SUMMARY

This thesis examines the interaction between Singapore/Malaysia and China from 1949 to 1965 with an emphasis on the perceptions of China within these Southeast Asian states. Both China and Southeast Asia experienced political transformation during this period, which resulted in their traditional interactions also changing accordingly. The flow of migrants, investment, goods and printings greatly declined. However, interactions between two sides not only continued, but also assumed an unprecedented vitality. The exchange of ideas and concepts, which had already been occurring in the pre-war period, came to be the main form of interaction. In Singapore and Malaysia, various changing perceptions of China became a prominent element of such phenomena. Through correspondence, books from Hong Kong, a few field visits and the new media such as radio, much information about China arrived. Chinese newspapers and schools, governments, political parties and some writers represented and disseminated various images of China. The construction of perceptions was a selective process due to the Cold War and local nation-building agendas. The banishing of Leftists to China also highlighted the role of China as the Other vis-à-vis Singapore and Malaysia. The diverse perceptions of China can be categorized into three main groups. The idea of “New China” was created by the leaders of Chinese communities, concerning themselves with the social progress which China had achieved. The perception of “Communist China” was concerned with the political implications of China’s transformation—the Leftists lauding “People’s China” as their model, and the Southeast Asian governments criticizing it as a “Communist threat”. Those who saw China as a “Rising Asian Power” considered it from the perspective of its Asian neighbours, paying balanced attention to the various changes in China, both positive and negative. The presence, changes and conflicts of these perceptions of China were internalized as dynamic forces, influencing to varying extents racial relations, political evolution, cultural integration, foreign policy and even the formation of Malaysia in 1963. The interactions between the two sides were thus raised to a higher stage, as the reaction of Singapore and Malaysia towards China was extended from simply perceptions of the Chinese community to involve the whole country. Due to historical links, racial proportions and relative openness to the outside, Singapore and Malaysia hosted perceptions of China of much greater varieties and complexity, if compared to other Asian countries. Even Singapore and Malaysia, once parts of the same political entity, had different perceptions and attitudes towards China. Malaysia tried to eliminate any presence of China, while Singapore showed more tolerance towards the grassroots’ affection for China. In addition, Singapore refused to accept the discourse of equating Chinese persons with the Left or with China. This thesis also suggests new understandings of the role of the China factor in the post-war history of Singapore and Malaysia. Political transformations and social experiments in China attracted interest and discussion from nearly all social classes and racial groups. The presentation of and conflicts between the various perceptions of China resulted in China, though far away, being drawn into Singapore and Malaysia and playing a role much more significant than expected. China was thus an extremely important external factor in Singapore and Malaysia in the post-war years.
摘要

本论文研究1949到1965年期间新马的中国观，旨在考察新马中国两地的互动变化。这一期间中马和新马都经历政治巨变，也引发两地之间近百年来传统互动模式的改变。外交、移民、投资、货物、书刊等方面的交流，与1949年前相比明显减少。然而新马中国的互动不但没有停止，而且显示出其前所未有的活力。战前已经存在的思想观念的交流，这时期上升为主要的互动方式。从新马来看，各种类型的中国观的冲突成为这一现象的突出表征。通过书信往来、香港出版物、为数不多的实地访问以及新型的电台媒体，新马仍然可以获得有关中国的大量信息。华文报刊学校、政府和左翼团体以及一批作家，都在各自呈现和传播中国形象。中国观的建构成为有选选择的过程。为新马在探索民族国家的道路，冷战造成亚洲国家对立，而把左翼人士驱逐出境到中国的解决办法，则使中国突出为新马社会的他者。新马各种各样的中国观可以分为三大类型。“新中国”观由新马华人群所呈现，关注中国的社会进步。“共产主义中国”观只注重中国变革的政治意义，其中左翼理想化地称颂“人民中国”，而官方和右翼则把中国宣扬为“共产主义威胁”。“崛起的亚洲大国”观主要从亚洲邻国角度考虑，注意到中国进步的事实，但也发现中国存在的制度或政策性问题。各种中国观交错纷呈，相互作用，内化成为促迸新马变革的内部动因，对新马的族群关系、政治影响、文化融合、对外华政策甚至国家形成方式都带来了不同程度的影响。因而这一时期新马中国间的互动已经迈向了更高的层次。新马对中国的反应开始由局部转变为整体，由华人扩大到所有族群和整个国家。历史联系、族群比例和对外的相对开放，决定了与其他亚洲国家相比，新马对中国的认知可能更为复杂多样。同时可以看到，虽然新马自视为一家，但两者对中国的看法态度存在差异。马来亚极力消除中国的任何存在痕迹，而新加坡更多容忍民众对中国的好感，也不接受把华人等同于左翼和中国的论述。对新马中国观的历史研究，还有助于重新审视这时期中国对于新马的意义。中国变革的冲击超出华人社会，上升为新马社会共同面对的问题。中国突显为新马外部关注的一个无可回避的重点。各种中国观的存在和冲突，使得遥远的中国在新马内部发挥着远比人们想象更大的影响。中国一方面被新马他者化，另一方面又实际上进入了新马内部。在新马战后历史的外部因素中，中国也许不是最重要，但却明显是最重要的因素之一。