



GUERRILLA COMMUNISM IN MALAYA

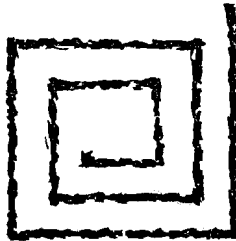
BY LUCIAN W. PYE

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MEANING

Guerrilla Communism in Malaya

*ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
MEANING*

BY LUCIAN W. PYF



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The author did his field work in the Federation of Malaya from September 1952 to January 1953, interviewing former Malayan Communists.

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GUERRILLA COMMUNISM IN MALAYA

OTHER BOOKS FROM
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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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Charles De Visscher, *Theory and Reality in Public International Law.*

Translated by P. E. Corbett

FOR MY MOTHER

FOREWORD

The menacing advances of Communism in Asia have led the United States government to try a variety of policies there in the interest of the preservation of freedom. These include the formation of military alliances, the provision of economic assistance and technical aid, the dissemination of information, and the encouragement of cultural exchange. However, the results to date have raised some question as to whether the real character of the problem confronting us in Asia has yet been fully explored. It is necessary to know more about the nature of Communism as a social and political force in Asia. What distinguishes those who are recruited to this movement? What do they expect to find in Communism and what does it mean to them to become members of this international revolutionary cult? What considerations are likely to be the most compelling in causing them to reject Communism?

In the following pages Professor Pye seeks answers to fundamental questions of this order. The bulk of his work is based on detailed interviews which he conducted with Chinese who had been members of the Malayan Communist Party. Through his analysis of the personal and psychological problems of people who have experienced the great social and political upheavals of contemporary Asia, we can gain a better understanding of what motivates their political behavior.

Although this is a case study of the Malayan Communist Party, the findings have far broader implications. They provide new insights into the relationships of Communism and Chinese culture, and they give us a better understanding of many features of political behavior in economically underdeveloped societies. In the concluding chapter, the author offers a discerning analysis of the basic problems which must be overcome if underdeveloped societies are to realize free and representative institutions.

This study bears a close relationship to Professor Gabriel

FOREWORD

A. Almond's volume, *The Appeals of Communism*, which was the first book in the series published under the auspices of the Center of International Studies. The Center was established at Princeton University in 1951. Its basic purpose is to bring to bear on the elucidation of foreign policy problems the full resources of available knowledge and modern methods of analysis. To this end it engages in and publishes research directed toward the development of systematic, disciplined, and comprehensive appraisals of the varied aspects of international relations, with special emphasis on the foreign policy of the United States. The members of the Center work at all times in close association, but each member is free to formulate his research project in his own way and each published study represents an individual analysis of a problem.

FREDERICK S. DUNN
Director

Center of International Studies
Princeton University
April 26, 1956

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MANY people have made this study possible. I am especially anxious and happy to express my deep sense of indebtedness and obligation to Gabriel Almond for his encouragement and wise counsel at every stage in the planning and preparation of this work. He conceived of the potentialities of the study of Communism by means of interviews, and I have drawn upon his model work, *The Appeals of Communism*, more than mere footnotes can document.

I greatly appreciate the confidence Professor Frederick S. Dunn has shown in me. All of my colleagues at the Center of International Studies at Princeton have given invaluable assistance in numerous ways. I owe a warm debt of gratitude in particular to Percy E. Corbett and Bernard C. Cohen for their thoughtful and cogent criticisms, and to William W. Kaufmann for all the time he has given to discussing with me the problems of this study.

James Coleman, William W. Lockwood, Ithiel de Sola Pool, Morris Watnick, and Bryce Wood have read some or all of the chapters, and many improvements have come from their comments. I owe an intellectual debt to Nathan Leites for his many stimulating ideas about both the character of Communism and social science methodology.

It is impossible to acknowledge individually all of those who facilitated my interviews in the Federation of Malaya; many became friends and some I never met. I cannot believe that any independent investigator, especially one of a different nationality, could possibly have been given greater cooperation and access to information than I received, and nowhere could greater respect have been shown for the conventions of freedom in research. I am grateful for the personal interest that Mr. J. H. A. Watson of the British Embassy in Washington took in arranging for the project. The then High Commissioner, General Sir Gerald Templer, in ensuring the freedom and the ease of my op-

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erations displayed his great faith in research, and in speaking of the ethical dilemma of the statesman showed an understanding that exceeds that to be found in Max Weber's classic statement. A. W. D. James, D.F.C., Reginald J. Isaac, and C. C. Too of the Emergency Information Service freely shared with me as friends the penetrating insights and great knowledge about the ways of the Malayan Communists which they had accumulated through their rich experience in psychological warfare. Mr. J. P. Morton, Director of Intelligence, Sir Robert Lockhart, Deputy Director of Operations, and Mr. A. D. C. Peterson, O.B.E., Director General of Information Services, were extremely helpful in personally facilitating my work. Mr. W. C. S. Corry, C.B.E., British Advisor, Pahang, and Mr. M. C. ff. Sheppard, M.B.E., British Advisor, Negri Sembilan, went to great lengths to be helpful and hospitable.

It is to the men in the Federation of Malaya Police Force and especially those of the Special Branch, with whom I had the pleasure of working closely, that I owe a debt of special gratitude. I want to acknowledge in particular the assistance of W. L. R. Carbanell, C.M.G., who was in charge of the Special Branch and who is now the Commissioner of Police, and of John Barlow, Paul Barnes, Kerr Bovell, Euan Davies, T. Q. Gaffikin, B. C. Halahan, David Henchman, Heng Soon Poh, P. Howes, Roland G. Kibble, Robert C. Thom, and D. W. Yates. In particular, Lance A. Searle, whose great intellectual curiosity paralleled the lines of my investigation, was of enormous help to me, and his tragic death while on military operations was a severe personal loss.

At the risk of seeming ungrateful to the many other members of the Malayan Civil Service, I must single out John Davis, Philip Egerton, George W. Rothery, and James Patrick for special thanks. Mr. Austin Voon worked diligently to ensure that most of the interviews were transcribed verbatim. I spent many entertaining hours with John Brazier, learning about the difficulties of organizing

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a free trade-union movement in an Asian society. I have many warm memories of all that Robert N. Lindsay did for me. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kind assistance and advice I received from Charles F. Baldwin, Hendrik van Oss, Frank Welsh, and the other American foreign service officers in Malaya.

Louise Tompkins with great care helped to tabulate the interviews, and did the statistical calculations that resulted in over one hundred tables. Although these tables provided the basis for much of this study, they have not been reproduced because they might give a false sense of precision that would be in violation of the spirit of scientific inquiry. Instead, most of the findings on the attitudes of those interviewed will be reported in the text in a manner that can more accurately indicate the extent to which they are approximations.

No writer could owe more to his editor than I do to Jean MacLachlan. If this book possesses any degree of clarity and style, it is due entirely to her thoughtful and skillful editing.

Martha Sivier and Nancy Atwood with great speed and accuracy deciphered my script and typed the first drafts. Geraldine Fletcher, Sheila Hendry, and Karen Stern did the final version.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife for all her contributions to this book and for cheerfully reading the final revision to determine whether it is entirely understandable to a thoughtful and intelligent layman, even though the study represents something that has kept me absent, either in Malaya or in my thoughts, for so long.

Since so many people have assisted me, it should be clear that all the errors and failings in this work are entirely of my own doing.

*Center of International Studies
Princeton University
January 1956*

LUCIAN W. PYE

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