

State of Emergency in Perak 1948-1960: The Socioeconomic and Political Impacts of the Northern Perak Society

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Keywords: Emergency, Socioeconomy, Politics.

Abstract: The writing aims to examine the emergency state in Perak and its impact on the socioeconomic and political developments in Northern Perak from 1948 to 1960. The historical study also examines the emergency declaration by the British government as well as the actions taken by the British government in dealing with communist issues. The analysis is also related to the extent of emergency state declaration in 1948 to 1960 due to the communist rebellion or threats by other left wings parties in Malaya during that period. The researcher uses historical methodology through a quantitative approach. In order to prove the questionnaire, the researcher has analyzed official documents such as Malayan Federation Annual Report, State of Perak Government Report, memoirs and interviews with respondents involved during the state of emergency period. Secondary sources such as library researches are also used to enhance the results of this study. Through this study, it is found that the communists are not as cruel as the previous writers describes and the state of emergency declaration made by the British government is not solely due to the communist rebellion but also as a result of the threats from other left wing parties.

1 INTRODUCTION

This study isw conducted to study and investigate the state of emergency in Perak and its impact on the socio-economic and political situation of the North Perak population from 1948 to 1960. Northern Perak consisting of three districts; Hulu Perak District, Kerian District, and Larut Matang and Selama District. According to Kamus Dewan Fourth Edition, the state of emergency can be defined as an alarming or inconvenience situation that usually occurs suddenly or unexpectedly like danger, lack of food etc. It also means the phenomenon that permits or legalize extraordinary action to overcome the problems.

However, the state of emergency concept has been assessed in various perspectives by scholars according to their field of expertise. According to Tun Mohamad Salleh Abas, a state emergency is an unsafe and dangerous situation that threatens the economic stability, political climate and social system of the country. This unsafe situation is usually caused by political disputes between certain parties. In the context of this study, the state of

emergency was a condition when the Communist Party of Malaya (PKM) violated and launched a rebellion to dominate Malaya. The state of emergency also means an urgent, alarming or critical difficulty caused by crisis such as food shortages, emergencies, disasters, conflicts, and wars. In this study, the emergency declared in Malaya was a response by the British government in dealing with this communist crisis.

PKM who failed to run as a legitimate political party changed their strategy by torturing and sabotaging the Malayan population aimed at destroying the economy and crippling the relations system in Malaya around 1947. The PKM's violence was prolonged to the killing of three Kuomintang leaders in Johor on June 12, 1948 and the killing of two European rubber plantation managers including a farm assistant in Sungai Siput, Perak on June 16, 1948. On the evening of 16 June 1948, Sir Edward Gent, who was the British High Commissioner in Malaya declared the Law of the State of Emergencies in Ipoh and Sungai Siput in Perak as well as Kluang, Muar, Kulai, and Plentong areas in Johor. On June 17, 1948, the law was declared

throughout the state of Perak and Johor. On June 18, 1948, the law was declared to all areas in Malaya. PKM was officially banned on July 23, 1948. The expansion of this law gives more force to the police and the army to arrest and detain suspected persons who involved in the subversive activities. In order to curb and weaken the communist activities, the British government introduced several plans under the Emergency Regulations in May 1948.

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Northern Perak has become the object of the research area because the state of Perak is an area that the state of emergency was first declared by the British in Malaya. The declaration was carried out because of the assassination of two managers and an European plantation assistant in Sungai Siput, Perak. Perak is also a home to the important leaders of the Communist Party of Malaya (PKM). Musa Ahmad for example is a PKM leader from Pengkalan Bahru, Ipoh. Similarly, Chin Ping was born in Kampung Koh, Setiawan. Meanwhile, two important Malay communist leaders, Abdul Rashid Maidin were born in Mount Mesah, Gopeng and Abdullah C.D. who was from Lambor Kiri, Parit.

To get the accurate information and facts, the researcher used various research methodologies such as written documentation, photographs and recorded interviews. The written documentation consists of a collection of letters from the Perak Secretariat Office which can be referred to the Arkib Negara Malaysia Perak Branch and the National Archives of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. In addition to the letter, there are also plans, maps, parts of newspaper, and photographs obtained from the writings of previous researchers who are mostly historians and are instructors at universities or government departments.

There are also some writings that come from the personal experiences (memoirs) such as *Memoir Ibrahim Chik: Dari Api ke Rejimen Ke-10* (2010) written by Ibrahim Chik which gives meaningful input for the researcher to complete this study. The researcher also reviewed the book of *Memoir Mustapha Hussain: Kebangkitan Nasionalisme Melayu Sebelum UMNO* (1999) by Insun Sony Mustapha and *Abu Samah Mohd Kassim: Perjuangan Kiri Kemerdekaan Zuriat Datuk Bahaman* (2008) by Mohamed Salleh Lamry. The researcher also examined the work of Abdullah C.D. entitled *Memoir Abdullah C.D: Zaman Pergerakan Sehingga 1948* (2005) and *Memoir*

Abdullah C.D: Perjuangan di Sempadan dan Penamatan Terhormat (2005). In addition, the researcher also studied the writings of Shamsiah Fakeh, *The Memoirs of Shamsiah Fakeh: From AWAS to 10th Regiment* (2009) and Rashid Maidin's writings, *The Memoirs of Rashid Maidin: From Armed Struggle to Peace* (2005) for references. Those who write about this state of emergency are involved in various careers such as political leaders, administrative officers and former security officers who have saved many events from communist threats during the emergency.

During the state of emergency, newspapers are among the most popular media that can channel information to the people. Press references were made from early days after the defeat of Japan and throughout the state of emergency period until 1960. There were also numerous sources of press releases obtained from various publications such as books and magazines that publish emergency issues.

The source will not become complete if those who directly involved with these emergency events are not interviewed. The researcher met and interviewed several residents in North Perak who had experienced this communist threats. The researcher's findings included the fighters, the ordinary people and the former communists themselves. Among the respondents interviewed were Yong Tim, a former teacher at Selama. He was previously offered a ranked position in the PKM for his influence but he rejected it because he was not convinced with the PKM's crusade. Although their number is small, the researcher has been able to meet and listen to their experiences during the emergency. Their experience is very meaningful for the researcher to further reinforce the evidence.

3 METHODOLOGY

The problem in this study is that the emergency situation itself is taking too long, which was 12 years and 45 days. The state of emergency brings us to the PKM's actions which had been the main enemy of the Malayan government. Every question of communism will be sensitive to the general public and the government. This is seen as a form of assessment that speaks about the enemy and its understanding. There are various limitations and constraints in the writing of this study. All files and correspondence relating to PKM and the government are still in existence with the classification of "Secret Stages" despite the fact that the events have taken

place long time ago and independence has been declared in Malaya.

4 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this study is to analyze the history of the state of emergency and its impact on socio-economic and political affairs in North Perak, particularly from 1948 to 1960. This comprehensive study is an analysis of the activity of the Communist Party of Malaya (PKM) which threatens the folks in Northern Perak. The specific objectives of this study are to:

- 1.3.1: Reviewing the extent of the event of the state of emergency declaration caused by the Communist Party of Malaya.
- 1.3.2 The British government's action in preventing and addressing emergency problems.
- 1.3.3 Emergency impact on the Northern Perak community from socio-economic and political aspects.
- 1.3.4 Evaluating the extent of the 1948-1960 state of emergency declaration that brought peace and eliminated the influence of communists.

5 STUDY ISSUE

This study is to collect, study and analyze important information based on historical sources to find answers to the following questions:

- 1.5.1: Does the state of emergency happen in Perak generally and specifically in Northern Perak a communist crime or other elements or a mixture of both?
- 1.5.2: How does the local government and the colonial government acts affect the presence of the communist ideology in Perak and subsequently in North Perak actively around 1948 to 1960?
- 1.5.3: To what extent does the communist issue influence local administration and the enforcement of the State of Emergency Law in Malaya and its effect on the folks of Northern Perak?
- 1.5.4: Why is the communist's issue considered to be a lead to the open negotiations for Malaya's independence from the British as well as the impact on the folks of Northern Perak?

6 LITERATURE REVIEW

Most of the writings on the state of emergency occurrences in Malaya are highlighted by foreign writers or researchers who write based on their view on the state of emergency. However, over the last few years, there has been a work that has been worked out by local historians who see the state of emergency from various perspectives, whether from the British government side or the left wing leader side who are directly involved in the emergency. A lot of perspectives are taken into account by the authors and writers to produce their writing. These include academics, former journalists, former military officers, former police officers, and memoirs of former PKM members such as Ching Peng, Shamsiah Fakeh, Rashid Maidin and Abdullah C.D. The memoirs of the ex-left wing parties were also used as a source of research.

Victor Purcell in his article, *Malaya: Communist or Free?* wrote about the early occurrence of the state of emergency. His research is about the background of the establishment of the international network of communist ideologies that affects the existence and development of PKM in Malaya. His book also revolves around policies and propagandas by PKM to pursue their crusade to conquer Malaya. It also explains the emergency situations and the actions taken by the British government to deal with it. According to Purcell, it is very difficult to locate those who are pro-communist or sympathetic to the communist crusade. Inspection from house to house or determination of an area was safe or not causing people to suffer and it was difficult for authorities to handle it. However, this book does not specifically discuss the state of emergency of the area in which the researcher is studying.

R.Clutterbuck work, *The Long-long War: Emergency in Malaya 1948-1960* also describes the development of the establishment, the activities and tactics of the attacks carried out by PKM in causing the emergency situations in Malaya. Violence committed by the PKM is increasingly extreme when Sir Henry Gurney, a British High Commissioner was killed at Fraser Hill. Following the PKM's actions, the British made plans to curb PKM members through the cooperation of police and military forces, and the establishment of the Federal Level War Council, State Stage War Council and District-level War Council. The Briggs plan also discusses the British efforts to tackle and eliminate PKM's subversive influence and activity.

Anthony Short in his study entitled *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya, 1948-1960* also

stated the role played by PKM until the state of emergency declaration by Sir Edward Gent was enforced throughout Malaya on 18 July 1948. He also explained the activities carried out by PKM after they step back into the jungle and guerrilla war strategy that are often done to attack the British special security forces. The book also mentions the government's move to deal with PKM's actions such as the Re-Placement Plan and the Neurological War by Gerald Templer. Gerald Templer was the British High Commissioner who replaced Sir Edward Gent who was killed in an air crash. However, this book only talks about emergency in general throughout Malaya.

Aloysius Chin, in his work titled *The Communist Party of Malaya: The Inside Story* deals with the history of the beginning and end of the PKM's crusade in Malaya with a description that reveals the tactics the communists used during the state of emergency and subsequently in their attempt to overthrow the government. The role and experience of Aloysius as a writer who served as the Royal Malaysian Police Special Branch officer and his direct involvement in the operation against communist guerrillas makes this book a comprehensive study of reference. The history of the communist crusade and the state of emergency period in Malaya 1948-1960 was carefully crafted although not specifically in the research site.

Ho Hui Ling, an academician at the University of Malaya in his writings *Darurat 1948-1960: Keadaan Sosial di Malaya* focuses specifically on emergency events in Malaya from a social point of view. The focus of his writings was on the aspect of population life, racial relations, education, and basic amenities. He clearly explained the difficulties and hardships faced by the people at that time. Residents are constantly threatened and in a state of danger regardless of time and their background. Nevertheless, the hardships and trauma experienced by residents in Northern Perak during the emergency were not clearly stated and not comprehensive. In another excerpt of his *Darurat di Malaya 1948-1960: Satu Tinjauan Terhadap Masalah dan Langkah Kerajaan Memenangi Sokongan Penduduk di Kawasan Penempatan Semula*, (2004) highlighted the problems faced and the way the government won the people's support in the resettlement area, also generally in Malaya.

Khoo Kay Kim, and Adnan Hj. Nawang, in their book titled *Darurat 1948-1960*, gathered several papers written by local historians using the main source and library research to give a precise and just perspective of the state of emergency in Malaya. The

period of chaos that has taken place were well elaborated by writers such as Prof. Khoo Kay Kim himself, Baharom Mansor and Abu Bakar Majid, Sulaiman Hj Abdul Samad and Mej. M.A. Fawzi Basri. The written product about the state of emergency can provide the researcher with crucial information to produce a quality writing.

Wong Siew Kuon, in his writings on *Masalah-masalah Setinggalan Cina di Daerah Ulu Langat, Selangor Pada Masa Darurat 1948-1960*, was very clear about the events that led to the outbreak of PKM's armed rebellion and the Chinese squatter problems in Hulu Langat during the state of emergency. Although his thesis was directed to the events in Hulu Langat, but he also described the same situation at the research site in North Perak. In his writing, there are two factors that lead to the occurrence of emergency events which were the external factors and internal factors. He also pointed out the problems faced by the Chinese squatters without specifying the privileges enjoyed by them.

Mahmud Embong, in his masterpiece titled *Empat Belas Hari Bintang Tiga di Malaya*, talks about the existence and establishment of the PKM which has to do with the Japanese colonization in Malaya. After Japan surrendered, there was a two-week political vacuum in Malaya before the British ruled again. During that period, the PKM carried out various so-called cruelty to avenge the offenders or the Japanese conquerors especially to the Malays. PKM created its own courts in imposing punishment on offenders. Every punishment that was done such as torture, murder, termination and so on is only in accordance with the laws of the PKM court. Their actions led to the serious conflict and racial riots between the Malay and Chinese in Johor and Perak. Although the PKM did not succeed in their efforts to spread the communist ideology, their actions affected the socio-economic situation of the folks in Malaya. Although this book tells the general story of the occurrence of the state of emergency in Perak, the information contained in this book provides some information to researcher.

Memoir Seorang Pejuang, was the writing by Major (Retired) Mohd Khalid bin Abdul Hamid in collaboration with the Angkatan Tentera Darat to capture his experience during the state of emergency. He was a former Royal Malay Regiment Officer that went through the Second World War, Japanese colonization, the state of emergency period and the independence era. The important events he experienced were thoroughly narrated. He was also an army officer standing beside Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj while chanting the

independence of Malaya. His experience became the researcher's guide in producing the writing of this study.

Darurat di Terengganu, 1948-1960: Beberapa Aspek Sosial dan Ekonomi, have recorded a number of historical events about the state of Terengganu during the 1948-1960 state of emergency period. In this book, Osman Mamat discussed the social and economic problems faced by people and governments during the state of emergency period. The author also stated steps and efforts done by the government to curb communist activities in Terengganu. All economic and social data during the state of emergency period are specified specifically. Although this book only revolves around the state of Terengganu, it still provided information about the general situation of the state of emergency period that took place in Malaya.

Chin Peng, a secretary of PKM, has produced a personal note book titled *My Side of Story*. He said PKM's involvement in the state of emergency situations was sabotaged and enlarged by the British. This is because during the Japanese colonization in Malaya, PKM merged with the British to defeat Japan. After Japan lost, the British felt PKM was a big threat to the British position and was banned and stamped as terrorists and had to be eliminated to the grassroots. In his writing, Chin Peng stated that some of the PKM's powerful people had been killed by the British. Although it is only publicly stated, this book became a good reference and comparison to make this writing more scientific.

Detik Sejarah Rundingan Baling, highlighting the state of emergency history that rose the Baling Negotiations and the dialogues during the Baling Negotiations, which were held for four sessions on 28 and 29 December 1955. In this Wan Hamzah Awang's writings, he has successfully contacted various parties that directly involved in meeting at Baling. Some interesting new information about events during the state of emergency period has been carefully described. This information is a bit as helpful to the researcher in producing scientific writing related to the title.

Komrad Bertopeng: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Barisan Bersatu Komunis di Malaya 1945-1948 written by Cheah Boon Khend is about the history of the origins of the PKM rebellion in June 1948 and the history of PKM with further elaboration of some of its leaders through the study and research of the involved figures. This paper revolves around how they work, why they work with communists, their personal backgrounds and the conflicts and cooperation between organizations.

Darurat di Kelantan 1948-1960: Pengalaman dan Iktibar the writings of Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, Ho Hui Ling and Mahmud Embong have clearly stated the emergency state in Kelantan according to the chapters written by different authors. Ho Hui Ling wrote about the *Communist Activity in Kelantan*, Mahmud Embong wrote about the *Gua Musang: Communist-Zone likes the Soviet Republic, 1948*, while Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali wrote about *Handling the Rebellion of Communist in Kelantan*. This book has clearly explained the actions of the communists towards local people as well as the way British handling the communist problem especially in Kelantan. This book has opened the minds of researcher about the communist rebellion in Malaya even though the incident did not occurred in the research site.

Perang Dunia Kedua: Peranan Gerila Melayu Force 136, is a book written by Wan Hashim Wan Teh. This book gives a lot of information about the movements of Gerila Melayu Force 136 which was established to offset the existence of MPAJA armed forces consisting of Chinese people. The military power is directed to the Chinese and this situation was very dangerous. Despite the pre-emergency situation, researchers found a lot of information on why the state of emergency was declared in Malaya.

The movement of the security forces was widely found in the writings of Mohd Reduan Hj Asli entitled the *Pemberontakan Bersenjata Komunis di Malaysia*. This book is about the first and second rebellion, and also communist rebellion in Sarawak. Although the second rebellion and rebellion in Sarawak are examined in detail but what is being discussed in this book helps the the researcher in refining the study.

Ramlah Adam, in her book entitled *Burhanuddin Al-Helmy: Satu Kemelut Politik* is about the struggle of Dr. Burhanuddin in nationalism and politics of Malaya. He was a well-known figure in politics and moves contemporarily with Dato 'Onn Ja'afar, Ahmad Boestamam and Ishak Haji Mohamad. This book also features his upheaval as a Malay nationalist activist and his frequent arrest by the British and the Alliance government.

Memoir Mustapha Hussain: Kebangkitan Nasionalisme Melayu Sebelum UMNO, is a scientific writing that is really close to the researcher's place of study which is in North Perak especially in Matang district. Mustapha Hussain is a Malay warrior who is so determined to help hundreds of Malay soldiers, their families and volunteer police officers who were threatened by war. He worked as a lecturer at Sekolah Pertanian

Malaya, Serdang, Selangor, and had worked hard to help the Malays and oppose the colonizers until he was imprisoned by the British in 1945-1946.

Memoir Abdullah C.D.: Zaman Pergerakan Sehingga 1948, is written by Abdullah C.D. focusing on the struggle of anti-colonial which is Communist Party of Malaya (PKM). He says a lot about the Malay spirit of anti-colonialism that has begun since the Second World War. He who was born in Parit, Perak and grew up with stories of Malay heroism like Dato 'Maharaja Lela and Dato' Sagor has a high nationalism spirit against the British colonialism in Malaya. Similarly, his writings entitled *Memoir Abdullah C.D.: Perjuangan di Sempadan dan Penamatan Terhormat* (2009) is about the crusade of the 10th Regiment of the Communist Party of Malaya (PKM) until the independence of Malaya from British colonists on August 31, 1957. In his work, Abdullah CD wrote about his struggle and the 10th Regiment who received cooperation from the Thai-Malaysia border and they are mostly Malays and Muslims.

Memoir Ibrahim Chik.: Dari API ke Rejimen Ke-10 is written by Ibrahim Chick about the struggle of Malay youths who need to use firearms to fight against the colonizer using guerrillas method in the left wing national movement. He and his colleagues who were mostly very patriotic and have religious education from the cottage schools have sacrificed their souls and body for their love of the land. They have the blood of the fierce and brave Pahang fighters such as Tok Bahaman, Tok Gajah and Mat Kilau flowed in their bodies.

Mohamed Salleh Lamry in his book *Abu Samah Kassim: Pejuang Kiri Kemerdekaan Zuriat Datuk Bahaman*, tells us about the struggle for Malaya's independence after World War II as well as the spirit of Pahang's fighters in opposing the British colonization. Abu Samah Mohd Kassim is the grandchild of Datuk Bahaman. He also tells us about the armed crusade of Abu Sayamah Kassim who had been the main leader in the 10th Regiment, the People's Army of Malaya and the Communist Party of Malaya in a clear and detailed manner.

Shamsiah Fakeh in her writing entitled *The Memoirs of Shamsiah Fakeh: From Awas to 10th Regiment* is about her struggle from the Awas Women's Awakening Party (AWAS), and subsequently joined the Insaf Youth Movement (API) Party in an attempt to claim independence from the British. When the party was banned by the government, she had fought alongside the 10th Regiment of the Malayan Communist Party and lived in the forest to fight for their agenda.

Rashid Maidin, in his book *The Memoirs of Rashid Maidin: From Armed Struggle to Peace* is about his experience in the Communist Party of Malaya since the 1930s to free Malaya from British colonization. He who had been under the British and Japanese governments realized that the two colonists were only taking advantage of Malaya's prosperity. He joined the Malayan National Liberation Army's 10th Regiment (MNLA) with his best friend Abdullah C.D. He was with Chin Peng and Chin Tien in Baling Negotiations in 1955.

Perak: Dahulu dan Sekarang, which is edited by Adnan Hj Nawang has 13 chapters. These monographs help the researcher to explore deep into the writings of the researcher's study especially on the writings of Hj Abdullah Lubis, "*Perkembangan Sejarah di Larut*" and "*Bijih Timah Dalam Sejarah Perak*" by Khoo Kay Kim. These two writings have helped the researcher in producing this scientific writing because the topic is related to the subject of the study.

Based on the researcher's initial research on the books read, the past researchers have produced their books in general about Malaya. Although there are writers who write specifically about a certain place, yet no written material is dedicated only to the researcher's research area. Therefore, the researcher feels that there is a need to chronicle the state of emergency period in North Perak for future generations references and to add scientific materials about the emergencies situation in Malaya.

7 FINDINGS

This study explains in greater detail the state of emergency that took place from 1948 to 1960 and its impact to the people of North Perak in social, economic and political aspects. This study also assessed the communist terrorism before and after the 1948-1960 state of emergency declaration. The writing of this study also illustrates the changes taking place because of the state of emergency declaration such as the existence of new settlements or new villages in Malaya. This historical study also assesses the pre and emergent violence issues from PKM's own perspective by referring to the memoirs of involved figures and local sources.

8 DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The state of emergency involves three parties named PKM, British and local leaders. This means the state of emergency is a war between the British and the Malays with PKM. The main purpose of the introduction and enforcement of the Emergency Act 1948 was to curb communist influence among the Chinese in Malaya. The enforcement of the 1948 Emergency Act is also a hidden agenda of the British government to legitimize their actions to arrest and imprison the left wing Malay-lingual activists without talking on the grounds that these people are dangerous to the national security. The establishment of Hisbul Muslimin in the society that flowed in Gunung Semanggol and also in Northern Perak creates an uncomfortable feelings of the British colonizers and categorized the party's crusade as extremist and dangerous, as danger as the communist terrorism in Malaya. Hisbul Muslimin was banned on July 29, 1948 and their leaders were arrested and imprisoned.

The Emergency Law introduced in Malaya was unable to erase the spirit of communist guerrilla to continue fighting to achieve the dream of making Malaya a Communist Republic of Malaya. PKM with the guerrilla method tried to dominate Malaya and the Malays who rose with the spirit of liberation from the British colonies to undermine the position of the British Federal Government. The state of emergency also affected when left-wing leaders who were imprisoned during the state of emergency were released. They had set up a new left-wing party to free Malaya from the British rulers.

The contributions and sacrifices of the left-wing Malay community are meaningful because they were the trigger of consciousness and activist in the early stages of the struggle towards the independence of Malaya. In 1955, almost all the leaders and followers of this left-wing Malay had been released from the political prison camps. They have established a new political party after the previous political party was banned by the British. The Malays who were left behind in all fields felt defended and made them rise and struggle to insist the British to give independence to Malaya. Independence is important to change the fate of the Malays. As long as the British rule, the Malays will always be oppressed.

The establishment of the PKM's 10th Regiment gave a great blow to the British. The Malay guerilla , consisting of former left-wing political party members, has been working with PKM in the

attempt to free Malaya from British colonization. Although the purpose of the PKM's 10th Regiment was not the same as the basis of their central PKM's crusade, the guerrillas made British colonials to introduce the 1948 Emergency Act in Malaya to stave off this communist guerrilla movement.

The British are willing to do everything to ensure their comfort, security and well-being in Malaya. The Machiavelli political concept of maintaining the power of "goal-to-use" is practiced in order to ensure that their successors are a government capable of securing British interests during the post-independence era. The British managed to deceive the subordinates and the Malay elites that the crusade of the Malay leftist movement led by leftist Malay leaders was extremist and influenced by communists.

Although PKM used various means and tactics to drive away the British from Malaya, the British remained able to withstand PKM's unexpected strategies and responses. Malaya still continue to develop especially in urban areas as communist guerrillas only attack and commit sabotage in villages and small towns. However, the British government had to spend millions of *ringgit* to weaken the communist insurgency and thwart PKM's campaign to cripple government machinery. Chinese and Indians are still living in Malaya, and they have not been refugees in and are not returned back to their home country.

9 APPRECIATION

Thank you to both course supervisors, Associate Professor Dr. Haji Ahmad Jelani bin Hilmi and Dr. Sah-Hadiyatan bin Ismail for giving valuable guidance and motivation to realize my dream and complete this study despite a long time taken to finish.

I would also like to express my thanks to all lecturers and personnels of Pusat Pengajian Pendidikan Jarak Jauh dan Institut Pengajian Siswazah Universiti Sains Malaysia for all the helps and supports given.

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