

Malayan Chinese Who Were Deported to China

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Abstract

Relying on two volumes of *Who's Who* published by ex-Malayan Chinese who were forced to come to China between 1948 and 1963, this author intends to investigate (1) where these deportees were born / originated and in which province they settled, (2) their occupations in Malaya and in China, (3) their political affiliations / activities both in Malaya and in China, (4) their educational background both in Malaya and China, (5) their condition in China, and (6) correlations among some of these factors.

Keywords: *anti-British armed struggle, Emergency, China Democratic League, Chinese Communist Party, li xiu, Malayan Communist Party, Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, place of birth, place of origin, occupation, education, oppression in China*

1. Introduction

Former Malayan Chinese who either were repatriated (deported) or spontaneously returned to China organized their associations in various places in China. From the early 1980s, they began to publish their

memoirs in Hong Kong.¹ In 2009, their associations in Guangzhou (廣州), Hainan (海南), Shenzhen (深圳), Zhuhai (珠海) and Hong Kong published a collected brief curriculum vitae of the members.² Two years later, 5 associations – Swatou=Shantou (汕頭), Meizhou (梅州), Huizhou (惠州), Zhongshan City (中山市) of Guangdong (廣東) and Nanning (南寧) of Guangxi (廣西) – joined them to publish the second volume.³ Number of the returnees listed in both volumes is shown on page 9 (in Vol. 1: 479 persons and in Vol. 2: 212 persons).

2. Chinese Deported from Malaya to China

In the earliest stage of deportation to the newly established People's Republic of China, the Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association published a book⁴ to accuse British colonial authorities who persecuted the Chinese in Malaya. Dozens of deportees' names are recorded there also.

According to a British source, the total number of Chinese deportees from Malaya between 6 December 1948 and 10 March 1953 was 24,036.⁵ On the other hand, according to a Chinese source, Malayan deportees from June 1948 until August 1950 were more than 35,000.⁶ The last batch, i.e., 38th, of the deportees were “shipped” in 1963. Accordingly, the total number should be much more than these figures. Therefore, these listed persons are just the tip of the iceberg.

Those who appear both in the Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association, 1951 (?) (ROCFA) and the *Who's Who of Returned Overseas Chinese*, 2009, 2011 (*Who's Who*) are as below.

A mass rally of more than 1,300 returned Malayan Chinese to impeach British imperialists was held in Chao Yang (潮陽), Guangdong, on 19 December 1950.

Zheng Gui-yu (鄭桂玉) witnessed:

On 10 March 1949, I reached Kampung Pasir which was located ten miles from Muar. At my friend's house, I was surrounded by brutal army. Twelve brutal soldiers toppled down me onto the ground and violated me until I fainted. After that they tortured me. My whole body still throbs.

(ROCFA, pp. 4 -7)

59 years later, she was recorded:

Born in Muar, Johor, in 1924. During the Japanese occupation, joined Min Yun (民運) movement of the Anti-Japanese League (抗日同盟) led by the MCP. After the War, appointed as chairperson of the Muar Women's Federation (婦聯會). Joined the MCP in 1946. Since June 1946, continued to be in charge of *Min Yun* around Pasir and Pagor. Arrested in March 1949. Detained in Muar and Keluang concentration camp. Deported in November 1950 as the first batch of deportation after liberation of China, and landed on Chao Yang (潮陽), Swatou. After engaged in the Overseas Chinese Refugees Office (難僑處), was transferred to Xing Long (興隆) Overseas Chinese Farm in Hai Nan. Shifted to Lu Feng (陸豐) Overseas Chinese Farm in 1966. Retired in 1985. Approved privileged retirement (*li xiu* / 離休 = 離職休養)⁷ in 1987, and then, following her children, shifted to Overseas Chinese Town (華僑城) of Shen Zhen.

(*Who's Who*, Vol. 1, p. 207)

A mass rally of returned Malayan Chinese to impeach British imperialists was held at Xiamen (廈門) ROCFA on 10 December 1950. It adopted a consolation to the returned Malayan Chinese landed on Swatou. Among the participants, Zhao Hui-huang (趙輝煌) was there.

Chen Zhen-hong (陳振洪) appealed to the rally:

We are sadly recalling our families, relatives, friends and Malayan people who are persecuted by British imperialists. We must turn this sadness to power. We must unify resistance against British imperialists and support (North) Korea cum anti-United States movements. Only by defeating the imperial clique headed by the US, we overseas Chinese can find out the exit.

(ROCFA, pp. 11-16)

59 years later Zhao Hui-huang was recorded as below:

In December 1942, joined Min Yun, and then the 5th regiment of the MPAJA. After the War, was calumniated to have murdered a district chief of the San-Min Zhuyi Youth Corps (三民主義青年團) and arrested. Though acquitted, detained in Taiping jail. In August 1947, secretly deported to Xiamen and handed over to the Koumintang authority. Severely tortured in jail. When Xiamen was liberated in December 1949, he was released. Assigned to police, security office and then transportation office. Privileged retirement in 1986.

(*Who's Who*, Vol. 1, pp. 212, 213)

Chen Zhen-hong was recorded:

Originated from Xianyou (仙游), Fujian (福建). Born in Teluk Anson (present Teluk Intan) in 1917. After Japan surrendered, assumed as director of the Cultural Department of the Teluk Anson People's Committee. Secretary of the Teluk Anson Town Branch of the China Democratic League (中國民主同盟) in 1946. Teluk Anson-based reporter of *Min Sheng Pao* (民聲報), *Ipoh Daily* (怡保日報), *Modern Daily* (現代日報) and *Nan Chiau Jit Pao* (南僑日報) between 1946 and 1948. Appointed as an executive committee member of the Perak Writers' Association (寫作人協會) between

1945 and 1948. Arrested on 21 June 1948 and deported in September 1949. Worked at a secondary school in Guangzhou. Privileged retirement.

(*Who's Who*, Vol. 1, p. 159)

A file, FO.371/92374, of the British National Archives⁸ contains a translated news extract from *Lian Ho Pao* (聯合報), Canton (Guangzhou), dated 5.7.1951. This file refers to many deportees. Among them, three are listed in the *Who's Who* again. After briefly commenting that the 8th batch of the returned overseas Chinese from Malaya, who had arrived in Canton on June 28 yesterday (sic), told the press the atrocities of British imperialists in Malaya, this news report referred to the three persons as below (FC 1821/115 of FO 371/92374):

Ko O-yao, a merchant in Kuala Lumpur, and his wife, Li Hsueh-mei, were both arrested by the British troops for the reason that Malayan liberation troops [*the article wrote earlier about the Malayan People's Liberation Army, but its exact name was the Malayan National Liberation Army – Hara*] were seen in the vicinity of their residence. Li Hsueh-mei was brutally beaten eight times until she vomited blood. She cut her throat in an attempt to kill herself, but she was saved and sent to a concentration camp. Ko O-yao, during his trial, was stripped off all clothes and forced to sit on a block of ice for eight hours, and his health was seriously affected as a result.

Huang Yu-mei, residing in Selangor, was arrested when the British immigration authorities found out that her husband was a liberation soldier. The British police discovered a copy of *Nan Chiao Jih* (sic) Pao and 4 pairs of old shoes in her room, and asserted that she must be a messenger of the Malayan communists. They threatened to shoot

her if she did not tell the truth, and purposely fired two shots behind her neck to scare her. On the day of her arrest she was taken to the political department at Ipoh where she was shut up for 7 days. ... For more than 40 days she was questioned again and again and was heavily beaten every day. ... She was finally imprisoned in a camp.

60 years later, Li Hsueh-mei (Li Xue-mei / 李雪梅) was recorded as below:

Born to Tang (湯) family in Mei Xian (梅縣), Guangdong, in 1921. In her childhood, sold to Li family as a nursing bride (童養媳). With her husband's family, came to a village near Ipoh. After outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, led by a district committee member of the MCP, Chen Hong-ming (陳洪銘), left that feudal family to join anti-Japanese organization and engaged in Min Yun. Due to betrayal of a traitor, arrested by the Japanese army. Firmly endured various brutal, bloody tortures. After released upon the end of the War, engaged in drama activities. The organization decided for her to collect information of the enemies in the disguise of a dancer (舞女). This task connected with Perak State Committee secretary, comrade [Zhong / 鍾 – Hara] Ai Ke (愛克) only. When comrade Ai Ke was transferred from Perak towards the end of 1946, her special task also ended. Then transferred to Ipoh for mass-work of the Women's Federation. But as her special task as a dancer incurred suspicion of comrades, she could not work there without anxiety. So she shifted to Kuala Lumpur and was married to the late elder sister's husband, Xu Ya-you [許亞佑 , Ko O-yao shown above]. Recovered relations with the organization and engaged in revolutionary movements there. Due to the Emergency of 1948, her whole family was arrested and deported.

After returning to China, worked at farming department and an overseas agricultural farm in Guangdong. As Xu Ya-you was not accustomed to hard life in a farm, he, together with their children, applied for settlement in Hong Kong. Li was transferred to the acupuncture and moxa cautery department of a Chinese medical hospital in Guangdong.

In 1956, when “struggle against counter-revolutionaries” was deployed, the then department chief of the Guangdong General Labour Union, Chen Hong-ming (led Li in Ipoh as shown above) killed himself. Harboured deep grievance against this, Li sent letters to those comrades who knew Chen as well as to the relevant departments in order to plead innocence. It resulted in a cap of “contemporary counter-revolutionary” and detention. Though acquitted in around 1964, she had no other way to live but to apply for settlement in Hong Kong. Finally, through support of the Friendship Association of Returned Chinese from Singapore-Malaya, she was vindicated and approved the privileged retirement. Died in January 1998 in Hong Kong.

(*Who's Who*, Vol. 2, pp. 94, 95)

As for Huang Yu-mei (黄玉妹), *Who's Who* recorded as below:

Born in Singapore in 1931. Originated from Zhejiang (浙江). Joined the Overseas Chinese Democratic Youth League (華僑民主青年同盟) led by the CCP in Singapore in 1947. In May 1951, arranged by the organization, returned to the home country to join socialist construction. After returning, engaged in a construction-apparatus company in Guangzhou. CCP member. Privileged retirement.

It seems that the two Huang Yu-mei are different persons.

From here, we can confirm what kind of people they were, and how they were arrested and deported. In China, their lives were neither easy nor stable. It must be worth analyzing their lives recorded in 2 volumes of *Who's Who* in detail.

3. Analysis of the Deportees from Malaya

3.1. Returnees listed in Hara (2001)

Before beginning to analyze the deportees from Malaya listed in the two *Who's Who*, I wish to refer to Malayan returnees (either deported or returned on their own will) listed in my book of 2001.⁹ Based on information accumulated for a few decades, I made a list of former Malayan Chinese in the book. Summed up figures of it are:

Total number: 378 including pre-war period and from Sarawak.

Of them, 185 returned after the end of the Pacific War.

Overlapped persons with 2 volumes of *Who's Who* are 17 only.

Hara's book dealt with comparatively well-known and influential persons.

Several aspects of them are shown in Tables 1, 2 and 3. (Bold figures indicate conspicuously large numbers in Tables 1, 11, 13, 15-1, 15-2.)

(1) Table 1.

Of 168 persons (185-17) who returned from Malaya after the end of the Pacific War, great majority (112 persons, 66.7%) were concentrated in 1948-1950, that is, soon after the Emergency. Nonetheless, immediately after the establishment of the People's Republic, those who spontaneously returned to China outnumbered the deportees.

Table 1 Year of Return (Hara 2001)

Year of Return	Deportee	Returnee	Total
1946	9	2	11
1947	3	4	7
1948	20	18	38
1949	15	23	38
1950	15	21	36
1951	1	3	4
1952	1	4	5
1953	1		1
1957	4		4
1958	0		0
1959	1		1
1961		4	4
1963	1	1	2
1967		1	1
1970		1	1
Late 1940s		2	2
1950s		7	7
Late 1960s		1	1
n.a.	1	4	5
<i>Total</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>96</i>	<i>168</i>

(2) Table 2.

Number of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) members are equivalent (76 each) and that of the China Democratic League (CDL, one of the pro-CCP democratic parties in China) is a little smaller. Most CCP members either had joined

the party before coming to Malaya or after returned to China. Only 2 joined in Malaya. They were all secret members. On the contrary, the Malayan branch of the CDL was admitted legal position in Malaya. The CDL played as a proxy of the CCP (which was prohibited by the British authorities) in Malaya. Great majority of the CDL members joined it in Malaya. Many had double memberships (CCP+CDL 20, MCP+CCP, 18).

Table 2 Party Membership (Hara 2001)

	Pre-Malaya	Malaya	Post-Malaya	Others	Total
CCP	30	2	35	9	76
CDL	3	46	7	7	63
	Pre-War Return		Post-War Return	n.a	Total
MCP	24		44	8	76
CCP +CDL		20	MCP+CDL		4
MCP+CCP		18			
MCP+ZGD		3			

CDL: China Democratic League (中國民主同盟)

ZGD: Zhi Gong Dang (致公黨)

(3) Table 3.

There are many influential persons in Hara's list. Numbers of the representatives of the National People's Congress (全國人民代表大會)

and the People's Political Consultative Conference (全國政治協商會議) are shown in Table 3. The most well-known persons among them are Tan Kah Kee (陳嘉庚) and Hu Yu-zhi (胡愈之). This is in contrast to the fact that only one person (Chen Qi-hui/陳其揮) of the 2 volumes of *Who's Who* was appointed as a representative of the PPCC (VI). It shows that the deportees of the *Who's Who* are generally grassroots.

Table 3 Number of Representatives of Returnees from Malaya in Chinese Parliaments

Term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
NPC	14	11	11	7	12	10	8
PPCC	11	14	11	8	9	18	9

NPC: National People's Congress (全人大)

PPCC: People's Political Consultative Conference (全國政協)

Only one person (陳其揮) of *Who's Who* became a representative of PPCC (VI).

Commencement of each Term

NPC: (I) September 1954, (II) April 1959, (III) December 1964, (IV) January 1975, (V) February 1978, (VI) June 1983, (VII) March 1988.

PPCC: (I) October 1949, (II) December 1954, (III) April 1959, (IV) December 1964, (V) February 1978, (VI) June 1983, (VII) March 1988.

3.2. Various Aspects Derived from *Who's Who*

General statistics of the 2 volumes are as below.

	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Total
Total number of listed persons	479	212	691
Returned after the end of the Pacific War	477	193	670
Of them, Deported	343	154	497
Returned on their own will (Many had no other way)	134	39	173

Table 4 Place of Origin (祖籍)

	Vol. 1	%	Vol. 2	%	Total	%
Guangdong	199	50.9	53	40.5	252	48.3
Hakka	107	27.4	33	25.2	140	26.8
Fujian	61	15.6	20	15.3	81	15.5
Hainan	15	3.8	17	13.0	32	6.1
Guangxi	7	1.8	8	6.1	15	2.9
Zhejiang	2	0.5		0	2	0.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>391</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>131</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>522</i>	<i>100</i>

Hakka: Those originated from Huizhou (惠州), Huiyang (惠陽), Meixian (梅縣), Dapu (大埔) and Baoan (寶安) of Guangdong

Table 5 Place of Birth

Birth Place	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Total	%
Guangdong	15	19	34	33.0
Hakka	8	11	19	18.4
Fujian	9	7	16	15.5
Hainan	11	12	23	22.3
Guangxi	0	5	5	4.9
Hong Kong	1	1	2	1.9
Indonesia	2	0	2	1.9
Jamaica	1	0	1	1.0
Thailand	0	1	1	1.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>100</i>

(2) Table 5. Place of Birth.

Guangdong including Hakka comprises more than half (53 out of 103). Hainan (23) slightly surpasses Fujian (16). Its reason is same as above. Comparing with the total number, we can recognize that great majority of them were born in Malaya.

(3) Table 6-1, 6-2, 6-3 and Table 8. Settled Place and Place of Origin.

Settled place means the province where the returnees/deportees settled down. A small portion of them were transferred from one province to another (for instance from Guangdong to Hainan). These persons are recorded in both provinces in the tables.

As for provinces settled in, great majority, 435 persons (77.3%), were settled in Guangdong. Followed by 78 in Hainan (13.9%), 20 in Fujian (3.6%) and other places 30 (Table 8) (5.3%). Of 435 persons settled in Guangdong, 311 persons (71.5%) originated from Guangdong itself (Guangdong + Hakka). Yet, 65 Fujian Chinese (14.9%) also settled there. Those originated from other provinces are few. Of 78 persons settled in Hainan, share of the “indigenous” people, i.e., Hainanese (15 persons, 19.2%), is much higher than in Guangdong. Yet, Guangdong people comprise great majority, 51 persons (65.4%) here, too.

As for those settled in Fujian, people originated from Fujian itself are the majority. But, the total number for Fujian is minimal. This is because, as pointed out earlier, these lists mostly recorded the returnees living in Guangdong and Hainan.

Table 6-1 Settled Place (Guangdong) and Place of Origin

Place of Origin	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Total	%
Guangdong	178	23	201	46.2
Hakka	95	15	110	25.3
Fujian	52	13	65	14.9
Hainan	11	0	11	2.5
Guangxi	6	5	11	2.5
Zhejiang	2	0	2	0.5
n.a.	30	5	35	8.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>374</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>435</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 6-2 Settled Place (Hainan) and Place of Origin

Place of Origin	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Total	%
Guangdong	7	27	34	43.6
Hakka	2	15	17	21.8
Fujian	3	2	5	6.4
Hainan	1	14	15	19.2
Guangxi	0	2	2	2.6
n.a.	4	1	5	6.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 6-3 Settled Place (Fujian) and Place of Origin

Place of Origin	
Guangdong	2
Hakka	2
Fujian	9
Hainan	1
Guangxi	0
n.a.	6
<i>Total</i>	<i>20</i>

Table 7-1 Settled Place (Guangdong) and Birth Place

Birth Place	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Total	%
Guangdong	12	9	21	41.2
Hakka	6	4	10	19.6
Fujian	5	1	6	11.8
Hainan	4	4	8	15.7
Guangxi	0	2	2	3.9
Hong Kong	1	1	2	3.9
Indonesia	1		1	2.0
Jamaica	1		1	2.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 7-2 Settled Place (Hainan) and Birth Place

Birth Place	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Total	%
Guangdong		11	11	28
Hakka		7	7	18
Fujian	1	3	4	10
Hainan	4	10	14	36
Guangxi		2	2	5
Thai		1	1	3
<i>Total</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 8 Other Settled Places

Beijing & the Center	11
Guangxi	6
Sichuan	5
Shanxi	2
Hunan	2
Shanghai	1
Jiangxi	1
Hubei	1
Heilongjiang	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>30</i>

Table 8.

Number of those worked for the central government or other provinces (30) is small. This might be because they were mostly farmers and workers and few were intellectuals needed for the pivotal machinery of nation-building.

(4) Table 7-1, 7-2. Settled Place and Birth Place.

Among the settlers in Guangdong and Hainan, number of those who were born in China is comparatively small (49 for Guangdong, 38 for Hainan). This also shows that great majority were born in Malaya.

Of 51 persons who settled in Guangdong, 31 were born in Guangdong. When comparing this with Table 5, it is known that out of 53 persons born in Guangdong, only 31 (58%) were settled in this province. In the case of Hainan, of 23 persons born in the island (Table 5), 14 (61%) were settled there. According to Table 7-2, among settlers in Hainan, those who were born in Guangdong (18) outnumbered those born in Hainan itself (14). It might imply that the main principle of disposition of the returnees was to settle them not necessarily in their place of birth but in the place which could accommodate them, could utilize their ability for economic development.

(5) Table 9-1, 9-2. Occupation in Malaya and China.

Malaya: Of 220 persons whose occupations are available, 81 (36.8%) were rubber tappers. When farmers, wood-cutters and fishermen are added to them, 95 persons (43.2%) were engaged in agricultural section. This reflected specific industrial structure of Malaya in which many Chinese were working in agriculture. Workers in factories, mines and shops formed more than one quarter (59 persons, 26.8%). This also reflected specific economic structure among Malayan Chinese. Number

of intellectuals such as journalists and teachers were also substantial (62 persons, 28.1%). They played important role in the Anti-Japanese as well as Anti-British struggles. Many of them returned to China on their own will in order to participate in construction of socialist new China.

Table 9-1 Occupation (Malaya)

Occupation	Number	%
Rubber Tapper	81	36.8
Farmer & Wood-cutter	12	5.5
Fisherman	2	0.9
Worker	42	19.1
Miner	11	5.0
Shop Assistant	6	2.7
Engineer	2	0.9
Company Owner & Self-employment	2	0.9
Journalist	19	8.6
Teacher	43	19.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>220</i>	<i>100</i>

China: Formerly I supposed that most returnees might be settled in agricultural farms. This turned out to be correct. Of 692 persons whose occupations are available, members of agricultural farms including tea farms form the largest group (235 persons, 34.0%). When farmers and forestry & fishery are added to them, agricultural section (245 persons) forms 35.4%. When a rubber farm was established in Hainan, not only former rubber tappers settled in the island but also settled in Guangdong earlier were transferred there. Factory workers (141 persons, 20.4%) are

the second largest. However, when workers of commerce & service section are added to them, they surpass agricultural workers (276 persons, 39.9%). Government officers and party officials come next (109 persons, 15.8%). Many of them are related to the overseas Chinese departments. There are substantial number of teachers and journalists as well. Teachers and journalists in Malaya tended to be engaged in the same jobs in China.

Table 9-2 Occupation (China)

Occupation	Number	%
Government, Party Office	109	15.8
Agricultural Farm	154	22.3
Relevant Work in Farm	22	3.2
Tea Farm	59	8.5
Farmer	7	1.0
Forestry & Fishery	3	0.4
Factory Worker	141	20.4
Commerce & Service	135	19.5
Journalist	8	1.2
Teacher	36	5.2
Engineer	8	1.2
Hospital	9	1.3
Voice of Malayan Revolution	1	0.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>692</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 10-1 Education (Malaya)

School	Number	%
None	8	4.3
Lower Primary & Quit Primary	9	
Primary	52	
Higher Primary	7	
<i>Primary Subtotal</i>	68	36.6
Lower Secondary	28	
Secondary	57	
Higher Secondary	7	
<i>Secondary Subtotal</i>	92	49.5
Night School	8	4.3
Normal School	10	5.4
<i>Total</i>	186	100

Table 10-2 Education (China – Pre-Malaya)

Primary	1	
Secondary	3	
University, College	3	(1 = HK)

Table 10-3 Education (China – Post-Malaya)

Primary	2
Lower Secondary	2
Secondary	6
South University	15
Other Universities	9 (1=HK)
Ta Teh Institute (HK)	6
School of Party, Military, & Marxism- Leninism College	14
Normal College & Professional College	5
<i>Total</i>	<i>59</i>

Notes:

South University: 南方大學

Ta Teh Institute (Dade College) (Hong Kong): 達德學院 (香港)

Normal College: 師範大學 or 速師

(6) Table 10-1, 10-2, 10-3. Education in Malaya and China.

Malaya: Indication of primary as well as secondary schools in Malaya seems not consistent. So, original school strata shown in the books, lower primary, primary, higher primary, lower secondary, secondary, higher secondary, are retained in the Table. Each subtotal of primary school and secondary school is shown too.

Of 186 persons whose data are available, those graduated or quitted primary school numbered 68 (36.6%) and secondary school 92 (49.5%). 10 persons were graduated from various normal schools (teachers' training schools). Considering the general educational standard of Malaya at that time, it seems that they got comparatively higher education. But, most of the persons whose data are not shown in the books might be too poor to receive any official education.

China – Pre-Malaya of Table 10-2 means those who received education in China before coming to Malaya. This figure (7 persons) should be compared with 103 of Table 5. Extremely few people obtained official education before immigration. Of three persons who received tertiary education, one had tentatively come to China to study in a university and went back to Malaya once. One was graduated from an English college of Hong Kong.

China – Post-Malaya of Table 10.3 means education they received after coming to China for good. Since most of them were older than primary or secondary schooling age, only a few entered these schools. Some were elected to study in the Party schools, in the Military schools or in the Marxism-Leninism College. Some (9 persons) of those who had secondary education level were admitted to universities including Xiamen University and Beijing University. In the tertiary education, South University (南方大學) of Guangzhou and Ta Teh Institute (達德學院) of Hong Kong played a very important role.

South University was established by the CCP soon after *Hua Nan* (華南, South China) came under its rule. Its objective was to nurture cadres of the new nation; president was Ye Jian-ying (葉劍英). Lectures officially started on 1 January 1950. Term was originally fixed to be 1 to 2 years. But in order to participate in reform of the nation, the first batch was graduated by 7 months. In October 1952, it merged with 6 other universities to form South China Normal University (華南師範大學).¹⁰

Ta Teh Institute was established by the China Democratic League (CDL / 中國民主同盟) in accordance with the arrangement of the CCP in October 1946. More than 50% of its managers and 40% of its teachers were CDL members respectively. It is said to have produced plentiful talents for national liberation. On 22 February 1949, due to

retraction of the license by the colonial government of Hong Kong, it was closed down.¹¹

It seems that former overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia in general, who eagerly wished to participate in the effort to build a new nation led by the CCP, were trained to be regional or middle-ranking cadres in the Ta Teh Institute before the establishment of the People's Republic, and in the South in the early years of the PRC.

(7) Table 11. Members of the Malayan Communist Party; Year of joining the Party.

257 persons are explicitly recorded as the MCP members. Besides them, 7 persons are implicitly hinted as its members.

Of 257, early members who joined the Party before the Pacific War numbered 40 (by 1940=31, 1941=9) (15.6%). During the War, 100 persons (1942-45=93 + early 1940s=7) (38.9%) joined. In the following year of the end of the War, the number reached its peak, 38 persons. From 1947 on, new affiliation gradually reduced. This might be because of severe suppression and the state of emergency.

(8) Table 12-1, 12-2, 12-3. Other Party membership.

The Chinese Communist Party has the second largest membership (119 persons) after the MCP (Table 12-2). Out of them, 2 had joined it in China before coming to Malaya, 1 joined in Singapore. All the others joined after coming to China, great majority of them joining in the 1950s and the 1960s. The third largest party is the Zhi Gong Dang (ZGD / 致公黨). It originated from Ang Bin Hui (Hong Men Hui / 洪門會), an overseas Chinese secret society to overthrow the Qing Dynasty. All of the 13 members here joined it after returning to China.

Table 11 MCP Members: Year of Joining

~ 1940	31
1941	9
1942	18
1943	25
1944	26
1945	24
1946	38
1947	13
1948	12
1949	12
1950	8
1951	7
1952	3
1953	2
1954	1
1955	0
1956	1
1961	1
1962	2
<i>Subtotal</i>	233
<i><u>Exact year n.a.:</u></i>	
Early 1940s	7
Mid-1940s	3
Early 1950s	1
Year n.a.	13
<i>Subtotal</i>	257
Courier	2
Member, probably	5
<i>Total</i>	264

Table 12-1 Other Party Members

Labour Party	1
Parti Rakyat	1
CDL	11
OCDYL	3

Notes:

CDL: China Democratic League (中國民主同盟 , all joined in Malaya in 1946-47)

OCDYL: Overseas Chinese Democratic Youth League (華僑民主青年同盟)

Table 12-2 CCP and ZGD

	CCP	ZGD
Pre-Malaya	2	(All in China)
~ 1945	0	
1946-49	6	
1950s	30	3
1960s	13	1
1970s	7	0
1980s	7	3
1990s	2	0
Year n.a.	51	8
In Singapore	1 (late 40s)	
	119	15

ZGD: Zhi Gong Dang (致公黨)

Table 12-3 Party: Plural Affiliation

-
- MCP + CCP: 51 (of them CCP → MCP 2)
 - MCP + CDL: 5
 - MCP + Zhi Gong Dang: 6
 - MCP + CDL + CCP: 3
 - MCP + CDL + ZGD: 2
 - MCP + CDL + CCP + ZGD: 1
 - CDL + ZGP: 3
 - CDL + ZGD + CCP: 2
 - CDL + CCP: 0
 - Labour Party + ZGD: 1
-

The fourth largest party is the China Democratic League (CDL) which has 11 memberships. Contrary to the ZGD, all of them joined it in Malaya in 1946-1947 (Table 12-1). As the CCP did not have a branch in Malaya, the CDL was given a role to propel pro-CCP movement on behalf of it. For the youths, however, the CCP organized its direct wing, the Overseas Chinese Democratic Youth League (華僑民主青年同盟) in Malaya. Three joined it.

Many had plural memberships (Table 12-3). The largest combination is the group that affiliated both with the MCP and the CCP (51 persons). Of them 2 had joined the CCP in China prior to coming to Malaya. Until 1949, all the MCP members automatically became the CCP members when returned to China. But, strict investigation on thought and former activities was necessitated after that. Other MCP members joined the CCP after returning to China. Other combinations are much less. All of the six who affiliated both with the MCP and with the ZGD joined the latter after settled in China. All of the five who had

double memberships of the MCP and the CDL joined both parties in Malaya. Eight persons had more than triple memberships.

(9) *Table 13. Privileged retirement (li xiu).*

This table investigated whether Party affiliation has something to do with the status of retirement. As a whole, one third of the returnees were granted the privileged retirement. On the other hand, as high as 70.6% of those who had double membership of the MCP and the CCP were granted it. Half of the CCP single membership persons as well as members of parties other than the CCP and the MCP were granted it. It implies that their activities as the MCP members in Malaya and the CCP members in China are highly valued.

Table 13 Privileged Retirement (*li xiu* / 離休)

	No. of Li xiu	Total No.	%
MCP (only)	82	202	40.6
CCP (only)	32	63	50.8
MCP + CCP	36	51	70.6
Other Affiliations	10	20	50.0
No Party	57	317	18.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>217</i>	<i>653</i>	<i>33.2</i>

(10) *Table 14. Number of Guerrillas.*

Many deportees had joined the guerrilla troops, that is, Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army during the Japanese occupation period (218 persons) and/or Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA) after the Emergency (117 persons). Of these, only 42 persons (19.3% of the MPAJA) joined the MNLA. Besides that, out of 75 MCP members in the

MPAJA, only 19 (25%) joined the MNLA. One of the reasons that only such few MPAJA members participated in the anti-British guerrilla war might be that they did not want to restart a harsh armed struggle in the jungle after 2 years' legal activities. Another, maybe more important, reason will be shown soon.

Among guerrillas, 35% were the MCP members during the Anti-Japanese war and 40% during the Anti-British war. Among guerrillas who participated in both wars, ratio of the MCP members is slightly higher (45%). They might be the hard core of the warriors.

Table 14 Number of Guerrillas

Anti-Japanese (A)	Anti-British	Both (B)	B/A (%)
218	117	42	19.3
Of these, MCP Members			
76	47	19	25.0
%	%	%	
34.9	40.2	45.2	

(11) Table 15-1, 15-2. Arrest and Capture.

Table 15-1 shows the year in which former MPAJA members were arrested. Out of 152 persons who are recorded to have been arrested, nearly a half (70 persons, 46%) was in 1948 followed by 1949 (26 persons, 17%). Thus, 63% were arrested just prior to or in the earliest stage of the Emergency. This might be the more important reason why

former MPAJA members could not join the Anti-British war. They might carefully be spotted as “persona non grata” by the British authorities lest they join the guerrillas.

Table 15-1 Arrest of Former MPAJA Members

1945	0
1946	4
1947	3
1948	70
1949	26
1950	7
1951	5
1952	10
1953	4
1956	6
1957	2
1958	2
1959	2
1950s	5
Year n.a.	6
<i>Total</i>	<i>152</i>

This can be compared with the total number of arrest (Table 15-2). Though arrest/capture concentrated in 1948 (147 persons, 30.6%) and 1949 (100 persons, 20.8%) too, the following several years (1950-1953) saw much larger numbers than the MPAJA members.

Table 15-2 Year of Arrest/Capture

Year	Arrest	%	Due to Information from “Betrayers”	%
1945	0	0	0	0
1946	5	1.0	1	20.0
1947	6	1.3	0	0
1948	147	30.6	17	11.6
1949	100	20.8	23	23.0
1950	74	15.4	26	35.1
1951	43	9.0	24	55.8
1952	26	5.4	12	46.2
1953	24	5.0	2	8.3
1954	7	1.5	1	14.3
1955	8	1.7	1	12.5
1956	11	2.3	6	54.5
1957	7	1.5	2	28.6
1958	5	1.0	2	40.0
1959	4	0.8	2	50.0
1960	0	0	0	
1961	0	0	0	
1962	1	0.2	1	100
1963	1	0.2	0	0
End of 40s	1	0.2	0	
1950s	10	2.1	1	10.0
Year n.a.		0	1	
<i>Total</i>	<i>480</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>122</i>	<i>25.4</i>

Table 15-2 also shows the number of arrest/capture depending on information derived from the “betrayers” who had earlier participated in their struggle against the colonialists. As a whole, 122 persons (one quarter) were arrested due to this kind of information. In 1951, 1952 and 1956, the rate was as high as about a half. It implies that British intelligence system was quite effective in oppressing the movements in these years.

(12) Table 16. Experience of Oppression in China.

China under Chairman Mao Ze-dong (毛澤東) often mobilized anti-rightist or anti-revisionist movements. Returned overseas Chinese were involved in these movements. This table shows on what occasions or movements Malayan returnees were involved, or more precisely speaking, accused and oppressed. The table merely shows the number of persons who referred to these experiences in the *Who's Who*. Much more people are supposed to have these painful experiences.

Even in the earliest movement of 1951-52 (struggle against three evils, that is, corruption, waste and bureaucracy), 6 persons were criticized. In the following movement of anti-counterrevolutionaries in 1955 and 1956, three were targeted. In the Anti-Rightist struggle of 1957 and 1958, 15 persons were convicted of various crimes and punished. In contrast to it, in the Four Clean-ups Movement (FCM) from 1963 to 1966, only 4 persons were involved. Three of them were members of the FCM work troops. It might mean that 3 were not targets of the movement but its propellers.

The largest and most disastrous movement for them was the Cultural Revolution between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s. Forty-nine persons were targeted and received various harsh treatments including *xiafang* (下放, transfer to work at lower levels) and baseless

convictions as traitors. Two died due to persecution. One of them committed suicide.

Altogether 13 people were targeted on two occasions and 2 on multiple occasions. Since the late 1970s, almost all of them have had their honor restored.

Table 16 Experience of Oppression in China

<i>Movement</i>	Movement against three evils (三反運動)	Elimination of counter-revolutionaries (肅反運動)	Anti-rightist struggle (反右鬥爭)	Four clean-ups movement (四清運動)	Cultural revolution (文化革命)
<i>Period</i>	1951-52	1955-56	1957-58	1963-66	1966-76
<i>Number</i>	6	3	15	4	49
<i>Reasons/ details</i>	Imprisoned 1 Spy 1	Traitor 1	Traitor/ Rightist 2 <i>Xiafang</i> / <i>Laogai</i> 3 Unregistered household /Expelled from CCP 2 Impeached/ Imprisoned 3	Impeached 1 FCM work troop 3	<i>Xiafang</i> 17 Traitor/Spy/ Rightist 10 Impeached/ Imprisoned 9 <i>Laogai</i> 2 Died 2

Oppressed on two occasions 13
multiple occasions 2

Notes:

Xiafang: 下放 (transfer to work at lower levels)

Laogai: 勞改 (reform through labour)

Unregistered household: 黑戶

Four clean-ups: Purification in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy

FCM work troop: 四清工作隊

Table 17 Shifted to Hong Kong

1960 - 69	4
1970 - 75	8
1976 - 80	14
1981 - 85	5
1986 - 90	2
(1980s)	1
1990 - 98	2
Year n.a.	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>37</i>

(13) Table 17. Shift to Hong Kong.

Some returnees could not stand the living conditions or the ill-treatment in China and shifted to Hong Kong through obtaining permission of the respective office in charge. Total number here is 37 families. Even before the Reform and Open-up Policy started in the late 1970s, 12 families shifted. Largest number was recorded soon after the policy was introduced (1976-1980).

Most of the returnees did not come to China on their own will but due to deportation. This shift might reflect this background.

Notes

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