

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION IN MALAYA AND IN THE
PHILIPPINES: THE CHINESE FACTOR
(1942 - 1945)

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Introduction

The Second World War was a painful historical turning point in the histories of several countries especially in Asia. This period characterized by the unprecedented sanguine conflicts among races and nations brought extensive damage and untold miseries to millions. But in the midst of this unfortunate episode also came about the revitalization and the growth and development of movements which fostered national cohesion and unity. As the Western powers busied themselves in annihilating each other in Europe and elsewhere, their colonies were apparently left to themselves and in the process managed to chart their respective course of actions. This brief but momentous opportunity helped the colonies to see and identify their national interests and discerned the latter from that of the colonizers. This realization eventually led to stronger agitation for independence and self-rule right after the World War II.

In Asia, the Japanese invasion of many countries was the concrete expression of the world war. Consequently, resistance to Japan's invasion was the major battle cry of the national movements which were set up, revitalized or forged during the period. Thousands and millions of Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese, Indonesians, Filipinos and others were drawn in these anti-Japanese resistance movements, some created by the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), others set up independently by other concerned and militant political groups. These national organizations surmounted great difficulties and stood firm to defeat Japan's grand design to lord it over Asia via the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere Program.

They all rallied the peoples of their respective countries to assert national freedom and struggled against aggression of Japan.

Despite the overwhelming force and the great odds foisted up by the Imperial Army, these national movements stood firm and waged successful campaigns against Japan.¹

Among those who resisted Japan, the Chinese were perhaps the most which suffered and mainly due to this, also the one which can be credited to have greatly contributed in the success of the anti-Japanese resistance in Asia.

The hardships received by the Chinese from the hands of the Japanese was conditioned by the latter's need and desire for China. It should be noted that on the account of her rich natural and human resources and extensive territory, China became the logical principal target for Japanese expansion over other countries in Asia. Japan's proximity to China further strengthened this expansionist tendency.

As early as the 1890's, Japan's expansionist schemes were already apparent in the Sino-Japan War of 1898. Echoing the Western powers' scrambles for trade and economic concessions, Japan did not hesitate to resort to force in order to induce China to give in to her demands. Right after the First World War, Japan has not only matched but even surpassed the gargantuan colonial appetite of her Western counterparts when she presented the infamous 21 Demands to get Germany's colonial rights in China.²

The historical aggressive encroachments of Japan in China reached its peak when it invaded Manchuria in 1937. Economically-pressed up and humiliated by repeated and especially the most recent Japanese incursion, the Chinese strongly resisted. This event which was later known as the "Manchurian crisis" indicated that at least four years before the formal declaration of the world war, the Chinese were already in the thick of struggle against the Japanese.

Its being ahead in experiencing the brunt of invasion and leading the fight against it was already indicative of China's worthwhile contribution. But besides this, was the fact that the anti-Japanese People's Liberation Army (AJPLA), the armed force set up by the alliance between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang Party managed to tie down almost 50% of the Japanese Imperial Forces in China, engaging them in fierce and protracted battles. This significantly reduced Japan's capacity to control and subjugate the

other Asian countries as the bulk of her forces and resources were committed to and with the Chinese.

Another inconspicuous but equally important role of China in the anti-Japanese resistance was the involvement of her overseas Chinese. Not content of fighting Japan in the homeland, China aroused and mobilized the Chinese in the neighboring countries to help in her struggle. Initially supportive of their motherland's movement against Japanese invasion, the overseas Chinese later involved themselves in the resistance movements of their respective host countries. This decision proved decisive in enhancing not only China's own fight but the general anti-Japanese resistance in Asia as the movements in several countries which benefited from the participation of the overseas Chinese. Furthermore, the latter participation reduced the animosity and antagonism between the local population thus strengthening the bases for the Chinese integration and the forging of national unity.

What were the Japanese policies towards the Chinese in Malaya and in the Philippines during the occupation? What were the Chinese response(s) to the Japanese? How did the Chinese help in the struggle against the invasions of Malaya and the Philippines? What were the effects of the Chinese participation in the anti-Japanese resistance? These and a few related questions usually come to one's mind when the issue of Chinese involvement is raised. As an attempt to come up with some answers to these questions, this study was conducted. Due to their long presence in Malaya and in the Philippines, the Chinese from these two countries were made the focus of this paper. It was likewise intended to provide general and tentative observations and trends about the overseas Chinese in these two countries which may be used in the study of other Chinese from other Southeast Asian nations. Being a comparative study, it cited the parallelisms as well as the differences of the two cases in the contexts of their historical circumstances and other limiting horizons.

The Anti-Japanese Movement of the Philippine Chinese

As early as the mid-1930's, the Chinese community in the Philippines was already in the midst of the anti-Japanese resistance movement. This was in support of China which at that time was launching her war of resistance against Japanese aggression.²

Estimated to be at least 120,000 at this period, the Philippine Chinese were organized into two different major groups namely the National Salvation Association (NSA), an alliance put up by the Chinese Community Party and the Anti-Japanese Association (AJA), the umbrella organization composed of the Philippine Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, the Cantonese Association and other groups. The AJA was initially set up by CCP's adversary, the Kuomintang (KMT) to check communist influence in the local Chinese community, but later, especially after the Sian incident⁴, its thrust has been to help China in her war against Japan.

As support groups, the NSA and the AJA were tasked to extend material and moral assistance to China's resistance movement. They were also given the responsibility to generate anti-Japanese propaganda in their respective areas of operation as well as organize, train and send volunteers to directly help in the war efforts. These main tasks were capsulized by the Philippine Chinese slogan, "those who have money, give money; and those who have strength, give strength."⁵

Among the above responsibilities, monetary contributions seemed to be the most tangible and practical. And they proved that distance was no barrier for them to express their patriotism, as can be gleaned from considerable funds that was generated and sent to the mainland. In 1937, money that poured into China from the support groups was estimated at ₱500,000 monthly. By 1939, total contributions from the Philippines have reached ₱12 million.

What was noteworthy in these fund-raising campaigns was the fact that almost all sectors of the community actively participated. Though the businessmen were usually the big contributors being the ones who were in the position to do so, other sectors did not hesitate to hand in their share which, at some instances, even surpassed that of the big businessmen's contributions. Groups like the students came up with creative forms of generating funds and, at the same time, stirring the sense of patriotism of many Chinese.

Aside from funds, the NSA and the AJA organized, trained and sent personnel to China for active service. Among the most popular were the ones sent as aviators in Hankow and Kwangtung who fought bravely with the KMT forces against the Japanese troops.

In terms of generating propaganda for China's cause, the Philippine Chinese launched mass meetings, symposia and conven-

tions to attack Japanese militarism and persuade their audience to support the resistance. In April 1940, a general boycott of stores that were owned by Japanese or selling Japan-made goods was conducted.⁶

The broad and enthusiastic anti-Japanese campaigns of the Philippine Chinese became a model for other overseas Chinese as the former was considered by China as "one of the staunchest overseas units supporting the mainland." This recognition was formalized in 1938 during the establishment of the Southeast Asia-wide alliance of overseas Chinese, the Nanyang Relief General Association. No less than the position of vice chairman of the prestigious alliance was given by the 150 delegates to Dee Chuan of the Philippines.

Unsurprisingly, the Chinese were the most harassed when the Japanese Imperial Forces invaded Manila in 1942. Leading leaders who figured prominently during the pre-war campaigns against Japan were arrested, imprisoned and tortured. No less than eight members of the Chinese Consular Office, headed by Consul-General Clarence Kuangson Young, were executed when they refused to cooperate with Japan. This was followed with the mass execution of nine other prominent Chinese personalities, which included Yuyitung, Go Quio Lay, Ang Chi'ing Ki and Gan Bon Cho.⁷

The killings of leading anti-Japanese leaders were aimed to intimidate the Chinese as well as Filipinos from joining anti-Japanese organizations and activities. It was the preliminary scheme of the general program to arrest and imprison all the Philippine Chinese, which has to be modified later when Japan learned of the tremendous technical requirements of providing food and shelter to Chinese prisoners and the important role played by the Chinese in the local trade and commerce.⁸

The Japanese-sponsored Philippine-Chinese Association

Through the elimination of hard-core anti-Japanese leaders, the Japanese decided to use the Chinese in their occupation by setting up the Philippine-Chinese Association (PCA). Go Co Lay, a Chinese merchant with Japanese connections before the war, and Dr. Tee Han Kee (father of former Supreme Court Chief Justice Claudio Teehankee), a former supporter of AJA, were the PCA main leaders.⁹ Similar to the Kapisanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas (KALIBAPI)¹⁰ which was set up to rally the Filipinos to the Japanese

side, the PCA was tasked to mobilize the Chinese community to help the Japanese Occupation Forces. It was specifically given the responsibility to help provide the material requirements of the Imperial Army. Furthermore, the PCA also functioned as center for information-gathering about anti-Japanese elements and activities in the Chinese community.

The Chinese Guerrillas

The patriotic and defiant stance put up by the Chinese in Manila was equally reflected in the countryside by the armed Chinese guerrillas. These units, composed of leaders and members of the AJA and NSA, managed to escape the dragnet of the Japanese and joined the other Filipinos in the armed struggle against Japanese aggression. Among the many armed units, three were the most prominent, namely, the Chinese Overseas Wartime Hsuehkan Militia (COWHM), the Chinese Volunteers in the Philippines (CUP) and the Wah Chi (Philippine Chinese Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Force). Like the USAFFE and HUKBALAHAP, the major tasks of the Chinese guerrillas were in the military work against the Japanese such as sabotage, gathering military intelligence, ambushes, execution of collaborators and spies, particularly those from the Chinese community and extending assistance to other guerrilla forces.

The COWHM was among the first guerrilla units which was set up in March 1942. Its core members were the 88 Chinese volunteers who were trained in the military school of Fookien in 1938. The areas of operation were Manila and the nearby Central and Southern Luzon provinces. Aside from military work, the COWHM conducted anti-Japanese propaganda work through its revolutionary underground newspaper, the "Fuse."¹¹

Among its several war exploits were the execution of well-known Japanese collaborators, notably Go Co Lay and Dr. Tee Han Kee of the PCA, the mopping up campaign in Balete Pass and Santa Fe Trail¹² and the storming of Santo Tomas Japanese prison camp.

The COWHM was greatly influenced and guided by the KMT branch in the Philippines. Its peak strength in 1943 was estimated at 1,159 officers and men.

Another armed Chinese unit set up by the KMT was the CUP. It was headed by Col. Shih Sheng, a 1939 graduate of the Central Political and Military Academy in Chungking and has Arayat in Pampanga as its base of operations.

Like the COWHM, the CUP has an underground publication to support its military work, called the "Tai Han Hun" (Soul of Great China). The Tai Han Hun published the gains of the resistance movement, the atrocities of the Japanese and called on the readers to persevere in fighting the invaders.

The CUP closely cooperated with the Hunter's ROTC unit and Col. Agustin Marking's men in some guerrilla operations.

That the CUP was an effective anti-Japanese force was clearly indicated by the ₱100,000 reward put up by the Japanese for the capture of Col. Sheng. The latter was likewise awarded the Tua Tui medal by the Republic of China, the country's highest military decoration.¹³

The CUP combat batallion reached a total strength of at least 1,500 officers and even before the close of the war.

The Wah Chi was the Chinese communists' guerrilla outfit. Its members were from the trade unions, cultural and students' groups which were influenced or controlled by the communists. Forces were organized into five squadrons, each consisting of 150-200 men. The base areas were similar to those of the Huks which were the Central and Southern Luzon provinces.

Aside from its independent merits as an effective armed force, the Wah Chi's greater role in the resistance can be seen from its strong political influence to the Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon (HUKBALAHAP) or Huks, the armed group set up by the Communist Party of the Philippines. The HUKBALAHAP was said to be one of the biggest and most effective Filipino guerrilla groups feared and hated by the Japanese.¹⁴

Acting as a sort of an older brother (or political officer in the communist jargon), the Wah Chi helped the Huks both in the military and political works. One scholar claimed that they were instrumental in convincing the Huks to adopt the united front tactic of concentrating on the anti-Japanese issue and uniting with all anti-aggression forces instead of beclouding the struggle with the

establishment of a People's Republic. This united front strategy as presented to the Huks by the Wah Chi, greatly helped the resistance and enhanced the Huks' prestige and effectivity.¹⁵

The Malayan Chinese During the Japanese Occupation

Like the Philippine Chinese, the Malayan Chinese were strongly moved and angered by the Japanese invasion of mainland China. Stirred by patriotism, they too, involved themselves initially supporting China's resistance and later as actual participants in the defense of Malaya, which they considered worthy of their sacrifices.

But unlike the secondary and assistive nature of the resistance movement of the Chinese in the Philippines, those of the Malayan Chinese was decisive thus assuming greater scope and significance. While those in the Philippines were one of the smaller forces which fought the Japanese, the Malayan Chinese constituted the biggest and most effective force. In fact, without their participation in the struggle, there could hardly been any movement against the occupation.

This decisive role played by the Malayan Chinese was determined by their being the largest sector in the country, immediately before the war. Of the total population of 5,511,000, they constituted 43% or at least 2.3 million. The other major groups, namely the Malays and the Indians, accounted for 41% and 14%, respectively.¹⁶

By sheer size alone, the Chinese exerted a considerable effect over the country's affairs. Any major activity involving them, especially of such aggressive form and nature like a patriotic movement, could not but be decisive in the shaping and directing the national course. This differentiated them from their counterparts in the Philippines and in other Southeast Asian countries, who were usually a small minority thus, hardly playing a major role in the general course of events in their countries.

Another determining factor for the Malayan Chinese which helped them to perform a significant role in Malaya was their relative edge in organization and political consciousness. Side by side with the usual trade and cultural organizations were the established political parties like the KMT and the Malayan Communist Party (MCP). The latter, despite its encompassing name, was almost all Chinese in composition.

These political groups enhanced the scope and effectivity of the various organizations in the Chinese community. Through the propaganda fund-raising, mass education of these two contending political groups, the Malayan Chinese were constantly exposed and trained to react to many issues that confront them.

The stronger sense of organization and politicalization of the Chinese could be further credited to their being among the first recipients, if not advocates, of modern Chinese nationalism. What was Madrid or Barcelona to early Filipino nationalists and expatriates like Marcelo del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena, was Singapore to Sun Yat Sen, Wang Ching Wei and other leaders of Chinese nationalist movement. Through Singapore, Malaya became the center of the revolutionary movement in the early decades of the 20th century.¹⁷ It was the political rendezvous of Chinese political refugees where the KMT branch operated and the nationalist publications, Yat Pan Press and Union Terms,¹⁸ the counterpart of the Philippines' *La Solidaridad*.

Evidently, the Malayan Chinese benefitted from these historical movements in their place. Learning the ideals and sentiments of nationalism from the "masters," the grasp and effect of nationalism were likely firmer and stronger than those who imbibed them later.

The Anti-Japanese Movement of Malayan Chinese

Before Japanese invasion of Malaya, the Chinese were already feverish in their support activities for China's resistance. As in the Philippines, these efforts were organized by the contending parties of the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party, through its surrogate, the MCP.¹⁹

The KMT-controlled support unit was the National Salvation Association (NSA) while the Anti-Enemy Backing-Up Society (AEBUS) was the group controlled by the MCP. These two major support organizations coursed their contributions to the China Relief Fund, the remitting agency set up to coordinate all efforts of the Chinese in Malaya.

The activities of the NSA and the AEBUS were more or less similar to its counterparts in the Philippines. They served as units to raise funds, conducted pre-China propaganda and send willing volunteers to fight the Japanese aggressors. That the Malayan

units served well in China's efforts and affirmed and recognized by no less than the 150 representatives of the Nanyang Relief General Association, the organization of various Chinese communities in Southeast Asia who elected Tan Kah Kee of Singapore as their chairman.²⁰

When Japanese invasion finally reached Malaya, the Chinese were the foremost target since the Malays and the Indians, the other two major groups, hardly put up a resistance against the occupation. Viewing the aggression as an opportunity to restore their former economic and political supremacy seized by the Chinese under British colonization, the Malays did not express much hesitation in helping the Japanese who set up the Kesatuan Minda Melayo (KMM)²¹ to enable them to get back the economic domination the Malays enjoyed before. The Indians, who came to the country as imported labor and supervised through the Indian Agent, thought along Malayan line or perspective being engrossed in hard work and after better wage and living conditions. As the Japanese were fighting Britain which was their mother country's colonizer, the Indians, like the Malays to a large extent, regarded the Japanese as friends and liberators. They joined the Japanese-supported Indian National Army and the Indian Independence League which it used against the British and diverted the attention of many Indians from Malaya's affairs.²²

The pluralistic character of Malaya was an excellent factor for the Japanese strategy for divide and rule. Exploiting the sectoral tension and differences, the invaders helped and neutralized the Malays and Indians whom it considered politically desirable. As to the undesirable Chinese, the Gunsei (Japanese Military Administration) policy was that of intimidation and repression.

The center of Japanese suppression was also the base of pre-war Chinese support groups. In the so-called "communist purge," thousands of suspected anti-Japanese elements were picked by Japanese informers hooded like members of the Klu Klux Klan and tortured. Others experienced harsher form of barbarities. They were towed out into the harbor and forced to jump into the water. Those who tried to swim ashore were machine-gunned. Some 40,000 Chinese perished during these extermination campaigns of the Japanese.²³

The same consideration of the technical requirements for mass arrest and detention which forced the Japanese to tone down its

repressive policy against the Chinese in Malaya. Another factor was the usefulness of the Chinese in the material and financial needs of the occupation. It was felt that the best way to deprive the guerrillas was to bleed dry their Chinese supporters and at the same time make them help the Japanese.

Towards the objective of making use of the material capability of the Chinese, General Yamashita met the surviving leaders of the Chinese community. General Yamashita demanded a "gift" of \$50 million from the Chinese as the latter's expression of remorse for their previous anti-Japanese stance and activities.

Threatened with more reprisals should they failed to comply, the Chinese were forced to hand over \$29 million which, though larger than the earlier contribution to the British war campaigns, did not appease the Japanese. Exacting more from the Chinese, the Japanese only increased the hatred and pushed many of them to support and join the armed guerrillas. The general attitude of the Chinese in Japanese-controlled areas as described by one author as "outwardly, there was compliance, inwardly there was an emerging hatred."²⁴

The Chinese Guerrillas

The 'Europe First' policy of the Western powers, made the indigeneous populations of many colonial countries to shoulder the resistance movement by themselves. In Malaya, the British policy of making it as the "Dollar Arsenal" that was to serve as tin and rubber producer to earn dollars to finance the British campaigns against Germany, rather than a base against fascist forces like Japan, made it to commit an insignificant force of British troops and two batallions of Malay regiment.²⁵ This weak contingent was effortlessly put out of operation by the invading forces.

The preoccupation of Britain in Europe and the ambivalent attitudes of the Malays and the Indians vis-a-vis the Japanese made the task of defending Malaya's sovereignty in the hands of the Chinese which the latter evidently accepted and pursued with strong will and determination.

As early as December 1941, the Chinese Mobilization Committee was set up with Tan Kah Kee as its head. This body was aimed to coordinate the preparations and training of men for the struggle

against Japanese invasion of Malaya. Some 1,000 men were recruited as initial force mainly coming from units controlled by the MCP. The CMC later branched out in two major factions, the KMT and the MCP which constituted their respective armed groups.

The KMT guerrilla was the force set up by the Malayan branch of the KMT. Similar to its counterpart in the Philippines, its initial thrust was to check the growth of the communists, but through the intervention of Force 136, a British unit, it set aside the anti-communist stance and confronted the Japanese.

The KMT guerrillas' operations were centered in the Siam-Kelantan border and east of the coast railway between Krai and Merapoh. Its armed strength was estimated to be not more than 500 men.

The MCP's guerrilla force was the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA). Despite its encompassing term and three star symbol representing the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians, the MPAJA was predominantly Chinese.

Its bases of operations were Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Johore, Perak, Pahang and Kelah. Overwhelmingly superior than the KMT unit, its estimated strength in 1944 was at least 6,000 well-trained and equipped officers and men.

The aims and activities of the Chinese guerrillas in Malaya were basically similar to their counterparts in the Philippines, except perhaps in the areas of command and decision where those in Malaya, by their being the major force, had more freedom and initiative. The MPAJA and the Philippines, Wah Chi and the Huks were almost identical in their methods and tactics such as combining military work with propaganda and production activities, the indoctrination of the people and setting up of various types of organizations to reach as many sectors and also confused the Japanese. These apparent similarities could be credited from the similar doctrine which guided them through their respective parties, namely the MCP and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Being the biggest and the most active, the exploits and achievements of the MPAJA were also the most known and documented. It claimed to have wiped out hundreds of Japanese troops and a few thousands of enemy spies and agents during the three years and eight months of occupation. No less than the British Commander

of Force 136, Colonel Davis, praised the MPAJA for its exemplary service in the anti-Japanese resistance.²⁶ The Japanese themselves had a high regard to their adversary as cited by: "the Japanese regarded the Chinese beyond all others as their implacable enemies. And of the Chinese, the communists stood the first. . . . It was the Chinese communists that . . . had given them most trouble, who had hindered their progress and killed the greatest number of their men."²⁷

General Assessment

From the foregoing discussion, a number of observations about the Chinese experiences in Malaya and in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation can be deduced.

One, the Japanese occupation provided an opportunity not only to the local population but also to the overseas Chinese to prove their worth and value to the cause and ideals of national freedom and independence. The active participation of the Chinese against the invasion of their host countries obviously revealed their strong adherence to freedom, not only of the mainland China, but also the respective countries which have provided them of their material and non-material needs.

The collaboration with the Japanese of the few was hardly voluntary and those who were suspected of being truly useful or cooperative to the Occupation forces were harshly punished by the Chinese themselves.

Two, the political conflicts and dynamics of China were reflected in the Chinese participation during the war. Units of the overseas Chinese were always divided into the two major contending parties namely the KMT and the CCP. The former operated through its Malayan and Philippine branches in the Chinese community while the CCP coursed its influence either through its branch or to its local counterparts such as the MCP and the CPP.

Units of the KMT and the CCP have interchangeable and flexible names. While the NSA in the Philippines was CCP-controlled, that of Malaya's was influenced by the KMT.

The division of the Chinese community into contending political groups initially hampered its work for the resistance as they tended to sap up their energies fighting each other than consolidating their

forces against the common enemy. Only after the Sian Incident and the forging of the temporary united front between the KMT and the CCP did the bickerings in China, as well as in the overseas Chinese groups, decreased considerably.

The political rivalries resurfaced after the war as the overseas Chinese found themselves divided into pro-Peking and pro-Taiwan factions. This resulted to disunity among them and slackened the pace of their integration to the national community.

This political division is, of course, an offshoot of the overseas Chinese' failure to cast off their umbilical cord to their past and to mainland China, despite decades of struggling and living in their host countries. They remained attached to China's past and present, perhaps too attached, that they have, to a large extent, remained Chinese as if they were in China. They maintained their own language, they built their own temples, set up their schools and established all sorts of Chinese organizations as distinguished from the local groups. In the end, some sort of Chinese ethnocentrism developed in the Chinese cultural lives and dealings with the local population which, in turn, reinforced the latter's anti-Chinese prejudices, stereotype or valid they may be.²⁸

Better and more practical schemes from the government, such as the Philippines' citizenship decree in 1975 and from the Chinese themselves are certainly in order to hasten and finally realize the long-delayed need and task of national integration.

Three, the KMT-influenced Chinese groups in the Philippines were stronger and dominant than those of the CCP-controlled units. But the reverse was true in Malaya. Reasons for the failure of the KMT in Malaya and its success in the Philippines were apparently many and complex. Two possible ones were the stronger anti-communist government policies in the Philippines which made communist agitation extra difficult and the liberal democratic underpinnings of many established political groups which served as a formidable challenge and alternative to the socialist doctrines. In Malaya, these two conditions or factors were weak, if not absent. Anti-communist policies of the British administration before the occupation were inconsistent and randomly implemented. It would only be during the Emergency Period that the anti-insurgency schemes of the British were systematized and thoroughly implemented. The relative absence of liberal democratic politicalization of the

people in Malaya before the war also helped the advance of socialist organization as the MCP conducted its propaganda and indoctrination without encountering strong ideological resistance from other political parties.

Four, the unity and understanding between the Filipinos and the Philippine Chinese were enhanced by their common views, sufferings, struggles and victories during the occupation. Especially on the part of the Filipinos, the camaraderie and bravery manifested by several Chinese in the resistance significantly reduced the stereotyped impressions against them of being all-time profiteers. For the Chinese, the war was an excellent opportunity for more and better forms of interaction with greater number of Filipinos as they were compelled by need and circumstances to go out of their "Chinatown enclaves."

Five, while the occupation cemented unity between the Filipinos and the Chinese, the opposite happened in Malaya. Rather than serving as a common goal and issue for the Malays, and the Indians and the Chinese, the Japanese invasion only increased the pre-war tension and disunity among the three major sectors. Seeing the Japanese as allies against the economic domination of the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians cooperated with the Japanese to the extent of joining its Malayan Police Force which attacked suspected Chinese guerrillas. In retaliation, the Chinese raided Malay and Indian communities, thus only worsening the antagonism between them.

This civil strife during the occupation, though tragic, was also valuable as some hard lessons were learned on the handling of sectional and national issues in plural society as Malaysia. Measures after the Emergency which promoted national unity were positive indications of this learning process.

Sixth and last, the Malayan Chinese leadership during the war and their renewed activism after, clearly revealed the commanding role played by them in steering wheels of history in Malaya. K. J. Ratnam said, "Modern Malaya is, in the main, the joint creation of British and Chinese enterprises... without them (the Chinese), Malaya would still be more or less as it was over most of its extent, eighty years ago."²⁹

END NOTES

¹ The struggle in Asia was an important component of the world-wide anti-fascist movement against the Axis powers, an alliance in which Japan was a member which aimed to control and dominate the world during this period. For more elaboration, refer to *The Origins of the Second World War* by the Social Sciences Today Editorial Board, (USSR Academy of Sciences, 1982), pp. 7-36, 98-114.

² The 21 Demands included the transfer to Japan of Germany's former rights in China, the control of Manchurian railways and ports by Japanese, the police control by joint Sino-Japanese units and the hiring of Japanese advisers in various political, financial and military agencies of China. Hilda Hookham, *A Short History of China* (New York: New American Library, 1972), pp. 300-327.

³ Despite having settled for quite sometime in other countries, the overseas Chinese have remained strongly linked and attached to China. Perhaps due to firm cultural tradition, family ties, efforts of political parties and other factors, they closely monitored political developments in the mainland and in many cases actively involved themselves in the events in China such as their participation in the Revolution of 1911 as support groups of Sun Yat Sen and his followers. Notes from classroom lectures, AS 253, December 1984.

⁴ KMT Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek went to Sian, capital of Shensi province in December 1936 to check growing disunity among his generals. The latter, instead of giving in to Chiang, arrested the KMT leader and threatened to execute him if he would not unite with the CCP against Japan. Chou En Lai and other CCP leaders talked to the Sian generals and KMT persuading the disgruntled generals to release Chiang and forged with an alliance against Japanese aggression. Hookham, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁵ Quoted in perhaps the most comprehensive and to the knowledge of the researcher, the only book about the Philippine Chinese during the Second World War. Antonio S. Tan, *The Chinese in the Philippines During the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945*, (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1981), p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁹ Both Go Co Lay and Tee Han Kee were executed by Chinese guerrillas for their collaboration with the Japanese. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

¹⁰ For more elaboration of KALIBAPI, read Renato Constantino and Letizia Constantino, *The Continuing Past*, (Manila: Foundation of Nationalist Studies, 1978), pp. 72-80.

¹¹ "A Brief History of the Chinese Overseas Wartime Hsuehkan Militia (COWHM)", Philippine Veterans Legion, 37th Foundation Anniversary Journal, December 8, 1982, care of Prof. C. B. See.

¹² A place in Nueva Vizcaya was named COWHM in honor of the outstanding participation of the unit in the province during the war.

¹³ Tan, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁴ For more elaboration about the Huks, read Benedict Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion* (Quezon City: New Day Publications, 1979), Chapter III.

¹⁵ Tan, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁶ John Bastin and Robert Winks, *Malaysia: Selected Historical Readings* (Kuala Lumpur: 1966), p. 272.

¹⁷ William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), pp. 155-160.

¹⁸ Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Malaya* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 209.

¹⁹ The MCP was under the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in Shanghai. The Secretariat was the control organ of the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau. Read Anthony Short, *The Communist Insurrection in Malaya* (London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1975), pp. 18-22.

²⁰ Tan, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

END NOTES

²¹ Lee Ting Hui, *Singapore Under the Japanese, 1942-1945*, reprinted in Bastin, pp. 321-323.

²² K. J. Ratnam, *Communalism and the Political Process* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965), pp. 15-19.

²³ Purcell's figures of Chinese casualties differed with others like Chin Kee Oun's 5,000. For graphic account of Chinese conditions during the Occupation, read Chin Kee Oun, *Malaysia Upside Down* (Singapore: Jitts and Co., 1946).

²⁴ Hui, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

²⁵ Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

²⁶ Lucian Pye, *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 69. This book contains many descriptions of MPAJA's military and political methodologies and activities.

²⁷ Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

²⁸ Chester Hunt and Charles Houston, "Changing Status of Chinese in the Philippines," *Internationales Asienforum*, Vol. 10, No. 1/2, 1979, pp. 57-58, c/o Prof. C. B. See. Hunt and Houston cited a positive trend of disinicization especially among the Philippine-born Chinese (Pinsino as Bernard Go would call them) who were more Filipino-oriented than their Chinese counterparts.

²⁹ K. J. Ratnam, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

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