial forces, is shocked by the emergence of genuine patriotic movements, for the MNP began to demand abolishment of the

penghulu (village head) system, implementation of popular elections, and the separation of religion from politics.

(Ma Hua, “How Malays are ruled”,
Vol. 114, 21st February 1948)

The UMNO represents aristocrats who claim that Malaya belongs to the Malays. The MNP is **self-styled leftist** who intends to unify Malaya with Indonesia and claims that all the Malays in the Malay Archipelago are Malaysian citizens.

(Lin Zi-wen 林子文, “The Malays and the Malaysian Union”,
Vol. 32, 13th July 1946)

From the end of the War until early 1948, the Malayan Chinese leftists headed by the MCP tried hard to cooperate with the Malay leftists in the anti-British legal struggle. The main group of the *Feng Xia* seems not to understand this local situation.

3.2.2. *Dialectic solution of orientation*

Though putting priority overwhelmingly on Chinese affairs, the *Feng Xia* ostensibly asked the Malayan Chinese to participate in both Chinese and Malayan affairs. I would like to see how they solved this problem here.

Before the new radical line of the MCP was openly known, the *Feng Xia* carried an article below:

There occurred confusion: which movement should the Malayan Chinese youths participate in – anti-Chiang, anti-US, and democracy struggle of China, or democracy and self-government movement of Malaya? The Communist Youth Conference²⁸, which resolved to strengthen the anti-US United Front and the anti-imperialism struggle,

ceased this confusion. Following this resolution, the Malayan Chinese democracy movement should firmly unite with the various nations (民族) of Asia and strongly connect with the revolutionary movement of China.²⁹ We have to learn from and support the struggle in our home country.

(Fang Hua 方華, “New direction of the Malayan Chinese Youth Movement”, Vol. 122, 17th April 1948)

This meant that the Malayan Chinese should give priority to the struggle in China. Hu Yu-zhi explained why strengthening anti-imperialism struggle was linked to attaching importance to China. Hu said:

China is the largest country of Asia. The overseas Chinese are medium between China and the various nations (民族) of Southeast Asia. Thus, the Chinese people’s anti-imperialism struggle is to lead the oppressed nations of Asia.

(Sha Ping (Hu Yu-zhi), “Chinese Revolution and the nationalism movements of Asia”, Vols. 95, 96, 9th October 1947)

Another China-inclined member wrote as below:

There are people who, having dislike of the word “overseas Chinese”, call themselves *Ma Hua*. At any rate, liking changes following the transformation of the environment.

The tasks of the overseas Chinese are twofold. We cannot mechanically decide which one is more important. While the liberation of the people in China is imminent, the movement in Malaya still stagnates in constitutional struggle.

(Wang Jin-ding 汪金丁, “Open the window and ventilate – Discussion with Mr Zhou Rong 周容 on the Malayan Chinese Literature”, Vol. 113, 14th February 1948)

Wang meant here that importance should dialectically be judged based on the real circumstances. Here in this era, the Malayan Chinese should participate in the revolutionary struggle in China that had much more real significance.

In the last issue of the *Feng Xia*, another member appealed as below:

In the liberated area in China, human resources are extremely lacking.
Let children of the overseas Chinese go back to our home country as
engineers for the construction of New China!

(He Sheng 赫生 (Peng Shi-zhen 陳世禎), “Let’s become engineers
for the construction of New China”, Vol. 132, 26th June 1948)

Go back to China – it was a final conclusion of the main stream members of the *Feng Xia*.

The most influential leader of the *Feng Xia* group as well as the CDL, Hu Yu-zhi, together with his wife, Shen Zi-jiu, had earlier went back to China on his own will in March 1948 and devoted himself to the final stage of the civil war against the KMT. Eventually, many other members followed him.

4. MCP, *Feng Xia*, CDL and China

4.1. Cooperation between the Two Groups

Cooperation between the Malaya-oriented group and the China-oriented group has not been analysed enough so far. Indeed, though the *Feng Xia* advocated Malayan Chinese to participate in anti-imperialism movements in Malaya as well, it seldom referred to the MCP *per se* that led the movements. Rare exceptions were condolences to the MCP’s Singapore representative, Lin Ya-liang 林亞亮 who died soon after his

release from detention of 6 months (Vol. 90, 30th August 1947; Vol. 91, 6th September 1947; Vol. 94, 27th September 1947)³⁰. Articles of the leaders of the MCP also seldom appeared in this magazine. Rare exceptions were the serial reports on the World Democratic Youth Conference, which was held in Czechoslovakia, by Chen Tian 陳田³¹ (Vol. 86, 2nd August 1947; Vol. 92, 13th September 1947; Vol. 94, 27th September 1947; Vol. 95/96, 9th October 1947; Vol. 104, 6th December 1947; Vol. 105, 13th December 1947). It seems that both sides, the MCP and the CDL, had a common understanding to have a separate venue to appeal to the Chinese masses. Another reason might be that China-oriented leaders intended to refrain from being involved in the internal politics of Malaya as much as possible in order to avoid suppression.

It did not necessarily mean, however, that both sides opposed each other, or did not cooperate. We can find many cases which showed close cooperation between them.

4.1.1. *Exchange of support*

The *Nan Chiau* of the CDL frequently reported the activities of the MCP and its affiliates. The *Min Sheng Pao*, in return, frequently reported the activities of the CDL group. Advertisements of the MCP group appeared in the *Nan Chiau* often. For instance, when Lau Yew 劉堯³², Chief of the Central Military Committee of MCP during the War, got married, congratulatory address of Hu Yu-zhi, Ang Shih Shih and several other CDL leaders was carried on the *Nan Chiau*. On the first anniversary of the *Nan Chiau*, many regional branches of such MCP-influenced organisations as the New Democratic Youth League (NDYL, 新民主青年團) and the Federation of Trade Unions (FTUs, 職工聯合總會) put congratulatory messages in the paper. And when some CDL leaders living in Singapore visited its divisions in the Peninsula, local MCP leaders also attended the welcome party, and vice versa. *Min Sheng*

Pao's editor, Lin Fang-sheng 林芳聲, joined the *Nan Chiau Ban Pao* 南僑晚報 (*Nan Chiau's* evening edition) as chief editor after having resigned from the former at the end of 1947. The secretary-general of the MDU and a secret member of the MCP, Eu Chooi Yip 余柱業³³ worked in the *Nan Chiau* after the MCP publications were all banned.

Former Malayan Chinese who were mostly deported to China (a minor portion of them went back to China on their own will) published a two-volume *Who's who of returned overseas Chinese* recently. On this list brief personal histories of several hundred returnees are recorded. All depict their anti-Japanese and anti-British struggles in Malaya. According to this, out of those who were deported to China, ten persons joined the CDL in Malaya. Of them, five had earlier joined the MCP as well. One of them, Chen Qi-hui 陳其揮 had joined the CCP in 1929 (a year before coming to Malaya) and the MCP in 1939. One joined the Women's Federation (婦女聯合會), which was led by the MCP, as well. One was a leader of the youth wing of the MCP, the New Democratic Youth League (新民主青年團). One joined the CDL following the directions of the MCP.

There were five non-CDL members who worked in the *Nan Chiau*. Of them, one (MCP member) had earlier worked in the *Min Sheng Pao*, another one (MCP member) had worked in the *Qianfeng Bao* 前鋒報 (*Vanguard*, organ paper of the FTUs) as well. Besides them, one returned to China in 1950 following the proposal of the CDL. One states that he was an ardent reader of the *Nan Chiau* and participated in a meeting jointly organised by the MCP and the CDL. One studied in the *Feng Xia* Youths' Self-study School organised by the CDL in Singapore. One MCP member could manage to return to China aided by Hsue Yung Shu 薛永泰 (Xue Yong-shu) who was the director of the Malayan branch of the CDL after Hu Yu-zhi returned to China in March 1948.³⁴

The CCP seems to have a secret youth wing for overseas Chinese, namely the Overseas Chinese Democratic Youth League (華僑民主青年同盟). Three persons listed in the above *Who's who*, who did not affiliate to any political party in Malaya, joined this OCDYL in 1947, 1948 and 1949 respectively.³⁵

The same group of the former Malayan Chinese leftists who were living in Hong Kong or China published a memoir recently. One of the commemorated heroes referred to here was an MCP district leader during the anti-Japanese war and a CDL member in the early post-War era. Soon after the emergency began, he was arrested and deported to China.³⁶

These records show that among those who fought for the liberation of Malaya with might and main some were concurrently involved in the struggles in China.

Nonetheless, their cooperation was not equally bilateral. As the China-oriented group tried to avoid oppression by the colonial authorities, the Malaya-oriented group's support for or participation in China politics far surpassed the reverse. This was shown in the membership of the China-oriented organisations. Unlike political parties, these organisations were joined by both sections.

4.1.2. MCP affiliates' participation in the China-oriented organisations and activities

Besides branches of such political parties as the CDL and the Zhi Gong Dang 致公黨 (ZGD)³⁷, various organisations to support the CCP were formed in Malaya. A typical one was the Federation for Peace and Democracy in China (FPDC, 促進祖國和平民主聯合會). The first federation was set up on 27th October 1946 in Singapore. Its president was Tan Kah Kee. By the end of 1947, eleven States or cities including Selangor had such federations. The Selangor FPDC consisted of the

CDL, the ZGD, the Ex-service Comrades Association (ESCA, 退伍同志會)³⁸, the FTUs, the NDYL and the like. The former two were branches of China-based political parties, the latter three being MCP-led mass organisations. The East Pahang FPDC included, besides the same affiliates as Selangor, the Women's Federation (WF, 婦女聯合會) and the Literators' Union (LU, 文聯), both also led by the MCP.

When the MCP-led organisations were banned soon after the Emergency, these FPDCs might also be dissolved. Although the MCP itself did not affiliate with the FPDC directly, it is obvious that the Party was indirectly involved in the FPDC and its movement.

In this period, various mass rallies to support the CCP's struggle were held. The largest-scale ones were the Anti-Civil War Rallies held in many States between May and June of 1946 and of 1947 again. These were participated by the CDL and such MCP affiliates as the NDYL, ESCA, the General Labor Union (GLU, 各民族各業總工會)³⁹ and the FTUs. In the rally held in Negeri Sembilan on 22nd June 1946, the MCP and the People's Committee, which was set up by the MCP to administer the liberated areas soon after the Japanese surrender, participated as well.

Then, why could this cooperation, more accurately, MCP's involvement in China politics, be realized?

4.2. Background of the Cooperation

The *Nan Chiau* of 13th June 1947 presented a result of its opinion survey which it had carried out from March that year. According to it, 95.6 per cent of the Malayan Chinese wanted to become Malayan citizens while retaining Chinese nationality. This inclination towards China reflected the general sentiment of the Malayan Chinese including the MCP at that time. On 7th May 1946, *Min Sheng Pao*'s editorial stated as below:

We have two principles. First, we Chinese (中國人) do not waive our rights and duty as overseas Chinese. These are bestowed by **our home country**. Secondly, overseas Chinese in Malaya should possess equal civilian rights as other nations, which include the minimal democratic rights such as freedom and the franchise.

It should be noted that the MCP's paper itself called China as the home country. This editorial coincided with a public discussion on Malayan citizenship to be held on the following day. In the discussion organised by the Consulate of Republic of China in Kuala Lumpur, most attendants insisted on equal citizenship in addition to Chinese nationality. More emphasis was laid on the absolute freedom to fulfill duty to their home country. Only one or two opposed double nationality.⁴⁰

Public discussions were convened in many places in mid-1946. Almost all of them resulted in resolutions that the Malayan Chinese should be allowed double nationality. In several places resolutions purposely stated that they would support the Five Point Claims of the MCP, which were said to include approval of double nationality.⁴¹

In a special committee appointed by the Governor of Malayan Union, Chairman of the Perak People's Committee which had been set up by the MCP, Chen Tian-hua 陳天華, asserted that all of those who were granted Malayan citizenship should be allowed to retain their home country's nationality. In this committee, a *baba* of Keluang strongly opposed double nationality. *Min Sheng Pao* criticized him for having colonial *baba*'s narrow viewpoint.⁴²

In September 1946, an article of the *Min Sheng Pao* persisted that the MCP should clearly be distinguished from the CCP and demanded the MCP to refrain from hoisting either Sun Yat-sen's picture or China's

national flag.⁴³ But the *Min Sheng Pao* seemed to have dared not pursue the matter further. Probably, this article might merely have reflected a minor group's view. Even in mid-1947, this paper appealed twice to equally participate in both countries' liberation movements.⁴⁴

In this regard, a well-known writer, Han Suyin 韓素音, wrote as follows:

In 1947, two eminent writers of China, Kuo Mo-jo [郭沫若, Guo Mo-ruo] and Hsia Yen [夏衍, Xia Yan], were also involved in the debate and gave their views; Hsia Yen had paid a previous visit to Malaya. [They] accepted the definition of local writers, namely, that Malayan-Chinese literature had a life of its own, unfettered by Chinese social context, and its aim was to portray Malaya, and not China.⁴⁵

Guo was already a very influential intellectual in China at that time and had many friends among Chinese writers sojourning in Malaya. That is why the latter were eager to know Guo's view.

It seems that Han Suyin looked at one side only. Guo certainly wrote in January 1948 that the Malayanisation of the Malayan Chinese was absolutely correct and that Malayanized literature did not mean insulation from Chinese literature but enrichment of it.⁴⁶ When shown the result of *Nan Chiau's* opinion survey by Xia Yan, however, Guo changed his stand. In March 1948, Guo sent an article to *Nan Chiau* stating that the reality was not merely the one before one's eyes. Both the reality of Malaya and of China should be depicted.⁴⁷ Han also ignored the fact that Xia Yan had been dispatched by the CCP in March 1947 in order to garner support for the CCP among the Malayan Chinese.⁴⁸

The reality of strong China-inclination of the Malayan Chinese in general forced Guo Mo-ruo to actually withdraw his support for the Malayan Chinese school of literature.

But towards the end of 1947, the situation changed.

4.3. *DeSinicisation of the MCP*

The organ paper of the ESCA, the *Combatants' Friend* (戰友報), carried an interview article with Eu Chooi Yip, the secretary-general of the MDU, on 21st November 1947. There Eu said: "Only those who harbour feudalistic thought would support double nationality. Malaya is our permanent home." Two weeks later, another article written by Xu Jing 徐經 asserted that double nationality would hinder the formation of a solid Malayan nation (一個統一強大的民族).⁴⁹ In this paper's New Year special issue for 1948, the top article of the front page written by Ma Hua stated:

Nowadays, many Chinese (中國人) are inseparably bound up with Malaya. We cannot help participating in the local national democratic struggle. In order to build up a strong national movement to win domestic self-rule, we must definitely abandon double nationality.⁵⁰

Min Sheng Pao of 8th January 1948 also decisively opposed double nationality and insisted that the task of the leftist Malayan Chinese was to devote themselves to the Malayan people.

In March 1948, Ma Hua wrote again:

Although most Malayan Chinese still regard China as their home country in their hearts, socio-economically they are deeply involved in Malaya. Therefore we must carry out democratic movement in Malaya first and foremost.⁵¹

Two months later, that is a month before the Emergency, a more decisive article, written by Di An 狄安, was carried on the paper. It clearly criticised the China-oriented polemics as below:

Someone argue that those who are interested in the home country [i.e. China] should be engaged in the struggle for China. It is undemocratic to betray a tenacious home country sentiment and national consciousness of the Malayan Chinese (cf. *Nan Chiau's* opinion survey). While the Chinese revolution is imminent, the Malayan revolution is a far future problem. These arguments do not understand the demand of the Chinese lower-class masses, i.e. workers and peasants. The Malayan-born consciousness is stronger and more realistic now. Workers and peasants did not participate in *Nan Chiau's* opinion survey. Nowadays, the struggle for the right to live [i.e. struggle for a democratic Malaya] is of much greater priority.⁵²

Coincidentally, a fundamental change of the MCP's political line, from the legal, peaceful line to the armed struggle line, took place at the same time, March to April 1948. Party members had no other way but to concentrate in the struggle in Malaya without being involved in Chinese politics.

In this way, close cooperation between the MCP supporters and the CCP supporters, more precisely MCP affiliates' participation in support-CCP movements, became difficult between late 1947 and early 1948. The co-existence of both groups in the *Feng Xia* also was to come to an end.

5. Writers Who Went (Back) to China

5.1. Writers Who Were Born in China

It is believed that while those Chinese writers who were born in China and merely sojourned in Malaya stressed the importance of Chinese politics, the Malayan-born Chinese stressed the importance of Malayan politics. In order to compare the two, I made two tables to show the well-known writers of each group. Please refer to Table 1 and Table 2 at the end of this article.

Of twenty-three persons listed in Table 1, many were born in Fujian and Guangdong as usual overseas Chinese. It is conspicuous, however, that six were from Zhejiang 浙江. It might mean that there were many left-wing literators from that province at that time in China. Of 23 persons, 5 or 6 joined the MCP. Of them, 4 had lived in Malaya for more than 10 years. While 8 persons were already CCP members when they came to Malaya, 4 joined the CCP after they returned to China. Two were members of both the CCP and the MCP. There were 11 CDL members, mostly joined it in Malaya. Of the 11, seven persons were concurrently CCP members, one was MCP member. There were two Zhi Gong Dang members, of whom 1 joined two other parties, that is, the CDL and the MCP as well. From here, we can understand that many writers were dispatched by the CCP in order to propagate its causes. But as the CCP was not a legal organisation in British Malaya, most of them carried out their task as CDL members. Among these writers, those who played important roles in the *Feng Xia* and the *Nan Chiau* were Hu Yu-zhi, Shen Zi-jiu, Wang Jin-ding, Hong Si-si, Rao Zhang-feng, Xia Yan, Gao Yun-lan, Zhang Ming-lun and Wang Ren-shu as China-oriented advocates and Zhou Rong as an exceptional Malaya-oriented advocate. Hu, Wang, Gao and Xia were directed by Zhou En-lai 周恩來 to come to Malaya to mobilize Chinese support to the CCP.⁵³ Xia and Rao seemed

to be the highest-ranking CCP members in Malaya as a director of the secret party agent called “Cultural Cell” (文化小組). During the Japanese occupation period, 7 of these writers, Hu, Shen, Gao, Hong, Wang Ren-shu, Zhang Ming-lun and Wang Jin-ding concealed themselves in Sumatra. Except for Wang Ren-shu, who continued the Indonesian Independence struggle against the Dutch, six others came back to Malaya after the Japanese surrender. Wang Ren-shu, who was arrested by the Dutch colonial government and deported to China in 1947, occasionally contributed articles to the *Feng Xia* and the *Nan Chiau*.

On the contrary, the MCP members who had long stayed in Malaya participated in the anti-Japanese guerrilla war. They did not positively advocate taking part in China politics. A typical person is Zhou Rong. Before the Pacific War, he wrote anti-Japanese novels praising the Malayan Chinese’s patriotism towards China. During the War, he joined the MPAJA and the MCP. After the end of the War, he began to stress that Malaya should become the homeland of the Malayan Chinese and was regarded as one of the most influential advocates of the Malaya-oriented group.

Earlier, I referred to Ma Hua as a Malaya-oriented writer. According to a prominent critic of Malayan Chinese literature, Fang Xiu, Ma Hua was 80 per cent the same person as Zhou Rong.⁵⁴

Whatever role they played, most of them were finally regarded as threat to the colonial rule. Those who were more directly related to the MCP were deported first, mainly soon after the proclamation of the Emergency in June 1948. Those who were China-oriented were allowed to continue China-oriented activities for a while. But within a few years they were also deported. On 12th May 1949, branches of the KMT and the CDL were banned in Malaya. Thus there remained no room for them to spread their thought and influence in Malaya.

While the mainstream China-oriented writers assumed various important Party as well as national positions such as member of the National People's Representative Congress, the Malaya-oriented writers' position tend to remain to be of provincial level at the highest. Zhou Rong was conspicuous here too. He participated in the MCP's anti-British national liberation war in June 1948. In 1961, following the order of the Party, he left the guerrilla base in South Thailand and, through Laos and Vietnam, entered China by land. In China, he was steadfastly reluctant to participate in China politics and remained to be one of the representatives of the MCP. After the MCP's radio station, Voice of Malayan Revolution (馬來亞革命之聲), was established in Hunan in 1969, he was in charge of the Chinese language broadcasting till the closure of the station at the end of June 1981.

During the Cultural Revolution between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, most of them were criticised or persecuted and a few of them killed. At that time returned overseas Chinese as a whole were accused to have black connections with capitalists living abroad. Wang Ren-shu was criticised in the early 1960s to have given priority to human heart than to political principles and was prosecuted during the Cultural Revolution for having received money from the KMT in the 1930s.⁵⁵ Rao Zhang-feng was impeached for establishing various joint ventures with overseas Chinese capitalists in Guangdong in the early years of the People's Republic and for protecting the intellectuals from the anti-rightists campaign in Guangdong in the 1960s.⁵⁶ All were rehabilitated and their honour retrieved after the end of the Cultural Revolution.

5.2. Writers Who Were Born in Malaya

Seven writers who were born in Malaya and forced to go to China for good later are listed in Table 2. (Please see table at the end of the article.)

Of them, 5 went to China to study and once came back to Malaya. Their close attachment to China must be nurtured through this experience. Though only two are supposed to have joined the MCP, all of them actively participated in Malayan politics. At the same time, reflecting the China-oriented sentiment of the Malayan Chinese in general and of the MCP in particular in the early post-War period, they were also involved in China politics. Chen Qiu-fang 陳秋舫 worked both for *Min Sheng Pao*, MCP's organ paper, and for *Xiandai Ribao* 現代日報 (*Modern Daily News*), CDL Penang Division's organ paper. Chen Zhong-da, Han Meng 韓萌 and Wu Liu-si 吳柳斯 were involved in *Nan Chiau*. Chen Zhong-da was involved in *Feng Xia* as well. Notwithstanding this, almost all of them were deported by the colonial authorities due to anti-British activities, not due to pro-CCP activities. Though Chen Qiu-fang and Lin Zi 林紫 (his pen-name is Mi Jun 米軍) were not officially deported, they had no other way but to flee from Malaya to evade arrest.⁵⁷ Ma Yang 馬陽, who is much younger than others, attracted attention due to anti-colonial novels in his higher secondary school days and was expelled from school. He went to China to continue his study and to pursue his political idealism.⁵⁸ It can be assumed that their twofold priority of China and Malaya gradually changed and, prior to their deportation, their priority was given to Malayan politics. A typical person was Chen Zhong-da. He was so well acquainted with the China-born writers led by Hu Yu-zhi that he fled to Sumatra with them during the Japanese occupation period. After coming back to Singapore in August 1945, he was involved in both of *Nan Chiau* and *Feng Xia* and joined the CDL. Yet, his different stance became gradually noticeable. With exceptional consistency, he stressed the importance of Malayan consciousness and Malayan politics in these publications.

Like the China-born writers who had long lived in Malaya, their positions in China were restricted to the provincial level at the highest. Most of them were also oppressed during the Cultural Revolution. Especially, Chen Zhong-da died due to persecution in the early stage of it. Xiao Cun 蕭村 survived this turmoil period as an economist, not a novelist. After being re-admitted into the literary circle, his works are well received in Malaysia and Singapore. A few of them were published by a publisher, which was set up by a former MCP member, in Hong Kong. An anthology of Ma Yang's prose was published in Singapore in 1987. It seems that the Malaysian as well as Singaporean Chinese now have closer attachment to them than the China-born writers who did not stay in Malaya for long.

6. Conclusion

In the early post-War years, the Malayan Chinese in general and the Chinese members of the MCP in particular considered themselves as Chinese nationals. When Malayan citizenship was proposed by the colonial authorities, they wanted to have double nationality. They considered that it was their right as well as obligation to participate in political struggle not only in Malaya but also in China. Here existed common understanding between those who were China-oriented and those who were Malaya-oriented. The main advocates of the former group were writers who came to Malaya in the late 1930s. Both the China-born writers who came to Malaya earlier and had lived there for more than 10 years and the Malaya-born writers tended to become the advocates of the latter group. The former comparatively stressed the importance of the struggle of China, the latter of Malaya. While both groups considered that the Malayan Chinese should participate in the struggle both in China and in Malaya, *Feng Xia* provided a common

place to publicise their view. Rift between the two groups, however, gradually widened and deepened. When the MCP renounced the double nationality theory and decided to wage an armed struggle by early 1948, the difference between the two groups' stands became obvious. The Malaya-oriented group was involved in the MCP's anti-British struggle. The China-oriented group chose a way to participate in the final struggle against the KMT and in the construction of the new China, the People's Republic of China. As the Malaya-oriented group was regarded a direct threat to the colonial authorities, they were arrested and deported to China soon after the proclamation of Emergency. The China-oriented group was allowed to continue their pro-CCP activities for a few years. With the banning of the CDL's papers, *Nan Chiau* and *Xiandai Ribao* (*Modern Daily News*) on 21st September 1950, their activities in Malaya totally came to an end. By that time, almost all of the China-oriented writers were also deported to China.

After coming back to China, most of the China-oriented writers played important roles on the national level. Meanwhile, the Malaya-oriented writers' positions were on the provincial level at the highest. Anyhow, almost all of them were criticised and suppressed during the Cultural Revolution and only retrieved their honour after the Cultural Revolution.

Nowadays, their works, especially those of the Malaya-oriented writers, are also published in Malaysia and Singapore. This seems to show that their past activities in Malaya have been re-evaluated or re-esteemed several decades afterwards.

Notes

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1. If not mentioned otherwise, Malaya in this article includes Singapore.
 2. To show a few: O'ballance, E.(1966). *Malaya: The Communist insurgent war, 1948-1960*. London: Faber and Faber. / Hanrahan, G.Z. (1971). *The Communist struggle in Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press. / Lee Kam Hing and Tan Chee-Beng (eds) (2000). *The Chinese in Malaysia*. Selangor: Oxford University Press. / Guo Yan 郭岩 (1980). *Mahua yu Huaren shehui* 馬華與華人社會 [Malaysian Chinese and Chinese society]. Kuala Lumpur: 讀者服務機構 (Readers Service Organization). / Song Zhe-ming 宋哲明 (1963). *Malaixiya Huaren shi* 馬來西亞華人史 [history of Malaysian Chinese]. Hong Kong: Zhonghua Wenhua Shiye Gongsi 中華文化事業公司.
 3. Hara Fujio 原 不二夫 (1978). Maraya Kysanto to Konichi Senso マラヤ共産党と抗日戦争 [the Malayan Communist Party and its Anti-Japanese War]. *Ajia Keizai* アジア経済 (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies), Vol. 19, No. 8, August 1978.

4. Xin-Ma Qiaoyou Hui 新馬僑友會 (ed.) (1992). *Malaiya Renmin Kang-Ri Jun* 馬來亞人民抗日軍 [Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army]. Hong Kong: 見證出版社, pp. 134-137.
5. Interview with Mr Chen Rui-yao 陳瑞瑤. 4th September 1994. Singapore.
6. Cheah Boon Kheng (1979). *The masked comrades*. Singapore: Times Books International, p. 4.
7. Both H.S. Lee and Lau Pak Khuan were leaders of the Kuomintang Movement in Malaya since the 1930s and were founding leaders of the MCA.
8. 中國人民政治協商會議他編 (People's Political Consultative Conference of China *et al.* (eds)) (1984). *Huiyi Chen Jia-geng* 回憶陳嘉庚 [recollection of Tan Kah Kee]. Beijing: 文史資料出版社, p. 140.
9. Chui Kui Chiang 崔貴強 (Cui Gui-qiang) (1989). *Xin-Ma Huaren guojia rentong de zhuanxiang*, 1945-1959 新馬華人國家認同的轉向, 1945-1959 [conversion of national identity consciousness of the Chinese of Singapore and Malaya, 1945-1959]. Xiamen: 廈門大學出版社, pp. 82-86.
10. With regard to the stand of *NYSP* and *SCJP*, see: Cui Gui-qiang 崔貴強 (1993). *Xinjiapo Huawen baokan yu baoren* 新加坡報刊與報人 [Chinese newspapers and journalists of Singapore]. Singapore: 海天文化企業, pp. 159-163.
11. As a result of increased tension between the British colonial administration and the Communists, State of Emergency was proclaimed in whole Malaya and mass arrests were executed on 20th June 1948. Armed struggle of the MCP began.
12. Cui Gui-qiang (1993), pp.185-191.
13. Yu You 于友 (1993). *Hu Yu-zhi zhuan* 胡愈之傳 [biography of Hu Yu-zhi]. Beijing: 新華出版社.
14. At that time around, to fight against the CCP, the KMT sought a cordial relation with Japan and thus was reluctant to commemorate 7th of July.

15. *Nanyang Siang Pau*, 1st October 1956.
16. The People's Constitutional Proposal was drafted by Malay, Chinese and Indian leftists on 10th August 1947. It was an outcome after a few months of discussion within the Putera-AMCJA coalition (Putera, i.e. "Pusat Tenaga Rakyat" – Malay leftists; AMCJA, i.e. "All Malaya Council of Joint Action" – Chinese and Indian leftists). It stipulates, among others, to give Melayu nationality to all those who consider Malaya as their own eternal home country.
17. Prior to the Japanese invasion, Luo Sao was a member of the Singapore Intellectuals' Anti-Japanese Association (星洲文化界戰時工作團 whose director was Yu Da-fu and deputy director was Hu Yu-zhi) and was in charge of political training of the Singapore Chinese Volunteer Force (星洲華僑義勇軍). See: Zhang chu-kun 張楚琨 (2007). 〈回憶流亡中的郁達夫〉 [Yu Da-fu in exile in my memoir"] <http://www.gmw.cn/content/2007-02/28/content_560359.htm> (accessed on 7th August 2013).
18. *Min Sheng Pao* was inaugurated at the end of August 1945 as an MCP's organ daily paper. Its managing director was Li Shao-zhong 李少中 (1919-1951), chief editor Liew Yit Fan 劉一帆 (Liu Yi-fan, 1915-1984). When the War ended, the MCP had a membership of 8,000. According to a former *MSP* staff, while another MCP paper issued by the former anti-Japanese guerrillas, *Combatants' Friend* (*Zhanyou Bao* 戰友報) was circulated inside the MCP only, *MSP* was openly sold to the public and had a foremost influence in Malaya (Qiu Yihong 邱依虹 (2006). Xiao Hua 小花 (僑史資料). 福建僑聯網, 3rd March 2006. 福建省歸國華僑聯合會 (Returned Overseas Chinese Federation of Fujian) <<http://www.fjql.org/qszl/a34.htm>> (accessed on 10th August 2013). (原載：校友通訊，福建師範大學校友總會編，2005年第1期。)). On 17th June 1948, the *MSP* was banned. Li joined the guerrillas and died in the jungle. Liew was arrested and deported to China in 1955.

19. The Malayan Indian Congress was formed by the Malayan Indians in August 1946. It was a member of the AMCJA.
20. Led by the Putera-AMCJA coalition, commercial activities all over Malaya were stopped to oppose the FM proposal on 20th October 1947.
21. The MDU was formed by the moderate leftists on 21st December 1945. Its members consisted mainly of the English-educated Chinese. It was dissolved soon after the proclamation of Emergency.
22. Tan Cheng Lock (1883-1960) was a leader of the ALCJA and the founder of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA).
23. Tan Cheng Lock proposed to set up the Malayan Chinese League on 25th November 1947. It was to be realised as the MCA on 27th February 1949.
24. *Min Sheng Pao*, 27th November 1947, 7th and 8th February 1948, 5th April 1948.
25. *Ibid.*, 18th February 1948, 4th March 1948.
26. The Malay Nationalist Party (Partai Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya. PKMM) was formed in September 1945 mainly by the former KMM (Kesatuan Melayu Muda) members. It led the Putera in the anti-FM movements and was banned in April 1950.
27. The United Malays National Organisation was formed in May 1946 to oppose the Malayan Union proposal which they regarded as infringing the rights of the Malays.
28. The Communist Youth Conference was held from 19th February 1948 to 24th February 1948 in Calcutta (present Kolkata), India.
29. It was formerly said that this resolution had prompted the MCP to start an armed struggle against the British colonial rule. As far as the China-inclined Chinese are concerned, however, this theory is apparently wrong.
30. According to these articles, during the Japanese occupation, Lin Ya-liang was caught by the Japanese military police (*tokkō* 特高) on 28th September 1944. Though freed soon after Japanese surrender, he was weakened. He was re-arrested by the colonial authorities in February 1947.

31. Chen Tian (1923-1990) was the Commander of the 4th Regiment of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army. He was an aide of Chin Peng 陳平 at the Baling Peace Talks in December 1955. He was appointed an MCP's Central Committee member in 1959.
32. Lau Yew (1915-1948) was the president of the Ex-service Comrades Association that was formed when the MPAJA was disbanded on 1st December 1945. He was killed by the British army in July 1948.
33. Eu Chooi Yip (1918-1995) led the underground movement of the MCP in Singapore until he secretly migrated to Indonesia in 1953. He was appointed an MCP Central Committee member in 1959 and the deputy representative of the MNLL Indonesian Office in 1965.
34. 黎亞久 主編 (Li Ya-jiu *et al.* (eds)) (2009). 《新馬歸僑抗日抗英人名錄》 (*Who's who of returned overseas Chinese who fought the Japanese aggression & British rule in Malaya & Singapore*), Volume 1. Hong Kong: 足印出版社, pp. 54, 74, 90, 124, 159, 165, 166, 177, 191, 202, 220, 221, 229, 233, 238. / 黎亞久 主編 (Li Ya-jiu *et al.* (eds)) (2011). 《新馬歸僑抗日抗英人名錄》 (*Who's who of returned overseas Chinese who fought the Japanese aggression & British rule in Malaya & Singapore*), Volume 2 (續集), pp. 126-128 (Chen Qi-hui), 129-133, 218-222, 230, 231, 243, 244.
35. *Ibid.* (2009), pp. 198, 242, 253.
36. 彭國強 主編 (Peng Guo-qiang *et al.* (eds)) (2005). *Jiqing suiyue* 激情歲月 [passionate years]. Hong Kong: 見證出版社, p. 8.
37. Zhi Gong Dang is originated from an anti-Qing dynasty secret society, Ang Bin Hui 洪門會. It supported Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement and subsequently had, and still has, close connection with the CCP.
38. See Note 24.
39. The General Labor Union was formed on 16th February 1946 under the MCP leadership. In order not to breach the new colonial regulations, it was reorganised into the FTUs on 17th February 1947.

40. *Min Sheng Pao*, 10th May 1946.
41. *Min Sheng Pao*, 27th and 31st May 1946, 7th June 1946.
42. *Min Sheng Pao*, 3rd June 1946. “Baba” refers to Chinese descendants who had lived in Malaya for generations and adapted to Malay customs.
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47. *Nan Chiau Jit Pao*, 16th March 1948.
48. Xia Yan 夏衍 (1996). 《夏衍自傳》 [autobiography of Xia Yan] Nanjing: 江蘇文藝出版社, pp. 191, 192.
49. *Combatants' Friend*, 5th December 1947.
50. *Combatants' Friend*, 26th December 1947.
51. *Combatants' Friend*, 16th March 1948.
52. *Combatants' Friend*, 16th May 1948.
53. Hu Yu-zhi 胡愈之 (1990). *Wo de huiyi* 我的回憶 [my reminiscence], Nanjing: 江蘇人民出版社, pp. 58-81. / Ba Ren 巴人 (Wang Ren-shu 王任叔) (1984). *Yinni sanji* 印尼散記 [stroll in Indonesia]. Changsha: 湖南人民出版社, p. 332. / Gao Xun-ying 高迅瑩 (2000). *Gao Yun-lan zhuan* 高雲覽傳 [biography of Gao Yun-lan]. Fuzhou: 海峽文藝出版社, pp. 252, 253.
54. Interview with Mr Fang Xiu in Singapore on 23rd May 1988. / On the other hand, a former leader of the MCP, Mr Chang Ming Ching 張明今 (Zhang Ming-jin) said to me that Ma Hua was a pseudonym of an MCP leader Yang Mu 楊木 (interview with Mr Chang in Guangzhou on 3rd

- September 1993). According to an MCP web-site, Yang Mu was an MCP South Johor Regional Committee member in 1942, Central Committee member in 1947 and killed by the British army in 1957 <<http://www.of21.com/doku.php?id=%E7%83%88%E5%A3%AB:%E6%8A%97%E8%8B%B1%E6%88%98%E4%BA%89%E4%B8%AD%EF%BC%8C%E5%9C%A8%E4%B8%8A%E9%9C%B9%E9%9B%B3%E7%89%BA%E7%89%B2%E7%9A%84%E7%83%88%E5%A3%AB&s=%E6%9D%A8%20%E6%9C%A8>> (accessed on 1st March 2013).
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Table 1 China-Born Malayan Chinese Writers Who Returned to China

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Years of Birth and Death	Place of Origin	Year Came to Malaya	Age at Entry	Year Returned to China	Length of Stay in Malaya (years)
Bai Han (Xie Yao-hui)	1919-	Fujian	1947	28	1951	4
Bing Mei (Yang Zhi-zhen)	1931-	Fujian	1947	16	1957	10
Chen Ru-jiu (Chen Zu Chiu)	1911- 1983	Zhejiang	1926	15	1932	18
Dongfang Bingding			1934 (again)		1946 (deported)	
Ding Bo (Li Ye-qin)	1912- 2001	Hunan	mid-1947	35	1949 (deported)	2
Du Bian (Su Zhong-ren)	1914- 1997	Xiamen	1936	22	1948 (deported)	12
Gao Yun-lan (Gao Yi-chang)	1910- 1956	Fujian	1937 (1942-45 Indonesia)	27	1949 (deported)	9
Hong Si-si / Ang Shih Shih (Hong Yong-an)	1907- 1989	Fujian	1932 (1942-45 Indonesia)	25	1950 (deported)	17
Hu Yu-zhi (Sha Ping)	1896- 1986	Zhejiang	1940 (1942-45 Indonesia)	44	March 1948	5
Li Wei-gang (Li Mei-zi)	1910- 1988	Hakka (Guang- dong)	1928	18	1948 (deported)	20

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Years of Birth and Death	Place of Origin	Year Came to Malaya	Age at Entry	Year Returned to China	Length of Stay in Malaya (years)
Lin Feng		Fujian				
Ma Ning (Huang Zhen- cun)	1901- 2001	Fujian	1931, 1941, 1946	22	1934, 1941, 1948 (deported)	6
Mei Xiu / Mui Sau (Mei Jin-hua)		Guang- dong	Before War		1946 (deported)	
Peng Shi-zhen (Peng He- sheng)	1912- 1972	Guangxi	1946	34	1950 (deported, virtually)	4
Qin Mu (Lin Jue-fu)	1919- 1992	Guang- dong	1922	3	1932	10
Qiu Jia-zhen (Qiu Shi-zhen)	1905- 1993	Fujian	1930	25	1949 (deported)	19
Rao Zhang-feng (Rao Gao-ping)	1913- 1970	Guang- dong	1947, 1948	34	End of 1947 1948 (deported)	1
Shen Zi-jiu	1898- 1989	Zhejiang	1941 (1942-45 Indonesia)	43	March 1948	4
Wang Jin-ding (Jin Ding)	1910- 1998	Hebei	1938 (1942-45 Indonesia)	28	1949	8
Wang Ren-shu (Ba Ren)	1897- 1972	Zhejiang	1941, January 1946 (1942-47 Indonesia)	44	1947 (from Indonesia)	1

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Years of Birth and Death	Place of Origin	Year Came to Malaya	Age at Entry	Year Returned to China	Length of Stay in Malaya (years)
Xia Yan (Shen Duan- xian)	1900- 1995	Zhejiang	March 1947	47	End of 1947 (deported)	1
Yang Jia (Li Xuan)	1917- 1995	Liaoning	1940	23	1949 (deported)	6
Zhang Ming- lun (Zhang Qi- cheng)	1913- ?	Zhejiang	1941 (1942-45 Indonesia)	28	1948 (deported)	4
Zhou Rong (Jin Zhi-mang)	1912- 1988	Jiangsu	1935	23	1961 (by land)	16

Table 1 (Cont.)

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Party Affiliated	Activities or Affiliations in Malaya	Activities or Affiliations in China
Bai Han (Xie Yao-hui)	Zhi Gong	Teacher, Playwright	Dep. Dir., Publicity Dep., ACFROC (56), Vice- Chairman, Beijing ZG
Bing Mei (Yang Zhi-zhen)		Teacher, Novelist, <i>SCJP</i>	Writer, Ass. Prof., Xiamen University
Chen Ru-jiu (Chen Zu Chiu)	MCP (1945)	MPAJA	Dep. Dir., Publicity Dep., CCP Guangzhou
Dongfang Bingding	CCP (after.return)	<i>New Democracy</i>	Commit.

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Party Affiliated	Activities or Affiliations in Malaya	Activities or Affiliations in China
Ding Bo (Li Ye-qin)	CCP (1938)	China Drama Troop	Dir., Cultural Bureau, Guangzhou, Dep. Chair., FLAC, Guangdong
Du Bian (Su Zhong-ren)	MCP(left later)	MPAJA, Chair. People's Comm., South Jh., Playwright	Playwright, Cinema producer
Gao Yun-lan (Gao Yi-chang)	CDL (1946)	Teacher, Writer, <i>NYSP</i> , AEBS, <i>Nan Chiau</i>	Trading Co. (1951. Donated to Government 1955)
Hong Si-si / Ang Shih Shih (Hong Yong-an)	CDL (1947), CCP (1982)	<i>KWYP</i> , <i>Nan Chiau</i>	PRC (I II III V), St. Com. PRC (VI), Dep. Chair., ACFROC (II III), Cen. Com. CDL (1979, 1983)
Hu Yu-zhi (Sha Ping)	CCP (1933), CDL	<i>NYSP</i> , <i>Nan Chiau</i> , Dir., Malayan Br., CDL	Dep. Minister of Culture (1956), St. Com., PRC (I- V), Dep. Pre., PRC (VI), PPCC (II-IV), Vice-Chair, PPCC (V), Vice-Chair, CDL(1958)
Li Wei-gang (Li Mei-zi)	CDL (1946), MCP (1948) ZG (1948.after return)	Teacher, Writer, MPAJA, <i>Nan Chiau</i> , SCJA, Dir., Publicity Dep., CDL Sp.	PPCC (VI), Dep.Chair., Guangzhou PPCC,! Chair., Guangzhou FROC, St. Com., ZG (1988)
Lin Feng		Teacher	Guangdong ROCWA
Ma Ning (Huang Zhen- cun)	CCP (1930), MCP	Teacher, Writer, Malayan AIL, <i>KWYP</i>	Novelist, Fujian PRC (I- III), Fujian PPCC (IV), Dir. Cultural Bureau, Fujian
Mei Xiu / Mui Sau (Mei Jin-hua)	MCP ?	Writer, MPAJA, <i>Qianxian Bao</i>	

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Party Affiliated	Activities or Affiliations in Malaya	Activities or Affiliations in China
Peng Shi-zhen (Peng He-sheng)	CCP (1937), CDL (1946)	<i>Nan Chiau, Feng Xia</i>	Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe, Renmin Chubanshe
Qin Mu (Lin Jue-fu)	CDL (1944), CCP (1963)		CCP (XII), PRC (VII), Vice-Chair, Guangdong FLAC (1978), Guangdong PRC (I-IV)
Qiu Jia-zhen (Qiu Shi-zhen)		Teacher, Writer, <i>Min Sheng Pao</i>	
Rao Zhang-feng (Rao Gao-ping)	CCP (1936)	Sp. Branch, NCNA <i>New Democracy</i> Publisher, Cultural Cell, CCP	Dir., United Front Dept., CCP South China Bureau, Vice-Chair., Guangdong PPCC
Shen Zi-jiu	CCP (1939), CDL CDL	<i>Feng Xia, Xin Funü</i>	PRC (I-III V VI), PPCC (I-III), St. Com. ACFROC (I II), St. Com., CDL (1958, 1979, 1983)
Wang Jin-ding (Jin Ding)	CCP (1924), CDL	Teacher, Writer, <i>Feng Xia</i>	PPCC(VI), Prof., Peopl's Univ., Cen. Com., CDL
Wang Ren-shu (Ba Ren)	CCP (1927)	Teacher, Writer, <i>NYSP</i> Feng Xia, Nan Chiau <i>Qianjin Weekly</i> (Medan)	Ambr. to Indon (Jul.50- Jan.52), ACFROC (49), Man. Dir., People's Literature Pub. (1957)
Xia Yan (Shen Duan-xian)	CDL (1946), CCP (1981)	<i>Nan Chiau</i> , Chief, Cul. Shell of CCP	Dep. Minister of Culture (1954), PRC (I-III), PPCC (I), St. Com., PPCC (V), OCAC (1957)
Yang Jia (Li Xuan)		AEBS, <i>Nan Chiau</i> , Writer, Teacher	Prof., Jinan University, China Writers' Association, Dep. Chair., Guangdong ROCWA (1981)

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Party Affiliated	Activities or Affiliations in Malaya	Activities or Affiliations in China
Zhang Ming-lun (Zhang Qi- cheng)	CDL	<i>NYSP, Feng Xia</i> , SCJA, Esperantist	Sec. Gen., National Esperantists Association
Zhou Rong (Jin Zhi-mang)	MCP (War time)	Writer, MPAJA MNLA	Voice of Malayan Revolution Sec., Overseas Office, MCP

Table 1 (Cont.)

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Main Works in Malaya	Main Works in China	Remarks
Bai Han (Xie Yao-hui)	Xinjiapo Hepan (1950)	Selected Works of Bai Han (2002)	
Bing Mei (Yang Zhi-zhen)	Qiong Huang Ye Cao (1955)		To Hong Kong (1975)
Chen Ru-jiu (Chen Zu Chiu)	Jin Ye-qiong Si Jun (1938)		Dismissed from CCP, xiafang (1958)
Dongfang Bingding			Rehabilitated (1979)
Ding Bo (Li Ye-qin)	Fengyu Nanyang Xing (1988)		Persecuted in Cultural Revolution
Du Bian (Su Zhong-ren)	Yexin Jia (1946)	Zhuri Zhe (1998)	
Gao Yun-lan (Gao Yi-chang)	Chunqiu Que (1946)	Xiaocheng Chunqiu (1956)	Translated into Japanese (1964)

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Main Works in Malaya	Main Works in China	Remarks
Hong Si-si / Ang Shih Shih (Hong Yong-an)		Yixiang Qiyu (1980)	<i>Xiafang</i> , <i>laogai</i> in Cultural Revolution
Hu Yu-zhi (Sha Ping)	Shaonian Hangkong Bing (1942), Hu Yu-zhi Zuopin Xuan (1979)		
Li Wei-gang (Li Mei-zi)	Shu Junshi de Gushi (1930s)		
Lin Feng			
Ma Ning (Huang Zhen- cun)	Lülin Zhong (1932)	Selected Works of Ma Ning (1991)	
Mei Xiu / Mui Sau (Mei Jin-hua)	Xiaocheng Youmeng (1946 ?)		
Peng Shi-zhen (Peng He- sheng)			Criticised as rightist , <i>laogai</i> (1958) Criticised as rightist (1963)
Qin Mu (Lin Jue-fu)		Huangjin Hai'an (1955) Fennu de Hai (1982)	
Qiu Jia-zhen (Qiu Shi-zhen)	Baba yu Niangre (1932) Fuchou (1948)		
Rao Zhang-feng (Rao Gao-ping)			Tortured to death during the Cultural Revolution

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Main Works in Malaya	Main Works in China	Remarks
Shen Zi-jiu			Mrs Hu Yuzhi Studied in Japan (1921-25)
Wang Jin-ding (Jin Ding)	Lunxian Yihou (1938) Jinding Zuopin Xuan (1979)	Lu Haimeiyu Zouwan (1997)	Criticised during the Cultural Revolution
Wang Ren-shu (Ba Ren)	Liangdai de Ai (1941)	Long E (1986), Fengzi Yinni Jindai Shi (1965, pub. in 1995)	Died due to disease caused by oppression during the Cultural Revolution Rehabilitated (1979)
Xia Yan (Shen Duan-xian)	Xue Shu (1948, HK)	Fengyu Diren Qing (1996)	Persecuted during the Cultural Revolution
Yang Jia (Li Xuan)	Xingzhou Er Fangdong (1946)	Luying Quansheng (1960) Haiwai Liufeng (1992)	
Zhang Ming-lun (Zhang Qi- cheng)			
Zhou Rong (Jin Zhi-mang)	Ba Jiu Bai Ge (1938) Duyangyang he Tade Buluo (1954) Ji'e (1960)		Ba jiu – translated into Japanese in 1994 Du – republished in KL in 2004 J'ie – republished in KL in 2008

Notes:

ZG – Zhi Gong Dang 致公黨

ACFROC – All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese (中華全國歸國華僑聯合會)

SCJP – Sin Chew Jit Poh 星洲日報

New Democracy (新民主報)

FLAC – (China) Federation of Literary & Art Circles ([中國] 文學藝術界聯合會 / 文聯)

Jh – Johor
 KL – Kuala Lumpur
 CDL – China Democratic League (中國民主同盟)
 NYSP – *Nanyang Siang Pau* 南洋商報
 AEBS – Anti-Enemy Backing-up Society (抗敵後援會)
 Xinjiapo Hepan 新加坡河畔
 Qiong Huang Ye Cao 窮荒野草
 Jin Ye-qiong Si Jun 金葉瓊思君
 Fengyu Nanyang Xing 風雨南洋行
 Yexin Jia 野心家
 Zhuri Zhe 逐日者
 Chunqiu Que 春秋却
 Xiaocheng Chuqiu 小城春秋
 PRC – People's Representative Congress (全國人民代表大會)
 PPCC – People's Political Consultative Conference (中國人民政治協商會議)
 Shaonian Hangkong Bing 少年航空兵
 Hu Yu-zhi Zuopin Xuan 胡愈之作品選
 SCJA – Singapore Chinese Journalists' Association (星華記者公會)
 Shu Junshi de Gushi 鼠軍師的故事
 AIL – Anti-Imperialism League (反帝大同盟)
 KWYP – *Kwong Wah Yit Poh* 光華日報
 Lulin Zhong 綠林中
 ROCWA – Returned Overseas Chinese Writers' Association (歸僑作家
 聯誼會)
 Xiaocheng Youmeng 小城優夢
 Yixiang Qiyu 異鄉奇遇
 Xiafang 下放 – sent down to the countryside
 Laogai 勞改 – reform through labour
 Qianxian Bao 前線報
 Huangjin Hai'an 黃金海岸
 Fennu de Hai 憤怒的海
 Min Sheng Pao 民聲報
 Baba yu Niangre 峇峇與娘惹
 NCNA – New China News Agency (新華社)
 Fuchou 復仇
 Lunxian Yihou 淪陷以後
 Jinding Zuopin Xuan 金丁作品選
 Lu Haimeiyou Zouwan 路還沒有走完
 Qianjin Weekly (前進週刊)

Liangdai de Ai 兩代的愛

Long E 龍厄

Fengzi 風子

Yinni Jindai Shi 印度尼西亞近代史

OCAC – Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee (華僑事務委員會 , PRC)

Xue Shu 血書

Fengyu Diren Qing 風雨敵人情

Xingzhou Er Fangdong 星洲二房東

Luying Quansheng 鹿影泉聲

Haiwai Liufeng 海外流風

MNLA – Malayan National Liberation Army (馬來亞民族解放軍)

Ba Jiu Bai Ge 八九百個

Duyangyang he Tade Buluo 督央央和他的部落

Ji'e 飢餓

Shijie Zhishi Chubanshe 世界知識出版社

Renmin Chubanshe 人民出版社

Table 2 Malaya-Born Malayan Chinese Writers Who Went to China

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Years of Birth and Death	Place of Ancestral Origin	Year Came to Malaya	Year Returned to China
Chen Qiu-fang (Shi Ting)	1926	Guangdong (Mei Xian)		1949
Chen Zhong-da (Zhong Zhao- rong)	1912 1966 Singapore	Guangdong (Nanhai)	1937 (from student) August 1945 (from Indonesia) (1942-45 Indonesia)	1930 (study), 1948 (deported)
Han Meng (Chen Jun-shan)	1922- Kedah	Chaozhou	1946 (from student)	1937 (study), 1951
Lin Zi (Mi Jun)	1922-2004 Kedah	Chaozhou	1947 (from student)	1941 (study), 1949

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Years of Birth and Death	Place of Ancestral Origin	Year Came to Malaya	Year Went to China
Ma Yang	1938- Johor	Guangdong		1961 (study)
Wu Liu-si	1918-2000 Ipoh	Guangdong		1948 (deported)
Xiao Cun (Li Jun-zhe)	1929- Singapore	Fujian	September 1945 (from student)	early 1940s (study) 1950 (deported)

Table 2 (Cont.)

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Party Affiliated	Activities or Affiliations in Malaya	Activities or Affiliations in China
Chen Qiu-fang (Shi Ting)		Anti-Jap. movement, <i>XDRB</i> , <i>Min Sheng Pao</i>	Dep. Dir., Guangdong ROCWA
Chen Zhong-da (Zhong Zhao- rong)	CDL, CCP	<i>Nan Chiau, Feng Xia</i> , Teacher, SCJA	St. Com., Guangzhou Cultural Bureau, St. Co., Guangzhou PPCC (V), Dep. Chair., Guangzhou FLAC
Han Meng (Chen Jun-shan)	MCP ?	Teacher, Writer, <i>Nan Chiau</i>	Guangdong PPCC, Dep. Chair., Swatou FROC
Lin Zi (Mi Jun)		Teacher, Writer	Dir., Guangdong ROCWA Dep. Chair., Guangdong CAPW
Ma Yang		Writer	Teacher, Writer, Dir., Guangdong Society of Overseas Chinese Studies

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Party Affiliated	Activities or Affiliations in Malaya	Activities or Affiliations in China
Wu Liu-si		Teacher, <i>NYSP</i> , <i>Nan Chiau</i>	Dir., <i>YCWB</i> (1994) Dep. Dir., Guangdong ROCWA
Xiao Cun (Li Jun-zhe)	MCP ? CCP	Teacher, Writer, Painter	Economist, Liaoning Economic Institute, Vice-President, Liaoning Society of Overseas Chinese History

Table 2 (Cont.)

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Main Works in Malaya	Main Works in China	Remarks
Chen Qiu-fang (Shi Ting)	Biele, Xinjiapo (c. 1948)	Chunri Manyu (1990)	Criticised as rightist (1958) Rehabilitated (1979)
Chen Zhong-da (Zhong Zhao- rong)		Zenyang Xuexi Shishi (1950)	Died due to persecution during the Cultural Revolution; rehabilitated later
Han Meng (Chen Jun-shan)	Guopan Xinniang (1946)	Qizhouyang Shang (1950) Xungen Qiyu (1987)	Criticised as rightist (1958)
Lin Zi (Mi Jun)	Redai Shichao (1950) (Japanese 1981)	Zhan Ai Ji (1981, later Japanese) Tiao Longling Liang (1995)	Hu Feng Incident (1955), <i>laogai</i> (1966), rehabilitated (1981)
Ma Yang	Shahe Anshang de Liang (1961) Aiqing Shiqing Shiqing (1987)	Tianya (1962) Yingwai Suping (1991)	<i>Xiafang</i> during the Cultural Revolution

Name (Alias Name in Brackets)	Main Works in Malaya	Main Works in China	Remarks
Wu Liu-si	Sheng yu Si de Jiaozhu (1945)	Wangshi Boluan (1992)	
Xiao Cun (Li Jun-zhe)	Guoshu Shi (late 1940s)	Qiaoxiang Renjia (1999) Hunying Nanyang (2000) (by Nandao Pub. of HK)	1956-78. No place in literary circles in China

Notes:

XDRB – *Xiandai Ribao* 現代日報

Biele, Xinjiapo 別了，新加坡

Chunri Manyu 春日漫語

Zenyang Xuexi Shishi 怎樣學習時事

Guopan Xinniang 過番新娘

Qizhouyang Shang 七洲洋上

Xungen Qiyu 尋根奇遇

Redai Shichao 熱帶詩抄

CAPW – China Association of Playwrights (中國戲劇家協會)

Zhan Ai Ji 戰癌記

Tiao Longling Liange 跳瓏玲戀歌

Shahe Anshang de Liange 沙河岸上的戀歌

Aiqing Shiqing Shiqing 愛情 詩情 世情

Tianya 天涯

Yingwai Suping 瀛外訴評

YCWB – *Yangcheng Wanbao* 羊城晚報

Sheng yu Si de Jiaozhu 生與死的角逐

Wangshi Boluan 往事波亂

Guoshu Shi 國術師

Qiaoxiang Renjia 僑鄉人家

Hunying Nanyang 魂縈南洋

Appendix Table Literators of the *Feng Xia*: Names and Noms de Plume

Name		Alias name	
Bai Han	白 寒	Xie Yao-hui	謝 耀輝
Bing Mei	冰 梅	Yang Zhi-zhen	楊 志針
Chen Ru-jiu	陳 如舊	Dongfang Bingding	東方 丙丁
Ding Bo	丁 波	Li Ye-qin	李 業勤
Du Bian	杜 邊	Su Zhong-ren	蘇 仲人
Gao Yun-lan	高 雲覽	Gao Yi-chang	高 怡昌
Hong Si-si	洪 絲絲	Hong Yong-an	洪 永安
Hu Yu-zhi	胡 愈之	Sha Ping	沙 平
Li Wei-gang	李 維剛	Li Mei-zi	李 梅子
Lin Feng	林 楓		
Ma Ning	馬 寧	Huang Zhen-cun	黃 震村
Mei Xiu	梅 秀	Mei Jin-hua	梅 金華
Peng Shi-zhen	彭 世禎	Peng He-sheng	彭 赫生
Qin Mu	秦 牧	Lin Jue-fu	林 覺夫
RaoZhang-feng	饒 彰風	Rao Gao-ping	饒 高評
Shen Zi-jiu	沈 茲九		
Wang Jin-ding	汪 金丁	Jin Ding	金 丁
Wang Ren-shu	王 任叔	Ba Ren	巴 人
Xia Yan	夏 衍	Shen Duan-xian	沈 端先
Yang Jia	楊 嘉	Li Xuan	李 玄
Zhang Ming-lun	張 明倫	Zhang Qi-cheng	張 企程
Zhou Rong	周 容	Jin Zhi-mang	金 枝芒
	(Real name)	Chen Shu-ying	陳 樹英
Chen Qiu-fang	陳 秋舫	Shi Ting	史 汀
Chen Zhong-da	陳 仲達	Zhong Zhao-rong	鐘 釗榮
Han Meng	韓 萌	Chen Jun-shan	陳 君山
Lin Zi	林 紫	Mi Jun	米 軍
Ma Yang	馬 陽		
Wu Liu-si	吳 柳斯		
Xiao Cun	蕭 村	Li Jun-zhe	李 君哲