Editorial Foreword

I began my research on the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) more than a decade ago in 2007. It was the year of the Bush administration's 'New Way Forward' in Iraq where 'The Surge' of additional troops was envisioned to bring stability. The year prior, General David Petraeus and his brain trust had just released *Counterinsurgency Field Manual FM 3-24*. As a concept, counterinsurgency (COIN) was resurrected from the Cold War and its relevance rediscovered. As a researcher in search of a niche contribution, my interest in the CPM was driven by a desire to derive lessons from the CPM's renewed insurgency, better known as the Second Emergency (1968-1989) for 21st Century COIN.

Of particular interest to me then, as it is now, was how Malaysia was able to successfully bring the CPM's cross-border insurgency to an end. To this end, I am following in the well-trodden path of looking to the CPM insurgency for practical lessons. John Nagl's *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife* zooms in on why the British were successful in Malaya and the Americans less so in Vietnam. His conclusion was that the British Army was a learning institution whilst the U.S. Army was not. Nagl who first met Patraeus in 1987 when he was a third-year West Point cadet would later go on to be a key member of the Petraeus brain trust that developed *FM 3-24*.

My approach to the study of the CPM was one whereby a military historian tries to develop what military historian Elliot Cohen defines as the 'historical mind' ─ 'a way of thinking that uses history as a mode of inquiry and a framework for thinking about problems'. I am not an expert on the CPM per se, but rather a military historian who happens to study the four-decade long CPM insurgency (1948-1989) for contextual insights on what works and does not in revolutionary wars and insurgencies.

My approach is one of the many pathways that are open to academics. Diplomatic historian Ngoei Wen-Qing sets the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960) and the formation of Malaysia within the context of advancing U.S. strategic interests in Southeast Asia. Ang Cheng Guan, another diplomatic historian places the CPM within a larger interpretive canvas of Southeast Asia's Cold War. Kumar Ramakrishna is a scholar of the Malayan Emergency period who examines the role of propaganda and psychological warfare. Karl Hack's work is crucial in furthering the understanding of end of empire insurgencies and their legacies. Anna Belogurova has been instrumental in charting the CPM's international connections with the

Comintern and other Southeast Asian communist movements. In recent years, Kwa Chong Guan and C.C Chin have been assiduously piecing together the Oral history of the CPM.

I am aware of my cognitive bias and blind spots in the study of the CPM. In introducing the material in this bibliography, I will not attempt to persuade the reader with a prescribed list of the most accurate sources on the CPM. Instead of choosing and editing what I deem to be the most important sources, this bibliography of more than 2100 listings is an attempt to collate as much as possible, all available sources related to the CPM in English, Chinese and Malay. Such an approach is intended to mitigate the selection bias of an editor working on a more selective basis.

An intent of this bibliography project is to convey the immense extent of the material and the diversity of perspectives on the CPM available to the interested researcher. Some of the sources focus primarily on the CPM whilst others are CPM related. The primary source material listed range from those in national archives in Australia, Malaysia, United Kingdom and the United States to smaller library collections spanning the Asia-Pacific region. The geographical extent of the archival material is matched by the range of originating sources that span from official government papers to party documents of the CPM and other fraternal communist parties.

Some of the official government sources have been released by the originating agencies and published as commissioned works. One example is A.J. Stockwell's selection on Malaya as part of the *British Documents on End of Empire* series. The contribution of Asian scholars in this domain is also reflected in the bibliography. Increasingly, Asian scholars have been able to provide a fuller picture with access to records from originating agencies in their home countries. In Singapore, examples can be found in the reproduction and publication of all 84 issues of *Freedom News* and the translated and transcribed transcripts of the *Voice of Malayan Revolution* (VMR).

Beyond academic perspectives found in books and journals, the literature on the CPM is enriched by books and memoirs written by CPM members, political office holders, journalists and officers from the British Army, Malaysian Armed Forces, Malaysian Special Branch and Royal Thai Army. These accounts provide a contemporaneous perspective that serve as a testimony of the actual actors and witnesses to the CPM's revolutionary war. Whilst academics take the dispassionate approach of a distant observer in search of a worthwhile

research question, memoirs are shaped by the collective memories of the individuals and their sense of shared group identities.

Publications also take the form of short pieces found in newspapers, periodicals and more recently, postings on personal blogs. The printed word still dominates the listings, but it is not the only source. As I am constantly reminded in the classroom, the attention of a younger audience is increasingly captured by podcasts and videos in the online space. This significant shift in which information and knowledge is obtained, collated and transmitted is reflected in the organization of the bibliography.

This bibliography is organized into the following fifteen categories: Official Documents (Print); Official Documents (Online); Other Archival Sources; Published Non-Government Documents and Publications; Newspaper Articles; Books and Chapters (Print); Books and Chapters (Online); Journal Articles and Occasional Papers (Print); Journal Articles and Occasional Papers (Online); Dissertations (Print); Dissertations (Online); Unpublished Papers; Websites and Online Articles; Oral History Interviews; and Audio Visual Recordings.

The categorization of the bibliography is intended to enable the researcher to sense-make the vast array of material on the CPM. This key logic guides the juxtaposition of the thousands of sources on the subject. There will be, however, certain aspects that may have been overlooked. For example, most sources not in the English, Chinese and Malay language have been excluded due to a lack of language expertise. Sources that cannot be verified by the research team are also excluded. As a 'living' bibliography of CPM material, this compilation is the beginning and not the final word in the endeavour. Future editors and contributors are welcome to grow and enhance this undertaking.

This project is fortunate to have the research assistance of Sandy Wang, Kenneth Yao, Joshua Ng and Jonathan Cheng. The completion of this project would not have been possible without the National Library Board, Singapore. All errors contained are the editor's own.

Ong Weichong