ICOMOS MALAYSIA

NEW VILLAGE WORKING GROUP

REPORT 1

(15 MAY 2022)

The report is prepared by ICOMOS MALAYSIA NEW VILLAGE WORKING GROUP (NVWG)



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GLOSARRY

COTCA The Cultures of Occupation in Twentieth Century Asia

DSEAS Department of Southeast Asia Studies
DWEC District War Executive Committee

FMS Federated Malay States/Negeri-negeri Melayu Bersekutu

FWC Federal War Council

ICOMOS International Council on Monuments and Sites ICIP Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage

NVWG New Village Working Group

PTD Pejabat Tanah Daerah

SWEC State and Settlement War Executive Committee

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01

INTRODUCTION

01 INTRODUCTION

Over half a million villagers or one-seventh of Malaya's population were relocated/ resettled in over 450 New Villages between 1948 and 1960 following the Briggs Plan. It was part of a comprehensive counter-insurgency strategy in Malaya. The formation of New Villages not only changed the entire rural landscape of Malaya in the 1950s, but also marked the beginning of the implementation of town and village planning in Malaya, introducing health and safety concepts and a more civic-minded nation towards Independence.

The NV progeny dates back to the concentration camps of the late 19th Century during the 2nd Boer War as a military tactic used to deprive the enemy of the support of a sympathetic population. The concept was later replicated by military authorities in various places. In general, none of these camps/secured villages continue in their original fashion to this day except as museum sites. The Malayan New Villages have, however, evolved and are today either absorbed by nearby urban centres or have developed into fairly important centres of population, economic activities, and/or cultural depositories of the local inhabitants in their own right. While most of the NV population were and are of Chinese origin, they have always included substantial numbers of non-Chinese inhabitants.

1.1 Background of Formation of ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG

The Working Group (WG) was formed when the Shared Built Heritage (SBH), Cultural Routes (CIIC) and Historic Towns, Villages and Places (CIVVIH) NSCs were organizing a study trip to Kuala Kubu Baru, Fraser Hill and Rasa. The discussion of the historical and heritage background of the sites especially at Rasa were examined in some detail. *Ar. Dr.* Goh Ai Tee with the majority of the planning group was sufficiently enthusiastic to start an interim WG to research further into the subject. Members were invited at the suggestion of individual members of the WG and included non ICOMOS Members. On 10 March 2021, the Board of ICOMOS Malaysia approved the formation of a New Village Working Group (NVWG) consisting of ICOMOS Malaysia Members and invited specialists from various disciplines. The NVWG started with 7 members from ICOMOS Malaysia and 8 invited experts on April 2021.

The working group aims to study the potential of showcasing selected New Villages as National Heritage as well as candidates for UNESCO world heritage listing. ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG will also act as a central Data Bank collecting research works and archive materials relating to New Villages in Malaya. In this regard, various aspects were scrutinized:

- 1. New Villages and Planning
- 2. New Villages and Security
- 3. New Villages and Management
- 4. New Villages and Religion
- 5. New Villages and the economy
- 6. New Villages and Education
- 7. New Villages and Social aspects
- 8. New Villages and Missionaries
- 9. New Villages and Food
- 10. New Villages and Culture

A total of 5 online meetings with members and 2 online meetings with potential collaborators as well as 3 webinar talk series were organised for position-sharing and research outcomes. This publication will be our first annual report recording this endeavor.



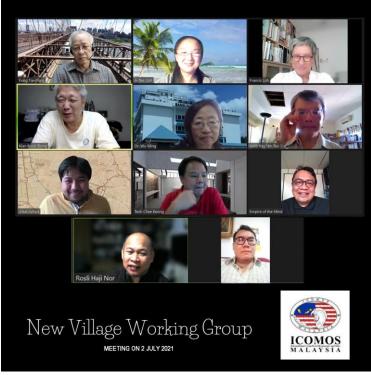


Figure 1-2 ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG – 2^{nd} meeting (2 July 2021) (update on official approval by Board on ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG on 10 March 2021) ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG – 3^{rd} meeting (20 Aug 2021) ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG – 4^{th} meeting (3 Nov 2021) ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG – 5^{th} meeting (24 March 2022)

We have a total of 23 members as of April 2022, with 16 members from ICOMOS Malaysia and 7 invited experts:

Ar. Dr. Goh Ai Tee (Chair, ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG)

Ar. Tiong Kian Boon (Advisor ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG, President ICOMOS Malaysia)

Dato' Ir Fong Tian Yong (Advisor ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG)

Dr Francis Loh Kok Wah (Advisor ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG)

Prof Dr Lee Kam Hing (Advisor ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG)

Rosli Hj Nor (Leader, National and UNESCO Listing)

Faisal Abdul Rahman

Dr Gwynn Jenkins

Ar. Ahmad Najib Ariffin

Dr. Nik Mastura Nik Muhammad

TPr. Afzal Hj Azhari

Kenneth Wong See Huat

Lim Gaik Siang

Dr Ong Siew Kian

Assoc Prof Teoh Chee Keong

Assoc Prof Dr Lew Bon Hoi

Dr Tan Teng Phee

Dr Masadliahani Masduki

Assoc Prof Dr Keith Tan Kay Hin

Ar. Lee Sze Ee

Ar. Anthony Too Kar Kiat

Dr Wu Ming Chu

Norazwani bte Azmi (Student)

Associate Professor Dr. Keith Tan Kay Hin (School of Architecture, Building and Design, Taylor's University) assisted in pre-publication proof reading and editing of this report.

ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG is also looking forward to collaborating with others (Universities, Institutions, Schools, NGOs, etc) to improve the overall collection of works relating to research on New Villages in Malaysia.

Please visit our website (https://newvillageworkingg.wixsite.com/website-2) for more information and updates. If you would like to contribute to the research we are working on, please do not hesitate to contact us via email at newvillageworkinggroup@gmail.com.

Funding is a vital component of our work, and is especially important for organizing events that encourage the participation of researchers/ students/ school children and the wider public. Hence, do let us know if you like to sponsor any activities and programmes under ICOMOS Malaysia New Village Working Group.

1.2 LOGO Design

The logo of the New Village Working Group was designed and developed by Norazwani binti Azmi, a student from International Islamic University, Gombak, Selangor, who was an intern with ICOMOS Malaysia between 4 October 2021 and 31 January 2022. The draft logos were reviewed by members from ICOMOS Malaysia ICIP and ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG. The overall logo was inspired by

- i. The Malayan Home Guard badge
- ii. A paddy motif representing the food rationing during the Emergency. Paddy motifs can also be seen on other national logos, such as *Polis Diraja Malaysia*, *Tentera Udara Malaysia* and *Askar Wataniah*.
- iii. The pattern in the circular shape at the centre represents a typical New Village layout
- iv. The Colour Scheme was based on the *Jalur Gemilang* and also in accordance with ICOMOS Malaysia's integrated communication plan



Figure 1-3 Home Guard Badge 1951

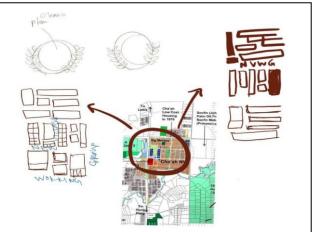


Figure 1-4
Insert layout developed from the layout plan of Cha'ah NV

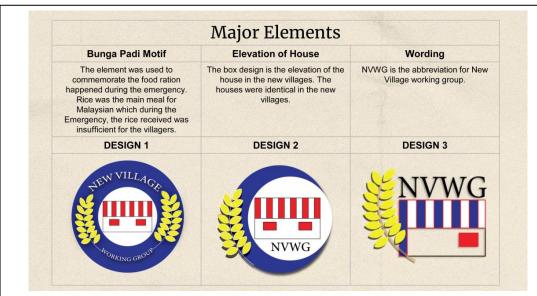


Figure 1-5
Initial design proposal for review by ICOMOS Malaysia ICIP & NVWG

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02

SHARING SESSION: WEBINARS

02 SHARING SESSION: WEBINARS

2.1 **WEBINAR Series #1**: "Complex Pasts: Diverse Future – 'Malaysian New Villages', the first public webinar (virtual and physical) was held on 17 April 2021, in conjunction with the International Day of Monuments and Sites celebration. The webinar was titled "Complex Pasts: Diverse Future – "Malaysian NVs" and was moderated by Faisal Abd Rahman. The session looking into the background of Malaysian NVs and the possibility of having them listed as our National Heritage.

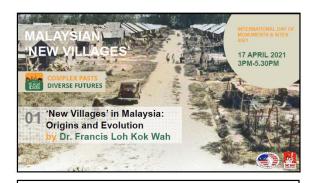


2.1.1 Dr Francis Loh Kok Wah, "New Village in Malaysia: Origins and Evolution"

Senior Adviser, Forum of Federation (Ottawa) under whose auspices he conducts workshops and training in Myanmar. Dr Francis Loh retired as Professor of Politics at Universiti Sains Malaysia in 2012, where he taught for 33 years.

He was also Secretary of Aliran for 20 years and its president from 2011-2015

Click: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCW8bAe1hQY



- The story of New Villages (NVs) in Malaysia may be divided into 4 phases
- The story or New Vinlages (NVS) in Malaysia may be divided into 4 pina!
 1. origins as a security problem in the early 1950s. A major compone the fight against the Communists in the Emergency (1948-60). With resettlement, CPM cut from information, funds, recruits, food & other supplies. Contributed massively towards the British winning the initial independence followed. But NVs were not viable economically. Conditionated. Largely forgotten by the late 1950s. & during the 1960s.
- eteriorated. Largey longotren by the late 1950s & uning the 1960s.
 2. in 1970s, the NVs were 'rediscovered'. They had grown old. The majority of residents were poor. So, NVs were rightly incorporated into the Five-Year Plans. A minister appointed to be i/cof NVs, funds made available for NVs again. Although NVs not economically viable, living conditions poor, there was now some Hope. If this official recognition had not occurred, the NVs would have disappeared by now.
- ICOMOS would not be talking about Unesco Listing.
- · and we would not be having this webinar, and



- NVs & the Security Question during Emergency (1948-60)
- In 1951 & 1952, the British colonial government compelled 1.2 m rural dwellers, one-seventh of the Malayan population, into about 600 new settlements.
- Some 650,000 people (32% Malays, 45% Chinese, 18% Indians & 5% Javanese and others) were "regrouped" in rubber estates, tin mines and around existing towns.
- Another 572,917 people (85% Chinese, 9% Malays, 4% Indians & 1% others) were resettled into 480 New Villages (NVs), often miles from their
- Almost half of these NVs were established in Perak & Johore. In Perak, Johore, Pahang & Selangor, some 63% of the NVs were to be found, housing 84.6% of total NV population (Kernial Singh Sandhu 1964).





- The recent book Tan Teng Phee, Behind Barbed Wire: Chinese New Villages during the Malayan Emergency 1948-1960, Petaling Jaya: SIRD, 2020 is an excellent account of the New Villages and the resettlement process.
- Tan's book derived from interviews with NVgers in their 70s and 80s when he conducted his field work in 2007-2008 plus colonial records which were previously unavailable to an earlier generation of researchers.
- Contrary to many accounts written by writers like N. Barber, *The War of the Running Dogs*; Edgar O'Balance *Malaya*: *the Commuist Insurgent War 1948-60*; R Clutterback, *The Long Long War* which are rather upbeat accounts of how the British "won the hearts and minds" of the villagers, , Tan's study confirms the harshness and hastiness of the resettlement process.







- 3. Thanks to recognition of NVs as a target group of the po benefitted from the occasional funding made available. Initially "no body's baby", finally MHLG. By 1990s, conditions improved
- most had potable water, electricity for lighting, introduction of septic tanks to replace bucket toilets, health clinics and primary schools in the NVs or in the vicinity (though high drop-out rates).
- Jobs were available due to the economic growth Malaysia was then experiencing; double-digit growth in late 1990s; "longest this", "tallest that", "Malaysia Boleh"; labour shortage & recruitment of foreign labour.
- the states began exercises to renew leases of housing lots in the NVs. A major development. For the ability to acquire permanent land titles attracted the villagers back to their NVs. Sealed the permanency of the NVs. A home to return to. New concern about "heritage", "identity" & belonging. ICOMOS has a role to undertake





- In Dialogues with Chin Peng: New Light on the Malayan Communist Party, edited by C C Chin and Karl Hack, Singapore; Singapore University Press, 2004, Chin Peng admitted that the resettlement exercise was an important turning point in the Emergency.
- He also agreed that resettlement had been conducted harshly, hastily and forcibly. Resettlement into NVs was not a well-executed, let alone a well-planned exercise.
- In a reply to Anthony Short, the historian of the Emergency, Chin Peng

They forced you to go, and they burned all your house. And then if you want to resist, you stay in the house they don't care, they would burn you. Some people stayed in the house they did not want to move... moved all the belongings. And the British, they got the order to set fire, forced you to move. If you don't move, then maybe you have to be burned...to be burned alive (p. 155).





- Yes, regroupment & resettlement processes formed the backbone of the counter-insurgency effort to fight the CPM.

 Under the Briggs Plan, regroupment areas & NVs were placed behind barbed-wire & under security guard. Dusk-to-dawn curfews, food rationing, body searches & periodic arrests rudely interrupted the residents' lives.
- In effect, resettlement cut CPM from accessing recruits, information, funds, food & other supplies.
- food & other supplies.

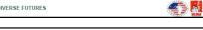
 Attention was also focused on the march towards Independence new laws were passed offering citizenship to non-Malays; the formation of the a multi-ethnic Alliance; local Authority elections were promoted not only in municipalities and towns, but in Local Councils in the NVS too; paving the way for nation-wide elections in 1955 and the appointment of Alliance as "Members" (with executive powers) in the colonial government thereafter. By 1955, when the Baling Peace Talks were held, the CPM had already withdrawn to the Thai-Malayan border. In 1957, Independence was proclaimed.





- Following Independence, the Emergency ordinance was gradually lifted one district, one state, one part of the country after another. With the end of Emergency in 1960, all regroupment areas have been dismantled.
- However, despite the removal of the barbed-wires and curfew and the withdrawal of the security forces, most of the NVs persisted. However, conditions in the NVs rapidly deteriorated in the following decade for several reasons:
- 1) with the end of the Korean War boom (1951-52), rubber and tin prices dropped back to normal levels. So, there was **not enough funds to** implement the full complement of physical amenities & social services promised.
- 2) as independence approached, Umno pushed for more attention to be given to competing Malay demands for rural development as well espatter the Islamic party won in Kelantan and Terengganu in the 1959 elections, and
- new attention was then given to the formation of the Malaysia, the resulting Konfrontasi with Sukarno's Indonesia; the break-up with Singapore.





- Phase II: NVs a Poor Target Group in the Five-Year Plans, from 1970s
- From 1970s

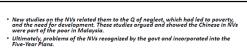
 Young Turks" in the MCA launched a Reform Movement in 1971 after a period of Emergency rule following May 13 1969

 Coincidentally, new security problems developed in central Perak. The anti-Communist operations conducted by the security forces highlighted the socio-economic problems of the NVs in Perak. The press wrote of the "shabby and dilapidated" homes "bordering on the squalid". "Illegal farming", "land hunger" and "lack of tenure" were headlined. The villagers were described as a people "who had been forgotten for over a decade". (Straits Times, 3,4 and 5 November 1971). The new villages had turned old.
- A so-called Perak Task Force (PTF) led by the Young Turks took to mobilising in the Perak NVs. After some hesitation, the NVgers responded positively to the PTF which showed great interest in the plight of the NVs.









- Some studies also discussed the scope of politics in the NVs
- Some studies also discussed are second or pointies in the NVs. 1

 Strauch then teaching in Harvard Uni argued that the NVs had not been positively, integrated into Malaysian politics and society. Rather, they had been here "encapsulated", implying that they had been brought into the orbit of the state authorities, without, however, positive identification of the NVers with the authorities. [undith strauch, towerer, positive identification of the NVers with the authorities, fundith strauch, the number of the strauch of the str
- 1981).

 My own study which focused on the Kinta talked about how during the War and post-War period, the Kinta dwellers rallied behind the Communists. Later in the post-Emergency period, they supported the PPP led by the Seenivasagam Brothers, and then in the 1970s, they were not unprepared to rally behind the Mc Young Turks, and then today, the Kinta is a DAP stronghold. My analysis is that the people are prepared to rally Mines: Coolies Squatters and New Villagers in the Kinta Valley, Malaysia, c. 1880-1880, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988).



- Cheng Chew Keng, "Socio-Economic Survey of a Chinese Regroupment Village Simpang Lima" (1970)
- Ahmad Ithnin, "A Study of the Administrative and Socio-Economic Conditions of NVs in Ulu Selangor" (1973)
- Sensingor (1975)

 B. N. Jeremiah, "Chinese New Village: A Case Study of Val D'Or and Jawi" (1974)

 N. Selvaraj, "Village Profile Studies: A Socio-Economic Study of Air Keroh Chinese NV, Malacca' (1976)
- (1976)

 Tham Ah Fun, "Survey of the Demographic Structure and Socio-Economic Conditions of a NV Kuala Kuang, Chemor, (1976)
- ruanta Nuang, Liemot, (1276)

 Cheng Lim Keak, Mengkuang: A Study of a Chinese New Village in West Malaysia (1976).

 Laurence K L Siaw, Chinese Society in Rural Malaysia: A Local History of the Chinese in Titi, Jelebu (1983).
- (1985). Into the Mainstream of Development; Gerakan's Analysis and Proposals on New Villages (1986). Lim Hin Ful, "Poverty among Chinese in Malaysia (With Special Reference to Three NV in Perak)" (1990).
- (1370), of NVs in Peninsular Malaysia 1970"(mimeo), Ministry of Housing and Local Government).

 A Socio-Economic Study of New Villages in Perak and Malacca, Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Perpaduan Negara (1973)
- COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



- The plight of the NVs was compounded by the fact that they were not economically viable units.
- The Corry Report 1954, the most imp survey of the NVs conducted shortly after resettlement, had noted that the majority of people resettled were squatter-farmers, formerly involved, perhaps in tin mining or hawking, etc. But agricultural land was only made available to those who previously "owned land" or were considered as "full-time farmers".
- Significantly, the Corry Report 1954 concluded that "there was no chance of complete self-sufficiency for the New Villages" (p.39-42). For the major problem of land hunger, already evident in pre-War times, was left
- Based on their economic viability, which in turn was based on their location, Corry classified the NVs as "permanent", "intermediate" and "supposedly temporary" i.e. "expected to disappear with the end of the Emergency".













- PTF with NVgers identified as poor: the need for more agricultural & housing land; permanent titles; employment opportunities; better roads, drains, utilities & other services; and improved educational opportunities for children. Recommended sustained govt efforts.
- Unfortunately, this rediscovery of the NVs was marred by conflict between the Old Guards led by (Tan Siew Sin, Khaw Kai Boh, Lee San Choon) vs the Young Turks (Lim Keng Yaik, Alex Lee, Paul Leong, The Siew Eng), resulting in the Young Turks leaving the MCA







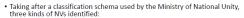












- those NVs with more than 5,000 people each were regarded as "urbanised" villages". They experienced in-migration and registered high population growth rates, in most cases exceeding 100 percent.
- Those NVs from 1,000 to 4,999 residents categorised "readily accessible villages" (or "intermediate villages"), close to urban areas and not too remote. Such NVs registered some population growth, but not exceeding 100 percent.
- the 179 NVs with less than 1,000 residents considered "small remote" villages". Such NVs experienced out-migration.
- Opportunities for earning a good livelihood better in urbanised villages and worse in the small remote villages. Differences in opportunities explains why the population of increased or decreased after the Emergency.





- The rediscovery of the NVs in the 1970s owes much to the efforts of the Chinese-base political parties & leaders like Dr Lim Keng Yaik. He was the first person appointed a Minister in the PM's Department by Tun Razak, put in charge of NV affairs, during Tun Razak.
- Through their efforts, and the various studies mentioned, the NVs, esp the *Intermediate* and the *small remate villages* were recognised as poor and given official attention. Henceforth allocations were made in the Five-Year Plans (at least for the next 20 years) for the improvement of NV infrastructure.
- Meanwhile, the NV portfolio war moved from the PM's Office to the Ministry of Housing, Local Government and New Village (which was subsequently renamed Ministry of Housing, Local Government and Village Development, later renamed Winistry of Housing, Local Government, For a while, NVs were emplaced under the Winistry of Housing and Local Government). For a while, NVs were emplaced under the "mobody's baby", And that it received very little money. And Michael Chen who also became minister added that if NVs were allocated more money, every minister would want the baby!
- Lim Keng Yaik' & Michael Chen had also lobbied for preparing "a Masterplan".
- Under Lim's leadership, Parti Gerakan produced Into the Mainstream of Development; Gerakm's Analysis and Proposals on New Villages (1986). The concluding chapter is 'New Masterplan for solving the problems of New Villages—our Proposals & Recommendations'.







• The scope of problems NVs faced in the 1970s and 1980s were no longer the same as those encountered in the 1950s. Engagement in Malaysian politics, too, had changed. Accordingly, security was no longer the focus of these studies. It was economic development and political integration, or the lack of it, which explains why NVs are "opposition strongholds".















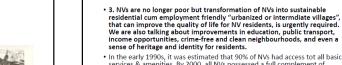












- In the early 1990s, it was estimated that 90% of NVs had access tot all basic services & amenities. By 2000, all NVs possessed a full complement of services and amenities. It was time to "clean and beautify the NVs", and to improve their social environment.
- improve their social environment.

 It was in this context that Dr Mahathir announced in Nov 1990 that the NV would hence forth be known simply as "villages" There was no longer a need for them to be distinct from other villages from the security point of view. It was hoped that the name change would encourage Malays & Indians to move in, and so facilitate integration. The notion of "Muhibbah villages", first introduced in the 1970s, was now being touted again.





- In keeping with this "erasure', there was also no longer any "special allocation" for NVs as a targeted poor group in the 6th Malaysia Plan (1991-1995). The NVs were put, either under the charge of the MHLG in the case of the "urbanized villages", or under the charge of the Min of Rural Development, for remotely located NVs. Allocations for NVs
- As it turned out, Dr M's exercise to rename the NVs and to stop referring to these villages as NVs, was reversed. For after he stepped down, the use of the term "New Villages" was revived in 2002. Apparently, special allocations for NVs were so designated again in the Five-Year Plans, rather than incorporating them under allocations of



- were directed to one or the other ministry during the late 1990s.
- particular ministries.



- 1) the extension exercise required that semi-permanent titles & TOLs be first converted to permanent titles, before extension of the leases could proceed. Fees have to be paid
- perminent titus, betold excellation or in leases could proceed, rees nate to up paid.

 2) The premium rates charged for convention were v high, esp for the urbanized villages (which could be sufficiently as the process of the proce
- A few of the other states followed the example of Penang. In Perak, for instance, 80% discount was offered to residents who remed their leases for a 80-year period.
 S) Delays also arose, and this occurred quite frequently, when the original benefactor had passed

- Away imp comunitum has been resolved. Extension of new long-term leases at discounted prices, at a time when the price of land & housing throughout Malaysia was rising, proved very attractive to the Nigers.

 Most villagers invested in these new long-term leases if they could afford it. In turn, this exercise has pignen a new sense of permanency, a new lease of life, perhaps even a sense of heritage & identity to the NVs. No doubt, this sense of permanency & identity has attracted ICOMOS





- In fact, this renaming exercise obscured an extremely significant policy decision first taken by the National Land Council in a meeting of all the state governments in 1988.

 Proposed by MHLG, and supported by Dr Mahathir, all the state government had agreed, "in principle", to renew the leases of the nousing lots in all the NVs, an issue that had created much frustration among villagers for about a decade. For by the early 1990s, all villagers who were on 30-year leases, which were first issued in the early 1950s, needed to have their leases extended. Similarly, those villagers who were on 60-year leases needed to begin the renewal exercise too. That said, the implementation of this important decision was delayed, again and again, due to many reasons. implementation of thi due to many reasons.
- Data obtained from the state governments by MHLG indicated: 98,340 housing lots in NVs land totaling 20,244 hectares were pending regularization in Aug 1991. Of these, 83,600 were still held under an approved application (a form of semi-permanent title) and another 9,990 under TOLs. (Another 1,918 lots were without any form of documentation)





- In this regard, I want to highlight two related findings made in most studies of NVs conducted in the 1970s & 1980s: 1) in the MOE's Kajian Keciciran, it was reported that there was a high dropout rate among Chinese youth in semi-urban areas (NVs presumably), esp males, when transiting from the SRJK(C) to the SMK. They could not cope with earning in BM largely because of the overwhelmingly ethnic Chinese environment they lived in and the poor quality of teaching and learning in the rural SRJK (C).
- SRJK (C).

 2) the outflow of young NVgers, in search of jobs, outside. In the 1980s, when I was conducting field work, I discovered that most young male youths sought employment often as construction workers in the larger cities, and on government development projects, like a FELDA project. The young males returned to the NVs periodically, esp during CNY. Many of the younger women, on the other hand, performed odd jobs esp in the informal manufacturing & service sectors around the NVs. The older villagers, aided by the children, continued farming.





- The male youths continued to work in construction projects in the 1990s, and into the new millennium. The few studies available indicate that they were no longer employed as contract workers locally but in Singapore, Taiwan & Japan, often illegally. Provided that one does not fall sick, a two-year sojourn overseas allows the NVger to save a tidy sum of capital which is used to purchase some machinery, to start some business or service, or to upgrade the family house, upon one's return to Malaysia.
- Govt allocations helped to improve roads & drains, water & electricity, etc.

 But it was the struggle of the NVgers themselves, via a combination of economic activities, esp venturing outside the NV, including going overseas, that the villagers have sustained themselves and improved their livelihood. The diversity of occupations in the NVs is testimony to the adaptability of the villagers to changing economic circumstances.

 I will leave Datuk Fong to discuss the Masterplan and the current situation in the NVs. By way of conclusion, I propose that there be a Phase 4 in the story of NVs.





- Conclusion: Phase 4: From 2010s: Most of Malaysia (esp in the peninsula), incl in NVs, no longer poor.
 Moving towards transformation of NVs into residential centres with quality living & economically sustainable. For many, we need a masterplan

- economically sustainable. For many, we need a masterpian

 For me, we need good governance

 Good governance implies not only a Masterpian, a CAT govt, Plus the ordinary NVger as stakeholder. The NVger must be involved in the decision-making process. Put another way, we need elected Lig, perhaps elected NVgers in charge. They have local knowledge which outsiders don't have.

 Elected Lig is trend not only in the West, but in India, Phillippines, Indonesia, even Myanmar, before the coup.

 Related to new trend of community-based planning no longer dependent on a national physical plan, a state-level structure plan and local plan prepared by outside "experts".

- physical plan, a state-level structure plan after local plan prepared by outside experts.

 Decentralisation of budgetary processes & technical staff too.

 For me, NVgers must be at the centre; must restore elected LG. And devolve powers & funding to LG level. That's how we started in the 1950s! The political parties, ICOMOS and other NGOs can then help. END





2.1.2 Dato' Ir Fong Tian Yong, "The Malaysian New Village" Engineer

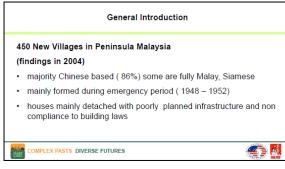
Director of the Malaysia-China Business Council Former Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Housing & Local Government

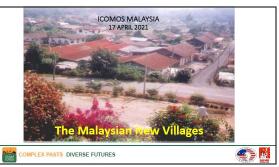
Click: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ogmdbKUsn1I https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7a7VpEut4Bs





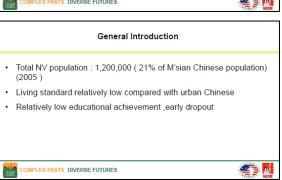




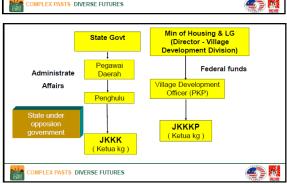




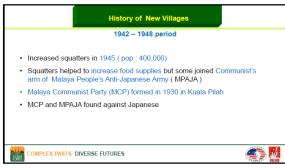




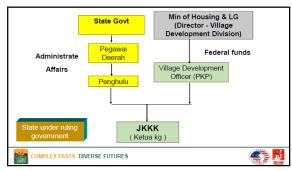
New Villages Administration JKKK (Village Development & Security Committee) · System of JKKK started in 1962, consists of chairman & 10 members JKKK as conduit between village & govt, and act as a motivating factor for each NV on social needs of people 1972 - 'gerakan pembaharuan' give more attention as coherent organisation Youth and women groups, unity elements added COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES **4 New Villages Administration** · Each state designated a state EXCO member to take charge of NV NV in state coordinated by Assistant State Secretary (Pen SUK) esp on funds disbursed to various DO and agencies At Local Level 2 levels of officers to administer: VDO: Village Development Officer looking after every NV each district, appointed by MOHLG thru recommendation by political party at division level Village Headman (Ketua Kg) of JKKK appointed by MB thru recommendation by political party OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



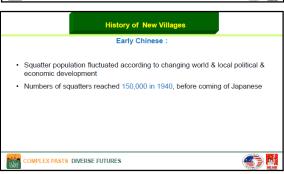




New Villages Administration At Federal level 1972: Ministry with special function in PM Dept 1974: Ministry of Housing, Local Govt and New Villages 1975: Ministry of Housing, Local Govt & Village Development 1986: Ministry of National & Rural Development 1988: Ministry of Housing & Local Government 2013: Prime Minister Department 2018: Ministry of Housing & Local Government - Currently, NV are administered under MOHLG, Local Govt dept under Village Development Division (VDD)









History of New Villag

1942 - 1948 period

- MCP was legalised and became political party
- · MCP started influencing organisations and initiated anti-colonial movement
- · 1947/48, MCP declared illegal
- · MCP took arms against British
- · MPAJA renamed Malayan People Liberation Army

COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



1942 - 1948 period

- British left squatters alone to farm on illegal land as it was their policy to encourage food cultivation on forest reserve and estate land
- · British had no plan on squatter, leaving it to state government as land is
- · Problems arisen as some squatters were sympathisers of communists



OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



1942 - 1948 period

- · Squatter continued to support communists
- · Communists attacked estates and tin mines
- June 1948 three British planters were killed at Sungai Siput, Perak
- · British economic interests threatened
- · 18th June 1948- state of emergency declared
- · Power to arrest, detention and deportation
- Info from squatters were difficult to come by: squatters in dilemma



OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES







Batang Kali Massacre – 24 rubber tappers were rounded up and shot death by the troop in 12.12.1948. Another one fainted and survived.



OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



History of New Villa

- · First uprooting: 300 families in Kajang
- Feb 1949 : another 1500 families fromUlu Temiang and Sikamat without any compensation- ready to be repatriated to China
- Created social discontent, labour shortage in factories, tin mines and estate
- 1949 1952: 40,000 were remanded and 26,000 were deported (24,000 Chinese, 2000 Indians/Indonesians)
- · Decision to deport 300,000 found to be not realistic, impractical and costly
- · British lack manpower and resources, communist situation in China



OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



History of New Villages

1942 - 1948 period

- · New sign of economy recovery under British
- Squatters (100,000) moved back to original homes and occupation
- Others remained in forest fringes vegetables farming
- 1948- 300,000 squatters involved in farming, pig rearing, fishing and orking in estates & tine mines



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



1942 - 1948 period

- First British High Commissioner in 1948 decided to deal with squatters
- Squatters assistance to communists threatened colonial economic
- MPAJA gained support from squatters from jungle fringes (food, supplies , info & recruit)
- British tried to disband MPAJA, introduce death penalty for possession of





- Sept 1948 squatters committee set up
- · British took initial step to resettle squatters in Sg Siput but failed (without planing)
- Action taken to punish squatters suspected of assisting communists killing of 26 Batang Kali villagers on 12/12/48 (estate workers and tin mines workers) angered squatters
- British uprooted squatters, destroyed homes & crops and confined to detention camp for repatriation









History of New Vil

- · Squatter report (Jan 1949) recommended resettlement
- · Resettlement to cut off ties with communists
- · State gov to resettle but lack manpower and finance
- Relationship between squatters and communists misconception Chinese were communists or supporters
- a group of Chinese elite discussed with Sir Henry Gurney seeking for solution
- 20 Chinese community leaders met on 1/2/1949 at Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall on formation of MCA
- · Issues discussed : Chinese loyalty, citizenship, unity, rights and communists threat



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



History of New Villages

- First president MCA Tan Cheng Lock emphasized need to cooperate with British to solve squatter problem and reclaim peace and security
- · Quotation from Tan Cheng Lock:

"The people from Malaya are living under the severe stress and strain of the prevailing state of emergency arising from terrorist campaign, it will be our duty when our organisation is well and firmly established to keep and cooperate with the authorities in bringing in this distressing state of affairs to an end and assist the government in solving the problem of restoring law and order, so that this country may again enjoy peace and security"



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



Second phase of resettlen

- · Mac 1950 : General Sir Harold Briggs

 - federal government played key role
 provided men, finance, transport and barded wire to state government
 2 processes: relocation & regroupment
- 5 principles / guidelines a. resettle along main roads /major transportation arteries b. minimise dislocation, economy of future settlers
- c. max 6 houses per acre space for vegetable garden
 d. sufficient agriculture land within 2-3 miles transport manure
 e. estate workers within 2 miles from place of working











History of New Villages

- - working out solution with cooperation with government
 - resettlement of squatters
 - assistance to detainees and their release recruitment of home guard and auxiliary policemen
- Squatters the main factor for the formation of MCA (as an association)
- · MCA planned financial assistance for resettlement
- · 20 resettlement planned but failed problems with raising funds





Second phase of resettlement

- · Actual process did not follow guidelines
 - many in sandy, fresh water swamp, tin tailings, unsuitable land
 some far away from farm and had to be abandon
- · British practised stern policy: 3 methods useda) using military force, houses dismantled but provided with transportation b) provide financial support to rebuild new homes

 (Titi NV - \$200 for house construction, Chaah - \$70)
 - c) collaborate with MCA
- 1950 1954 : app 500,000 resettled historical event and formation of New Villages



History of New Villag

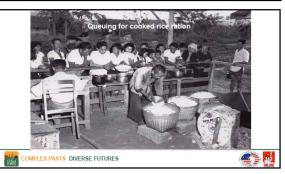
New Villages under barded wires

- · NV gate closed 6 pm to 6 am
- Most practised central rice cooking , no uncooked rice to be taken out of $\ensuremath{\mathsf{NV}}$
- · Surveillance of villagers movement, vehicles, food stuffs etc
- Home guards appointed among villagers to supplement security forces
- Ration : ration card for each family :
 Each week : male adult 5 kati rice, female 3 kati

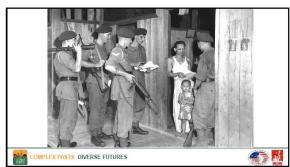
OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES











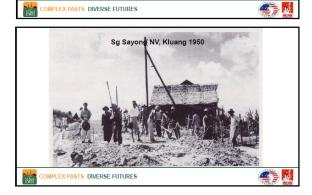


History of New Villages						
Period of formation of New Villages						
No	of NV	%				
Before 1900	7	2				
1900 - 1947	41	9				
1948 - 19 52 (emergency)	351	78				
1953 - 1960	31	7				
After 1960	14	3				
Not known	6	1				
Total	450	100				

History of New Villages

MCA effort

- MCA provided transportation, financial an welfare support, building materials, farming tools, repairing /rebuilding schools, developing farming activities
- $$10,\!000$ for each NV or \$4 M in total
- MCA issued 18 issues of lottery draws
- Of total 30,000 home guards, 3,500 (12%) were Chinese
- · Perception of Chinese loyalty changed







History of New Villages

Types of NV according to times

Type 1: Pre-existing - 48

Type 2 :Emergency :

category a : under Briggs plan (382)

category b : pre-existing villages incorporated under Briggs plan (48)

Type 3: post-emergency – 14

constructed to house remaining squatters , less ordeal ,to prevent communists influence

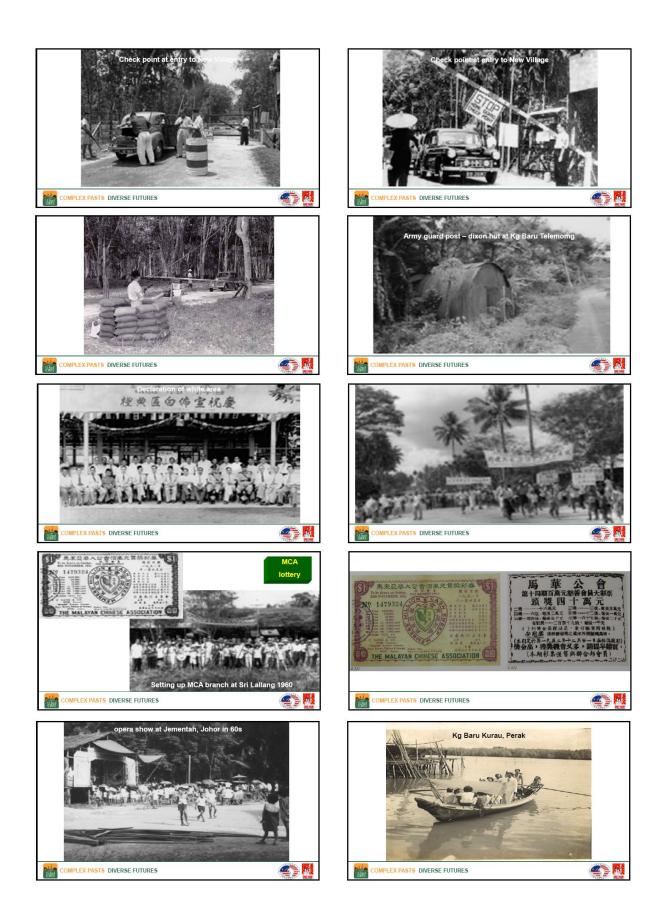


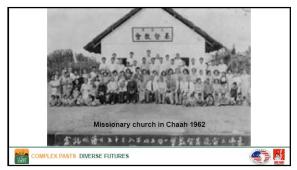
After Resettlement

- Villages home made of timber rounders and attap leaves but some with zinc
 sheet.
- · Life was tough, restricted movement, generally unhappy
- some can only farm between 7 am and 2 pm
- Threat from both sides, army and communists; both wanting information, some arrested on suspicion, some executed by communists – informers
- · villagers caught in cross fire
- Emergency period ended on 31/7/1960

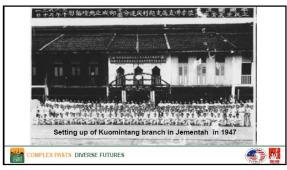




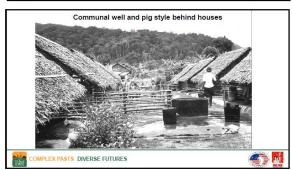


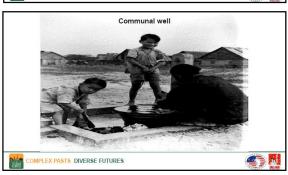




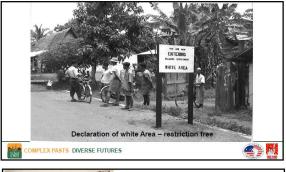






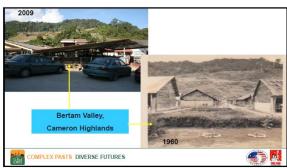






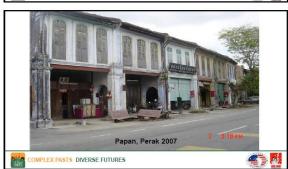




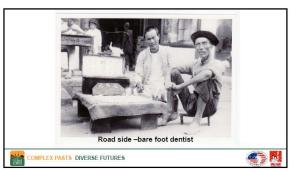






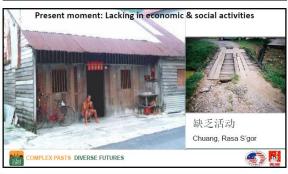


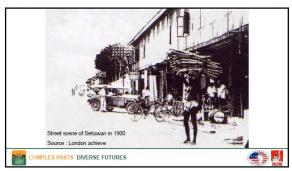




















NV Case history (1) — Sitiawan Kg Koh, Spg Dua, Pekan Gumey, Spg Lima, Ayer Tawar, kg Cina Farm condition: - farm land not suitable for farming, flooding - facing acute food shortage - crops used to be destroyed by wild animals - products needed to be transported by boat to Teluk Intan and by land to Ipoh - Cholera attacked, several deaths with simple burial 1904- rubber planting 1910 — rubber main economic activities attracting big immigrants arrival from Fujian Term for immigrants: - self paying for passage - 'sold' for 300 days at 9 hours / day work





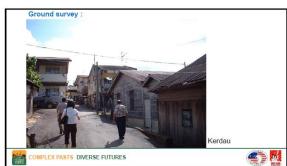




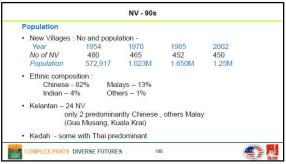


	NV - 90s	
Economic Activities	No of N∨	%
Agriculture	280	62
Other agri activities	24	5
Industries	35	8
Services	17	4
Construction	21	5
Wholesale & retail	22	5
Others	27	6
No main activity	21	5

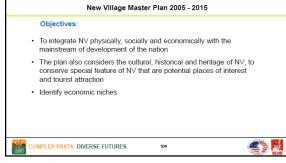




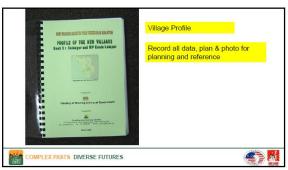


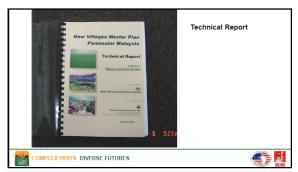


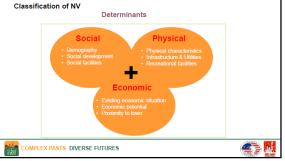


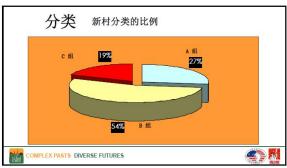
















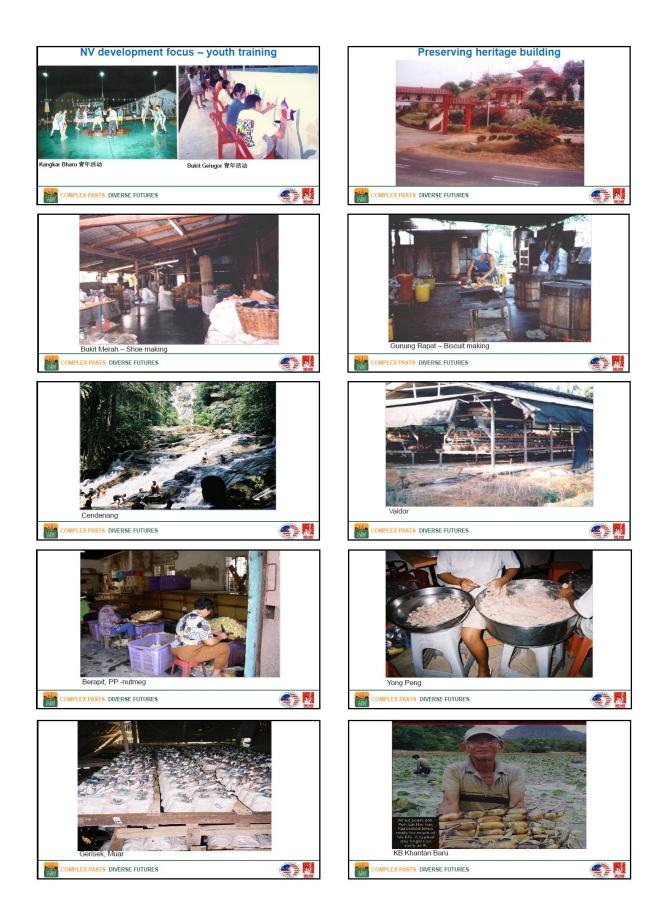




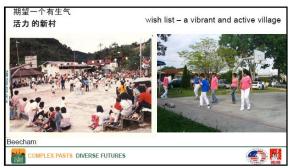


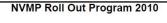








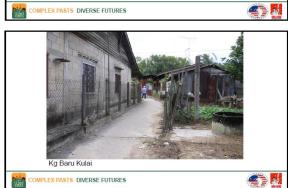




NVMP - New Villages planning: 规划

NVMP - PBT to allow flexibility from full compliance with requirements of planning regulations & UBBL for New Villages layout and housing















NVMP - New Villages planning:规划

- NVMP PBT to allow flexibility from full compliance with requirements of planning regulations & UBBL for New Villages layout and housing
- Johor JPBD agreed to treat New Villages unique allow road reserve of 15 ft instead of 40 ft
- PTG Johor and State Government working on policy paper
- PTD Kulai proceeding with few New Villages with special task force (12 staff)





OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES

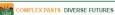
NVMP Roll Out Program 2010

NVMP - Housing:房屋

- NVMP Uniform lease and special premium for extension; loan for low income group to rebuild depilated houses
- Most obtained 60 or 99 lease extension with discounted rates 设定统一60或99年租凭期政策,并在更新地契时时用优惠固定 地税方程式











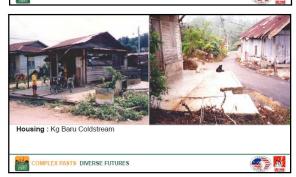


NVMP Roll Out Program 2010

NVMP – Housing:房屋

- $\ensuremath{\textit{NVMP}}-\ensuremath{\textit{Uniform}}$ lease and special premium for extension ; loan for low income group to rebuild depilated houses
 - 政府贷款重建残破房屋
- Ministry of Housing & Local Government providing special house construction loan of RM20,000 to low income group to reconstruct houses. RM10,000 interest free and RM10,000 at 4% interest.
- 协协助获得政府贷款重建残破房屋
- DANA RM100J renovation at 4% interest monthly rest without guarantor or collateral





NVMP Roll Out Program 2010

NVMP - Infrastructure & Social amenities : 基本设施与社会设施

- NVMP Infrastructure development
- Road upgrading
- Drain improvement







NVMP Roll Out Program 2008

NVMP – Infrastructure & Social amenities: 基本设施与社会设施

- NVMP To support sporting, cultural & social activities thru provision of infrastructure and social amenities
- Basketball courts
- Badminton court
- Play field / playground









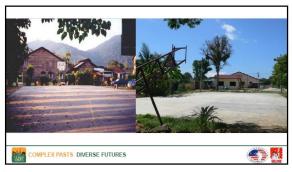
NVMP – Infrastructure & Social amenities: 基本设施与社会设施

- NVMP -public social facilities
- Function hall
- Street lights
- Road signage
- Parks and playground
- Reading room













NVMP Roll Out Program 2010

NVMP – Infrastructure & Social amenities: 基本设施与社会设施

- NVMP Drainage system and flooding
- Collaboration with JPS
 works by JPS or
 JKKK but with approval of JPS
- Villages internal drainage works by PBT or JKKK
- Coordination with land development through PBT

















NVMP Roll Out Program 2010

NVMP – Agriculture :农业

- NVMP legalizing land tenure for existing farm land
- MASFA and MABB
- MASFA:
- MASFA:
 Perak 931 farmers given leasehold on feb
 Pahang 231 ginger farmers given leasehold on 4/7/2008





NVMP Roll Out Program 2008

NVMP - Infrastructure & Social amenities : 基本设施与社会设施

- NVMP social infrastructure and services for senior citizens 提供乐龄人士公共设施
- Meeting places for senior citizens
- Fitness equipments







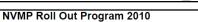
NVMP Roll Out Program 2010

NVMP – Training :培训

NVMP - Village leadership program 新村行政管理

- JKKK training
- Knowledge on aids & grants from government agencies
- Knowledge on welfare department funds and facilities
- Land tenure issue





MASFA - Agriculture

- MASFA Perak TKPM concept
- MASFA Pahang

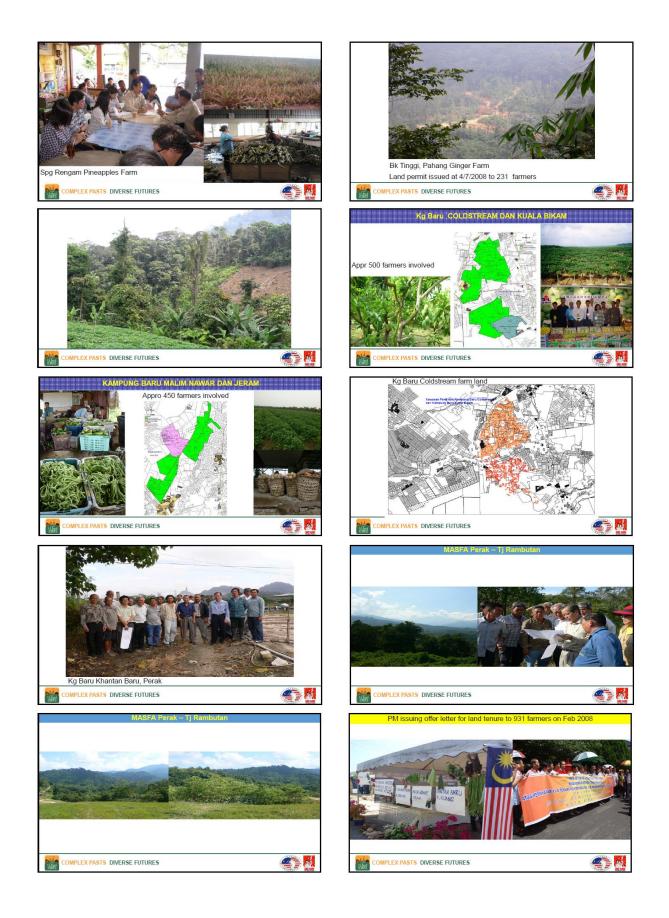
 - lease concept:
 Bk Tinggi Ginger farm
 Cameron Highland Tringkap Lot 50 farms

农业

- MASFA Johor :
 - Spg Rengam Pineapples farm





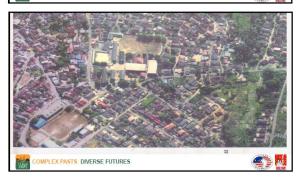












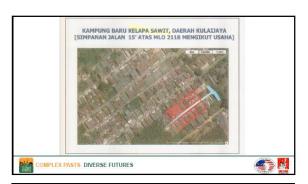












VILTAP – New Village Land Title Action Plan

Next lap:

- VILTAP Johor will be used as template to other states
- Require cooperation from State Government, JPBD, Land Office, PBT and local community representing house owners









VILTAP - New Village Land Title Action Plan VILTAP Johor progress : Pilot projects on Kg Baru : a) Kulai, b) Saleng, c) Senai and d) Kelapa sawit using Orthophoto and Goggle Earth images Kg Baru Kelapa Sawit titles issued to villagers Saleng layout plans completed and in process of forwarding to PTG Senai Lorong 3 : 18 titles given on 24.11.10 • Kulai : in progress (Block B, C, D)

NVMP Roll Out Program 2008

NVMP - others 其它:

OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES

- NVMP identity of Kg Baru 新村特征
- Kg Baru Arch way (pintu gerbang / mercu tanda) 地标 / 拱门
- Landscape guidelines
- Conservation





OMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES











Working with professional bodies for NV community projects :

- Institution Engineers Malaysia (IEM) Engineering
- MABB MCA agriculture
- Technological Association Malaysia (TAM) technical















New Village projects in collaboration with external Resource Groups

COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



Project in Collaboration with Resource Persons

Example of collaboration No 1. (IEM): 联办工程举例 (马来西亚工程师协会):

Project SPAH(Rain Harvesting) di :SPAH 工程 (雨水储存) 在:

- a. Kg Baru Sg Pnjuring, Bentong, 文冬本祖令新村
- b. Kg eBaru Jementah, Johor 柔佛利民达新村
- c. Kg Baru Plentong , Johor Bahru 柔佛班丹新村

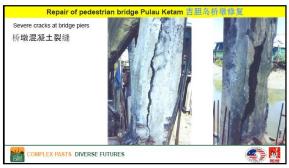
COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES







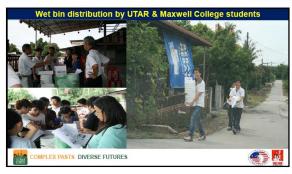


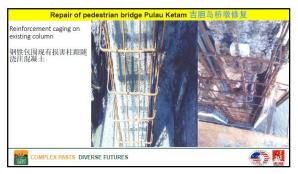












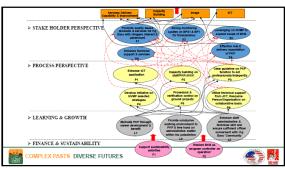




















Premium lanj	utan berbeza meng	jikut negeri :	
Negeri	Premium RM / thn	Negeri	Premium RM / thn
Johor	0.8 - *2.00	P Pinang	?
Melaka	0.49 - *1.98	Kedah	*0.50
N.S.	*0.50 - 1.20	Perlis	4.50 - *6.90
Selangor	0.50 / *2.50	Kelantan	?
K Lumpur	?	T' gganu	?
Perak	?	Pahang	0.50 - 3.00

BIL.	STATE	New Village	Kg Rangkaian	KG. BAGAN
1	JOHOR	84	29	7
2	KEDAH	33	2	-
3	KELANTAN	24	24	-
4	MELAKA	19	3	-
5	N. SEMBILAN	43	14	-
6	PAHANG	55	8	-
7	PERAK	134	12	16
8	PERLIS	1	-	-
9	P. PINANG	9	3	2
10	SELANGOR	42	18	19
11	TERENGGANU			-
12	W. P (K.L)	3	-	-
	TOTAL	450	113	44





















2.1.3 TPr Lim Yau Lee, "Malaysian New Villages: Planning Perspectives"

Town Planner and Former Consultant for New Villages Master Plan, appointed by the Ministry of Housing & Local Government

Click: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8WEAZhRc56E

























































2.1.4 Rosli Hj Nor, "Listing Malaysia's New Villages"

Penang State Heritage Commissioner (25 Nov 2021 to present)

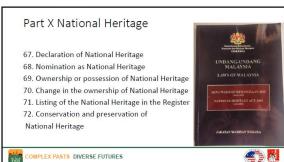
General Manager, Melaka World Heritage Office (2011-2016)

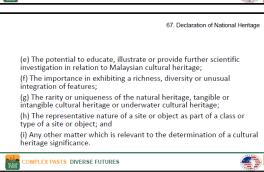
Director of Conservation & Archaeology, National Heritage Department, KL (2006-2011)

Freelance Researcher in Architecture History

Click: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V4xKsThC5Eg







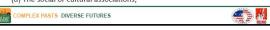


COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



67. Declaration of National Heritage

- The Minister may, by order published in the Gazette, declare any heritage site, heritage object, underwater cultural heritage listed in the Register or any living person as a National Heritage,
- (2) In making a declaration under subsection (1) the Minister may consider –
- (a) the historical importance, association with or relationship to Malaysian history;
- (b) The good design or aesthetic characteristics;
- (c) The scientific or technical innovations or achievements;
- (d) The social or cultural associations;



67. Declaration of National Heritage

- (3) Where the site, object or underwater cultural heritage is situated on State land, the Minister shall consult the State Authority before making any declaration under subsection (1).
- (4) Where the site, object or underwater cultural heritage is on alienated land or belongs to any person other than the Federal Government or a State Government, the owner, custodian or trustee of that site, immovable object or underwater cultural heritage shall be notified at least thirty days prior to the date of the proposed declaration.
- (8) Any operson who objects to the declaration under subsection (1) may submit an objection in writing to the Minister within three months of its publication and may apply to the Minister for the revocation of the order.

 (9) The Minister may, after having been advised by the Council, revoke or refuse to revoke the order and such decision shall be final.





70. Change in the ownership of National Heritage.

- (1) There shall be no change in respect of the ownership of any National Heritage except by –
 - (a) inheritance; or (b) sale, with the prior approval of the Commissioner.
- (4) Where the sale is effected pursuant to paragraph (1)(b), the owner, custodian or trustee and purchaser shall inform in writing to the Commissioner within thirty days after the change in ownership and the Commissioner shall cause to be made the necessary amendment in the Register.





PROSES PENCALONAN SEBAGAI TAPAK WARISAN DUNIA UNESCO

Nomination Process for the UNESCO World Heritage Listing



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



(vii) to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic

(viii) to be <u>outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history</u>, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

(ix) to be <u>outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes</u> in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

(x) to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.



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WORLD HERITAGE LIST

Related Convention:

"Convention Concerning The Protection of The World Cultural And Natural Heritage , 1972".



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Qualification to be inscribed as the UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITE

- World significance (Outstanding Universal Value / OUV)
- Authenticity
- Integrity



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



....continue

(vii) to contain <u>superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional</u> natural beauty and aesthetic importance; (viii) to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's <u>history</u>, including the record of life, significant on-going geological nistory, including the record of line, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features; (ix) to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going

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of science or conservation.



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



SELECTION CRITERIA

nt a masterpiece of <u>human creative geniu</u>

(ii)to exhibit an <u>important interchange of human values</u>, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.

(iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

(Iv)to be an <u>outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape</u> which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;

(v) to be an <u>outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use</u> which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of inversible change;

(vi)to be directly or tangibly <u>associated</u> with <u>events or living traditions</u>, with <u>ideas</u>, or with <u>beliefs</u>, with <u>artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance</u>. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria):



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



UNESCO Operational Guidelines (Para 148)

The following principles must guide the evaluations and presentations of ICOMOS and IUCN. The evaluations and presentations should:

- adhere to the World Heritage Convention and the relevant Operational Guidelines and any additional policies set out by the Committee in its decisions;
- $\underline{be\ objective, rigorous\ and\ scientific\ including\ in\ considering\ all\ information\ provided\ to\ the\ Advisory\ Bodies\ regarding\ a\ nomination;}$
- indicate clearly and separately whether the property has OUV, meets the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity, a management plan/system and legislative protection;
- evaluate each property systematically according to all relevant criteria, including its <u>state of conservation</u>, relatively, that is, by <u>comparison with that of other properties of the same type</u>, both inside and outside the State Party's territory;
- provide a justification for their views through a $\underline{list\ of\ references}$ (literature) consulted, as appropriate.





- The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 16, 1972. The Convention came into force on 17 December 17, 1975.
- Now does the process work?

 Only countries that have signed the World Heritage Convention, pledging to protect their natural and cultural heritage, can swith romination proposals for proposals for proposals for which will not the process sesentially comprises five steps. Here is how these are described by the international Council on Monument and Sites:
- 1 Tentative List
- The first step a country must take is to make an "inventory" of its important natural and cultural heritage sites located within its boundaries. This inventory is known as the Tentative List and provides a forecast of the properties that a State Party may decide to submit for incirption in the mext 5 to 10 years and which may be updated at any time. It is an important step since the World Heritage Committee cannot consider a normination for incirption on the World Heritage List unless the property has already been included on the State Party's Tentative
- 2 The Nomination File
- by preparing a Tentative List and selecting sites from it, a State Party can plan when to present a nomination file. The World Heritage Center offers advice and assistance to the State Party in preparing this file, which needs to be as exhaustive as possible, making sure the necessary documentation and maps are included. The nomination is submitted to the World Heritage Center after review and to the Kit is complete, once a nomination file is complete the World Heritage Center after it to the appropriate Advicory Bodies for evaluation.



COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



SELECTION CRITERIA

(i)to represent a masterpiece of <u>human creative genius</u>;
(ii)to exhibit an <u>important interchange of human values</u>, over a span of time
or within a cultural area of the work), on developments in architecture or technology,
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COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



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COMPLEX PASTS DIVERSE FUTURES



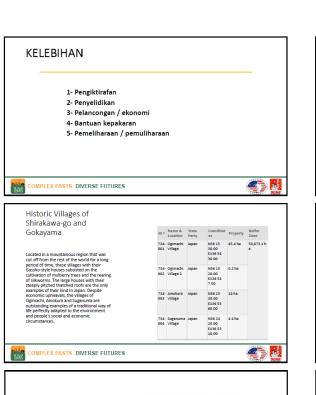
Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Conventi

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION



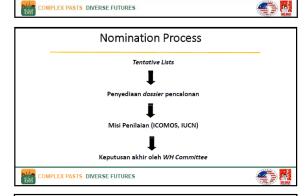


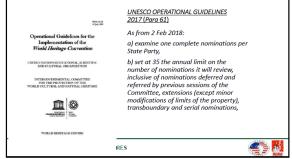






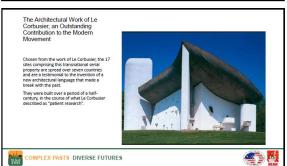
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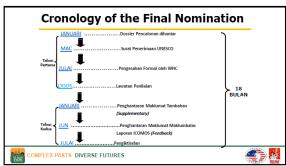


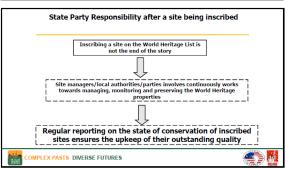


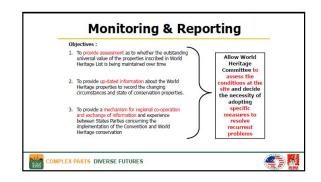














2.2 **WEBINAR Series #2**: Case Study – "Malaysian New Villages' was held on 18 December 2021. The New Villages captured in this webinar housed a majority Chinese (Hakka) Community, namely Pulai New Village in Kelantan, Chuang New Village in Selangor and Mantin New Village in Negeri Sembilan. All the three New Villages evolved differently over time yet become cultural repositories of the local inhabitants: Pulai New Village suffered from second emergency which delayed the development of the village; Chuang New Village suffered from financial sustainability issues when the tin mining activities at the adjacent area reduced, and Mantin New Village is experiencing enormous challenges in preserving its existence. Moderated by Dr Nik Mastura Nik Mohammad, the session looked into the three (3) New Villages, their social history and cultural heritage.

Click: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=314340117232079



2.2.1 Dr Tan Teng Phee, "A Social History of Pulai New Village During the Malayan Emergency (1948-60)"

Chief Researcher, Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce & Industry

Dr Tan Teng Phee obtained his PhD from the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Western Australia. His research interest includes Overseas Chinese Social History, Oral History and Collective Memory.

Author of "Behind barbed wire: Chinese New Villages during the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1960" (2020)

Abstract:

After WWII, the British Colonial Government declared 'a state of Emergency' on 23 June 1948 in Malaya. Half a million rural people were uprooted and resettled into 480 'New Villages' across the Malay Peninsula. The speaker conducted his fieldwork and visited 150 New Villages, highlighting the voices of marginalized people through oral interviews. He uses Pulai New Village as a case study and reflects on the social history of the Chinese New Village during the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960).

A Social History of Pulai New Village during the Malayan Emergency (1948-60)

> Dr Tan Teng Phee ICOMOS NVWG Webinar Series 2 18 December 2021, 9-11am ttp216@gmail.com

The Malayan Emergency

- A combination of three processes legalization, militarization and bureaucratization, which underpinned the emergence of a new form of British Government in Malaya after the Second World War.
- The 12-year shooting war created a special kind of political society
 → "law and order"? A State of Exception?

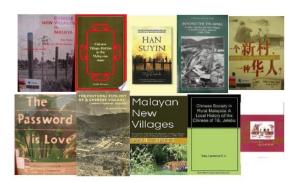
The Malayan Emergency

- On 16 June 1948, the British Colonial Government in Malaya declared "a state of Emergency" to counter the Communist insurgency after the murders of three European plantation managers at Sugai Siput in the state of Perak.
- Lives and livelihoods in British Malaya were irrevocably changed by the "Emergency," which lasted till 31 July 1960.

On the Malayan Emergency



On the Chinese New Villages



Dato Onn, The *Menteri Besar* of Johor

The time has now come when the Federation Government should firmly show by its action that it will have no truck with Communism in this country, that every step possible, every power that this Council can give, should be given to the police and to others to maintain that law and order, to see that law and order is maintained in this country and that Communism is eradicated, and those responsible for bringing that ideology into this country are banished for ever...The fullest use of the law should be made to seek these people out and to send them back to their own country to ferment trouble there.

Source: Proceeding of the Legislative Council of the Federation of Malaya (First Session) February 1948-February 1949.

Pulai New Villagers (2007-8)

Rare and unique case: Pulai villagers had been relocated and resettled thrice during the Emergency.

"We were locked up like dogs..."

"It was a punishment to us!"

Outline of the Presentation:

- · Pulai: its location, people and stories
- Uncovering the Malayan Emergency: Oral history and social memories
- Conclusion

Sir Henry Gurney, The British High Commissioner

"The present time the police and army are breaking the law every day...most important that police and soldiers, who are not saints, should not get the impression that every small mistake is going to be the subject of a public enquiry or that it is better to do nothing at all than to do the wrong thing quickly."

Source

File No. CO 537/4773: Annexure "A" to Minute of British Defence Co-ordinating Committee (Far East), 16th Mtg., 28 January 1949.

Tan Cheng Lock, Malaysian Chinese Association

"These persons would...have left the Resettlement Area with...the feeling...that they are being treated like cattle and ordered to move their homes and their crops upon a whim of Government which they must think results from Government's decision to harry them as much as possible because of Government's ill-will towards them."

Source: "Tan Cheng Lock to Montri Bosar Johor, 30 October 1951," File No: CO 1022/29.

The main argument:

- Official discourse on the Chinese New Villages:
 The resettlement of 500,000 people and the creation of 480 New Villages during the Malayan Emergency period (1948-1960).
 "sanctuary" / security, and a modern way of life for "alien Chinese squatters"/"social revolution" framed as a "success story" as part of the British
- Pulai a different and complicated story

Pulai: a case study

Counterinsurgency in Malaya

- · Its location, people
- A brief history: ancient settlement to Japanese occupation
- · The Emergency and the first 'liberated area'
- · Detention and multiple resettlements
- · Their oral history and traumatic memories



A brief history of Pulai

- · An ancient Hakka settlement in Malaya
- · From gold mining to padi plantation
- Oral history and legacy: Sea pirate, gold miners and padi planters
- The Second World War



Pulai New Village

- · A Police Station beside the Galas River
- 2 layers of barbed-wire fence along the perimeters of Pulai village.
- A Government public building and playground close to the temple.
- By the end of 1949, about 350 villagers lived behind barbed wire in Pulai.
- gates to control the movement of villagers and goods
- A gate curfew: 7 am 5 pm

Fieldwork:

- · One and a half month (2007-8)
- 17 oral interviews: 9 males and 8 females who are over 70-years old
- · Pulai Bahru NV: 34 residents
- · Old Pulai village: 1,000 villagers

The first 'Liberated Area' and its impact on Pulai Community

- On 17 July 1948, about 300 armed Communists and supporters attacked the Gua Musang Police Station.
- The Communists' first and only "liberated area" in the Malaya lasted for only five days.

The consequences: Evacuation and Resettlement

- The British authority revealed that the Security Forces evacuated a total of 131 "squatters" – 31 men, 34 women and 61 children – in Pulai by the end of 1948.
- All scattered 'squatters' were resettled to Pulai centre point— 'KuanYin Temple'

The Communist strikes:

- The Sungai Semur ambush on 23 March 1950 killed 17 Malay soldiers and wounded six others in the battle.
- The murder of the Pulai village headman on 22 April 1951.
- These two incidents eventually forced the British Government to carry out a drastic and unusual counter-insurgency policy: inter-state resettlement.

Inter-state resettlement:

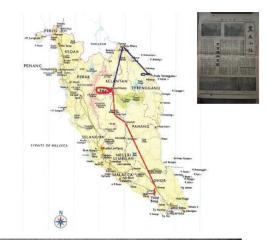
- On 25 May 1951, the British Government sent a group of working teams to inform the remaining 53 families (350 villagers) about the inter-state resettlement.
- Each group assessed and calculated each family's goods and chattels for compensation.

Batu Rakit New Village:

- 10 days later, all Pulai villagers were transferred by bus and truck for about 170 kilometers to their final destination—Batu Rakit in early June 1951.
- Soon after the evacuation and resettlement of all the Hakka villagers, the British Government declared Pulai a "Restricted Area" and burnt it → a ghost village.

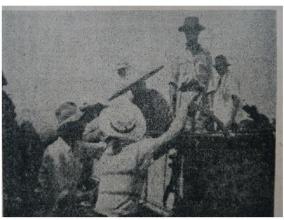
The exile journey:

- Pulai→ 2 nights at Gua Musang
- A total of 30 military trucks, lorries and buses in order to transport all villagers from Gua Musang to Bertam.
- 5 hours to cross over a river at Bertam, villagers were transported by train to Kuala Krai → by bus and lorry to Kota Bahru
- · 200 kilometres within five days











"It was a punishment to Pulai people":

- Batu Rakit New Village, located six miles north of Kuala Trengganu, was a 105-acre sandy land surrounded by Malay kampongs.
- 5 rows of attap long-houses standing on the newly cleared sandy land.
- The State Government provided a six-month living allowance to Pulai villagers – 15 dollars for each adult and 7.80 dollars for children each month

Difficulties and hardship (II):

- Language problem: Pulai villagers could mainly speak only the Hakka dialect.
- · The dominant group: Malays and Hokkien
- Job problem: were forced to work as day labourers in brick factories and construction sites, or engage in land clearing work.

Re-resettlement:

- Encountering these difficulties, the New Village headman, Mr. Wen, and other Pulai leaders began to request for the British authority to move them to another location.
- After many attempts for two years, the British Government allowed the entire village to be reresettled near Bukit Gajah Mati (in Malay, it means dead elephant hill), about 11 miles from Kuala Trengganu, in 1954.









Difficulties and hardship (I):

- The sandy land: unfit to grow padi+ seawater intrusion made it almost impossible to grow other crops.
- It also caused two kinds of illnesses among the villagers: "rotten feet" and eyesight problem.
- Water quality in the wells: "smelly with a yellow color."

Difficulties and hardship (III):

- cycling 12 kilometers to attend a secondary school a secondary school after finishing primary school.
- The cemetery: The deceased would feel "lonely without friends and relatives in the other (dead) world."

Responses from Pulai villagers:

 "The intention of the British authority was obvious: It was a punishment to Pulai People! You see, there were other good lands across Kelantan and Trengganu, they knew we had been growing rice for generations, yet they still decided to move us into a sandy land, with bad water, little job opportunities, and, encircled by Malay kampongs."

The "White Area" and the return to old Pulai

- · A "White Area": on 16 July 1957.
- The Government officer announced its incentive policy at Pulai Bahru New Village: six acres of land to cultivate rubber to each returning male.
- · Mr C's story:

Why return to the old Pulai?

- Forced Resettlement: They never wanted to leave their homeland and abandon their ancestors.
- "Since our ancestors' graves and land are still in Pulai, we decided to come back when the Government allowed us to do so."

Trauma and fear...

- Local elderly villagers could still clearly recall their traumatic memories of multiple resettlements since the onset of the Emergency.
- They experienced separation from family and kin.
 While some chose to join the Communists in the
 jungle, others were detained in different States or
 deported to China. They also bore the burden of
 economic loss during their social displacement.

Trauma and fear...

- During my stay in Pulai, one could sense the villagers' fear and anxiety during our conversations.
- Several villagers even told me that no one would talk about the Emergency and the Communists until recent years.

Concluding remarks

- By using Pulai as a case study, it is hoped that through a collection of oral histories, we can represent the Pulai people's hidden history and legacy based on their memories, feelings and narratives;
- It is also hoped that one can reflect the breadth and depth of State intrusion as well as the resilience of the Pulai people when they encountered these hardships and difficulties particularly during the Emergency period.

Why return to the old Pulai?

- The Government's six-acre allotment for rubber plantations was an attractive pull factor for the returned villagers.
- Most Pulai villagers were dissatisfied with their odd-jobs and felt little selfaccomplishment working as day labourers. They preferred to go back to their homeland to cultivate their *padi* fields and plant rubber trees.

Trauma and fear...

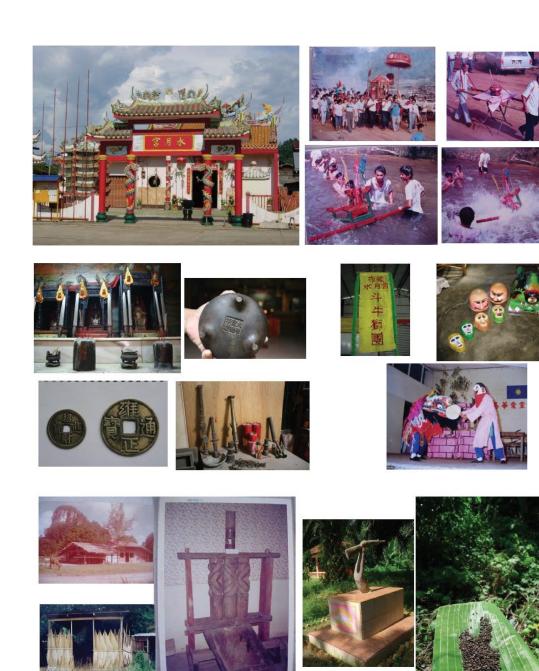
- Generally, they were resigned to their fate. They
 met with untold uncertainties and accepted the
 Government's punishment of resettling them in
 sites with unsuitable terrain.
- They endured all kinds of hardship and tried their best to overcome one difficulty after another. They lived and worked hard, waiting for the day when they would be allowed to return to their ancestral homeland in Pulai in the 1960s.

Concluding remarks

The Significance:

- Early Chinese Immigrant History:
 One of the oldest Hakka settlements
- Dark side of British Empire: Cold War – Hot Spot?
- · Tangible and Intangible heritage:
- · Oral history and social memory:
- · Living museum:
- · Part of Msia multi-cultural story





Thank you



2.2.2 TPr Afzal Hj Azhari, "Malaysia New Village: Kampung Baru Chuang of Rasa, Selangor"

Afzal is the founder and principal of Perunding Afzal Azhari. He is also the Chairman for both Malaysia Institute of Planners Youth Wing (MIPYW) and Selangor Local Community Host Association (SELCHA). He developed a firm interest in Malaysia's sociocultural and historical landscape, in particular the dynamic relationship between man and the built environment. Afzal is involved in the Cultural Mapping and Heritage Trails at Chuang New Village. His presentation focuses on the people of today and their relationship with memories of the past

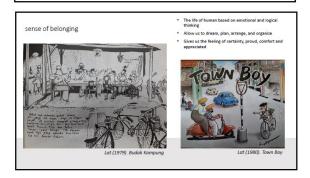


WHY New Village Working Group?

Urban Planner Perspectives

Memories? Legacy? Heritage? History?









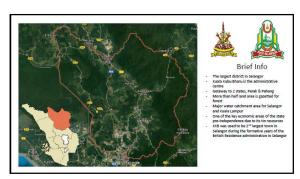
- Collectively accepted and adopted by the society of a place as 'common'
- Later developed as a 'shared mentality' and known as 'culture'
- The 'common sense' inherited to the future generation. Hence, the term 'heritage'

 Paniel Kahneman "Thinking Fast & Slow"
- Daniel Kahneman "Thinking, Fast & Slow" argues about this unique human ability (System 1 & System 2)
- Lost of this sense (memory) over time e.g dependability on Google Map, Waze,



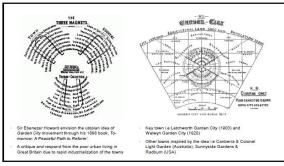






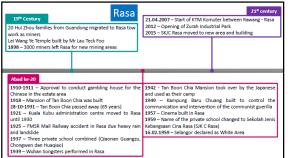




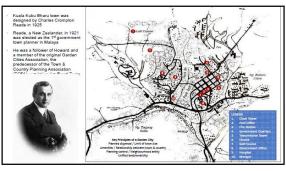








Planning Concept









Light at the End of Tunnel?











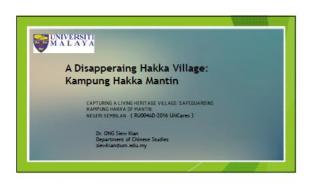


2.2.3 Dr Ong Siew Kian, "A disappearing Hakka Village: Kampung Hakka Mantin"

Dr Ong Siew Kian obtained a PhD in Classical Literature from Nankai University, Tianjin, China. Her work on Malaysian Chinese topics has led her to become the Post-Doctoral Research Fellow in the Malaysia Chinese Research Centre, University Malaya. Her research interest is in Traditional Chinese Arts and Culture.

Abstract:

Hakka Village in Mantin, Sungei Ujong, Negeri Sembilan was established around the time of the British intervention in Negeri Sembilan in 1874. The community is mainly Fuichew (Huizhou) Hakka. In recent years, the village is facing enormous challenges in preserving its existence. After a long period of struggle, only a few families are left in the village. Dr Ong and her team worked on the oral history collection and documentation in 2016, funded by UMcares.



Introduction

- Kampung Hakka in Mantin, Sungei Ujung, Negeri Sembilan
- one of the earliest Chinese settlements in Malaysia, mainly Fuichew Hakka, established around the late 19 century
- major economic activities: rubber planting, tending fruit orchards and tin-mining
- surrounded by a mosque, temple, school, Catholic church, and a Methodist church

Multicultural landscape

- · Neighbour: a Malay Kampung
- Built around a Malay family mausoleum, graves of Dato Klana Petra Bahai and Dato Gempa Aman Bin Dato Tinggi Langgit
- a living history of Malaysia, spanning over six to seven generations of continuous living by the same community

Challenges:

- land title issues
- The village land has been taken over by a developer for commercial development, but resisted by the villagers who would like to preserve their homes and village as well as their way of life

Role of MCRC:

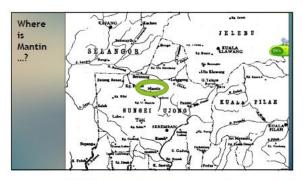
- Working with Kampong Hakka villagers and the developer to resolve the land title issue so that part of the village could be retained to preserve a disappearing way of life while enabling modernization to take place around it
- working with the local communities to record the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Kampong Hakka and its surrounding

The project's main partner and co-partners

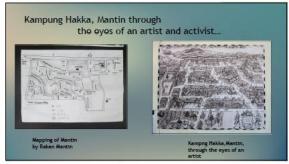
- The main working partner of this project is Rakan Mantin, a social activist
 organisation which approached the Malaysian Chinese. Research Centre
 (UM-MCRC) for help in capturing and preserving the heritage and cultural
 footprints of Kampung Hakka, Mantin. Rakan Mantin had already carried out
 an initial mapping of such cultural and heritage footprint prior to
 approaching MCRC, and needed strong institutional support to expand its
 work. The villagers of Kg Hakka Mantin are the main concern in this
 project.
- The project also has a range of co-partners including institutional groups such as the St Aloysius Church, the Hindu Temple, the Chinese Temple, the Gurdwara and the Chinese Cemetery Management Committee.

Role of MCRC (Malaysian Chinese Research Center UM):

- Working with Kampong Hakka villagers and the developer to resolve the land title issue so that part of the village could be retained to preserve a disappearing way of life while enabling modernization to take place around it.
- working with the local communities to record the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Kampong Hakka and its surrounding

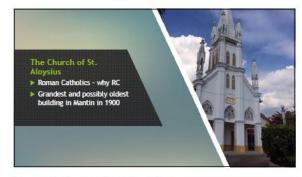


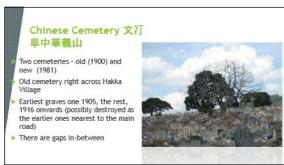






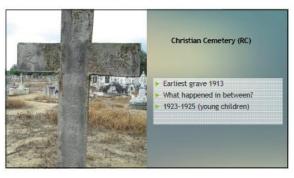


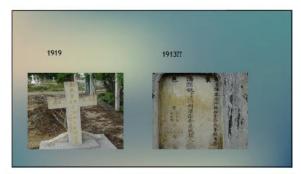




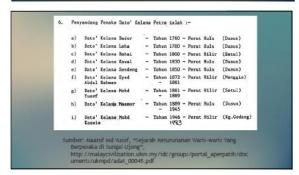


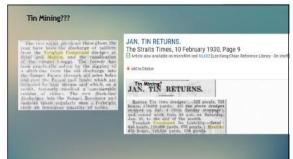










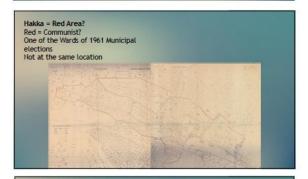


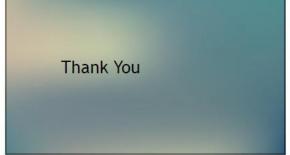






	Events in Mantin	Events in Negeri Sembilan & Other places	1953	
1890s	Sikh Temple was built		Resettlement Scheme	
1901	St. Aloysius Catholic Church 商業兰文丁课公仙圣故立荫匾牌立于1902 (先建二十八年)			
1903		Raflway completed at Batang Benar- west part of Mantin- to transport tin		
1903	Masjid		Plan	
1906	Mantin Hospital		Different from the rest	
	文丁华商园书报社		- not fenced up but	
1913 Late 1920s- early 1930s		Great Depression	opened Main economic	
1941-1945	It was said that large group of Hakka Chinese moved from Titl to Mantin in	wwii	activities - fruits and	
1951-1953	Kg Seri Mantin-文丁新村	Emergency	rubber	





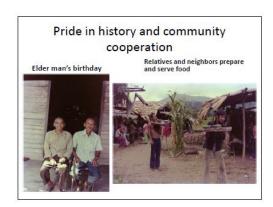
2.2.4 Prof Dr Sharon Carstens, "Pulai 1978"

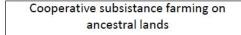
Professor Emerata of Anthropology, Portland State University (PSU) of the United States

Dr Carstens obtained her PhD in Anthropology from Cornell University in 1980 and taught in the PSU Anthropology Department from 1987-2017. Dr Carstens also served as Curriculum Coordinator for Asian Studies from 2010-2015. Her long term ethnographic research with ethnic Chinese in Malaysia in both rural and urban settings has focused on issues of identity, religion, ethno history, gender, mass media and multilingual language practices and ideologies. She has also researched pedagogical and curricular issues in Mandarin/ English bilingual education in China, Hong Kong, the US and Canada.



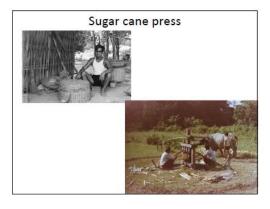
Some distinctive features

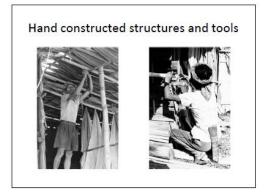






















2.3 **WEBINAR Series #3** was held on 16 April 2022, in conjunction with the International Day of Monuments and Sites celebration. The webinar was titled "New Villages: Planned Villages?" and was moderated by Ar Tiong Kian Boon. The session examined new villages from three different states: Negeri Sembilan, Perak and Johor and the possibility of having them listed as our National Heritage.

Click: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=514706816910049



2.3.1 Chin Song Kead, "From Settlement to new Village, Negeri Sembilan"

Academic Qualification: M.A. (Nanjing University of China)

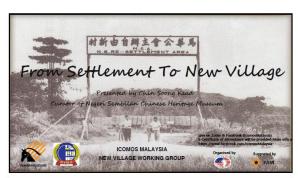
Present Post: Curator, Chinese Heritage Museum of Negeri Sembilan

Past Experience: Journalist since 1981, Former Chief Reporter Negeri Sembilan Sin Chew

Daily, Senior Feature Writer Putrajaya Sin Chew Daily

Abstract:

In Negri Sembilan Chinese settlements existed even before the establishment of Chinese New Villages. One such settlement was at the 3rd mile Seremban-Rasah Road. During the period of Emergency under the British colonial government, the settlers of Ulu Temiang and Sikamat Seremban faced repatriation to China on suspicion of assisting and cooperating with the Communists operating in the jungles. In response to an appeal against the repatriation move was the creation of resettlement areas at the site mentioned above. They were known as "Freedom Villages", probably the first of their kind in the country. The original site suffered a major flood in 1951 and the village was relocated to higher ground, which remains until today. This new settlement scheme was called Rasah new village, and was made possible by W.A Gordon Hall, the British Resident of Negri Sembilan and Mentri Besar Abdul Malek who both saw the benefits and potential of the humanitarian programme in the provision of infrastructure and basic amenities to the new area. The resettlement programme significantly enabled many residents to remain and eventually become citizens of the nation in the coming years. This study of the change from settlement to New Village status reflected a well thought-out solution of relocation that solved the problem of cutting off support for the Communist insurgency while at the same time reserving the residents' opportunity of a better life in their "new" land. The birth of new villages in the country can be seen as an impetus to future urban development as the new villages grew and became townships that were able to support themselves. One can say that difficulties have molded their progress





1. Introduction

- Rasah new village of seremban, Initially known as Freedom Resettlement Village, the Chinese New Villages in the early stage of their existence was an attempt to counter Communist insurgence during the period of emergency after the 2nd WW.
- There was evidence that many Chinese settlements which were wedged between the outskirts of the urban centres and the fringes of the dense jungle were being coerced to supply food and other essential Items to the guerrillas in the jungle.
- The Freedom Resettlement Village was the first step by the colonial government at that time to break the chain of contact.

2. Background

- Under the colonial government, 1500 insurgent suspects were caught in early February 1949 when British military and police surrounded Ulu Temiang and Sikamat and were detained in Kluang to be later deported to China.
- However, on the plea of politicians (MCA) only 146 were deported. But the remaining detainees had to be housed away from their original settlements
- A joint effort by MCA and local leaders identified a site at the 2 1/2 Mile Mambau Road and called Freedom Resettlement Village.
- Archive photographs of Freedom Resettlement Village shows the original appearance of the earliest arches. On it is written in English, that the village was for the Chinese settlers who were not deported to China were finally settled on the 2 1/2 mile of Seremban Rasah Road.

Freedom Resettlement Village

Village Heavily Hit by Floods



School surrounded by "Ba Gua" Like Diagram



6. Planning of the School

- An official document dated 26.11.1951 issued by the Seremban Survey Department to the Chief Officer of Negeri Sembilan Reclamation Area, gives light to the planning of the overall layout of the new village as well as to the new location of the school.
- In it was mentioned that the new village survey map had identified 500 lots for housing and 2 hillocks, one of which was suitable for a school.
- The one on higher ground was earmarked for a police station. The smaller hill seem like chord along curves and a solitary circle became Rasah New Village Ma Hwa Primary School established in 1952.
- In the early days of founding of the school, which had an initial enrolment of more than 100 students also made provisions for accommodation in dormitories for the headmaster and the teachers.

3. Letter Address to Chief Resettlement Officer

- At the beginning, there were only 11 longhouses in this Freedom Resettlement Village, which had to accommodate 200 households and about 1,000 settlers.
- The Seremban Health Department in a letter dated 28 May 1951 to the Chief Resettlement officer of Negeri Sembilan, mentioned that the well water samples in the village were not ideal, but to obtain sufficient and hygienic water supply in the village was found to be not feasible

4. The Birth of Rasah New Village

- At the end of the same year, as the site was on the banks of the Linggi River, floods submerged the village and brought on the search for an alternative site.
- The search ended up on higher ground on which sits the present Rasah New Village. The layout for different precincts and locations of different activities were properly planned and marked out by the authorities.

5. Relocation of School

- In the development plans of the New Village, the plans for the location of the Ma Hwa Elementary School was initially planned despite the fact that the school was already 2 years old in its previous premises.
- To the Chinese, education was of utmost importance and this oversight was finally sorted out in the demarcation of a site of its present premises of Ma Hwa Primary School.
- From an aerial view, the site had the shape of having 8 trigrams or pa gua in
- For a long time, there were discussions on why the Ma Hwa Primary School in Rasah New Village and the surrounding houses look like a "Ba Gua" diagram. However, there are no archival documents to substantiate the significance of it.





7. The Briggs Plan

- The establishment of Freedom New Village and later Rasah New Village was a precursor to the an overall country wide-strategy to cut off support for the insurgents in the jungle and what developed and became the Briggs Plan named after General Sir Harold Briggs of the British forces during a period declared as Emergency.
- The British colonial government realised that the harsh use of force through the
 repatriation process in an effort to cut off the ties with the Communist Party of
 Malaya was not solving the problem. More important was to cut off the existing ties
 between the Communist Party of Malaya and the settlers in the supply of essential
 items for their survival.
- The Plan was formalised and enforced in June 1950 and thus began the great collection and movement of sporadic Chinese settlements from the jungle fringes to cordoned and guarded areas of organised settlements away from the dense Malayan forests.

8. Typical Chinese New Village

- The initial resettlement involved more than 570,000 residents in Chinese New Villages scattered in various parts of the country.
- The Brigg's Plan had several guidelines that needed to be adhered to in the relocation process. Sites had to be located near major transportation hubs and must have basic facilities, including schools, community halls, etc., and even with land provided for farming.
- With such exacting guidelines, not every new village could meet these basic requirements, but today, Rasah New Village has become a town by itself with complete infrastructure with additional amenities.

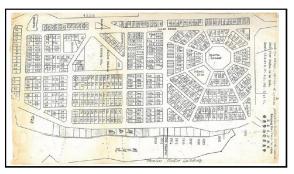
9. Towards Modernization

- Today, in Rasah New Village, there is a school and an affiliated kindergarten, business area, and a large alumni gymnasium, which has produced many good badminton players.
- More importantly, it is a new village with a highly concentrated population, and villagers living and working and contributing to the nation's economic activities in peace and harmony.

10. Conclusion

- The success of the Freedom New Village and later known as Rasah New Village gave the colonial government a good blueprint to work on and to improve.
- The growth of the new villages in the latter years contributed to the urbanization of the country. As towns grew they became merged with the new villages on the outskirts as evidenced in the names of areas and streets of the bigger cities today.











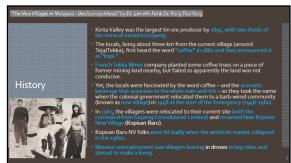
2.3.2 Kenneth Wong See Huat, "New Kopisan New Village, Perak"

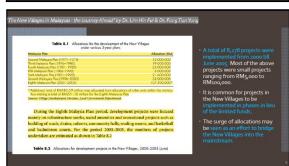
Kenneth Wong See Huat founded People Ideas Culture in 2016. P.I.C provides consultancy on heritage tourism, placemaking, and art curation. Given his cross-cultural background and interdisciplinary practices, IFACCA chose him to serve as a rapporteur for the 8th World Summit of Art and Culture (Kuala Lumpur, 2019). As a beneficiary under the CENDANA Mobility Grant, he had represented two emerging artists to participate in the 6th LICA (Lisbon International Contemporary Art) Exhibition in 2018. As a curator, he has executed various social activism art exhibitions in collaboration with different spaces in Kuala Lumpur throughout 2016-2019. As a cultural practitioner and member of ICTC, he ran a day of International Industrial Heritage Marketing Workshops in Ipoh, as a satellite event of the Pangkor International Development Dialogue (2017) and a half-day cultural mapping workshop with experts of Contemplate Culture (Hong Kong) in Kopisan Village (Perak) to safeguard the rural heritage (2019). As a speaker, he has presented on "Descobrimentos, Aavishkaar, Penemuan: Spice Route as Shared Heritage" in one of Hokdulu talks initiated by EPWG ICOMOS Malaysia (Aug 2020); as a panellist on the "River Cities" session in the 7th Macau Literary Festival (2018); and on placemaking tactics at the Bandung Creative Movement Conference and International Landscape Architects Dialogue Kuala Lumpur (2017). He has also shared his experience in oral history collections via the trail series of Bangsar Heritage Walks since 2016.

Abstract:

The Kinta Valley was once the largest tin ore producer in Asia by 1891, and two-thirds of the mineral was mined in Gopeng. The locals of Kinta South first heard the word "coffee" in 1862 and were fascinated by its association, hence taking the name when the colonial government relocated them to a barb-wired community (known as Kopisan new village) at the start of the Emergency period (1948-1960). In 1962, the villagers were relocated to the renamed New Kopisan New Village (NKNP / Kampung Baru Kopisan Baru). NKNP folk were poorly hit when the world tin market collapsed in the 1980s. Massive unemployment saw villagers leaving in droves to big cities or abroad to make a living amidst the various phases of the Malaysia Plan every five years. The projects in the New Villages were commonly implemented in phases, and usually, the surge of allocations was seen as an effort to upskill the new villages into the mainstream. This talk highlights the social, cultural and economic milieu of New Kopisan New Village, from the public amenities to the recent planting of the coffee trees initiative. Besides establishing the SWOT analysis of the current baseline, it also showcases the village's unique characteristics, internal dynamics and intangible heritage in striving for a new branding via agro-tourism. This talk invites the audience to ponder together the possible outstanding universal value that can contribute to the tentative listing by UNESCO collectively as one of the exemplary new villages, and what are the chances and predicaments that NKNP is probably facing in years to come to sustain its nostalgia and the unique characteristic of rural heritage.



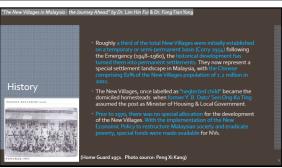


















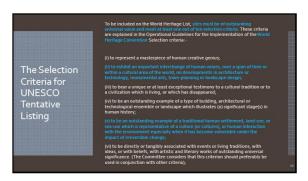


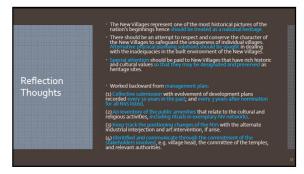












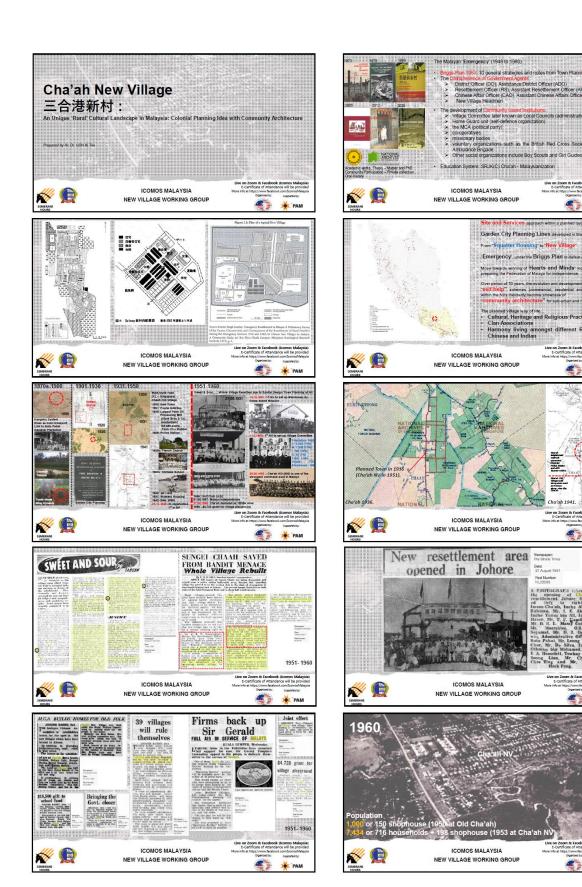


2.3.3 Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee, "Cha'ah New Village: A Unique 'Rural' Cultural Landscape in Malaysia - Colonial Planning Idea with Community Architecture"

Ar. Dr. Goh Ai Tee has special interest on housing and heritage. She obtained her PhD in 2010 from the University of Liverpool via a thesis titled 'Potential of courtyard housing as solution for creating family housing in urban area in the UK'. Her MSc research in 2007 focused on high rise, low-cost flats as an urban housing solution for the not so well-to-do in Malaysia. Other mini academic research includes the Blue Mansion in Penang and the Oldest Chinese Temple in Johor. She has participated in a community-led heritage conservation project in Fez, Morocco in 2009, and assisted in 3-dimensional drawing presentations for selected historical public baths in MENA cities in 2010. She also worked on Heritage Village Rehabilitation Projects in Saudi Arabia, and participated in community building workshops in Penang between 2011 and 2013. In 2015, she attended the workshop on safeguarding Outstanding Universal Values in Penang. She is also on the KLSP2020-2040 Review group, apart from being an EP member - initiating the proposed Heritage School Rehabilitation Program in 2020. She is currently a Board Member of ICOMOS Malaysia, and Vice President of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Shared Built Heritage (ISCSBH). Since March 2021, she has chaired the ICOMOS Malaysia New Village Working Group with the aim for National and/ or UNESCO listing.

Abstract

Cha'ah Village was associated with the Kangchu system in Johor in the late 19th century. The construction of the main trunk road connecting Yong Peng and Segamat in the 1930s initiated the new settlement of Cha'ah village along the main road, whereby existing nearby villages scattered around the Kangkar slowly moved to the village. The fertile land and rather flat terrain of Cha'ah became the target for massive agricultural development for palm oil by SOCFIN in the 1930s, with new settlement planned besides the largest palm oil mill at the time. With the emergency declared in 1948, Cha'ah became one of the black spots due to its location. In 1951, for safety of the villagers and with better planning, the whole Cha'ah village (with a population of 1500 people) including houses scattered along the river were instructed by the colonial government to move to plots next the existing police station (built in 1939) up to the junction of the palm oil mill. On 27 August 1951, the Cha'ah new village was formed and the population grew to over 7,000 during the formation of the Cha'ah Village Committee in 1953. Cha'ah New Village is one of the new villages with a strong Home Guard. Cha'ah Christian Church was one of the first to be self-managed and self-sustained. The road name of the Cha'ah village reflects the mixture of the community. The area surrounding Cha'ah only turned 'White' on 27 August 1958, almost a year after Malaya's independence. The presentation focuses on the Cha'ah NV after 70 years, and with brief history on formation of Cha'ah village, then Cha'ah NV and potential association with Garden City Planning line.

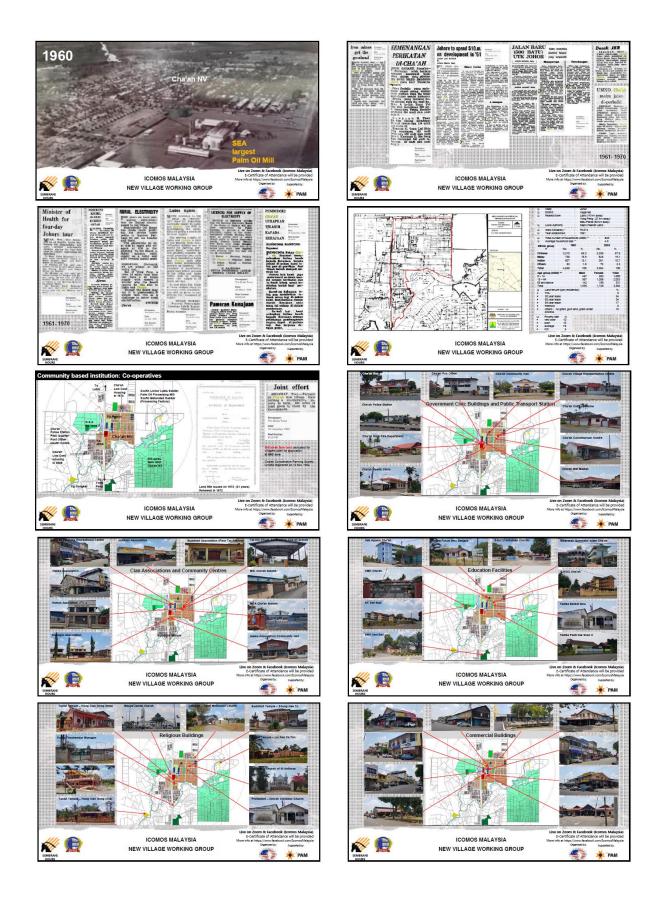


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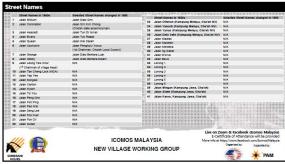
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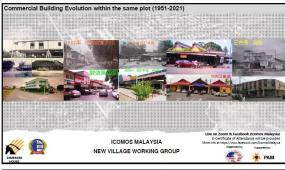
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ICOMOS MALAYSIA

NEW VILLAGE WORKING GROUP

REPORT 1

(15 MAY 2022)

03

ACTIVITIES

03 ACTIVITIES

3.1 Potential Partners/ Collaborators (University and NGOs)



Figure 3-1: Preliminary Meeting between ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG with COTCA on 9 July 2021

3.1.1 Exploring Cooperation and Collaboration between ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG and COTCA Project, Nottingham

(COTCA - The Cultures of Occupation in Twentieth Century Asia)

Further to the first meeting on 9 July 2021 between ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG member (Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee, Dr Keith Tan, TPr Afzal, and Rosli Hj Nor) and COTCA team (Dr Jeremy E Taylor and Dr David Baillargeon), a proposal exploring cooperation and collaboration between both parties was prepared and submitted by Dr Taylor on 28 July 2021.

The four (4) areas for Cooperation and Collaboration are

1. Organizing Joint International Conference panels whereby data/ research is presented internationally.

- 2. On the basis of the conference panels, work towards jointly authored/ edited academic papers in peer-reviewed internationally-recognized journals relating to history, space, significance of New Villages (e.g.: heritage-themed or Asian Studies journals)
- 3. Explore possibility of external funding: Newton Fund and Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF)
- 4. Explore possibility of Dr Taylor and Dr Baillargeon contributing to ICOMOS work/ bids in some advisory capacity

If the cooperation and collaboration between both parties is acceptable by ICOMOS Malaysia and COTCA, physical meeting, workshop and seminar will be held in KL Malaysia. Further discussion on collaboration details will occur when Dr Taylor visits Malaysia in 2022.

3.1.2 Exploring Cooperation and Collaboration between ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG and New Era DSEAS (Department of Southeast Asia Studies)



Figure 3-2 Icomos Malaysia & DSEAS Introduction and Preliminary Meeting, 31 December 2021

The preliminary meeting between ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG (Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee, Dato' Ir Fong Tian Yong, Kenneth Wong and Lim Gaik Siang) and New Era DSEAS (Dr Lew Bon Hoi and Tan Kian Huat) with observers (Ir Yam Teong Sian and Dr Ir Marvin Low, both involved in NVs upgrading works) invited by Dato' Ir Fong Tian Yong, was held on 31 December 2021. Below are the discussion notes moving forward:

- 1. To arrange visit DSEAS Dr Lew collection on NVs (60 completed and 40 on going NVs information)
- 2. To set up WA group amongst members for collaboration discussion. Jementah NV n Chaah NV.
- DSEAS (Mr Tan may expand his Master degree work for PhD degree) to include Chaah NV. Assist in video recording, exhibition, oral history, and translation work.

- 4. Ar Dr Goh will liaise with task force at Chaah NV on preparation for collaboration on exhibition (moveable and permanent).
- 5. Dr Lew is invited to be guest speaker for our webinar to talk about Machap Baru NV, Melaka. Schedule to be confirmed.
- 6. To expand and include others

Tan Kian Huat visted Cha'ah New Village and metvillager representatives on 22 January 2022. The proposed location (School Hall, SRJK C Cha'ah) suitable for temporary exhibition organized by DSEAS. With the first visit to Cha'ah New Village, Tan explores potential video on special character of Cha'ah NV, and suggested using street names to explain the history of Cha'ah New Village.



Figure 3-3

1st visit to Cha'ah New Village by Tan Kian Huat with villager representatives on 22 January 2022.

Proposed location (School Hall, SRJK C Cha'ah) suitable for temporary exhibition organized by DSEAS.



Figure 3-4
Tan explores potential video on special character of Cha'ah NV, and suggesting may use street names to explain history of the Cha'ah New Village

3.2 Study Tour/ Visit / Local Task Force (Community Participation)

3.2.1 Chuang New Village, Rasa, Selangor

The existing Rasa village was established over 120 years ago. It was famous for its tin mining industry until WWII. It used to have a population of 3,000 to 4,000 people at its peak before WWII. The Chuang New Village was set up in 1950 under the resettlement programme during the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960). With no standard guidelines, the design and layout was outlined for over 1000 villagers when they were forced to vacate their existing houses and moved to the new village. Villagers were compensated with 30 pieces of roofing sheet and a \$100 relocation cost for rebuilding their houses. The new village was surrounded by barbed wire, and further secured by a watch tower and 3 access gates. Curfews and food rationing were enforced, similar to other new villages set up during the period. Explore the 3 videos link below to know more about Chuang New Village in Rasa, Selangor.



1st Generation House at Chuang NV, Rasa (31 Oct 2021) Some parts of house use tree trunk as structural element



Figure 3-6 Non-structure interview with old folk (together with translator) at Chuang NV, Rasa. (right) Briefing by the local guide (Hamin) before walking tour around the Chuang NV on 31 Oct 2021

Local homemade kuih seller

3.2.2 Cha'ah New Village, Segamat, Johor

Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee had several meetings with Cha'ah New Village representatives including Board members from Clan associations, Schools, and representatives from the Malay and Indian Communities on the potential of having Cha'ah New Village listed as a heritage site, both via National and UNESCO lists. A local task force for Cultural Heritage tasked with data collection was informally set up on 21 November 2021.

On 16 Jan 2022, further to the preliminary enquiry with PTD Labis on the possibility of selecting a site for a local mini-gallery open to the general public, a meeting was conducted with the local task force. Notes on decisions arising are stated below:

- To form an association (after CNY 2022) comprising Chinese, Malays and Indians (representing Cha'ah New Village) to apply for the land (existing JKR Quarters located opposite the current Clinic Cha'ah) for a mini museum/ gallery and community centre
- 2. Proposed name "Persatuan Warisan Budaya Cha'ah' or Cha'ah Cultural Heritage Association



Figure 3-7
Cha'ah New Village – meeting with some village representative together with headmaster of SJKC
Chaah on 7 November 2021. To discuss on potential of having the old school block to rehabilitate
and turn into School's gallery on local history



Figure 3-8 Cha'ah New Village – Forming local task force for Cultural Heritage data collection, 21 November 2021



Figure 3-9
Dato Ir Fong Tian Yong with villagers at Cha'ah NV on 29 November 2021

Notes from a visit by Dato' Ir Fong Tian Yong to Cha'ah New Village on 29 Nov 2021

"I had a breakfast session with this 90 yr-old gentleman, Chen Yu who was our family neighbour in the late 1940s and early 50s during the emergency period in Bt 38, Jalan Air Hitam which is non-existent now. The same settlement consisted of about 10 houses surviving on farming and jungle products. On one 2nd day of CNY, a few British army trucks came in and ordered all families to upload whatever belongings they had into the trucks and set fire to all the houses. They were sent to Mawai village in Kota Tinggi district with some materials to build new houses. They could build the houses very fast as the walls were made of attap.

The other two men are Mr Tang who was born in Chaah and the other is my 4th brother. They too can tell you more about Chaah. Tang studied at Nam Wah school at 'lower street' of Chaah which is one km away from present town.

Our family was fortunate to receive such information and moved a day earlier to Simpang Rengam. Interestingly, there were rumours of communist activity on Mawai and the Chen Yu family was again forcibly packed off and sent to Chaah without any housing assistance."

Visit by Prof Dr Tan Chee Beng on 3 May 2022

A half day guided tour was organized by Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee when visit Prof Dr Tan Chee Beng visited Cha'ah NV on 3 May 2022. Further to the visit of Liu Ren Fa Tan, an informal interview with the PIC of Liu Ren Fa Tan was conducted.



Figure 3-10
Informal interview between Prof Dr Tan Chee Beng with PIC Liu Ren Fa Tan at Cha'ah NV on 03 May 2022

Next visit Hong Xian Gong (at the Kangkar, where original Teochiew community gathers during the Kangchu era. As the PIC at Fa Nan Gong was not available for the arrangement of visit to the other selected temple along the same river (Sg Cha'ah), the Hakka community leaders were contacted for a short discussion session to understand more on the origin. The Hong Xian Gong with devotees from also Hakka, and Kwangsi, eventually the meeting consisting of community from 3 different clan groups: Teochew, Hakka and Kwangsi.



Figure 3-11 Discussion session with some of local communities (Hakka, Kwangsi, Teochew) at Hong Xia Gong on 3 May 2022



Figure 3-12 Photo session in front of Fa Nan Gong on 3 May 2022

From left: Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee, Prof Dr Tan Chee Beng, Chew Kong Fatt (Teochew), Sum Swee Tuck (Kwangsi), Chong Sin Thiam (Hakka), Pang Swee Luan

<u>Meeting with Community Leader, State Government Representative, ICOMOS</u> <u>Malaysia on 4 May 2022</u>

Meeting between ICOMOS Malaysia (Ar Tiong Kian Boon, President and Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee) with Cha'ah NV Chinese community representatives together with YB Tan Chong on 4 May 2022. The direction of the discussion include Cha'ah NV's future development (better internet service, feeder bus to high speed rail (Labis), high tech agriculture for the local), proposed mini gallery/ museum cum community centre, and its potential for National listing and UNESCO listing.



Figure 3-13
Photo taken during the meeting at meeting room of Cha'ah Old Folk Home on 4 May 2022
From left: Wong Leng Chin (Chairman of Alumi Association of SJKC Cha'ah), YB Tan Chong, Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee (Chair, ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG), Ar Tiong Kian Boon (President, ICOMOS Malaysia)



Figure 3-14 Photo taken during the meeting at meeting room of Cha'ah Old Folk Home on 4 May 2022 From bottom with clockwise:

YB Tan Chong, Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee, Ar Tiong Kian Boon, Sum Swee Tuck, Chong Sim Thiam, Too Hin Chong, Pang Swee Luan, Chew Kong Fact, (unkown name), Yong Soo Len, Wong Leng Chin

3.2.3 Perkampungan Machang Bubok, Penang

Rosli Hj Nor highlights that the setting of Perkampungan Machnage Bubok, Penang still intact, but only 25% original houses still intact. It is a complete Pekan with police station, schools, temples and a church, shophouses and Balai Rakyat. They have annual festival or Karnival Rakyat Machang Bubok since 2017 to encourage their youngsters to balik kampung celebrate the festival.



Figure 3-15

Photo taken on 10 May 2022 (source: Rosli Hj Nor)

3.3 Interview Session with Major Tommy Tan



Figure 3-16 Interview with Major Tommy Tan, his wife and nephews on 26 Oct 2021– on research into Home Guard on New Village in Malaya

Below: The short article shared by Major Tommy Tan

The 32 years in civil-military service since 1951

Major Tommy Tan was conscripted for National Service in April 1951, and called to report for training at the Police Training Depot, Kuala Lumpur. Instead of becoming a policeman, Major Tommy Tan decided to join the Ferret Force (a British establishment) and reported for training at Siginting Camp, Port Dickson on 1 May 1951, aged under 18. Initially, the camp commandant had some hesitation in accepting him but then allowed him to undergo the training before making a decision. Major Tommy Tan completed the 6-week training, passed, and was subsequently appointed a Junior Civil Liaison Officer (JCLO). By then, Ferret Force had been renamed the Civil Liaison Corps. JCLOs were deployed with Commonwealth troops found scattered throughout the peninsula. They went into jungles and operational areas and performed the role of interrogators and interpreters. JCLOs also assist in gathering intelligence from the local community where they were stationed.

Major Tommy Tan was posted to IV Queen's Own Hussars (British Armour Corps) which had its base in Raub, Pahang. Its primary tasks were to keep the roads safe and lay in ambush where terrorists might be found. Their operational area stretched from Jerantut to Tranum, to Bentong, and the winding Gap road to Kuala Kubu Baru. Gap road was considered particularly dangerous as its hilly grounds gave the terrorists an advantage. Contacts between security forces and terrorists were reported almost daily. After six months, XII Royal Lancers replaced IV Queen's Own Hussars when the latter completed its tour of duty in Malaya. Major Tommy Tan was then re-assigned to this new unit. Raub was known as the CPM's national operational base in 1951-1952. Raub district was classified as one of the terrorists' most active areas, particularly places around the Tras region and the winding Gap road to Kuala Kubu Bahru.



Figure 3-17: JCLO Tan Hock Hin attached to IV Queen's Own Hussars in Raub, Pahang, 1951 Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021



Figure 3-18: JCLO Tan Hock Hin attached to IV Queen's Own Hussars on road patrol along Gap road to Kuala Kubu Baru, 1951 Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021

A few days before the incident where Sir Henry Gurney was killed, a vehicle of IV Queen's Hussars was fired upon while on patrol, barely 100 yards from the spot. Major Tommy Tan was inside that vehicle. Police and the military took turns patrolling the Gap road. On 6th October 1951, the British High Commissioner to Malaya, Sir Henry Gurney was killed by terrorists in an ambush at a sharp bend near the 57th milestone while traveling with his wife to the highland resort of Fraser's Hill. Terrorists had lain in ambush at a sharp bend where drivers were forced to drive slowly. Sir Henry Gurney was accompanied by a police escort in two vehicles; a land rover moving ahead of Sir Henry Gurney's Rolls Royce and a scout car in the rear. Just as the first two vehicles came into the ambush zone, the terrorists opened fire. All but one of the policemen in the first vehicle were killed or wounded. The driver of the Rolls Royce was badly wounded and the limousine rolled to a halt, riddled with bullet holes. Sir Henry Gurney's wife was unhurt. It was concluded later that Sir Henry Gurney left his car to draw away the terrorists' fire thereby saving the life of his wife.

Major Tommy Tan accepted the post of Home Guard Inspector (Permanent Staff) in Perak State, after a year's service with JCLO ended. Major Tommy Tan served as Home Guard Inspector (Permanent Staff) in Perak State Home Guard between 1952 and 1959.

The Territorial Army (TA), or Tentera Tempatan was established in January 1959 with its command and administrative headquarters located in the Ministry of Defence (Mindef). Major Tommy Tan was later transferred to the TA, to a unit to be formed in Seremban named Pasukan Perama Tentera Tempatan Negeri Sembilan (1 TTNS) on 1 July 1959. Depending on the size of the state, most had more than one TT unit. A pleasant surprise was that people (both male and female within the approved age) from all races came forward to join the TA. Depending on the corps they joined, volunteers were required to attend 120 hours training, or 240 hours for those in supporting arms, and two weeks annual camp. Volunteers received payment of fixed allowances for attendance at training and salary according to their ranks at annual camps.



Figure 3-19:: Permanent Staff "1 TTNS, 1959" Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html



Figure 3-20: Captain Tan Hock Hin at Annual camp training camp in Kuala Kubu Baru, Selangor, 1964 Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021

A major reorganisation of the TA came into place on the outbreak of the Confrontation with Indonesia. A new name was adopted, called Askar Wataniah. The entire force was restructured to meet the needs of the time. Several new units patterned after infantry battalions were formed, and a new section called Local Defence Corps (LDC) or Pasukan Pertahanan Tempatan "PPT" was established. This brought a two-fold increase in numbers to the reserve army. The state of security took a serious turn in the face of the Indonesian Confrontation in 1965. Both Regular and Territorial forces worked tirelessly in producing plans to face the challenges ahead. TA personnel were mobilised to guard selected key points. TA infantry battalions were mobilised to provide security to a new highway under construction in Perak/Kelantan. Nuclei of these personnel were drawn from the TA. TA personnel were also "called up" to serve during the "May 13 Tragedy" in 1969 in several parts of the country and contributed significantly to the restoration of peace and order.

In light of the prevailing threat to the security of the nation, and anticipating future needs, the following were proposed and undertaken:

- a. Reserve Officers Training Units (ROTU) were formed in public universities.
- b. Re-organisation of State LDC into the 500 series Regiment as proper TA units.
- c. More TA infantry battalions were formed such as the re-organised platoons guarding the East-West Highway.
- d. Regularisation of the mobilised TA units into infantry battalions.
- e. A separate command and administrative headquarters for the TA, leading to the establishment of the 11th Infantry Division Army Reserve Force (in 1982).

ICOMOS MALAYSIA

NEW VILLAGE WORKING GROUP

REPORT 1

(15 MAY 2022)

04

RESEARCH OUTPUT: ARTICLES

"The Origins and Evolution of "New Villages" in Malaysia: Locating Studies of the NVs in the context of Malaysian Politics"

Dr Francis Loh Kok Wah

This paper is written as a guide to the resource materials that we have collected. It is getting to be voluminous, and could become cumbersome. For this reason, it is important to decide what is it about the New Villages that we wish to zero-in on. The clearer we are about the focus of our foray into NV matters, the more efficacious our collection and reading of the resource materials will be.

In this paper, I highlight three broad aspects of the NV problem. **First**, during the 1950s until the Emergency was lifted in 1960, the NVs were, first and foremost, related to the problem of national security. Many of the books and articles researched and written concerned themselves with this security aspect of the NVs too. There is much material that has been written and one should not need to consult primary resources for the time being. One should peruse the secondary sources available and should they be lacking in particular ways, then, and only then should one need to consult primary documents, after all, we are not involved in writing a new historical account of NVs and the resettlement process.

That said, there might be a need to investigate the preparation of NV plans, if any — was the layout of the NVs standardized for the different states? Were all houses required to be built in the same way? Was there actually time for proper planning and regularization? Or, was time and spontaneity in resettlement of the essence, in what was essentially a security matter? Who prepared these overall planning guidelines? And where were these preparations done? In London? In KL for all states? In state capitals for NVs within the state? Or perhaps more thoughtfulness, and planning, came into the picture only later, as more people were regrouped and resettled as time went by, so that the NVs built in 1952 were better planned than the ones built in 1951?

Second, during the 1960s and 1970s, the NVs quickly grew old, its residents were ultimately identified as a poor target group requiring government assistance. Not surprisingly, the NVs became strongholds of opposition politics too.

Regardless of whether systematic planning was involved or not, the economic viability of the NVs had not been a primary consideration during the 1950s; the priority was national security. Significantly, although most NVs were agriculture-based, little, if any, agricultural land was made available for the villagers. Denied access to the land they tilled, a large percentage of villagers became odd-job workers as long as some construction work was being conducted in the NVs and their vicinity. Some were allowed to continue tapping rubber trees. Alas, when the Korean War boom ended, government allocations for NVs dried up. As well, n the run-up to Independence, more funds were directed towards the improvement of poor Malay rural farmers who were understandably jealous that so much money had been spent on resettling the Chinese. Hence, by the late-1950s, when unemployment in the NVs became widespread, the economic viability of the NVs turned precarious. Most of the promised aid for improved facilities and educational and health amenities did not arrive

either. Unsurprisingly, outmigration from the NVs began once the Emergency ended in 1960. In fact, the 1960s was a decade when the NVs were almost completely forgotten. The focus was on the exigencies of becoming a new independent country with all its attendant problems of creating a coalition government for a multi-ethnic multi-religious society.

Ironically, NVs were "rediscovered" when the security problem in Malaysia worsened in the early 1970s. The media came across the NVs and reported about their slum-like conditions. So, Chinese-based government parties lobbied on their behalf. The net result was the appointment of a minister from a Chinese-based party in the ruling coalition to take charge of the NVs. The 3rd (1976-80) and 4th (1981-85) Five-Year Malaysia Plans classified the NVs as one of the targeted "poor groups". During that decade, the 465 NVs throughout Malaysia shared some RM49 million. This was not much; for divided among 465 NVs over a period of 10 years, each share amounted to RM10,500 per year. As mentioned earlier, this period was characterized by poverty in the NVs.

Third, as we know, Malaysia is no longer considered a poor nation. Neither are the NVs regarded as poor communities anymore. The major problem of the NVs in the 2020s concern their transformation into sustainable residential-cum-employment friendly centres, that can provide improvement in the quality of life for NV residents. We are also talking about improvements in education, transport, income opportunities, crime-free and clean neighbourhood, and perhaps a sense of heritage and identity for residents. Towards this end, the MCA leaders, prior to their ouster in the GE14 regime change, pushed for a NV masterplan than combines physical, economic and social considerations for realizing the transformation.

1. The New Villages (NVs) and the question of security.

In the early 1950s, the British colonial government compelled 1.2 million rural dwellers, then one-seventh of the Malayan population, into about 600 new settlements.

Some 650,000 people (32% Malays, 45% Chinese, 18% Indians and 5% Javanese and others) were "regrouped" in rubber estates, tin mines and around existing towns. Another 572,917 people (85% Chinese, 9% Malays, 4% Indians and 1% others) were resettled into 480 New Villages (NVs), often miles from their original homes. Almost half of these NVs were established in Perak and Johore. In these two states, and in Pahang and Selangor, some 63% of the NVs were to be found, accounting for 84.6% of the total NV population (Statistical data from Kernial Singh Sandhu 1964).

The regroupment and resettlement processes formed the backbone of the counter-insurgency effort to fight the Communists. Under the Briggs Plan, these regroupment areas and NVs were placed behind barbed-wire and under security guard. Dusk-to-dawn curfews, food rationing, body searches and periodic arrests rudely interrupted the residents' lives. As a result of the Plan and other restrictive measures, the ties between the Communist guerillas and their rural supporters were ruptured. Ultimately, the Communists were forced to the Thai-Malayan border and the Emergency officially brought to an end in January 1960. Since then, the regroupment areas have been dismantled. Despite the removal of the barbed-wires and curfew and the withdrawal of the security forces, most of the NVs have persisted.

The most comprehensive account of the Emergency is Anthony Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya 1948-1960*, London: Frederick Muller, 1975. (It was later reprinted as *In Pursuit of Mountain Rats: The Communist Insurrection in Malaya*, Singapore: Cultured Lotus, 2000). In chapter 7, Short discusses the scope of the post-War squatter problem while in chapter 15, the author reviews succinctly the process of resettlement into NVs primarily in 1950 to 1952, and the immediate aftermath of resettlement. Another comprehensive and balanced study is Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerilla Warfare*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988. Apart from Short's and Stubbs' more balanced view of Emergency and resettlement, we also have: N. Barber, *The War of the Running Dogs*, London: Collins, 1971; E. O' Ballance, *Malaya: The Communist Insurgent War 1948-60*, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966, and R. Clutterbuck, *The Long Long War: The Emergency in Malaya 1948-60*, Second Edition, London: 1967, who present more upbeat accounts of how the British defeated the communists and won the "hearts and minds" of the rural Chinese population via their resettlement.

For statistical data on resettlement, see Kernial S. Sandhu, "Emergency Resettlement in Malaya", *Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 18, Aug. 1964, pp. 157-83. Sandhu's figures are the lowest and probably the most reliable. See also Hamzah Sendut, "Planning Resettlement Villages in Malaya", *Planning Outlook*, Vol 1, 1966, pp. 58-70. The colonial government's own White Paper No 33 off 1952 is entitled *Resettlement and the Development of New Villages in the Federation of Malaya*, White paper No 33 of 1952, Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1954. P. Markandan, *The Problem of the New Villages in Malaya*, Singapore: Donald Moore, 1954, is a short study that succeeded in highlighting the security aspect of the resettlement exercise without forgetting that it impacted negatively on the lives of about 1.2 million people.

The most important survey of the NVs is: W. C. S. Corry, A General Survey of New Villages. A Report to H. E. Sir Donald MacGillivray, High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya, 12th Oct. 1954, Kuala Lumpur: 1954. The study sheds light on the problem of inadequate agricultural land. Although most of the squatters were agriculturalists, the Corry Report 1954 noted that only those squatters who previously "owned land" or were considered as "full-time farmers" were given agricultural land. The total acreage of agricultural land earmarked for them amounted to only 47,800 acres. "Up to 1954, permanent land titles had been issued to only 29 applicants. Another 1,570 had their applications approved but had yet to receive their titles. And a further 2,900 had been issued with TOLs. This indicates that many of those who were allocated agricultural land were also farming without either TOLs or permanent titles, that is, illegally".

The Corry Report 1954 highlighted that the authorities were advised "to set aside some 26,000 additional acres in 1953, so that half-acre plots could be allocated to each family of wage earners for subsistence farming..." in the event of downturns in the economy. In the event, such land

was *not* alienated to the villagers. Instead, they were held as "village agricultural reserves" for temporary use by so-called "non-farming families" when a slump in tin and rubber prices threatened their livelihood.

Significantly, the Corry Report 1954 concluded that "there was no chance of complete self-sufficiency for the New Villages" (p.39-42). For the major problem of land hunger, already evident in pre-War times, was left unresolved. Based on their economic viability of the NVs, which in turn was based on their location, Corry classified the NVs as "permanent", "intermediate" and "supposedly temporary" i.e. "expected to disappear with the end of the Emergency".

Another survey providing basic data of the NVs is: Malayan Christian Council, "A Survey of the New Villages in Malaya" (revised) mimeo, Kuala Lumpur 1959. The article by Lee Kam Hing "A Neglected Story: Church Missionaries, Chinese New Villagers, and Communists in the battle for the "hearts and minds" in Malaya, 1948-60" *Modern Asian Studies* 47(6), 2013: 1977-2006 discusses the role of missionaries and churches in providing welfare and educational services in the NVs.

The most important ethnographic study of this period is: Ray Nye, *Chinese New villages in Malaya: A Community Study*", edited by Shirle Gordon, Kuala Lumpur: MSRI, 1973. Nyce conducted his field research from 1957 to 1961. The novel by Han Suyin, ... *And the Rain my Drink* (Boston: Little Brown 7 Co, 1956) is a moving and sensitive account of life in a NV and is a worthwhile read. Dr Han, then married to Leon Comber, a British Special Branch officer (who has also written about the Emergency), served as a doctor in a NV in Johore. The novel is semi-fiction drawing upon her experiences but also her fancy.

In *Dialogues with Chin Peng: New Light on the Malayan Communist Party*, edited by C C Chin and Karl Hack, Singapore; Singapore University Press, 2004, Chin Peng admitted that the resettlement exercise was an important turning point in the Emergency. He also clarified that resettlement had been conducted harshly, hastily and forcibly. Resettlement into NVs was not a well-executed, let alone a well-planned exercise. In a reply to Anthony Short, the historian of the Emergency, Chin Peng stated:

They forced you to go, and they burned all your house. And then if you want to resist, you stay in the house they don't care, they would burn you. Some people stayed in the house they did not want to move, even they moved all the belongings. And the British, they got the order to set fire, forced you to move. If you don't move, then maybe you have to be burned, and died alive, to be burned alive (p. 155).

The recent book Tan Teng Phee, *Behind Barbed Wire: Chinese New Villages during the Malayan Emergency 1948-1960*, Petaling Jaya: SIRD, 2020 is an excellent account of the New Villages and the resettlement process. Unlike most other accounts, this study is derived from Tan's interviews with new villagers themselves, most of them in their 70s and 80s when he conducted his field work in 2007-2008. He also uses colonial records which were previously unavailable to an earlier generation of researchers. Significantly, Tan's study confirms the harshness and hastiness of the resettlement process.

On the funding of the NVs and the Emergency more generally, see See Richard Stubbs, *Counter Insurgency and the Economic Factor: The Impact of the Korean War Prices Boom on the Malayan Emergency*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1974. No doubt, the colonial authorities expended \$100 million for resettlement which was essentially spent for 1) acquiring land to establish NVs (basically dwelling *not* agricultural land); 2) preparing these sites and providing basic amenities; and 3) distributing building grants and subsistence allowances to help the squatters tide it over the first few months after resettlement. Extra funds were made available to provide the NVs with some drains, roads, schools, police stations and other kinds of physical infrastructure. Unfortunately, such provisions were reduced and gradually stopped after the Korean War boom. As Independence approached, there were also competing demands to develop the Malay villages. Thus, the infrastructural development of the NVs, like the need for more agricultural land, was also left incomplete.

Finally, it needs stressing that the squatter problem pre-dated the Japanese occupation though of course the squatter agricultural communities expanded during and immediately after the War. Just prior to resettlement in the late 1940s, about half a million people could be found in these communities. At that point the colonial authorities kept an eye closed, despite the fact that the squatters were cultivating on forest reserves, state land and disused mining and estate land illegally. For the authorities, these communities served "as reservoirs for casual labour" and helped "in producing foodstuffs over and above their own needs" (Federation of Malaya, *Report of Committee Appointed by H. E. the High Commissioner to Investigate the Squatter Problem 10.1.49*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1949).

The outbreak of the Emergency changed all that: the authorities began to view the squatters as a "security problem". Thus, it compelled the rural dwellers to abandon their land, homes, crops, livestock and property. The vast majority of these villagers had to turn to non-agricultural occupations instead.)

Some layout plans and photographs of the NVs shortly after they were created in 1951 and 1952 are available in the studies by Kernial Singh Sandhu, Ray Nyce, Tan Teng Phee and Lim and Fong.

2. Neglect of the NVs during the 1960s, addressing the question of Poverty in the NVs beginning from the 1970s

Following its disastrous showing in the 1969 general elections and the Kuala Lumpur communal riots which followed it, some "Young Turks" in the MCA launched a Reform Movement in 1971 after a period of Emergency rule when Parliament was suspended and political activities were disallowed.

About the same time, new security problems developed in central Perak. The anti-Communist operations conducted by the security forces, ironically, highlighted the socio-economic problems of the NVs in Perak. The press wrote of the "shabby and dilapidated" homes "bordering on the squalid". "Illegal farming", "land hunger" and "lack of tenure" were headlined. The villagers were described as a people "who had been forgotten for over a decade" (*Straits Times*, 3,4 and 5 November 1971). The new villages had turned old.

So, the Young Turks set up an outfit called the Perak Task Force (PTF), which took to grassroots mobilisation in the Perak NVs, the largest concentration of NVs in the country. After some hesitation, the villagers responded enthusiastically to the PTF which showed great interest in the plight of the NVs. Alas, intra-MCA battles between the Young Turks and the Old Guard culminated in the disbandment of the PTF and the expulsion of PTF leaders from the MCA.

Intra-MCA politics aside, the publicity given to the NVs helped to articulate their grievances, namely: the need for more agricultural and housing land; permanent titles for the land occupied; employment opportunities; better roads, drains, utilities and other services; and improved educational opportunities for children. Above all, they required sustained government efforts to upgrade the lives of a considerably large poverty group.

Neglected by the government and political parties, the researchers also neglected to study the NVs during the 1960s. An exception was the important study by: J. W. Humphrey, "Population Resettlement in Malaya", Northwestern University, Ph. D. Thesis, Evanston, Illinois: 1971. Humphrey's thesis is a fascinating study of human geography. He discusses how the creation of the NVs and regroupment areas dramatically transformed the demographic pattern of settlement in Peninsula Malaysia, a point already noted by Kernial Singh and Hamzah Sendut. Humphrey's contribution highlighted that the new demographic pattern was here to stay.

The new media attention given to the security problem in the NVs, their rediscovery by the MCA Young Turks in the PTF, which led to the intra-MCA struggle, contributed towards a round of new studies on the NVs.

Unlike the earlier studies which revolved around the question of security, the new set of investigations related the NVs first and foremost, to the question of poverty eradication and development. These studies showed that the Chinese in NVs were part of the poor in Malaysia. Ultimately, these problems of the NVs were recognized by the government and incorporated into the Five-Year Plans.

Some of these studies also discussed the scope of politics in the NVs. A pertinent conclusion by J Strauch was that the NVs had not been positively integrated into Malaysian politics and society. Rather, they had been "encapsulated" or pacified (rather than "integrated"), implying that they had been brought under the ambit of the state authorities, without, however, positive identification of the NV residents with the authorities. Significantly, local researchers (including undergraduate students) registered in University of Malaya and Universiti Sains Malaysia were among those who conducted research on NVs.

- Judith Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics in the Malaysian State*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Laurence K L Siaw, *Chinese Society in Rural Malaysia: A Local History of the Chinese in Titi, Jelebu*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford Uni Press, 1983.
- Francis Loh Kok Wah, *Beyond the Tin Mines: Coolies, Squatters and New Villagers in the Kinta Valley, Malaysia, c. 1880-1980*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Lim Hin Fui, "Poverty among Chinese in Malaysia (With Special Reference to Three New Villages in Perak)", University of Malaya Ph.D. thesis, Kuala Lumpur: 1990.

Shorter studies on particular NVs

- Cheng Chew Keng, "Socio-Economic Survey of a Chinese Regroupment Village Simpang Lima", University of Malaya, B. Econs. Graduation Exercise, Kuala Lumpur, 1970.
- Ahmad Ithnin, "A Study of the Administrative and Socio-Economic Conditions of New Villages in the District of Ulu Selangor", University of Malaya, Academic Exercise for Dip. in Public Administration, Kuala Lumpur: 1973.
- B. N. Jeremiah, "Chinese New Village: A Case Study of Val D'Or and Jawi", Universiti Sains Malaysia, B. A. Thesis, Penang, Penang, 1974.
- N. Selvaraj, "Village Profile Studies: A Socio-Economic Study of the Air Keroh Chinese New Village, Malacca", Malaysian Centre for Development Studies, Kuala Lumpur: 1976 (mimeo).
- T. George, "Village Profile Studies: Kampung Bahru Tiang Dua, Melaka", Malaysian Centre for Development Studies, Kuala Lumpur: 1976 (mimeo).
- Tham Ah Fun, "A Survey of the Demographic Structure and Socio-Economic Conditions of a New Village - Kuala Kuang, Chemor, Perak", University of Malaya B. Econs. Graduation Exercise, Kuala Lumpur: 1976.
- Cheng Lim Keak, *Mengkuang: A Study of a Chinese New Village in West Malaysia*, Singapore: Nanyang University, Institute of Humanities, 1976.
- "List of NVs in Peninsular Malaysia 1970"(mimeo), Ministry of Housing and Local Government).

Drawing upon statistical data from the Census 1970 plus their own on-the-ground observations, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government also updated its official data: there were 465 NVs throughout the country with 1.023 million people residents (77.6% Chinese, 18.7% Malays and 3.6% Indians and others)

Hence, between resettlement in the early 1950s until the early 1970s, the population of these NVs had increased by approximately 100 percent, accounting for almost 10% of the 10.4 million people recorded in the 1970 Census. As at the time of resettlement, the majority of the NVs were concentrated in the states of Perak, Johore and Selangor (including the Kuala Lumpur Federal Territory). In 1970, these three states accounted for 62.1 percent of the NVs with over 75 percent of the total NV population.

In 1983, a subsequent study by the same Ministry estimated that the NV population had further increased to 1.7 million, distributed among 452 NVs. *Sin Chiu Jit Pao* 21 September 1985). The NVs were also categorised according to their population size. In 1970, nine percent (42 of 465 NVs) had more than 5,000 residents each, including nine NVs which had more than 10,000 inhabitants each. Included among the latter was Jinjang (population 27,468 in 1970), the largest NV in the country, located in the Federal Territory. A second group totalling 38.5 percent (179 of 465 NVs) had less than 1,000 residents each. A third group totalling 50 percent (232 of 465 NVs) had some 1,000 to 4,999 dwellers each. There were no details for twelve other NVs (3 percent).

Taking after a classification schema used by the Ministry of National Unity (See *A Socio-Economic Study of New Villages in Perak and Malacca*, Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Perpaduan Negara, 1973), those NVs with more than 5,000 people each were regarded as "urbanised villages", i.e. they were

located near urban years. They experienced in-migration and registered high population growth rates, in most cases exceeding 100 percent.

Those NVs whose population ranged from 1,000 to 4,999 residents were considered ''readily accessible villages'' (or ''intermediate villages''), that is, not too close to urban areas yet not too remote from them either. Such NVs registered some population growth, but not exceeding 100 percent.

The 179 NVs with less than 1,000 residents each might be considered "small remote villages". Such NVs experienced out-migration and registered drops in their population. The opportunities for earning a reasonable livelihood were better in the urbanised villages and worse in the small remote villages. The difference in opportunities explains why the population of a particular NVs had either increased or decreased after the Emergency.

The rediscovery of the NVs in the 1970s owes much to the efforts of the Chinese-based political parties and leaders like Dr Lim Keng Yaik who was the first person appointed a Minister in the PM's Department, put in charge of NV affairs, during the prime ministership of Tun Razak. In effect, the NVs, especially the *intermediate* and the *small remote villages* were recognised as poor and needed official attention. Henceforth allocations were made in the Five-Year Plans (at least for the next 20 years) for the improvement of NV infrastructure.

Alas, intra-Chinese politics also impacted upon the problem of NVs in negative ways occasionally. Dr Lim, Paul Leong and others who were active in the MCA Reform Movement and the PTF were subsequently expelled from the MCA, whereupon they joined the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia.

Under Lim's leadership, Parti Gerakan produced an important study *Into the Mainstream of Development; Gerakan's Analysis and Proposals on New Villages*, Kuala Lumpur: Parti Gerakan, 1986. The first chapter is "An overall analysis of the socioeconomic development trends and problems of the NVs in Malaysia"; the second chapter presents a "Survey Report on NVs in Perak", and a concluding chapter the "New Masterplan for solving the problems of New Villages - our Proposals and Recommendations". It was realised, from as early as the 1970s, that a masterplan was needed if the NVs were to be seriously incorporated into mainstream development plans.

Meanwhile, the NV portfolio was moved from the PM's Office to the Ministry of Housing, Local Government and New Village (which was subsequently renamed Ministry of Housing, Local Government and Village Development, and again to the renamed Ministry of Housing and Local Government). For a while, NVs were emplaced under the Ministry of Rural Development. Whichever the case, NVs were recognised as a target group that was poor that required special allocations for poverty eradication. The remaining issue was how big an allocation it ought to be, and how best to deliver that commitment to development.

Francis Loh Kok Wah "Chinese New Villages: Ethnic Identity and Politics" in Tan Chee Beng and Lee Kam Heng (eds) The Chinese in Malaysia, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1999 is an attempt to summarise problems of development faced by the NVs during – inadequate infrastructure, lack of agricultural land, employment opportunities, poor standard of education and

resulting high dropout rates from secondary schools, etc. It draws upon the new studies conducted by the academicians as well as by the government.

The scope of problems NVs faced in the 1970s and 1980s were no longer the same as those encountered in the 1950s. Engagement in Malaysian politics, too, had changed. Accordingly, security was no longer the focus of these studies. It was economic development and political integration, or the lack of it.

3. NVs are no longer poor but transformation of NVs into sustainable residential cum employment friendly "urbanized villages", that can improve the quality of life for NV residents, is urgently required. We are also talking about improvements in education, public transport, income opportunities, crime-free and clean neighbourhoods, and even a sense of heritage and identity for residents.

Beginning from the late-1980s, Malaysia experienced increasing rates of foreign direct investments, egging on the industrialisation of Malaysia. From the 1990s onwards, construction also became an important economic sector which required capital investments, technical know-how and much labour. A shortage of labour contributed to the recruitment of some 4 to 5 million foreign workers, legal and illegal, into the country. For a few years in the late 1990s, Malaysia experienced double-digit growth as well. Nowadays, we are categorized by the UNDP as a "medium income nation". The national average rate of poverty is only 1.7, although there remain large pockets of the hard-core poor in Sabah and Sarawak and in isolated regions of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu in the peninsula. At any rate, NVs are no longer considered as poor communities.

In the early 1990s, it was estimated that 90% of all NVs had already been provided with the basic services and amenities. By 2000, all NVs possessed a full complement of services and amenities. It was time to "clean and beautify the NVs", and to improve their social environment.

It was in this context that Dr Mahathir announced that the NV would hence forth be known simply as "villages", like some 19,000 other traditional villages. He said that his BN government wanted the NVs to become "normal"; to lose their separate identity as "new villages" since there was no longer a need for them to be distinct from other villages from the security point of view. The name change would remove any stigma that a place might still have because of the connection of the NVs to the Emergency and the communists. As well, the change of name would erase its distinction as a Chinese settlement and encourage Malays and Indians to move in, and so facilitate integration. The notion of "Muhibbah villages", first introduced in the 1970s, was now being touted again. Within a year, the new names for 108 former NVs had been approved, and 270 others pending approval; reportedly, 74 NVs had not submitted their proposals for new names.

In keeping with this "erasure' of the NVs, there was also no longer any "special allocation" for NV development as a targeted poor area in the 6th Malaysia Plan (1991-1995). Instead, the former NVs were put, either under the charge of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (MHLG) in the case of the "urbanized villages", or under the charge of the Ministry of Rural Development, for those NVs remotely located. Accordingly, allocations for NVs were directed to one or the other ministry during the late 1990s.

As it turned out, Dr Mahathir's exercise to rename the NVs and to stop referring to these villages as NVs, was reversed. For after he stepped down as prime minister and was replaced by Abdullah Badawi in 2002, the use of the term "New Villages" was revived. And, apparently, special allocations for NVs were so designated again in the Five-Year Plans, rather than incorporating them under allocations of particular ministries.

In fact, this renaming exercise obscured an extremely significant policy decision first taken by the National Land Council in a meeting of all the state governments in 1988. Egged on by MHLG, and supported by Dr Mahathir and the BN Cabinet, reportedly, all the state government had agreed, "in principle", to renew the leases of the housing lots in all the NVs. Indeed, this issue had created much frustration among villagers for about a decade already. For by the early 1990s, all villagers who were on 30-year leases, which were first issued in the early 1950s, needed to have their leases extended. Similarly, those villagers who were on 60-year leases needed to begin the renewal exercise too. That said, the implementation of this important decision was delayed, again and again, due to many reasons.

According to data obtained from the state governments by MHLG, there were a total of 98,340 housing lots totaling 20,244 hectares in NVs which were pending regularization of their status in August 1991. Of these lots, 83,600 were still held under either an approved application (a form of semi-permanent title), and another 9,990 under Temporary Occupation Licenses. (Another 1,918 lots were without any form of documentation).

One of the reasons for the delay was because the extension exercise required that the semi-permanent titles and TOLs be first converted to permanent titles, before facilitating extension of the leases. A second problem arose because the premium rates charged for conversion were exceedingly high, especially for the urbanized villages (which would adopt the rate for the surrounding urban settlements). For example, it was highlighted by the villagers of Machang Bubok NV, located outside Bukit Mertajam in Penang, that the original premium of RM15,000 to RM20,000 required for conversion, was simply out of their reach. It was only after then chief minister Dr Lim Chong Eu intervened that the premium was discounted to RM2,000 to RM4,000 per lot. To the credit of the Penang state government, Lim even arranged for payment by instalments over a 6-year period. So, the conversion of semi-permanent to permanent titles, and the issuance of new 30-year leases for those permanent titles, was speeded up in Penang. Several, though not all, of the other states followed the example of Penang. In Perak, for instance, 80% discount was offered to residents who renewed their leases for a 60-year period.

Delays also arose, and this occurred quite frequently, when the original benefactor had passed away. Hence in Perak for instance, a total of 24,957 titles had been issued by 2005, while a small number were still being processed as late as 2006.

Thus, a very important conundrum in the evolution of the NVs was being resolved. For this extension of new long-term leases at discounted prices, especially at a time when the price of land and housing in all urban areas throughout Malaysia was rising, proved very attractive to

the villagers. Hence, most villagers invested in these new long-term leases. In turn, this exercise has given a new sense of permanency and as well as a new lease of life to the NVs.

I want to highlight a finding that was made by most studies of NVs conducted in the 1980s and 1990s, namely the outflow of young villagers outside, in search of jobs. In the 1980s, when I was conducting field work in the NVs, it was easily noticeable that most male youths sought employment outside, often as construction workers in the larger cities, and sometimes even on government development projects, like a FELDA development scheme. These young males returned to the NVs periodically, especially at festive times, to reunite with their family members. Many of the younger women, on the other hand, performed odd jobs especially in the informal manufacturing and service sectors in the vicinity of the NVs. It was mainly the older villagers, aided by the children, who continued faming.

The male youths continued to work in construction projects outside the NVs in the 1990s, and into the new millennium. However, the few studies available indicate that they were no longer employed as contract workers locally, but in Singapore, Taiwan and Japan. Provided that one does not fall sick, a two-year sojourn in one of the East Asian countries allows a villager to accumulate a tidy sum of capital which can then be invested to purchase some machinery in order to venture into some business or service, or to upgrade the family house, upon one's return to Malaysia.

It was through this combination of economic activities, especially venturing outside the NV, including going overseas, that the villagers have sustained themselves and improved their livelihood. The diversity of occupations in the NVs is testimony to the adaptability of the villagers to changing economic circumstances.

The NVs have been in existence for 60 to 70 years. No doubt, the NVs located close to urban areas, the so-called "urbanized villages" have changed considerably, though not necessarily for the better. Often, alongside the original NV, can be found new "housing estates", even light industrial units. Regular allocations from the MHLG have ensured that the NVs enjoy regular electricity supply, tarred roads, even modern sewerage facilities. Thanks to the urban sprawl, schools, health facilities, public transport, markets and shops are now easily accessible.

In spite of the continued need for young and now middle-age males to seek employment outside the NVs, the NVs are here to stay! For the villagers now, as a family, possess a long-term lease to the lot on which their house stands. It is common to see new houses and shops interspersed with the old houses in the NVs. There is a possibility that the younger generation which is better educated than their parents will be able to cross over to the formal sectors in the urban areas and find gainful employment there. So, NVs no longer need to be independently viable as economic units. For they have become part of the larger urban centre. In this regard, the NVs have become residential; and the residents, like people all over, seek comfortable, clean and crime-free neighbourhood, preferably one that provides a sense of heritage and identity too.

Significantly, the MHLG revived the call for a NV masterplan about 15 years ago. For this purpose, a major new study was conducted. Lim Hin Fui and Fong Tian Yong *The New Villages in Malaysia: the*

Journey Ahead, Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic Analysis and Policy Reseach (INSAP), 2005, is the latest comprehensive study of the NVs available.

Drawing upon Census 2000, the study informs us that the number of NVs and the NV population has declined:

	1954	1970	1985	2002
Number of NVs	480	465	452	452
NV Population	573,000	1.02m	1.65m	1.25m

(It is probable that the data for 2002 did not include the "urbanised villages" whose population might have been incorporated into those for particular local authorities.)

The research is also informed by the findings of a new survey by PE Associates conducted in 2002-2003 on behalf of the MHLG. This survey collected data on the education and economic activities of villagers, their familial structure, and their social and cultural associations and activities.

Chapter 7 presents the proposed NV Master-Plan while Chapter 8 discusses the funding and prospects of such a Master plan. It is an effort to integrate economic, social and physical data, and to incorporate the NV masterplan into the mainstream of development planning in the country. It is not about providing basic facilities like in the past. Rather, it hopes to improve the quality of life for NV residents.

So, the Report focuses on the poor planning layout of NVs. It highlights, among others, on the lack of reserve for roads and drains so that flooding easily occurs after heavy downpours. Narrow roads and the acquisition of cars and lorries by villagers has led to problems associated with congestion and lack of parking spaces. As well, the lack of building controls has allowed the construction of houses close to one another posing problems of fire hazard. There are also problems associated with the conversion of residential units for light industry and business purposes, often without the necessary permits. The study also investigates the social environment of the NVs – schooling, presence of associations, places of worship, etc.

Although this NV masterplan was proposed by MHLG in 2005, then under the helm of minister Ong Kaa Ting, it does not appear that the masterplan has been incorporated into mainstream development plans. In this regard, it might have been overtaken by political circumstances too – the change in prime minister-ship from Abdullah Badawi to Najib Tun Razak; the poor showing of the Chinese-based BN parties in the polls beginning from GE12 in 2008; and regime change from the BN to PH in 2018. Put another way, the NV masterplan is effectively in cold-storage.

"Chinese New Villages: Ethnic Identity and Politics"

Dr Francis Loh Kok Wah,

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Introduction

In early November 1990, the Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohamad announced that the "New Villages" which were first set up in 1950-52, would henceforth be known simply as villages. The government, he clarified, did not wish the 452 new villages with their two million residents to continue to "have a separate identity". It wanted them to be considered as "normal villages". Then Minister of Housing and Local Government Lee Kim Sai, under whose portfolio the new villages fell, further stated that the term "new villages" carried a stigma. Yet they no longer needed special attention from the security point of view. This was the reason for the name change.

Over the following months a debate of sorts over the name change and its implications occurred. In response to the opposition Democratic Action Party's claim that neglect of the new villages would further set in, government politicians and officials argued the reverse. Lee Kim Sai and Dr Ting Chew Peh, who replaced Lee as the new Housing and Local Government Minister, clarified that the new villages which came under the jurisdiction of local authorities would continue to be managed by the Ministry, while new villages in the rural areas would come under the Ministry of Rural Development. There would be ample allocations for development too. Ting also disputed the fact that the new villages had been neglected. He correctly claimed that about "90 percent of the new villages have basic facilities and services". It was essentially a question of improving the quality of them. To this end Ting's Ministry had been allocated funds under the "Clean and Beautify Programme" to improve building facilities as well as to provide the new villages with "rubbish bins, flush toilets, bus stands, plants and signboards". And to enhance these development efforts, his Ministry would ensure that JKKKs (Jawatankuasa Keselamatan dan Kemajuan Kampung or Village Security and Development Committees) were set up in the former new villages, as for the other estimated 19,000 traditional villages. Within a year of Dr Mahathir's announcement Ting proudly informed that the new names for 108 former new villages had been approved while 270 other proposals were pending approval. Only 74 others of the 452 new villages had not submitted their proposals. Meanwhile, then Director-General of the Department of Local Government Lim Cheng Tatt suggested that the redesignation of the new village as an ordinary village would erase its distinction as a Chinese settlement and so facilitate integration. For with improved facilities, Malays and Indians would be attracted to stay in them as had begun to occur in places like Sungei Way, he clarified². It appeared that the government was hoping to revive the unsuccessful and short-lived effort to transform the NVs into multi-ethnic *Kampung-kampung Muhibbah* in the mid-1970s³.

In fact, Dr Mahathir's announcement and the name change was related to a more substantive issue. In mid-1986 the deputy prime minister had announced a cabinet plan to grant 60-year leases to all new villages; villagers with 30-year leases which had expired would have their leases extended for another 30 years. Anxious villagers whose original 30-year leases granted in the early 1950s were expiring had appealed to the Chinese-based political parties for help who in turn had lobbied the government. Land

¹. Star 11 November 1990

². Star 11 and 17 November 1990, New Straits Times 20 and 23 October 1991.

³. This goal was enunciated in the *Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1976, p. 175. See also *Straits Times* 25 May 1972.

being a state matter under the federal constitution, the cooperation of the state governments was sought⁴. Predictably the state governments moved slowly on the matter. The heads of the Department of Lands and Mines were requested to collect data on the NVs in their respective states. The information collected indicated that there remained 399 NVs⁵ distributed throughout the peninsular states with the exception of Perlis. The memorandum estimated the existence of 98,340 lots totalling 20,224 hectares. Of these lots, 83,600 were already issued with either an approved application, a semi-permanent title or a permanent title, and another 9,990 with temporary occupation licenses (TOLs). Yet another 1,918 lots were occupied without any form of document. It was unclear, however, what percentage of those in the first category with approved applications or titles had arrangements for 30-year or 60-year leases.

Following a meeting of the National Land Council in late 1988, the state governments formally agreed to the federal government's proposal for the extension of leases. Over the next years the state governments began to effect the necessary changes. However, many poor villagers were unable to settle the land premium due, prior to issuance of new titles or extensions, for their lots. Where the NVs were located in rural areas and the premium rates for the lots affordable to the villagers as in Kedah's case, the necessary transactions were effected within a year. But where NVs bordered on urban centres and the premium rates for the lots were unaffordable, the extensions were delayed. For instance, it was only after the Penang state government had slashed the premium rate considerably that extensions were effected after two years: in the case of Machang Bubok NV for example, the original premium of RM15,000 to RM20,000 was finally reduced to RM2000 to RM4000 per lot. The state government generously facilitated payment of the premium by instalments over a six-year period as well. At any rate, the federal government claimed that its policy had been effectively implemented by late 1990⁶. It was on the heels of this major breakthrough in cooperation with the state governments that the prime minster announced his name change move. Presumably he intended to signal that there was no longer any need for the NVs to demand special attention from the government.

As a result of this name change, the *Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991-1995* does not provide special allocations, as in previous plans, for new village development. But it acknowledges that some residents in "areas formerly known as the new villages" are among the 143,100 hardcore poor households and that they would "be given opportunities, wherever feasible, to expand their area to avoid overcrowding and to enhance employment generating opportunities"⁷.

Whether the new villages will be adequately provided for under the new arrangements will be discussed later. The fact is that they continued to be considered distinct, at least in the early 1990s, the name change and new administrative arrangements notwithstanding. The Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), a component party of the ruling coalition for instance, recognised this fact. Accordingly, it launched its so-called "Langkawi Project" in 1993 which was oriented towards improving educational standards in the former new villages⁸. The Cabinet itself agreed to provide financial assistance to help the MCA set up kindergartens so as to give NV children an early start in education, and to help them develop

⁴. According to Lim Keng Yaik, such a policy had been agreed upon by the federal and state governments as early as 1972 when he was the first Minister in charge of NVs (*Star* 30 June 1986).

⁵. This figure most surely excludes the large NVs which fell under the charge of local authorities. It is significant the the Ministry of Housing and Local Government maintained that there remained 452 NVs. See for instance *Star* 10 August 1991.

⁶. Star 9 February 1990, 5 September 1990 and 11 November 1990.

⁷. These references may be found in *Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991-1995*, Kuala Lumpur: National Printing Department, 1991, pp 12 and 45.

^{8.} According to MCA chief Datuk Dr Ling Liong Sik, the Langkawi Project seeks to: promote an attitudinal change among the rural Chinese regarding education; set up resource centres and kindergartens as aids to academic improvement; initiate incomegenerating activities especially among the women; and open channels of exchange and interaction between new villages and other groups and organisations.

See New Straits Times 20 and 21 May 1993 and Star 28 May 1993.

a better grasp of the national language, both of which the MCA hoped would help to curb the high dropout rates among secondary school age youths⁹.

The above discussion outlines the *third* time new villages have captured the attention of the nation.

The Emergency

The *first* time was of course during the Emergency from 1948-60, when the British colonial government compelled a total of 1.2 million rural dwellers, about one-seventh of the Malayan population then, into about 600 new settlements. Of these, an estimated 650,000 people (32% Malays, 45% Chinese, 18% Indians and 5% Javanese and others) were "regrouped" in rubber estates, tin mines and around existing towns. Another 572,917 people (85% Chinese, 9% Malays, 4% Indians and 1% others) were resettled into 480 New Villages (NVs), often miles from their original homes. Almost half of these NVs were established in Perak and Johore. In these two states, and Pahang and Selangor, some 63% of the NVs were to be found, accounting for 84.6% of the total NV population (Table 1).¹⁰

This regroupment and resettlement process formed the backbone of the counter-insurgency plan to fight the Communists. Under the Briggs Plan, these regroupment areas and NVs were placed behind barbedwire and under security guard. Dusk-to-dawn curfews, food rationing, body searches and periodic arrests rudely interrupted the residents' lives. As a result of the Plan and other restrictive measures, the ties between the Communist guerillas and their rural supporters were ruptured. Ultimately, the Communists were forced to the Thai-Malayan border and the Emergency officially brought to an end in January 1960¹¹. Since then, the regroupment areas have been dismantled. Despite the removal of the barbedwires and curfew and the withdrawal of the security forces, most of the NVs persisted.

New Villages Turned Old

The *second* occasion when the new villages captured the attention of the nation was a brief but perhaps more positive interlude. In the aftermath of its poor showing in the 1969 elections and the Kuala Lumpur communal riots which followed it, the MCA underwent some soul searching. In 1971 an MCA Reform Movement was launched. about the same time security problems developed in the vicinity of some central Perak NVs. Ironically, the anti-Communist operations conducted near the NVs highlighted their socio-economic problems. The press wrote of the "shabby and dilapidated" homes "bordering on the squalid". "Illegal farming", "land hunger" and "lack of tenure" were headlined. The villagers were described as a people "who had been forgotten for over a decade" 12. The new villages had turned old.

With the new publicity given to the new villages, the MCA reform movement directed its attention to the new villages as well. A Perak Task Force was initiated and took to grassroots mobilisation among the Perak new villages. Neglected for years, the new villagers, very likely glimpsed the potential of improving their conditions through MCA-led political action: after some hesitation, they responded

⁹. Star 28 May 1993.

¹⁰. These figures are from Kernial S. Sandhu, "Emergency Resettlement in Malaya", *Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 18, Aug. 1964, pp. 157-83. Various other sets of figures on the number of NVs and the total number of people resettled also exist. Sandhu's figures are the lowest and probably the most reliable. For a list of these varying sets of figures see Hamzah Sendut, "Planning Resettlement Villages in Malaya", *Planning Outlook*, Vol 1, 1966, pp. 58-70.

¹¹. The two best accounts of the Emergency are Anthony Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya 1948-1960*, London: Frederick Muller, 1975 and Richard Stubbs, *Hearts and Minds in Guerilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1960*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989.

¹². Straits Times, 3 November 1971; 4 November 1971; 5 November 1971; New Nation, 27 September 1971.

enthusiastically to the task force. A year later, however, intra-MCA battles culminated in the disbandment of the task force and the expulsion of its leaders from the MCA¹³.

But if the task force accomplished few tangible benefits for the new villagers, it helped to articulate their grievances. These were grievances and needs common to new villages in the country - more agricultural and housing land and permanent titles for the land, more employment opportunities, better roads, drains, utilities and other services, and improved educational opportunities for children. Above all, they required increased and sustained government efforts to upgrade the lives of a considerably large poverty group then still experiencing routine hardship and deteriorating living conditions.

Why had these NVs turn old? An investigation of the origins of the squatter communities who were resettled, and of the resettlement process which was essentially guided by security considerations, sheds light on the deterioration of the NVs in the post-Emergency period.

Squatter Communities In the Pre-War Period

Long before the Emergency, the "new villagers" had been mostly cultivators and agriculturalists farming on forest reserves, state land and disused mining land. Most had started as tin mine and rubber estate/smallholding labourers forced by periodic unemployment, due to fluctuations of commodity prices, to turn to the land¹⁴. The colonial government even encouraged them and granted them Temporary Occupation Licenses (TOL). Thus emerged the "agricultural squatters", a term used to describe agriculturalists who did not own the land on which they farmed¹⁵. Encouraged by government and egged on by increasing immigration (especially of women, hence resulting in the emergence of families among the immigrant population beginning from the 1930s), squatter communities gradually emerged and assumed a sense of permanency. Indeed, market gardening coupled with livestock rearing became quite profitable and, therefore, increasingly attractive¹⁶.

Thus, the squatter problem actually pre-dated the Japanese occupation though of course these squatter agricultural communities expanded during and immediately after the War. Just prior to resettlement in the late 1940s, about half a million people could be found in these communities. At that point the colonial authorities kept an eye closed, despite the fact that the squatters were cultivating on forest reserves, state land and disused mining and estate land illegally. For the authorities realised that these communities served "as reservoirs for casual labour" and helped "in producing foodstuffs over and above their own needs" 17.

¹³. I have discussed the MCA's soul searching which resulted in the formation of the MCA Reform Movement, the Perak Task Force, the intra-MCA conflict which ensued but also the "rediscovery" of the NVs in my *The Politics of Chinese Unity in Malaysia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1982. See also Judith Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics in the Malaysian State*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

¹⁴. On the effect of these fluctuations on labour in the tin mines, see my *Beyond the Tin Mines: Coolies, Squatters and New Villagers in the Kinta Valley, Malaysia, c. 1880-1980*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 18-28, 36-38. See also Yip Yat Hoong, *The Development of the Tin Mining Industry in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: 1969, pp. 167ff, 202ff. For related effects on labour in the rubber sector, see J. Norman Parmer, *Colonial Labour Policy and Administration*, Locus Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1960.

¹⁵. I have discussed this point at length in *Beyond the Tin Mines*, chapter 1. See also Short, *The Communist Insurrection*, pp. 174ff. 203ff.

¹⁶. Loh, *Beyond the Tin Mines*, pp. 27-35; M. V. Del Tufo, *A Report on the 1947 Census of Population*, London: Crown Agents, 1948, p. 104 and Lim Teck Ghee, *Peasants and Their Agricultural Economy in Colonial Malaya 1874-1941*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 204ff.

¹⁷. Federation of Malaya, *Report of Committee Appointed by H. E. the High Commissioner to Investigate the Squatter Problem 10.1.49*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1949.

Resettlement as a Security Measure

Resettlement, of course, changed all that. With the outbreak of the Emergency the authorities began to view the squatters as a "security problem" ¹⁸. Thus it compelled the rural dwellers to abandon their land, homes, crops, livestock and property. Consequently, the vast majority of these villagers had to turn to non-agricultural occupations ¹⁹.

Fortunately, resettlement coincided with the Korean War (1950 to 1951) boom. The prices for rubber and tin rose dramatically, spurred on production and provided jobs to many villagers displaced from cash-cropping. Between 1950 to 1952, the population of wage-earners in the NVs engaged in the rubber and tin industries rose from 25 to 53 percent²⁰. Expectedly, the boom did not last. With the end of the Korean War, tin and rubber prices started falling. An acute problem of unemployment began to set in²¹.

The essence of the problem was the lack of access to agricultural land. Writing in 1954, Paul Markandan observed that the residents were "transplanted...to small plots of land scarcely a fraction of those they had before" An official survey of the NVs, the Corry Report 1954, sheds light on the problem of inadequate agricultural land. Although most of the squatters were agriculturalists, the Corry Report 1954 noted that only those squatters who previously "owned land" or were considered as "full-time farmers" were given agricultural land. The total acreage of agricultural land earmarked for them amounted to only 47,800 acres²³.

The Corry Report 1954 further noted that a year earlier it had been recommended that the authorities set aside some 26,000 additional acres so that half-acre plots could be allocated to each family of wage earners for subsistence farming, due to the fall in rubber prices. By 1954, however, after only 7,000 acres had been acquired, the Corry Report suggested that the amount of land still due to be acquired was "unrealistically large" and so recommended a re-examination of the whole matter. The Report reasoned that since "many members of non-farming families cultivate sizeable plots inside and outside the villages, and as mining land and undeveloped agricultural land can be used temporarily for vegetable growing in an emergency without recourse to acquisition, it is considered that but a fraction of this sum is really required...."

There is no evidence to indicate how much land was ultimately acquired. At any rate such land was *not* alienated to the villagers. They were held as "village agricultural reserves" for temporary use by so-called "non-farming families" when a slump in tin and rubber prices threatened their livelihood.

¹⁸. See Loh, Beyond the Tin Mines, pp. 106ff; Stubbs, Hearts and Minds, pp. 98-107

¹⁹. Between 1950 to 1952, the percentage of agriculturalists in the NVs dropped from 60 to 27 percent. More than one-third of all the vegetable gardens in the peninsular, principally in Perak and Johore, were forcibly abandoned. The national acreage under food crops (excluding rice) fell from 96,839 to 67,456 acres between 1948 to 1951. Similarly affected was the production of livestock. Over the same period, the import of vegetables rose by over 100 percent. See *Dept of Agriculture FOM Annual Report 1950-51*, pp. 3-4, 11-13 and 69, and *Dept of Agriculture FOM Annual Report 1952*, pp. 10-11.

²⁰. Ibid.

²¹. Richard Stubbs, *Counter Insurgency and the Economic Factor: The Impact of the Korean War Prices Boom on the Malayan Emergency*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1974.

²². P. Markandan, *The Problem of the New Villages in Malaya*, Singapore: Donald Moore, 1954.

²³. Up to 1954, permanent land titles had been issued to only 29 applicants. Another 1,570 had their applications approved but had yet to receive their titles. And a further 2,900 had been issued with TOLs. This indicates that many of those who were allocated agricultural land were also farming without either TOLs or permanent titles, that is, illegally. See W. C. S. Corry, *A General Survey of New Villages. A Report to H. E. Sir Donalf MacGillivray, High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya, 12th Oct. 1954*, Kuala Lumpur: 1954, p. 24.

²⁴. Ibid., p. 7.

This extended discussion of the villagers' lack of access to agricultural land is important because several popular accounts of resettlement have erroneously asserted that about 2-3 acres of agricultural land was provided to the new villagers²⁵. In point of fact, a majority of the resettled villagers were not allocated such land. Consequently, it was noted in the Labour Department's report in June 1953 that unemployment was rife in the NVs. The high rates of unemployment in the NVs were described as "statistics of the greatest potential danger"²⁶. Indeed, because of inaccessibility to land and the lack of alternative employment opportunities, the economic viability of the NVs was threatened just a few years after their establishment.

The \$100 million that the colonial authorities expended for resettlement does not belie these problems of land hunger and lack of alternative employment opportunities in the NVs. For the most part, the \$100 million had been spent by 1) acquiring land to establish NVs (basically dwelling *not* agricultural land); 2) preparing these sites and providing basic amenities; and 3) distributing building grants and subsistence allowances to help the squatters tide it over the first few months after resettlement²⁷.

Thus, although most of the NVs were provided with some drains, roads, schools, police stations and other kinds of physical infrastructure, the economic viability of the NVs remained threatened. In fact, such provisions were also inadequate, principally because the funds for such purposes were reduced and gradually stopped after the Korean War boom. For instance, a researcher has commented that although all roads were supposed to have drainage ditches to prevent floods and to be concrete-lined to prevent erosion and deterioration, in actuality, few communities were provided with their full complement of drains due to shortage of time and funds²⁸.

With regard to health and medical services, A. Short noted:²⁹

... the New Villages focused attention on the absence of government commitment to the extent that in April 1952, the Malayan branch of the British Medical Association called the New Villages, with their threat of epidemics, a new risk to public health, condemned the gross inadequacy of medical services and alleged that resettlement had been unsupported by any medical plan and had little or no regard for health.

Thus apart from inadequate agricultural land or alternative employment opportunities for the villagers, the infrastructural development of the NVs was also left incomplete. Not surprisingly, their physical conditions rapidly deteriorated.

The Corry Report 1954 conducted just two years after resettlement had been declared completed, concluded that "there was no chance of complete self-sufficiency for the New Villages" Hence, despite awareness of the problem, little effort was made to improve the situation. Under the circumstances, we are forced to conclude that the resettlement process was fundamentally conducted as a military operation. The long-term well-being of the resettled squatters was only of secondary importance to the authorities. The major problem of land hunger, already evident in pre-War times, was left unresolved. To this were added new problems associated with the lack of alternative employment opportunities, inadequate

²⁵. See for instance N. Barber, *The War of the Running Dogs*, London: Collins, 1971, pp. 92-93; E. O'Ballance, *Malaya: The Communist Insurgent War 1948-60*, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966, p. 119 and R. Clutterbuck, *The Long Long War: The Emergency in Malaya 1948-60*, Second Edition, London: 1967, p. 61.

²⁶. Dept of Labor FOM Monthly Report for June 1953.

²⁷. Stubbs, *Counter-Insurgency and the Economic Factor*, pp. 45ff.

²⁸. J. W. Humphrey, "Population Resettlement in Malaya", Northwestern University, Ph. D. Thesis, Evanston, Illinois: 1971, p.

²⁹. Short, *The Communist Insurrection*, p. 399.

³⁰. Corry, Survey of New Villages, pp. 15, 39-42.

amenities and social services, and until 1960, the harsh inconveniences of living behind barbed wire, under curfew and security guard³¹. The NVs were all but forgotten by the authorities (as well as by researchers) during the 1960s. Consequently, conditions in the NVs rapidly deteriorated and the NVs turned old.

П

Rediscovery of the NVs: Deteriorating Conditions

Spurred on by the publicity given to the NVs as a result of security operations in Perak in the early 1970s, researchers too "rediscovered" the NVs. What follows is a survey of the NVs, as significant for the data gathered as for the fact that the studies were conducted at all. After an overview of the distribution and population growth of the NVs, the survey highlights five major problems faced by the majority of the NVs in the 1970s: lack of access to land, low income levels, inadequate educational opportunities, housing and overcrowding, and the lack of social facilities and physical amenities.

In 1972, a Ministry of Housing and Local Government study³² estimated that there were 465 NVs throughout the country. In them resided 1.023 million people (77.6% Chinese, 18.7% Malays and 3.6% Indians and others). Hence between 1950-70, the population of these NVs increased by approximately 100 percent, accounting for almost 10% of the 10.4 million people recorded in the 1970 Census.³³.

As at the time of resettlement, the majority of the NVs were concentrated in the states of Perak, Johore and Selangor (including the Kuala Lumpur Federal Territory). In 1970, these three states accounted for 62.1 percent of the NVs with over 75 percent of the total NV population. Table 1 below gives the distribution of NVs, and by state, their population in 1954 and 1970.

These NVs may be divided according to their population size. Table 2 indicates that in 1970, 9 percent (42 of 465 NVs) had more than 5,000 residents each, including nine which had more than 10,000 inhabitants each. Included among the latter was Jinjang (population 27,468 in 1970) located in the Federal Territory which was the largest NV in the country. A second group totalling 38.5 percent (179 of 465 NVs) had less than 1,000 residents each, while a third group totalling 50 percent (232 of 465 NVs) had some 1,000 to 4,999 dwellers each. The details for twelve other NVs (3 percent) was unavailable.

^{31.} Short, The Communist Insurrection, pp. 399-404 and Humphrey, "Population Resettlement in Malaya", pp. 211 ff.

³². "List of NVs in Peninsular Malaysia 1970" (mimeo). Data was obtained from the 1970 Census.

³³. A subsequent study by the same Ministry estimated that the NV population had increased to 1.7 million, distributed among 452 NVs in 1983, cited in *Sin Chiu Jit Pao* 21 September 1985.

Table 4-1-1: Distribution of NVs in Peninsular Malaysia

	Number of NVs		Population	Population of NVs		
	1954	1970	1954	1970		
Perak	129	150	206,900	340,230		
Johor	94	92	130,613	216,441		
Pahang	77	48	50,233	81,281		
Selangor	49	42	97,346	166,271		
Negri Sembilan	39	41	30,294	56,578		
Kedah	44	35	22,522	55,133		
Ke <u>l</u> antan	18	22	12,560	23,595		
Malacca	17	20	9,555	18,013		
Penang	8	8	10,717	16,725		
Federal Territory	-	4	-	47,231		
Trengganu	4	3	1,495	1,357		
Perlis	1	-	682	-		
TOTAL	480	465	572,917	1,023,035		

Source: Sandhu, "Emergency Resettlement", and Ministry of Housing and Local Government, "List of NVs in Peninsular Malaysia, 1970", dated 1972 (mimeo).

Table 4-1-2: New Villages in Peninsular Malaysia by Population Size, 1970

State	Total	Unknown	Less	1000	2000	3000	5000	10000	Total
			than1000	to	to	to	to	over	Population
				1999	2999	4999	9999		
Kedah	35	-	17	10	4	2	2	-	55,133
Penang	8	-	2	1	3	2	-	-	16,725
Perak	150	11	55	25	21	21	14	3	340,230
Selangor	46	1	6	8	9	10	8	4	213,502
& Federal									
Territory									
N.	41	-	23	8	5	4	1	-	56,578
Sembilan									
Malacca	20	-	12	7	-	1	-	-	18,013
Johore	92	-	30	20	20	15	5	2	216,441
Pahang	48	-	17	18	5	5	3	-	81,281
Trengganu	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1,357
Kelantan	22	-	14	6	1	1	-	-	23,595
Total	465	12	179	103	68	61	33	9	1,023,035

Source: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), *Problems of Rural Poverty in Malaysia*, Report No. 838-MA, Washington: 1974, p. 32 citing statistics obtained from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government.

Using a classification system proposed by the Ministry of National Unity when it conducted a study of NVs in Malacca and Perak in 1973³⁴, those NVs with more than 5,000 people each might be regarded as "urbanised villages", that is, they were located near urban years. They experienced in-migration and registered high population growth rates, in most cases exceeding 100 percent. Those NVs whose population ranged from 1,000 to 4,999 residents might be considered "readily accessible villages" (or "intermediate villages"), that is, not too close to urban areas yet not too remote from them either. Such NVs too registered some population growth, but not exceeding 100 percent. The 179 NVs with less than 1,000 residents each might be considered "small remote villages". Such NVs experienced out-migration and registered drops in their population.³⁵ The opportunities for earning a reasonable livelihood were better in the urbanised villages and worse in the small remote villages. The differences in opportunities explains why the population of a particular NVs had either increased or decreased after the Emergency. Whichever the case, most NVs experienced serious socio-economic problems throughout the 1960s.

Access to Agricultural Land

For 20 years after the initial resettlement, the problem of land hunger was left unresolved. By 1970, it had been grossly exacerbated by high population increases within the readily accessible and urbanised new villages. The Ministry of National Unity alluded to this severe landlessness in their report published in 1973. It estimated that about half (48.5 percent) of all new villagers surveyed in Perak and Malacca were engaged in agricultural activities. But only 29 percent "had access" to land. And of this latter group, 34.3 percent were farming it illegally, that is without permanent titles or even TOLs. Besides, almost half (49 percent) having access to land were working small and uneconomical plots, averaging 3 acres³⁶.

These findings are mostly corroborated by those from four other studies of specific NVs. In a study of Air Keroh NV in Malacca it was found that whereas 90 percent of the villagers were engaged in market-gardening and another 5 percent of them in rubber tapping, yet 22 percent of them did not own any agricultural land. Of those gardeners who did, the average plot size was two to four acres per family; 76 percent had plots less than three acres in size.³⁷ In another Malacca NV, Tiang Dua, it was found that although 90 percent of the adult working population were involved in the rubber industry, 63.3 percent of them were landless working as tappers.³⁸

In a study of Kuala Kuang NV in Perak, it was discovered that 56 percent of those economically active were agriculturalists, yet only half of them owned land. And 42.1 percent of these people, in turn, owned plots less than three acres each.³⁹ And in Simpang Lima NV in Perak, although 83 percent of the gainfully employed were involved in agricultural activities, 15 percent of them were landless and an additional 23 percent owned less than three acres of land each.⁴⁰

³⁴. A Socio-Economic Study of New Villages in Perak and Malacca, Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Perpaduan Negara, 1973, p. 7.

³⁵. The Ministry's classification system coincided with that used by Corry. See his *Survey of New Villages*. Based on their economic viability, which in turn was based on their location, Corry classified the NVs as "permanent", "intermediate" and "supposedly temporary" i.e. "expected to disappear with the end of the Emergency".

³⁶. A Socio-Economic Study of New Villages in Perak and Malacca, Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of National Unity, 1973, pp 34-38. On illegal farming in the Kinta District in the 1960s, see Loh, *Beyond the Tin Mines*, pp 192-98.

³⁷ N. Selvaraj, "Village Profile Studies: A Socio-Economic Study of the Air Keroh Chinese New Village, Malacca", Malaysian Centre for Development Studies, Kuala Lumpur: 1976, p. 15 (mimeo).

³⁸ T. George, "Village Profile Studies: Kampung Bahru Tiang Dua, Melaka", Malaysian Centre for Development Studies, Kuala Lumpur: 1976 p. 15 (mimeo).

³⁹. Tham Ah Fun, "A Survey of the Demographic Structure and Socio-Economic Conditions of a New Village - Kuala Kuang, Chemor, Perak", University of Malaya B. Econs. Graduation Exercise, Kuala Lumpur: 1976, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁰. Cheng Chew Keng, "Socio-Economic Survey of a Chinese Regroupment Village - Simpang Lima", University of Malaya, B. Econs. Graduation Exercise, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, p. 52.

This problem of land hunger was recognised by the Prime Minister's Department in 1976 when a study it conducted noted that "villagers have constantly voiced the desire for more land" and that "there is no unused land left". The *Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980* acknowledged this problem of land shortage and declared that "special efforts" would be taken to alleviate it. In the *Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-1985* the government expressed its intention "to provide security of tenure" to the new villagers⁴¹. But land is a state matter and requires the agreement of state governments.

Average Incomes

Due to the shortage of agricultural land and in the case of 88.4% of the NVs (the remote and intermediate villages), unemployment and underemployment were significant. For example, a 1976 survey of new villages in Perak found 18 percent of working-age population unemployed⁴². The shortage of jobs locally forced large numbers of youngsters from these villages to engage in migratory, seasonal contract-labour work. For instance, in Sanchun, the NV she studied, Strauch discovered that "more than 40 percent of the families interviewed include absentee members. Moreover, more than one-quarter of the households include one or more persons whose spouses work and spend long periods elsewhere but who are obviously still intimately connected to Sanchun through their conjugal ties". ⁴³

In a study of Sungei Ruan NV in Pahang, Khoo and Voon, two University of Malaya geographers, reported that 49 out of 81 households interviewed had one or more members of the household involved in out-migration from the village. They further commented that such "out-migration has increased as the need to supplement family income becomes a matter of urgency. This is especially so for those households which possessed little or no rubber land at all". And the 1973 Ministry of National Unity survey reported that 13.7 percent of the sampled Perak NV population above 20 years old, and 12.9 percent of that in Malacca NVs, were living outside. The pattern continued into the 1980s when reportedly the youngsters travelled as far as Taiwan and Japan, sometimes illegally, in search of jobs.

The landlessness and the lack of other employment opportunities were reflected in the income distribution pattern. The 1973 Ministry of National Unity survey found 94.7 percent of its interviewees earning less than MR200 per month⁴⁶. In 1976, almost 72 percent of the households in Perak new villages had a monthly income below 300 ringgit, while over 70 percent of the new village households surveyed in Malacca in 1978 also earned below MR300 per month. And in the *Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986-90*⁴⁷ it was reported that a government survey conducted in 1983 showed that only 37 percent of the NV households interviewed had an average cash income exceeding \$400 per month, while another 38 percent earned an income between MR200-400 per month.⁴⁸

⁴¹. There is no mention of the NVs in the original *Second Malaysia Plan 1971-75*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1971. The major concern of that plan was the New Economic Policy. However, probably influenced by the publicity given to the NVs in the early 1970s, a belated "special programme to improve conditions in the NVs" was included in the *Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-75*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1973, p. 7. The NVs were incorporated into the five-year plans for the first time in the *Third Malaysia Plan*, p. 47.

See also Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-1986, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1981, pp. 41-42, 387-88.

⁴². Perak SEPU, "New Villages in Perak", 1976 (mimeo).

⁴³. Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics*, p. 81.

⁴⁴. Khoo Soo Hock and P.K. Voon, "Rural-Urban Migration in Peninsular Malaysia: A Case Study of Sg. Ruan New Village, Pahang", *Ekistics*, June 1975, p. 405.

⁴⁵. New Villages in Perak and Malacca, pp. 10 and App. A, Table A1.

⁴⁶. Ibid., p. 29

⁴⁷. Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986-90, p. 91.

⁴⁸. A recent study has investigated how the residents in three Perak new villages overcome poverty by adopting various strategies to adapt to external changes at various stages of the villagers' life cycle. Among these are increasing the area of land farmed, switching occupations, engaging in income-generating activities in the home, and out-migration of family members. Through these strategies, additional income is generated. See Lim Hin Fui, "Poverty among Chinese in Malaysia (With Special Reference to Three New Villages in Perak)", University of Malaya Ph.D. thesis, Kuala Lumpur: 1990.

Educational Level

Up to the early 1980s, the prospects of higher income employment through better education for new village children were not bright. The drop-out rates for children of school-going age were very high especially in the remote and intermediate NVs. More than half of them had only primary schooling while the number attending any form of post-secondary school training was very low indeed. The 1973 Ministry of National Unity survey found that some 35 percent of the children of school-going age (between 7 to 19 years of age) were not attending school⁴⁹. Studies of Kuala Kuang NV in Perak, of Tiang Baru NV in Melaka and of Val D'Or and Jawi NVs in Seberang Perai, Penang indicate similarly high drop-out rates⁵⁰. There are two major reasons for this. Firstly, non-attendance is attributed to poverty and the need to work at an early age to supplement their household incomes. The absence of secondary schools in the vicinity of the remote and intermediate NVs increases the educational expenses involved. But the second reason is equally pertinent and involves the urbanised villages as well.

All the studies also reported that NV children faced much difficulty in the transition from their national-type primary school (where the medium of instruction is Chinese) to the national secondary school (where the medium of instruction is Bahasa Malaysia). A major survey of Perak NVs conducted by the Parti Gerakan in 1985 indicated that the drop-out problem was still acute and for the same two reasons some ten years later⁵¹.

Housing, Amenities and Services

Housing infrastructure and amenities are inadequate too. The tremendous increase in population in the urbanised and to a lesser extent the intermediate new villages was not matched by corresponding expansion of the village boundaries. The result was housing shortage and overcrowding. At the same time new villagers have not benefitted from government low-cost housing schemes either, themselves not very extensive. Faced with a housing shortage, the villagers have habitually added "illegal extensions to their homes or built "illegal houses" wherever they found land. Alternatively, they moved out of the new villages⁵².

A related problem is the issue of permanent titles. For example, 65 percent of all the house and shop lots in the 137 Perak new villages surveyed in an Alliance study in 1971, possessed only TOLs.⁵³ Strauch's study of Sanchun in 1972 noted that only 12.4 percent of the houses in her NV held permanent titles.⁵⁴ And a State Legislative Assemblyman in Pahang estimated in 1981 that in five new villages in his constituency, no more than 15 percent (or 300 of 1790) households possessed permanent titles to the land on which their houses stood.⁵⁵ Overall, according to official government records, out of 121,545 houselots counted on NVs in 1977, only 57,408 (or less than 45 percent) permanent titles or approved applications (the last stage before issue of permanent titles) had been issued by August 1977.⁵⁶ Additionally, the original permanent titles issued for 30 years to new villages were nearing expiration by the early 1980s, and at that point, without assurances from state governments of renewal.

⁴⁹. New Villages in Perak and Malacca, pp. 48-50.

⁵⁰. Tham, "Kuala Kuang NV", pp. 27ff; George "Kg Baru Tiang Dua", p. 34; B. N. Jeremiah, "Chinese New Village: A Case Study of Val D'Or and Jawi", Universiti Sains Malaysia, B. A. Thesis, Penang, Penang, 1974, pp. 54-5. See also Alliance Headquarters Survey, "A General Survey of New Villages in West Malaysia", Kuala Lumpur: 1971(?), p. 10 (mimeo).

⁵¹. Into the Mainstream of Development: Gerakan's Analysis and Proposals on New Villages, Kuala Lumpur: Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, 1986. See also Lim, "Poverty Among Chinese".

⁵². Ibid.

⁵³. Alliance, "Survey of New Villages", p. 15.

⁵⁴. Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics*, p. 79.

^{55.} New Straits Times, 29 August 1981.

⁵⁶. Khoo Soo Hock, "The Dilemma of New Villages in Malaysia", *Ekistics*, No. 277, July/Aug. 1979, p. 236.

Since most of the available infrastructure and amenities were installed haphazadly in the 1950s and then neglected during the 1960s, there was also much to complain about in this area. Although conditions were better in the more urbanised NVs, nonetheless, roads were typically damaged and unrepaired. Drainage was poor and health facilities hardly available⁵⁷. However, there has been some systematic effort to upgrade the amenities and services provided to the NVs since the early 1970s, a point to be discussed later.

Bureaucratic Entanglement and Paltry Allocation

One would think that as large a poverty group as the new villages would have been given every assistance by the authorities to upgrade their standard of living after Independence. The reverse seems to have been true. The new villages were badly neglected for at least the first 20 years after they had been established. Bureaucratic entanglements and an absence of government commitment explain much of the neglect.

To begin with despite their rural and agricultural character, the new villages did not benefit from rural development funds. The reason is appallingly simple. Many of them were classified as "urbanised settlements" merely because of their population sizes⁵⁸. Consequently, some 460 new villages had to share the paltry allocation of approximately 1.5 million ringgit annually from 1965 onwards. Rural development funds averaging 500 million ringgit annually (from 1959 to 1964) simply bypassed them altogether.

Compounding the problem, the introduction of the Local Council Ordinance 1952 transformed the new villages into local council areas ineligible for outright government funds⁵⁹. Matching grants for capital works projects were available. But the villages were too poor to raise funds beyond bare administrative requirements; hence no matching grant.

Yet another consideration was the prevailing administrative structure. With the end of the Emergency, the Assistant Resettlement Officers who used to be resident in the NVs were removed. Consequently, there were no officers at the district, let alone the state and federal levels, specifically concerned with the care and development of the NVs. The only form of linkage between the NVs and the State Secretariat was through an Assistant Secretary in charge of local government. The District Officers, theoretically in charge, were well over-burdened with work and, for this reason alone, had little time for the NVs. In fact, again theoretically, the NVs could also request for funds from the state through the District Officer. But this was given low priority⁶⁰.

And finally, the situation in the NVs was further complicated with the suspension of local elections in 1964, and the abolition of local councils thereafter. These moves were consistent with the government's understanding that the major factor causing the deterioration of conditions in the NVs was the inefficiency of the LCs manned by locally elected officials.

⁵⁷. See *Report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry to Investigate the Workings of the Local Authorities in West Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1970.

Considering the NVs as "urban areas" because the population was more than 1,000 residents, was clearly inaccurate and misleading. Though the estimated 9 percent of NVs in the immediate outskirts of large towns could be justifiably regarded as such, the vast majority of the NVs would more accurately be defined as rural. A better criterion for classifying settlements would be the employment structure of the settlement concerned. In a survey of "urban areas" with 1,000 to 2,000 residents, half of which were NVs, Jones, a geographer, showed that these settlements were basically made up of agriculturalists. See G. Jones, "The Employment Characteristics of Small Towns in Malaya", *Malayan Economic Review*, 10 (1), April 1965, pp. 53 and 62.

⁵⁹. R. Nyce, Chinese New Villages in Malaysia, Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1973, pp. 137-41.

⁶⁰. These points are forcibly made by in the following study by a District Officer. See Ahmad Ithnin, "A Study of the Administrative and Socio-Economic Conditions of New Villages in the District of Ulu Selangor", University of Malaya, Academic Exercise for Dip. in Public Administration, Kuala Lumpur: 1973, pp. 36-38.

In actual fact conditions in the NVs deteriorated because they were not viable as independent economic units. Coupled to this was a lack of development aid and administrative neglect by district, state and federal officials. Conditions continued deteriorating after local elections were suspended and the local authorities were taken over by the state government. If anything, these latter two changes worsened the situation. Political parties, which up until 1964 were active in the NVs, began to neglect the grassroots as well once local elections were suspended. Less subjected to external party controls, the local officials began to use their positions in the LCs to further their own interests. By the end of the 1960s, petty corruption in the councils had become rife.⁶¹

Hence the suspension of elections and the abolition of local councils did not redress the situation. And since the authorities neither injected substantial funds to the NVs nor addressed themselves to the question of their own inefficiencies or the viability of the NVs as independent economic units, conditions deteriorated.

Rediscovery of the New Villages: New Initiatives

In December 1971, a new minister was appointed to the Prime Minister's Department and placed in charge of new villages, the first time since the end of the Emergency that the new villages were given such attention at the highest level of government. However, when later in the year the government created a "special fund" of 3.5 million ringgit for the new villages⁶², it was not clear which minister should distribute the money - the new minister in charge of new villages, the minister of rural and national development, or the minister of technology, research and local government. Nor was it clear whether the new minister would also be involved in formulating a master plan for future NV development, apart from implementing projects. Rejecting the new minister's repeated calls for a "master plan" for new villages, the Prime Minister finally clarified that the former's role was restricted to coordinating NV improvement.⁶³ There was therefore much confusion over ministerial reponsibility for the NVs in the early 1970s. Subsequently, charge of the NVs was passed to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, itself renamed the Ministry of Housing and Village Development in the early 1990s.

With the enactment of the Local Government Act 1976, the former Local Councils have been absorbed into larger District Councils.⁶⁴ Consequently, the total number of local authorities have been reduced from 327 to 14 Municipal Councils and, as of 1980, 68 District Councils.⁶⁵ These larger local authority units, in turn, were given more powers to engage in development activities under the Town and Country Planning Act, 1976. These administrative changes emplaced the NVs into larger administrative units with, presumably easier access to the top.

Meanwhile funds were specifically allocated for the development of new villages as well. Twelve million ringgit was made available in the *Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan*. The *Third Malaysia Plan*, which comprehensively incorporated the new villages into the five-year development plans for the first time, budgetted 19 million ringgit. For the *Fourth Malaysia Plan*, 26.5 million ringgit (reduced from the original allocation of 30 million) were made available. Still another 25.3 million ringgit was allocated under the *Fifth Malaysia Plan*⁶⁶. In the main, these funds were used to provide and improve amenities and services in the NVs. According to the *Fourth Malaysia Plan*, an estimated 83.4

⁶¹. Workings of Local Authorities, pp. 107-12, 252-56. See also Loh, Beyond the Tin Mines.

⁶². Straits Times, 13 November 1972.

⁶³. Strait Times, 18 May 1972 and 16 August 1972.

⁶⁴. On the technicalities involved, see Cheema, G. S. and S. Ahmad Hussein, "Local Government Reform in Malaysia", *Asian Survey*, 18 (6), June 1978, pp. 577-91.

^{65.} Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-85, p. 388.

^{66.} It was also estimated that 21.6 million ringgit was made available under the Sixth Malaysia Plan.

percent of houses in NVs were served with piped water, 91.9 percent with electricity and 45.6 percent with modern sanitation by the end of 1980.⁶⁷ A 1983 government survey reported further improvements: 87% of the new villages had piped water, 93% had electricity, 86% were equipped with community halls, 92% with primary schools, and 80% with public telephones. A subsequent 1985 study cited still more improvements and further added that 67% of the NV possessed tarred roads and 63% possessed cemented drains⁶⁸.

Still unresolved were the other problems mentioned above including landlessness, and for the urbanised and intermediate villages, overcrowdedness and inadequate housing too. Despite official pronouncements to make available more agricultural land and to expand the boundaries of NVs to accomodate overcrowdedness, there is no evidence that these were done. In the early 1990s, certain villagers were even relocated from their homes, as well as from the agricultural land which they were cultivating, often illegally, to make way for "development" projects - the creation of a new towns, a housing development scheme, an industrial park, etc. 69.

In explaining the lack of success in resolving landlessness and the related issue of permanent titles, Michael Chen, a former Minister of Housing and Local Development, clarified in 1977 that the Ministry in charge of NV development essentially functions as a co-ordinating and funding body rather than as a body with full powers to execute plans. For land is a state policy matter under the Federal Constitution and the co-operation of the various state governments is necessary. And this co-operation, Lim Keng Yaik, the first Minister in charge of NVs elaborated further, had often not been forthcoming since not all state governments were equally attendant to NV problems. For this reason Lim Keng Yaik thought it a mistake to have moved the NV portfolio out of the Prime Minister's department where it had originally been located. This had led to non-implementation of plans that were related to the question of land and reduced effectiveness on the part of the Minister.

Thus the appointment of a Minister, the introduction of administrative changes and infusion of funds appears to have resolved only *some*, not all, of the problems confronting the new villages. The urbanised villages which had access to alternative employment opportunities fared better than the remote and intermediate villages. In their time the British also provided substantial funds to the NVs for amenities and services but failed to address and resolve the problems of landlessness and limited employment opportunities. Failure to do just that, despite the improvement in facilities provided, ultimately, led to a deterioration of overall conditions in the NVs during the 1960s.

⁶⁷. Fourth Malaysia Plan, p. 387.

⁶⁸. Fifth Malaysia Plan, p.96; New Straits Times 26 Sept 1985 and Star 21 Oct 1989.

⁶⁹. Star 3 February 1990 and 4 June 1990; Malay Mail 25 June 1991.

⁷⁰. See "Interview with Michael Chen, former Minister of Housing and Village Development" in *Malay Mail*, 18 August 1977. See also *Nadi Insan*, No. 14, June 1980, pp. 4-7.

⁷¹. See speech by Lim Keng Yaik in "Seminar Politik Nasional: Pendidikan, Ekonomi dan Pembangunan Kampung-Kampung Baru Malaysia", Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, Biro Politik Nasional, held in Ipoh on 14 Aug. 1977 (mimeo).

III

An Ethnic Chinese World of Everyday Experiences

Thus far, the discussion of new villages has been conducted at a macro-level with little consideration of how the villagers themselves view their predicament and how they act to resolve their predicament. In this third section, focus will be given to just these concerns⁷².

The new villages are essentially ethnic Chinese enclaves in multi-ethnic Malaysia. Except for the few police officers and their families, invariably Malays, who live in a fenced-up portion at the entrance to the new villages, more than 80 percent of the residents are Chinese. Clearly delineated and separated from Malays living in neighbouring *kampung*'s and/or Indians living on labour lines in the estates (if any), the Chinese villager has few opportunities to be in touch with people from other ethnic groups if he does not venture out of his residential setting.

Moreover, insofar as the villager works in the vicinity tending to his own rubber smallholding or agricultural plot on a family basis, not only does he not interact with non-Chinese co-workers but those few non-Chinese he runs into are largely from the local bureaucracy. Not being employed by others, he tends to associate problems arising from his efforts to find a livelihood (especially if he is cultivating on state or forest reserve land illegally), with these officers who are mainly Malays. Sometimes, however, problems also arise when confronting the middlemen, invariably Chinese. Others who are not involved in agricultural pursuits but who are similarly self-employed like the petty traders (market stall keepers, street vendors), artisans (carpenters, tailors, bicycle repairman), taxi drivers. etc. essentially serve fellow Chinese. Since some of them like the taxi drivers and petty traders are unlicensed, they run into occasional problems with the authorities, including the police.

Those who seek employment in the vicinity be it in the tin mines, estates, construction sites, or informal sector manufacturing or service enterprises, usually have as their fellow workers other ethnic Chinese. Frustrations arising out of their work situations are largely attributed to the employers, also Chinese. Opportunities to interact with non-Chinese workers are also minimal. It is only those residents of urbanised villages on the outskirts of larger towns like Ipoh, Taiping, Kuala Lumpur, Seremban, Malacca or in Seberang Perai, who are employed in industrial estates, construction sites and transport companies, supermarkets, hotels and other business concerns, and occasionally the public sector, who have as their fellow workers some non-Chinese. However, few villagers have such opportunities. Still less do they have the opportunity to get together with non-Chinese colleagues in a union to fight for their common rights as workers, whatever ethnic group their employer might be.

In general, the first and second types of work situations prevail among most new villagers. Hence in the work place most villagers work alongside other Chinese, often from their own NVs. The few Malays with whom they occasionally come into contact with are members of the local bureaucracy or police.

Outside of work, most of the villagers' leisure time is spent with their families and friends. These friends are usually neighbours or former classmates from the local national-type Chinese primary school. Much of this leisure time is spent chit-chatting among themselves in each other's homes (especially for the

⁷². Initial fieldwork in Kinta, Perak, was carried out in 1977-78. Since then I have made many more visits to the area. This brief description of social relations is based on my fieldwork experiences. For some case studies of new villages, see Strauch, Chinese Village Politics; Nyce, New Villages in Malaysia; Tham, "Demographic Structure and Socio-Economic Conditions of Kuala Kuang"; Lim "Poverty among Chinese"; Cheng Lim Keak, Mengkuang: A Study of a Chinese New Village in West Malaysia, Singapore: Nanyang University Research Project Series No. 1, 1976; and Laurence K.L. Siaw, Chinese Society in Rural Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1983.

women) or in the coffee shops (in the case of men), gambling, playing games (largely the youth), shopping, going to the occasional Chinese movie, etc. Otherwise there are the Chinese programmes on the radio to listen to or the Cantonese or Mandarin television/video serial to follow. Several times a year the villagers get together with relatives and neighbours to celebrate the Chinese New Year, the Eighth Moon Festival, etc. Similar gatherings also occur when births, weddings or deaths occur. On all these occasions, various Chinese rites and rituals are conducted.

In some of the larger NVs, especially the urbanised villages, certain *shetuan*'s like the *huiguan*'s and cultural organizations sponsor some economic but principally cultural *cum* religious activities. By and large however, the premises of these organizations are used for gambling and relaxation, particularly reading. Most of them stock some reading materials (magazines and tabloids) and subscribe to the vernacular dailies. These publications highlight activities and issues concerning Chinese Malaysians but also provide more coverage than do the other local magazines and newspapers of goings-on in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

The formal voluntary organizations like the Old Pupils' Association, the Parent-Teachers Association, and for the local elite, the Village Committee, the School Management Committee, the Temple Committee and the Cemetery Maintenance Committee, all, are ethnically homogeneous in membership. Likewise, the local branches of the political parties are naturally mono-ethnic in membership. This is true not only of the MCA but also of those other political parties which claim to be multi-ethnic. In fact, all parties have also played up ethnic issues.

Thus the primary socialization process resulting from interaction among family members and friends reinforces the ethnic consciousness of Chinese villagers residing in the ethnically-homogeneous new village. The school and the social and cultural organizations, in drawing on members from a particular ethnic group but also through their activities, further re-emphasise this ethnic dimension of the villagers' total consciousness. And despite what may be termed a class dimension in the membership and activities of some of the political parties, nevertheless, because they also bring together only Chinese members, the net effect is, at best, promotion of class considerations as a part of the total consciousness of the villagers without however transcending the ethnic dimension; at worst, as a result of playing up ethnic issues, giving greater political saliency to ethnicity in the villagers' total consciousness.⁷³

Shifting Political Identities

It is clear that the Malayan Communict Party (MCP) received some support from some of the villagers during the Emergency as they did during the Japanese occupation period too. With the proscription of the MCP and its militant unions in June 1948, open radical class-based activities ceased and opportunities for the further promotion of class consciousness were limited. At the same time, as repressive laws were introduced, fear also crept in. Consequently, open expression of support for the MCP diminished.

The political vacuum which resulted was filled by the MCA. During the 1950s, the MCA was the most active, and for a while the sole, political party in the new villages. Its leaders were appointed to, and dominated, the Village Committees which played important roles in helping the colonial authorities to maintain law and order, and to a lesser extent, provide various amenities and facilities to the villagers. The party itself also raised and provided considerable funds for the development of the NVs. Yet most villagers distanced themselves from the party.⁷⁴ As the MCA worked closely with the authorities who

⁷³. Class and ethnicity are not mutually exclusive dimensions of social consciousness. They are found co-existing within a society as well as within the consciousness of individuals, though at any one time or situation one might be more salient than the other. Under the circumstances it is not incompatible to maintain a class as well as an ethnic identity at the some time. See for instance E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, New York: Vintage Books, 1963.

⁷⁴. See Nyce, New Villages in Malaysia, pp.174-76; Siaw, Chinese Society, pp. 146-51 and Loh, Beyond the Tin Mines, chapter

were viewed by ordinary villagers as having caused much disruption to their lives, support for the MCA was denied. Such distancing themselves from the MCA gained the villagers the reputation of being a politically apathetic lot lacking in civic consciousness and even, perhaps, a sense of community spirit.

This could not be further from the truth for by the late 1950s and during the 1960s, once opposition parties like the Socialist Front and in Perak, the People's Progressive Party (PPP) as well, began establishing branches in the NVs much excitement over political and community affairs re-emerged. 75 As the village committees were converted into Local Councils and formal local elections introduced, much excitement was generated. In many areas local government fell into the hands of the opposition parties too. An investigation of the activities of the opposition parties reveals that they were closely associated with the everyday problems of the poorer villages, the majority. Not only did the Socialist Front and the PPP champion these villagers' demands for land, more employment opportunities, better facilities, etc., as in Perak, but they also initiated self-help building projects, distribution of food and clothes for the needy, adult-education night classes, etc. 76 Such activities attracted much participation among the poorer villagers and generated conflict between supporters of these parties and those of the MCA. This conflict climaxed in the 1969 general elections when the MCA was dealt a humiliating defeat at the state and federal levels.

The MCA's defeat was attributed by its party leaders and the government as well, to the manipulation of ethnic sentiments by the opposition parties. For this reason, the poor uneducated rural Chinese masses including those in the NVs, had to be given proper political instruction. In the aftermath of the 1969 racial riots after parliament was reconvened, and the MCA had emerged from its period of soul searching to lauch the Reform Movement and the Perak Task Force, attention was directed at the problems of the new villagers. Soon the Task Force received popular support.

This appeared to be a complete reversal of attitudes among the Perak villagers occurring as it did in an opposition party's stronghold. It appeared as though the MCA's analysis of the villagers' political naivete was vindicated. In fact, it was not the villagers, but the MCA, which had undergone change. For the party underwent internal reforms, new leaders emerged and new activities - including the Task Force effort - were initiated. By reaching down to the NVs, the Task Force leaders became more aware of the villagers' problems which they soon championed. In return, the villagers rendered their support to these leaders, attended their political education classes and eventually became MCA members too. When these leaders were expelled from the party the villagers protested and demonstrated. This episode in the early 1970s indicates that support even for the MCA was forthcoming insofar as party leaders were prepared to reach down to the NVs to champion those demands of the villagers.⁷⁷

Since then there has not occurred the same kind of excitement over party politics among the new villages. No particular preference or identification with a single political party, whether government or opposition, can be discerned. The pattern that appears to have emerged is a preference for the opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP) at the parliamentary level (where their grievances may then get an airing), and for a government party (be it the MCA or the Gerakan) at the state level (so that their local development demands might be facilitated since the authorities largely ignore representation by opposition assemblymen). This phenomenon of "vote-splitting" might also be related to the absence of any party willing to sponsor the needs of the new villagers in sustained and comprehensive fashion as had the PPP and the Socialist Front in the 1960s, and the MCA Task Force in the early 1970s.⁷⁸

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75.</sup> On these parties see R. Vasil, *Politics in a Plural Society*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971.

⁷⁶. Nyce, New Villages in Malaysia, pp. 142-43 and Loh, Beyond the Tin Mines, pp. 215-21.

⁷⁷. Loh, *Chinese Unity in Malaysia*, pp. 35-63 and Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics*, chapter 7.

⁷⁸. These shifts in party affiliation that I have outlined actually occurred in at least the three Kinta NVs I investigated, as they

Local Issues in New Village Politics

What can such shifts in party affiliation tell us of the political culture of the new villagers? Firstly, it appears that they are primarily concerned with issues that are related to their personal, as well as their village community's, welfare.

Yet conditions in the villages had been deteriorating, or at least not progressing in tandem with national developments. Indeed, the villagers are well aware of the problems outlined in part II earlier. The ability of the villagers to make ends meet and in some cases to get rich, is largely a testimony to their ingenuity and industry, self-reliance but also mutual-help efforts⁷⁹. Hence, there is much local enthusiasm for activities and programmes organised by outside politicians if these are geared towards the resolution of NV problems.

Sponsorship of these issues which the villagers consider important, contributes towards the legitimisation of such would-be leaders. With legitimacy, support is gained. This is evident in the success of the Socialist Front and the PPP in the 1960s. The two parties had highlighted the villagers problems, championed them openly and conducted various kinds of self-help programmes in the NVs. For the same reason, the MCA's Task Force was also successful in the early 1970s despite the fact that the MCA had neglected them for an extended period of time. The relative lack of interest in party politics and preference for any one of them today also attests to this argument. It indicates not only this general concern with local socio-economic issues but that, in the absence of legitimate patrons, the villagers are not prepared to identify enthusiatically with any of the existing political parties.

Concern for local issues does not necessarily imply disinterest in national and international political issues. For, if and when those *legitimate leaders* attempt to mobilize villagers over national political issues, these leaders often succeed as well. Hence in the 1960s through the leadership of the Socialist Front, the villagers made efforts to understand, and then opposed, the American presence in Vietnam; the workings of the capitalist system; etc. Likewise, the villagers became equally concerned about the need for Chinese unity behind the MCA in the early 1970s when egged on in that direction by the MCA Task Force leaders once the latter were accepted as legitimate.

In summary, villagers are politically aware. They are not "mobilised" easily. They render their support selectively to those would-be leaders whom they consider legitimate. Legitimacy may be gained through patronage of issues the villagers consider important which are, by and large, local ones related to the villagers' and the villagers welfare. But legitimate leaders may also mobilise villagers to get involved in national political issues.

Rising Ethnic Consciousness

What are the conclusions to be drawn from the above comments with regard to the villagers' political consciousness and identity?

To be sure, the everyday world of the new villagers is very much determined by ethnic considerations. And this colours the dissatisfaction stemming from the villagers' daily work and non-work experiences. But support for the PPP, the Socialist Front and the MCA Task Force had occurred not because of ethnic identification with the parties but because of their sponsorship of local socio-economic issues. However, as a result of activities sponsored by, say, the Socialist Front (and not because of dissatisfactions arising

probably did in NVs elsewhere in the country. Moreover, many individuals themselves have undergone such shifts in their political affiliation over the past 40 years.

⁷⁹. Lim, Poverty Among Chinese.

from the work situation), some measure of radical class consciousness was also promoted. For example, the welfare programs directed towards the needs of the NV poor, the night classes where illiterate villagers were taught the 3-Rs but also leftist ideology, the dances and songs which depicted the lives and problems of the poor, all, facilitated the coming together of villagers similarly neglected and economically exploited. Through study and activities, friendships and even games, some measure of common class sentiments was promoted.

Given time, more interaction with non-Chinese in these political acitivites and the use of cultural idioms other than those which were exclusively Chinese, the villagers might have been able to transcend, for political purposes, their ethnic Chinese world of everyday (residential, work and non-work related) experiences. Identification of the state simply as a Malay one might also have been transcended. But that was not to be since the Socialist Front became defunct. Moreover, even at the height of the Front's activism in the late 1960s, both dimensions of class as well as ethnicity co-existed, probably in tension, in the villagers' total consciousness. And not only did ethnically-determined realities impinge on the political efforts of the Front but in the end, it was forced to depend on Chinese members, the Chinese language and Chinese cultural images in order to mobilise support. Whereas in mono-ethnic settings such cultural bases were used to the advantage of those promoting class consciousness, in the context of multi-ethnic Malaysia, however, it resulted in noticeable tension with "the others", namely Malays. It further prevented Malays from identifying with the party readily. Finally, rising Chinese-Malay tensions contributed towards the break-up of the Socialist Front in the late 1960s⁸⁰.

The demise of the Socialist Front resulted in a new political vacuum in the new villages in many parts of Malaysia. Later during the 1970s, many of the multi-racial political parties which espoused social democracy like the PPP, were also transformed into mono-ethnic entities either because of the demands arising from their involvement in the new ruling coalition or because of the need to make the most of a situation where political participation was becoming institutionalized along ethnic lines.⁸¹

At the NV level, social and political organizations which through their activities previously promoted class (though not exclusively) consciousness are now completely absent. There is no counterpoint to the villagers' everyday experiences which are ethnically-determined. When set within the context of deepening ethnic tensions throughout the country during the 1970s and 1980s, local social and political activities simply reinforce that ethnicity. Hence ethnicity now characterises the political identity of the villagers as well. Thus while the villagers remain primarily concerned with local issues, nevertheless support for extra-village ethnic issues are also forthcoming despite the fact that the mobilisers might not yet have established themselves as legitimate leaders.

This marks an important break from the pre-1970 period. First of all there is no longer class politics. More importantly, it appears that the villagers have developed increasing identification as members of an imagined Chinese Malaysian community (which they perceive to be besieged by a Malay government with its array of pro-Malay policies). No longer are they simply members of a particular NV Chinese community. Accordingly, recognised leaders of this imagined Chinese Malaysian community are readily accepted by the new villagers as their leaders too, despite the fact that the latter might not have addressed their local issues, nor possess social networks which reach down to these new villages. These

⁸⁰. See Vasil, *Politics in a Plural Society*, chapter 5, and Muhammad Ikmal Said "Ethnic Perspectives of the Left in Malaysia" in Joel S Kahn and Francis Loh Kok Wah (eds.) *Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992, pp. 256 and 271-4.

⁸¹. Vasil, *Politics in a Plural Society*, p. 36 was the first to observe the transformation of multi-ethnic to mono-ethnic parties. On increasing institutionalisation along ethnic lines see Chandra Muzaffar, "Has The Communal Situation Worsened Over The Last Decade?" in S. Husin Ali (ed.), *Ethnicity, Class and Development*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sains Sosial Malaysia, 1984, pp. 356-82.

developments suggest that the powerful influences of ethnic politics originating outside the villages have encapsulated the new villages as well⁸².

Conclusion

The NVs are related to a very important episode in Malaysian history, the Emergency. This study elaborated on the origins of the NVs and the nature of the resettlement process in which security considerations took precedence. The subsequent neglect of the NVs in the post-Independence period and their re-discovery in the early 1970s, ironically, because of a new security problem in the Kinta area was also discussed. An evaluation of the government's new initiatives was also conducted.

The study also noted that the NVs were originally identified with radical class-based politics associated with the MCP, and subsequently, the legal opposition parties like the Socialist Front and the PPP. Because of the new efforts of the Perak Task Force and the Reform Movement in the early 1970s, the NVs became associated with the government party, the MCA, too. Following the dismantling of the short-lived Task Force and Reform Movement, some support shifted to the opposition DAP as well.

The more crucial development, however, was the replacement of that earlier phase of radical class-based politics by ethnic politics. This marked an important break with the Emergency and pre-1970 period and brought the NVs in line with national political trends i.e. rising ethnic consciousness.

A related move towards integration of the NVs was the Prime Minister's declaration in 1990 to redesignate the NVs as ordinary villages, some 40 years after their creation. The backdrop to this name change was the belated policy granting 60-year leases to the NVs, thereby removing much anxiety among villagers. Coupled to this was improvement in the provision of amenities and services to the NVs by the late 1980s.

Although there remained outstanding issues, especially lack of access to agricultural land and alternative employment opportunities, these problems were presumably resolved by the mid-1990s by which time the country had experienced 5 to 6 years of rapid economic growth throughout the early 1990s. Among other things, this growth was characterised by rapid industrialisation, labour shortages and rising real incomes. In this regard the unemployment and underemployment problems, and low income levels characterising the NVs were presumably resolved. Meanwhile the MCA's Langkawi Project also helped to improve education standards in the NVs and to curb the high dropout rates. Most problems were resolved, therefore, without resorting to a master plan, as had been advocated by the political parties.

The Prime Minister's declaration to rename the NVs in 1990 was perhaps premature. However, as a result of that rapid growth in the 1990s, conditions in most new villages improved considerably by the mid-1990s. And since NV politics too have assumed the characteristics of ethnic politics as for Malaysian politics as a whole, the history of the new villages as "New Villages" may have come to an end.

- END -

⁸². I have developed on this theme in "The Socio-economic Basis of Ethnicc Consciousness: The Chinese in the 1970s". In S. Husin Ali (ed.) *Ethnicity, Class and Development*, pp. 93-112. See also Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics*, esp. pp. 13-23.

"Historiography: The "Emergency" and "New Villages" in Malaya"

Dr Tan Teng Phee

This article is part of Dr Tan Teng Phee's literature review from his PhD dissertation, entitled "Behind barbed wire: A social history of Chinese new villages in Malaya during the emergency period (1948-1960). 2011, Murdoch University

Scholars in various fields over several decades have undertaken in-depth studies of the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960). Generally, most of these academic works have adopted military and security perspectives within the context of the global Cold War since the 1950s.83 These scholars as well as military servicemen usually concentrate on one particular aspect of the conflict to learn about the origins of the Communist revolution and the success of the British counter-insurgency measures in Malaya. Hanrahan, for example, published his book as early as 1954, whereby he investigated the strategies and tactics of the Communist revolutionary movement in Malaya. He traced the origins of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) from 1924 and examined its activities in World War II, as well as its revolutionary course in the post-war years.⁸⁴ Clutterbuck further divided the Malayan Emergency into three phases, namely the defensive (1945-1951), the offensive (1952-1955) and the victory (1955-1960) phases, in order to analyse the evolution of Britain's "shooting war" and its triumph over the communist insurgency in Malaya. He highlighted certain important factors, such as the role of the police force in security and intelligence matters, as well as the necessity of a capable local government to enforce the rule of law, protect and control the movement of the population, and obtain a flow of information from the people.85 Anthony Short was the first historian who was commissioned by the Malayan Government to write the official history of the Communist insurrection in 1960. His scholarly book provides a thorough understanding of the Emergency and is widely viewed as a classic in this field of study.86

When the United States intervened in the Vietnam War in the 1960s, there was a greater interest in guerrilla warfare in the United States and the rest of the free world. Some academics began to examine the Malayan Emergency as a successful counterinsurgency model whose lessons could be applied elsewhere in Southeast Asia. For example, Park Lee focused on the tactics employed by the British in countering the Malayan Communist movement between 1948 and 1960. In determining why the British had won the war, she laid emphasis on their counterinsurgency policies such as the resettlement and regroupment plans, the restriction on food and other supplies, the control of aborigines in the jungle, and the effective use of psychological warfare.⁸⁷ The United States Army

⁸³ There is a huge body of literature on communist insurrection and guerrilla warfare after WWII, which ranged over the entire globe, from Greece to the Philippines, from Algeria to Cuba, as well as a complex set of writings on the theory and practice of counterinsurgency warfare.

⁸⁴ At the end of his study on the Malayan Emergency, Hanrahan concluded that neither side was strong enough either to destroy or be completely destroyed by the other. It was hence a stalemate. See Gene Z. Hanrahan, *The Communist struggle in Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1971, p. 135. In hindsight, we know that the British won the war but it took six more years before the end of the Emergency in 1960.

⁸⁵ Richard Clutterbuck, *The Long-long War: The Emergency in Malaya 1948-1960.* London: Cassell, 1966, pp. 76-78. Clutterbuck was a British officer who served as the Director of Operations between 1956 and 1958.

⁸⁶ Short was able to access restricted records in Kuala Lumpur while he was writing the commissioned book. However, the Malaysian Government prohibited the manuscript for publication when he submitted it in October 1968. Short took another five years to negotiate and secure a publisher for its publication. Short's book was first published as *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya*, London: Muller, 1975. It was banned from distribution in Malaysia, but was available outside the contry. Years later, it was republished as *In Pursuit of Mountain Rats: The Communist Insurrection in Malaya*, Singapore: Cultured Lotus, 2000

⁸⁷ To my knowledge, Park Lee's is the first American PhD dissertation which deals with British counter-insurgency in

Command and General Staff College also invited military experts who once served in Malaya to lecture on counterinsurgency operations.⁸⁸ John Coates, Chief of the General Staff of the Australian Department of Defence, also examined the Malayan Emergency to learn certain counterinsurgency lessons.⁸⁹ Invariably, these works examine the power struggle between the British and the Communists and the major factors leading to the British success in defeating the communist insurgency in Malaya.

There have also been several comparative studies in relation to the Malayan Emergency. For example, Robert Thompson and John Nagl have studied the nature of the Malayan Emergency and the military strategies deployed in the Vietnam War, examining the counterinsurgency strategies and lessons learned from these two conflicts. Elkin's fine study on British Kenya also provides a detailed picture of how the British administration in East Africa learned important lessons from the Malayan Emergency and employed similar strategies and measures (mass detention, Emergency Villages and punitive policies) in Kenya against the Kikuyu people between 1952 and 1960. In particular, her landmark research has broadened my perspective on the nature of the "Emergency," as well as the myth of a "Pax Britannica." The "success" of the Emergency scheme in British Malaya meant that it became a counter-insurgency archetype, or model for the rest of the British Empire and the West throughout the Cold War era, leading, for instance, to similar schemes in British Kenya (1952-60), Cyprus (1952-59) and finally, to the "Strategic Hamlets" in Vietnam between 1961 and 1965.

Another group of scholars have been concerned with political psychology and propaganda analysis in the context of counter-insurgency studies, namely, in assessment of the "Winning Hearts and Minds" approach. For example, Kumar Ramakrishna stresses the important role of government propaganda in winning the war against the communist insurgency, dividing the conflict into several phases in order to discuss its impact on the communists and rural Chinese over the twelve-year period.⁹² Richard Stubbs highlights the British policy shift from "coercion and enforcement" to a "hearts and minds" approach as a key factor in Britain's ability to defeat the communist insurgency. In addition to military tactics and strategy, Stubbs framed his research "within the broader context of the social, political, and economic aspects of life in Malaya."

Malaya. See Park Lee Bum-Joon, The British Experience of Counterinsurgency in Malaya: The Emergency, 1948-1960, The American University, 1965; another PhD thesis was completed by Charles Sam Sarkesian, The Critical Period in Revolutionary Warfare: A Study of the Emergency in Malaya, PhD Dissertation, Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 1969.

⁸⁸ For instance, Richard Clutterbuck and Richard Miers lectured on "Communist Defeat in Malaya" and "Miers on Malaya" respectively. See The United States Army Command and General Staff College, *Counterinsurgency Case History: Malaya 1948-60*, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 1965.

⁸⁹ See John Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency: An Analysis of the Malayan Emergency 1948-1954*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1992; There were 7,000 regular Australian Navy, Army and Air Force personnel who served during the Emergency period. See Lieutenant Colonel Neil C. Smith, *Mostly Unsung: Australia and the Commonwealth in the Malayan Emergency 1948-1960*, Melbourne, 1989, pp, 18-28.

⁹⁰ Robert Thompson, who became Permanent Secretary Defence for Malaya in the late 1950s, was appointed head of the British Advisory Mission in 1961 during the Vietnam War. John Nagl is a Military Assistant in the office of the Deputy Secretary of Defence in the Unites States. See Robert Grainger Ker Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1966; Sam C. Sarkesian, *Unconventional Conflicts in a New Security Era: Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*, London: Greenwood, 1993; John Nagl, *Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam: Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*, London: Praeger 2002.

⁹¹ Caroline Elkin, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005.

⁹² See Kumar Ramakrishna, Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds 1948-1958, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2002

⁹³ Richard Stubbs, *Heart and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency*, 1948-1960. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 2004; See also Susan Carruthers, *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media and Colonial Counterinsurgency*, 1944-1960, London: Leicester University Press, 1995.

There are also personal accounts which shed light on various aspects of the Malayan Emergency. Some were written by ex-military servicemen who had participated in the war. For instance, Arthur Campbell presents a vivid picture of jungle warfare, and experiences of encounters with guerrillas and rural squatters, while Richard Miers commanded a highly successful battalion dedicated to hunting down the guerrillas and their supporters in the New Villages. Some of their first-hand experiences will be discussed in various parts of this thesis. Others were former British officers that had retired from the police and the Special Branch, such as Brian Stewart and Leon Comber. Stewart's book is a collection of the memories of junior police officers who bore the brunt of the fight on the ground during the Emergency. Leon Comber, a former Special Branch officer, studied the important role played by the intelligence organization, the Special Branch, during the Emergency.

In addition to these two groups of British officers, there were also journalists' accounts of the Malayan Emergency. Harry Miller, who worked as a journalist for The Straits Times, provided a comprehensive account of the Emergency in his two books and newspaper articles. Noel Barber, a leading foreign correspondent for the Daily Mail, also graphically captured the nature of the Emergency in his non-fiction book, The War of the Running Dogs. 96 There were also British rubber planters (like Donald Mackay) and tin miners (Norman Cleaveland) who have published their experiences of the Malayan Emergency.⁹⁷ However, most of these works are presented from western viewpoints, and are primarily interested in political and counterinsurgency strategies set within a Cold War framework. Many authors have ignored ordinary people's voices and history in this conflict. There is an absence of a social history perspective about the Malayan Emergency, especially with respect to how ordinary people responded to the Emergency. In other words, we still know very little from the standpoints of those hundreds of thousands of rural people, primarily Chinese, who were most directly affected by the anti-communist campaign. Most importantly, the personal dimension, or lived experience of these rural "subjects" is still largely missing from the historiographical discourse on the Malayan Emergency. They have simply remained nameless and faceless, converted into official statistics and buried in government reports.

When we examine the social impact of the Emergency, one of the most important consequences was the relocation of nearly half a million rural inhabitants and squatters into "New Villages" dotted across British Malaya. This leads us to yet another body of literature on the New Villages. In the context of Malaya, the literature about New Villages includes scholarly works from various disciplines. Firstly, there are several anthropological studies which focus on Chinese New Village communities. Ray Nyce, a Christian evangelist and anthropologist, examined New Village community life by studying the family unit and broader kinship ties, surnames and clan groupings, family and locality, informal associations outside the family, festivals and ceremonies, schooling, politics in the New Villages, and relations with other ethnic groups.⁹⁸ His book provides a wide-

⁹⁴ Arthur Campbell, *Jungle Green*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1953; Richard Mier, *Shoot to Kill*, London: Faber and Faber, 1959; J.W.G Moran, *Spearhead in Malaya*, London: Peter Davies, 1959. Richard Clutterbuck, *The Long-long War: The Emergency in Malaya 1948-1960*. London: Cassell, 1966.

⁹⁵ Brian Stewart, Smashing Terrorism in the Malayan Emergency: The Vital Contribution of the Police, Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk Publication, 2004.Leon Comber, Malaya's Secret Police 1945-60: The Role of the Special Branch in the Malayan Emergency, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2008.

⁹⁶ Harry Miller, *The Communist Menace in Malaya*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955; *Jungle War in Malaya: the Campaign Against Communism, 1948-1960*, London: Arthur Barker, 1972; Noel Barber, *The War of The Running Dogs: How Malaya Defeated the Communist Guerrillas, 1948-1960*, London: Collins, 1971.

⁹⁷ Mackay wrote from his experience as a planter and very briefly as a soldier in mid 1950s in Malaya. See Donald Mackay, *The Malayan Emergency 1948-60: The Domino that Stood*, London: Brassey's, 1997; Norman Cleaveland was an American mining engineer who specialized in dredge operations. See Norman Cleaveland, *Bang! Bang! In Ampang: Dredging Tin during Malaya's Emergency*. California: symcom, 1973.

⁹⁸ Ray Nyce, *Chinese New Villages in Malaya: A Community Study.* Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd., 1973. Nyce came to Malaya and learnt local dialects while gathering his research material in several Chinese New

ranging picture of a Chinese New Village community in the late 1950s. But the author did not record and capture the stories of the resettlement process experienced by these New Villagers. On the other hand, Laurence Siaw conducted his study on a rural Chinese community at Titi, Jelebu, in Negri Sembilan. His research reconstructed the development of a Hakka tin mining town from 1870 to 1960. The author vividly recounts Titi's local life during the Japanese Occupation and the subsequent Emergency period through local recollections. His early 1970s oral history material on resettlement memories and life behind barbed wire was particularly useful when I initially framed my research project.⁹⁹

Judith Strauch, another anthropologist, studied the social and political life in a Chinese New Village in Perak between 1971 and 1972. She utilized the concepts of "encapsulation" and "compliance theory" to explore the interrelationship between local interests and national politics in a pluralistic society like Malaysia. 100 Strauch provided a detailed picture of local leadership and the social features of the New Village. She presents three different views of the resettlement programme held by various groups of people. Firstly, the British tried to popularize the war at home as a positive initiative (a provision of modern amenities and grassroots democracy) to the Chinese. Secondly, many Malays envied or even resented the amenities (house lots, electricity etc.) that were being given to suspected "traitors." Thirdly, some informants viewed resettlement in the light of the hardship that was inflicted upon a threatened people. Strauch sympathizes with the plight of the relocated villagers by recording their accounts of the hardship experienced during the resettlement process. Finally, Sharon Carstern conducted her ethnographic work in 1977, investigating three particular aspects of Pulai village life and culture, namely economic organization, marriage and kinship, and religion and ritual. While Carstern's research project mainly focused on contemporary Hakka cultural identity, she also touched on Pulai's frontier days, the Japanese Occupation and the Emergency. These findings will be considered in depth later, as I closely examine Pulai during the Emergency period, the community being one of my case studies for this dissertation. 101

Besides anthropological perspectives, some scholars have also examined the subject of the New Villages from a population resettlement viewpoint. Wolter and Humphrey, for example, both touched on Emergency resettlement and community development in Malaya, while Sandhu delved into resettlement distribution patterns. Other scholars have focused on cultural ecology, political economy and the socio-economic dimensions. Notably, James Clarkson, a geographer, conducted his study of the cultural ecology of Bertam Valley – a Chinese New Village in the Cameron Highlands. His work illustrates how the fields of geography and cultural ecology intersect with the activity of human beings across time. Bertam Valley is also one of my case study sites, where I concentrate on the resettlement experience and daily life behind barbed wire during the Emergency. One of Clarkson's chapters on the settlement history of Bertam Valley is particularly important to my study. One of Clarkson's chapters on the settlement history of Bertam Valley is particularly important to my study.

Villages between 1957 and 1961.

⁹⁹ Laurence Siaw K.L., *Chinese Society in Rural Malaysia: A Local History of the Chinese in Titi, Jelebu*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1983.

¹⁰⁰ Strauch spent 18 months conducting her research in Perak. See Judith Strauch, *Chinese Village Politics in the Malaysian State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

¹⁰¹ Carsterns conducted 15 months fieldwork in the Pulai community from 1977 to 1979. See Sharon Carstens, *Images of Community in a Chinese Malaysian Settlement*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1980

¹⁰² O.W. Wolter, "Emergency Resettlement and Community Development in Malaya," *Community Development Bulletin*, 3, 1951, pp. 1-8; J.W. Humphrey, *Resettlement as a Method for Development: The Case of Malaysia*. Texas: Annual Meeting of the Southwest Conference on Asian Studies, 1973; Kernial Singh Sandhu, "The Population of Malaya: Some Changes in the Pattern of Distribution between 1947 and 1957," *Journal of Tropical Geography*, XV, June, 1961, pp. 82-96.

¹⁰³ James D. Clarkson, *The Cultural Ecology of a Chinese Village: Cameron Highlands, Malaysia*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968, Chapter Six, "The Settlement History of Bertam Valley," pp. 99-126.

Francis Loh adopted a political economy perspective and looked into "the nature of the relationship between ordinary working people in the Kinta area and the larger process of national and global significance." He emphasized the autonomy of the working people (tin miners) as active counterhegemonic "subjects" of history, highlighting their motivations and efforts to maintain their livelihood and way of life. Loh's work inspired me to re-examine the nature of agency in the context of the New Villages. More recently, Sociologist Lim Hin Fui analysed poverty and economic survival strategies among Chinese households in three rural New Villages, namely Pelawan, Tronoh Mines and Padang Rengas. His socio-economic analyses challenge the commonly held stereotype that the Chinese are often wealthier than non-Chinese in Malaysia. ¹⁰⁵

In addition to scholarly research, there are important government surveys, and reports by missionaries, specifically on the New Villages. For instance, the British Government conducted two surveys in 1952 and 1954, while the Malayan Christian Council conducted its own survey and published its report in 1958. These reports provide a broad historical background and aggregated statistical information concerning the New Villages. There are also several missionary workers who wrote about their experiences in the New Villages. Kathleen Carpenter gives an intimate picture of the lives of New Villagers in the early days of the Emergency in Jin Jang and Salak South New Villages (near Kuala Lumpur), as well as in Guntong and Kampong Tawas (near Ipoh). Amy Mcintosh provides an overall picture of daily life as encountered by missionaries in "Sungei Bahru" (a fictitious name) New Village in the 1950s. Han SuYin, a doctor who travelled to several New Villages in Johor, frames her well known stories as fictional accounts, highlighting the dilemmas faced by ordinary people caught in the middle of a protracted conflict between the British forces and the communists.

As Phoon Yuen Ming's study has pointed out, there are two contrasting perspectives presented by these authors with regard to the establishment of the New Villages. One, written from a purely colonial perspective, argues that the establishment of the "New Villages" was necessary for defeating the Malayan Communist Party and the insurgents; hence, this resettlement project made the villagers' lives far more secure. The contrasting insider's viewpoint stresses the repressive-coercive nature of military-police action and empathizes with the hitherto nameless Chinese and other locals who were

¹⁰⁴ Loh Kok Wah, Francis, *Beyond the Tin Mines: Coolies, Squatters and New Villagers in the Kinta Valley, Malaysia, c. 1880-1980.* Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 259.

¹⁰⁵ Lim Hin Fui, Poverty and Household Economic Strategies in Malaysian New Villages. Kuala Lumpur: Pelanduk, 1994.

¹⁰⁶ Resettlement and the Development of New Villages in the Federation of Malaya, 1952, A Government publication; Corry, W. C. S., A General Survey of New Villages: Report to His Excellency Sir D. MacGillivray, High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya. Kuala Lumpur: Printed at the Government Printers, 1954; Malayan Christian Council, A Survey of the New Villages in Malaya, Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Christian Council, 1958.

¹⁰⁷ See Resettlement and the Development of New Villages in the Federation of Malaya, 1952, Federation Government publication; Corry, W. C. S., A General Survey of New Villages: Report to His Excellency Sir D. MacGillivray, High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya. Kuala Lumpur: Printed at the Government Printers, 1954. For church material, see Malayan Christian Council, A Survey of the New Villages in Malaya, Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Christian Council, 1958; Fleming, John Robb, The Growth of the Chinese Church in the New Villages of the state of Johor, Malaya, 1950-1960: A Study in the Communication of the Gospel to Chinese Converts. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1962.

¹⁰⁸ Kathleen Carpenter, *The Password is Love: In the New Villages of Malaya*. London: Highway Press, 1955.

¹⁰⁹ Amy Mcintosh, *Journey into Malaya*, London: China Inland Mission, 1956. Another example sees G.D. James, *Missionary Tours in Malaya*, Singapore: Malaya Evangelistic Fellowship, 1962.

¹¹⁰ Han, Suyin, .. And the Rain my Drink. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1956.

¹¹¹ Phoon Yuen Ming,《一個新村, 一種華人?》(Yi Ge Xin Cun, Yi Zhong Hua Ren? One New Village, One Chinese?), Kuala Lumpur: Mentor Publishing, 2004, pp. 37-62.

¹¹² See, for instances, Edgar O'Balane, *Malaya: The Communist Insurgent War, 1948-1960*, Hamden: Archon Books, 1966; Noel Barber, *The War of the Running Dogs: How Malaya Defeated the Communist Guerrillas, 1948-1960*. London: William Collins, 1971.

forced to live behind the confines of barbed wire.¹¹³ However, to date, there has been little research conducted that adopts a social history, or "inside" approach to the study of the New Villages during the Emergency. Over 85% of the New Villagers were Chinese, who were squatters, rubber tappers, farmers or tin miners, both before and during the Emergency period. The remainder of the inhabitants, no small number, included Indian laborers and rural Malays. Their voices to date have been largely silenced by past colonial security and military practices. Recognizing such a lacuna, more fieldwork and oral interviews can be done to fill this historiographical gap.

- END

¹¹³ Laurence Siaw K.L., Chinese Society in Rural Malaysia: A Local History of the Chinese in Titi, Jelebu; Francis Loh, Beyond the Tin Mines: Coolies, Squatters and New Villagers in the Kinta Valley, Malaysia, c. 1880-1980; Judith Strauch, Chinese Village Politics in the Malaysian State; Sharon Carstens, Images of Community in a Chinese Malaysian Settlement.

A Neglected Story: Christian missionaries, Chinese New Villagers, and Communists in the Battle for the 'hearts and minds' in Malaya, 1948-1960

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Abstract

During the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960), the colonial authorities re-settled an estimated half a million rural dwellers, mainly Chinese, from the fringe of the jungle, to cut them off from contact with armed members of the Malayan Communist Party. The re-location led to political alienation among many resettled in the nearly 500 New Villages. Winning their support was therefore urgent. At this juncture, foreign missionaries were forced to leave China following the communist takeover in October 1949. Many of those missionaries were Chinese-speaking with medical or teaching experience. The High Commissioner of Malaya, Sir Henry Gurney, and his successor, Sir Gerald Templer, invited these and other missionaries to serve in the New Villages. This paper looks at colonial initiatives and mission response amidst the dynamics of domestic politics and a changing international balance of power in the region.

Kev words:

China, communists, Christian missionaries, the Emergency, New Villages, and Malay nationalism

Introduction

After resettling nearly 500,000 squatters in a strategic move against a communist-led insurgency that broke out in 1948, the Malayan authorities then enlisted hundreds of overseas Christian missionaries to serve in the new villages created. It was an enterprise of considerable significance on the war against the insurgents as well as on the church's overall evangelical efforts. Over 400 missionaries from more than a dozen mission boards came during the Emergency period to serve an estimated 333 New Villages accessible to them. Never before or since then had the government in Malaya (Malaysia) partially funded so many missionaries to serve in the country. The work of the missionaries opened up the field to local Christians who gave support in medical, education, and other welfare programmes to an estimated third of the Chinese in the country or 10% of the total population. It laid the foundation for a more vigorous Chinese church in the rural expanse of Malaya.

This paper in examining colonial initiatives, mission response, Malay reaction, and the work and impact of missionaries in the New Villages discusses a subject that has been largely neglected in the larger studies of this period known as the Emergency. This neglect could be explained by the preoccupation with the military aspect of the Emergency and hence missed the important social welfare dimension. It was Anthony Short in his study *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya* who first drew attention to missionaries' efforts in the New Villages. Short wrote of the missionary efforts in New Villages

"Most of them specified in their reports that their work was evangelistic as well as medical or educational and although this may possibly be considered an ulterior motive it is hard to avoid the conclusion that without the work of these voluntary associations the New Villages would have rotted away." ¹¹⁴

Richard Stubbs whose study on the ''battle for hearts and mind' only mentioned an ex-China missionary for successfully bringing "a small but steady stream of missionary workers." But the stream of missionary workers, as this study shows, was not small. John Cloakes' biography of Sir Gerald Temple did not dwell too much on the general's role even though, as High Commissioner, he had encouraged large number of missionaries into Malaya. Cloake wrote of the initial difficulties of recruiting missionaries and Templer had personally to appeal to the Vatican, the Conference of Missionary Societies, and the Methodist Church in the United States. On the other side, Chin Peng, the leader of the MCP, made no mention of missionaries in his memoirs or in the work edited by C.C.Chin and Karl Hack, either because he knew little of it or he did not consider them important. On the New Villages, Chin Peng acknowledged that the resettlement had disrupted the MCP's overall strategy. Of all, it is Tim Harper who, in his *The End of Empire and the making of Malaya*, in describing the resettlement during the Emergency as the greatest developmental project of any colonial state, placed the missionaries' role closest to the centre of the Emergency discourse.

Several missionaries who had served in the New Villages left accounts of their experiences and their work. These include G.D.James, a Malaysian evangelist and China Inland Mission (CIM) missionaries such as Kathleen Carpenter, Dorothy MacIntosh and Alan Cole. More scholarly efforts are found in works by Ray Nyce a Lutheran missionary and a sociologist who worked among the Chinese in the new settlements and George Hood who was with the Presbyterian church in Singapore during the Emergency period. Nyce described the church as an emerging part of New Village community life while Hood set the deployment of missionaries against the context of the withdrawal of Christian missions from China. All these publications offer the missionaries' side of the Emergency story though the focus is on evangelical and social work.

This episode of the Emergency in Malaya shows once again how mission and secular history are primarily interested only in their respective fields and have overlooked the complexities of the intersection of missions and empire. Andrew Porter in his study *Religion versus empire* reminded that there is a connectedness of mission enterprises, colonial expansion, and emerging local consciousness and this need to be recognized and re-interpreted afresh. This may not be easy but it is particularly important in a study of Malaysia, a Muslim-majority nation but where Christians form 9.2% of 28.3 million strong populations. The Christian church had been an integral part of education and nation-building even though much of this is on the margin of the main historical narrative.

¹¹⁴ Anthony Short, *The communist insurrection in Malaya*, Frederick Muller Ltd, London, 1975, p. 400.

¹¹⁵ Stubbs Richard, *Hearts and Minds in Guerilla Warfare: The Malayan Emergency, 1948-1960*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1989, p. 161; Heng Pek Koon, *Chinese politics in Malaysia: History of the Malaysian Chinese Association*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1988,

¹¹⁶ Chin Peng, My side of history, Singapore: Media Masters Ltd,2003, pp. 268-272

¹¹⁷ C.C.Chin and Karl Hack C.C.Chin and Karl Hack (eds), *Dialogues with Chin Peng: New light on the Malayan Communist Party*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2004, pp.153-155

¹¹⁸ Carpenter, Kathleen. *The Password is Love: In the New Villages of Malaya*. Highway Press, London, 1955; R.Alan Cole, *Emerging Pattern: CIM work within the Diocese of Singapore and Malaya*. China Inland Mission, London, 1961; G.D James, *Missionary Tours in Malaya*, Malaya Evangelistic Fellowship, Singapore, 1962, Amy McIntosh, *Journey into Malaya*. China Inland Mission, London, 1956.

¹¹⁹ Andrew Porter, *Religion verses empire: British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004, p.4

This article, drawing upon archival records including missionary sources, shows in fact how the colonial state found the Christian mission a useful support in countering communist influence in the New Villages. It was not entirely a policy departure since the colonial had relied on Christian missions' educational and welfare programmes to help attain social improvement and stability. Still, colonial governments were always vigilant towards activities of missionaries; less overzealous evangelism could lead to hostile reaction from indigenous non-Christian communities. The British in Malaya were careful about local sensitivities towards Christian mission and this is expressed in the 1874 treaty with Malay rulers which safeguarded the position of Islam and Malay culture. Hence, there was always the ambiguity in relations between the colonial state and Christian missions

The Emergency and the creation of New Villages

In June 1948, the Malayan government declared a state of emergency throughout the country following the killing of three British planters in Perak by members of the MCP. The MCP which had fought the Japanese during the war with the support of Allied forces had sought unsuccessfully a political role in post-war Malaya. Following the emergency declaration, some three to four thousand armed MCP members, mainly Chinese, went into the jungle. The insurgents targeted rubber estates and tin mines for attacks, hoping to paralyze the economy and through this to defeat the British. The communists laid ambushes along roads and railways. In 1948 alone some 315 civilians and 149 security personnel were killed. In 1949, 334 civilians and 229 security personnel died. And up to 1952 there were 100 European civilians killed of whom 82 were planters. This figure represented 7 percent of total number of European planters in the country. On the MCP side, 374 were killed in 1948 and 619 in 1949. ¹²¹

During the Emergency, many Chinese in rural areas were suspected of supplying food and information to the communists, either out of sympathy or because of intimidation. In June 1950, General Harold Briggs, the new Director of Operations in the offensive against the communists, forcibly resettled thousands of rural squatters and placed them behind protective fences in New Villages to cut them off from possible contact with the insurgents. In a short period of time, some 500,000 rural Chinese squatters were re-located to nearly 500 New Village. There was great resentment among the villagers as many lost homes and others saw their rubber or vegetable plots they had been working for years destroyed. Even though they were given new land, the villagers had to start all over again on smaller plots. They were placed in new environment where social amenities were lacking. Even where most villagers were not supporters or sympathizers of the MCP, they became politically alienated from the authorities. Furthermore, intelligence reports claimed that that the insurgents had infiltrated into many of the resettled areas. Criminal elements of secret societies had also moved in to take advantage of weak law enforcement. With the war against the communists not progressing well, the colonial government soon became anxious over the New Village situation. 123

¹²⁰ John Roxborogh, "Christianity in Southeast Asia", in Hugh McLeod (ed) *World Christianities*, Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 9, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 436-449. John Gascoigne, "Introduction: Religion and Empire, an Historiographical Perspective", *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.32, No.2, June 2008, pp.159-178; Andrew Porter, ""Evangelical visions and Colonial Realities", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.38, No.1, March 2010, pp.145-155.

¹²¹ A.Short, *The Communist Insurrection*, p 504.

¹²² Report of committee appointed by His Excellency the High Commissioner to investigate the squatter problem, Council paper no.3 of 1949, Kuala Lumpur, Government Printers; The squatter problem in the Federation of Malaya in 1950, Council paper no.14 of 1950, Kuala Lumpur, Government Printer.

¹²³ Anthony Short, *The communist insurrection in Malaya*, pp.173-205, 231-253

Table 4-4-1: New Villages in Malaya, 1954

	A	В	C	Total
Penang and Province Wellesley	7	-	2	9
Malacca	14	3	-	17
Johore	55	22	11	88
Kedah	21	10	1	32
Kelantan	3	9	2	14
Negri Sembilan	16	14	7	37
Pahang	40	9	18	67
Perak	107	12	4	123
Perlis	1	-	-	1
Selangor	38	6	3	47
Trengganu	1	2	-	3
Total	303	87	48	438

A: Supposedly permanent

Source: A general survey of New Villages Report to His Excellency Sir Donald Macgillivray, 1954. Ref: 2006/007909, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur

Some welfare projects were undertaken by the government to improve conditions in the new villages but much of the efforts were left to volunteer organizations. The most important of these was the MCA formed in 1949 and which saw the New Villages as an important political constituency. But the MCA's efforts were hampered by the lack of trained personnel and it was dependent on running a lottery, which was withdrawn in 1953, for funds. Its efforts were also seen as political and MCA members in the New Villages and other rural regions were targeted for assassination by insurgents.¹²⁴

At this point, the departure of several thousand Christian missionaries from China gave Sir Henry Gurney, the High Commissioner, the idea of where he could source for help in this "battle of the hearts and minds" of the resettled villagers. In October 1949 the Chinese Communist Party gained control of the Chinese mainland and Western Christian missionaries were forced to leave China. ¹²⁵ The new government allowed some missionaries to stay on until 1952 and by November of that year, an estimated 3,500 foreign missionaries had left the country. ¹²⁶. The new Beijing government wanted the church, both Catholic and Protestant, to be run by the Chinese themselves. ¹²⁷ On learning about the evacuation of Christian missionaries from China, the colonial government in Kuala Lumpur wrote

B: Intermediate

C: Supposedly impermanent and likely to disappear with the Emergency

¹²⁴ G.Means, *Malayan Politics*, University of London Press, London, 1970, p.121; Heng Pek Koon, *Chinese politics in Malaysia*, pp. 109-113

¹²⁵ Frank T.Cartwright, "Protestant missions in Communist China", *Far Eastern Survey*, vol. 18, no.26, 28 December 28, 1949, pp. 301-305; Nancy B.Tucker, "An unlikely peace: American missionaries and the Chinese Communists, 1948-1950", *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 45, no.1, February 1976, pp.97-116.

¹²⁶ Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary exodus from China", Pacific Affairs, vol.28, no. 4, December 1955, pp.301-314.

¹²⁷ Daniel H.Bays, "From Foreign Mission to Chinese Church", *Christian History and Biography*, no. 98, Spring 2008, pp. 6-13; Joseph R. Levenson, "The changing character of Chinese opposition to Christianity in Jessie G.Lutz, (ed) *Christian missions in China: Evangelists of what?*, D.C.Heath and Company, Boston, 1966, pp. 90-94.

in August 1950 to the Conference of Missionaries Societies in Great Britain. Then later when Sir Henry visited London on official business he offered to talk to mission societies. 128

The recruitment move was unprecedented. The colonial authorities previously only gave partial assistance known as grants-in-aid to teachers in missionary schools. But now the government recruited and partially paid missionaries for welfare work and permitted them to evangelize in the New Villages. Sir Henry believed that the expelled missionaries with their years of long service in China and possession of language and medical skills could help bring welfare improvements to the New Villages. In this new offensive against the communists, he likened one missionary to a brigade of troops in this new.¹²⁹

Sir Gerald Templer, succeeding Gurney who was assassinated in a communist ambush, personally pushed for the recruitment of former China missionaries. He wrote directly to mission boards or called on contacts to ask for missionaries from reluctant institutions including the Vatican. His forceful personality prevailed over those who had doubts about the programme. Templer set up and attended the first meeting of the committee to coordinate the New Village welfare programmes. To him these missionaries, because of their China experience, could contend against a political ideology that the colonial authorities were then battling. Some British officials were even keen to place these ex-China missionaries as Resettlement Officers in government departments. In fact, a few were hired into government service.

Within government circles, some officials warned of Muslim sensitivities to the government's recruitment of Christian missionaries. The arrival of Western missionaries from China and possibly Chinese Christians could cause unease among the Malays who held various fears; fears of expanding Christian influence, the communist threat, and the demographic implications with possible entry of Chinese Christians.

There was also the international relations dimension. Some colonial officials were unsure how the new Chinese authorities in Beijing might react to the deployment of ex-China missionaries in programmes in Malaya against the MCP which had fraternal relations with the Chinese Communist Party. The recruitment of the missionaries took place at what was probably a most tricky point in Sino-British relations. Here was Malaya engaged in a war against the MCP while in China, the Communist Party had gained power and London had just recognized the new government. Not unexpectedly, the colonial administration in Malaya soon accused the new regime in China of supporting the Malayan armed communists. 130

The discussions to recruit ex-China missionaries involved the highest official levels. The initiatives came from the High Commissioner's office. It was supported by senior civil and military officers in the Federation of Malaya government, including the Chief Secretary to the government. Templer kept the British Prime Minister, Sir Winston Churchill, the Foreign Office in London, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Commissioner-general for Southeast Asia, Malcolm MacDonald, regularly informed of progress on the missionary project. The Foreign Office of the United

¹²⁸ "Recruitment of Chinese-speaking officers for Malaya: Extract from Lord Munster's [Under Secretary of State for the Colonies] Brief for House of Lord's Debate, 27 February 1952", Colonial Office 717/209/4, henceforth referred to as CO. National Archives, London.

¹²⁹ Sir Henry Gurney to Higham, Colonial Office, 13 March 1951, CO 537/7270,.

¹³⁰ George Hood, *Neither Bang nor whimper: The end of a missionary era in China*, The Presbyterian Church in Singapore, Singapore, 1991, p.151.

¹³¹ John Cloake, *Templer: Tiger of Malaya*, Harrap Ltd, London, 1985 pp.274-277.

¹³² Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, Sir Malcolm MacDonald, to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 28 August 1950, CO 717/203/3.

Kingdom took the responsibility of communicating with the Holy See in Rome. Also involved in the discussions were the governors of Hong Kong, Sarawak, Singapore, and North Borneo.

Templer, in his review of the recruitment scheme to Malcolm MacDonald, on 21 April 1953 explained that under the scheme, the Federation Government pay recruited missionaries half of the salary and allowances that serving public servants with equivalent qualifications and experience were then entitled to. However, the government would not provide air fares and other travel expenses. Missionaries were recruited primarily to serve in the medical, educational and welfare fields. They were to devote a substantial part of their time to the responsibilities assigned but were allowed to undertake missionary work. Recruitment was made by the various mission organizations which submitted applications of those wanting to enter Malaya. On 27 September 1952 Templer reported that the Anglicans and the Methodists had responded positively to the government's request.

Response of Mission Boards

Christian mission boards generally welcomed the colonial government's invitation to work in the New Villages. The resettlement programme had brought squatters, previously widely dispersed and inaccessible to mission efforts, into settlements that were within easy reach. Chinese villagers were a group which Christian missions had made very little progress in the past, and that task now appeared to be easier following the government's offer and the availability of ex-China missionaries. But in fact while many of those missionaries who came to Malaya had served in China, others had not. 135

Even before the government's offer, mission boards were seeing opportunities in the settlements. The Anglicans, Presbyterian, and the Methodists were the first to respond to the government's request for missionaries. They were soon joined by the American Lutherans, Southern Baptists, and the interdenominational China Inland Mission (CIM). The Presbyterian Church of England and the London Missionary Society had formed the Joint Malaya Group for this new mission efforts and in April 1952 the group wrote to S.H. Dixon, secretary of the Conference of Mission Societies in Britain:

"The Group has had under discussion the possibility of appointing missionaries to work in resettled areas. This consideration has arisen quite apart from the High Commissioner's approach. It springs from the recognition of the Church's evangelistic and pastoral responsibility towards the people amongst whom it is at work in Malaya, including those living in resettled areas." ¹³⁶

There were mission groups who saw work in the New Village in a political perspective and approved the colonial government's battle against the insurgency. The secretary of the Church Missionary Society who, in writing to the Colonial Office in London, referred to mission work as explicitly countering Communist agents' influence:

¹³³ Sir Gerald Templer, High Commissioner of Federation of Malaya, to Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, Sir Malcolm MacDonald, 2 April 1953, CO1022/379.

¹³⁴ Sir Gerald Templer to Secretary of State for Colonies, 27 September 1952, CO 1022/379.

¹³⁵ Alan Cole who recorded the work of the CIM in Malaya taught for a year in Sydney after completing his studies in Dublin. From there he sailed to Singapore to join the mission work in Malaya. Alan Cole, *Emerging Pattern: CIM work within the Diocese of Singapore and Malaya*.

¹³⁶ Secretary, Joint Malaya Group to Rev S.H.Dixon, Secretary, Conference of Missionary Societies, London, 3 April 1952, CBMS Archives, London (H-6095) Box 461 E/T Malaya 3, Malaya (7-8), Asia Committee (no 26) National Archives Singapore 00015.

"I shall be at a special Conference in Edinburgh later on this week, where the question of ex-China missionaries will be discussed at some length by representatives of various British Missionary Societies. We are most anxious to continue our service to the Chinese people, and if we are not permitted to continue that service in China the needs of large Chinese communities in Malaya and other places must be considered. I am quite certain that there are many Communist agents working amongst overseas Chinese, and it would be regrettable were the Christian Church to be less energetic." ¹³⁷

Others cast the missionaries' work in the New Villagers as a battle of the gospel versus the evil of communism. They believed not only in creating a better society through improving the living conditions of those in the New Villages but more importantly that the gospel would bring deliverance from spiritual death and darkness. There was also a nineteenth century echo that the church was part of the Western civilizing mission overseas.¹³⁸

Nevertheless, there was reservation among some Christian missions that working within a government scheme could compromise the church in the eyes of the wider community. The church risked being seen as collaborating with the government in a politically driven agenda. Missionaries familiar with Malaya further cautioned that Chinese villagers, irrespective of whether they were sympathetic to the communists or not, were wary of Westerners including missionaries. Missionaries who had been forced to leave China, and now recruited by a colonial regime, would only heighten villagers' suspicion of motives, and that this would seriously compromise gospel efforts. ¹³⁹

There was also concern among mission boards, and even within colonial circles, about negative reaction from the new Chinese government and possible repercussions. Collaboration of Christian missionaries with the Malayan authorities in the New Villages against the MCP would only lend weight to accusations that Christian missionaries were agents of Western imperialism. ¹⁴⁰ In May 1953 the Governor in Hong Kong wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London warning that colonial links with Chinese Christians or missionaries could endanger Christians in China.

"As far as this Colony [Hong Kong] is concerned, the organization of a kind of refugee Church under a newly established bishopric or other authority would be likely to be highly suspect in the eyes of the Chinese Government, and would, moreover, afford that Government valuable propaganda opportunities in support of its present allegations of subversive activities on the part of foreign missionaries in China. It is possible that such a development might even affect adversely the position both of these foreign missionaries who are still in China and also of the Chinese Christian communities who still enjoy a limited degree of tolerance". 141

Meanwhile, the recruitment of Catholic personnel for New Village work was taken up by the Colonial Office which exchanged correspondence with the Apostolic Delegate in London while the British legation in Rome held discussions with the Holy See. ¹⁴² British officials from Malaya also made efforts to call on the Vatican. Eventually, J.F. Hogan, Attorney-General of the Federation of Malaya Government, managed to meet the Cardinal Prefect of the Missionary Department of the Holy See.

¹³⁷ Secretary, Church Missionary Society to Colonial Office, 4 September 1950, CO 717/209/3.

¹³⁸ George Hood, *Neither Bang nor whimper: The end of a missionary era in China*, The Presbyterian Church in Singapore, Singapore, 1991, pp.145-153.

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ Colonial Office to Governor of Singapore, 19 March 1951, CO 717/209/4.

¹⁴¹ A.Grantham, Governor of Hong Kong, to Malcolm MacDonald, Commissioner-General of Southeast Asia, 11 May 1953. CO 1022/379.

¹⁴² Apostolic Delegate to Colonial Office, 11 December 1950, CO 717/209/3.

The Congregation de Propaganda Fide in charge of Vatican's overseas mission was supportive of the Malayan request. It informed British officials that the Paris Foreign Mission (Missions Étrangères de Paris, or MEP) could make available 40 ex-China missionaries as well as a number of Chinese seminarians from Penang. It pointed out, however, that that the work of Roman Catholic missions in Southeast Asia came under different jurisdictions such as the Jesuits Brothers, De la Salle Brothers, Mary-Knoll Society, the Missionary Society of St Columban, and the Franciscan Mission of Mary. The Vatican added out that the Jesuits and the De la Salle Brothers, whose focus was on education and youth efforts in urban centers, might not be of much use in rural settings such as the New Villages.

The Vatican also informed the British Foreign Office that its ex-China missionaries might not have the appropriate language ability required in Malaya. Only two groups of ex-China missionaries spoke English and these were from Ireland and Canada. Furthermore, the Canadian group of missionaries had served in Tianjin and did not know the southern dialects spoken by the Chinese in the Malayan New Villages. Only those from Ireland based in Hong Kong were likely to speak Cantonese. (Protestant mission boards had likewise pointed out that many of their missionaries had worked in northern China where conditions and dialects there were different from those in New Villages in Malaya. The Chinese in the New Villagers were not homogenous in dialect.) 145

The Kuala Lumpur authorities expressed frustration that the Catholic Church was slow in taking up the New Village scheme. He But in fact the Vatican had also to meet pressing requests for missionaries from other countries in Southeast Asia. Other dioceses in Southeast Asia also wanted missionaries. But the Kuala Lumpur authorities insisted that the situation they faced was more urgent. In April 1953, Bishop Charles van Melcheke, who had served as Vicar Apostolic of Ningxia in China was sent by the Vatican to ascertain the kind of assistance needed in the New Villages. He visit was, however, not entirely welcomed by the Bishop of Malacca who was unhappy that he was left out in the discussions between the colonial authorities and Rome on deployment of missionaries in Malaya. On his part, Vatican's special envoy maintained a low profile during his visit to Malaya. He politely turned down Templer's invitation to stay at King's House, the High Commissioner's residence, and also did not want any public contact with government officials.

The sentiments of the Bishop of Malacca reflected the misgivings of some local church leaders over the government's direct dealing with overseas mission boards in recruiting missionaries. The independent Christian groups resented the fact that the established churches had a more dominant say including membership in the Chief Secretary's committee to coordinate the New Village work. On the other hand, the more established churches, as Tim Harper noted, were uncomfortable with the evangelical and fundamentalist groups who went their own way in village work. ¹⁴⁹ As an example, the inter-denominational China Inland Mission (CIM) was not part of the New Village effort of the Malayan Christian Council (MCC).

¹⁴³ Sir G.Templer to Secretary of State for Colonies, 4 Nov 1952, CO 1022/379; College of Propaganda to send 40 missionaries; Holy See to Foreign office, London, 27 October 1952, CO 1022/379; G.Etherington Smith, British Legation, to Holy See, 9 February 1953, CO 1022/379.

¹⁴⁴ "Record of conversation between Father O'Brin and Mr Etherington Smith on July 10, 1953", CO 1022/379 (Father O'Brin was responsible in the Vatican for re-locating ex-China missionaries).

Asia Secretary, the Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee and Women's Foreign Mission, to Colonial Office, 31 August 1950, CO 717/209/3.

¹⁴⁶ Sir Gerald Templer to Commissioner-General for UK in Southeast Asia, 21 April 1953 CO 1022/379

¹⁴⁷ Secretary of State for Colonies to Sir Gerald Templer, 11 April 1953, CO 1022/379.

¹⁴⁸ Holy See to Foreign Office, 8 July 1953, CO 1022/379.

¹⁴⁹ Tim Harper, The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya, p.186

The Malayan Government had also turned to the Crown Agent in London to recruit ex-China missionaries. The Crown Agent was not successful and the Malayan authorities then tried sending officers to UK to attract missionaries. In January 1952 the Colonial Office in London asked Dr. J.Cameron of the Malayan Health Service, then on a visit to the United Kingdom, to address a small conference of the CIM. F. Mitchell, the Home Director of CIM, welcomed the visit as he believed that this would help the recruitment effort if conference participants were briefed about living conditions and mission needs in Malaya especially given by a senior officer from Malaya. Cameron, however, declined citing a busy schedule. ¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile, other sectors such as plantations were also seeking ex-Chinese-speaking missionaries. Ray Dawson, a Baptist missionary who had served in pre-war China had joined the Federation Government as a Resettlement Officer, and he was sent to UK to encourage former colleagues to work in Malaya. Dawson's trip in December 1950 was organized following a memorandum from the Planters' Association of Negeri Sembilan forwarded through M.C.Sheppard, the British Resident, and it expressed deep concern about the security situation in the state and communist influence. There was a shortage of Chinese-speaking British officials, and Sheppard in his accompanying comments suggested placing ex-China missionaries as Labour Department officers and inspectors of Chinese schools. To him, the deployment of such officers was urgently needed counter the influence of the communists. 152

Despite new evangelical opportunities opened up by the government, response especially from expelled China missionaries was mixed. There are no reliable figures of the number of Western missionaries who left China. In 1949 before the departure, there were an estimated 2,500 Protestant missionaries in China. Of Catholics, Vatican gave a figure of 2,000 priests who returned to Europe. Many of the returning missionaries were reportedly in poor health and a number were recuperating in Hong Kong. Some of them were not ready or willing to return to the mission field so soon or at all. A number were elderly and chose to retire. 153

Of those whom mission boards could re-deploy, Malaya was not often the preferred destination. A number of ex-China missionaries had taken on new pastoral assignments at home. Of those willing to return to Asia, there were mission opportunities elsewhere. Several missionaries went, for instance, to Thailand and a number to Singapore. A few ex-China missionaries including Chinese Christian workers had gone to Sarawak. Sarawak had a strong Chinese Christian community, mainly Fuzhou, whose history went back to the beginning of the twentieth century. The Governor of Sarawak welcomed the new arrivals to Sibu where they were engaged in youth, education and medical fields. The Governor was so impressed by their work that he sent his Deputy Director of Education to UK to seek out more ex-China missionaries. Then there were the missionaries who had gone to secular jobs. A few came to Malaya to become Resettlement Officers in the New Villages scheme.

¹⁵⁰ Dr J.Cameron to R.J.Minnitt, Colonial Office, 14 January 1952, CO 1022/378.

¹⁵¹ Ray Dawson from the Baptist Missionary Society studied Chinese in the London School of Oriental Studies and served in north China from 1936 to 1941. He was unable to return to China after the war because of uncertain political conditions there. R.Dawson to Colonial Office, 5 September 1950, R.Dawson to Secretary, Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, 31 December 1950, CO 717/209/3.

¹⁵² R.J.Minnitt, Colonial Office, to Dr J.Cameron, 11 January 1952, CO 1022/378.

¹⁵³ Secretary, Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain, to Colonial Office, 26 September 1950; Secretary, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to Colonial Office, 9 October 1950, CO 717/209/3.

¹⁵⁴ Governor of Sarawak to High Commission, Federation of Malaya, 16 May 1953. CO 1022/379.

Table 4-4-2: Ex-China missionaries of British Mission Boards serving in Malaya and elsewhere,
December 1952

	Men	Wives	Single women	Total
Approx no of China missionaries, April 1948	460	390	448	1298
Hong Kong	24	19	26	69
Taiwan	10	8	13	31
Superannuated	42	43	74	159
Deceased	9	5	6	20
Married			20	20
In home church	159	116	50	325
In missionary posts in United Kingdom	32	33	37	102
In non-Church post in United Kingdom	46	46	75	167
In non-Church posts overseas	17	13	7	37
Malaya/Spore	32	28	58	119
Japan	12	12	7	31
Philippines	5	5	5	15
Indonesia	4	4	1	9
Thailand	12	12	9	33
Burma	1	1	3	5
India/Pakistan/Ceylon	22	18	19	59
Africa	16	13	25	54
West Indies	2	1	4	7
In other fields	6	6	1	13
In other work	9	6	8	23
Total	460	390	448	1298

Source: *George Hood, Neither Bang Nor Whimper: The end of a missionary era in China*, Singapore: Presbyterian Church in Singapore, 1991, p. 156

Nevertheless, of the 1,298 ex-China missionaries of British mission boards listed in December 1952, 119 went to Malaya. This was by far the biggest group from those who went back to the mission field, almost double those who proceeded to India or to Africa. Of those who came to Malaya, some 53 or half of those from British mission boards were from the CIM. The CIM was the largest and most active of the mission groups involved in New Village work. It was a mission enterprise started by James Hudson Taylor in 1864 with a focus on China where it send large number of missionaries. In November 1951 CIM reported that some 1,600 of its missionaries had been withdrawn from China.

Work of the Mission

At least 15 Protestant missionary groups and the Catholic Church were directly involved in the New Villages. The main Protestant churches participated and these included the Anglican Church, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, and the Lutherans. The Methodists concentrated their work in the new villages in Perak and in Selangor. In 1952 the Methodist Mission of Malaya did a survey of New Village needs in seven states. In May that year, Rev Harry Haines, chairman of the survey committee,

Daniel Ho, "Malaysia", A dictionary of Asian Christianity", (ed) Scott W.Sunquist, Wm B.Eerdmans Publishing Co, Grand Rapids, Michigan 2001, pp.512-514

reported that the Methodist mission was engaged in welfare work in 42 New Villages and that appeals had been made to the United States for more missionaries. ¹⁵⁶The large Chinese Methodist church in Sitiawan played a key supporting role. The inter-denominational CIM divided its work in Malaya into the North Malaya section based in Kuala Lumpur and South Malaya section based in Singapore.

The CIM having evacuated from China now shifted its regional headquarters to Singapore and renamed its mission as the Overseas Mission Fellowship. In reporting this to R.J. Minnett of the Colonial Office in March 1952, F. Mitchell, CIM's Home Director also informed that several of their missionaries had recently gone to Malaya. A regional director in Singapore, P.Moore, was later appointed to oversee its Malayan work. The CIM, at the start, sent 50 to some 25 New Villages of which nine were in Johor, seven in Selangor, and nine in Perak. At its height, the CIM had an estimated 200 missionaries at any one time in the New Villages. According to Alan Cole, one of the first CIM missionaries to arrive in Malaya, many of the early ex-China missionaries had served in east Sichuan in China. The New Village work was the first of the CIM's Malaya mission and this laid the foundation for its subsequent work in other parts of the country.

Table 4-4-3: Ex-China missionaries of British Mission Boards in Malaya, December 1952

	Men	Wives	Single women	Total
CIM OMF	12	11	30	53
CMS	5	4	10	19
CZMS			4	4
SPG	1	1		2
PCE	3	3	3	9
LMS	2	2	4	8
PCI	2	1	1	4
Church of Scotland	1	1		2
Brethren	3	3	2	8
BMS	1	1		2
Total	30	27	54	111

Source: George Hood, Neither Bang Nor Whimper: The end of a missionary era in China, Singapore: Presbyterian Church in Singapore, 1991, p.152

^{156 &}quot;U.S. told: Send missionaries to help in new villages. Methodist tour of Malaya ends", The Straits Times, 14 May 1952, p.3

p.3

157 Home Director, China Inland Mission, to S.H.Dixon, Conference of Mission Societies, Britain, 4 April,1952, CBMS Archives, London (H-6095) Box 461 E/T Malaya 3, Malaya (7-8), Asia Committee (no 26) National Archives Singapore 00015.

¹⁵⁸ R.Alan Cole, Emerging Pattern: CIM work with the diocese of Singapore and Malaya, pp. 24-27.

Table 4-4-4: Churches involved in New Village work and are members of the MCC New Village Co-ordinating Council

The Anglican Church in Malaysia (including the work of Church Mission Society)

The Methodist Church in Malaya

The Malayan Synod of the Chinese Christiana Church (Chinese Presbyterian Church in Malaya)

The Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission)

The Overseas Missionary Fellowship (Anglican)

The Presbyterian Church in Malaya (English Presbyterian)

The United Lutheran Mission in Malaya

The Salvation Army

The Chinese Native Evangelistic Crusade

Source: International Missionary Council (IMC) Archives, Geneva (H-10, 016) Box 26.5.116, Malaysia, Country Files No. 9, NAF 00183-1, National Archives, Singapore

Table 4-4-5: Churches involved in New Village work and are not members of the MCC New Village Co-ordinating Council

The Life (Bible Presbyterian) Church	ļ
The Church of Christ	
The Independent Church of Tai Hong	
The Cha'ah Christian Church	
The Evangelise China Fellowship	
The Honolulu Church Mission	

Source: International Missionary Council (IMC) Archives, Geneva (H-10, 016) Box 26.5.116, Malaysia, Country Files No. 9, NAF 00183-1, National Archives, Singapore

The Malayan Christian Council, in one of its first reports in 1955, listed 96 Western missionaries and 55 Asian missionaries assigned to some 92 New Villages. There were another 150 part-time voluntary worker. In its report of 1958 the MCC stated that of the 410 New Villages accessible to Christian missionaries, mission work was active in 333 villages, or four-fifths of the total number of villages. New Villages that were predominantly Malay were off limit to the missionaries while other villages were not accessible because of security reasons. Perak, Johor and Selangor with very high incidence of insurgency activities had the largest number of New Villages and these three states received most attention from mission boards. There was mission work in 81 of the 107 New Villages in Perak that were accessible. In Johor there was Protestant work in 56 of the 105 New Villages accessible while the Catholics were in 22 New Villages. In some villages, a church was set up or at least had a missionary stationed there while other places were served by visiting missionaries who covered several villages within their jurisdiction. About half of the 333 New Villages, however, had a resident Christian worker. Protestant missions had an unwritten understanding of dividing New Village work

 $^{^{159}}$ Malayan Christian Council Progress Report No 7, Minutes of the 22^{nd} Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages, Ref: 1967/,0000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur.

¹⁶⁰ Malayan Christian Council: The New Villages in Malaya: A survey of needs and opportunities, Nov 1957, International Missionary Council (IMC) Archives, Geneva (H-10, 016) Box 26.5.116, Malaysia, Country Files No. 5, NAF 00182, National Archives Singapore; Malayan Christian Council: The New Villages in Malaya: A survey of needs and opportunities, August 1958, International Missionary Council (IMC) Archives, Geneva (H-10, 016) Box 26.5.116, Malaysia, Country Files No. 5, NAF 00179-18, National Archives Singapore.

among themselves but in many places there was overlap. There was even more overlap of Protestant and Catholic mission work.

The ex-China missionaries were expected to improve the education, medical, and social lives of the villagers. Medical services were the most important social work carried out by the missionaries. There were insufficient government clinics or mobile medical units in many New Villagers particularly in Perak and Pahang. According to an MCC survey of that year, there were clinics in 100 out of the 156 New Villages in Perak in 1957. Of these 32 were run by Protestant missions while 18 were by the Catholic Church and the other 50 by the local government. There could be as many as 100 patients in a mission clinic at any one session while attendance of 50 or 60 was common. Mobile clinics used a New Village chapel or an area partitioned off from the main church hall. Where there was no chapel, a shop house or village school was used. Patients were charged a uniform fee of 20 cent (sen) a visit but sometimes they were asked to pay only for medicine prescribed. Clinics were often also entrusted with distribution of relief supplies. Powdered milk was given to mothers where there was evidence of malnutrition. Flour, corn meal, and food supplements were also given out by clinics.

Table 4-4-6: Churches involved in New Village medical work

Organisations	Number	No of patients per month (average)
Methodists	12	2,500
Anglicans	5	4,330
Presbyterians	2	90 (midwifery cases mostly)
Overseas Mission Fellowship	4	1040
Overseas Mission Fellowship (Anglican group)	9	900
Lutheran		(just beginning, no figures available)
Total	32	9,860

Source: Malayan Christian Council Progress Report No 7, Minutes of the 22nd Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages, Ref: 1967/,000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur,

The CIM expressed interest in setting up a 60-bed hospital to serve some of the New Villages. The state medical authorities, however, were luke-warm to the CIM's hospital proposal. Dr. H.Lester, the new Director of Medical Services, was against government funding for the setting up and running of a mission hospital. Otherwise, he claimed, other mission boards would go about setting up hospitals, and the government would not only have to take up a growing budget but have to deal with political and religious sensitivities arising from such decisions in a multi-racial society. ¹⁶¹

But while the colonial government was keen to tap into the skills and knowledge of ex-China missionaries, it did not relax on qualification requirements. The Director of Medical Services in Malaya, Dr Cameron acknowledged a desperate situation of understaffing and vast medical and health problems to be tackled. In all, the Federation had more than a hundred vacancies for doctors and other medical personnel. However, many of the ex-China missionaries either did not possess the required qualifications or that their training was not recognized by the Malayan authorities, and therefore could not be accepted into government medical services. ¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Dr. H Lester to R.J. Minnitt, 14 June 1953, CO 1022/378.

¹⁶² Dr J.Cameron to R.J.Minnitt, Colonial Office, 14 January 1952, CO 1022/378.

There was the problem of language because most in the New Villages then understood only dialects. Cole pointed out that no village was solely of one dialect group. The CIM appointed a teacher to teach Hakka to its missionaries but later subsequent arrivals were taught Cantonese which was one of two dominant dialects in the New Villages, Even Mandarin used in the New Villages, according to Cole, was a southern version with tones, pronunciation and idioms different from those the ex-China missionaries were familiar with..¹⁶³

Literacy work was an area given emphasis in almost every village where there was a resident evangelist. Literacy was essential to carry out evangelism. But a report of the Malayan Christian Council also noted that given the high drop-out rate from formal schools as well as high unemployment among the youth, what was urgently required in the New Villages was trade and skill training. The Christian missions also proposed setting up cottage industries, cooperatives, and crèches amenities but given the dispersed character of the New Villages, organizing such facilities and training was difficult.¹⁶⁴

Women were a major component in the missionary effort in the New Village,. Some 86 of 119 missionaries sent out to Malaya by UK mission boards were women of whom 58 were single. Many took a lead in medical or teaching work in the new villages. Women villagers were more willing to approach them for medical or educational needs. One of the first mission workers sent out by the CIM in December 1951 was Doris Madden a fully trained nurse, midwife and qualified health visitor. She had served in China for about twenty years and besides practical health work and midwifery was to teach health subjects. 165

Despite the seemingly slow response of the Catholic Church, Templer was able to report in April 1953 that four German priests with medical qualifications had started work in Perak. Later that year, a number of Franciscan Order priests left for Malaya. Three priests, two of whom were Chinese and with experience in China, were also serving in 12 New Villages and in a nearby town. Later the Catholics sent another small batch of missionaries with nursing experience and they were immediately assigned to Perak New Villages. 166 By 1954 there were 36 full time Catholic workers including 18 missionaries in 59 villages. In addition there were 19 missionaries and lay workers who served parttime in 112 new villages. By 1959 the Catholic Welfare service reported that it had 56 workers serving 176 New Villages with its work concentrated largely in Perak, Kedah and Johor. The Catholic work included three medical units serving Perak, Johor, and in the Kuala Lumpur suburb of Petaling Java.167

Missionaries, as it turned out, related well to the local Chinese community. When the Catholics, for instance, built an Old Folks Home in Kampong Simee village near Ipoh, supplies were donated by sawmillers and hardware dealers as well as cash from the Perak Chinese Welfare Association. The Home was maintained and funded by the church but the local community contributed financially for the upkeep of the place. Where there was encouraging response to the gospel in a village, a resident worker was stationed. A piece of land would be obtained to build a chapel and a house for the worker. Once a local church leadership was developed, mission boards would withdraw their missionary.

¹⁶³ R.Alan Cole, Emerging Pattern: CIM work with the diocese of Singapore and Malay, p.27.

¹⁶⁴ "Malayan Christian Council: A survey of the New Villages in Malaya, 1958", International Missionary Council (IMC) Archives, Geneva (H-10, 016) Box 26.5.116, Malaysia, Country Files No. 5, NAF 00179-18, National Archives Singapore.

¹⁶⁵ F. Mitchell to R.J. Minnitt, 6 March 1952 CO 1022/378.

¹⁶⁶ Sir Gerald Templer to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 30 December 1952, CO 1022/379.

¹⁶⁷ Maureen K.C.Chew, *The journey of the Catholic Church*. Catholic Research Centre, Kuala Lumpur, pp.117-119.

UnitsNumber of cases treatedMobile clinic, Perak139,755Kampong Simee, Ipoh30,362Franciscan Sisters of Mary, Petaling Jaya15,000Canossian Sisters , Kluang4,000

Table 4-4-7: Catholic Medical Care in New Villages, 1954

Source: "Catholic Welfare Services Annual Report 1954, Rev Fr A. Khaw, 6 January 1955", Minutes of the 22nd Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for work in New villages, 21 January, 1955, Ref: 1967/,0000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur,

Many missionaries including ex-China missionaries found the situation in Malaya challenging. There was firstly the security situation. Missionaries had to travel along routes that were exposed to attacks or ambush by insurgents. George Henderson, Secretary of the Bible Societies in Malaya in his report of a mission tour around the peninsula during this period gave a sense of the risky conditions then:

The first real terrorist ambush for over a year took place on the main road the day after we would have traveled that way had we not decided to take the coast road going north. One person was killed and another wounded. Nearer the end of our journey there was another terrorist attack on a northern road a couple of days before we passed that way. This resulted in a British soldier being killed.

A number of "New Villages" mission stations were visited and also one Leper Settlement where Ian Morrison and the Society have had interesting contacts in years past. 168

A number of high security risks New Villages were closed to them. Tight security ringed even the accessible villages. Within the New Villages were supporters of the insurgency, some of whom had infiltrated among the earlier squatters. Then there were secret society elements who operated their own system of law and order in the New Village community. The villages also lacked a community character or historical coherence. These were squatters who had been rounded up by security forces and placed in a fenced village. Traumatized by the process they were therefore suspicious of strangers especially Westerners. Significantly though, there were no reports of attacks on missionaries either by armed insurgents or secret society members. It is likely that missionaries were not targeted because their medical and educational services were greatly valued. Killings were carried out against mainly members of the MCA members or Home-guards as they were seen as actively hostile to the insurgents.

To coordinate the work of missionaries and other voluntary organization in the New Villages, Sir Gerald Templer set up a committee chaired by the Chief Secretary to the government. The committee was made up of representatives of churches, missionary bodies, and voluntary organizations. The committee, while primarily to coordinate efforts and to avoid duplication, also enabled the government to allocate funding quickly to where it was most needed. Templer attended the first meeting on 29 February 1952 in Kuala Lumpur and the committee met monthly thereafter chaired by the Chief Secretary. The MCA which was undertaking a share of New Village work was represented as were volunteer organizations such as the St John's Ambulance, the British Red Cross, the Federation of Malaya Boy Scouts Association and the Federation of Malaya Girl Guides

¹⁶⁸ "Report on a month's tour in Malaya, October 1957, George Henderson, Secretary, The Bible Societies in Malaya" BSA/D8/4/11/3, Bible Societies Collection, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.

¹⁶⁹ Meeting of the Chief Secretary's Co-ordinating Committee of representatives of churches, missionary bodies and voluntary organizations, 29 February, 1952, Ref: 1967/,0000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur.

Association. The government had officials from the Chinese Affairs Department and the Internal Security Department. By far the most vocal were representatives from the Church Missionary Society of Malaya, the Methodist Mission, the Malayan Christian Council (MCC) and the Catholic Church of Malaya. As a group they outnumbered the others. The MCC which was an umbrella body for many of the churches in Malaya played a significant role in supporting the New Village work. The MCC formed a committee to coordinate the New Village of the different mission bodies and regularly collected data and other relevant information that were made available to mission boards as well as the government. ¹⁷⁰

The matter of funds was frequently raised during meetings of the coordinating committee. Government grants-in-aid were paid to mission bodies and not to individual missionaries. Missionaries received half of the lowest basic wage of the respective service schemes. Some mission boards preferred to fund their own personnel rather than to rely on government grants. Others sought government funding only for social work they were undertaking. Rev J.R. Fleming, secretary of the Malayan Christian Council pointed out to the Chief Secretary's committee that grants-in-aid were for personnel engaged in education, medical, and welfare work. "They were not used to subsidize religious work". Still, it would be difficult to separate the medical service of a missionary from the pastoral responsibilities that were religious in nature.

Likewise the Joint Malaya Group of the Presbyterian Church and London Missionary Society wrote that the church would fund religious activities but:

"Should it be possible, however, at any time to undertake educational or medical services in the resettlement areas, the Group would be glad to avail itself of the preferred financial assistance in respect of such work." ¹⁷²

In seeking other financing, the Joint Malaya Group of the Presbyterians and London Missionary Society proposed that funds earmarked for the Nanking Theological Seminary in China be re-directed to their work in Malaya but was not sure whether the terms of the bequest was applicable for "Chinese outside of China."¹⁷³

The Catholic Welfare Service raised its own funds to provide food and medicine to New Villages in Perak, Kedah, and Johor. Some of these supplies which included milk powder and clothing came from the National Catholic Welfare Conference of America. It was reported that in 1954 some \$110,000 worth of supplies were received but local Catholics had to spend some \$10,000 to transport the gifts from Singapore. Rev Fr A.Khaw in his annual report described that the scope of the Catholic welfare work included:

¹⁷⁰ Bobby E.K.Sng, *In His Good Time: The story of the church in Singapore*, *1819-1992*, Graduates' Christian Fellowship, Singapore, 1993 (Second edition), pp.234-237.

¹⁷¹ Minutes of the 22nd Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for work in New villages, 21 January, 1955, Ref: 1967/,0000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur.

¹⁷² Secretary, Joint Malaya Group to Rev S.H.Dixon, Secretary, Conference of Missionary Societies, London, 3 April 1952, CBMS Archives, London (H-6095) Box 461 E/T Malaya 3, Malaya (7-8), Asia Committee (no 26) National Archives Singapore 00015

¹⁷³ Frank T.Cartwright, Associate Secretary, Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, New York, to Rev H.B.Amstutz, president of the Malayan Christian Council, Singapore, 31 March 1951, CBMS Archives, London (H-6095) Box 460 E/T Malaya 2, Malaya (48), Asia Committee (no 12) National Archives Singapore 00013.

"medical and clinical attention, relief for the needy, visits to homes, free adult education, instructions for children, free cinema shows, scouting, needlework and sewing classes, care of the aged and blind, religious services in the villages, care of detainees' families, paying school fees for poor children, burial for the dead, secure jobs for the unemployed". 174

Malay reaction

Colonial administration were aware of possible hostile reaction from the Malay community to the enlisting and entry of Christian missionaries. W.L. Blythe, a senior official the Colonial Secretary in Singapore, writing to Malcolm Macdonald, Commissioner-general of the UK for Southeast Asia, called for great care in the matter of ex-China missionaries to avoid offending Malay and Indonesian Muslims. There was still anger within the Malay community over the Maria Hertogh case. In December 1950 a court decision to return a Dutch girl, Maria Hertogh, to her natural parents led to riots in Singapore by Muslims. Maria had been placed in the care of a Malay couple during the war and who had since converted to Islam and had married a Malay. The riots was initially directed against Westerners and several people were killed and many seriously. 176

Likewise, the Director of Medical Services in responding to CIM's proposal to set up a 60-bed hospital warned of possible political and religious objections:

"We feel that as there may be political or religious objections from some of the States, the actual siting of any Mission Hospital ought to be a matter between the State Authorities and the Mission"¹⁷⁷

State authorities which were headed by the Menteri Besar or Chief Minister who was Malay refused to grant land to Christian mission bodies especially their proposed use such as for hospital or church in the vicinity of Muslim areas. Matters of land as well as Islamic affairs came under state jurisdiction. Indeed, by 1957, meetings with state authorities in Johor and Perak over applications for church land for New Villages broke down.

The Malays were worried that the entry of large numbers of missionaries might lead to Christian proselytizing efforts among Muslims. ¹⁷⁸ Tim Harper pointed out that when a mobile film unit toured villages with the slogan 'Jesus Christ, son of God, Saviour", in several languages, the Malay version had to be deleted. ¹⁷⁹ Without doubt there was Malay unease at government move to bring Christian mission efforts to the New Villages. There was concern that missionary drive could spill into a few of the predominantly Malay New Villages even though they had been assured by long standing practice of the authorities in not allowing Christian evangelical work to enter Malay areas. In 1954, it was estimated that some 9% of those in the New Villages were Malays. The largest number were in New Villages in Malacca, Johor, and Kedah.

¹⁷⁴ Catholic Welfare Services Annual Report 1954, Rev Fr A.Khaw, 6 January 1955", Minutes of the 22nd Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for work in New villages, 21 January, 1955, Ref: 1967/,0000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur.

¹⁷⁵ W.L.Blythe to Commissioner-General, 20 April 1953, CO 1022/379.

¹⁷⁶ Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, Colonialis, violence and Muslims in southeast Asia: The Maria Hertogh controversy and its aftermatch, London and New York, Routledge, 2009, pp. 1.24, Gordon Means, *Malaysian Politics*, p.119.

¹⁷⁷ Director of Medical Services, Penang, to the Colonial Office, 4 June 1952, Colonial Office 1022/378.

¹⁷⁸ Ghazali Basri, "Christianity in Malaysia: Quest for greater role", unpublished paper to International Conference on Islamic Da'wah in Southeast Asia: Cultural and Human Dimensions (15-17 February 1993: Kuala Lumpur)

¹⁷⁹ T.Harper, The end of Empire and the making of Malaya, p.186

Even work among aborigine groups known as Orang Asli had become politically sensitive to Malay nationalists. Requests by mission boards to extend their work to Orang Asli regions were turned down by the Home Affairs Department. The department, then under Dato Onn Jaffar who was once President of United Malay National Organization (UMNO), the main Malay political party, claimed that there were not enough facilities to air-drop missionaries into aboriginal areas, many of which were deep in the jungles. The chairman of the Coordinating Committee further pointed out that state governments which were in control of aboriginal affairs "will not allow, and are not willing at the moment to entertain, any interference in this connection except through Government agencies". ¹⁸⁰

The Malays were also unhappy because the resettlement programme seemed to them an appeasement to a community from which most of the armed members of the MCP came from. When the New Village resettlement programme for Chinese squatters was brought before the Federal Legislative Council, a Malay member Datoh Hj Mohamed Eusoff alleged that there were communist elements within the New Villages. ¹⁸¹ On the other hand those who joined the armed forces to fight the communists were Malays and there was little that they received from the government. Capt Hussein Onn, son of the Malay nationalist leader, Dato Onn Jaafar, drew attention to the 83,000 Special Constables most of whom were Malays. If squatters were getting land free of cost, "I do not see any reason why similar facilities should not be given to these 83,000." ¹⁸²

There was also anxiety that recruitment of ex-China missionaries could lead to an influx of Chinese into Malaya. Mission boards had floated the idea with the Federation government of allowing Chinese Christians from China to serve in the New Villages in capacities similar to Western missionaries. In fact the Governor of Sarawak reported that a number of such Christians had arrived in his state with status as missionaries or as refugees. The Federation government, however, allowed Chinese missionaries a one-year entry permit which could be renewed but they were expected to work under the supervision of Western missionaries. Malay political groups, particularly Dato Onn Jaafar, feared that unchecked immigration from China could upset the demographic balance in the country leading to Malays becoming a minority. Hence, in the post-war period, immigration from China came to an official end. Following the communist takeover of China, there was also the fear of political infiltration if Chinese from China were allowed to enter the country.¹⁸³

The colonial administrative took note of Malay unease and so the government-sponsored Central Welfare Council, because of Muslim objection, refused to provide direct financial aid grants to church social work and only relented when the churches contended that their work was of 'great social value and was part of the campaign against Communism' and that similar grants would be made available to other religious organizations. The mission gave assurance that social work would form the preponderant part of activities and that evangelism should be secondary in the use of the funds. Meanwhile, Templer gave an assurance to the Menteri Besars that Red Cross teams would spend equal time amongst the Malays.

¹⁸⁰ Minutes of the 21st meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for work in the New Villages, 26 November 1954, Ref: 1967/0000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur.

¹⁸¹ Dato Haji Mohamed Eusoff, *Proceedings of the Federal Legislative Council (Third Session), April 19th*, 1950, p.117, Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

¹⁸² Captain Hussein Onn, *Proceedings of the Federal Legislative Council (Third Session), April 19th*, 1950, p.119, Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

¹⁸³ G.Etherington Smith, British Legation, to Holy See, 9 February 1953, CO 1022/379; British Legation to the Holy See, Rome to Chief Secretary's Office, Federation of Malaya, 16 June 1953, CO 1022/379

Two further reasons kept the Christian mission and New Villages from becoming a major political issue among the Malays. First, the British took steps to help redress Malay economic position by setting up the Rural Industry Industrial Development Authority (RIDA) in 1951 with Dato Onn appointed as the head. RIDA provided training and loans to small Malay businessmen. Secondly, Malay leaders saw the communist-led insurgency as a much greater threat that had to be defeated with all resources and means possible, admittedly even with Christian missionary support.

Conclusion:

In the last years of its rule and facing one of its most critical challenges, the colonial authorities sought out church support in a social offensive against an insurrection. Never before or since then has the church in Malaysia been drawn into supporting a state-driven programme. The Christian missions' role for New Village work took place amidst momentous political transition in the country with the outbreak of the first nation-wide armed struggle against colonial rule by a largely non-Malay movement. The conservative MCA embraced the New Villages as its social and political cause but struggled because of lack of trained personnel and also because it became the target of the insurgents. There was also the rise of Malay nationalism. Malay unease saw New Village work as appeasing a community deeply implicated in the insurrection and feared risks of further Christian and Chinese influence. There was an international dimension as the recruiting process engaged the High Commissioner in Malaya, the Colonial Office in London as well as the Vatican in enlisting ex-China missionaries in a developing Cold War atmosphere.

On their part the mission boards believed that their work remained distinct and saw the New Villagers and Chinese squatters, a community long neglected, as a field for social work and to evangelize. The resettlement brought Chinese squatters, once widely dispersed, to easier reach of the mission. The creation of the New Villages, by cutting off supplies to the insurgents, was a major contributing factor to ending the Emergency. It was the improvement in living conditions through welfare and educational work such as those done by the missionaries which gradually transformed disparate squatter groups into a community that now held new political expectations. The medical, educational, and welfare work of the missionaries did touch the lives of villagers where these were most needed.¹⁸⁴ The call of the New Villages forced Christian missions to engage in areas of social work they had mostly neglected in the past. It also pushed Christian missions to move out of their urban fastness into the rural New Villages and to draw local Christians into greater participation. Tim Harper observed that Christian missions, consequently, carried out by far the largest and most important voluntary work in the New Villages compared to their earlier efforts and the efforts of others including those of the main Chinese political party, the MCA.¹⁸⁵

From the Christian mission viewpoint, the Emergency work led to tangible results. What had been achieved became seeds of further mission work. A survey in 2002 listed that from the more than 300 New Villages where missionaries had served during the Emergency, 165 villages were listed aas having a church. ¹⁸⁶ This came to 36.7% of total number of new villages. Several churches in New Villages, particularly those nearer to large towns such as Jinjang, Petaling Jaya, and Cheras which developed into suburbs of Kuala Lumpur, expanded and in turn have launched their own mission and social efforts. More significantly, the New Village work has strengthened the Chinese language churches particularly those in the rural and semi-rural areas. The New Village work encouraged ecumenical cooperation and led to the entry into Malaya of new missionary groups such as the CIM.

¹⁸⁴ Tim Harper, *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya*, , p. 186.

¹⁸⁵ Tim Harper, The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya, , p. 186.

¹⁸⁶ Lim Hin Fui and Fong Tian Yong, *The New Villages in Malaysia: The journey ahead*, Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and Policy Research, 2005, pp.128-139

Various churches and denominations worked more closely through the New Village work either in the Coordinating Committee or in the Malayan Council of Churches. The MCC founded just as before the Emergency now coordinated missionaries work in the New Villages.

This study of missionaries' New Village work brings to attention the link between Christian mission and colonialism in Malaya, and in the process places it within the main narrative of Malaysian history. For a brief while the missionaries efforts in the New Villages brought these strands together and highlighted the social and political dynamics of the period. But as this study shows such a link needs a careful use of both mission and official records. Official records sets the social and political framework to which missionaries accounts, which usually deals with social and evangelical questions, need to be integrated into.

Appendix: Missionaries in New Villages

State	Village	Church	Work			
Johor	Yong Peng	Anglican	Evangelism, welfare and medical			
		Presbyterian	Evangelism, welfare and school			
	Paloh	Chinese church	Local church group			
	Senai	Chinese church	Evangelism, and school			
	Kulai	Chinese church	Evangelism, welfare, youth, mid-wifery			
	Kluang	OMF	Evangelism			
	Kahang	OMF	Evangelism, youth and education			
	Layang laying	Chinese church				
	Kotah Kechil	Chinese church	Evangelism. Education and school			
	Simpang Rengam	CIM	Evangelism			
	Scudai	CIM				
	Cha'ah	CIM	Evangelism, welfare and youth			
	Gemas Bahru	CIM	Evangelism and welfare			
	Bedok	CIM	Evangelism, welfare and medical in			
			association with Chinese Presbyterian			
			church			
	Bukit Siput	CIM	Evangelism, welfare and medical			
	Buloh Kasap	CIM	Evangelism and general welfare			
	Tampoi	Evangelise China Fellowship	Evangelism			
	Kelapa Sawit	ECF	Evangelism			
	Pekan Nanas	ECF	Evangelism, social service centre, free			
			school and adult education			
	Masai	ECF	Evangelism			
	Jementah	Methodist	Evangelism and youth			
	Bekok	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Weekly visits			
	Bakri	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Evangelism work done from Muar			
	Bukit Pasir	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Weekly visits			
	Bukit Kangkar	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	As above			
	Selang	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	From Kluang weekly			
	Sedenak	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	From kluang twice weekly			
	Ayer Hitam	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	From Kluang			
	Sri Lalang	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	From Kluang			
	Kampong Paya	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)				
	8th mile Kluang	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)				
	Bukit Mor	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Muar			

Pagoh					
	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"			
Kampong Abdullah	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Sagamat Methodist Chinese Pastor			
Bukit Siput	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"			
Labis	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"			
Sungei Karas	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"			
Pekan Jabi	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"			
Gemas Bahru	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"			
Jinjang	Anglican	Evangelism and medical. Evening school in Cantonese			
Petaling Jaya	Lutheran				
Cheras 11th miles	Lutheran				
Seminyeh (incl Broga)	Lutheran				
	Lutheran				
Salak South	Anglican	Evangelism and medical			
Sungei Buloh					
		Evangelism and school			
	CIM	Evangelism and welfare			
		Evangelism and welfare			
		Evangelism and welfare			
<u> </u>		Evangelism and welfare			
		Evangelism, welfare. Youth, and adult			
· ·····p······g	1,104134134	education			
Pendamaran	CIM	Evangelism and youth			
		Evangelism, youth and medical			
Serdang		Evangelism, medical and welfare			
		Evangelism, medical and youth work			
		Tamil work – educational and youth			
•		Evangelism and youth			
Ma Hwa	Anglican	School, Sunday school, scouts			
Mambau Rahang	Methodist	Evangelism and medical			
	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Local Chinese Methodist Church visited			
	, , ,	from Seremban			
Tampin NV	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)				
I amom in v	Chinese Church (Flesbylerian)	"			
Gedok NV 18m south of	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
•					
Gedok NV 18m south of					
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek)	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican	" Evangelism and school			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Anglican	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian Raja Itam (Sitiawan)	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian Methodist	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation Medical and evangel			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian Raja Itam (Sitiawan) Kampong Jering Kampoing Koh	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian Methodist Methodist	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation Medical and evangel			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian Raja Itam (Sitiawan) Kampong Jering Kampoing Koh Gunong Rapat	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation Medical and evangel Clinic Youth, children and adult education			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian Raja Itam (Sitiawan) Kampong Jering Kampoing Koh Gunong Rapat Pokok Assam	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation Medical and evangel Clinic Youth, children and adult education As above			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian Raja Itam (Sitiawan) Kampong Jering Kampoing Koh Gunong Rapat Pokok Assam Simpang Lima	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation Medical and evangel Clinic Youth, children and adult education			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian Raja Itam (Sitiawan) Kampong Jering Kampoing Koh Gunong Rapat Pokok Assam	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Anglican	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation Medical and evangel Clinic Youth, children and adult education As above Evangelism and youth			
Gedok NV 18m south of Tampin Kampong Tawas (Tasek) Guntong Sungei Durian Raja Itam (Sitiawan) Kampong Jering Kampoing Koh Gunong Rapat Pokok Assam Simpang Lima	Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Anglican Methodist Anglican Presbyterian Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist Methodist	Evangelism and school Evangelism and medical School, evangelistic, youth and recreation Medical and evangel Clinic Youth, children and adult education As above			
	Pekan Jabi Gemas Bahru Jinjang Petaling Jaya Cheras 11th miles Seminyeh (incl Broga) Bangi Salak South Sungei Buloh Sungei Pelek, Sepang Sungei Chua Kelumpang Sungei Way Kuala Kubu Bahru Ampang Pendamaran Serdang Rawang Jinjeram Sekinchang	Pekan Jabi Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Gemas Bahru Chinese Church (Presbyterian) Jinjang Anglican Petaling Jaya Lutheran Cheras 11th miles Lutheran Seminyeh (incl Broga) Lutheran Bangi Lutheran Salak South Anglican Sungei Buloh Anglican Sungei Pelek, Sepang Methodist Sungei Chua CIM Kelumpang CIM Sungei Way CIM Kuala Kubu Bahru CIM Ampang Methodist Pendamaran CIM Methodist Serdang CIM Rawang CIM Jinjeram Methodist Sekinchang Methodist Mambau Rahang Methodist Mambau Rahang Methodist			

	Banir N.V.	CIM (visiting)	Church and youth work		
	Pakan Getah NV	As above	Clinics, church and youth work		
	Jeram		As above		
	Lawan Kuda NV	Anglican	Church and youth work		
		CIM	Church and youth work		
	Mambang Ti Awan Nv	CIM	Church, youth and welfare		
	Bidor NV	CIM	Church and youth work, clinic		
	Slim River	CIM	Church and youth work		
	Bidor Station NV,	CIM (visiting)	Church and youth work		
	Tanah Mas NV				
	Pasir Pinji	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Sunday school, recreation, church, women		
			and children		
	Sempang Pulai	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	"		
	Guntong	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Tamil work – church, education, Evangelism		
			and education		
Malacca	Bekoh, Bukit Asagab,	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Jasin and Malacca Churches		
	Ayer Kroh, Alor,				
	Machap, Umboo, Sargil,				
	Bemban, Tankar				
Penang and	Kejai	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Youth work		
P.Wellesley					
	Kulim Area	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Tamil – education		
	Val D'or	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Chinese worker lives in Parti Buntar and		
			works this village		
	Machang Buboh	Chinese Church (Presbyterian)	Youth and Evangelism (from Bukit		
			Mertajam)		

Source: Malayan Christian Council Progress Report, No 7, Minutes of the 22nd Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages, 21 January, 1955, Ref: 1967/,0000435, National Archives, Kuala Lumpur, B. Non-resident workers

- END -

⁽i.e.) New Villages work done by churches nearby

"Home Guard in Malaya"

Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee

The Counter-insurgency measures adopted during the 1st Emergency (1948-1960) in Malaya has largely been seen as a successful example of a victorious counter-insurgency of a late colonial attempt to maintain a stronghold over vital economic assets (rubber, tin, oil palm) by the British. Previous research studies revealed how the British army was shaped by imperial 'historical practices', a way of utilizing small cost to achieve its goal. The paper aims to provide an overview on the introduction of the Home Guard (HG) in 1950 and how the restructuring of its functions in 1952 made the HG a strong local force in fighting against Communist Terrorist (CT) for their 'Home'. The HG units were disbanded once the relevant area was declared "White", leading to the independence of Malaya in 31 August 1957. The Malayan Emergency ended on 12 July 1960. Qualitative research methodologies were adopted. These include references to published (books and thesis and article) and unpublished materials (personal collection), archival data (National Archive Malaysia and Singapore National Library), semi-structure questionnaires survey via social media such as email and whatapps.

Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney was appointed the 2nd post-war High Commissioner in October 1948. He adopted 'shoot-to-kill' and 'search-and-destroy' policies in the early stage of the counterinsurgency as security forces tended to suspect everyone and were prone to shoot any suspicious person on slight in rural areas. The security forces often treated the rural population roughly (beating squatters and occasionally using torture in order to gain information, also frequent destruction and of burning squatters' possessions and houses). Particularly in the early years of emergency, because of the general attitude of Government officials, the army and the police often regarded the squatters as CTs (refer to *Figure 4-5-1*) rather than a civilian. On 12 December 1948, twenty-four (24) unarmed villagers were killed by Scots Guards during counter insurgency operation against CT at Batang Kali (*refer to Figure 4-5-2*).



Figure 4-5-1: Communist Terrorist (CTs). This photograph was discovered amongst the personal possessions of a Malayan Communist – Photograph courtesy of Roy Follows) Source: www.psywar.org/malaya.php



Figure 4-5-2: Civilians lie dead in Batang Kali in 1948

Source: Batang Kali Massacre in

https://batangkalimassacre.wordpress.com/2015/04/

Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs was appointed as the Director of Operations on 3 April 1950. He realized the importance of isolating the insurgents from their sources of food and creating a sense of security in populated areas so that people would be more willing to provide information. He also persuaded the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney, to set up committees containing representatives of all civil and military agencies involved in the campaign so that a coordinated response to the insurgents could be formulated. The policy was developed from "coercion

and enforcement" in 1950 to win the "hearts and minds" of villagers in 1951 to defeat the CT by "Resettlement and Regroupment" squatters and villagers in rural and urban fridge areas. This move sparked the development of a new settlement configuration in the form of New Villages, that changed the entire rural landscape of Malaya in the 1950s, introducing better living conditions, health and safety concepts, a local security force and more importantly helped move a civic-minded nation towards Independence.

A 3-tier command and committee (later named the Briggs Plan) aimed to improve the Emergency administration and inter-agency coordination to eliminate the MCP's forces and its mass organization (Min Yuen) – as counter insurgency strategies: The Federal War Council (FWC), the State and Settlement War Executive Committees (SWEC) and the District War Executive Committees (DWEC). The FWC comprised the Director of Operations, the Chief Secretary, the General Officer Commanding, the Air Officer Commanding, the Commissioner of Police, and the Secretary of Defence. The SWECs were composed of the Chief Minister (*Menteri Besar*), the British Advisor, the Chief Police Officer, the senior Army commander, and a full-time Secretary. DWECs consisted of the District Officer, and senior police and army representatives. The FWC responsibility was to meet weekly and formulate policy, and coordinate all the necessary resources to implement these policies. The actual execution of policy lay with the SWECs and DWECs.

Sir Gerald Walter Robert Templer took over the post of High Commissioner and Director of Operations in February 1952, after Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney was killed by CT in an ambush on 6 October 1951, and Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs retired by end-1951 respectively. He embraced the Briggs Plan and ensured the command structure was established. He placed great emphasis on the need to win the 'hearts and minds' of the population, and continued the resettlement of squatters/ villagers, with promised independence once the communist insurgents had been defeated.

The 'Emergency Regulation Ordinance' was enacted on 5 July 1948 to replace the British Military Administration (Essential Regulation) Proclamation of 16 June 1948. Subsequently, several amendments and additions to the Emergency Regulations were added. The Colonial government pushed for the creation of the Home Guard (HG) to boost the numbers and effectiveness of the police force in Malaya. It was first formed in September 1950 under the Civil Defence Commissioner with District Officer as local commanders in areas not covered by Kampong Guards unit, which had been set up in Malay population areas in the latter part of 1948. The HG was recruited in population areas which were not exclusively Malay and, as a result of the policy of recruitment in resettled areas and in areas where the threat of CT attack was greatest. During 1951, the Kampong Guard units were merged with the Home Guard, and a permanent paid staff was employed for training and administration. Under the Emergency (HG) Regulations 1951, the power was given to Menteri Besar and Residence Commissioner, whereby to set up HG teams in areas that were deemed necessary. No standard qualifications were set for a HG volunteer, except those given high leadership roles. Only those physically handicapped or performing special functions were given exemptions. Females were allowed to join the HG force at a later stage. At the initial stage, the HG role was just to provide a small local force to assist the police in certain static duties. The HG was in fact unarmed due to concerns of trust. To improve the fighting spirit of Auxiliary Police, Kampong Guard and Home Guard in defending life and property in Malaya against CTs, in August 1951 a new badge (refer to Figure 4-5-3) was issued by the British Government to all men who had completed the three (3) months service, and was presented to serving members of each force by Senior Officers at special parades, becoming the property of each member, only to be withdrawn the in even of dismissal or dishonorable discharge.



Figure 4-5-3: *HG Badge Source:* Times of Malaya and Straits Echo, vol 46. No. 192, Ipoh, 15 Aug 1951



Figure 4-5-4: *Training of Kinta Valley HGs in Ipoh, Perak Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021* https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html (Original source: Malaysian National Archive)

Sir Gerald Walter Robert Templer involved the local population in the fight against the CT by increasing the number of Malay battalions and strengthening the HG (raised to defend the new villages (refer to *Figure 4-5-4* and *Figures 4-5-5 and 4-5-6*). On 25 March 1952, the CT's ambushed a Public Work Department that was repairing water pipeline at Tanjung Malim that killed 12 men (4 officials and 8 policemen). Templer visited Tanjung Malim, and imposed a 22 hours daily curfew, only allowing shops to open for 2 hours a day for people to buy food. Work stopped, no one was allowed to leave the town, schools were closed, bus service suspended, rice rations were halved. However, Templer was angered by the silence of its inhabitants. 10 days later, a questionnaire survey to each household head in Chinese, Malay and Tamil was distributed to solicit secret information. The police subsequently arrested about 40 Chinese in Tanjung Malim who were suspected of being MCP couriers or food suppliers. The curfew was then lifted. Soon after, a force of 3,500 HGs was set up in Tanjung Malim, and the town was surrounded with a double barbed wire fence interspersed with 15 look-out towers.

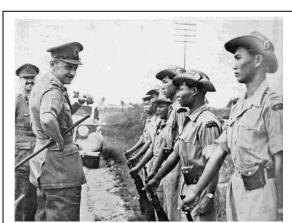


Figure 4-5-5: General Sir Gerald Templer and his assistant Major Lord Wynford (on his left) visiting Kinta Valley HGs. On the right is Wong Fook Seng, commander of the unit

Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021

https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html

Original source: pinterest.com/aimanalhakim/)



Figure 4-5-6: Sir Gerald Templer inspecting Chinese Home Guards at the NV of Bakri near Muar, Johor Source: The Department of Information Federation of Malaya, (1952)

In April 1952, Major General E.B. de Fonblanque was appointed as Inspector General to reorganize HG Units. the Civil Defence Commissioner handed over command of the HG to the Inspector General HG. It was the government policy to provide a part-time armed force, composed of all races, to relieve the police of purely defensive duties in the NVs and Kampongs. Each state or settlement was allotted an establishment from within the overall strength of the HG. All Malayans between the ages of 18 and 55 in a HG area were, by Emergency Regulations, made liable to perform part-time duties as HGs. The inspector General of HG was responsible to the Director of Operations for HG organization and training. The HG organization and training was at the Federal level, and State Commander and District HG Officer were made responsible for HG training at the State and District level, as well as to administer the HG Units. Both of them were also staff officers of the SWEC and DWEC. At the local level, the HG Committees controlled the nomination of HGs. Additionally, the State and District Advisory Committees consisting of representatives of all the communities, as well as the planters and miners, and HG units were organized into battalions, companies, platoons and sections. These measures helped unite the racially divided Malayan people.

HG units were formed in all states in Malaya, each under the command and control of the respective State HG Officer except the states of Kedah and Perlis which were merged as one. An office for the Inspector General HG, overseeing the overall administration of the entire force, was located in the federal capital. It was not an easy task forming HG units in the beginning, particularly getting the Chinese in new villages and resettlements to cooperate. The people came under threat by the CT. Curfew and food rationing had brought inconveniences that the majority did not like. Economics were not good as many were without work. Unlike those living in kampongs, the Chinese did not readily take to becoming HG. With the support of village leaders, HG units expanded as planned. At the height of Malayan Emergency, the HG force had strength of 250,000 personnel made up of Malays, Chinese, Indians and others. Each state had an establishment of Permanent staff to manage and conduct training at designated places. Permanent Staff represented some 2% of the force.

HGs were like part-time soldiers, given only basic training and were required to perform a limited role when they are called to duty. Training for HG was normally carried out in chosen places in local school grounds and volunteer service centres. HG personnel attend training 120 hours in a year, and 240 hours for personnel in technical branches such as mechanical, signals, transport services. Basic training also involved the use of shotguns. The main duties of the static element of the HGs were defence of villages, NVs and Kampongs, the capture an elimination of CTs and the passing of information on CT activities to the local police. Subsidiary duties include maintaining a check on food and controlled articles, night check, surveillance of strangers in their locations, defence of the barbed wire fencing, and combined HG/ Police mobile road patrols. A HG performed duty once every week or 10 days, with no payment of salary or allowances. There was a separate section called Operation HGs, formed into units with ten (10) men each for a short period of time, specifically to meet the needs where security units were required. The duties included carrying out ambushes and patrols, if necessary at a considerable distance from their base. They operated either alone or in conjunction with the regular forces. They were engaged not more than 72 days in a year with payment of a fixed allowance.



Figure 4-5-7: HG unit in Ulu Langat, Selangor Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html (original from Malaysian National Archive)



Figure 4-5-8: HGs performing their duty Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html (original from http://konflikdanmiliter.blogspot.com



Figure 4-5-9: HG checking vehicles at a road block Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html (original from Malaysian National Archive)



Figure 4-5-10: HGs manning a post in Tanjung Malim Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html (original from Malaysian National Archive)



Figure 4-5-11: At gate to NV in the 1950s Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html



Figure 4-5-12: Workers on rubber plantations taken to work under the protection of Special Constables in 1950 Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html

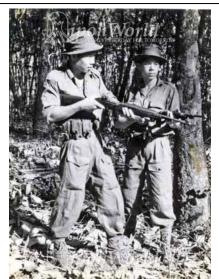


Figure 4-5-13: KVHG Foo Weng Fun with a colleague at Not 7 Base in Batu Gajah, Perak 1958.

Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html (original from www.inohworld.org)



Figure 4-5-14: General Sir Gerald Templer speaking to villagers in Kampong Merbau NV, Ayer Tawar, 1954
Source: Tan Hock Hin, 2021 https://www.macva.org.my/tanhh.html

The "Operation Questionnaire" used by Sir Gerald Templer at Tanjung Malim was later modified by curfew removal and half rations for (refer to Figure 4-5-16) obtaining information about the Communists in 5 towns/ villages, in some of the worst areas in the Federation in May 1952. The five selected villages were Terap in South Perak, Broga in South Selangor, Uriang in Central Pahang, Cha'ah in Central Johore, and Layang Layang in South Johore. They were selected not because of their bad reputation but because the security forces desired more information about the CTs operating in these particular areas. In all 5 villagers, police, army and civilian teams arrived and assembled the inhabitants before appealing to them for the co-operation necessary to make the operation a success. Villagers would have to return to their homes at 5pm instead of 7pm which was the usual nightly house curfew. They would be handed letters from Sir Gerald Templer – one to each family – that it was hoped they would answer. All letters, placed in envelopes addressed to Sir Gerald Templer, would be collected the next morning. Later they would be taken under armed escort together with 3 of the leading headmen (ie a Chinese, a Malay, and an Indian from Cha'ah) of each village to King's House where they will be handed over to Sir Gerald Templer personally. All letters carried the message from Sir Gerald in red link. At the bottom of each letter was Sir Gerald Templer's bold signature. In one respect the system used in these 5 villages differed from the system in Tanjung Malim, whereby villagers were told that they could still give their information anonymously and obtain the valuable rewards for bandit kills. "If your information is of value," they were told "you can put a secret mark on the top of the first page in the space provided and when success against the bandits are achieved which you know are on information given by you, you can write to Post Office Box 5,000 using your secret mark to claim your reward"

The questions listed by Sir Gerald Templer were:

- 1. What are the names and addresses of provision shops supplying food to the bandits?
- 2. Who are the local food suppliers of the bandits?
- 3. How do they smuggle food?

- 4. Where are the bandit camps and food dumps in your area?
- 5. Give the names of the distributors of subscription letters from the bandits
- 6. Who are the subscription collectors on estates and factories?
- 7. Who are the bandit couriers, where is their hiding place and their meeting places?
- 8. Who are responsible for circulating bandit propaganda to the youth in your village by asking them to join the bandits?
- 9. Who are the propaganda officers themselves and what are their methods?
- 10. Who are the bandit medical suppliers?
- 11. Who has given first aid to the bandits?
- 12. Have you ever seen any bandits? Where they armed? How many? Where? When?

Similar collective punishment also applied in other 'Black' areas such as Permatang Tinggi and Pekan Jabi. A Chinese Resettlement Officer was murdered on 15 August 1952 in a coffee shop in front of several witnesses at Permatang Tinggi in Penang, but no one was willing to give information to the Police. Templer was angered by the silence of its inhabitants. For the case of Permatang Tinggi, all villagers (19 families) were sent to detention camp, and the village was then destroyed.



Figure 4-5-15: Home Guard Registration Card Source: Courtesy of late Lee Kim Sin (Founder of Kajang Heritage Centre and former member of ICOMOS Malaysia New Village Working Group



Figure 4-5-16: Ration Card Source: Courtesy of late Lee Kim Sin (Founder of Kajang Heritage Centre and former member of ICOMOS Malaysia New Village Working Group

HG training school was planned by Town Planners of the Federation of Malaya in order to fit well within the resettlement area, with minimum construction of drains, barbed-wire enclosure and simplified control.

More importantly the layout would limit the effect of the early morning and evening sun on sleeping accommodation provided. However, to ensure the welfare of the HG was safeguarded, the District HG Welfare Organisation was set up with funding provided under voluntary contributions and from district sub-committees. Funding were used for 'relief over and above statutory aid given by government to deserving cases resulting from death, injury or incapacitation sustained by HG on duty; immediate relief in cases of urgent necessity while negotiations for pensions, compensation etc were in progress; additional amenities in proportion to funds available for HGs particularly for those HGs situated in remote localities; assistance for special celebrations on occasions such as Hari Raya, Chinese New Year, Deepavali, etc; refreshments; celebrations; group photographs, sports equipment; newspaper; wireless batteries; and other amenities as may be authorized from time to time by the Secretary of Defence.

On 1 July 1952, the Legal Advisor Selangor issued notice on the use of firearms by HGs

- 1. It is your duty at all times to apprehend bandits, even if you are off duty. For this purpose, firearms may be used at any time, whether you are on duty or off duty;
 - a. To defend either yourself or someone else from death, grave injury or abduction
 - b. To effect the arrest, or prevent the escape of :
 - i. An armed bandit; or
 - ii. A person whom you honestly and reasonably believe to be an armed bandit, even though he is not visibly armed;
 - iii. An unarmed bandit in the company of an armed bandit
 - c. To protect from damage or destruction by fire or explosive any building used as a human dwelling or for the custody of property or any railway engine or railway rolling stock or any motor vehicle
- 2. Firearms should not be used if you can achieve your object without them
- 3. If you honestly and reasonably believe that the circumstances are such as justify you, under paragraph 1 above, in using a firearm, you may act on that belief and will not be guilty of any offence even if that belief turns out to be mistake.
- 4. When you do shoot, shoot to disable rather than to kill. Never cause greater injury than is unavoidable in the circumstances.

(source: Kementerian Dalam Negeri, Home Guard Legal Instructions, 23/7/1952)

In August 1952, to provide protection for the predominantly Chinese owned mining area of Kinta Valley Perak, a full time force known as the Kinta Valley HG was formed, and cost bared by Perak Chinese Mining Association. The Force Commander was responsible to the State HG Officer, Perak.

During Sir Gerald Templer's visit on 25 August 1952 at Yong Peng (19km from Cha'ah NV), thirteen (13) Chinese headmen suggested that they should fight the CTs without help from the Army. Sir Gerald Templer replied, "this is the leading village and you are the leading men responsibility for the whole area rests with you...I am not going to tolerate murders and telephone lines being cut in and around new villages...thousands of shotguns and vast quantities of steel case ammunition would soon be arriving from Europe and the United States to back up the fight against CT in Malaya".

A total of 39 large new villages in Johor had their own local councils by April 1953, the first in Malaya to achieve this. Cha'ah New Village in Segamat was the first to elect a council on 11 February 1953. The Cha'ah Local Council was formally set up on 16 March 1953 under the *Ordinan Majlis Tempatan 1952*, with a total of 15 local council members. The tasks included construction and maintenance of road and drain and bridges, to collect rubbish and night soil, to maintain street lighting, to construct road side shops, a temporary market, a children's playground, football field, badminton court and baseball court. The local council was also in-charge for application for facilities such as telephone, post office, community hall and council office building, schools, old folk homes, water and electrical supply, clinic and other services. During the emergency period, the Local Council also ensured the safety of villagers including firefighting and HG. Today, these functions mostly occur through Rukun Tetangga.

Under the Emergency (Civilian Injuries Compensation) Regulations, 1949, the family members of deceased were compensated once the case was justified and confirmed by the District Special Branch Officer. If CTs were responsible for a murder case, the Compensation Officer of Emergency (Civilian Injuries Compensation) Regulations at the federal level would then advise the District Officer to make the payment at Local Treasury directly, and direct the District Officer to notify the State Treasury once the payment had been effected.

By March 1953, the attributes necessary for a successful New Village had been defined as "a modicum of agriculture land and the granting of long-term land titles, and adequate water supply, a reasonably well functioning village committee, a school which could accommodate at least a majority of the Children, a village community centre, road of possible standards and with side drains, reasonable conditions of sanitation and public health, a place of worship, trees along main street and padang, an effective perimeter fence, a flourishing Home Guard, a reasonably friendly feeling towards the Government and the Police."

On 10 February 1954, federal police headquarters issued an administrative memorandum to spell the arrest and prosecution of members of HGs for disciplinary offences. Under the instructions of the Director of Intelligence, on 6 March 1954, the government policy towards and organization of the HG planned to make the HG in NVs solely responsible for village defence. A three-phase process of development was decided in 1954: Phase I where the HG is still in the process of training and has no defence responsibility; Phase II where the HG assists the Police in defence duties; and Phase III where the HG is solely responsible for the village defence. The important feature of Phase III was that HGs were in permanent charge of their own weapons, and the primary object of every HG was the defence of his village at all times against CT attack or infiltration. This could only be achieved if every HG was well trained and given a definite task in the defence of his village; there was a definite and well rehearsed plan of action in the event of a CT attack. The plan would come into operation immediately once the alarm was sounded or shooting broke out. Every HG was consistently alert while on patrol, was required to keep calm in the event of attack and carry out his orders without question. Table 4-5-1 shows the HGs number in March 1954 and also the number of NVs achieving Phase III status. In which only about 20% of NVs with HGs force achieved Phase III stage by March 1954. Although the HGs (apart from Operational HGs, and KVHG) were unpaid, an annual budget was allocation for training HGs to achieve the policy of self defence, and Table 4-5-2 shows the HG Estimate 1954 by States. The budget allocation were for salary & allowance for (inspector, trainer, clerk), housing and hotel, stationery and print, telephone and telegrams, light, power, water, maintenance vehicles, temporary training base, maintenance compounds, maintenance training centre, rent camp stores, replacement of uniforms, training allowances, operation allowances, contingencies, initial uniform, amenities grants, headquarters costs, and operation rations.

When Sir Gerald Templer finally left his post in October 1954, most of Malaya was secured (within the barbed wire). Before April 1950, a total population of 18,500 resettled in new villages, while by end-1954, a total population of 572,917 resettled in over 480 new villages in 11 states. By the end of 1955, MCP's armed forces were reduced from 8,000 jungle fighters in 1951 to an estimate of 3,000 men and women. Besides, the frequency of incidents had decreased from maximum of 500 to 65 per month. Additionally, more areas in Malaya were declared 'white areas'.

Table 4-5-1: HG number in March 1954 and number of NVs with HG force under Phase III

		Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total HGs in State ***	Operation Sections ***	o. of NV HG Units	No of NVs with HG under Phase III	Strength of Armed CTs
		%	%	%	%	I	<i>σ</i> ₂	No.	W	7
1	Perlis	75.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	2,420	20	1	0	10
2	Kedah	88.73	8.09	0.85	2.33	19,780	36	32	4	512
3	Penang	45.00	50.00	5.00	0.00	4,250	18	7	1	54
4	Perak	51.33	39.77	7.76	1.14	52,800*	68	103	10	1,412
5	Kelantan	92.68	5.92	0.54	0.86	7,100	28	11	4	166
6	Terengganu	95.89	4.01	0.10	0.00	3,264	12	1	0	62
7	Pahang	74.61	23.93	1.32	0.14	22,650	48	43	15	1,735
8	Selangor	51.34	39.62	8.61	0.43	23,220	39	34	3	378
9	N. Sembilan	61.98	32.45	5.43	0.14	14,360	34	32	13	611
10	Johor	56.54	39.55	3.88	0.03	38,630	66	71	16	1,140
11	Melaka	55.98	37.28	6.49	0.25	7,860	18	14	6	44
	Total					196,334		349	72	5,764

Note:

- * includes 900 full time and paid HGs Kinta Valley HG (KVHG). Established in August 1952 to protect the Chinese owned tin mines in the Kinta Valley area with about 1,650 but reduced to 900 by August 1953 due to financial reasons. All members of force underwent negative political and criminal screening by the police. Almost entirely Chinese who were recruited from most parts of the Federation by means of vernacular press advertisements and a Chinese recruiting team headed by and ex-member of the K.M.T. armed force.
- ** Generally volunteer and unpaid and except KVHG, no members of the HG were positively screened, as screening only carried out at level of Platoon Commander and above.
- *** State HGs were armed with about 90,000 shortguns (1 to 3 men), together with small quantity of carbines and pistols issued to members of the Operation Sections and Leaders (1 to 1 basis). In addition, about 270 rifles were held for training purposes.

(Source: British Advisor's Office, NS, Home Guard General, 2/1/1954, No. Penerimaan: 1957/0537713W)

Table 4-5-2: HG Estimate 1954 by States

	State/ Settlement	Amount (\$)	Percentage (%)
1	Johore	1,809,708	15.08
2	Perak	2,166,171	18.05
3	Pahang	1,031,016	8.59
4	Negeri Sembilan	948,176	7.90
5	Selangor	1,095,910	9.13
6	Melaka	428,502	3.57
7	Kedah	1,022,205	8.52
8	Perlis	170,559	1.42
9	Kelantan	599,429	5.00
10	Terengganu	232,330	1.94
11	Penang	406,227	3.39
12	Headquarter – Kuala Lumpur	436,267	3.63
13	Kinta Valley HG	1,653,500	13.78
	Total	12,000,000	100.00

(source: Data collected from Kementerian Dalam Negeri, Home Guard Estimate 1954, 21/02/1953, No. Penerimaan: 1979/0006645W)

Alan Lennoz Boyd, Colonial secretary, visited CT's black spots, Cha'ah NV in North Johor on 26 August 1955. He told the HGs "Give a right and left out of your guns to two terrorists for me. That will then leave only two out of the four you have in the vicinity". Cha'ah NV had a population of 4,800 in 1955 which made it one of the largest NVs in Malaya. Its HG, 600 strong had one of the stoutest command posts in Malaya (refer to Figure 4-5-17). When Boyd squinted down the barred of one shotgun and an officer said quietly "They're loaded, sir." He also met the visited Johor Labis Estate where most of the Cha'ah NV's villagers were working, and also met Cha'ah elected council in front of the Cha'ah Community Hall, where the facts and figures of the township on the blackboard for him (refer to Figure 4-5-18). HG promotion at Cha'ah NV was announced on 8 September 1956, whereby Abdul Rahman bin Jaffar promoted as District HG Commander, Batu Pahat with rank of major, and Cha Peng Hwee promoted as Battalion Commander at Cha'ah with the rank of Lieutenant. Being one of the bandit 'Black Spots', the area was only declared 'White' on 27 August 1958, almost a year after Malaya's Independence.



Figure 4-5-17: Home Guards at Cha'ah New Village Source: Courtesy of Too Hin Chong (Deputy Chairman, Persatuan Hainan Cha'ah, Cha'ah NV)



Figure 4-5-18: Photo with the Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox Boyd in front of Cha'ah Community Hall at Cha'ah New Village

Front 5th from left: Pang Voon Liat (彭文烈), 7th from left: Sim Kim Chong (沈金松), 3rd from right 曾庆隆 Source: Persatuan Hakka Cha'ah (2008). Peravaan Jubli (1958-2008) In Perak, many incidents of terrorists firing at HG posts were reported in the early days. These were attempts to put fear and discourage the villagers from performing HG duty. One major incident occurred in 1956. Terrorists raided a post in Simpang Pulai New Village in the wee hours of a Saturday morning. The CTs took away 10 shotguns from the HGs. Following this incident, the HG training syllabus was reorganised and made more intensive. It was a difficult time but the HGs took it well. It also brought an outpouring of concern on the part of the villagers and many came forward voluntarily to register their names. This was the beginning of an 'unbelievable' change that HGs subsequently found in new villagers and Chinese resettlements.

HGs were a local force comprising various races (Malay, Chinese, Indian, European, others). This emergency service indirectly fostered greater understanding amongst different races and cultivated a sense of belonging and racial unity when moving towards the independence of Malaya in 31 August 1957. HG units were disbanded once an area was declared "White". The Malayan Emergency ended on 12 July 1960. With the success of HGs roles in ensuring local peace, safety and security during the emergency service, The Territorial Army Ordinance 1958 was established, and Territorial Army (TA), or "Tentera Tempatan" in BM was established in January 1959. It is controlled and administered by Ministry of Defence (Mindef). The experience and sense of belonging that fostered younger generations of Malayans via service as HGs became a driving force for them to register for the TA, to continue to contribute towards maintaining Malaya as a peaceful place called 'Home'.



Figure 4-5-19: A group of young men of different races who find comradeship and mutual understanding through emergency service

Source: The Department of Information Federation of Malaya, (1952)

Acknowledgement:

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"Cha'ah New Village in Johor Malaysia: A Unique Rural Cultural Landscape with Colonial Planning Idea and Community Architecture"

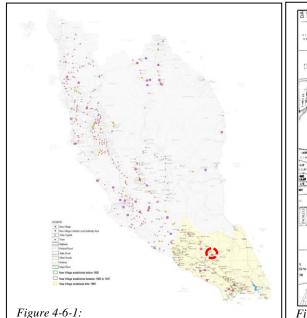
Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee

Introduction

The Counter-insurgency measures adopted during the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960) have largely been seen as a successful example of British colonial strategy to contain and defeat the Communist uprising while maintaining a stranglehold over vital economic assets (rubber, tin, oil palm). More than half a million villagers were relocated/ resettled in over 450 New Villagers (NVs) during the Emergency. Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs was appointed as the Director of Operations on 3 April 1950. He realized the importance of isolating the insurgents from their sources of food and creating a sense of security in populated areas so that people would be more willing to provide information. The policy of "coercion and enforcement" adopted in 1950 was developed to win over the "hearts and minds" of villagers and to defeat the Communists by "resettling and regrouping" squatters and villagers in rural and urban fringe areas. This move sparked the development of new urban configurations in the form of New Villages, which if executed properly, may have changed the entire rural landscape of Malaya in the 1950s. In April 1950, some 18,500 people were resettled in new villages. By October 1954, just four years later, some 573,000 people had been resettled in over 480 new villages in Malaya (Lin and Fong, 2005; Tan, 2020). Cha'ah New Village was selected as a case study to provide an overview of its development, and a glimpse into the culture and heritage embedded within this planned village which has an ethnic mix, offering a melting pot of built form and culture in rural Malaysia. Cha'ah NV could provide some hints on how the New Villages for rural areas may have developed if properly executed as per the Briggs Plan and/ or with influenced by the Garden City Planning concept, when conditions permitted during the Emergency.

Cha'ah New Village in Segamat District is one out of 84 NVs in Johor. It covers approx. 193 acres (76.013 hectares) on flat terrain. In March 1953, there were a tota ofl 716 units of residential house and 198 units of shop-houses. The population totaled 7,434 settlers, comprised of 5,354 (72.0%) Chinese, 1,300 (17.5%) Malays, 760 (10.2%) Indians and 20 (0.3%) others. It is amongst the 5% of large-scale new villages in Malaya with population above 5,000. In a survey carried out by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government in the 2000s, Cha'ah New Village had 840 households with an average household size of four only. The population had decreased to 3,384, with 29.55% aged 0-14, 60.67% aged 15-64 and 9.78% aged 65 and above. In terms of land use within the NV, 85% were residential and 15% were commercial. The tenure types on residential lots comprised: 34% with 30-years lease; 34% with 60-years lease' 17% with 99-years lease; and 15% still on government land or grant under process. The poverty rate was above the national standard, with 5% rich, 75% average, 10% poor and 10% very poor.

The paper is divided into three parts. Part 1 provides pre-World War II background information about the Kangchu system in Johor and the French engagement in the agricultural development in Northern Johor since the 1930s. Both these occurrences contributed towards the early development of Cha'ah Village. Part 2 focuses on the development of Cha'ah Village in the post-World War II era, especially after the Emergency was declared by the British in June 1948. Part 2 discusses the impact of counterinsurgency policies adopted since 1948, at the local level. Among others, it discusses how resettlement was conducted on 27 August 1951. This discussion also elaborates on how counterinsurgency strategies used to defeat Communist influences impacted upon Cha'ah NV and its residents. Part 3 discusses the post-Emergency era. It describes the embedded cultural heritage which has been maintained and developed over seventy years, since the formation of the NV.



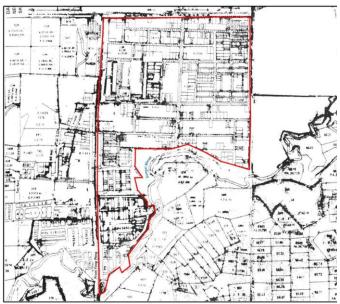


Figure 4-6-2: Boundary Plan of Cha'ah New Village Johor

Source: KPKT 2000 (courtesy of Dato Ir Fong Tian Yong)

Latitude/ Longitude:

2.24838N, 103.04207E

Part 1

The Kangchu System and Cha'ah Village

Source: KPKT 2000 (courtesy of Dato Ir Fong Tian

Location of Cha'ah New Village, Johor

The Cha'ah New Village is located in the northern section of Johor (see Figure 4-6-1). It was originally administered under Batu Pahat district, and subsequently changed to Segamat district during the Emergency. It is the southernmost town in Segamat district, and it is under the local authority of Labis District Council (Majlis Daerah Labis). Cha'ah New Village is located along the main trunk road which connects Labis (16km away) on the northern side and Yong Peng (27km away) on the southern side. Segamat district town is 46 km away from Cha'ah. Prior to 1931, travel to and from Cha'ah, which had good water supply and fertile soil, was by river. It was only after a main trunk road which passed through the village was completed in 1931, that river transportation was eclipsed. The new trunk road connected this remote area of Cha'ah to Singapore in the south and Kuala Lumpur in the north. Consequently, the surrounding areas of Cha'ah were opened up. It increased the opportunities for major agricultural development. Population growth followed. Interestingly, the new settlers were from different ethnic groups (Malay, Chinese, Indian, others) and different dialect groups (Teochew, Hainanese, Hakka, Hokkien, Kwongsai, and Foochow). The opening up of Cha'ah also created opportunities for bringing in new ventures in administrative and technological advancement, in agriculture (rubber then palm oil), and in housing projects (for workers and communities). New ideas about township planning viz the notion of garden city planning were evidently adopted.

The Kangchu (港主) system was first developed in the state of Johor in the 1820s. Kangchu literally means master of the riverbank, and was the title given to the Chinese headmen of these river settlements. Temenggong Daeng Ibrahim formed a bureaucracy made up of Malay officers to oversee the administration of the numerous Kangchu's that were started during the 1840s. His successor,

Temenggong Abu Bakar further improved the administration of the *Kangchu*; not only were there more *Kangchu*. The number of Chinese immigrants who settled in Johor to develop the state's agricultural economy grew rapidly. The records available indicate that land titles were issued under the *Kangchu* system beginning in 9 Oct 1844. The records also reveal that the *Kangchu* and workers who worked in the gambier and pepper plantations were mainly Teochews who were first or second generation Chinese immigrants in Johor. Apparently, the *Kangchu* system was first adopted in Skudai, southern Johor, and then developed towards Tebrau, Plentong and Stulang (Teo, 2020).

By 1862, there were already 1,200 gambier and pepper farms in Johor. The *Kangchu* maintained a friendly relationship with the Temenggong who would appoint a Malay officer fluent in Teochew to act as his liaison. To streamline the running of the *Kangchu* system, a set of laws, the *Kanun Kangchu* (Kangchu Canon) was prepared in 1873. In the Kanun, the powers of the *Kangchu* were defined. It clarified that the Temenggong conferred upon the *Kangchu* a large degree of administrative autonomy within the plot of land granted. These included the right to collect taxes on behalf of the Temenggong, as well as look after the welfare needs of Chinese workers. Over time, more work opportunities were generated to serve the needs of the communities such as working as shopkeepers, trading, selling opium and alcohol etc. The administrative centres were generally established within the workers' settlement at the foot of the river called Kangkar (港脚), literally "foot of the river'

In 1865, Temenggong Abu Bakar called upon the Teochew group (Ngee Heng Kongsi, Johor Bahru) to accept Chinese settlers of other dialect groups to prevent possible communal warfare due to conflicting economic interests. The crops produced from these plantations were exported to other countries through Singapore with the assistance of Chinese merchants there. As more and more settlers arrived and competition intensified, many of these Kangchu fell into debt and sold their property rights to larger merchants (Teochew Kongsi) based in Singapore, who became the 'Tuan Sungai' (Master of the River). So, the Kangchu subsequently were hired as supervisors or managers by the big merchants to look after the day-to-day operations of the gambier and pepper plantations. Later on, Temenggong Abu Bakar issued contract-style letters, namely 'Surat Tauliah' to recognize the operations of these Kangchu. In the 1870s, the Kangchu system expanded further north to Yong Peng, Batu Pahat, Benut, Endau and Kota Tinggi where there were larger blocks of farms. In 1885 the Sultan of Johor accepted a British Consul. When the Sultan (previously Temenggong) Abu Bakar took control of Muar, he encouraged Chinese settlers to establish plantations there. The profit generated from these plantations formed the bulk of Johor's economy and financed the development of Johor's infrastructure. The relationship between Sultan Abu Bakar and Chinese leaders was excellent and many of them were appointed to political positions in the state. They included Tan Hiok Nee, the Kangchu from Chaozhou and Wong Ah Fook the Contractor from Taishan, who owned gambier and pepper farms in Mersing in the 1880s.

The plantations in Johor began to diversity their crops to coffee, tapioca, tea, pineapple and rubber when prices of gambier and pepper dropped at the end of the 19th century. Coffee and tapioca were also abandoned in the 1890s when their market prices also dropped. Most of the *Kangchu* favoured planting rubber instead, as its price increased greatly beginning from 1910. When the role of the British Consul was subsequently changed to 'General Advisor' in 1914, a British colonial government administration system was adopted. Subsequently, the Societies Enactment was also passed in 1916 which prompted the dissolution of the Ngee Heng Kongsi. The *Kangchu* system was officially abolished in 1917 under the *Kangchu* Rights (Abolition) Enactment. This move also indirectly suppressed opium-smoking and gambling activities in Johor.

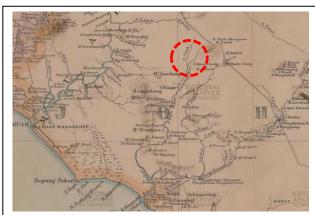


Figure 4-6-3: Map of Johor 1898. The location of Cha'ah Village along Sg Cha'ah/ Sg Jaah and Sg Lenik Source: Singapore National Archives



Figure 4.6-4: Map of Johor 1913. The location of Cha'ah Village along Sg Cha'ah and Sg Lenik. Away from Railway line. Source: Singapore National Archives

Cha'ah settlement was located in the middle of Johor far into the jungle. Jaah River (Sg Jaah) connected the settlement to Batu Pahat (see *Figure 4-6-3* and *Figure 4-6-4*). The rivers (Sungai Jaah and Sungai Lenik) flowed into Sungai Simpang Kiri and then into Sungai Batu Pahat. The river was the only transport route linking Cha'ah village to other villages along the river and to Batu Pahat town. Villagers commuted by sampan downstream for a day to buy or trade in Batu Pahat. The trip downstream took one day but it took three days to go upstream for the return trip.

The word "Jaah" can be found in the 1898 map. There are two local records on the origins of the place name. The first version is that it was named in remembrance of a beautiful aboriginal lady, "Chee Ah", who lived in the area. The second version relates to the family name of the *Kangchu* of the area, that is Xie (谢) or chia in the Teochew dialect. As the Kangchu was the founder of the 130-year old Ang Sian Gong (洪仙公庙) Chinese temple here, it is more than likely that the name Cha'ah was derived from name of the Kangchu which was recorded by a Malay officer as Cha'ah. Its Chinese name, Sam Hap Kang (三合港) was given much later when some villagers from three villages, namely Kangkar (港脚), Langkap (顺天港) and Ma Gao Gang (马交港), moved to settle at the main truck road after it was completed in the early 1930s, thus establishing a settlement which consisted of villagers from "three rivers", Sam Hap Kang in Teochew and Hokkien mean "three rivers combined".

The house of the *Kangchu* (see *Figure 4-6-5*) was located at *Kangkar*, literally meaning "foot of the river" (Sg Cha'ah) (see *Figure 4-6-6*). The house was burnt down during WWII with only the front staircase made of bricks still intact, providing evidence of its location. There was a Chinese temple built within the plantation plot located not far from the house (see *Figure 4-6-7*). As well, there are four tomb stones of the *Kangchu* located behind this old temple (see *Figure 4-6-8*).





Figure 4.6-5: Kangchu's house (on stilt) taken in the 1940s, located beside Sg. Cha'ah. The house was burnt down during WWII, with only the front part of the staircase still standing.

Source: SinChewJitPoh, 12 July 2020



Figure 4.6-6: View from the other side of Cha'ah river to the Kangchu's house (staircase remain) the oldest Chinese temple in Cha'ah Source: SinChewJitPoh, 12 July 2020



Figure 4-6-7:
The HongXianGong (洪仙公庙) located behind the old Kangchu House. It's deity mainly found in Johore and Singapore, to protect its followers from Tiger(jungle) Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-8: Chia Swee Yong, descendent of Kangchu at Cha'ah besides the 2nd Kangchu's Tomn Stone (清考德明谢公). The registered Kangchu are Chia Too Tee and Chia Ah Kwang. Chia Ah Kwang was the Kangchu Source: SinChewJitPoh, 12 July 2020

A topography and vegetation survey was carried out for development potential in Johor under a British Advisor. The map dated 1926 indicated the survey boundary for the existing plantation in Johor; it was generally located along the railway line for transportation of goods from one place to the other and more importantly for export (see *Figure 4-6-9*). Land titles issued at Cha'ah along Sg Lenik show that the boundary map was drawn in October 1920 (see *Figure 4-6-10*). The survey has provided good understanding on the agricultural development potential of the huge land bank, which was flat and fertile with a water source, in the middle of the northern part of Johor where Cha'ah village is now located. Infrastructure projects were planned at the state level, while at the federal level, there were programs to attract foreign investment to develop inland of Johor.

The main trunk road connecting Yong Peng to Labis was completed by 1930 (see *Figure 4-6-11*). This trunk road became very important because it connected Singapore and Kuala Lumpur by short distance through the inner landscape of Malaya allowing expansion of agriculture development. With the completion of this main trunk road in 1930, the Teochew people from Cha'ah port, Kangkar (港脚), the Hainaneses from Langkap 顺天港) and the Ma Gao Kang (马交港) slowly moved to live along the main truck road nearby (within 500 meters) Kangkar (港脚). However, this Cha'ah old village growth followed a ribbon development similar to other villages at Batu Pahat, Johor.

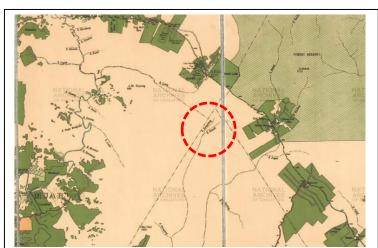


Figure 4-6-9:

Map of Johor 1926 indicates the existing plantation boundary in Johor, nearby Cha'ah village.

Source: Singapore National Archives

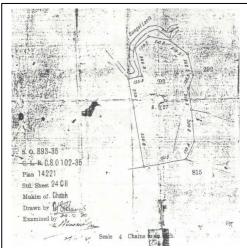


Figure 4-6-10: Example of Land Title in Cha'ah with its boundary lot measured in 1920. Source: Courtesy of Goh Swee Hee

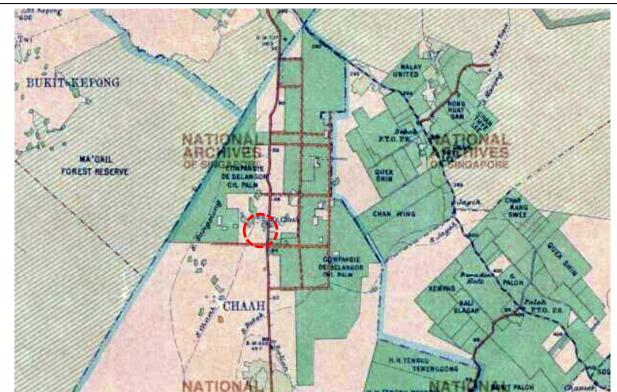


Figure 4-6-11:

General Survey Map of Johor 1936.

The Main trunk road connecting Yong Peng and Labis was completed. The boundary of Compangie De Selangor Oil Palm (Socfin) at Johor Labis Estate demarcated

Source: Singapore National Archives

Originally, Cha'ah village was separated by Sg Lenik (now Sungai Cha'ah). The settlement located at north side of (before) the river was called uptown ("上街场", current Taman Damai Jaya 2 or "和平花园2") and the settlement located at south side of (after) the river (Sungai Lenik) was named downtown ("下街场", opposite the current Sekolah Menengah Sri Bali). On 20 March 1931, the Johore Government Gazette announced that a Postal Agency was opened at Cha'ah. The population at the Cha'ah village increased to about 1,000 or 150 shophouses during this pre-WWII period. Besides a convenience shop, there were also traders for rubber and a morning/ evening news service. A Chinese medium school (Nan Hwa School, see Figure 4-6-12) was also opened in 1931 at Cha'ah Village to provide education for the local Chinese living there which was rapidly increasing. A new police station costing \$22,500 was built at the Cha'ah Village uptown area, This is the site of the present-day police station site at Cha'ah New Village, Segamat, Johor (see Figure 4-6-13 and Figure 4-6-14) in 1939.



Figure 4-6-12: Nan Hwa Chinese School at Cha'ah Village in the

Source: Courtesy of Chew Kong Fact (Chairman, Board of Management Cha'ah Chinese School 2021)



Figure 4-6-13:
Map of Johor 1937.
Internal roads at the Socfin (Johore Labis Estate — JLE) visible from the map. Location of designated police station site and palm oil mill marked, and the Cha'ah Village (uptown) also shown.
Area on upper part of river (Cha'ah uptown)
Area on lower part of river (Cha'ah downtown)

Source: Singapore National Archives

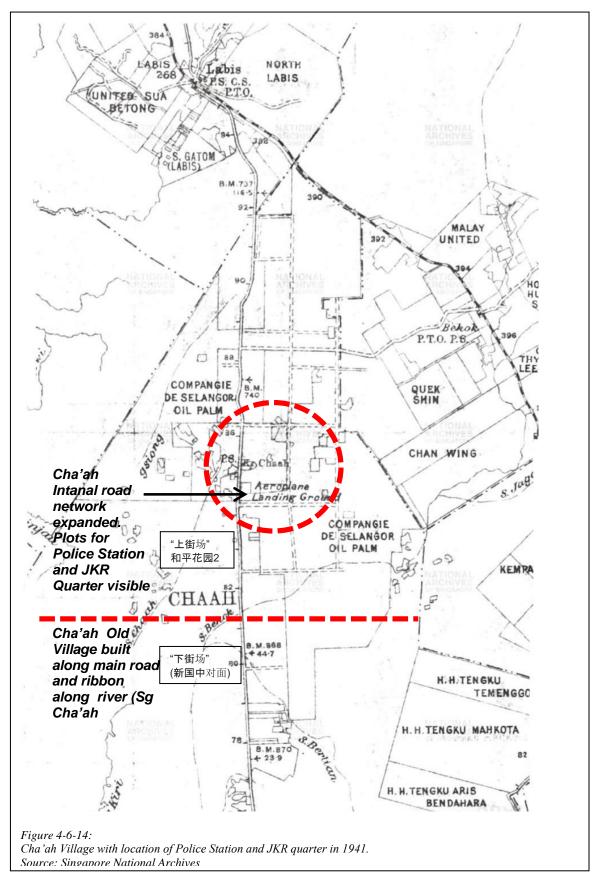
The French Connection

In 1930, the *Societe Financiere des Caoutchoucs* (Socfin), a French plantation company, was locally registered, with its company offices in Kuala Lumpur. It was regarded as the biggest plantation company in South East Asia (since Socfin also operated in then French Indochina). In fact, it also conducted plantation agriculture in various parts of tropical Africa too. Registered in Malaya, Socfin, embarked on an enormous expansion and planting programme (for both rubber and oil palms which ultimately totaled some 20,510 ha). At this point Socfin came under the dynamic leadership of RME Michaux. In Johor, a total area of 12,074 ha (30,668 acres) for Rubber and Palm Oil Plantation were acquired around the area where Cha'ah Village is located (see *Figure 4-6-11*). This Plantation was named Johore Labis Estate subsequently.

Batu Pahat Notes. A New Town Being Built

"...almost in the heart of the jungle, near Labis, a fairly large village called Cha'ah, comprising about 200 attap shophouses, has suddenly sprung up....soon [to] be declared a town, as the whole land, except a small Government reserve, has been bought up for purpose of building shops..."

Malaya Tribune, 14 February 1930



In 1932, Socfin experimented an innovation in railway transport in Malaya whereby the first bulk shipment of palm oil by railway tank wagon at Batang Berjuntai station, Selangor was successful developed (see *Figure 4-6-15*). This method of transport effected a saving of about £5 a ton on transport in barrels, and was subsequently adopted at Johore Labis Estate (JLE) too. The tank lorries from Socfin estates discharged palm oil by gravity into tank wagons of 10-ton capacity which had been specially constructed by the F.M.S. Railways. This palm oil was then sent to Port Swettenham (later Port Klang), where it was discharged into a tank lighter and then pumped into a specially equipped steamer (see *Figure 4-6-16*) for export to New Zealand and Australia. The planning of JLE to accommodate a rail transport system linking its plantation (different divisions) to a major oil palm processing factory, and ultimately to the F.M.S. Railways, with a stop at Saiding (between Labis and Bekok). An order was placed with the Stork Bros and Co. of Amsterdam in 1937 to build a complete palm oil factory with a production of 7,000 tons per annum.



Figure 4-6-15:
Motor Rail locomotives working on the 610mm (2ft) gauge railway at Socfin's Labis Oil Palm Estate in Johore Source: Malayan Industrial Rail (2017)



Figure 4-6-16:

Tanker used to transfer semi-processed palm oil to the nearest point on the Malayan Railway

Source: Malayan Industrial Rail (2017)

Socfin was also active on developing social infrastructure on behalf of its large number of workers who were employed in the plantations, in the oil palm factory, and in the transportation of the palm oil. Among others, Socfin constructed the Chapel of St Paul the Hermit (see *Figure 4-6-17*), known as the "French Church" for its Catholic staff and workers, and a Hindu Kuil for its Hindu workers at different divisions. The company operated a retirement gratuity system, with very systematic workers' housing schemes, for their Workers. In 1941, an interesting experiment scheme on land settlement for "retired" Tamil estate workers was developed on the JLE.

"Land is allotted to each family of old laborers of the estate. Vegetables are grown with the guidance of demonstration gardening by Chinese......Each family is given half an acre of land and more will be given later, if required. Grazing land of about 50 acres is available...The houses are of pise-de-terrace type, semi-detached, single storey with thatched roofs...Six families Settled."

The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, 19 May 1941, Pg 7

Apart from the living quarters, JLE also constructed other facilities (playing field, dispensary, community hall, shops, Tamil Temple, Tamil School) (see *Figures 4-6-18-24*). The JLE was once even equipped with its own air field for small plane servicing JLE to land (see *Figure 4-6-14*). Apparently, it was use to deliver important documents as well as the wages for workers. Additionally, land was also allocated for a Christian Cemetery within JLE premises. This was located not far from

the Chapel (see *Figure 4-6-26*). Like the Chapel, the residence of estate managers was also a standalone building located on high land within the JLE, for overseeing the entire estate (see *Figure 4-6-31*). A General survey Map dated 1957 (see *Figure 4-6-25*) captured clearly the rail lines at the JLE, its Air Field, Palm Oil Mill, Golf Club, workers' quarters and the managers' residences.



Figure 4-6-17: The French Church - Chapel of St Paul The Hermit, JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (Sept 2021)



Figure 4-6-18: Tamil Temple (Kuil) at Division 2 JLE, Johor Source: Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-19: Workers' Housing at Division 2 JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-20: Shops at Division 2 JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-21: Dispensary at Division 2 JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-22: Community Hall at Division 2 JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-23: Garden at Division 2 JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-24: Football field at Division 2 JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)

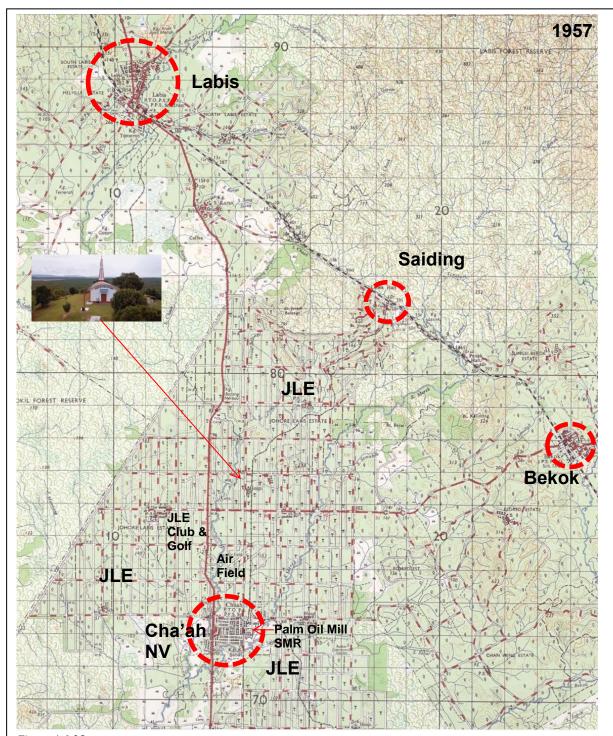


Figure 4-6-25: Map 1957 showing the railway line, Cha'ah NV, Palm Oil Mill, Air Field, Golf Club. Settlement (Tamil workers) strategically located within the JLE Source: Singapore National Archives

Regular fortnightly flying lessons on 2 Malayan estates (Johore Labis Estate in Johor and Ulu Bernam in Perak) with pre-war landing strips were organized by the Kuala Lumpur Flying Club from June 1949. 20 planters were undergoing instruction by the Club's chief instructor, Mr A Glassborrow. All the planters from Johore Labis Estate were beginners. 19 members have done their first solo flights and eight have gained their "A" licences by 17 July 1949.



Figure 4-6-26: The air-field at JLE Source: courtesy of Goh Swee Hee



Figure 4-6-27: The Christian Cemetery at JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (Sept 2021)

On 9 August 1949, in the case management over a dispute between employers and employees over a proposed country-wide cut in tappers' earning. Socfin resolved the issue as they were able to improve production methods and sell rubber in New York at four or five cents per pound more than the market price. The improvement include centralized control with testing and curing specifications by the manufacturer.

The outbreak of World War II (1939-45) brought the palm oil industry to its knees, and recovery was slow and agonizing. The demand for rubber and palm oil only spiked with the outbreak of the Korean War in mid-1950. A golf club (S T Rhodes Club) was established in 1955 with 9 holes parkland type, with driving range, putting green, clubhouse, golf club retail, snack bar, tennis courts and swimming pool that still operates until today (see *Figures 4-6-28 to 31*).



Figure 4-6-28: S T Rhodes Club Source: Goh Ai Tee (Sept 2021)



Figure 4-6-29: Community Hall at Division 2 JLE Source: Goh Ai Tee (Sept 2021)



Figure 4-6-30: 9 holes parkland type Golf Course Source: Goh Ai Tee (Sept 2021)



Figure 4-6-31: View from the Club House Source: Goh Ai Tee (Sept 2021)

Part 2

The Emergency in 1948 and Briggs Plan 1951

On 9 June 1948, a special conference on the 'state of lawlessness' of workers was held at King's House between the Secretary General to the Commissioner General (Sir Ralph Hone) and the High Commissioner (Sir Edward Gent) and representatives of industry and commerce (United Planting Association of Malaya, the Malayan Planting Industries Employers' Association, the F.M.S. Chambers of Mines, and the F.M.S. Chamber of Commerce). There was also much concern about the killings that had occurred in the plantations and towns, reportedly by "killer squads". At that point, 19 estates in the Federation were idle through strikes. Although the great majority of rubber and oil palm estates were working normally, some 9,000 acres of estates under Socfin Co. were idle, due to "labour troubles".

The state of "Emergency" was declared at certain districts of Perak and Johor on 16 June 1948, after 3 European planters (Arthur Walker, the manager of Eiplhi Estate on Lintang road in Sungai Siput near Ipoh, John Allison, manager and his assistant Ian Christian of Phin Soon Estate), a Chinese's head laborer (Senai Estate, Johore) and a contractor (who was a Kuomintang supporter, on an estate in Taiping Perak) were murdered by the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), the armed wing of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) on 16 June 1948.

The "Emergency" was extended to the entire Federation of Malaya as well as to Singapore on 18 June 1948. The term 'Emergency' and not 'War' was declared as it was considered a civil issue by the British government. Economically, with the declaration of 'Emergency' the British government could maintain its interest in Malaya and also benefit financially from insurance coverage in London, as insurers would not have compensated plantation and mine owners if it had been labeled a 'war'. Politically, the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) was denied its political legitimacy, and the term 'Communist Terrorist' was used to weaken its political purpose. Socially, it was time for the colonial government to seriously address the long standing squatter issues along the fringe of major towns and rural areas in Malaya, to bring these squatters to better governance under close monitoring, and also to cut aid (food, medicine and information) to the communists.

With the location of Cha'ah village, it eventually became one of the 'Black' spots for communist activities. Incidents that happened within and nearby the Cha'ah village are listed below:

- 20 June 1948: The first incident nearby the village whereby a Chinese manager of Chan Wing Estate at Bekok Labis was murdered by five (5) armed Chinese, and another armed robbery at provision store at Johor River Estate.
- 20 July 1948: Communists fired at military dispatch rider about 6 miles south of Sungai Cha'ah
- 22 July 1948: Communist responsible for the incident, president of the Cha'ah Labour Union was killed by military-police.
- 10 August 1948: at 9th mile on the Yong Peng-Labis Road, 6 armed communists held up a bus and burned it out completely.
- 16 August 1948: at 6th miles on the Labis Cha'ah Road, 38 revolvers together with documents of Cha'ah Self-protection Corp (self-styled) issued by the terrorist organization were found and five men were arrested.
- 20 August 1948: At Cha'ah village, a couple was killed by seven communists while they celebrate the seventh Moon Festival with other family members in their home.

- 13 September 1948: a combined military-police party made an extensive search of an area south of Cha'ah village and twelve unoccupied communist huts were found and burned down by the patrol.
- 23 September 1948: Another raid at Johore Labis Estate found communist literature in the hut
- 27 September 1948: A large communist training-school (a school with writing desks, physical training ground and accommodation for about 200 persons) found in jungle west of Cha'ah. A few days later, the police killed three communists who attacked police escort at Johore Labis Estate, while one communist escaped.
- 11 November 1948: 19 years old Chinese waitress was brutally murdered in a coffee shop at Cha'ah Village. The shopkeeper together with his family members disappeared from the village after lodging a police report on the murder of his daughter by the communists.
- 27 November 1948: The assistant manager of Johore Labis Estate (Mr George Alexanber Swanson, age 36) was killed in an ambush at the estate by at least 10 communists on the same day. Mr Swanson had been a prisoner of war in Malaya during the Japanese Occupation, and had just returned from Orkney, Scotland in October 1948.
- 21 January 1949: police offer \$2,500 reward for the capture of 25 year old Hoe Lian Chye, who was believed to be the murderer of the waitress.
- 3 August 1949: Communists fired on a special constable at the defence post near the railway at Saiding on Johore Labis Estate.
- 12 November 1949: About 150 communists attacked British troops (4 officers and 16 other ranks and 6 policemen) about three miles outside Cha'ah. Three of the officers were killed but Lieutenant Derek Hunter Wilson Brown together with Corporal James Nimmo and Private Hugh McPhee then defected to the communists.
- 26 March 1950: Five uniformed and armed communists held up two trucks (a Public Work Department –P.W.D. vehicle and a civilian lorry at P.W.D's quarry near Cha'ah) at the P.W.D. quarters at Cha'ah, Communists took their identity cards, burnt the vehicles and a watchman's hut near the P.W.D quarters, and destroyed an engine at the quarry.
- 1 April 1950: Twenty Communist's pamphlets in Malay and Chinese were pinned on to trees at 4th mile Labis/ Cha'ah road
- 8 May 1950: Four armed Chinese communists burned down a kongsi at the 3rd mile, south of Cha'ah Labis area.
- 6 June 1950: A gang of ten communists went to a house at the 1st mile, Labis/ Chaah road and strangled a Chinese woman, and then to another house and bayonetted a Chinese youth to death. They were amongst the five civilians murdered by communists on the same day.
- 31 October 1950: The first Frenchman, Charles François Petit (assistant manager of Johore Labis Estate) and a Malay special constable were killed in an ambushed by ten to fifteen communists during the regular inspection at the Johore Labis Estate.

A series of counter insurgency strategies were implemented around Cha'ah village area prior to resettlement of whole Cha'ah village, these included

- 27 November 1948: In order to differentiate between law abiding civilians and lawless communists, an identity cards registration system was introduced. Cha'ah Village became the first (out of 17 centers) for identification card registration in the Batu Pahat district.
- 25 March 1949: A jungle squad of the North Borneo Armed constabulary on a 24-hour operational training course in field craft and elementary tactics located the fourth camp in the Cha'ah area and recovered one bren gun butt, two bandoliers and a large supply of rice and foodstuff clothing and documents.
- 25 August 1949: Captured documents from communists revealed growing sickness, disobedience, lack of food and lack of funds due to a reduction in monthly subscriptions from the Cha'ah area

- 18 June 1950, the first Suffolk Regiment was operating in the Segamat area of Johore and killed two communists on the Labis to Cha'ah road.
- 15 September 1950, the acting Mentri Besar of Johore (Dato Wan Idris) ordered all shops, except petrol pumps, in the town board areas of Cha'ah to close down daily except between 2p.m. and 4 p.m. for business.

The Cha'ah Village was in curfew, and villagers who were violating the curfew, making their own medicines, not able to produce an identity card, in illegal possession of a revolver, in illegal possession of extra building materials, failing to notify changes of address, failing to stop at police road blocks, and failing to carry a competent driving license if driving were charged (fined or imprisoned) at the Segamat Court.

The resettlement of Cha'ah village in 1951

Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs was appointed as the Director of Operations on 3 April 1950. He realized the importance of isolating the communists from their sources of food and creating a sense of security in populated areas so that people would be more willing to provide information. He also persuaded the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney, to set up committees containing representatives of all civil and military agencies involved in the campaign so that a coordinated response to the communist could be formulated. The policy was developed from "coercion and enforcement" in 1950 to winning the "hearts and minds" of villagers in 1951 to defeat the communists by "Resettlement and Regroupment" of squatters and villagers. It was hoped that most of the resettlement could be completed within 18 months.

A 3-tier command and committee (later named the Briggs Plan) to improve the Emergency administration and inter-agency coordination with the aim to eliminate the MCP's forces and its mass organization (Min Yuen) – were developed as counter insurgency strategies: The Federal War Council (FWC), the State and Settlement War Executive Committees (SWEC) and the District War Executive Committees (DWEC). The FWC comprised the Director of Operations, the Chief Secretary, the General Officer Commanding, the Air Officer Commanding, the Commissioner of Police, and the Secretary of Defence. The SWECs were composed of the Chief Minister (*Menteri Besar*), the British Advisor, the Chief Police Officer, the senior Army commander, and a full-time Secretary. DWECs consisted of the District Officer, and senior police and army representatives. The FWC responsibility was to meet weekly and formulate policy, and coordinate all the necessary resources to implement these policies. To ensure that work was carried out expeditiously it was decentralized to SWEC and DWEC control.

In January 1951, Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs sent a memorandum to all the SWECs outlining ten major guidelines for resettlement, followed by notes on the design and layout of resettlement areas to all British Advisors and Resident Commissioners at the suggestion of the British Advisor Selangor on 23 Feb 1951 from T.A.L. Concannon, the Town Planner of the Federation of Malaya. By June 1951, the resettlement program was in full swing. This move has sparked the development of a new settlement configuration in the form of the New Village that changed the entire rural landscape of Malaya between 1951 and 1954. On 30 Oct 1952, Town Planning Department, Federation of Malaya received additional staff (assistant town planners) that made it possible to extend their scope of works to include New Villages and the planning works to be done at Headquarters. Four additional staff were in charge for New Villages at different states: 1 for Selangor; 1 for Kedah, Perlis, Penang, Kelantan, Terengganu and Pahang; 1 for Perak; and 1 for Johore, Negeri Sembilan and Melaka.

It was understood from the direction from FWC that speed for resettlement was paramount. The priority in planning was for New Villages at new areas for resettlement. For new villages that required more than two weeks on design at federal level, needs were to be tackled at local level with available resources. This included village planning schemes by the survey department, since some of the surveyors were also town planners with recognized professional qualifications. At the priority areas, when there were delays in confirming the planning of a resettlement area, the Resettlement Officer liaised directly with the SWEC. Further to the survey of the suitable site for a New Village, the Resettlement Officer prepared a sketch to seek consultation from the Town Planner of the Federation of Malaya before a set of planning guidelines for a given specific area would be outlined. For instance, the resettlement scheme dated 5 April 1951, with a total area of 61 acres for Staffield Estate at Negeri Sembilan was to include 270 building lots (100'x50'), 42 shop lots (80'x20'), padang, a site for a school and some open space and room for future extension. It is with these strategies adopted during the critical period of the resettlement process that on 20 June 1953, the Town Planner of the Federation of Malaya (T.A.L. Concannon) admitted that only one tenth of the planning works were requested and done at the Federation. However, he emphasized that the Town Planning Department of the Federation of Malaya never failed to address any issues pertaining to new villages brought to its attention. These include issues relating to the size of playing fields for schools and the width of road reserves in new villages.

At Cha'ah village, there were about 150 shop-houses (population of around 1,000) in 1950, sprawled along both sides of Sungai Cha'ah, along the main trunk road (between Yong Peng and Labis) for about half a mile. The police station built in 1939 was located half-a-mile up the Yong Peng-Labis road, away from Cha'ah Village. Eight neighboring villages around the Cha'ah Village have been fenced off against communist incursion, except Cha'ah Village due to its sprawling layout and physical division by Sungai Cha'ah. These weak points coincided with communist strongpoints in Johore.

A Resettlement Officer (RO) for Johore (J.S.H. Cunnyngham Brown) visited Cha'ah village on 17 March 1951, and informed that Cha'ah villagers must be brought under protection, and the police station must be closer, so that trained help could be more readily available in the event of trouble. Besides, the village and police station must be fenced in, for greater security and the better control of movement. Villagers from Cha'ah village appealed the instruction through the local Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) for the RO to reconsider the instruction for resettlement, and provide options to move the police station instead of the entire village, besides offering to fund and build the police station on a suitable new site at the Cha'ah village and to fence the area to meet security requirements.

On 11 April 1951, the RO explained that it was simply a case of town planning and better conditions of living for the inhabitants. At this resettlement site, the police station happened to be the only building constructed according to the original plan drawn up in 1936, and the rest of the buildings were just ribbon developments. Moreover, the Cha'ah village could not be fenced off as it existed; hence the decision was to resettle these villagers to this new town on the eastern side of the road, where the police station was located. In the new site, villagers could enjoy adequate protection of the security force and carry on their trade and agriculture in peace and safety. Additionally, house owners were given \$200 each as compensation for the possible loss of trade and to meet incidental expenses in carrying their goods to the new site. This was besides free aluminium roofing and poles to build their new houses under Government expense. With the support from the MCA, the resettlement of Cha'ah Village went smoothly. On 27 August 1951, the new resettlement area, New Cha'ah (name changed to Cha'ah New Village in 1952) opened in Johore (see *Figure 4-6-32 and Figure 4-6-33*).

The planning of Cha'ah NV in Johor may relate to Garden City planning principles introduced in Malaya in the 1920s. The Garden City Planning was promoted in 1926/1927 in major towns like Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Selangor, and Seremban. In 1926, apart from C.C. Reade (First Town Planner in Federation of Malaya), and other temporary staff in the Town Planning department such as assistant Town Planner, Town Planning Superintendent (Kuala Lumpur, Perak, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor) were seconded from Public Work Department (P.W.D) and Survey Department. The publication "Village Housing in the Tropics" on 1 July 1948 by Jane B Drew and E. Maxwell Fry with Harry L. Ford inspired Town Planners in Malaya when planning for the NVs. Socfin with plantation at Africa, and the layout planning of Cha'ah NV was done in 1936, and the experimental scheme on land settlement for "retired" Tamil estates' workers at JLE was in 1941. It is highly possible that the Cha'ah NV planning layout was use as a case study or model village for the new resettlement scheme during the Emergency. It is important to highlight that the layout planning of Cha'ah NV complied with all ten guidelines for resettlement under the Briggs Plan in 1951.

"Village Housing in the Tropics" by Maxwell Fry...after reading...may conclude that proper planning, even of small villagers, is indeed a "complex business" if it is to make the best use of the land in the interest of all."

T.A.L. Concannon, Town Planner of Federation of Malaya, 19 June 1953 (source: Malaysian National Archive, no. Penerimaan: 1979/0006383)



Figure 4-6-32:

A Photograph taken at the opening of Cha'ah resettlement Johore. Seating (left to right):-

Imam Cha'ah, Inche Abdul Rahman, Mr I.E. Abbey, Inche Yunos bin Ali, Inche Haron, Mr T.P.Hamilton, Mr D.R.L.Massy Collier, Mr Marrables, O.S.P.C. Segamat, Mr D.I.Goodwin, Administrative Office Batu Pahat, Mr Leong Yew Chor, Mr De Silva, Inche Othman bin Mohamed, Dr E.A. Heaselett, Towkay Tan Soong Lian, Mr Cheng Chee Ting, Mr Tan Hock Peng

Source: The Straits Times, 27 August 1951, pg.5

Further to the resettlement of Cha'ah New Village, the restriction in the movement of rice (and other foods) began to have an effect on communist' supplies in certain parts of the Federation, in particular the non-rice growing areas such as Segamat. With the resettlement schemes and efficiency of the 12 Gurkha Rifles, many communists surrendered by October 1951. However, the most dangerous 4th company of the 3rd Regiment was generally south of Labis and West of Cha'ah, and who was responsible for the attached at Bukit Kepong in February 1950.



Figure 4-6-33: Cha'ah New Village – Aerial View in 1960 Source: Persatuan Hakka Cha'ah (2008), Perayaan Jubli (1958-2008)

Sir Gerald Walter Robert Templer took over the post of High Commissioner and Director of Operations in February 1952, after Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney was killed by communists in an ambush on 6 October 1951, and Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs retired by end-1951 respectively. He embraced the Briggs Plan and ensured the command structure was established. He placed great emphasis on the need to win the 'hearts and minds' of the population, and continued the resettlement of squatters/ villagers, with promised independence once the communist insurgents had been defeated.



Figure 4-6-34: Resettlement Office at Cha'ah New Village Back 2nd from left 张有记, 4th from left: Sim Kim Chong (沈金松), 7th from left: Pang Voon Liat (彭文烈), Source: Persatuan Hakka Cha'ah (2008), Perayaan Jubli (1958-2008)

Home Guard in 1951

The Emergency (Home Guard) Regulations introduced in 1950 authorized males, aged between 18 and 55, to perform part-time duties as a HG. Under the regulation, power was given to the Menteri Besar and the Resident Commissioners to set up HG teams in areas that were deemed necessary. So, Cha'ah village was provided with its own auxiliary police in March 1949, and its Home Guard unit was formed by early 1951, even prior to resettlement. At the initial stage, their role was to provide support and to assist the police in performing certain "static" guard duties. Due to a lack of trust at the early stage, the HG was unarmed. Under the Emergency (Civilian Injuries Compensation) Regulations, 1949, compensation could be provided to the family members of a deceased HG once the case had been justified and confirmed by the District Special Branch Officer, in the event of murder by communists, under the Compensation Officer of Emergency (Civilian Injuries Compensation) Regulations, the Compensation Officer at the federal level would then advise the District Officer to make the payment directly; thereafter the District Officer was to notify the State Treasury once the payment had been effected.

Sir Gerald Walter Robert Templer was involved with the local population in the fight against the communists by increasing the number of Malay battalions and strengthening the HG to defend the new villages. In April 1952, Major General Edward Barrington de Fonblanque was appointed as Inspector General to reorganize HG Units. The HG organization and training was at the Federal level, and State Commander and District HG Officer were made responsible for HG training at the State and District level, as well as to administer the HG Units. Both of them were also staff officers of the State War Executive Committee (SWEC) and District War Executive Committee (DWEC). At the local level, the HG Committees controlled the nomination of HGs. Additionally, the State and District Advisory Committees (consisting of representatives of all the communities as well as the planters and miners), the HG units were organized into battalions, companies, platoons and sections. These measures helped to unite the racially divided Malayan people.

The so-called "Operation Questionnaire" used by Sir Gerald Templer at Tanjung Malim to extract information about the communists, was later modified (without imposing curfew and "half-rations) for obtaining information about the communists in five towns/ villages in some of the worst areas in the Federation in May 1952. The five selected villages were Terap in South Perak, Broga in South Selangor, Uriang in Central Pahang, Cha'ah in Central Johore, and Layang Layang in South Johore. They were selected not because of their bad reputation but apparently because the security forces desired more information about the communists operating in those particular areas. In all five villages, police, army and civilian teams arrived and assembled the inhabitants and appealed to them to cooperate to make the operation a success. Villagers would have to return to their homes at 5pm instead of 7pm which was the usual nightly house curfew in all these villagers. They would be handed letters from Sir Gerald Templer – one to each family – that it was hoped they would answer. All letters, placed in envelopes addressed to Sir Gerald Templer, would be collected the next morning. Later they were taken under armed escort together with three of the leading headmen (ie a Chinese, a Malay, and an Indian from Cha'ah) of each village to King's House where they would be handed over to Sir Gerald Templer personally. All letters carried the message from Sir Gerald in red link. At the bottom of each letter was Sir Gerald Templer's bold signature. In one respect the system used in these 5 villages differed from the system in Tanjung Malim, whereby villagers were told that they could still give their information anonymously and obtain valuable rewards for communist kills, "If your information is of value," they were told "you can put a secret mark on the top of the first page in the space provided and when success against the communists was achieved, you can write to Post Office Box 5,000 using your secret mark to claim your reward".

During Sir Gerald Templer's visit on 25 August 1952 at Yong Peng (19km from Cha'ah NV), thirteen Chinese headmen suggested that they should fight the communists without help from the Army. Sir Gerald Templer replied, "this is the leading village and you are the leading men responsibility for the whole area rests with you...I am not going to tolerate murders and telephone lines being cut in and around new villages...thousands of shotguns and vast quantities of steel case ammunition would soon be arriving from Europe and the United States to back up the fight against communist in Malaya". On the occasion of another visit on 13 November 1952, Templer told the villagers that the Emergency could be stopped almost immediately if they would give more information to the Government, stopped supplying food to the CTs and build up an efficient HG. In turn, the Government would contribute \$4,000 for their proposed \$10,000 community hall.

Cha'ah NV, one of the largest NVs in Malaya, had a 600-strong HG described as "one of the stoutest command posts in Malaya" (see *Figure 4-6-35*). Alan Lennox Boyd, the Colonial Secretary visited several so-called communists "black spots" including Cha'ah NV in North Johor on 26 August 1955. He told the HGs "Give a right and left out of your guns to two terrorists for me. That will then leave only two out of the four you have in the vicinity". When Boyd squinted down the barrel of one of the shotguns, an officer quietly intimated: "They're loaded, sir." Boyd also visited the Johor Labis Estate (Socfin) where most of the Cha'ah NV's villagers were working. He also met members of the Cha'ah elected council at the front of the Cha'ah Community Hall, where facts and figures of the township were displayed on the blackboard (see *Figure 4-6-36*).



Figure 4-6-35: Home Guard in Cha'ah NV

Source: Courtesy of Yong Soo Len (Chairman, KRT Chaah Tengah)



Figure 4-6-**36**:

Photo with the Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox Boyd in front of Cha'ah Community Hall at Cha'ah New Village Front 5th from left: Pang Voon Liat (彭文烈), 7th from left: Sim Kim Chong (沈金松), 3rd from right 曾庆隆 Source: Persatuan Hakka Cha'ah (2008), Perayaan Jubli (1958-2008)

By the end of 1955, the MCP's armed forces had been reduced to only 3,000 men and women from the initial estimated 8,000 in 1951. The frequency of incidents had also decreased from an average of 500 to only 65 incidents per month. Additionally, more areas in Malaya were declared 'white areas'. HG promotion at Cha'ah NV was announced on 8 September 1956: Abdul Rahman bin Jaffar was promoted as District HG Commander, Batu Pahat with rank of major and Cha Peng Hwee was promoted as Battalion Commander at Cha'ah with the rank of Lieutenant.

On 9 October 1957, when the Federation's Commissioner of Police Mr W.K.R Carbonell was on a routine inspection visit, there occurred an ambush by the communists along the main trunk road, five miles from Cha'ah. On this occasion, a Malay civilian was killed and a Malay soldier wounded. No doubt, Cha'ah remained a 'Black Spot' even as the MCP was weakening. The area was only declared 'White' i.e. cleared of communists, on 27 August 1958, almost a year after Malaya's Independence.

Missionary Body in Cha'ah NV in 1951

Following the Communist takeover of the Chinese government in China, in 1949, John Sinton (of the China Inland Mission – Oversea Missionary Fellowship or OMF) announced the evacuation of his Mission totaling some 600 Mission workers plus over 200 children. This evacuation was conducted between 1950 and 1953. The OMF was now directed to propagate the Christian faith among Chinese living in South East Asia instead.

Prior to this move, the Chinese Inland Mission had devoted 85 years of Mission work in China, essentially establishing schools and churches. The colonial government viewed the arrival of the missionary bodies positively: for they could provide free medical and welfare services. Indeed, the missionaries conducted literacy classes, night-school, adult education programmes and even training on modern agriculture techniques. Their evangelistic activities included prayer meetings and services, home and group visits, youth fellowship programmes, administering the sacraments such as baptisms, which the authorities thought could help the settlers to settle as each new village was being built up. On 24 August 1950, the colonial government in Malaya requested Stanley H Dixon, the General Secretary of the conference of missionary societies of Great Britain and Ireland, to persuade the ex-China missionaries in England to work in Malaya, In April 1951, Mr L.T.Lvall, a mission representative in Malaya, conducted a survey of the needs in Malaya (see Figure 4-6-37). By this time, about 300 Mission workers had left China. Lyall recommended that the remaining 300 Mission members be placed in Malaya to aid the squatters who had been resettled. He stressed that they would not come to Malaya as "government agents" but as "Mission workers". The OMF also had about 60 Christian welfare workers that included doctors, nurses, teachers and agriculturists. By 6 June 1952, eighteen of them were already serving in ten new villagers in Johore and Selangor. Their aim was to move into new villages where there were no resident Christian workers yet, in order to contribute towards the spiritual development and welfare of the settlers. These workers, especially the European missionaries, were able to read, write and speak Mandarin. They would now undergo training in the Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese and other Chinese dialects before being sent to the new villages.

In Cha'ah NV, a few Christian Hakka families were prearranged by the British Government to live at Cha'ah NV before the arrival of missionary workers. Edith Cork and Winifred Rand arrived on 10 December 1951 (see *Figure 4-6-38*). Pastor David Day & Phyllis Day arrived in 1953 (see *Figure 4-6-39*). They stayed next to a diesel generator, the current church site. The China Mainland Mission promoted idea of self-help, self-sustain, self-propagation, thus there was no funding from external sources for the Church building. Instead, the villagers would build the church themselves based on their desired needs. Hence it was designed by Pastor David Day and constructed by villagers using more affordable and locally available building materials. The building of the Church was completed on Jan 1954, whereby the Sunday Service and other services for local community became available (see *Figure 4-6-40*). David Day & Phyllis Day left Cha'ah NV on Oct 1957 (see *Figure 4-6-41*). The last foreign Pastors at Cha'ah were Margeret Holand and Maud Wilkinson (see *Figure 4-6-44*). Subsequently, the Cha'ah Christain Church was managed by the villagers themselves, namely by Han Sin Hua and Zhen Yu Fa. Apparently, the Cha'ah Christian Church was the earliest local Church that was able to sustain itself independently.



Figure 4.6-37: Mr L.T.Lyall (on right) Source: Singapore Standard, 26 April 1951, "Mission May Aid Federation Squatters"



Figure 4-6-39: Pastor David Day & Phyllis Day arrived in 1953. They stayed next to diesel generator - Current church site. Source: Cha'ah Christian Church (2008)

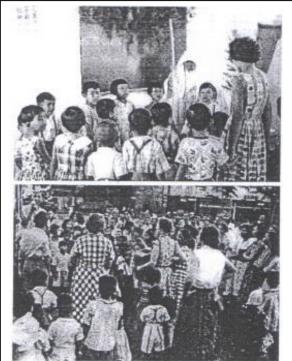


Figure 4-6-38: Edith Cork and Winifred Rand arrived on 10 Dec 1951 Source: Cha'ah Christian Church (2008)



Figure 4-6-40:
Pastor David Day during his last Sunday Service at Cha'ah Christian Church in Oct 1957
Source: Cha'ah Christian Church (2008)

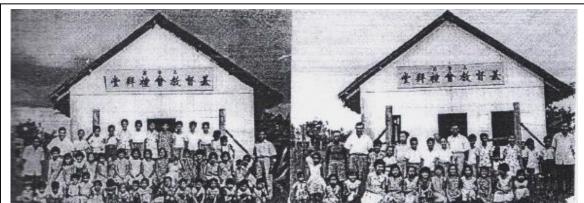


Figure 4-6-41:

Photos taken after Sunday Service in 1954 Source: Cha'ah Christian Church (2008)



Figure 4-6-42:

Group Photo taken in 1952 Source: Cha'ah Christian Church (2008)



Figure 4-6-43: Group photos.

Front Middle: Edith Cork

Source: Cha'ah Christian Church (2008)



Figure 4-6-44: Photo of last Pastors of Cha'ah Christian Church- Margeret Holand and Maud Wilkinson

Source: Cha'ah Christian Church (2008)

Similar steps were undertaken by the Methodist Church in Malaya in April 1951, and the seven resettlements areas were Ayer Hitam and Labis in Johor, Jasin in Melaka, Ampang in Selangor, Sungei Durian and Raja Itam in Perak, and Sungei Bakap in Province Wellesley. Five regional committees were set up to direct the projects for these. By 14 May 1952, the Methodist Mission had started social welfare, educational and church work in 42 NVs; only a few NVs had full-time workers. Most of them had part-time workers. Its policy was to recruit and involve local people as much as possible. Nonetheless, The committees appealed to Rev Harry Haines (who served the missionary church in China in the 1940s, and worked in the division of interchurch aid, refugees, and world service of the World Council of Churches in Malaysia before 1966, as Director of the United Methodist Committee on Relief from 1966 to 1983) after his tour of seven states for more missionary workers in order to expand the programmes to additional NVs. Significantly, we came across an announcement by the Methodist Mission Schools in Cha'ah NV looking to recruit teachers whether they possessed degrees, were "normal trained" or even retired. This announcement was dated 2 January 1959.

Sir Gerald Templer also set up a co-coordinating committee of representatives of the Churches, missionary bodies and voluntary organizations in February 1952. The Malayan Christian Council (MCC) included the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church, the Women's Methodist Missionary Society, the Chinese Presbyterian Church, the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (Anglican Section), the English Presbyterian Church, the United Lutheran Mission, the Salvation Army, and the Chinese Native Evangelistic Crusade. Other groups not working under the MCC's ambit were Life (Bible Presbyterian) Church, Church of Christ, Independent Church of Tai Hong, Cha'ah Christian Church, Evangelise China Fellowship, and the Honolulu Church Mission.

Rev. J.R.Fleming, the secretary of MCC explained that the tasks of missionary bodies and voluntary organisations were to foster a new sense of unity, breaking down barriers and suspicions, banishing fears and improving relations between the "natives and the Westerners". Thus, these missionaries live and work alongside the villagers. The majority of them were women and came from China where they had served previously. Some of them ended up serving in the most notorious Communist infested areas such as Kulai NV in Johor and Grik NV in Perak. The Roman Catholics assisted in the NV work too. By September 1954, there were about 400 Christian missionaries helping the settlers to rebuild new community life in nearly 300 NVs or 56% of all NVs in Malaya. The MCC also sat as representatives in the Education Department, Social Welfare, Red Cross, Boy Scouts, St. John Ambulance, Immigration Department and the British Council

Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) in Cha'ah NV in 1952

On 15 June 1952, MCA Johore established homes for the aged in the NVs in Johore. The aid provided included accommodation, cash relief (\$8 per month), upkeep and maintenance of the old folks home, including the purchasing of sleeping mats and mosquito nets for the home. The 22 feet wide by 100 feet long old folk home at Cha'ah NV was funded by the MCA Batu Pahat branch and built by the Cha'ah village MCA committee. It provided accommodation for up to fifteen persons (including women) who were looked after by the Social Welfare Department.

Edith Cork and Winifred Rand (missionary workers) who were living in Cha'ah NV assisted the Social Welfare Department by looking after the old folk in the Home. Funding for resettlement, including in Cha'ah came from the lottery which the MCA conducted in the early 1950s to collect funds for resettlement. Incidentally, a pig farmer from Cha'ah NV won the first prize worth \$400,000

on 6 June 1952, a ticket he had bought at Segamat. Stories of people winning the lottery, like this one, encouraged many to buy the lottery.

Education in Cha'ah NV

The British government acknowledged the importance of education, especially primary school education, to win over the "hearts and minds" of the settlers. No doubt, the settlers would become "more contented" and insulate the settlers from the influence of the communists. Not surprisingly, the government made much effort to build primary schools in the NVs

In general, the primary school is for children ages between 7 and 12 years old. But there was also provision to run so-called 'Emergency Classes' for children over 12 years old, and evening classes for adults, who had had their schooling interrupted or terminated during the Japanese Occupation and/or the postwar period (see *Figures 4-6-45 and 4-6-46*).

The first Islamic religious school was opened on 19 August 1950 at Cha'ah NV, even prior to resettlement. The school building had been erected by the kampong people, and government had supplied the teachers. To cater for the Indian community living in the Johore Labis Estate, seven Tamil primary schools were started to cater to the Indian residents living in the Estate, but spread across 29,656 acres. All these seven schools were provided with the same aid

Federal Funds continued to be made available for the running schools in 1952 and 1953 for New Village (Resettlement) schools for purposes of construction cost for classrooms, books, teacher quarters, salary. On 13 August 1952, MCA Johore also contributed \$16,5000 to the new village schools (Chinese primary school) building fund. The role of school maintenance was then taken over by state government. In Feb 1952 out of the 500 new villages, 216 schools were constructed with total of 957 classrooms to accommodate 39,744 students or 39% of primary school population. This support for education was seen as a means to assert more control over and assist in the remaking of Chinese NVs, with some flexibility in matters of culture and local identity, for instance, Sungai Blank New Village (Min Tek) School. School names of 'Chung Hwa', 'Hwa Chiao' and 'Mah Hwa' were discouraged and in favour of Malayan place names. For the case in Cha'ah, the school name 'Nan Hwa' was renamed to Cha'ah School after resettled in Cha'ah NV. The name changed again to SRJK(C) Cha'ah in 1960s (see *Figures 4-6-47 and 4-6-48*).

During the Emergency, with the help from its American and other allies, the British government tried to prevent communist influence on educational matters by carefully vetting the teachers as well as the School Management Committee members involved in the running of the Chinese medium schools Significantly, the number of personnel in the Chinese section of the Education Department as well as the number of Chinese inspectors of schools were increased; in the case of the inspectors from 10 in July 1948 to 35 by the end of 1953. Their tasks included supervising the school registration, finances, curriculum, textbooks, health requirements and building maintenance and registering all schools, teachers and members of the School Management Committees, as provided under the Registration of School Ordinance no 7, 1950. In effect, the Resettlement Officer was given the opportunity to appoint suitable local leaders (who were pro-British government and anti-communist) to the School Management Committee (or to the Education Committee of the Local Council) in exchange for village government aid. In May 1952, a full time training school for Chinese teachers was set up in Malaya to train local Chinese to teach in English, Malay and Chinese. For the first time, Chinese teachers were also given training on citizenship matters, with special attention being given to initiating of extra-mural activities such as the scouts and the guides. All teachers were politically

vetted by several government departments including by the Chief Education Office, the Special Branch and the Central Criminal Records Office.

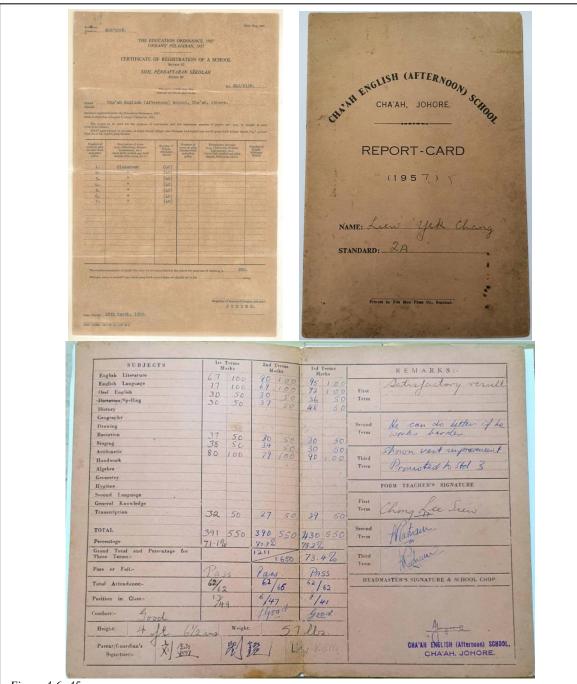


Figure 4-6-45:
Certificate of Registration of a School –Cha'ah English (Afternoon) School and Report Card
Source: Certificate of Registration - Courtesy of Chew Kong Fact (Chairman, Board of Management Cha'ah Chinese
School). Report Card – Courtesy of Wong Leng Chin (Chairman of Alumni Association of SJK(C) Cha'ah)



Figure 4-6-46: Photo of Students who attended the Cha'ah English (Afternoon) School in the 1960s Source: Courtesy of Pang Swee Luan (Former Ketua Masyarakat Cha'ah)



Figure 4-6-47:
Photos to show the change of School name from "Nan Hwa" in the 1930s to Cha'ah School in 1956 and SJK(C)
Cha'ah in 1963

Source: Courtesy of Chia Ah Moy @ Chia Wee Huang (former teacher at SJK(C) Cha'ah, Cha'ah NV)

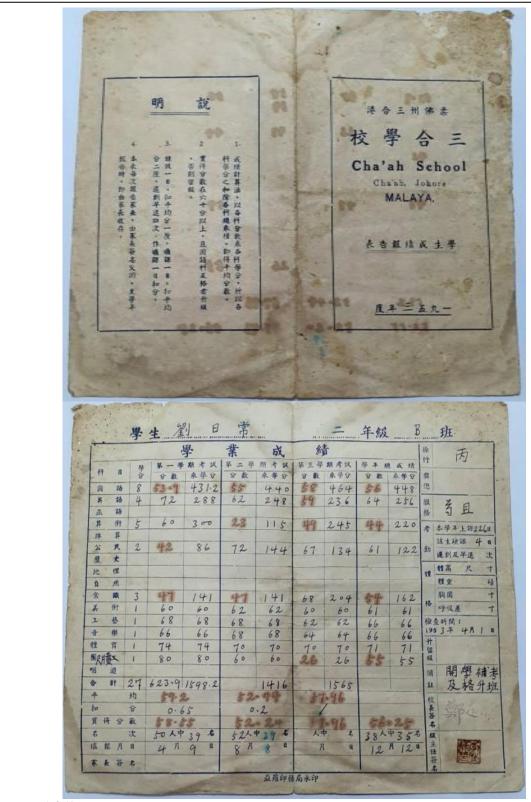


Figure 4-6-48: Cha'ah School - Report Card

Source: Courtesy of Wong Leng Chin (Chairman of Alumni Association of SJK(C) Cha'ah)

Economy in Cha'ah NV in 1953



Figure 4-6-49:

Front: Socfin Maturated Rubber (Rubber Processing Factory), middle (centre): Socfin's Largest Palm Oil Mill IN SEA Far back: Cha'ah New Village in 1960s

The railway line to connect palm oil plantation, palm oil mill to national rail network at Saiding

Source: Mahendran Kutty (Sofin Group Berhad Ex-resident at JLE)

H.A. Chambell from Socfin was the first British subject in Malaya to receive a French award (the Cross of the Legion of Honour) in January 1953. He had arrived in Malaya in 1927 and worked at Socfin. Apparently, he succeeded in maintaining a wonderful spirit of co-operation amongst Socfin's staff that comprised Englishmen and Frenchmen. He was one of the first Europeans to return to Malaya after WWII to get his company's estate working again. He also developed the company activities in Malaya. In June 1953, Socfin promised full support for General Sir Gerald Templer in the service of Malaya. Twelve thousand "Operation Service" buttons were issued for its employees (see *Figure 4-6-49*). By 1955, most of the villagers in Cha'ah NV worked on the neighbouring Johore Labis Oil Palm estate. A golf club called the S T Rhodes Club with a 9 holes golf course with driving range, putting green, and equipped with a clubhouse that offered golf club retail, snack bar, tennis courts and a swimming pool was established in 1955 (see *Figures 4-6-28 to 31*).

Cha'ah Local Councils in April 1953

Reportedly, a total of 39 large new villages in Johor had established their own Local Councils (LC) by April 1953. In this regard, the Johore NVs were the first in Malaya to achieve this. Significantly, Cha'ah New Village in Segamat was the very first NV in Malaya to elect its own Local Council on 11 February 1953. The Cha'ah LC was formally set up on 16 March 1953 under the *Ordinan Majlis Tempatan 1952*, with a total of 15 LC members (see *Figure 4-6-50*). The work of the Cha'ah LC included: construction and maintenance of roads, drains and bridges; rubbish and night soil collection; maintaining street lighting: constructing road side shops, temporary markets, children playground, football field, badminton court, baseball court. The LC was also in-charge of applications for facilities such as telephone, post office, community hall and council office building, schools, old folk homes.

water and electrical supply, clinic and other services. During the Emergency, the LC also ensured the safety of the villagers viz the firefighting and the HG units (nowadays organizing the Rukun Tetangga for Cha'ah).



Figure 4-6-50: The 1st Cha'ah Local Council 1953

Source: Courtesy of Pang Swee Luan 彭岁暖 (Former Ketua Masyarakat Cha'ah)

Cha'ah Local Council 1953

Chairman: Haji Yunos bin Ali, PIS Vice Chairman: Chia Peng Hwee, PIS Treasurer: Lee Yee Ming Members:

- Yong Yin Yon, PIS
- Yacob bin Hj Suleiman
- Lee Lim Chen
- A. Krishnan
- Wong Mok Jang
- Samad bin Samidi Chia Ang Chiang

In March 1953, Cha'ah NV was fully occupied with total of 716 residential houses and 198 shophouses. The population increased from the original 1,000 to 7,434, comprising 72.02% Chinese, 17.49% Malay, 10.22% Indian and 0.27% others races. Apart from the existing villagers (Teochew, Hainanese) from Cha'ah village, Malay and Javanese along the river, plus Indians and others from the estate, new villagers (Hakka, Kwongsai, Hokkien, Foochow) in Cha'ah NV were resettled from other areas, particularly to work at the adjacent Johore Labis Oil Palm estate.

By March 1953, the attributes necessary for a successful New Village had been defined as "a modicum of agriculture land and the granting of long-term land titles, and adequate water supply, a reasonably well functioning village committee, a school which could accommodate at least a majority of the Children, a village community centre, road of possible standards and with side drains, reasonable conditions of sanitation and public health, a place of worship, trees along main street and padang, an effective perimeter fence, a flourishing Home Guard, a reasonably friendly feeling towards the Government and the Police.'

To ensure better administration and control, a sub-district office was set-up in Labis covering Bekok and part of Cha'ah in March 1954. The construction of a court house and sub-district headquarters was completed in May 1954. A LC election was conducted in Cha'ah in February 1956; a total of twelve candidates contested for four seats. Those elected were: Sin Kim Chong, Leong Yew Chor, S.C. D'Silva and Pang Voon Liat. The names of the elected members were later included in the naming of streets in Cha'ah NV so to remember their contribution to the socio-economy and political development of Cha'ah NV.

Land for Residence and Agriculture, and Formation of a Co-operative in Cha'ah NV in 1954

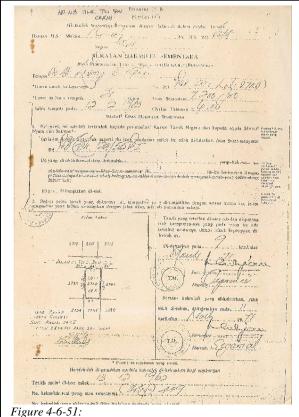
On 4 August 1952, policy regarding the tenure of land in New Villages was discussed at the Federal level. The government of the states and the settlement of Malacca agreed that settlers were to be issued with leases for the land occupied by them. However, in the case of NVs that were not expected to remain after the Emergency, a temporary occupation license (TOL) was to be issued. Since, land is a state matter in Malaya, the terms of the lease, including the length of the lease, and the premium charged varied from state to state. That said, the usual length of a leases for land in and around New Villages is 30 years, except in Johor (21 years) and in Negeri Sembilan (25 years). The extension of a lease, after the first lease had expired, also varied from state to state, for instance, for Malacca it was 30 years, for Kelantan, 99 years, if occupier was willing to erect a permanent dwelling on the leased land; and for Pahang, it was only 10 years, if the land was within half a mile of the Town Board. These conditions applied to land for house, shop and also land for agriculture.

In Johor, villagers who were likely to remain in their house plots or shop lots on a permanent basis were normally alienated 21 years leases (see *Figure 4-6-51*). Dwelling house lots in a new village were normally about 1/6 of acre in area. The premium was about 10%, and the annual rent charged at 3% of the estimated freehold value of the lot. The survey fee was fixed at \$15.00 per lot. These charges could be reduced if the government was satisfied that the applicant could not afford to pay them in full (see *Figure 4-6-52*). Finally, the title was usually subjected to the following restriction in interest: *The land hereby leased shall not be transferred, charged or sub-leased unless the consent of the collector of land revenue shall first have been obtained. No interest in the land hereby leased may be created by the registration of a caveat upon this title; and the restriction in interest shall cease to be operative on the expiry of 10 years from the beginning of the period of this lease or from such prior date as may be approved by the Ruler in Council.*

Leaflets informing how applications for Leases should be made were distributed to the inhabitants of new villages. To facilitate the issue of the Leases and handling matters in connection with them after leases had been issued, the government introduced legislation which would enable Leases for land in New Villages to be registered in the local Land Offices instead of in the Registry of Titles at Johor Bahru. Temporary Occupation Licenses (TOLs) were issued to legalise occupation during the period before application for Leases were approved. Since some new villages were unlikely to continue as permanent villages when the Emergency is over, TOL were issued and approved applications for Leases were not recorded until the future of the NV was clearer.

For economic sustainability, land for agriculture was provided within 2 to 3 miles of these new villages to ensure villagers could commute between their new homes and their farm land easily. Agricultural land adjoining new villages was alienated in lots of two (2) or three (3) acres if suitable land was sufficient in relation to the number of applications. In such cases, tenure was by entry in the Mukim Register (EMR). The premium for EMR was fixed in relation to the value of the land and the resources of the applicants. Rent was usually \$1.50 per acre per year for the first 6 years, and \$6.00 per acres per year thereafter, except in the case of padi land on which rent was \$1.00 per acre per year. The survey fee was normally \$37.50 per lot, and reduced to \$5 if the applicant could not pay the full fees. Titles were subjected to the same restriction in interest as the Leases for shop lots and dwelling house lot.

If the area of land suitable for agriculture was too small in relation to the number of applicants to permit the land being divided into small holdings of reasonable size, the land could be alienated to the Village Council which would then rent allotments to inhabitants of the village. The district authority was responsible to investigate suitability of land for agriculture adjoining new villages. The government also encouraged villagers to form co-operatives to market their products. To provide for this initiative, a month-long training course was conducted for AROs instructing them how to manage stores and in marketing produce too. In turn, the AROs were to assist the villagers in doing the same. At a later stage, the government provided a 14 days training course for NV managers, and in bookkeeping for local members across the country. On 12 November 1954, farmers of Cha'ah NV announced that they had formed a co-operative society to farm 300 acres of land given to them by the Government (see *Figure 4-6-53*)



Residential lot temporary title issued on 11 March 1971 Source: (Goh Family in Cha'ah NV)

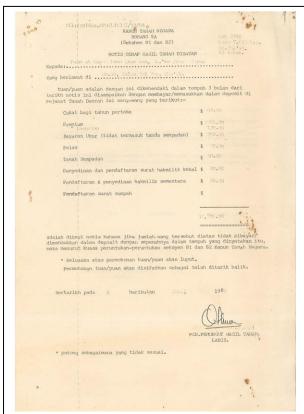


Figure 4-6-52: Residential lot payment for survey, premium for issuance of final title in 1986 Source: (Goh Family in Cha'ah NV)

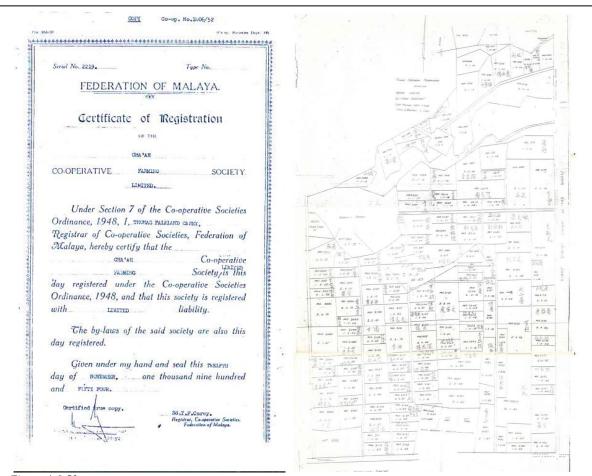


Figure 4-6-53:

Certificate of Registration for Cha'ah Co-operative Farming Society Limited on 12 November 1954 (Left) and Map showing the farming area (right)

Source: Courtesy of Lai Ah Lek (Secretary, Koperasi Cha'ah Berhad - formerly known as Cha'ah Co-operative Farming Society Limited)

Guides for Cha'ah NV in 1953

Training course for Guide officers was organized in April 1953. The instructors at the training course were Datin H.E. Mac Kenzie, Commissioner for Guides Johor, Mrs A. Jonaton, Headquaters Commissioner for NVs, and Miss N. Ince, Commissioner for Guides Singapore. A total of seventy Guide officers from Muar, Batu Pahat, Segamat, Pontian, Gemas, Batu Anam, Labis, Bekok and Cha'ah completed their training.

The Development in Cha'ah NV between 1955 and 1970

With the strong sense of community, good development progress was attained in Cha'ah NV after 1954. This includes the new post office opened on 5 July 1956 (see *Figure 4-6-54*) apart from the community hall, Chinese primary school, home for the aged and Malay religious school.

With the surrender of Hor Lung, the No. 2 man in the communist organization in Malaya and another 160 other communists of all ranks in Johore, a large area in North and Central Johor was declared "White" by the Regent, Sir Ismail ibni Sultan Ibrahim at Segamat on 27 August 1958. This new "White" area made the whole of the districts of Muar, Segamat, Batu Pahat, Kluang and Mersing, except a small portion of Kluang and Mersing, completely free of Emergency restrictions. With this declaration, the main trunk road from Simpang Rengam (north of Johor Bahru) to Negeri Sembilan and Selangor back was no longer subjected to restrictions. Additionally, in Cha'ah, the Alliance party emerged victorious on 19 December 1959. This brought further expansion and development of Cha'ah NV, these include but not limited to.

- August 1958: Dr J.R. Singh from Cha'ah Clinic expanded business by employing an experienced staff-nurse, a midwife and a cook-wash amah.
- August 1958: Sport activities (basketball, football) for youth were promoted. Competitions between the NVs were conducted.
- December 1958: The Hakka community, which had become the biggest group of Chinese in Cha'ah after the resettlement, set up the Hakka Clan Association to take care of the social welfare of the villagers (see *Figure 4-6-55*).
- May 1960: The Social Welfare Lotteries Board made a grant of \$4,720 to Cha'ah Village Local Council towards the cost of erecting a village playground.
- 8 February 1960: The Johor State Government approved iron mining operations on 10 lots of 258 acres each south of Gunong Mao'kil, near Cha'ah. The mining companies contributed to the construction of an eight-mile road from Gunong Mao'kil to Yong Peng to ship the ore.
- February 1960: the Sultan and Sultanah of Johore visited the northern districts including Cha'ah NV, after the Sultan Ismail ibni Almarhum Sultan's Coronation. The streets in Cha'ah NV were then named after the Sultan to record the visit after Coronation. The other streets were named after the other village representatives, including the Chairman of the Village Local Council, namely, Leong Yew Chor and Haji Yunos bin Ali.
- 6 June 1960: The Johore Labis Estate has the largest and the most modern Palm Oil Mill Factory in the Federation of Malaya (see *Figure 4-6-56*). The estate was estimated to extend over 36,000 acres. Over 5,000 workers were employed of which about 3,000 workers and clerks were Indians, and the rest Chinese and Malays. The estate provided schools, chapels, clinics, playing fields and quarters for its workers and clerks.
- 21 December 1960: The Johor Government has plans for a comprehensive \$10 million development programme in 1961 that include water schemes and Road at Cha'ah NV.
- End-November 1962: 200 villages including 20 head of villages from Labis and Cha'ah attended seminar at Labis Local Authority on rural development planning in Johor.
- 12 February 1964, UMNO Cha'ah requested the roads at Kampong Jawa and Kampong Melayu (Part of Cha'ah NV) to be repaired and also to install street light to improve safety.
- 1964: National type Chinese school (primary), national type Tamil schools (Primary) I & II at Johore Labis Estate were also constructed for Indian community.
- May 1964: The courses on rubber planting were conducted by Rubber Research Institute (RRI) at nineteenth villages, including Cha'ah NV under Segamat district.
- 11 February 1965: The health centre at Cha'ah NV was opened by the Heath Minister (Inche Bahaman bin Samsuddin) during his four-day Johore tour.

- March 1966: Another course conducted on rubber planting was conducted to 90 small holdings at four areas aimed to improve the living standard of these smaller holders in the rural areas. The course was divided into 2 phases: first phase, general knowledge and second phase, practical. Villagers from Cha'ah NV underwent the second phase training course.
- 20 November 1965: To build up the nation, mobile kiosk service was organized at Cha'ah NV. The topic of exhibition includes land, health, and community work, movement within village, industry, livestock, co-operative company and adult education. Subsequently, village local representatives played active roles in monitoring the projects planned for the local area, and ensuring voices from local level can be adequately brought to district level, in order for review and inclusion in local level improvement plan. For instance, local issues brought up such as slow progress on road repairs at the Kampong Melayu and Kampong Jawa by the Malay community, high rate for fresh water supply, 24 hours rural electricity supply instead of 12 hours, funding by the Indian community to build landmark building (temple), lessons on sanitation, new rubbish dumping point, better road to connect to other village and flooding issue (2.7 feet or 0.822 meter high water) due to level of section (70 yard or 64 meters stretch) of the main truck road.
- 1966: Cha'ah NV received fresh water supply
- March 1968: Cha'ah NV received 24 hours electrical supply.
- 14 May 1968 to 10 June 1968: 1,700 tappers of Johore Labis Estate went on strike to back 112 contract workers' claim for transport facilities from Cha'ah NV to work place about five miles away, as the lorry service (facilities employed by a contractor) was being discontinued. The initial several attempts by the National Union of Plantation Workers (NUPW) and the Malayan Agricultural Producers' Association failed as they could not influence the contractor. The dispute dissolved on 10 June 1968 when agreement reached at a meeting between officials of the management and NUPW, with present of representatives from the Ministry of Labour and Malaysian Agricultural Producers' Association.
- 20 July 1968: The police at Segamat district circulated notice for renewal of firearm licenses for year 1968/1968 to all firearm users, and the checking and renewal of firearms at Cha'ah NV.
- 26 September 1968: Villagers from Cha'ah thank the government for development plans at Cha'ah NV through announcements in local newspapers, that included road improvement (to premix), provision of a surau, a mosque and health clinic. Besides, the low-cost housing, off Jalan Kilang Cha'ah NV began construction.
- 29 September 1968: An exhibition on development in Cha'ah NV by Cha'ah Local Council.
- 12 May 1969: Tender notice to construct school (SK Cha'ah) was published by JKR (PWD) Segamat.
- 1969: More branches of Persatuan Kelab-kelab Belia Malaysia (MAYC) were established to encourage participation by youth from rural areas.
- 1969: With the agriculture development in Cha'ah, small land holders requested government for construction of Palm Oil processing mill for villagers in Cha'ah.



Figure 4-6-54: The Cha'ah Post Office, 1956

Source: Courtesy of Yong Soo Len (Pengerusi KRT Chaah

Tengah)



Figure 4-6-55: Group photo of Cha'ah Hakka Association, 1959 Source: Courtesy of Yong Soo Len (Pengerusi KRT Chaah Tengah)

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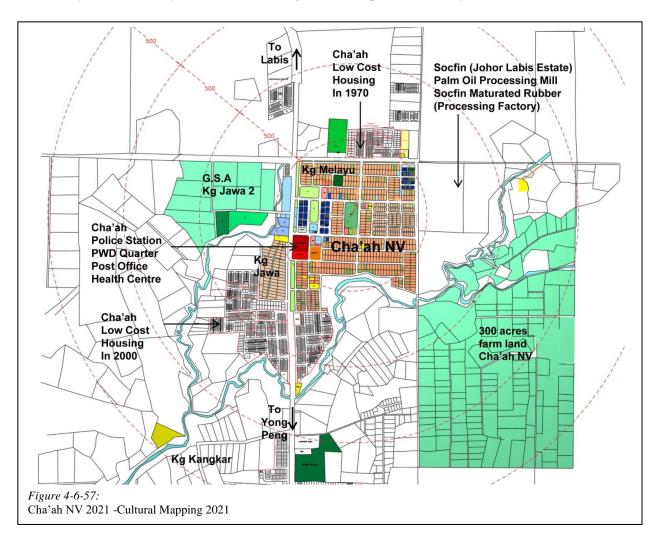
Figure 4-6-56:

Visit by St Andrew's Continuation School to Johore Labis Estate Palm Oil Mill in 1960

Source: Young Malayans, 8 June 1960. No. Penerimaan: 2007/0050270W

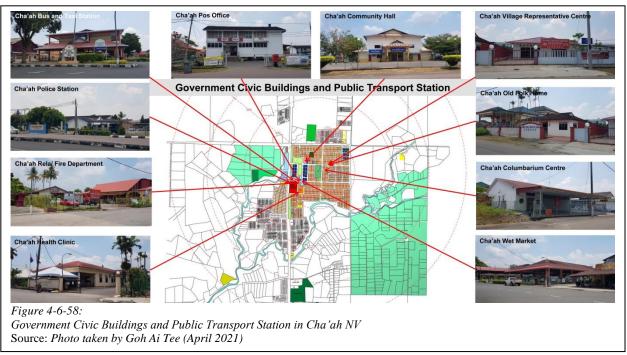
70 years after resettlement in 1951

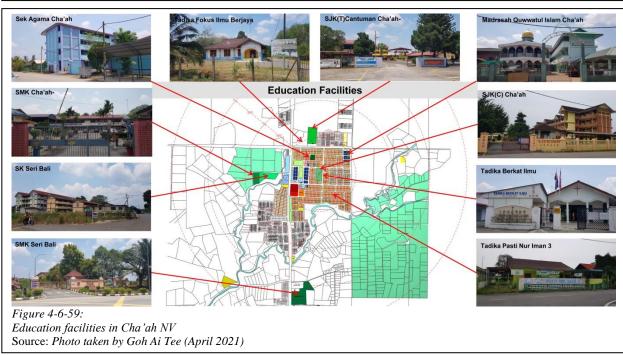
Cha'ah NV was established in 17 August 1951 under resettlement schemes during the Emergency, with appropriate notices served to villagers and compensation in terms of money and materials given. As mentioned earlier, this site was pre-planned in 1936, and this resettlement site was chosen in 1951. With the area fenced off together with the police station, villagers could enjoy adequate protection of the security force and carry on their trade and agriculture in peace and safety.



The scheme fulfilled all the guidelines for resettlement outlined under the Briggs Plan in 1951: firstly, it is located along the main road; with flat terrain and good drainage; with an existing police station built in 1939 located at one corner of the site; a compact village plan with police station strategically located along the main road that could be easily fenced out; with the support from Socfin, settlers/villagers had immediate jobs at the adjacent Johore Labis Estate while waiting for the return of crops from nearby agricultural land; house owners were given \$200 each as compensation for the possible loss of trade and to meet incidental expenses in carrying their goods to the new site. This was besides free aluminium roofing and poles to build their new houses under Government expense. Moreover, the resettlement was assisted by the local MCA; the residential land for the early stage was no more than 6 houses per acre that permitted cultivation of a vegetable garden on their house lot if they so desired; each house generally with a well within the house plot, and water and 24 hour electricity

supplies in the 1960s; amenities such as the schools, dispensaries, and a community hall were constructed in the 1950s. The firefighting system was arranged by villagers under community works (see *Figures 4-6-57 to 59*).





With the construction of the secondary school (SMK Cha'ah) in the 1970s, most students (Malay, Chinese, Indian and Others) were from various types of primary schools at Cha'ah (religious school, Chinese type primary, Indian type primary and Malay primary). To ensure that students from Chinese type or Indian type primary schools were able to cope with the change of medium of teaching (mainly in Malay language, except for English, Mandarin and Tamil language subjects), except for students with good results in the primary school examination particularly in the Malay language, all other students were required to attend the preparatory or 'peralihan' class when they enrolled in the SMK Cha'ah. During the secondary schools education, villagers began to mix with each other and to understand and respect the culture of the different races. The ethnic breakdown of most classes comprised: 30% Malay, 30% Chinese, 30% Indian and 10% others. No doubt, the students learned to mix with one another and helped to develop harmonious relations (see Figures 4-6-60 to 65). In the 2010s, another secondary school called the SM Seri Bali was constructed in Cha'ah to cater for the expanded population. Sixth Form classes were also conducted in Cha'ah henceforth. So, students did not need to commute to Muar or to Segamat which were bigger towns, to attend Sixth Form like before.



Figure 4-6-60:

Class 2P1, SMK Cha'ah (1989)

30% Malay, 30% Chinese, 30% Indian, 10% Others

Source: Courtesy of Goh Ai Tee



Figure 4-6-61:

Classroom layout in cluster to promote group and team

work, SMK Cha'ah (1990) Source: Courtesy of Goh Ai Tee



Figure 4-6-62: Geography subject study group for research on JLE, SMK

Cha'ah (1989)

Source: Courtesy of Goh Ai Tee



Figure 4-6-63:

One of the after school activities – Taekwando Club, SMK

Cha'ah (1991)

Source: Courtesy of Goh Ai Tee



Figure 4-6-64: Students received award and certificate from school management for achievement, SMK Cha'ah (1992) Source: Courtesy of Goh Ai Tee



Figure 4-6-65: Annual sport day with presentation from Taekwando Club at football field, SMK Cha'ah (1991) Source: Courtesy of Goh Ai Tee

There were also a number of pre-school education centres in Cha'ah NV. One of the most popular preschool is (Tadika Berkat Ilmu) run by the Cha'ah Christain Church. It is interesting to highlight that you may find some Malay and Indian students enrolled in the different classes for aged 4, 5 and 6 although this is privately run pre-school and a modest fee is charged. The preschool not only focus on teaching subject, but also personal development for kids- with annual performance and competition (see *Figure 4-6-66 to 69*)



Figure 4-6-66: Tadika Berkat Ilmu Class 1 – age 4 Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-67: Tadika Berkat Ilmu Class 1 – age 5 Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-68: Tadika Berkat Ilmu Class 1 – age 6 Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)

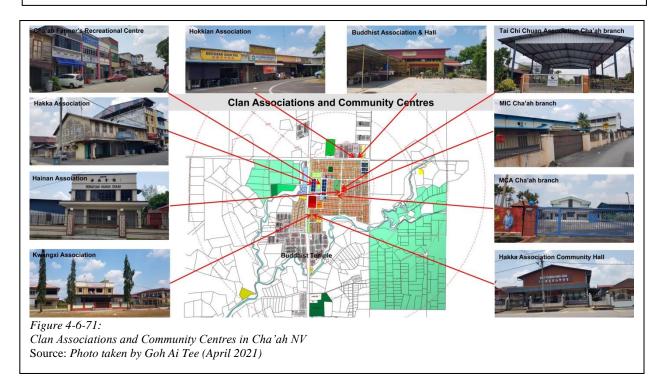


Figure 4-6-69: Tadika Berkat Ilmu Annual Performance (2018) Source: Courtesy of Goh Ai Tee

The population in Cha'ah NV increased from 1,000 to 7,434 within 2 years since resettlement comprising 72.02% Chinese, 17.49% Malay, 10.22% Indian and 0.27% others races. Apart from the existing villagers (Teochew, Hainanese) from Cha'ah village, Malay and Javanese, Indian and Others from the estate, new villagers especially Hakka, Kwongsai, Hokkien, Foochew resettled from other areas, for work opportunity at the adjacent neighbouring, Johore Labis Oil Palm Estate or related work associated with the development of Cha'ah NV. In 2021, Hakka (400+ families) still the largest Chinese group in Cha'ah NV, followed by Kwongsai (300+ families), Hokkien (100+ families), Hainanese (100+ families), Teochew (<100 families) and Foochew (<10 families). Today, we can still find some houses in Cha'ah NV with the "Hall Plaque" on top of the house entrance door (see *Figure 4-6-70*).



Figure 4-6-70: "Hall Plaque" above the Entrance door of some houses at Cha'ah NV Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Besides the Hakka Association formed in 1958, the Kwongsai, Hokkien and Hainanese communities, all also with sizable numbers, formed their own clan associations when economic conditions permitted. For all, the aim was to assist in improving the welfare of their clan members. That said, it is important to highlight that the Hakka and Kwangsi associations also accepted other clan groups to join their youth programs and activities that included learning and performing the lion dance, musical

ensembles, Chinese martial arts. These troupes would then perform for villagers at Cha'ah NV during the annual sports day of the Cha'ah primary school, on Chinese New Year, and at public or private events, to which they were invited, from time to time. For the adults, participation in the clan associations also provided opportunities to participate in leisure association (like the Tai Chi), to celebrate the Phor Tor or Hungry Ghost festival with others (see Figures 4-6-71 to 75).



Figure 4-6-72:

Lion dance performance during opening ceremony of the Darling Walk after it was reconstructed and facilities upgraded in the 2000s

Source: Courtesy of Ju Weng Hong (Villager at Cha'ah NV)



Figure 4-6-73:

Musical band performance (Hakka and Kwongsai Associations) during annual sport event near public football field beside Community Hall (1980s)

Source: Courtesy of Ju Weng Hong (Villager at Cha'ah NV)



Figure 4-6-74:

Annual Sport event at the public football field besides the Community Hall, Cha'ah NV

Source: Courtesy of Ju Weng Hong(Villager at Cha'ah



Figure 4-6-75:

Annual Sport event in 1964, Cha'ah NV

Source: Courtesy of Ju Weng Hong (Villager at Cha'ah NV)

Due to the freedom of religion practiced by different ethnic groups, various religious buildings also developed. These include mosques for the Malay community, Buddhist temples and Taoist temples for Chinese community, Kuil for Indian community, Churches (Protestant and Catholic) for the Chinese and Indian community (see Figure 4-6-76). The existing old Chinese temple (Ang Sian Gong Miao (洪仙公庙) at old Cha'ah settlement (see Figure 4-6-7) subsequently built another branch at

Cha'ah NV for ease of their devotees with the existing old still maintained for annual celebration. As the Chapel of St Paul The Hermit for Catholics was located within the Johor Labis Estate without electrical and water supply, another church dedicated to St Anthony was constructed at the Cha'ah NV to serve their followers, while the Chapel was only used once a month for Sunday service (see *Figure 4-6-17*). The Tamil Methodist Church was constructed to serve the Indian community working in the estate. Those Indians practicing Hinduism practicing prayed at the Kuil built (see *Figure 18*) near their living quarters. Apart from the annual celebration for each temple (see *Figures 4-6-77 to 78*), there were also events like the Phor Tor Festival, coordinated by the Buddhist Association, when the different clans associations would come together. Sometime in the 1990s, after 20 years of joint efforts, representatives of the different clans formed an association specially tasked to arrange and organize the festival every year, a joint effort that continues until today (see *Figures 4-6-79 to 82*)

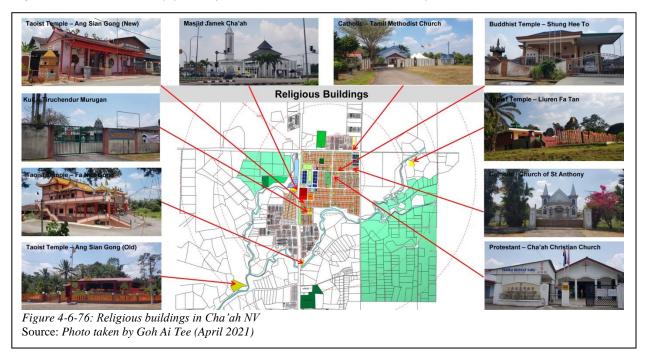




Figure 4.6-77: Annual celebration for God's Birthday at Fa Nan Gong, Cha'ah NV Source: Courtesy of Ju Weng Hong (Villager at Cha'ah

NV)

Figure 4-6-78: Annual celebration for Gods' Birthday at Liuren Fa Tan, Cha'ah NV

Source: Photo by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-79:
Donors for the Phor Tor Festival, Cha'ah NV (2021)
Source: Courtesy of Office Bearer session 2019 (Koh Tian Min, Chew Kong Fact, Pang Swee Luan) of Buddhist Association, Cha'ah NV



Figure 4-6-80:
Phor Tor Festival conducted at the open space adjacent to the public basketball court, Cha'ah NV
Source: Courtesy of Office Bearer session 2019 (Koh Tian Min, Chew Kong Fact, Pang Swee Luan) of Buddhist Association, Cha'ah NV



Figure 4-6-81: Taoist priest prayed at the Buddhist Association Centre prior to deliver the food offering for Phor Tor Festival to the venue, Cha'ah NV (2021)

Source: Courtesy of Office Bearer session 2019 (Koh Tian Min, Chew Kong Fact, Pang Swee Luan) of Buddhist Association, Cha'ah NV



Figure 4-6-82: Altar set up during Phor Tor Festival, Cha'ah NV (2021) Source: Courtesy of Office Bearer session 2019 (Koh Tian Min, Chew Kong Fact, Pang Swee Luan) of Buddhist Association, Cha'ah NV

As a result of interactions between the different Chinese dialect groups, their foods have acquired "special" tastes. Indeed, the distinctive traditional foods associated with specific dialect groups have become 'blurred' The well-known foods include restaurant foods (hometown taufu, Cha'ah sawi, claypot frog, sweet sour fried pork, Teochew style steam fish, Hokkien style noddle, Hakka style Kueytiau), foods from the hawker centre (Hainanese Chicken Rice and claypot noddle, etc) and also food managed by micro businesses operated from home (handman noddle, chee cheong fun, desserts, kuih, etc). All these foods are so good that they cannot be matched by foods elsewhere (see *Figure 4-6-83*).



Figure 4-6-83:

Micro businesses operated from home compound - Homemade foods, Cha'ah NV Source: Courtesy of Goh Pei Chean (villager in Cha'ah NV)

Socfin was originally established at Batang Berjuntai area (between Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh) in Malaya in 1927, when Charles C Reade (the first Town Planner of Federation of Malaya) campaigned on the "Garden City" planning concept and design principles in Ipoh, after Kuala Lumpur. In 1930, Socfin next developed the Johor Labis Estate, and with its planned township (which later became the Cha'ah NV during the Emergency). Although the actual preliminary layout plan of 1936 has yet to be found, nonetheless, it appears that it was a unique experimental scheme to test out Garden City planning principles. The experiment scheme on land settlement for "retired" Tamil estate workers at JLE by Socfin in 1941 further supports our hunch that this was a planned Garden City. Socfin also developed plantations in Africa along the same lines. As well, the publication of "Village Housing in the Tropics" in 1948 might also have inspired the Town Planner in the Federation of Malaya charged with planning for other NVs. Table 4-6-1 shows the attribute to and the design approach that characterize the Garden City. These attributes and design approaches could be identified in Cha'ah NV.

When the trees planted along the NV's main street reached maturity, they provided good shade to the villagers. After the trees were chopped down by the local council in the 1990s, due to disease and poor maintenance of the trees, it has taken many years for the new trees to provide the shade that was experiences by villagers in the past (see *Figure 4-6-84*).

Table 4-6-1: Garden City Line and Planning Layout of Cha'ah NV.

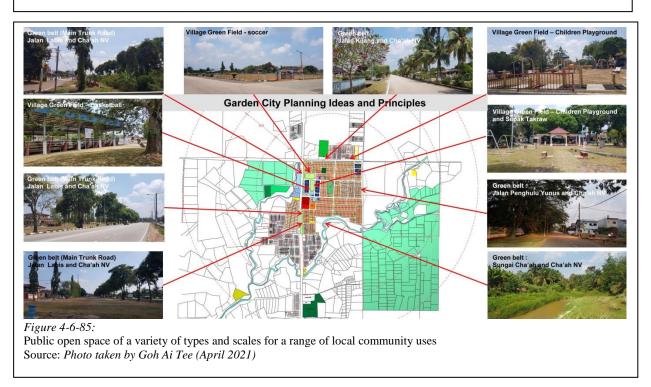
Table 4-6-1: Garden City Line and Planning Layout of Cha'ah NV.		
	Design approach and elements on "Planning on Garden City Line" *	Attributes at Planning of Cha'ah NV
1	A bounded site within which residents' everyday needs were accommodated	A self-contained Village with all facilities (police station, post office, public health center, PWD quarter, multipurpose community hall, public green field, playground, food court, market, shops, schools, religion buildings, clan associations, bus station, water, electric and telephone services) to facilitate their daily living within the new village (see <i>Figure 4-6-57</i>)
2	Areas set aside for specific uses – residential, commercial, education, religious, recreational (local community and individual, and active and passive uses)	Clear zoning (Government administrative – security and health and maintenance, commercial, residential, schools, religious, village green) is observed within the New Village. (see <i>Figures 4-6-58 to 59, 71, 76,85 to 88</i>)
3	Public open space of a variety of types and scales for a range of local community uses, Internal reserves for shared community use were a distinctive open type in garden suburbs	Village green field for soccer/ football, separate zone for basketball/ sepak takraw/ badminton, children playground (now with equipment), darling walk area. (see <i>Figure 4-6-85</i>)
4	A hierarchical road system. Roads were classified according to use. Typically, a wide took the largest volume of traffic while the narrowed enabled access to residential areas	66' road (industrial), 60' road (main road and commercial), 30' and 40' road (residential) 20' road (service), (see Figure 4-6-57)
5	Variation in street width, line and length: typically, 'curved, short are and straight'.	Grid iron road layout. Street length (width): 100m (30' road), 150m, 200m, 232m (60' road), 590m (40' road), 800m(60' and 66' road). Curve only along the river (see <i>Figure 4-6-57</i>)
6	A park-like environment created through preserving existing natural features, planting street trees, reserving open space, planting in private gardens and in street garden reserves	Green Belt (between main trunk road with Chaah NV) 80' and 60' buffer zone Green Belt (between internal industrial road and industrial zone) 40' buffer zone River as natural buffer zone between Cha'ah New Village with opposite lots (see <i>Figure 4-6-57</i>)
7	Low density development	Compact residential area in 6 units/ acre, or 15.24 units per ha (suburban setting) 6 standard 120'x6' = 1 acre land (see <i>Figure 4-6-57</i>)
8	Generous building setbacks and ample yard space front and back	40', 60' and 80' setback from main access road between Cha'ah New Village with adjacent development/ main trunk road (see <i>Figure 4-6-85</i>)
9	'architectural unity but not uniformity' achieved primarily through consistency of style, form, scale, colours and materials	Residential: detached (60'x120', 60'x100', 40'x120', 40'x80', 50'x60') Shop: A (80'x12'-29'), C (60'x14.5'-30') (see Figures 4-6-87 and 88)

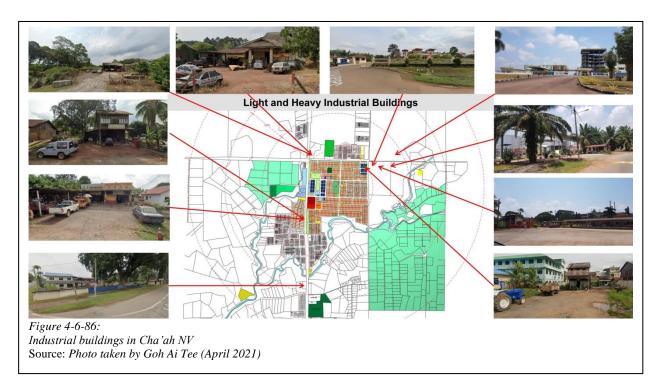
^{*} refer Christine Garnaut (2021)



Figure 4-6-84: Trees at Cha'ah NV in the 1980s

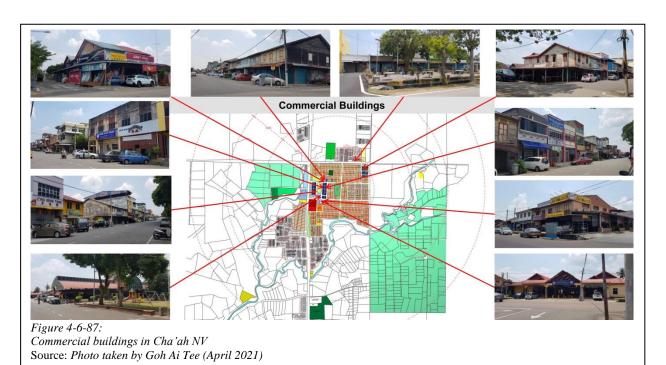
Source: Courtesy of Too Hin Chong (Deputy Chairman, Persatuan Hainan Cha'ah, Cha'ah NV)





The original houses developed in Cha'ah NV in the 1950s were very much influenced by the tradition and ways of life of the different communities living within Cha'ah. In (Kampung Malayu, located within the Cha'ah NV, one can still find houses on stilts which were originally constructed in the 1950s. There are also Malay houses with *anjung* or *serambi* which were built in the 1970s. Then there are single and double storey brick (permanent) houses which were built from the 1980s onwards. For the Chinese community, early stage houses (in full timber – temporary houses) were constructed in the 1950s. In the 1970s, half brick and half-timber (single and double) homes were constructed. As for the Malays, single to three-storey brick houses (permanent) have been constructed since the 1980s. For the Indian community, only a few houses in timber and brick can be found within Cha'ah NV (see *Figure 4-6-88*). As water and electricity supply only reached Cha'ah NV in the 1965 and 1968 respectively, Chinese houses built in the earlier stage (the 1950s and 1970s) were designed with well and skylight in the middle of the house at the service area (adjacent to washing, dining and kitchen) to promote privacy, and encourage cross ventilation and allowing natural light into the middle of this big village house (see *Figure 4-6-90*). Similar concept on shoplots but without skylight as it is only with 2 type – 60 feet long and 80 feet long shophouse (see *Figure 4-6-91*).

Cha'ah NV is a planned village surrounded by private farm land, estate plantation land (Socfin), G.S.A. (for Malay), Malay Villages (Kg Jawa, Kg Jawa Baru, Kg Melayu), hence the development within the village evolved within the plot over time, whereby the overall layout planning remained intact. The associated agricultural land released during the Emergency also remained intact and operated as a plantation. It is indeed a unique presentation of a planned village with 'best use of land' coupled with community architecture with self-help (site and service) schemes resulting from the 'Emergency', the resettlement of villagers of different ethnics and clans in a compact village (see *Figure 4-6-92*).



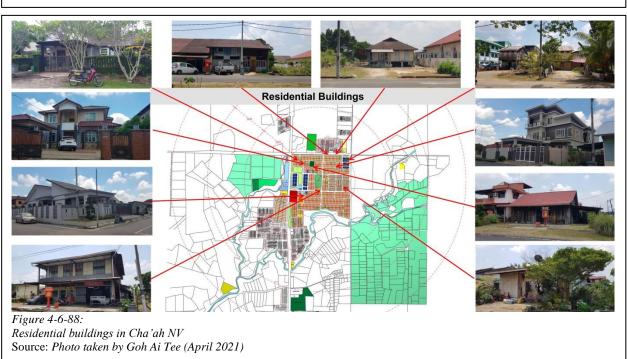




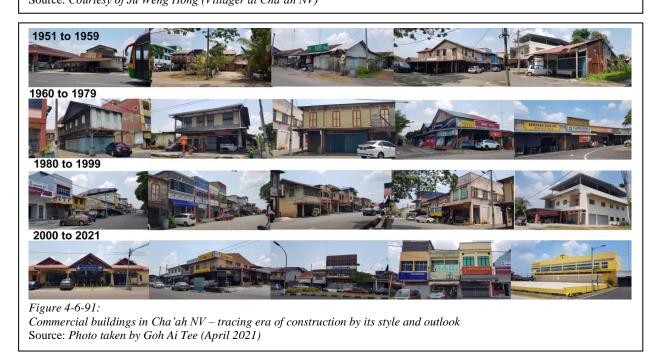
Figure 4-6-89:

Residential buildings in Cha'ah NV

Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)



Figure 4-6-90
Well and Skylight – Courtyard Houses in most of the Chinese houses constructed in 1950s and 1970s Cha'ah NV
Source: Courtesy of Ju Weng Hong (Villager at Cha'ah NV)



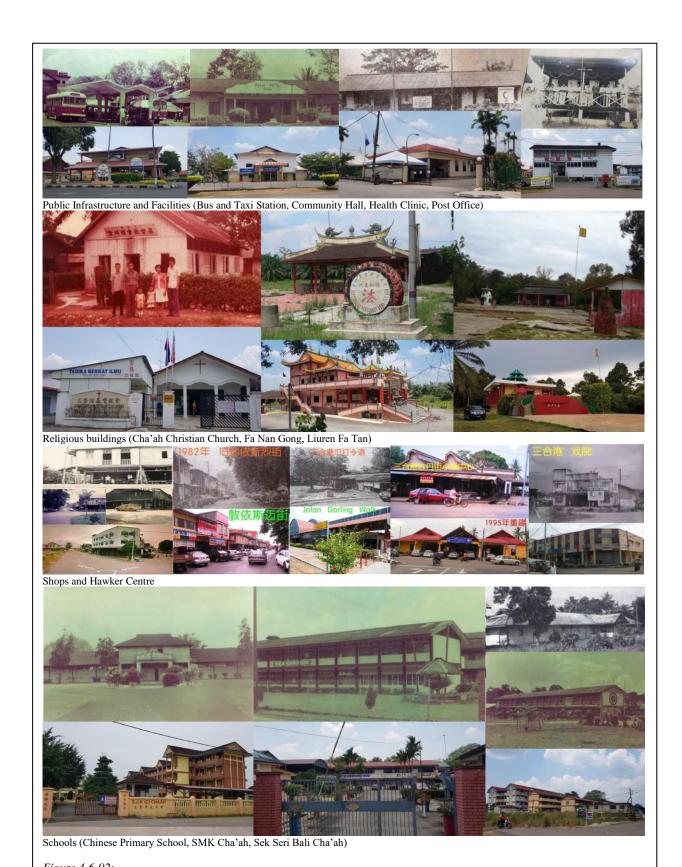


Figure 4-6-92:
Development within plot in Cha'ah NV (above photos earlier structure, below photos taken in 2021)
Source: Earlier photos contributed by villagers from Cha'ah NV. Recent Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)

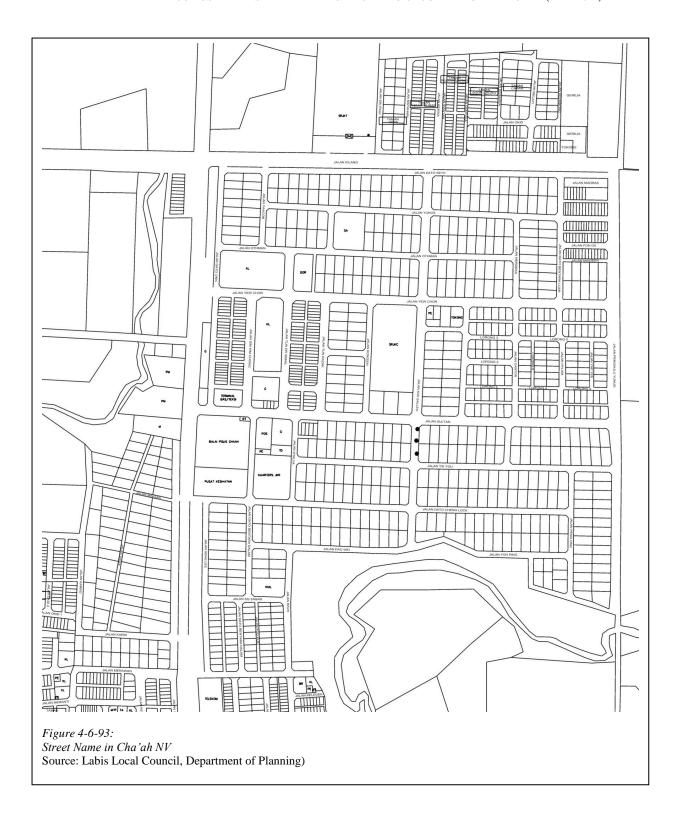
The street names in Cha'ah NV were carefully chosen placed to maintain the identity of the place. Some of the earlier streets were named after officers of the British government, but these names were eventually changed in the 1980s, in an exercise of "localization", so to speak. Some of the streets were also named after the members of the Cha'ah local council. But some of the street names were also named after the clan groups. Still others carried names that reflected the experiences and struggles of the villagers over the Emergency period – names like "Pao Wei" meaning to safeguard, "Peng Onn" – safe or safety, "Seng Lee" – victory, and "Tsi You", meaning freedom). Residential zones with small streets were named Lorong (lane). Additionally, for Kampung Melayu within Cha'ah NV, the associated street names reflected the tentative location for clusters of the Malay communities (see *Table 4-6-2* and *Figure 4-6-93 to 95*).

Table 4-6-2: Street Name in Cha'ah NV

	Street Names in 1950s	Selected Street Names (changed in 1980)
1	Jalan Milburn	Jalan Dato Onn
2	Jalan Coronation	Jalan Sim Kim Chong (Cha'ah state assemblyman)
3	Jalan Heaslett	Jalan Tun Dr Ismail
4	Jalan Evans	Jalan Tun Razak
5	Jalan Queen	Jalan Kiai Salleh
6	Jalan Upchurch	Jalan Penghulu Yunus (1st Chairman, Cha'ah Local Council)
7	Jalan George	Jalan Dato Bentara Luar
8	Jalan Abbey	Jalan Dato Bentara Dalam
9	Jalan Leong Yew Chor	N/A
	(1st Chairman, Village Head)	
10	Jalan Tan Cheng Lock (MCA)	N/A
11	Jalan Yap Yee	N/A
12	Jalan Kongsai	N/A
13	Jalan Canton	N/A
14	Jalan Hylam	N/A
15	Jalan Tsi You	N/A
16	Jalan Peng Onn	N/A
17	Jalan Foh Ping	N/A
18	Jalan Pao Wei	N/A
19	Jalan Seng Lee	N/A
20	Jalan Foo Kuei	N/A
21	Jalan Foh Oii	N/A
22	Jalan Sultan	N/A
23	Jalan Othman (Kampung Melayu, Cha'ah NV)	N/A
24	Jalan Yaacob (Kampung Melayu, Cha'ah NV)	N/A
25	Jalan Yunus (Kampung Melayu, Cha'ah NV)	N/A
26	Jalan Dato Seth (Kampung Melayu, Cha'ah NV)	N/A
27	Jalan Madras	N/A
28	Jalan Maideen	N/A
29	Jalan Merdeka	N/A
30	Jalan Sg Sabar	N/A
31	Jalan D'silva	N/A
32	Jalan Bava	N/A
33	Lorong 1	N/A
34	Lorong 2	N/A
35	Lorong 3	N/A
36	Lorong 4	N/A
37	Lorong 5	N/A
38	Lorong 6	N/A
39	Jalan Mingan (Kampung Jawa, Cha'ah)	N/A
40	Jalan Sidek (Kampung Jawa, Cha'ah)	N/A
41	Jalan Karno, Kampung Jawa, Cha'ah)	N/A

Note: N/A – Not applicable

Source: Pang Swee Luan (Former Ketua Masyarakat Cha'ah)



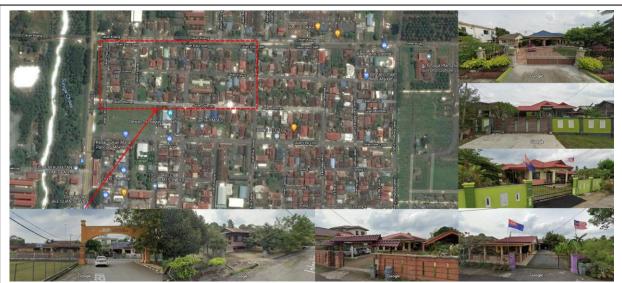


Figure 4-6-94:

Kampung Melayu in Cha'ah NV

Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)

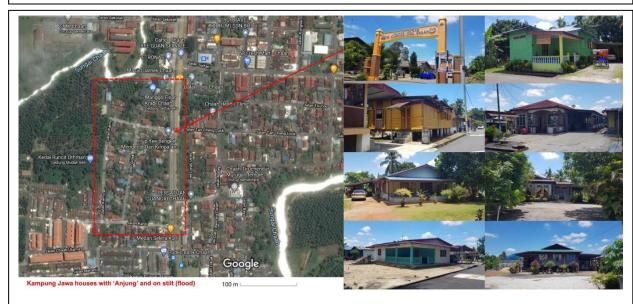


Figure 4-6-95:

Kampung Jawa in Cha'ah

Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)

Summary

The outbreak of the Emergency in 1948 allowed the revival of the earlier concept of planned Garden City townships, first introduced in British Malaya in 1936. Under the Briggs Plan, the British government decided to resettle more than one million rural dwellers into existing small towns or new settlements called New Villages. Thus the opportunity to plan new settlements emerged. Additionally, it was also for the British government to efficiently protect the villagers while tackling the communist issues surrounding the area. With the economic pull from JLE and its Palm Oil Processing Mill developed by Socfin, more villagers from other states migrated to Cha'ah NV for work opportunities.

The Cha'ah NV was fully occupied within 2 years after the resettlement in 1951, making it the first new village in Malaya to establish a Local Council, and developed its strong Home Guard force to safeguard the interests of the villagers. A more civic minded rural community slowly evolved when various aftercare programs and services began in the 1950s, including missionary, clan association, and government programs such as courses for agriculture (rubber planting) and village administration as well as mobile exhibition on laws and regulations and right of being a Malayan. Amenities such as a community hall, health clinic, post office, playing field, schools, proper drains and road, water and electrical supply turned realistic, and have raised the confidence of villagers for working together. The provision of agricultural land in various sizes and distance from home in different development stages of the village and surrounding areas, further improved the economic position of the villagers. The issuance of more state land for agriculture (not only residential and shophouse plots) made possible for villagers to become small holders, and to develop the area to make it a 'home'. For late-comers, low cost housing was developed in the early 1970s at the fringe of the village along Jalan Kilang to propagate the government's programme on "home ownership democracy". Socfin's pension scheme for workers became another driving force for the development or expansion of the village into private agriculture land in the 2000s. This change eventually convinced the government to build a second secondary school at Cha'ah, and to extend teaching up to the Sixth Form level. The new school is located just opposite the original Cha'ah Village (before the Emergency).

Cha'ah NV can also be viewed as a melting pot of different ethnic groups (Chinese, Malay, Indian and Others), as well as of different Chinese dialect groups (Teochew, Hainannese, Hakka, Kwongsai, Hokkien, Foochew). So, there is much further in-depth research that can be carried out by scholars. These include house plan designs within this standard layout, religious practice and origin, function of clan associations and other community centres. The flexibility on practicing religion (apart from Islam) makes further development of religious practice and buildings by converting somel houses into religion use another area of potential interest. The concept of community participation in the building of the village is still strong and apparent until today. It is important to note that even for the reconstruction of an old folks home in the 2010s, the community leaders participated in the discussion with the local council.

Ebenezer Howard's planning on garden city lines aimed to address the catastrophic social and environmental effects of industriazation through physical planning. The ideas were first published in 1889 titled "Tomorrow: a peaceful path to real reform" and in 1902 titled "Garden Cities of Tomorrow". The ideas were tested first at Letchworth Garden City in Hertfordshire England in 1903, and then in Hamstead Garden Suburb in north-west of London in 1907. It was acknowledged that the ideas are more suitable at suburbs and as the model for garden suburbs around the world. In 1917, the garden city planning ideas were applied at Mitcham Garden Suburb in Adelaide, Australia for the South Australian Government. Subsequently, the town planner (Charles Reade) of Mitcham Garden Suburb was appointed the first town planner in Malaya between 1921 and 1929. The best known and surviving scheme of Charles Reade is the Garden City of Kuala Kubu Baru in Selangor, designed in 1926, and completed by 1929. With the campaign on garden city planning concept through exhibition in 1926 (Kuala Lumpur) and 1927 (Ipoh), it is not difficult to believe Socfin might have accepted the concept and planned to test it out at Cha'ah NV site when it was first designed in 1936. The experimental scheme they undertook on retired homes for Tamil workers in 1941, whereby a house plot was paired with sufficient land for planting cash crop and fruit trees to be self-sustaining (see Figure 4-6-96) is in line with Howard's overall garden city plans. It is one of the potential reasons why housing with 6 units per acre was identified as a good size for residential houses in rural areas, a compact village with best use of land. The subsequent publication of "Village Housing in the Tropics" in 1948 gave more attention to house design for the tropics and planning concepts for the village, and was one of the references for town planners when they worked on planning for the new

villages during the Emergency. Although perhaps only 10% out of 450 NVs were launched with proper planning, due to the exigencies of the Emergency - as speed for resettlement and regroupment was paramount for the safety and security of the villagers plus to seize control of the rural areas in order to defeat the communists. Cha'ah NV inevitably provides some hints on how the New Villages in rural areas may have developed if properly executed as per the Briggs Plan and/ or the Garden City Planning concept. Further research particularly about these planned villages is encouraged to provide better understanding on how far planning on the garden city lines was incorporated into the resettlement process during the Emergency in Malaysia. The research outcomes may provide better guidelines for compact planning with best use of rural land to local governments, policy makers, planners, architect and developers, for creating a more sustainable multi-ethnic community in terms of politics, socio-economic, spiritual and environmental goals.



Figure 4-6-96: Cash Crop and Fruit Trees at your side and back yard, Cha'ah NV Source: Photo taken by Goh Ai Tee (April 2021)

Research Methodology

The paper was prepared based on mixed methods: Desktop study, field study, informal unstructured interviews, focus group discussions and oral history. For desktop study, references included published theses, books, newspapers (National Library Board Singapore Online – newspaper SG – The Straits Times, Malaya Tribune, The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, Singapore Daily News, Sunday Tribune Singapore, Singapore Free Press, Indian Daily Mail, Singapore Standard, Berita Harian, Business Time, and New Nation), Malaysia National Archive (maps and officer document), Singapore Archive Online (maps), local Newspaper (Sin Chew Jit Poh). Field study allow record of the current situation in the form of photos plus to prepare the cultural mapping for Cha'ah NV; informal unstructured interviews and oral history was carried particularly with father (aged 76) who explained on his experience and memories during the resettlement and old folks aged 80-90 years old who are still able to explain their experience including during WWII and how/ why they decide to live in Cha'ah NV; focus group discussions were generally with a local task force to verify some facts collected from local prints and also to discuss on names of place. Old photos and personal collection were shared by villagers within the local task force which is very much appreciated and valued.

About the Author

Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee is a practicing architect from 2005 to present. In 2011 she set up a sole proprietor practice, A T GOH ARCHITECT, so to allow her to gain flexibility in time for balancing professional practice works and research works. She has special interest on housing and heritage. She obtained her PhD in 2010 from the University of Liverpool titled 'Potential of courtyard housing as solution for creating family housing in urban area in the UK'. While, her MSc research study in 2007 focused on exploring if high rise, low-cost flats provide a solution for creating urban housing for the not so welldo-to in Malaysia. She has participated in community led heritage conservation project in Fez, Morocco in 2009 and assisted in 3D modeling for five historical public baths in MENA cities in 2010. Between 2011 and 2013, she worked on Heritage Village Rehabilitation Projects in Saudi Arabia, and participated in community building workshops jointly organized by the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) and Thinkcity in Penang. After joining ICOMOS Malaysia in 2015, she participated in the shared built heritage (SBH) study tours (Japan, West Bengal India, Estonia, Helsinki, Russia, Morocco) by ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on SBH. In 2020, she initiated the Heritage School Rehabilitation Program under ICOMOS Malaysia EPWG. With the discussion amongst ICOMOS Malaysia members on study tour at Chuang NV Selangor, when majority members of the planning group was sufficiently enthusiastic to start an interim Working Group to research further. On 10 March 2021, ICOMOS Malaysia New Village Working Group (NVWG) was formed.

She returns to Cha'ah NV for two to three days every fortnight not only because of family members still living in Cha'ah NV, but also the fact that Cha'ah NV very convenient place to live in, very relaxing life besides having different races living in harmony. On 28 December 2019, when she gave a speech at the 60th anniversary celebration for graduates from primary school (SRJKC Cha'ah) at Cha'ah, she realize that many villagers are still passionate about the village's future development so that the younger generation will continue to maintain its social-culture and economic sustainability. As a third generation villager from Cha'ah NV, and with her professional background as an architect, she decided to carry out research work on Cha'ah NV and contribute to the development history and outlining the outstanding town planning attribute for rural setting, and also suggesting the cultural heritage embedded in this NV. As an insider, she could easily obtain information from the villagers and encourage villagers to form a taskforce to gather more information for a local mini gallery at Cha'ah NV.

Acknowledgement

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my heartfelt thanks to Dr Francis Loh Kok Wah, our invited expert member and advisor for ICOMOS Malaysia New Village Working Group, for reviewing the paper. I also thank him for introducing me to Dr Tan Chee Beng who also spent time reviewing this paper. Dr Tan also tirelessly guided me into using the standard academic wording for Mandarin to English translations, particularly on matters relating to dialect and religion.

Community participatory process was adopted in the data collection. It is also aimed to collect materials for setting up a local mini gallery. Meanwhile, Chinese villagers are preparing their own history and story of associations, religious buildings, house design versus race/ religion, food, cultural performances, lion dance, music band, etc. The local Malay representatives (ex-village head family members) to gather more stories on Kg Melayu and Kg Jawa, Cha'ah NV, and the Indian community to gather more stories for estate housing within JLE. Special thanks giving to her father (Goh Swee Hee), friends and villagers at Cha'ah NV who willing to participate in this research and data collection works. The aim of local task force is to set up the local gallery on history and development of Cha'ah NV, with objectives to promote the Cha'ah New Village as one of the outstanding examples of the NVs in Malaysia and working with ICOMOS Malaysia and other relevant parties to promote for National Listing and/ or UNESCO Listing; to develop a new community centre with mini gallery, health programs for all aged groups including old folks; and to rehabilitate part of the old block at the Chinese primary school for cultural heritage purposes for school children.

List of Local Task Force (Sept 2021)

- 1. Dato' Ir Fong Tian Yong 方天养 (ex-KPKT NVs Works, member of ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG, Malaysia-China Business Council)
- 2. Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee 吳爱蒂(Chair, ICOMOS Malaysia NVWG)
- 3. Pang Swee Luan 彭岁暖 (Former Ketua Masyarakat Cha'ah)
- 4. Chew Kong Fact 邱广发 (Chairman, Board of Management Cha'ah Chinese School)
- 5. Wong Leng Chin 黄能展 (Chairman of Alumni Association of SJKC)
- 6. Mey Jyue Meng马杰明 (Headmaster SJKC CHAAH)
- 7. Chia Ah Moy @ Chia Wee Huang 謝惠芳
- 8. Ju Weng Hong 茹永康
- 9. Wong San Hong 王先衡 (Chairman, Persatuan Hainan Cha'ah)
- 10. Too Hin Chong 朱贤忠(Deputy Chairman, Persatuan Hainan Cha'ah)
- 11. Chong Sin Thiam 张新添 (Chairman, Persatuan of Hakka Cha'ah)
- 12. Hong Kok Min 韩国民 (Vice Chairman, Persatuan Hakka Cha'ah)
- 13. Yap Hooi Chong (Secretary, Persatuan Hakka Cha'ah)
- 14. Sum Swee Tuck 覃水德 (Chairman, Kwangsi Provincials Association)
- 15. Lew Kim Seng 刘金澄 (Vice Chairman of Kwangsi Provincials Association)
- 16. Koh Tian Min 辜天明 (Chairman, Persatuan Hokkien Cha'ah)
- 17. Tay Siak Yong (Vice Chairman of Persatuan Hokkien Chaah)
- 18. Yong Soo Len (Pengerusi KRT Chaah Tengah)
- 19. Pang Ah Kaw (Pengerusi Koperasi Chaah Berhad)
- 20. Lai Ah Lek 黎亜烈 (Secretary Koperasi Chaah Berhad)
- 21. Goh Swee Hee 吳瑞喜 (PIC of Liu Ren Fa Tan)
- 22. Chen Siew Lan (PIC of Christian Church Cha'ah)
- 23. Toh Beng Choon (涂铭春) PIS (Chairman, Pertubuhan Penganut Dewa Far Nan (法南宫)
- 24. Hj. Masduki b. Jarkasi (ex-Penghulu Melayu Cha'ah NV, wakil PPK Labis, Koperasi Permodalan Melayu Johor Berhad)
- 25. Mahendran Kutty (ex-resident of JLE under Socfin Group Berhad)
- 26. Divakaran a/l Madhaven (ex-resident of JLE under Socfin Group Berhad)

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"Town Planning in New Villages in Malaya: Case Study on Cha'ah New Village, Johor"

Ar Dr Goh Ai Tee

The British counter-insurgency measures sparked the development of a new configuration in New Villages in Malaya since the 1950s. By 1 March 1952, only 21 resettlement schemes out of a total of over 400 involved the Town Planning Department, Federation of Malaya. It was understood that during the emergency, speed for resettlement was paramount and the priority in planning was for New Villages at new areas for resettlement. For new villages that required more than two weeks to design at federal level, they needed to be tackled at local level instead, with available resources that included village planning schemes by the survey department since some of the surveyors were also town planners with a recognized professional qualification. At the priority areas, when there were delays in confirming the planning of a resettlement area, the Resettlement Officers liaised directly with the State War Executive Committee. With the increase in manpower at the Town Planning Department by end-1952, only approximately one tenth of the new villages established during the emergency were handled by the Town Planning Department. Nevertheless, by revisiting the ten major guidelines outlined under the Briggs Plan in January 1951, and general notes on the design and layout of resettlement areas prepared by the Town Planning Department and issued to all British Advisors and Resident Commissioners in 23 February 1951, this paper aims to provide a better understanding on planning perspectives of new villages developed between 1948 and 1960 in Malaya. Hence, it will introduce criteria for the selection of new villages that best represent the socio-economic and political strategies implemented during the emergency, which ultimately won the 'hearts and minds' of villagers. Sixteen boundary maps of selected new villages established between 1951 and 1960 are presented in this paper, in which Cha'ah New Village was selected as a case study to provide a better insight on the sustainability of the planning of these new villages. Besides, the development and provision of planning guidelines introduced during the emergency inevitably became the standard planning guidelines in most of the local authorities in Peninsular Malaysia. This paper is prepared based on archival materials such as official documents at the Malaysian National Archive and the data sheets and boundary maps of 450 New Villages gathered during the 2002 survey by the Malaysian Government.

Background

The "Emergency" was declared at a certain district of Perak and Johor on 16 June 1948, after 3 European planters (Arthur Walker, the manager of Eiplhi Estate on Lintang road in Sungai Siput near Ipoh, John Allison, manager and his assistant Ian Christian of Phin Soon Estate), a Chinese's head laborer (Senai Estate, Johore) and a contractor (who was a Kuomintang supporter, on an estate in Taiping Perak) were murdered by the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), the armed wing of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) on 16 June 1948. "A state of Emergency" was declared in 18 June 1948 for the entire Federation of Malaya as well as Singapore when the British government was pressured by the European community after the MNLA began attacking rubber plantations, mines and police stations, derailing trains and burning workers' houses. The term 'Emergency' and not 'War' was declared as it was considered a civil issue. Economically, with the declaration of 'Emergency' the British government could maintain its interest in Malaya and also benefit financially from insurance coverage in London, as insurers would not have compensated plantation and mine owners if it had been labeled a 'war'. Politically, the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) was denied its political legitimacy, and the term 'Communist Terrorist' was used to strengthen its political purpose. Socially, it was time for the British government to seriously address the long-standing squatter issues in the fringe of major towns and rural areas in Malaya. This was approached twofold, to bring these

squatters to better governance under close monitoring, and also to cut the aid (food, medicine and information) to the Communists. The imperial policies in Malaya led to development of an integrated civil-military via the use of minimum force. The Emergency lasted for 12 years (1948 to 1960), and can be grouped into three phases: The defensive period (June 1948 to Oct 1951) in which the government shaped its counter-insurgency tactics and policies; an offensive period (April 1952 to May 1954) when the administration struck back and gradually won the 'hearts and minds' of the people; and from June 1954 to 1960 as a period marked by eventual victory over the communists.

Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney also recognized the importance of having a Malayan Chinese Political Party in the counter-insurgency measure. This party acted to unite the Chinese population and restored their confidence in the ruling government. Hence, the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) was established on 27 Feb 1949. The initial involvement included assisting the police in a range of security matters such as infiltration of the MCP, commenting on the CID's classification of detainees, arranging sureties and encouraging CTs to surrender, also safeguarding the welfare of political detainees by pressuring state governments to improve conditions in the detention camps. The MCA played an important part in the resettlement schemes, assisted with funds, materials and personal exhortation, including administration on the after-care programmes in the New Villages. The funding for welfare projects (New Village projects and Emergency social work) were from public donations and lottery schemes (Feb 1950 to mid-1953). The local MCA branches usually asked for adequate removal notices on behalf of squatters to minimize their losses during resettlement, and for careful resettlement site selection, to make the resettlement process more tolerable to the rural population. This arrangement allowed the British government to effectively deal with problems such as subsiding house grants, building and maintaining schools and the provision of basic amenities such as piped water, dispensaries and recreational facilities.

Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs (24 July 1984 to 27 Oct 1952) was appointed as the Director of Operations on 3 April 1950. He realized the important of isolating the insurgents from their sources of food and creating a sense of security in populated areas so that people would be more willing to provide information. He also persuaded the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney, to set up committees containing representatives of all civil and military agencies involved in the campaign so that a co-ordinated response to the insurgents could be formulated. The policy was developed from "coercion and enforcement" in 1950 to win the "hearts and minds" of villagers in 1951 for the British Government to defeat the communist insurgency - "resettlement and Regroupment. A 3-tier command and committee (later named 'Brigg's Plan) to improve the Emergency administration and inter-agency coordination with the aim to eliminate the MCP's forces and its mass organization (Min Yuen) – as counter insurgency strategies: The Federal War Council (FWC), the State and Settlement War Executive Committees (SWEC) and the District War Executive Committees (DWEC). The FWC comprised the Director of Operations, the Chief Secretary, the General Officer Commanding, the Air Officer Commanding, the Commissioner of Police, and the Secretary of Defence. The SWECs were composed of the Chief Minister (Menteri Besar), the British Advisor, the Chief Police Officer, the senior Army commander, and a full-time Secretary. DWECs consisted of the District Officer, and senior police and army representatives. The FWC responsibility was to meet weekly and formulate policy, and coordinate all the necessary resources to implement these policies. The actual execution of policy lay with the SWECs and DWECs.

In Jan 1951, Briggs sent a memorandum to all the SWECs outlining major guidelines for resettlement and in June 1951, the resettlement programme was in full swing. Purpose-built new villages with clean water, proper housing, education and medical care were provided. The Resettlement involved two processes: Regrouping and Relocation, through three main methods: military force; providing financing support to rebuild new homes in the NVs; or to collaborate with the MCA in resettling the

squatters. There were ten major principles/ guidelines for resettlement outlined by Briggs on Jan 1951 (see *Table 4-7-1*).

Sir Gerald Walter Robert Templer took over the post of High Commissioner and Director of Operations in February 1952, after Sir Henry Lovell Goldsworthy Gurney was killed in an ambush by CTs on 6 October 1951, and Lieutenant-General Harold Briggs retired by end-1951. He embraced the Briggs Plan and ensured the command structure was established. He placed great emphasis on the need to win the 'hearts and minds' of the population, and continued the resettlement of squatters/ villagers, with a promise of independence once the communist insurgents had been defeated. The new Citizenship Bill was passed by the Federal Legislative Council in May 1952. After each state had passed its own Nationality Laws, both the Federation of Malaya Agreement (Amendment) Ordinance and the State Nationality Laws came into effect. The new law conferred citizenship status on 2,727,000 Malays and Orang Asli, 1,157,000 Chinese, and 222,000 Indians as state nationals and citizens across the Federated colony. With citizenship, people were entitled to participate in future state and federal elections. The British then initiated the political process by introducing elections at the local and state levels and finally, at the federal level. The first elections were held in George Town, Penang on 1 December 1951, and saw a turnout of over 72% of registered voters. These elections were followed by the passage of the Local Councils Ordinance in 1952, whereby previously established village committees were gradually converted to councils. Local Councils acquired the power to impose taxes, rates and fees for maintenance and expenditure. The first local elections of national consequence were the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council elections in 1952.

Table 4-7-1: 10 Major Principles under Briggs Plan 1951

	Major	Descriptions				
	Principles					
1	Access	Where possible, resettlement villages were to be located on main roads or other major				
		transportation arteries				
2	Topography	Villagers were to be relocated, wherever possible, on rolling terrain to promote drainage				
3	Security	Squatters were to be concentrated into compact villages which were fenced-in and protected by a				
		police post capable of commanding the entire village, most particularly, the village gate				
4	Economy	Villages were to be sited in such a manner as to minimize squatter dislocation, and apart from				
		security, the most important aspect to be considered in deciding upon a site had to be the economy				
		of the future settlers				
5	Standardised disturbance grants were paid to all squatters forced to vacate their homes and a					
		subsistence allowance to each individual forced to give up their land or job upon moving to the new				
		site.				
6	Density	There should be no more than 6 houses (families) per acre of residential land. This permitted				
		family to have a vegetable garden on their house lot if they so desired				
7	Water Supply	Sufficient water was to be supplied, either from adjacent towns, or from wells within the village,				
		health and fire regulations were expected to be observed				
8	Amenities	Amenities such as schools, dispensaries, community centres, et had to be provided as quickly as				
		possible				
9	Agriculture	Sufficient agriculture land of good quality was to be provided for all agriculturists forced to				
	Land	abandon their previous holdings. Agriculturists should have their land situated within 2 to 3 miles				
		of the villages to enable them to transport manure from their stay in the villages to their fields.				
10	Workplace	Estate workers had to be within 2 miles of their places of employment				
	distance					

The British government also acknowledged the importance of education especially primary education in New Villages to create 'contented communities' and insulate them from the communists. During the emergency, with the help from its American and other allies, the colonial government tried to

prevent School Management Committees from being infiltrated by communists, by expanding the number of staff in the Chinese section of the Education Department. The number of Chinese inspectors was increased from 10 in July 1948 to 35 by end of 1953. Their tasks included supervising the school registration, finance, curriculum, textbooks, health requirements and building maintenance and registering all schools, teachers and members of School Management Committees, under Registration of School Ordinance no 7, 1950. The Resettlement Officer was able to choose suitable local leaders (pro-colonial government and anti-communist) for the School Management Committee (or the Education Committee of the Local Council) when granting the village government aid. This process indirectly meant control over recruitment, curriculum and textbooks. In May 1952, a full-time training school for Chinese teachers in Malaya was set up to equip local Chinese to teach in English, Malay and Chinese. For the first time, Chinese teachers were also given training for citizenship with special attention being given to all kinds of extra-mural activities such as scouts and guides. All teachers were politically vetted by several government departments including the Chief Education Office, Special Branch and Central Criminal Records Office. The primary school was for children aged between 7 and 12, but 'Emergency Classes were provided for children over 12 and there were evening classes for adults, who had had their schooling interrupted or terminated during the Japanese Occupation and postwar period. The local MCA branch donated money to build Chinese Schools at the initial stage, and in 1951 the federal government with assistance from missionary groups funded school buildings and teachers' quarters (construction and maintenance), and the role of school maintenance was took over by state government. In February 1952 out of the 500 new villages, 216 schools were constructed with a total of 957 classrooms to accommodate 39,744 students or 39% of the primary school population. This support for education was seen as a means to assert more control over and assist in the remaking of Chinese new villagers, with some flexibility in matters of culture and local identity, School names of 'Chung Hwa', 'Hwa Chiao' and 'Mah Hwa' were discouraged and in favour of Malayan place names.

For economic sustainability, lands for agriculture were provided within 2 to 3 miles of these new villages to ensure that villagers could commute between their new homes and farm land easily. Besides, the colonial government also encouraged villagers to form co-operatives to market their products. This initiative involved a month-long training course to AROs in managing stores and marketing, then having AROs assist villagers in setting up their own producers. At a later stage, the government provided a 14 days training course for New Village managers in bookkeeping for local members across the country.

The New Villages witnessed the setting up of omnipresent government agents (District Officer, Assistant District Officer, Chinese Affair Officer, Assistant Chinese Affairs Officers, New Village Headmen in charge of daily administration), who assisted in the development of community based institutions (Village Committee later known as local council, Home Guard unit as self-defense organization, MCA as political party, co-operatives for taking care of farming by villagers, missionary bodies, brigade for fire safety, st john ambulance, etc), including the Chinese/ Malay/ Tamil education system.

By March 1953, the attributes necessary for a successful NV had been defined as "a modicum of agriculture land and the granting of long-term land titles, and adequate water supply, a reasonably well functioning village committee, a school which could accommodate at least a majority of the Children, a village community centre, road of possible standards and with side drains, reasonable conditions of sanitation and public health, a place of worship, trees along main street and padang, an effective perimeter fence, a flourishing Home Guard, a reasonably friendly feeling towards the Government and the Police."

When Sir Gerald Templer finally left his post in Ocober 1954, most of Malaya was secured (within the barbed wire). Before April 1950, a total population of 18,500 resettled in new villages, while by end-1954, a total population of 572,917 were resettled in over 480 new villages in the 11 states of Peninsular Malaya. By the end of 1955, MCP's armed forces were reduced from 8,000 jungle fighters in 1951 to an estimate of 3,000 men and women. The frequency of incidents decreased from a maximum of 500 to 65 per month. Additionally, more areas in Malaya were declared 'white areas'.

Three external factors forced the MCP leaders to adjust their political strategy towards a peace negotiation to end the Emergency and anti-colonial war:

- 1. The war had shifted from 'armed struggle' to 'peaceful coexistence', following the First Indochina war against the French
- 2. The communist and Workers' Parties of the British Commonwealth held a meeting in London in April 1954, and advocated negotiations and ceasefire resolutions
- 3. China's Prime Minister Chou En Lai took a moderate line on colonialism and its future at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955.

On 28 and 29 December 1955, the peace talks between the Alliance Government (The chief minister of the Federation – Tunku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of Singapore – David Marshall, the President of MCA – Tan Cheng Lock) and the MCP (Chin Peng, head of central Propaganda Department – Chen Tian, senior MCP leader and representative of the Malayan Malay Nationalist Party – Rashid Maidin) were held at a local school in Baling, Kedah. Although both parties were not able to finalise details, the discussion proceeded and resulted in a press statement signed by both whereby the MCP would end all hostilities, and lay down its arms and disband the guerilla forces, if the newly elected government of the Federation obtained complete control of internal security and local armed forces. In January and February 1956, Tunku Abdul Rahman led a delegation to London for a Constitutional Conference, with the press statement signed by both parties during the Baling Talks, the British Government agreed to both conditions that led to the independence of Malaya in 31 August 1957. With independence, Tunku Abdul Rahman became the Minister for Internal Defence and Security apart from being a Chief Minister. However, the Emergency was only officially declared as ended on 31 July 1960.

Town Planning: Design and Layout of Resettlement Area

"Village Housing in the Tropics" by Maxwell Fry...after reading...may conclude that proper planning, even of small villagers, is indeed a "complex business" if it is to make the best use of the land in the interest of all."

T.A.L. concannon, Town Planner of Federation of Malaya, 19 June 1953 (source: Malaysian National Archive, no. Penerimaan: 1979/0006383)

Garden City Planning was promoted in 1926/1927 in major towns like Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Selangor, and Seremban. In 1926, apart from C.C. Reade (First Town Planner in Federation of Malaya), and other temporary staffs in the Town Planning department such as assistant Town Planner, Town Planning Superintendent (Kuala Lumpur, Perak, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor) were seconded from Public Works Department (PWD) and Survey Department. The publication "Village Housing in the Tropics" on 1 July 1948 by Jane B Drew and E. Maxwell Fry with Harry L. Ford inspired Town Planners in the Federation of Malaya when planning for the NVs. The town planner T.A.L. Concannon, Town Planning Department, Federation of Malaya provided general notes on design and layout of resettlement areas on 23 February 1951 after the ten general principals and/ or guidelines for

resettlement schemes were outlined under the Briggs Plan in January 1951. These included selection of site, layout of site, design and layout scheme (see *Table 4-7-2*).

Table 4-7-2: General Notes On Design and Layout of Resettlement Area in 1951

1111	Category	Criteria	Design and Layout of Resettlement Area in 1951 Descriptions					
A Selection of Planning site Survey:			Sites for resettlement areas should be selected only after a careful planning survey has been made: economic, sociologic and other considerations affecting the region					
		Socio-economic	as a whole					
		Data	To prepare designs for layouts based on the site and other data supplied by the State Resettlement Committee, the Survey Department, and other officers concerned with					
			resettlement.					
		Procedure	The usual procedure being that the State Resettlement Committee or one of the					
			Resettlement Officers, together with the Security Authorities, select an area considered suitable					
		Cost of land	Major considerations affecting selection of sites have been absence of town value					
			and consequent low cost of land, security requirements, and possibility of economic					
			development by reason of configuration of the ground for best use the land fo					
			housing or other requirements if the maximum advantage is to be gained by the					
			community at large.					
В	Layout of	Socio-economic	The information such as employment, incomes, age group, etc of the persons to be					
	Site	data:	housed will assist in determining the standards of plot sizes, open spaces and					
			general amenities to be provided					
		Topography/	Topography and other natural features will dictate the most economic and desirabl					
		road pattern	road pattern					
		Connectivity	Proximity of towns and villages and the nature of their existence and economy wil					
			indicate the number of shops and communal buildings required in the resettlemen					
			area					
С	Design and	Size of lots	There shall be varying according to the nature of employment and income of					
	Layout		residents, availability of water supply, and configuration of the site and the metho					
	,		of sanitation to be used.					
			a. Plot of nett size 1/8 acre or 50'x100', if residents are employed in town					
			occupations and require no land for cultivation and that water supply i					
			b. Plot of nett size 1/5 acre or 66'x132', if town supply is not available and th					
			residents only require a limited area for cultivation					
			c. Road building lines should be a minimum of 20 feet.					
			d. For temporary buildings, a clear space of 20 feet is essential in order to lim					
			fire risk.					
			e. Generally shape of plots should be such that the builder can construct th house parallel to be contour and thus avoid undue excavation.					
		Dood nottorn						
		Road pattern						
			c. Road not exceed 1,500 feet in length may be reduced to a width of minimur					
			30 feet if a turning-space of 40 feet diameter is provided.					
			d. Road not exceeding 750 feet in length may be minimum 24 feet in width i					
			provided with a 40 feet turning-space.					
			e. If a road is anticipated will be used now or in the future for bus service of					
			local shopping traffic, the width should not be less than 50 feet and preferabl 66 feet.					
			f. Any road that may form part of a regional road system should be not less tha 80 feet in width and 100 feet in width if part of a main traffic road system					
			g. Land to be used for agriculture should have minimum 20 feet in width wherever possible, a minimum of 33 feet to be adopted.					

	h. A minimum of 20 feet back lanes are provided if only for sanitary facilities of the earth bucket type.
	i. It is desirable where as an initial security measures, a barbed wire fence is to
	be provided for the resettlement scheme, to plan a perimeter road to form a clear space against the fence and thus improve the measure of security.
	 j. On a level site a "grid-iron" plan can be adopted without great disadvantage. In large settlement it may be preferable to provide a type of "spider-web" layout.
	k. In most cases, the road pattern will be determined by topography and configuration of the ground and road lines should run parallel to the contours, with gradient not exceeding 1 in 12.
	l. In any layout, it is desirable to provide some major roads which will link all
	parts of the settlement with market, bus station and shops, and to the entrance,
	police port, communal buildings, and open spaces. Provision should be made
	for bus stations and similar transport facilities if required, and for a central market.
Public and	a. Shopping facilities for the residents that should be within a quarter of a mile,
communal	one shop to fifty-four persons including a post office, minimum frontage is 20
buildings	feet with semi-permanent construction
	b. Community building should include clinic and dispensary, nursery, community entre and schools and cinema, site for religious buildings,
	government quarters and administrative offices for large settlement, and
	should be grouped in a location convenient for the majority of residents and
	close proximity to the shopping entre and main entrance to the settlement and
	adjoin a plying field or other open space or <i>padang</i>
	c. Schools: reserves for school, and for large settlement two or more schools with an area of at least five acres exclude school playing field
Water supply	Sources of water supply is an pre-requisite in the selection of any site for resettlement, or when not possible to have properly constructed well to reduce local
	pollution, with a well for 12 to 16 houses
Open spaces	A padang to accommodate a football field, if possible provision of two or more
	open space within resettlement scheme, with proportion of approximately four acres
	per thousand persons
Security	Police post on high point to facilitate control and observation and should be as far
	as possible afford fire and visual protection to all entrance gates

Since the actual execution of policy lay with the SWECs and DWECs, the Town Planning Department, Federation of Malaya remained as an advisory and consultative body for advice on town and regional planning throughout the Federation by 1 March 1952. Apart from attending once every two months at Tailing to lecture to the school of resettlement officers, the town planner, T.A.L Concannon revealed that they had designed only 21 resettlement schemes out of total of over 400 required by 1 March 1952. This was due to inadequate qualified staffing. Only by 30 Oct 1952, did the Town Planning Department, Federation of Malaya receive additional staff (assistant town planners) that made it possible to extend their scope of works to include New Villages and the planning works to be done at Headquarters. Four additional staff were in charge for New Villages at different states: 1 for Selangor; 1 for Kedah, Perlis, Penang, Kelantan, Terengganu and Pahang; 1 for Perak; and 1 for Johore, Negeri Sembilan and Melaka. By 20 June 1953, the Town Planning Department was requested and expected to achieve one tenth of the planning work for New Villages.

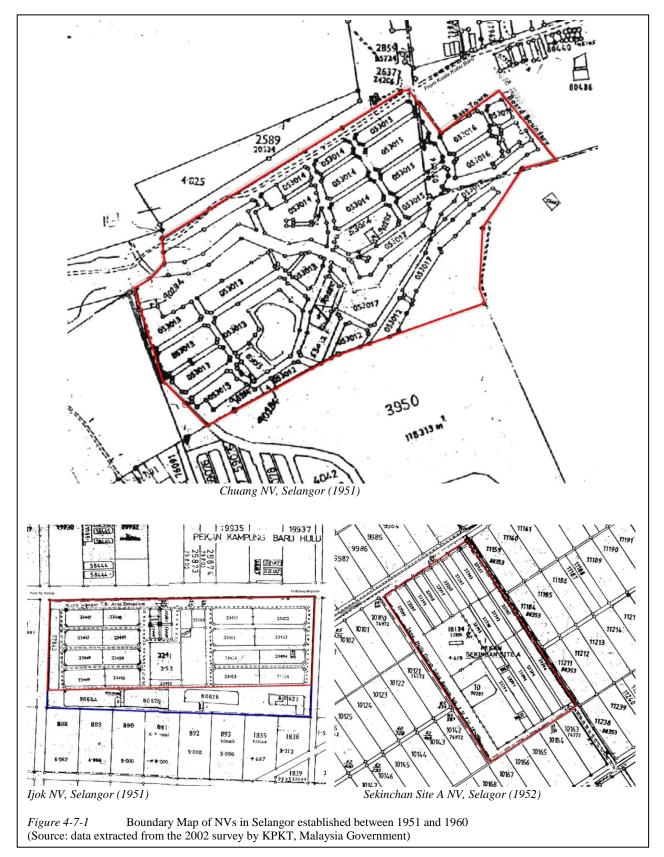
Table 4-7-3 provides the understanding on the potential involvement of the Town Planning Department, Federation of Malaya. Amongst the 450NVs, 67% (or 303 NVs) were established before

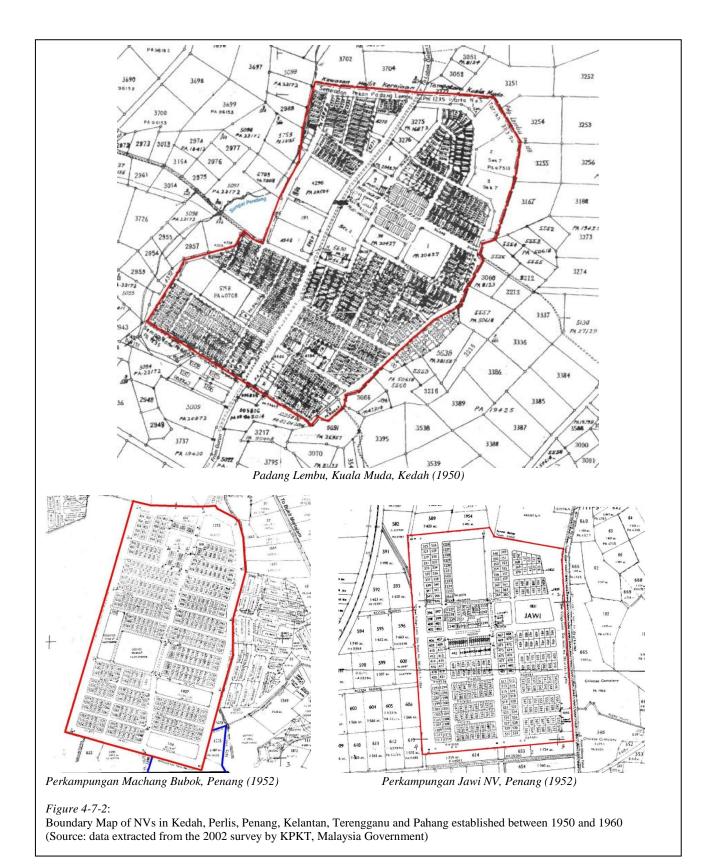
implementation of the Briggs Plan. There were 46 NVs established in 1951, only 81 NVs schemes were established between 1952 and 1960, and 14 NVs schemes were established after 1960 and 6 predated 1900. *Figure 4-7-1 to 4-7-4* presents the selected NVs established between 1951 and 1960 for visual understanding on varieties of layouts derived based on the guidelines outlined under the Briggs Plan and planning notes by the Town Planning Department, Federation of Malaya.

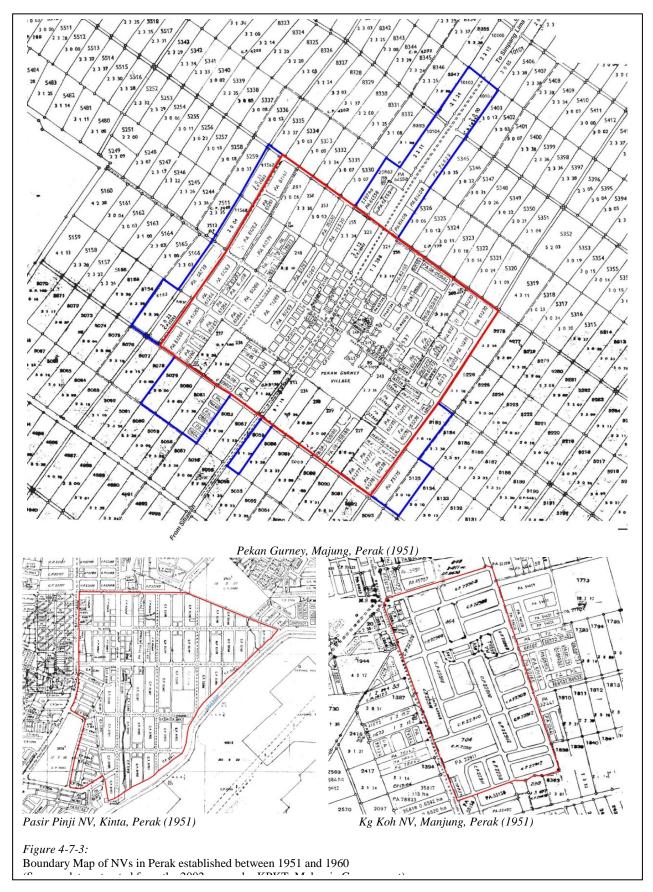
Table 4-7-3: NVs Years of Establishment and States

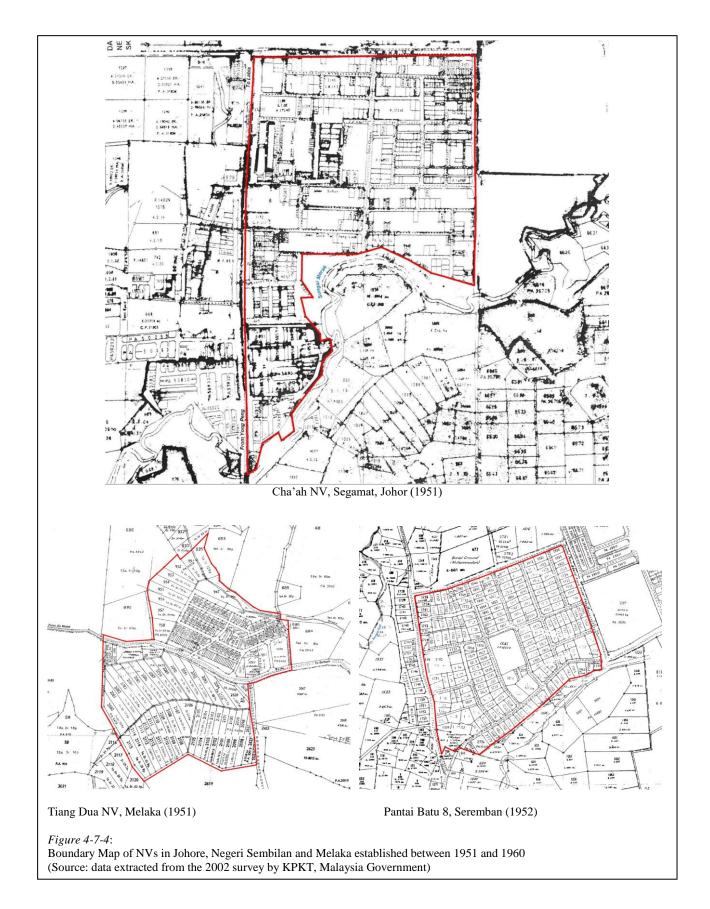
State	Year of Establishment																	
	<1900	1900-1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	>1960	unknown	Total
Johor	1	8	8	9	29	16	6	2	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	84
Melaka	1	0	3	4	3	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	19
NS	1	5	5	5	16	1	5	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	43
WPKL	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Perak	0	3	13	11	70	15	8	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	5	3	134
Perlis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Selangor	0	8	5	10	9	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	42
Pahang	1	4	17	11	10	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	4	0	55
Terengganu	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Kelantan	3	9	2	1	4	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	24
Kedah	0	2	1	0	5	2	16	3	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	33
Penang	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Total	7	40	56	53	147	46	50	8	10	2	4	4	1	0	2	14	6	450

(Source: data extracted from the 2002 survey by KPKT, Malaysia Government)





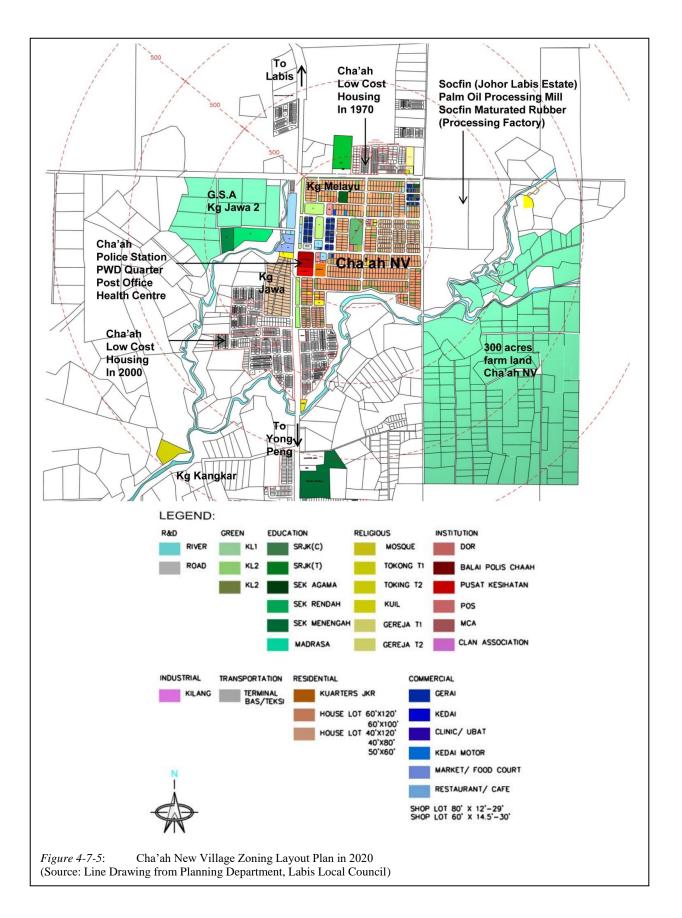




Case Study: Cha'ah New Village, Segamat, Johor

At Cha'ah village, there were about 150 shop-houses (population of around 1,000) in 1950, along both side of Sungai Cha'ah, along the main trunk road (Yong Peng – Labis) for about half a mile. The police station built in 1939 was located half-a-mile up the Yong Peng-Labis road, away from Cha'ah Village, and closer to the Socfin Palm Oil Mill and Socfin Maturated Rubber Processing Factory. Eight neighboring villages around the Cha'ah Village had been fenced off against communist terrorist incursion, except Cha'ah Village due to its sprawling control of movement. Villagers from Cha'ah village appealed through their local M.C.A for the RO to reconsider the instruction for resettlement, and provide options to move the police station instead of the entire village, besides offering to fund and build the police station on a suitable new site at the Cha'ah village and to fence the area to meet security requirements. On 11 April 1951, the RO explained that it was simply the case of town planning and better conditions of living for the inhabitants. At this resettlement site, the police station happened to be the only building constructed according to the original plan drawn up in 1936, and the rest of the buildings were just a ribbon development. Moreover, the Cha'ah village could not be fenced off as it existed; hence the decision was to resettle these villagers to this new town on the eastern side of the road, where the police station now stands. At the new site, villagers could enjoy adequate protection of the security force and carry on their trade and agriculture in peace and safety. Additionally, house owners were given \$200 each as compensation for the possible loss of trade and to meet incidental expenses in carrying their goods to the new site. This was besides free aluminium roofing and poles to build their new houses under Government expenses. With the support from the M.C.A, the resettlement of Cha'ah Village went smoothly. On 27 August 1951, this new resettlement area, New Cha'ah (name changed to Cha'ah New Village in 1952) opened in Johor.

Cha'ah New Village in Segamat District is one out of 84 NVs in Johor, out of 450 NVs in Peninsular Malaysia in a 2002 survey. It covers approx. 193 acres (76.013 hectares) on flat terrain. In March 1953, there were a total 716 units of residential house and 198 units of shop-houses. The population already increased to 7,434 settlers comprised of 5,354 (72.0%) Chinese, 1,300 (17.5%) Malays, 760 (10.2%) Indians and 20 (0.3%) others. It is amongst the 5% of the large-scale new villages in Malaya with population above 5,000. In the 2000 survey, Cha'ah New Village had 840 households with an average household size of four only. The population had decreased to 3,384 in 2000, with 29.55% aged 0-14, 60.67% aged 15-64 and 9.78% aged 65 and above. In terms of land use within the NV, 85% were residential and 15% were commercial. The tenure types on residential lots comprised 34% with 30-years lease, 34% with 60-years lease, 17% with 99-years lease and 15% still on government land or grant under process. The poverty rate was above the national standard, with 5% rich, 75% average, 10% poor and 10% very poor. The scheme fulfilled all the ten guidelines for resettlement outlined under the Briggs Plan in 1951: firstly, it is located along the main road; with flat terrain and good drainage; with the existing police station built in 1939 located at one corner of the site; a compact village plan with police station strategically located along the main road that could be easily fenced out; with the support from Socfin, settlers/ villagers had immediate jobs at the adjacent neighbouring Johore Labis Estate while waiting for the return of crops from nearby agricultural land; house owners were given \$200 each as compensation for the possible loss of trade and to meet incidental expenses in carrying their goods to the new site. This was besides free aluminium roofings and poles to build their new houses under Government expense. Moreover, the resettlement was assisted by the local MCA; the residential land during the early stage was no more than 6 houses per acre which also permitted cultivation of a vegetable garden on housing lots if desired; each house generally had a well within the house plot, water and 24 hour electricity in the 1960s; amenities such as the schools, dispensaries, and community hall were constructed in 1950s. The firefighting system was arranged by villagers under community works



The planning of Cha'ah NV in Johor may relate to Garden City planning principles introduced in Malaya in the 1920s. The Garden City Planning was promoted in 1926/1927 in major towns like Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Selangor, and Seremban. In 1926, apart from Charles C. Reade (First Town Planner in Federation of Malaya), and other temporary staffs in the Town Planning department such as assistant Town Planner, Town Planning Superintendent (Kuala Lumpur, Perak, Negeri Sembilan and Selangor) were seconded from P.W.D and Survey Department. The publication "Village Housing in the Tropics" on 1 July 1948 by Jane B Drew and E. Maxwell Fry with Harry L. Ford inspired the Town Planner in Federation of Malaya when planning for the NVs. Socfin with plantation at Africa, and the layout planning current Cha'ah NV was done in 1936, and the experiment scheme on land settlement for "retired" tamil estate workers at JLE was in 1941, it is highly possible that Cha'ah NV planning layout was used as a case study or model village for new resettlement schemes during the emergency.

"Village Housing in the Tropics" by Maxwell Fry...after reading...may conclude that proper planning, even of small villagers, is indeed a "complex business" if it is to make the best use of the land in the interest of all."

T.A.L. concannon, Town Planner of Federation of Malaya, 19 June 1953 (source: Malaysian National Archive, no. Penerimaan: 1979/0006383)

Socfin was established at the Batang Berjuntai area (between Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh) in Malaya in 1927, when Charles C Reade campaigned for Garden City planning concepts and design principles in Ipoh, after Kuala Lumpur. Socfin developed Johor Labis Estate since 1930, and with its planned township (later turned to be Cha'ah NV during the emergency). Although until today, the actual plan of 1936 is yet to be found, clues might suggest that it was a unique experimental scheme to test out the Garden City planning principles, a compact township for best use of land. The experimental scheme on land settlement for "retired" tamil estate workers at JLE by Socfin in 1941 further strengthen this possibility. Socfin also developed plantation in Africa, and the publication of "Village Housing in the Tropics" in 1948 might also have inspired the Town Planners in Malaya when planning for other NVs. Table 4-7-4 shows attributes conforming to the design approach and elements of the Garden City movement that could be identified in Cha'ah NV.

Table 4-7-4: Garden City Line and Planning Layout of Cha'ah NV.

	Design approach and elements on "Planning on					
	0 11	Attributes at Framming of Cha an IVV				
	Garden City Line" *					
1	A bounded site within which residents'	A self-contained Village with all facilities (police station, post				
	everyday needs were accommodated	office, public health center, PWD quarter, multipurpose community				
		hall, public green field, playground, food court, market, shops,				
		schools, religion buildings, clans associations, bus station, water,				
		electric and telephone services) for perform their daily life within				
		the new village				
2	Areas set aside for specific uses - residential,	Clear zoning (Government administrative – security and health and				
	commercial, education, religious, recreational	maintenance, commercial, residential, schools, religious, and				
	(local community and individual, and active	village green) is observed within the New Village.				
	and passive uses)					
3	Public open space of a variety of types and	Village green field for soccer/ football, separate zone for basketball/				
	scales for a range of local community uses,	sepak takraw/ badminton, children playground (now with				
	Internal reserves for shared community use	equipment), darling walk area.				
	were a distinctive open type in garden suburbs					
4	A hierarchical road system. Roads were	66' road (industrial)				
	classified according to use. Typically, a wide	60' road (main road and commercial)				
	took the largest volume of traffic while the	30' and 40' road (residential)				

	narrowed enabled access to residential areas	20' road (service)
5	Variation in street width, line and length:	Grid iron road layout. Street length (width):
	typically, 'curved, short arc and straight'.	100m (30' road)
		150m, 200m, 232m (60' road)
		590m (40' road)
		800m(60' and 66' road)
		Curve only along the river
6	A park-like environment created through	Green Belt (between main trunk road with Cha'ah NV) 80' and 60'
	preserving existing natural features, planting	buffer zone
	street trees, reserving open space, planting in	Green Belt (between internal industrial road and industrial zone)
	private gardens and in street garden reserves	40' buffer zone
		River as natural buffer zone between Cha'ah New Village with
		opposite lots
7	Low density development	Compact residential area in 6 units/ acre, or 15.24 units per ha
		(suburban setting)
		6 standard 120'x6' = 1 acre land
8	Generous building setbacks and ample yard	40', 60' and 80' setback from main access road between Cha'ah
	space front and back	New Village with adjacent development/ main trunk road
9	'architectural unity but not uniformity'	Residential:
	achieved primarily through consistency of	detached (60'x120', 60'x100', 40'x120', 40'x80', 50'x60')
	style, form, scale, colours and materials	Shophouse: A (80'x12'-29')
		Shophouse: C (60'x14.5'-30')

Note: * refer Christine Garnaut (2021)

Summary

Ebenezer Howard's planning on garden city lines aimed to address the catastrophic social and environmental effects of industriazation through physical planning. The ideas were first published in 1889 titled "Tomorrow: a peaceful path to real reform" and in 1902 titled "Garden Cities of Tomorrow". The ideas were tested first at Letchworth Garden City in Hertfordshire England in 1903, and then in Hamstead Garden Suburb in north-west of London in 1907. It was acknowledged that the ideas are more suitable at suburbs and as the model for garden suburbs around the world. In 1917, the garden city planning ideas were applied at Mitcham Garden Suburb in Adelaide, Australia for the South Australian Government. Subsequently, the town planner (Charles Reade) of Mitcham Garden Suburb was appointed the first town planner in Malaya between 1921 and 1929. The best known and surviving scheme of Charles Reade is the Garden City of Kuala Kubu Baru in Selangor, designed in 1926, and completed by 1929. With the campaign on garden city planning concept exhibited in 1926 (Kuala Lumpur) and 1927 (Ipoh), it is not difficult to believe Socfin might have accepted the concept and planning to test out the Cha'ah NV site with the same or similar concept in 1936. The experimental scheme they undertook on retired homes for Tamil workers in 1941, whereby house plots were provided with sufficient land for planting cash crops and fruit trees to be self-sustaining. It is one of the potential reasons why houses with 6 units per acre were identified as a good size for residential housing in rural areas, producing a compact village with best use of land. The subsequent publication of "Village Housing in the Tropics" in 1948 gave more attention of house design for the tropics and planning concepts for the villages, and was one of the references for town planners when they worked on planning for new villages during the emergency. Although it may only be 10% out of 450 NVs that benefited from proper planning during the emergency as speed for resettlement and regroupment were paramount for safety and security, it is suggested that further research regarding these planned villages will provide a better understanding on how far planning on the garden city lines was successful in new villages in Malaysia. The planning and layout of Cha'ah New Village provides a good insight and has proven its sustainability over a period of 70 years. This research outcome may provide better guidelines for compact planning with best use of rural land to local government, policy

makers, planners, architects and developers for creating a more sustainable multi-ethnic community in terms of politics, socio-economic, spiritual and environmental goals.

Acknowledgement

Special thanks to Dato' Ir Fong Tian Yong for sharing the data sheet and boundary maps of 450 New Villages gathered during the 2002 survey by the Malaysian Government under KPKT. Without the secondary survey data, it would not have been possible to carry out the analysis on the planning on New Villages in Malaysia. Thanks also go to Shaiful Fauzi bin Mohmin, Officer at Department of Town Planning and Landscape, Labis District Council for providing the digital file of the Cha'ah layout plan which enabled measurement and analysis of the planning to be made.

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ICOMOS MALAYSIA

NEW VILLAGE WORKING GROUP

REPORT 1

(15 MAY 2022)

05

EXTERNAL LINKS

05 EXTERNAL LINKS AND EVENTS

There are many NGOSs and Universities (local and oversea) working on the Culture and Heritage related fields with New Villages in Malaysia. We are using this platform to compile videos and documentaries by different groups for our NVWG archives as well as for sharing with public.

5.1 External Links

5.1.1 Interview with Tan Sri CC Too on 17 May 1986 (Part 1, 2 and 3), shared by Ar Anthony Too on 12 June 2021

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgWgIaYsZnc

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8TlkJCzsnU

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9oyRXFAeipQ

- 5.1.2 Poundly Presenting Yong Peng, by Malayan Film Unit, 1954 (Catalogue no. CCE 268, assessed on 8 April 2021) https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1060021749
- 5.1.3 甘德政·马来亚华人民族主义的前世今生, 甘德政博士, 发布于2019年10月9日 https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=436848744335792
- 5.1.4 马来西亚华人的故事我来自新村 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_cqI1nuB4Vg
- 5.1.5 【經典.TV】20181007 馬來西亞華人新村 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mr_jztDXp90
- 5.1.6 Story Of Rasa 叻思新村的故事 part.1 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ymCnw8IIjHU
- 5.1.7 Story Of Rasa 叻思新村的故事 part.2 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S5Z2WKG4KTk
- 5.1.8 Story Of Rasa 叻思新村的故事 part.3 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eivHMAs2_kQ
- 5.1.9 Pantai Remis 小镇故事 班台Pantai Remis系列(完整篇) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAUkno7n0YQ
- 5.1.10 Story of Ulu Yan 乌鲁音新村的故事 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mjnd7qzsv9U

- 5.1.11 DUGAAN PENDUDUK TANAH MELAYU MENENTANG KOMUNIS MALAYA 1948-1960DUGAAN NEGARA TANAH MELAYU SEBELUM & SELEPAS MENCAPAI KEMERDEKAAN (1948-1960) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UsWMmlKUhDE
- 5.1.12 Cha'ah Christian Church 三合港基督教会六十周年历史回顾 https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=YiDmw1t0kyQ
- 5.1.13 Century-old chapel tucked in plantation still hosts monthly mass https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=snkBAMdMbG4

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- 6. Setiawan Settlement Museum https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=188389989054017



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