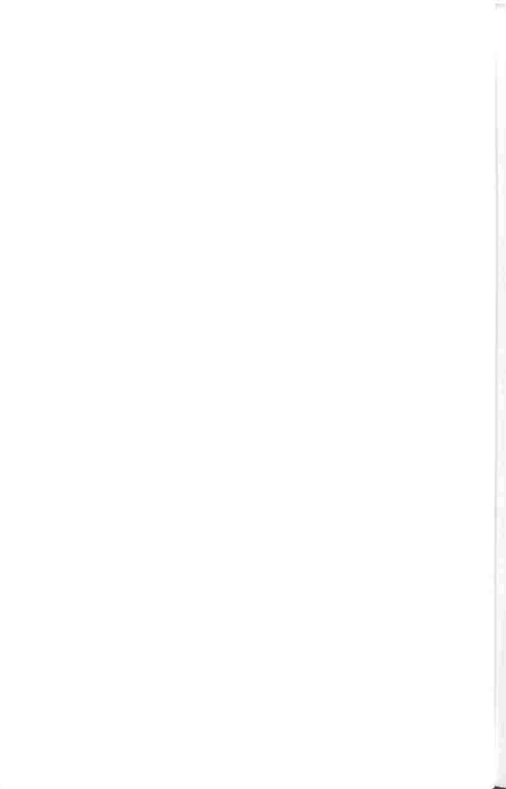




PERAK PERILS

FIRST SERIES

Face-to-face Encounters in Human Understanding



PERAK PERILS

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Face-to-face Encounters in Human Understanding

edited by
Chan Kok Keong

PERAK PERILS

First Series, Face-to-face Encounters in Human Understanding

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NASKAH PERKULIAHAN
PERPUSTAKAAN NEGARA MALAYSIA
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Preface

Friends, colleagues and relatives have conspired, consciously and often, unwittingly, to motivate me to put in train a series of efforts to transform Perak into a centre of thought and culture.

Again and again, the question is asked: Why "Perils?" As will be explained further below, the word is used in the sense of experimenting which carries a risk and the ultimate conclusion is, of course, never certain.

If a little knowledge is a perilous thing, how much knowledge do we need to be out of danger? T.H. Huxley dealt with this adage without giving an answer.

Perak Perils disseminates knowledge but each participant must decide for himself how much knowledge is enough for him. Hence, the name **PERAK PERILS**.

From these talks, apart from fellowship and conviviality, has been born the idea of a new and radical perspective on life-long education. This is the idea of a periversity as opposed to the traditional university. In short, an experimental university.

The great but controversial German philosopher, Nietzsche said "To live deeply and fully is to live perilously". Sartre, the French philosopher, once said that the only time he ever felt alive was during World War II when he was in the resistance movement, and was in danger of being killed at any moment.

Such are the paradoxes of life!

But let us not forget the wisdom from the past. During the Golden Age of Greece, Thucydides recorded these words by Pericles:

"And they can best be judged to think aright who have the clearest understanding of danger and of pleasure without wavering in the face of PERIL.

Our idea of goodness, too, stands opposed to the majority. We do not win friendship from benefit received, but from service rendered. Lasting friendship comes rather from the doer of a benefit, who through goodwill towards the receiver keeps the debt in being, the debtor's gratitude is

blurred by the knowledge that it is not free service he will repay; but a debt. And we alone do good less from calculation of advantage than from the trust that is born of freedom without thought of the future. In short, I declare that our whole state is an education for Greece ..."

Instead of Greece, read as Perak.

The state and governance of Perak has, historically, been likened to that of a ship. The first meeting on 21 September 1999 may therefore be said to be like a small boat carrying a number of adventurous people. The records indicate that there were sixteen altogether, including the speaker and myself. I am happy to list down the names of these pioneers.

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Albert Lim | 8. Michael Lim |
| 2. Sandy Hutchison | 9. Sita Ram |
| 3. Khor Hock Lam | 10. Dr Chew Kiat Eng |
| 4. Rev. Dr Batumalai | 11. Chin Kee Sam |
| 5. Robin Arumugam | 12. Oh Teik Soo |
| 6. Dato' Robert Lim | 13. Lee Yat Kong |
| 7. Vincent Yan | 14. Peter Ng |

I must also make mention with gratitude the speakers who willingly shared their knowledge and time with us. The champion of these talks is, however, neither the speaker nor the audience. To me, it is the engendering of a climate of intellectual stimulation. The spirit to participate in a session for the sharing of views in an after meal setting. This is the biggest triumph. What Plato started in his garden in Greece 2000 years ago in his Academy, we hope to recreate in Perak today.

Finally, I would also like to thank Khor Hock Lam who helped in the proof-reading and Au Hah Chye for providing the impetus in the final stages of the preparation of this book.

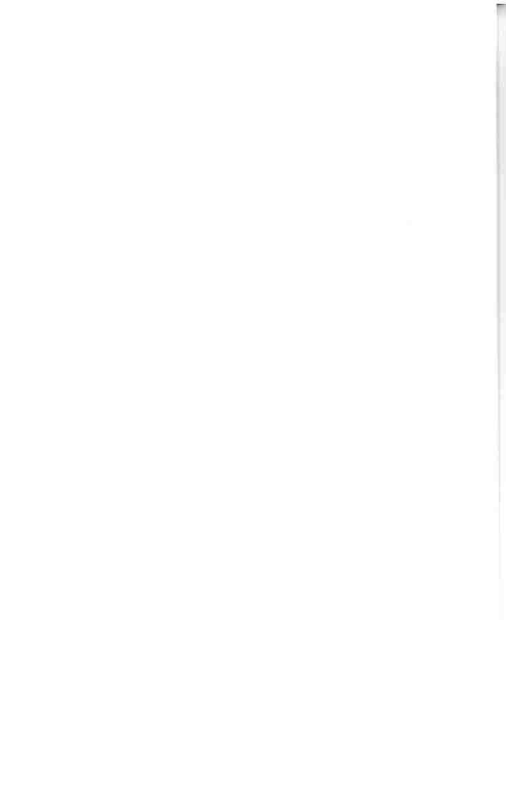
Chan Kok Keong

Dedicated to...

Each and everyone
who have participated
in Perak Perils

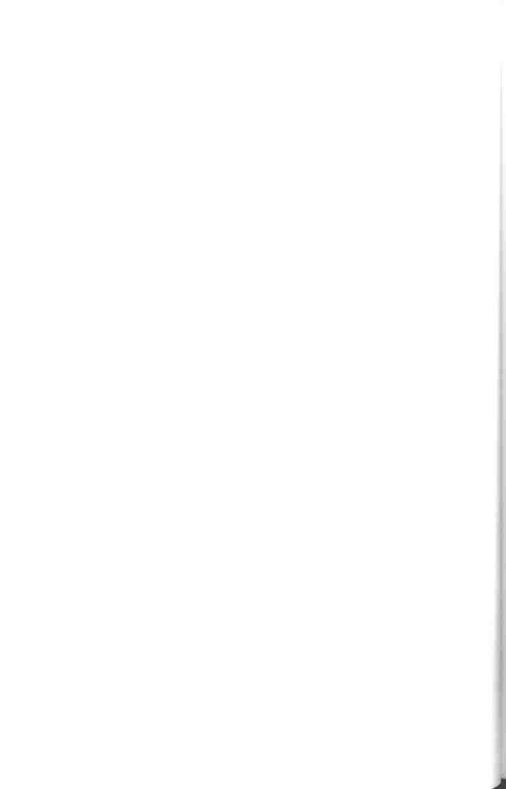
&

each and everyone
involved in and
working towards fulfilling
the objectives of
Perak Academy



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Battle Of Kampar

by Mr Chye Kooi Loong

CHYE KOOI LOONG was born in Kampar, Perak. In 1949, he worked as a probationary teacher in SM (Methodist) ACS, Kampar where he taught mainly Geography for 35 years before he retired in 1984.

Chye, a keen sportsman, was also an active member of the Malayan Nature Society. He is the author of "The British Battalion - Malaya 1941-1942" that documents an important episode of World War II. Today, this book is used in military colleges for the training of officers in the United States and Indonesia.

Chye is well known as an educator, historian, writer, athlete and Volkswagen enthusiast.

The Malayan Campaign of 1941-1942 fought by the British forces was a chain of military disasters from the beginning with the swift breakthroughs by the Japanese 25th Army tank blitzkrieg at Jitra, Kedah, on 12th and 13th December and at Gua Chempedak and Gurun, also in Kedah, on 14th-15th December.

In sixteen days, the Japanese forces under [their Commander-in-Chief] Lieutenant-General Yamashita had succeeded in capturing the whole of Malaya that lies north and west of Sungai Perak as well as the island of Penang as well as Kelantan State on the east coast. The Japanese forces also sank Britain's two capital ships – "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse", and decimated the weak RAF, which was driven off the northern airfields. British and Indian troops had to fight a rearguard action to delay the swift Japanese thrusts down the developed west coast of Malaya.

[The Commander-in-Chief of the British forces], Lieutenant-General Percival and his Malaya Command staff had to find a suitable place to hold the Japanese flood-tide pouring down the peninsula and they chose Kampar and the Bujang Melaka Range as a strong defence position. Twenty miles to the south of Ipoh, the main road and FMS [Federated Malay States] railway line and the surrounding country were dominated by the granite bastion of the Gunung Bujang Melaka Ridge rising to 4020 feet, overlooking the tin-rich town of Kampar. This position was selected because of three low ridges dominating the main road and railway line. Also, the tin mining terrain to the west of Kampar, being flat and open, was better suited for the superior British artillery. The British decided to make a protracted stand here.

On 20th December 1941, in Ipoh, two depleted British units, that lost heavily at Jitra and Gurun, the 1st Leicester Regiment and the 2nd East Surreys, were amalgamated into the unique British Battalion. Survivors claimed that in the long British Military history this unit was the only British Army amalgamation in the field of battle. Other weakened Indian

units were also amalgamated and even the 6th and 15th Indian Brigades were reformed as the 6/15th Indian Brigade. [Later at Singapore the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders were augmented by Royal Marines from the lost Royal Navy battleships].

They were all re-equipped and on the 21st December 1941 were given orders to move south.

The amalgamated units were supplied with new uniforms, boots and equipment. They were issued with new weapons as many were lost during the military disasters in Jitra and Gurun. Many sick with malaria were moved south to Tanjung Malim military hospital. The units of the depleted 11th Indian Division left for Kampar on the 22nd-23rd December 1941. The defenders had seven days to make the defences to meet the thrust of the advancing Japanese 5th Division from the north.

The British Battalion and the various Indian units were assigned positions with the main British defence about half a mile north of Kampar. The artillery units were south of the town and gun pits and ammunition dumps were prepared with barbed wire laid for security. A dawn to dusk curfew was imposed to prevent civilians from hindering army operations in the area.

FIRING TRENCHES

The British occupied three ridges overlooking the road. The first of these was named Thompson Ridge after Captain Thompson, commanding a Company of the British Battalion. The second ridge was named Green Ridge after Captain Green of the Pioneer Platoon, and the third ridge was the Cemetery Ridge of the Kampar Chinese Cemetery. The Jat/Punjab Regiment was posted south of Kampar.

Companies of the British Battalion dug firing trenches on the forward slope with machine gun pits and artillery observation posts. The soldiers worked from dawn till dusk, so that by Christmas Day, most of the trenches were ready. After Christmas, long communication trenches were dug from the rear slope to provide safe transport of food, ammunition and first aid supplies to the battle lines. The Indian sappers [engineers] laid land mines in the bridges as well as miles of Dannert steel barbed wire in three strands stretching from east to west nearly three miles across the frontal areas.

Throughout this time Japanese planes were very active machine gunning the three defence ridges and four Japanese recce [reconnaissance] planes were claimed shot down over Kampar. The Japanese removed the wrecks after the fighting.

On 29th December, the Japanese, after taking over Ipoh, made probes down the road. The main Japanese force came down the road from Kuala Kangsar via the Bota Kanan road and the Batu Gajah-Senlu road junction near Kampung Kepayang. They moved to Gopeng where the 12th Indian Brigade troops were waiting and heavy fighting took place at the Gopeng-Kota Bahru road junction.

Supported by tanks, the Japanese pushed south and on the 29th evening there was further heavy fighting for possession of the iron bridge at Kuala Dipang. The 12th Indian Brigade withdrew in the late evening when the Indian Sappers destroyed the bridge. Japanese tanks were held up here as all five bridges north of Kampar were blown up successfully in spite of the heavy torrential rain of December.

REPULLED

On the dawn of 30th December 1941, the Japanese made probes down the Eastern loop road of Kampar but were repelled by the 28th Indian

Brigade of Gurkha Regiments. Japanese artillery units, now in position on the Malim Nawar road, opened up to shell the main British defence positions on the three ridges. The British big guns replied and the bombardment from both sides shook the ground.

The continuous pounding of the artillery could be heard by people as far as Ipoh, Gopeng and Batu Gajah to the north, and people in Tapah, and Bidor to the south. The night sky was lit by giant flashes as the cannon roared. This great artillery contest marked the beginning of the epic four-day Battle of Kampar.

Japanese reconnaissance units were seen by the British defenders but the well-laid-out land mines and thick steel barbed wire held up the Japanese, many of whom were killed by heavy machine guns from the British trenches. For the first time Japanese soldiers were held back and many brave banzai charges ended in failure.

During the day, Japanese planes were very active, bombing and strafing the well-dug-in British defenders. It is interesting to note that the British units had only nine days to prepare the defences and what a marvellous job they did with bare hands and shovels. The Straits Trading and Eastern Smelting tin sheds provided thousands of strong tin ore bags to make very strong sand bagged trenches and storage and headquarter bunkers. The two firms were the main buyers from the mines and dredges in the tin-rich Kinta Valley.

The diversionary probes by the Japanese on the eastern loop road were stopped after the Japanese suffered heavy casualties. Then they concentrated on the main British Battalion positions covering the main road. The Thompson, Green and Cemetery Ridges were bombed for four days and nights but the well made trenches held fast as the tin ore sand bags gave very good protection.

On the 1st of January 1942, the Japanese decided to make an all-out assault on the eastern flank of Thompson Ridge. Bombardment of artillery and mortars went on through the night of the 31st December. Brave Japanese made many banzai charges till some British positions were overrun because the guns of the defenders seized up as the barrels became red hot and there were no spares. Many British died in the trenches literally fighting to the last bullet. But by evening, the Japanese had occupied some of the trenches on the eastern flank of the British.

On the morning of the 1st January, D Company of the British Battalion under Captain Vickers made a counter-charge to drive out the Japanese. Many British boys died gallantly but the Japanese held, so much so that two hours later Captain Vickers had to make another charge and this time re-occupied some lost positions.

The first two days of 1942 were taken up by the artillery bombardment from both sides. The forward slope of Thompson Ridge looked like a moon landscape with the entire slope pock-marked by the shell and mortar bombardment. In the whole campaign, the battle of Kampar saw the heaviest artillery duel between British and Japanese guns.

On the 2nd of January, the Japanese were massing troops to penetrate the weakened British defences on the eastern side of Thompson ridge. Brigadier Moorhead, the commander of the 6/11th Indian Brigade, decided to order the Jat/Punjab Regiment to send a company under Captain Graham to make a full charge to clear the Japanese.

It was afternoon, and on receiving the orders, Captain Graham and his second in command, Lt. Lamb, assembled their men on Green Ridge. Captain Graham addressed them and told them of their mission. Each man was given a mug of rum, ammunition was distributed and all bayonets were fixed. Graham led his men as they went charging the rearward slope of Thompson Ridge. As the men shouted "Sat Siri Akal", **[Glory to God]** the steel bayonets glistened in the sun. Many brave soldiers were

mowed down by the Japanese. The survivors continued the counter attack and Lt. Lamb was killed in the second line of charge.

GALLANT ACT

As the gallant men reached the last line, Captain Graham had both legs blasted off when hit by a Japanese mortar bomb. In spite of his mortal wounds, he stood on his stumps and shouted encouragement to his remaining men. They succeeded in clearing the trenches of the Japanese. When the trenches were retaken a few Indian sepoy [soldiers] carried their brave leader to the army first aid post where he was attended to.

Captain Graham not only lost his legs but his kidneys and liver were badly damaged. He died on 3rd January in the army Hospital at Tanjung Malim. This brave officer was buried in the Commonwealth War Cemetery at Taiping. For his brave act he was only mentioned in despatches. He should have been awarded the Victoria Cross but unfortunately his gallant act was only witnessed by his own men and no other officer of another unit had witnessed it.



The British Battalion and other Indian units of the 6/15th Brigade held back the powerful Japanese troops for four days and nights giving them a bloody mauling for the first time in the whole campaign. The Japanese war papers admitted suffering heavy losses in Kampar; so much so that they described the Battle of Kampar as the Battle for the Fortress of Kanparu. Every year Japanese visitors come to Kampar to light joss sticks to pay their respects to their loved ones who fell in Kampar, never to return home to their homeland.

On 1st January, the Japanese had landed troops at Telok Anson as well as carrying out sea landings at Hutan Melintang and Bagan Datoh [and these moved to outflank the inland position at Kampar. The British were not driven out in battle] but had to withdraw to Trolak to avoid being cut off by the Japanese. Backed by a strong air force and navy, Kampar could have held out for a month. There was enough food and ammunition stored on Green Ridge to last five weeks. The size of the bunkers bears testimony to the amount of the supply dumps.

In this relentless man-to-man struggle on Thompson, Green and Cemetery Ridges, the men of the one and only unique British Battalion - a regimental hybrid of the 1st Leicesters and the 2nd East Surreys - earned a fame that rang through the rival armies who fought it out in Kampar. General Percival described the Battle of Kampar in these vivid words "The Japanese attacks were made with all their well-known bravery and disregard of danger. There was a dogged resistance, in spite of heavy losses, by the gallant men of BRITISH BATTALION and their supporting artillery. The Battle of Kampar proved our trained troops whether they were British or Indian, were superior man for man to the Japanese troops."

Whither Education?

by **Brother Vincent Corkery**

BROTHER VINCENT CORKERY was born in Cork, Ireland. He obtained his BA in History and Political Thought from University College, Dublin. Later he pursued postgraduate studies at Cambridge University.

He has taught in St Patrick's School in Singapore and later at St Joseph's Institution. In 1958 he was posted to St Michael's Institution as Vice-Principal and later served as principal from 1972 to 1976.

When Brother Paul returned to Ipoh in 1976, Brother Vincent relinquished the position for his mentor. Upon Brother Paul's retirement, Brother Vincent became Principal again.

Since retirement, Brother Vincent has remained active in research and teaching.

Education has come centre-stage in today's world, and, as has been said about war that it is too serious a matter to be left to the generals, education has become too important to be left to teachers.

Never before in history have so many millions come forward seeking education: they come to us from the 21st century. Lamentably, when they come to us we crowd them into 19th century classrooms. This is true of many countries including our own.

Our crowded classrooms are in crisis. The media so often focus on discipline as the main issue, but the problem is much deeper. Students coming to us from cyberspace have lost faith in teachers, indeed in adults generally. We face a pedagogical problem of the greatest proportions. Schools have no longer a monopoly on the print culture, young people have much more exciting avenues to the kind of knowledge they want.

The poet Blake writes feelingly in the 18th century of the schoolboy sitting in a 'cage'. Today's students feel equally caged within fixed syllabi for a standard selection of subjects and an examination system which evaluates literacy and numeric skills to the exclusion of all else. And most have little choice but to support a highly lucrative private tuition industry.

There is little time to talk of the value of developing emotional intelligence or explore, their implications of Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences. In his theory Gardner originally defined seven distinct intelligences and has recently added one more, namely nature intelligence, so crucial to the survival of our battered environment.

Malaysia is one of the those countries in Asia which have given constant attention to upgrading syllabi and introducing better methodologies.

In-service and in-house staff development programmes are carefully planned and made mandatory.

ENTRENCHED MINDSET

But it is an uphill task. The dreamers and planners at the ministry have to contend with a deeply entrenched mindset shared by the public, parents, even staff and students. A mindset which sees the school as the sole means to *academic success, and a happy life ever after.*

A teacher once wrote to the famous Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw for permission to use the text of one of his plays in the classroom. Shaw replied: *"I lay my eternal curse on any teacher now or hereafter who uses my plays in the classroom. I do not wish to be hated as Shakespeare is hated."*

The point of this is that schools all too often give students a life-long distaste for real learning with the result that many otherwise brilliant people go through a life of intellectual stagnation in their diverse professions.

I would like to focus on just one factor among others which underlie much of our discipline problems. Modern research makes an important distinction between the analytic learner and the global learner.

The analytic learner is easily identified, equally at school as at home. He or she studies best sitting at a formal desk, with good lighting, with no noise or distraction and works systematically, completing one task before proceeding to the next. Our whole system seems designed for their benefit down to the fact that classrooms are dominated by individual desks which preclude easy communication with fellow students.

The global learner by contrast cannot sit still, is tortured too by having to sit at a desk, prefers a cushion on the floor, likes to work with others, or have others present, must have music, prefers dim lighting, does best while munching and pursues several tasks at various stages of completion. (A recent news item must have had the global learner in mind when it spoke of the value of chewing gum for achieving higher IQ!)

Research insists that analytic and global learners have similar IQ, and are capable of going just as far in life. It also suggests that most children below a certain age are naturally global, but may gradually become analytic under classroom pressure. On the other hand most teachers tend to be analytic and therefore have little empathy for the special needs of the global learner. The consequences for good classroom discipline can be imagined.

But perhaps it is time that we look at the larger picture.

I believe it is axiomatic that the effectiveness of any system of education lies in the quality of life in the society it seeks to serve. An old definition named three criteria for a truly civilised people. ARE THEY HAPPY? ARE THEY GOOD? ARE THEY WISE?

FAILURE

The century now closing has seen dreadful examples of educational failure in these respects. I quote a letter from a German Lady Principal to her staff: *"I am the victim of a concentration camp, My eyes saw what no one should witness; gas chambers built by learned engineers, children poisoned by educated physicians, infants killed by trained nurses, women and babies shot and burned by college graduates. So I am suspicious of education! My request is: Help your students become human. You must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths. Reading, writing*

and arithmetic are important only if they help to make our children more human."

To meet this kind of challenge many things must change. Fundamentally in the way we tend to view education, as something largely confined to books, limited to one's early years and purely concerned with passing examinations.

Right now we are well and truly launched into a world-wide culture of accelerated change. And Proctor's principles applies: *"In time of change learners inherit the earth while the learned find themselves beautifully equipped to deal with a world that no longer exists".*



We need to shift the emphasis from 'education' to the learning process where the teacher becomes facilitator and coach. This learning process must be seen as continuous through life, in lots of diverse situations, with great variations in tempo and intensity.

What a difference it makes when parents and teachers set a clear personal example of life-long learners – as many are now doing.

With the advent of the internet and related technologies it may even be possible to realise what was dismissed as impracticable thirty

years ago, namely the setting up of multi-purpose learning centres, designed to meet the needs of all age groups, and which effectively would allow the school system as we know it to wither away.

Such an all-inclusive learning centre catering to people of all ages and aptitudes could develop an environment where everyone can have a real sense of belonging, a sense of freedom based on taking responsibility and being accountable, a sense of fun, a sense of power based on achieving realisable goals and finally a sense of survival, of remaining within the circle.

SPIRITUAL ROOTS

Beyond all these considerations many today are deeply concerned for the spiritual, especially in a society like ours where spiritual roots go deep, and where the spiritual helps to give definition to our lives. A common challenge is experienced across *all our* spiritual traditions, namely how to *minister* to the spiritual needs of young and old alike as we move into cyberspace where the *spiritual* is no longer seen to be “necessary”.

Without this spiritual dimension, so crucial to anchoring relationship with self and others, education can never realise its noblest goal in terms of evolving a people who will be truly good, happy and wise.

Leadership Succession In UMNO

by Mr Fan Yew Teng

FAN YEW TENG, a former teacher, trade unionist and opposition MP, received a Certificate in Education from the University of Birmingham after attending a two-year teacher training course at the Malayan Teachers College near Wolverhampton, England in 1961-62.

In 1980 he received a Diploma in Education from the University of London, and the following year he obtained his MA from the University of Sussex.

He is the author of The UMNO Drama. He now spends his time writing and is a human rights activist.

I would like to humbly remind my distinguished members of the audience that all political parties are organisations. My study of organisations at the University of Sussex and my long association with organisations over the last three and a half decades – trade unions, political parties, international and local non-governmental organisations and the United Nations no less – always tell me that human organisations reflect the humans who constitute them or more precisely, the human who manage, control, govern, direct or manipulate them. In short, organisations are all too human – the epitome of all our best and our worst, our virtues and our vices, our highest ideals and our lowest desires and depravities.

UMNO'S BIRTH

UMNO (United Malays National Organisation) was born on 11th May 1946, out of the storm, as it were, of the controversy over the Malayan Union which was rather arbitrarily imposed by the British colonial government.

Dato Onn Jaafar of Johore was chosen as UMNO's first President with Dato Panglima Bukit Gantang of Perak as its Acting Secretary. At this inaugural meeting of UMNO in Johore Baru, Dato Onn called on Malays of all political inclinations to unite to fight against the Malayan Union – which was perceived as a serious threat to the sovereignty of the Malay Rulers and to the constitutional position of the Malays as the indigenous people.

Strong Malay opposition to the Malayan Union forced the British to relent, and to replace it with a new constitutional arrangement – the Federation of Malaya which finally came into force on 1 February 1948.

As I have said in my book *The UMNO Drama*, published ten years ago, "All in all, it was an impressive show of Malay unity in the face of

adversity. There was not only the spirit of solidarity; there was also idealism and a spirit of sacrifice. It was Malay unity's finest hour".

I have added: *"UMNO had achieved a signal triumph. It had succeeded to safeguard Malay, especially upper class Malay, interests. It has unified the Malays on a pan-Malayan scale."*

DATO ONN'S FATE

UMNO's founder-president Dato Onn was at heart more of a Malayan nationalist rather than a Malay chauvinist. He and some other UMNO leaders soon questioned UMNO's racial exclusiveness. From early 1949, Dato Onn increasingly expressed the hope of converting UMNO into a truly national organisation representing all ethnic communities. Dato Onn advocated a single nationality for all the races; he suggested that UMNO should accept the controversial citizenship recommendation of the Communities Liaison Committee.

However, at an emergency session of the UMNO General Assembly in Kuala Lumpur in June 1950, many of the delegates were hostile to the proposals, and some even-branded Dato Onn a "traitor to the Malays and the country".

To force the issue, Dato Onn resigned as UMNO President; he also announced the resignation of the entire executive council. In August, the UMNO General Assembly at its annual session in Kuala Kangsar re-elected Dato Onn as UMNO President by 66 votes to 3; it also approved the citizenship proposals which it had rejected earlier.

Dato Onn was not satisfied. He wanted UMNO to be renamed the United Malayan National Organisation. In November 1950, he said: *"Merely opening the door to associate members is not enough. This must be a*

national body and non-Malay members should be offered all the rights and privileges of the organisation."

Dato Onn announced on 5th June 1951 that independence for Malaya could be achieved in seven years with the establishment of the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP). He warned that he would form the new party if UMNO rejected his suggestion to convert itself into the United Malayan National Organisation. He even said that the new party would make efforts for the merger of Singapore with the Federation of Malaya.

Although a number of prominent leaders of the different communities declared their support for Dato Onn on his proposed new party, his ideas were strongly opposed by a considerable number of Malays. The main thrust of criticisms against Dato Onn was that he was in too much of a hurry which was feared to be detrimental to the Malays.

All the same, Dato Onn went ahead with his plans. He resigned from UMNO on July 1, 1951. On 26th August, he formally tendered his resignation from UMNO at the General Assembly. This time UMNO did not ask him to stay on in the organisation. That was how Dato Onn, the 'Father of UMNO' and the organisation he founded, parted ways.

In the open election to choose Dato Onn's successor as UMNO President, Tunku Abdul Rahman defeated Mustapha Hussain, a former leader of the left-wing Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM), by a mere one vote. Although UMNO Youth protested at the result and asked for a fresh election, the result was treated as a *fiat accompli*.

Mustapha Hussain also lost by one vote to Dato Abdul Razak Hussein (later Tun) for the post of Deputy President. Although the Assembly proceeded to elect Mustapha Hussain as a Vice-President, he rejected the post as he felt that he could not get the co-operation of the Tunku and Dato Razak (as related in the book *Mustapha Hussain: A Malay*

Nationalist Champion, by Insun Sony Mustapha (Mustapha Hussain's daughter), and published by Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1999).

MYTHS OF TUNKU-RAZAK HARMONY

For a considerable length of time, there was the public myth that Tunku Abdul Rahman's relationship with Tun Razak, his deputy both in UMNO and the government, was as harmonious as that between a father and his son. The Tunku himself exploded this myth by writing in the 19 August 1983 issue of *The Star*, this telling incident:

"Once at the Residency, Khalid Awang Osman, the former High Commissioner to India, mentioned in front of Tun Razak that he (Razak) would have to wait for a long time before he could become the Prime Minister. I could see the shocked surprise on the face of Tun Razak. As it happened after that day I noticed his attitude took a change."

Earlier in fact, in an article in *The Star* on February 20, 1978, the Tunku said that *Asiaweek's* M.G.G. Pillai had alleged in the 17 February 1978 issue of that newsweekly that *"many political figures still insist privately that the Tunku stepped down unwillingly in 1970 and that he was in fact pushed aside by Tun Abdul Razak."* These are the Tunku's comments: *"As regards the late Tun Razak pushing me aside, he made no attempt openly to do so but it must be admitted that he felt a bit small to be my deputy for so long, and being an ambitious man, he would no doubt have liked to take over as Prime Minister. Only those around him wanted to take over dramatically and with a blare of trumpets."*

It may be true that Tun Razak made no attempt openly to push the Tunku aside. But the interesting and pertinent question is: Did Tun Razak make any attempt secretly or discreetly to push the Tunku? Referring to the statement by Khalid Awang Osman mentioned earlier,

the Tunku on one occasion said: *"I took the remarks as a joke, but soon after things began to happen."*

In an interview with Asiaweek, published on 10 May 1985, exactly sixteen years after the fateful general election of 1969, the Tunku actually blamed Tun Razak and other colleagues for his downfall. In relating the charged atmosphere just before the general election on 10 May 1969, the Tunku said: *"It started when one of them (alleged communists) was killed near the airport, and they asked for a funeral procession to bury the dead. I would have never allowed that. But I was not there, I was away campaigning. But my colleagues, who were trying to make trouble for me, gave permission, and so when the communists carried the body, they stopped at every corner to harangue the people, to curse the government, to curse me..."*

Further on in the interview, the Tunku actually said that *"My deputy allowed it,"* meaning the procession. To another question, the Tunku said: *"I couldn't have stayed on. To stay, you have to be sure of the loyalty of your friends and colleagues. I wasn't sure. In fact, I was very, ah, frustrated with the behaviour of some."*

What the Tunku said then seems to tie in neatly with what Marina Yusoff now says the Tunku told her during an interview at the Tunku's residence in Penang in 1972.

What happened to the Tunku after the May 10 general election and the May 13 incident in Kuala Lumpur are by now amply documented, including the parts played by UMNO personalities then who included Dr. Mahathir, Musa Hitam, Syed Jaafar Albar and Dato Harun Idris.

For those who have missed the details, they would have to wait for an updated edition of my *The UMNO Drama*, that is if I finally agree to a request from Zed Press of London to revise and update.

UMNO'S SCHEMING

In August 1973, Tun Dr Ismail, the then Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy UMNO President, died suddenly of a heart attack. Prime Minister Tun Razak appointed his brother-in-law Datuk Hussein Onn (Dato' Onn Jaafar's son) to succeed the late Tun Dr Ismail. Less than a week after Tun Dr. Ismail's death, the UMNO Supreme Council unanimously voted in favour of Tun Razak's choice of deputy. Hussein Onn's position was assured.

That does not mean, of course, that there were not murmuring or even grumbling of dissatisfaction and dissent in the party. This was reflected in the 1975 UMNO elections in which Tun Razak's team was perceived to have won. In the contest for the three vice-presidential posts, Ghafar Baba, Tengku Razaleigh and Mahathir won, while Jaafar Albar and Harun Idris lost. It was perhaps a testimony of Tun Razak's authority in UMNO.

However, seven months after the UMNO elections, Tun Razak died of leukaemia in London, setting the stage for some intense rounds of power struggle in UMNO. Datuk Hussein Onn was sworn in as the new Prime Minister on 15 January 1976, one day after Tun Razak's death. However, it took Hussein Onn almost two months later to announce that he had settled for Dr. Mahathir as his Deputy Prime Minister.

The fairly long time taken to decide on the deputy was a reflection not only of Hussein Onn's careful ways of doing things, but also of the enormous task of having to contend with the various factions jockeying for power, influence and positions at the topmost level of the UMNO leadership.

Do not forget that at the time, the challenge from Dato Harun Idris, the powerful UMNO Youth leader, was not resolved yet, although he had been arrested on 16 charges of corruption, misappropriation, criminal

breach of trust and failure to declare assets. And do not forget that Dato Harun's problems actually began only after he had wanted to contest an UMNO vice-presidential post in the 1975 UMNO General Assembly.

The Dato Harun saga intensified the power struggle in UMNO in 1976. First, the decision to expel Dato Harun from UMNO was not well received among some people in the party, for a variety of reasons.

Tan Sri Syed Albar, already in his sixties, was elected the new UMNO Youth Leader, defeating the choice of UMNO's top leadership. The UMNO Youth Assembly unanimously passed a resolution appealing to the UMNO Supreme Council to reinstate Dato Harun as a member.

THE SPILL-OVER

The 1976 power-struggle in UMNO was so intense that it spilled over into a communist scare which involved the Singapore government of Lee Kuan Yew, culminating in the ISA arrest of six politicians on 3 November. The main targets were Abdullah Ahmad and Abdullah Majid, both deputy ministers under the late Tun Razak - as a way of embarrassing the UMNO leadership. And, apparently, to give some semblance of political as well as racial balance, Kassim Ahmad, then the chairman of PSRM, Lim Kien Siew of the MCA and Chian Heng Kai and Chan Kok Kit of the DAP were also taken in.

And behind it all, was Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, the Home Affairs Minister, who himself entertained ambitions for the very top leadership position in both UMNO and the government.

Even Hussein Onn's retirement as Prime Minister in mid-1981 was not entirely free from speculation and conjecture. For instance, in an article in *The Star* on 29 August 1983, Tunku Abdul Rahman put forth this

intriguing theory: *"It was rumoured that Tun Hussein had been unhappy over some small matter which took place in his absence abroad and this eventually led to his retirement. At least I think I am right in saying this, though he said he was resigning on account of ill health, but he appeared to be healthy at least from his appearance today."*

THE LOVE-HATE TRIANGLE

Did Tengku Razaleigh feel insulted that Mahathir was chosen by Hussein Onn in 1976 as the Deputy Prime Minister, although Razaleigh was more senior as UMNO Vice-President then, having obtained more votes?

Perhaps so, but then again, perhaps not. Tengku Razaleigh seems to have less of a vengeful streak than Mahathir politically.

Whatever it was, the two rounds of contest for the post of UMNO Deputy President in 1981 and 1984 between Razaleigh and Musa Hitam took their toll on both men, although Musa won on both occasions. The political animosity of Razaleigh against Mahathir intensified as a result of the former's perception that Mahathir as UMNO President was not neutral or even-handed in his treatment of the two contestants, always seeming to give the advantage to Musa Hitam.

Meanwhile, Musa Hitam was getting tired of and irritated over Mahathir's domineering style of leadership, at a time when UMNO seemed to be enjoying a period of peace and bliss. But, in reality all was not well in UMNO. In the early months of 1985, stories and rumours were circulating freely that there were strains in the much-vaulted 2M partnership of Mahathir and Musa. The March-April 1985 issue of *Mimbar socialist* of the opposition PRM carried a front-page story titled 'Perpecahan 2M' ('2M Split')

Less than a year later, on 26 February 1986, Musa Hitam sent a 7-page letter to Mahathir saying that as from 16 March 1986 he was resigning as Deputy Prime Minister and from all related governmental posts including that of Home Affairs Minister, as well as UMNO Deputy President and all related party posts.

APRIL 1987 SHOWDOWN

UMNO was split into two factions, increasingly referred to by their supporters and outsiders as 'Team A' and 'Team B', led by Mahathir and Razaleigh respectively. The rivalry was getting fiercer by the hour.

Datuk Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, at the time aligned to 'Team B' lamented: *"UMNO today is not like the UMNO of the past. In my father's time the UMNO general assembly was like a family gathering. It was a happy occasion when old friends met. But I am sad to say that UMNO has lost that spirit. They do not even look at each other's face when they shake hands."*

The final candidate line-up for the UMNO elections of 24 April 1987 was as follows :

President : Mahathir vs. Tengku Razaleigh

Deputy President : Ghafar Baba vs. Musa Hitam

Three Vice Presidents

Team A : Anwar Ibrahim

Wan Mokhtar

Ramli Ngah

Team B : Harun Idris

Rais Yatim

Abdullah Ahmad Badawi

The campaign was rough and even dirty. In the end, Mahathir and Ghafar won by 43 and 40 votes respectively.

DAY OF THE LONG KNIVES

On 30 April 1987, less than a week later, all of Razaleigh's supporters were sacked from the Cabinet, after the resignations of Razaleigh and Rais Yatim were accepted. Team B soon evolved into Parti Semangat 46 and contested the general elections of 1990 and 1995. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, a political man for all seasons, had long before that run back into Mahathir's camp, soon to be known as UMNO Baru, after the original UMNO was deregistered as a society. And so the drama continued.

The current bitter rift between Mahathir and Anwar Ibrahim could perhaps be traced back to late 1993 when Anwar contested against incumbent Ghafar Baba for the post of UMNO Deputy President and won. Apart from the likelihood that Mahathir had felt insulted by Anwar and his people for not heeding his 'advice' not to contest, to Mahathir, Anwar's victory over Ghafar was also a sort of 'wake-up' call: that Mahathir's own position as UMNO President and Prime Minister of Malaysia could soon be wrested away by Anwar. The *Anwar Saga* is of course unfolding and is likely to go beyond the General Elections of 1999 on November 29, whatever the electoral results.

The latest twist in the UMNO Drama is the role of Tengku Razaleigh. Ten years ago, I predicted in my book *The UMNO Drama* that Razaleigh and his Semangat 46 people could well return to UMNO. That happened a couple of years ago. Razaleigh, according to both the latest issues of *Asiaweek* and *Far Eastern Economic Review* is now the man to watch in Malaysian politics for he could be Mahathir's new heir apparent.

If that were to happen, what will become of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi?

WARNINGS AND LESSONS

There are enough warnings, precedents and lessons about the rise and decline - and sometimes the fall - of political parties, political dynasties and political systems from different parts of the world. When I visited Italy in 1961 and 1969, the Christian Democrats were still very powerful, but long years of corruption and scandals took their toll, and the June 1983 elections saw Bettino Craxi chosen the nation's first Socialist prime minister.

When I visited Japan in July-August 1970, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was at the height of its glory. However, the rot was setting in soon enough. Kakuei Tanaka, Japan's Prime Minister from July 1972 to November 1974, resigned after a scandal and was convicted of taking US\$2.2 million in bribes to ensure the sale of Lockheed L1011's to Japan's airlines. The Recruit Scandal which involved illegal political donations and stock trading, led to the resignation of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita in May 1989. Following these scandals, the LDP was denied a majority in general elections held in July 1993, after having held power since it was founded in 1955.

When I first went to India in December 1969, Indira Gandhi and her faction of the Congress Party seemed secure. But five years later she had to declare and impose a state of emergency to save her own political position as Prime Minister. During my six weeks' stay in various parts of India at the height of the so called Emergency in December 1975 and January 1976, Mrs Gandhi was hailed by some as the "Empress of India". However, when she called for elections in early 1977, she lost - the Congress Party had been defeated for the first time since independence in 1947 in parliamentary elections.

Although the Congress Party was to be returned to power on at least three subsequent occasions, corruption, incompetence and factionalism have been responsible for the steady decline of the party, including the

defeat at the hands of the BJP-led coalition in the Indian general elections just last month.

When I was in Iran in early 1976, I was suspicious and cynical of the fake political party created by the Shah, Mohamad Reza Pahlevi, propped up by his secret police, the Savak, and plenty of oil money, and the latest American weaponry. Almost exactly three years later, the Shah became history, driven into exile by the Iranian people.

A month ago Pakistan again witnessed a military coup against the elected government. Slightly more than one year after my passage through that country in 1976, Prime Minister Zulfikar Bhutto and his Government were overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq (whose son I met at an International conference on Bosnia in Brussels in 1994). Bhutto was executed in April 1979 after being convicted of complicity in a 1974 political murder.

The serious charges levelled now against overthrown Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif carry an eerie echo of what happened to Bhutto. When the Pakistani people could free themselves from the curse of the cycle of repression, corruption and military coups is a question difficult to answer.

Well perhaps it could be said that at least, the Pakistanis are one level of luck above the people of Afghanistan. That country has degenerated into utter chaos, poverty and misery over the last quarter of a century. When I was in that country in early 1976, there was grinding poverty, about three years after a military coup had ushered in a republic. Pro-Soviet leftists staged a bloody coup in 1978, and concluded an economic and military treaty with the USSR. Factionalism among the ruling Afghan elite led to a massive Soviet military intervention in late December in 1979. By the time the Soviets had completely withdrawn from the country in February 1989, over 2 million Afghans had been killed and 6 million had fled the country as refugees since December 1979.

The tragedy of Afghanistan continues to this very day, as the long civil war is by no means over.

When in early November 1973, watching the military parade to celebrate the 56th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in the bitter cold near the Red Square in Moscow, I did not imagine that in less than 20 years the domination of the communist parties in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe would collapse so completely and so ignominiously. After all, one of the two superpowers of the world was showing off its ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) that morning.

But the communist system was haemorrhaging as a result of years of repression, lies, corruption and factionalism. The crash of the Berlin Wall, (built in 1961, and which I saw in December 1969), in November 1989 was very symbolic of the religion of human power.

John Arbuthnot, an 18th century Scottish wit, said: "All political parties die at last swallowing their own lies."

Will UMNO suffer a similar fate? Will UMNO see 2020? Only time will tell.

The only certainty we can be sure of is that political parties which do not or cannot conduct their leadership succession process in a fair, just democratic, civilised, peaceful and clean manner will sooner or later fall victim to their dirty tricks, often bringing along their countries and peoples to the tragic feast of anarchy, partition and perdition of warlordism and utter economic ruin.

History Of Islam In Malaysia

by Rev Dr S Batumalai

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Islam in Malaysia is interesting, challenging and a model to others. By 878, it is claimed, Islam was already in the Malay soil. That was a great blessing as Christianity came in 1511. Islamization of the world through the Arab community began in the 7th century. Islam, unlike Christianity, was introduced by ordinary people: the traders, soldiers and through business contacts and inter-racial marriages. Royalty also played an important part. The history of Islam is the history of the Malays. Islam has moulded the ethnic Malays and the early Islamization converted Malays from animistic Hindu and Buddhist influences. Christianity though felt as a threat was a blessing, in that Malaysia was initially developed by the early colonisers.

Malaysian Islam is perceived by other nations as a model of success for it was established within a short period of its political independence. Islamization and Islamic resurgence in terms of reinforcement of Islam, or reassertion of Islam, in all aspects of life (is) assisted by (Malaysia for) both the S.E. Asian Muslim minority and others. Malaysia began to champion Islamization on behalf of other Islamic communities (e.g. Muslim in Mindanao and the Pacific).

THE COMING OF ISLAM

Firstly, Islam was introduced by 674 to South East Asia and to Malaysia by 878, while Christianity only appeared in 1511. (Actually Arab traders may have made contact at those early dates. It is generally accepted that Gujarati merchants carried Islam to Sumatra and the peninsula only after the Muslim conquests in India during the 12th and 13th centuries. Editor). Unhindered by any foreign presence of power, Islam took deep root in the Malay soil and in the hearts of the people. The early Islamic missionary movement came through the Sufi followers. They were very effective mission agents.

Secondly, it was through an Asian approach in which inter-marriage proved to be a great help in the expansion of Islam. Sufism, an Asian Islamic Missionary Movement was also accommodating. Some Malay 'adat' (customs) and other peculiarities were appropriated in Islam.

Furthermore, Asian traders were able to work with both the rich and poor local communities. Hence the hierarchical system (caste) was replaced. Above all, rulers and their conversion to Islam helped their subjects to embrace Islam. The conversion of Parameswara to Islam from Hinduism helped the Indians in general and Malay sultans in particular to safeguard Islam.

ISLAM AND COLONIAL PERIOD (1511-1969)

It is now perceived firstly, that the arrival of Christianity through the Portuguese, Dutch and British was perceived as a threat, an intrusion and a crusade (**Jihad**). Malays now feel that the coming of the Westerners as a display of might, in which their military defeat wounded the religious and ethnic pride of the Malays. The presence of the Westerners led to the colonisation of the country, culture and religion.

Secondly, Christian 'jihad' through the above foreign powers, was perceived as a threat to the well being of Islam in South East Asia.

Thirdly, Islamic progress was hindered. There were constraints in the teaching of Islam, the collection of Zakat, the implementation of Syariah and other publications of Islamic rules were affected. Increasingly, the Muslim law depended upon the secular legislation and laws. In brief, Islamic administration was haphazard and very little was done for Islamic education and Islamic justice.

Fourthly, the colonisation of Malaya by the Christians from Europe was perceived as a threat to Islam. However, this period strengthened Malay

unity. The royalty and people were united against foreign domination. It was a form of Islamic *jihad*.

Fifthly, the Western presence hindered the progress of Islam. It was a setback for Islam. Christianity was introduced both in the mission schools and through other means by the missionaries. Fortunately for the Muslims, Christianity was not a priority for the colonisers. Their primary concern was business, Islamic laws and customs were largely disregarded by the British and others. Islamic and the 'adat', according to the Pangkor Treaty, were protected. To an extent, the British not only tolerated Islam positively but also the British colonial administration consolidated the Muslim community through its legislation and administration. Islam helped to unite the Malay community. This unity helped the Muslims' quest for political independence.

ISLAM AND INDEPENDENCE OF MALAYA IN 1957

Political independence enabled the Malays to restore both their religion and culture to their rightful places. Islam and the Malay language were restored as the official religion and language respectively. Islam became a state matter with the Sultans as the guardians of Islam. At various levels, Islamic personal laws were introduced and the Islamic departments were strengthened.

The Malays began to reassert their political rights with the advent of the Japanese in 1942 (the Second World War) and this continued until 1969. We may discern four important factors for the early Islamization. They are:

- a) Westernization and the fear of Christianization of Malays.
- b) Socio-economic threat to the Malay community.
- c) Islamic nationalism.
- d) Ethnic survival of the Malay community.

Let us try to understand the above concerns briefly.

- a) The Colonial government did offer grants from public revenue to the non-Muslims and this was felt not proper by the Malays. They sought greater Government financial support for Islam. There was little success in this attempt. The Muslims also reacted to the separation of religion and politics in their lives. Religion came under the jurisdiction of the Sultan and politics came under the British. The Sultans had very little power to shape the Malay future.

The Malays felt the missionary zeal of the church and the education offered both by the Government and private schools. The Muslims feared the subtle penetration of Western values through both Christian missionaries and higher education under the Europeans. Further, the return of elite Muslims groups from the Middle East, from Egypt and Turkey, brought with them a burning desire to renovate Islam in their own society and to make it a fit vehicle for change. Their thinking was translated into the Malay language and radiated towards all parts of the peninsular. Their concern was the purification of worship and ritual and the modernization of religious education. The aim was to return to the purity of original Islam rather than accept non-Islamic accretion. A reawakening began in the Malay Peninsular.

- b) **Socio-economic threat to the Malay Community**
The Malays' socio-economic situation made them unsure of their future in the presence of non-Malays, who were economically powerful. Further the increase of the non-Malay population in the country made them insecure. The growth of the colonial economy through the appropriation of land from the Malays for tin mining and rubber plantation led to a rapid deterioration of their rural idyll. Hence, they began their striving to secure the best in their own land and to rise politically.

c) Islamic Nationalism

As Islam is the essence of Malay identity, it is also the core of its culture. One of the foremost concerns of the Islamic community is their survival in all aspects in the midst of other powerful non-Malay communities. Both the arrival and the success of the non-Malays caused much concern.

First, these foreigners, increased in population. A change in the demography made the Malays feel small numerically, psychologically and politically.

Secondly, the non-Malays thrived economically and in the business sector.

Thirdly, they were able to climb the social ladder and occupy many top positions.

In order to emphasize Malay oneness in terms of their ethnicity, religion and culture, survival in their community was important. Islam played a key role in their quests. Malay nationalism in politics and Islamic resurgence have had great influence in setting the goals of making Malaysia a Muslim nation. The above concerns helped the Malays to reawaken themselves to the realities of survival and challenge to seek a solution. They learnt to live in neighbourliness with non-Muslim citizens in Malaysia.

d) Ethnic Survival of the Malay Community

Before independence and immediately after independence, the ethnic survival of the Malay community became a serious concern. The Malays, in the presence of the industrious Chinese and Indians, considered themselves weak racially and economically. This paved the way for an emphasis on Malayness.

Various attempts were made to guarantee their ethnicity.

Conversion of Malays to other religions is understood as '*apostasy*'. To some Malays that would reduce their ethnic power. They felt the need to be protected in their religion and ethnically. The Christian mission of '*conversion*' was prohibited. Later '*apostasy*' as a criminal sin was introduced as a deterrent. Their political position was strengthened greatly and they emerged to be in a dominant position.

The government took the necessary measures to protect and promote the ethnic Malays' interest. This was clearly demonstrated when Malaya was involved in the discussion for independence from the British. While the non-Malays wanted all the communities in Malaya to be treated on an equal basis, it was not acceptable to the Malays. Their aspirations were highlighted in the following:

- i) political independence
- ii) the official language to be Malay and Islam the official religion.
- iii) safeguarding and enhancing the economic position of the Malays.

All these aspirations were incorporated into the proposed Constitution of Malaya in 1957 and in later amendments in relation to Islam in 1976.

MALAYSIAN ISLAM AND THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE OF THE MUSLIM IN MALAYSIA

The 1970s and the 1980s may be said to be the decades of increased Islamic resurgence and Islamization in the world in general and in Malaysia in particular. A new sociopolitical climate reasserted Islamic influence in the international scene.

- a) Political independence of many Islamic countries, both in Asia and Africa, paved the way for Islamic unity and solidarity for

partnership and cooperation on many levels (eg. economic) and to assert their religious identity (eg. The Organisation of Islamic Countries).

- b) There was a greater awareness of their common history. Due to the Western colonization they felt the de-Islamization. They felt they were backward in their socioeconomic sectors and scientific developments. In science and technology they experienced the western domination. This was perceived as a threat and humiliation. There was a quest to mobilize their resources from all the Islamic countries to assert their presence and power (eg. petrol).
- c) There was a stronger quest for identification with other Islamic sectors and their needs. They assisted the Islamic minorities in Mindanao, Russia, Africa and elsewhere.
- d) Spiritual bankruptcy, as understood by the Muslims, in the Western world spurred the Muslims to rethink the need to return to their own spiritual roots and not to follow the Western model. They were keen to follow the West in the arena of science and technology but not in culture and spiritual areas.

MALAYSIAN MUSLIMS' RESPONSE TO BOTH THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY (UMMAH) AND THE MALAYSIAN REALITIES.

Let us attempt to highlight a few of the major concerns.

- a) The need to protect and promote the Malay ethnic aspirations. May 13th 1969, racial disturbance reawakened the Malays from their political slumber. The perception was that Malay politicians had accommodated too much the aspirations of the non-Malays at the expense of the Malay welfare (*falah*).

- b) Their quests were political, economic, spiritual and cultural.
- i) They needed to be politically in control of the country through the Alliance or Barisan National Party. A united effort was necessary. This political supremacy would safeguard, protect and promote their unique Malay ethnic interests (*falah*).
 - ii) Further, they were keen on their spiritual development in the light of worldwide materialism. Resurgence aimed to transform the Malay community in the light of *Qu'ran* and the *Hadith*. (Traditions of the Prophet). The aim is to make a contribution to the non-Islamic world. Although much emphasis was made for the economic and political development, the perception was that spiritual elements were neglected. It was felt that Islam was neglected and materialism was promoted at the expense of Islam.
 - iii) In the light of reawakening of other cultures in Malaysia, the Malays felt the need for national policies on education (eg. Malay language) and national culture to be emphasized. It was felt the Government was too accommodative and too slow in their implementation of their national policies on education and culture. They felt their unique identity was diminishing due to the multi-Malaysian culture programmes. The *ummah* encouraged people to address these issues.

THE CHIEF ISLAMIC AGENTS OF RESURGENCE

"Let there arise among you a community, *ummah*, inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong: they are the ones to attain felicity" (*Qu'ran* 3:104).

As spelt above, the *ummah* is "invited to all that is good, do what is right, and forbid what is wrong". Both the individual Muslim and the community are called to play a responsible role. New leaders, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the Prime Minister, Dato Musa Hitam, the Deputy Prime Minister and Encik Anwar Ibrahim, (the youth leader who founded the ABIM, a

youth movement,) who later became a deputy Prime Minister, contributed much to the revival of Islam in Malaysia. They attempted to appropriate the best in Islam and challenged the Islamic community to rise to the task. They were not alone in this revival. They were strengthened by the arrival of charismatic and conservative Islamic student leaders who were trained in the UK, USA and the Middle East. In addition to these influences, UMNO, PAS and ABIM played a crucial role in the resurgence and Islamization. Let us attempt to highlight the role of these groups.

UMNO LEADERSHIP AND ISLAMIZATION

UMNO leaders attempted to blend both secular and spiritual insights in the development of the country. While UMNO was keen on modernization of the country, with resources, insights and values from the West and East, it had to carry out its religious revival with the understanding of other political parties and ethnic groups without comprising the special privileges of the ethnic Malays. UMNO is ethnically, religiously and politically motivated. UMNO leaders, as shown above, gave leadership for the resurgence of Islam in Malaysia. The UMNO government supported Islamization and had given credibility to the resurgence. Demands for the application of the Islamic principles in economic, political, legal, educational and other spheres of life, for the whole population, were supported by the Malay community. However, UMNO attempted to be concerned about the Welfare of both the Malay ethnic group and the non-Malays. The other Islamic political party, PAS, was not satisfied with UMNO's policies and performance with regards to Islamization and hence offered their visions.

PAS's major concern is a quest for an Islamic state. PAS has been generally traditional and conservative. Its leaders have argued for the reconstruction of an Islamic state, guided by the spirit rather than the language of the *Qu'ran*. UMNO emphasis is from the perspective of

Malay ethnic community while PAS is mainly concerned about the Malays from the Islamic perspective.

However, their different approaches are for the sake of the Malay community and its religion, Islam. If Islamization is carried out according to the traditional understanding of Islam, the non-Muslim may be classified as second-class citizens. They would not be allowed to hold positions of leadership or be equal partners in the decision-making process.

In order to strengthen both the UMNO and the PAS in their programme on Islamization and resurgence, ABIM, a youth movement lent support.

Initially, leadership was given by Anwar Ibrahim. In the 1970s ABIM (Malay Youth) provided the major determining force for an Islamic alternative and set the agenda for Malaysian sociopolitical change. From the youth point of view the movement was timely and prophetic in the Islamization of the ethnic Malay community. It has been claimed that the Malay Youth constituted the root of the Islamic revival from the 1970s.

The agents, UMNO, PAS and ABIM, are all concerned about the Malay community, Islam and politics to wield power. This has helped to bring about a new reformation in Malay Islamic history in Malaysia.

A NEW REFORMATION IN THE MALAY ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN MALAYSIA

In Malaysia, Islam true to its nature has affected all aspects of human life. An attempt is made to highlight its effects.

The aim of revival, according to Syed Mohammad Naquib Al-Attas, is to 're-islamize Islam' from modernistic, Hindu, Buddhist, secularized and Westernized world views. Systematically these were carried out by the UMNO government. Let us highlight their major concerns.

Firstly, that Islamic education was given its due importance. The Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the architect of Islamization in Malaysia began by providing Islamic education at all levels especially at colleges and universities. Education and knowledge were re-islamized, according to some Islamic experts. Education became the first priority.

The second concern was the social and moral aspects. The concern for Islamic justice and ethics, included corruption. It is generally true very little impact has been made by Islamization in this area of social life.

Thirdly, in order to progress in development, science and Information Technology (IT) were emphasized. So as to overcome de-islamization in this area and to remind the Muslims of their early golden era of Islamic movements, an attempt was made to appropriate the Western science and technology creatively and critically in the spirit of *Qu'ran*.

Fourthly, the historical need for islamization was highlighted. The perception was that Malaysia was colonized, westernized and de-islamized. Further it was felt Malaysian philosophy, education, economy, law, architecture and social life were westernized. All these, according to some Islamists, led people to be materialistic. Hence, de-islamization was a necessity.

Fifthly, as the western laws were extensively used in Malaysia, there was a need to transform the legal aspects from the point of Islam. The late Dr. Ahmad Ibrahim and others assisted in the application of Islamic law (*Syariah*) in the country. Islamic education on *Syariah* law is an important discipline in the International Islamic University. Graduates with Islamic law degrees were appointed in *Syariah* courts.

Sixthly, the Malay culture, though not exclusively, Islamic, was emphasized. Increasingly it is perceived that Islamic, Arabic and Malay cultures ought to be the national culture of Malaysia without denying common and universal values in other religions.

Seventhly, the emphasis on the economy and politics were to enhance the overall aspirations of the ethnic Malay.

As Islam aims to be comprehensive, the concern is for the whole welfare of the Malays (*falah*) whose religion is Islam. Their aspirations were incorporated in the islamization process. In order to accommodate PAS and to buy Malay votes, UMNO accelerates the process of Islamization.

Having dealt briefly with all the religious concerns understood as Islamization and resurgence of the ethnic Malay, which includes every aspect of their lives, a tentative assessment is attempted from the point of strengths and weaknesses. Let us begin from the perspective of strengths:

- a) Every Malaysian needs to know the needs of the ethnic Malays. To an extent their needs, spiritual, social, political and economic have been reasonably met by the Government and non-Muslims.
- b) Secondly, the historic rivalry of UMNO and PAS in their traditional understanding of politics and Islam was positive and practical. Though at times, their approaches are different, yet they have completed their *dakwah* (mission) of conversion of lukewarm Muslims and non-Muslims. There is a spiritual or internal unity in the Islamic community (*ummah*) and both sides are trying to create a positive image of Islam. Both groups will be prepared to assist another Islamic community elsewhere if that group is in need.
- c) Thirdly, Malaysia has been acclaimed as a model Islamic country by many leaders outside Malaysia. Over a period of two decades, the Islamic community, in particular, the UMNO, has succeeded in creating a model Islamic country. This has strengthened the creation of a strong national government, which has helped Malaysians in general.

- d) Fourthly, the *ummah* (Islamic community) has also accommodated the aspirations of the non-Muslims to an extent. UMNO, in the spirit of Islamic *falah muhibbah* and goodwill (neighbourliness) was instrumental in promoting Islam.
- e) Fifthly, Malaysia has developed economically and has been acclaimed as one of the developed countries in the world. Its developments are unprecedented in the last two decades. Malaysia has also inspired and assisted other countries.

However, Islamization and resurgence have also adversely affected the Muslims and non-Muslims. This is understood as weaknesses from the point of non-Muslims. Let us attempt to list some of its weaknesses.

Firstly, there is a sense of spiritual restlessness in lives of the Muslims. Both the Muslims and non-Muslims, as a result of Islamization and



resurgence are experiencing restlessness. The political emphasis on materialism by the Muslims, in the creation of many millionaires, cannot satisfy all the needs.

Secondly, in Malaysia, in the last few decades, un-Islamic practices, like corruption, gambling, greed, exploitation of innocents and the ordinary people have increased.

Thirdly, there is also a lack of concern for the *falah* (welfare) of both Muslims who do not follow the mainstream ideology (members of PAS constituencies) and non-Muslims whose rights and privileges have been adversely affected.

The Muslim authorities have been insensitive to the aspirations of the non-Muslims (eg. land and funds to build places of worship) which are in line with the true spirit of Islam. At times their preoccupation has been with *maslaha al-amma* (welfare of the Muslims) at the expense of *maslaha al-amma* (public welfare).

Finally there is serious division in the country. We experience fear, anxiety and marginalization of the non-Muslims. These have brought a sense of division and hatred between the Muslims and the non-Muslims.

Conclusion: Malaysians of diverse religions and ethnic communities have lived in harmony in the past. However, in the past few decades we have experienced a huge challenge. With goodwill and understanding we should be able to overcome hurdles. Our united effort is to launch jihad (striving) against erosion of good Asian values, corruption, injustice, Aids, drugs addiction, and lack of falah to people of other religions. A united effort in the truth of maslaha-al-amma and in the interest of the nation maslaha-al-amma will bring us together and this will make Malaysia a model country in this millennium.

History Of Papan And The Mandailing People

by **Encik Abdur-Razzaq Lubis**

ABDUR-RAZZAQ LUBIS is the seventh-generation descendant of Raja Asal, the leader of the Mandailing migrants to Malaya in the 19th century and Raja Bilah of the Rumah Besar Raja Bilah in Papan.

He is a professional writer on cultural heritage and a former journalist. His works include:

1. Ipoh: The City That Tin Built
2. Taiping: The Town of Everlasting Peace
3. A book on environmental entitled: Water Watch: A Community Action Guide.

ORIGINS

Papan has always been associated with tin, and tin is associated with clearing land and forests, malaria, brothels, opium dens, the Inspector of Mines, taxes and timber (not necessarily in that order). From Papan's name, we can deduce that its beginning probably has more to do with timber, literally plant. Timber, especially hard wood, was used for the production of good charcoal, the wooden chain pump called *chia-chia*, the water wheels, the *kongsi* houses and as fuel to work the steam pump.

Oral tradition has it that Pekan Papan (Papan Town) or Plank Town was the place where chengal was sawn in the 1840's. The chengal was extracted from the jungles in Ulu Johan (Upper Johan), upstream from Papan Town. The sawn timbers were transported to Pengkalan Pegoh, a river port, which drains into the Kinta river.

This story about the origin of Papan came down to us from the late Haji Abdullah H.M. Salleh. He was the first local headmaster of the Government English School in Gopeng.

The chengal woodcutters were said to be Malays while the people who sawed timber into planks in Papan Town were Chinese. This is further corroborated by the presence of the ruins of the Kwan Yin Temple, dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy, which was reportedly built originally of timber in 1847, and rebuilt of bricks in 1898.

Even in the Chinese oral tradition, Papan's name originated from wood. In Cantonese, Papan is "Ka Pan", which means "first wood" after the wooden water wheel. The Chinese characters and the Cantonese and Hokkien pronunciation of the place name is derived from the Malay. It is therefore quite conclusive that the former lumber town turned mining town of Papan acquired its name from the Malay word meaning "sawn timber" or the "Plank" as a result of logging activities.

THE PERAK WAR 1875

The murder of J.W.W. Birch, the first Resident to Perak, on Hari Raya day, November 2nd, 1875 at Pasir Salak in Lower Perak, gave rise to the Perak War of 1875.

Papan saw some action during the war, and was the foothold of the invading forces whose mission was to capture the former Sultan Ismail, and secure Kinta, the Sultan's capital. Ismail had been ousted by the British through the disastrous Pangkor Treaty 1874.

Ismail had a residence in Blanja, an important village. It was from here that he shipped his tin from his mines at Papan to Bruas. Further east, beyond Papan was his usual village residence, Pengkalan Pegoh. Papan was half-way between Kinta and Blanja.

In "this small war" as Lieut. H.B. Rich called the Perak War, "a little force marched to a place called Papan". This little force left Blanja for Kinta on December 13th, 1875. The area around Papan was then dense jungle but the place was taken on December 14th by Raja Mahmud and Raja Uteh, who were accompanied by Swettenham, on having driven the enemy from the mines at Papan. [Sir Frank Swettenham, a great Malayan administrator, scholar and historian, a Victorian, who was still alive *after* World War II supported the protests against the Malayan Union].

Raja Uteh (variously spelt as Raja Utoh or Outih) was a Mandailing from Kota Pinang, Sumatra. He was one of the several adventurers who Swettenham recruited to help capture Perak Malays thought to have been linked with Birch's murder. Raja Uteh, together with Raja Asli, Raja Mahmud of Selangor, Syed Mashor and Raja Indut, were later recommended by Swettenham for an award for their "gallant and faithful services". According to Swettenham, Raja Asal, Raja Mahmud and Syed Mashor "fought entirely for friendship's sake and have received no pecuniary reward, only their provisions, whilst acting with us".

Raja Uteh is portrayed as a fearless character by Sir Hugh Charles Clifford in *"In Days That Are Dead"* and *"In Court And Kampong"*. [Another of the great Colonial administrators], Clifford apparently knew Raja Asal as well. When he gave an autographed copy of his *"The Further Side of Silence"* to Haji Abdullah, he signed with a note "to the great grandson of my friend Raja Asal". Haji Abdullah was actually the great grandnephew of Raja Asal.

Kinta was taken on the December 17, 1875, and from "a military point of view", the British "got possession of the whole of Perak" as Kinta "commanded the rivers of Perak and Kinta, and (they) were in possession of all the chief towns".

PAPAN MINES

Ex-Sultan Ismail was known to have owned at least four mines, the most valuable being at Papan. These were given to Raja Asal by Swettenham as a reward for his military services in the Perak War. The Papan mines were described as "the most productive in the State" as well as "probably the richest tin mines in the Malay Peninsula".

Raja Asal had migrated from Mandailing in West Sumatra to Malaya in the 1840's in the wake of the Padri War (1816-1833). He was implicated in the Pahang War (1857-1863) and played a leading role in the Selangor War (1867-1873), better known to the Mandailing as Porang Kolang [The War "Perang" of Klang]. He was the head of the Mandailings in Ulu Klang, Selangor, before he was driven out of there with Syed Mashor in 1873.

When Birch met Raja Asal, the latter was already an old man. He has been described as "the redoubtable Raja Asal" and as "the renegade Mandailing chief" by historians.

Sir Hugh Low, the British Resident who took over from Birch, in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, dated July 26, 1877, stated that: "Raja Asal would seem to have been already sufficiently rewarded, as he says Mr Swettenham gave him the sole right of mining from the Papan Mines to the mouth of the Kinta River, an immense concession and, as far as I have seen, containing the most productive tin mines in the State".

In 1879, H.W.C. Leech, the first British Magistrate to Kinta, described Papan as being "the most important mining settlement" in Kinta. Papan remained one of the most historic as well as one of the leading tin producing areas in Kinta and indeed the whole of Perak well into the early 20th century.

MANDAILING MINERS

The early Mandailing mining areas were clustered around the two Kinta tributaries, Sungai Johan and Sungai Raya. The Mandailing miners were involved in mining, smelting and trading the tin in the Kinta Valley.

The leading Mandailing miner in Papan was Raja Bilah, who took over the Papan mines from Raja Asal, Raja Bilah, the son of Raja Tedong Berani, migrated to Malaya around 1860's following the footsteps of his uncle, Raja Asal. He was made the penghulu of Papan from 1882 to 1909.

Studies on Malay mining in Kinta in the 1880's have substantially relied on several European accounts on the subject, namely by Leech, de la Croix, de Morgan and Hale. Judging from the areas documented, the miners encountered by these Europeans were largely, if not exclusively, Mandailing miners and their co-workers.

Leech was perhaps the first to comment on the fairly intensive "Malay mining" methods used in the Kinta Valley after the Perak War, during a

period when Chinese miners and "Malay" miners could be observed working side by side, and the methods could be compared. By that time, tin-mining in Larut was virtually the exclusive domain of the Chinese.

The tin boom also brought the French engineer, J. Errington de la Croix to Kinta, as part of his "scientific mission to the Peninsula". He reported in early 1881 that at Papan, "Thirteen mines are at present in full swing, and occupy five hundred men, Chinese and Malays". De la Croix noted a Chinese population of 234, which implied that the rest of the miners were "Malays".

"Klian Johan, worked by Chinamen is the most important of all and is probably the deepest mine in the whole State, attaining a depth of fifty feet. On each side of that mine, Malays are also carrying on works to the same depth but unable themselves to put up a proper draining apparatus, they have made with their more industrious neighbours a contract by which they are allowed to let their water flow into the Chinese mine on condition of paying one-tenth of their whole produce".

Among various accounts of mining in Kinta in the 1880's, such a symbiotic working relationship between "Malay" miners and Chinese miners was observed only in Papan. In fact, the Chinese miners working with Raja Bilah's mine were the same Chinese who fled Selangor together with Raja Asal. Their leaders were Hew Ah Ang, Wong Koon and Jin See, Chin Ah Yong, Lee Ah Yoke and others. Hew Ah Ang was a Hakka Chinese from Kar Yin Chew. He opened a mining operation in Papan which employed a wooden chain pump to drain the water.

De la Croix's scientific report on the potential of Kinta Valley soon attracted European mining interests. Raja Bilah as Penghulu of Papan was the one who guided de la Croix on the tour of Papan valley, and it was he who first showed de la Croix the mining deposits at Lahat, near Papan. The French eventually opened the Lahat French Tin Mines in

1882, which became the first European company to break the Chinese monopoly on tin production. Raja Bilah also showed a mining site in Papan to J.H. Hampton of the Shanghai Tin Mines, which was set up by a few enterprising merchants from Shanghai.

THE "MALAY MINERS" OF KINTA

Following in the footsteps of de la Croix, another Frenchman, Jacques de Morgan also explored the Kinta in 1884 and studied "Malay" mining methods. De Morgan was a civil mining engineer and member of the geographical, geological and zoological societies of France commissioned by the Perak government to undertake a geological and topographical survey.

Among the mines de Morgan studied were Klian Tronong (Tronoh), Klian Monile (near Lahat), Klian Tasik (Pusing) and Klian Lalang (near Gopeng), which were mainly Sumatran areas. Tronoh, at that time a new mining area, was to sustain a high level of tin production well into the 20th century. In the early years, Tronoh was chiefly a Minangkabau settlement, whereas the "Malay Mines" around Gopeng were mainly Mandailings and Rawa.

It is interesting to note that Raja Yacob talked about the Mandailings and Malays as two mutually exclusive groups in, say the Lambor episode, [Raja Bilah sent Mandailing troops to quell an uprising in Lambor, Perak, in 1883] but included the Mandailings among the Malays in matters of mining, apparently to distinguish the Muslim miners from the Chinese and European miners. However, he qualified this statement elsewhere by saying that the miners who worked for Raja Bilah were his followers (anak buah) who were Mandailings, Minangkabau and Rawa while his coolies were Javanese. This mixture seemed to reflect the composition of "Malay miners" in most other parts of Kinta as well.

Among Raja Bilah's followers "there were some who also worked small sluice mines (*lereh, lampan*) and the womenfolk panned for tin, each one earning his or her own income and some made enough to go on Hajj to Makkah and some returned to their country".

While de la Croix and de Morgan tended to generalise about "Malay miners" in their reports, Hale as Inspector of Mines had direct dealings with the Mandailings, and therefore could easily distinguish between them and the Perak Malays. He commented for example that washing stream in the river beds was "a very favourite employment with Mandailing women, Kinta natives do not affect it much, although there is more than one stream where a good worker can earn a dollar per day". Panning for tin with a wooden tray (*dulang*) was called *melanda*.

In Papan, a dam was built by the Mandailings, possibly with the help of the Chinese, to supply hydraulic power to the mines in case of drought. The Mandailings themselves are skilled in dam construction, and to this day, we can see their water engineering skills in Mandailing, their ancestral homeland, as well as in Papan and Gopeng.

In 1886, Raja Bilah signed an agreement written in both Jawi and Chinese with one Hew Ng Hap (presumably the same as "Hew Ah Ang") and two others. It is possible that the contract was made during a time when there was a fresh influx of Chinese miners to Papan, and the old miners wished to secure their claim to the water reservoir from the contending Chinese miners.

The leading Chinese miner of Papan, Hew Ah Ang, who was previously doing well with a wooden chair pump, saw the advantages of a steam pump. "Hew Ah Ang came to confer with Raja Bilah, he asked for help to apply to the government to buy an engine, so Raja Bilah presented the matter to the Government. So the government helped to buy the first engine which was used in the Chinese mines in Papan".

Raja Bilah bought his first machine, a horse-powered engine imported from England but found out that it could not be used. One can picture the poor Mandailings, not understanding that the figurative meaning of horse-power, spending days and weeks trying to figure out how to harness the machine to their Deli ponies! He lost good money on the first engine.

He then bought his second machine, which according to family tradition was imported from Uganda. The second machine worked well enough, but still Raja Bilah's mining operations did not turn in a profit. He had to take loans and mortgages to keep his mines going.

The family history does not say when these machines were purchased, but of the 16 steam pumping engines in Kinta in 1886, 10 belonged to Chinese, and 5 to the French company mines, and one belonged to "Raja Biela, a foreign Malay".

PAPAN RIOTS

The Chinese secret societies of Larut followed the migration of miners. The Kinta authorities were not sufficiently alerted to the presence of secret societies until 1887, when a number of disturbances took place between the Ghee Hins and the Hai Sans, who had brought their feud over from Larut.

Groups of Ghee Hin and Hai San members could be found side by side in most of the mining settlements in Kinta. Raja Bilah's allies, the Kar Yin Hakkas, belonged to the Ghee Hin faction. The Ghee Hin headman was based in Papan while the Hai San headman was based in Gopeng, although the leaders of both settlements were Mandailings.

In November 1887, a brothel skirmish in Papan escalated into a secret society riot. In the official report of the Protector of the Chinese, the disturbances in Kinta were said to have started "from quarrels between

a brothel bully (belonging to the Hai San Society) and between some Ghee Hin men."

According to family tradition, the culling took place in Papan on November 29, 1887. Some of the Chinese women and children in Papan took refuge with Raja Bilah's wife, Ungku Na'imas, whom people called "the warrior woman". Ungku Na'imas was an expert shot, brandishing a sporting rifle with an eight-sided cartridge.

The Papan Riots became an inspiration for a whole chapter in *A Ruler Of Ind.* by F. Thoroid Dickson and Mary L. Pechell.

Although Raja Bilah prospered as a revenue collector, he was not as successful as a miner. Raja Bilah decided to sell off his mining operations in 1890, which were incurring more losses than profit.

In 1891, Sir George Maxwell visited Papan. "At Papan, which had become a village long before Ipoh, and was then a much bigger place. I met the penghulu, Raja Bila, a grand old man, who had raised a levy of foreign Malays to help the British in the Perak war, and had served with them under my father". His father was William Maxwell, who had recruited Mandailings and Rawas to pursue Dato' Maharaja Lela up to Kota Tampan and the Patani frontier.

The scenery from Papan to Batu Gajah, as described by George Maxwell in 1891, was inspiring. "From Papan onwards, the bridle path was a pure joy. It was still untouched by the contractor's men, and the great forest trees closed in so closely that they overtowered and shaded it. As we approached the hill, on which Batu Gajah stands, the path kept close under it a great sweeping curve, and from ground level far away up the hill side, the enormous trees were covered with the crimson and yellow flames of the *bauhinia* creeper."

By 1892, Kinta was the largest tin producer in Malaya, turning out two-thirds of Perak's tin and far outstripping Larut. Even so, it meant that Papan would no longer be the principal mining centre in Kinta, as the many new hamlets springing up all over Kinta attracted both Chinese and Mandailing population away from Papan and Gopeng. Caught between the capitalist Chinese towkays and the small Chinese entrepreneurs hungry for new land, the Mandailing miners were squeezed out of their niche.

A PERMANENT HOME

When Raja Bilah first moved to Papan with his family at the beginning of 1879, he built a "rest house" (*rumah rehat*) to stay in. He finally chose a hillock as the site of his permanent home when after three years of sinking holes to prospect for tin in that place "not even a coconut shell of tin ore was found." It is believed that he built his *bagas godang* (raja's dwelling) in 1882.

In 1882, the Governor of the Straits Settlement Sir Fredrick Weld visited Papan, where he "slept in the *bilik*, that is, in the court house which is now the town's police station. He thought it worth noting that "a little boy, son of Raja Bilah, insisted on giving me a tame black monkey". The little boy was Raja Yacob, Raja Bilah's elder son. Weld again visited Papan on his tour of Kinta in August the next year, a visit which Raja Yacob remembered fondly.

"As a boy, Raja Haji Mohamad Yacob was known to Sir Hugh Low, who tried unavailingly to persuade his parents to allow him to receive an English education in Singapore".

In 1884, Papan was linked to the towns of Ipoh, Lahat, Batu Gajah and Kota Bahru in the Kinta Valley by means of a postal system consisting of "dak" service-relays of runners and horsemen who carried the mail linking these towns to the outside world.

THE PAPAN MOSQUE

In 1888, the Papan mosque was completed and the first Friday prayers were held. Raja Bilah had done his duty as the leader of the Muslim community by providing the land and building the mosque. Mandailing carpenters had erected the mosque in the character of the mosques in Tapanuli. It was a large timber hall raised on piles, with a full bay for a *mihrab*, and a double-tier hipped roof capped by a finial. Prayers were announced by beating the drum (*tabuk*) followed by the Bilal calling out the *azan* (call to prayer).

For many years, the Masjid Papan was the only mosque in the vicinity of Papan and Muslims came from miles around to do the daily and Friday prayers. The Papan Mosque still stands today. At the author's request, the Architecture Department, University Technology Malaysia (UTM), did a measure drawing of the mosque in 1996. In 1999, the National Museum turned the mosque into a training restoration exercise for its staff.

THE RUMAH BESAR

After Raja Bilah had attained some measure of prosperity, his concern now was to ensure the long-term future of his people in Malaya. As the founder of the Sumatran community in Papan, he had not only built a mosque for his people but also allocated a piece of land on an adjacent hillock called *Changkat* for the Muslim burial ground.

Now the next thing that had to be accomplished was to build the customary seat for the Raja, a *sopo godang*, a "council house", where his family would play out its role as the patron of the community. The Rumah Besar would be used for the conference of elders, for charity feast given to Muslims, for weddings and other receptions. It also impressed the "orang putih" and raised the standing of the Mandailing community in the eyes of other people.

Going by Raja Bilah's will the Rumah Besar and its contents were family endowment or private *waqf*. It is a tradition among the Mandailing chiefs, and men and women of standing to leave an ancestral home for the clan. It would strive to bring the children and descendants together during ceremonial occasions such as marriages and Muslim feasts.

The council house was to be located on the hillock right next to Raja Bilah's timber house. As Penghulu, Raja Bilah enjoyed some privileges. Apart from salaries and commissions, he would also have been given a site for his house and garden free of land rent. He may have applied for an outright grant for his house-site before building the Rumah Besar.

A Penghulu's office was built into the buttress along the side of the hillock, and this was thereafter called "Balai Penghulu". Stuccoed over the gateway leading up the side of the hillock to the mansion was the date of completion - 1896. The year 1896 was also significant to the district because the Kinta Valley Railway connecting Ipoh to the port of Telok Anson had begun operation.

The descendants of Raja Bilah have always called the council hall, Rumah Besar, but in more recent times it has come to be popularly known as "Istana Raja Bilah" (Raja Bilah's Palace), probably out of the mistaken notion that Raja Bilah was a Malay Raja and therefore his house would be an Istana.

The Rumah Besar has been used as a location set for local as well as international movies, the most recent being in 1999, when it was used for a set in the movie *Anna and the King*.

The Rumah Besar is the repository of family documents going back to the 1870's, photographs, furniture, memorabilia, weapons from the wars of the 19th century, etc. The family documents are now a subject of a research grant (1997-1999) from the Toyota Foundation. The Toyota Foundation has also given a publication grant for year 2000 to publish

the *Tarikh Raja Asal (1933)* and *Peringatan Tarikh Perjalanan Raja Shahabuddin dan Rahmah Pergi ke Makkah (1940)*.

In the words of Annabel Teh Gallop, *Curator, Oriental and India Collections, The British Library*: "It is rare to find a such cohesive collection of Malay manuscripts, documents, covering the activities of three generations of a family of Penghulus, still intact in private hands. I have been able to personally inspect copies of the approximately 150 documents which have been transliterated into Romanized Malay, and can confirm the importance of the contents. To the best of my knowledge, no comparable collection of Malay manuscripts of this nature is held outside Malaysia, although there may be smaller numbers of similar documents in the National Archives of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur."

RAJA YACOB & RAJA SHAHABUDDIN

Raja Yacob a first-generation "Malayan" born Mandailing, succeeded his father, as penghulu but was given a bigger district to administer. He served as the penghulu of mukim Blanja which combined Papan and Tronoh, from 1909 to 1931. By then, Tronoh had become the hub of mining activity in Kinta. He continued to maintain his office at the Rumah Besar.

The administrative remapping reflected the expansion of Kinta Valley Railway with a feeder line from Ipoh to Tronoh, connecting the intermediate towns of Menglembu, Lahat, Papan and Siputeh. The 16 mile Ipoh-Tronoh line took about three years to complete and was opened on October 15, 1908.

In 1911, when the primitive fire-fighting force station at Ipoh failed to save Papan from a big blaze, the Kinta Fire Brigade was overhauled and transferred from the police to the Sanitary Board.

In 1912, Raja Bilah passed away and was buried at the Muslim burial ground which he endowed near the Rumah Besar. What is unique about the Muslim burial ground in Papan is that it shares the same *changkat* (hillock) as the Chinese cemetery. The Muslim burial ground faces the west, while the Chinese burial ground faces the east. The decline of Papan began with Raja Bilah's demise.

Raja Jacob was a renaissance man in that his interest was diverse. He was a gardener, a stamp collector, a photographer, he spoke and read in several languages and subscribed to the leading magazines of the day. He had an extensive library and had pen-pals all over the world. His dark room was under the main staircase of the Rumah Besar.

Raja Jacob was responsible for founding mosques and madrasa in Pusing, Tronoh and Siputeh. He founded the mosques in Merbau, Kampong Baharu and Masjid Ulang-Aling in Tronoh and Masjid Siputeh. He set up the Pusing Madrasa al-Khariah and Serkai Jadi Malay School in Tronoh in 1927. He opened new kampongs such as Kampong Ulang Aling, Tanjung Tualang (before 1911); Piandang, Parit Road from Siputeh in 1917, and the Teronoh Malay Reservations (Serkai Jadi) in 1924.

Raja Jacob authored the *Tarikh Raja Asal & Keluarganya* in 1933, which charts the family history as well as the movements of the followers of Raja Asal throughout Malaya. This work is indispensable in writing the history of the Mandailings in Malaya as he has identified most of the players, in particular in the 19th century as well as dated some of the watermark historical events.

Raja Jacob was said to be one of the editors of *Seri Perak*, a pocket-sized Jawi weekly, which was the first paper to be published in any language in the Protected Malay States. The paper first appeared in June 1893 and lasted until March 1895. Raja Jacob later became assistant manager of *Khizanah al-Ilmu*, a hand-lithographed Jawi monthly published in Kuala Kangsar from August 1904. *Khizanah al-Ilmu* may have been

the first self-improvement magazine (as distinct from newspaper) in Malay.

As it happens, two of the pioneers of the Malay press in Perak were Raja Yacob, and his brother-in-law, Haji Abdul Kadir bin Setia Raja, the first two Mandailing sons born in Kinta in 1876.

After Raja Yacob retired as Penghulu in 1931, his brother, Raja Shahabuddin succeeded him and was posted to Tronoh. Papan has already become a sleepy-hollow old town. Previously, Raja Shahabuddin had served with D.O. Hubert Berkeley, who was called the "Raja of Hulu Perak."

The first open cast mine in British Malaya was in operation in Papan in 1900's, and in 1930's. Papan had a mine with the "highest record tin output" owned by an Asian. Both mines were located in the outskirts of Papan. The High Commissioner of the Federated Malay State (F.M.S.), Sir John Anderson, visited the open cast mine, while the record output Tong Yow mine was visited by Sir Shenton Thomas, the High Commissioner of the F.M.S.

In 1939, Raja Shahabuddin and his wife Rahmah went to Mecca from Penang on a steamship, and wrote an account of their travel to the holy land in *Peringatan Tarikh Perjalanan Raja Shahabuddin dan Rahmah ke Makkah* in 1940. The account fills the gap of Haj Travel between 1920s to 1940s, and it is the first of its kind of a couple's perspective on the journey to the holy land by steamship.

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

Before the Japanese Occupation, the father of Haji Abdullah, Haji Muhammad Salleh, took a Japanese woman as a second wife. She was a relation of a Japanese photographer who had a studio in Pusing. Haji Muhamad Salleh broke tradition in two ways that is, first by taking a

second wife, which was not in keeping with Mandailing tradition of monogamy, and secondly, by taking a Japanese wife. My grandmother said she was only his mistress.

During the Japanese Occupation, the military headquarters was located in Batu Gajah. The family believes that if not for this Japanese woman, the Rumah Besar would have been taken over by the Japanese military. Apparently, a Japanese officer stationed in Kinta who was a relation of hers prevented the house from being occupied. He apparently even visited the Rumah Besar.

Thousands of war refugees fled to Papan after Ipoh was bombed by the Japanese in December 1941, increasing the little town's population by two or threefold. In turn, refugees from Papan including some Mandailings sought refuge elsewhere such as in Chemor, another Mandailing settlement. Haji Abdullah himself moved back to Papan from Tronoh, to the house which he had rebuilt in 1939, and stayed there throughout the Japanese Occupation.

Papan acquired the reputation of being "a bad place" during the Occupation, from where the Malayan People Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) and Force 136 operated. The "Papan Patrols" were organised in June 1941 by the now defunct Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and subsequently amalgamated with other patrols to form the Fifth Regiment of the Malayan People Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA).

From No.74, Main Street, Papan, Sybil Kartigasu and her Ceylonese doctor husband, Dr. A.C. Kartigasu, gave medical aid to the MPAJA and Force 136 operatives, who were hiding in the hills of Papan. The Japanese arrested and tortured her and the wounds she suffered as a prisoner of war eventually led to her death. Sybil, an Eurasian, was the only Malayan woman ever awarded the George Medal for bravery. She was a qualified dresser and mid-wife. The shop house from which she ran a clinic still stands today in Papan.

One of the main characters in Sybil's *No Dram of Mercy*, a classic account of the Japanese Occupation, was Ho Thean Fook, nicknamed Moru because he loved a yoghurt drink of that name (prepared in the Southern Indian-style). Ho Thean Fook has written a complementary book to *No Dram of Mercy*, on his involvement with the Papan Patrols and MPAJA activities. The book tentatively titled *Tainted Glory* will be published by University of Malaya Press, sometime this year.

During his schooling days, Ho Thean Fook was taught by Haji Abdullah in the Government English School in Tronoh. He was also a childhood friend of Kamaruddin Sultan Abidin, the son-in-law of Raja Shahabuddin, who invented the Malay shorthand, Terengkas, based on the Pitman, and was taught at the Kinta School of Commerce, Ipoh, the first commercial education school in Perak. Ho Thean Fook helped Kamaruddin in his invention. Kamaruddin later became an assistant to Dato' Onn Jaafar, the first President of United Malays National Organisation (UMNO).

During the Occupation period, the Ipoh-Tronoh railway tracks were removed by the Japanese for the notorious Death Railway of Thailand-Burma. A Papan resident and a relation of the family were taken as a prisoner-of-war for the construction of the railway.

Haji Abdullah in his brief autobiography wrote that in December 1945, Hicks, the British Education Officer of Perak, came to Papan in a military jeep and told Haji Abdullah that during the Occupation period, he had met Kotera, the Japanese Occupation Education Officer of Perak. (Both Hicks and Haji Abdullah first met Kotera at a Scout Jamboree in the late 1930's)

Kotera told Hicks that he (Kotera) made Haji Abdullah "look after the Record Books, and send supplies to teachers teaching in Upper Perak". The ration was a *gantang* of rice for each teacher.

Haji Abdullah explained "The Communist higher-ups under Chin Peng were mostly my former pupils in Tronoh, who continued their secondary education in the Anderson School, Ipoh, where the headmaster was Mr Hicks. So we became 'untouchable' personalities to the Communists.

"...Mr Hicks would come to get me to accompany him on his tour visiting schools or attending Scout Rallies. I would be sitting next to the driver like passport for free passage".

When Raja Yacob died during the Japanese Occupation, the Mandailings lost their spiritual as well as temporal leader. After that, the Mandailings no longer gathered frequently in Papan, and the Papan Mosque was no longer used as a congregational mosque. Subsequently, it was used as a surau for family members and visitors.

The history of Papan encapsulates the history of Perak. Now, Papan is almost a ghost town with its heritage and haunting tin-mining landscapes still largely intact, surrounded by an amphitheatre of forested hills. It is as if history has been frozen for us in space and time, waiting to be brought back to life for the edification of future generations of Malaysia. As the Mandailing elders always tell their children, every generation has a legacy to protect.

"The past is for our ancestors, the present is ours, the future is for our children."

6 PERAK PERILS

Dinner Talk | 15 February 2000

Memoirs Of An Ancient Civil Servant

by Prof Reginald Hugh Hickling

PROFESSOR R H HICKLING has spent most of his working life in this part of the world and has had a varied legal career. After service in the British Navy during the Second World War, he practised law in London and then went to Sarawak in 1950 as the Assistant Attorney-General. Shortly thereafter in 1956 he became the first Parliamentary Draftsman and Commissioner of Law Revision in the Attorney General's Chambers where he was given the unenviable task of writing and revising laws. He has written a number of books and is currently working on a book on Malaysian Constitutional Law. He is currently the Adjunct Professor of Centre for Southeast Asia Law, Northern Territory University of Darwin.

Nothing happens by accident, which rules our lives. The creation of life, indeed, our very existence on a minute planet in a vast and violent universe, one regulated by natural laws of whose extent we are unaware, is itself a sort of divine accident. But if natural laws exist, as they do, then we can postulate the existence of some sort of lawmaker, a vast intelligence at work in a manner beyond our comprehension.

Whatever, I came to Malaysia by chance. After several years in practice in London, my son died at a very early age. It was painful to see his tiny hand marks on the walls of our home, and my wife and I decided a complete change of environment was necessary: a change made all the more acute by reason of a sort of disillusion with the socialist government then in power, and for which I had voted. To get as far away from England as possible was my objective. Applying to the Colonial Office, I was interviewed by the then Legal Adviser there, Sir Kenneth Robertswray. A kind and able man whom I later was to have some friendly argument, he interviewed me. "You are fortunate in being a solicitor," he said to me to my astonishment. "I am a barrister. If you asked me to issue a writ, I would not know how to do it."

Accepted for service, I was offered a choice of posting: either to Swaziland or Sarawak. No choice! Sarawak it had to be. Shortly afterwards, I was interviewed by Sir Charles Arden Clarke. He was interested in my cricketing ability: apparently a vital attribute of any colonial servant. On this count, I had to disillusion him: law was my only ability. Fortunately this proved no disability - and in any case, at that time Sarawak still had a few of the Rajah's old officers still in service.

February 1950 saw me, then, on the P&O liner, "Canton", enroute to Singapore and Hong Kong by way of Bombay, Colombo, and Penang. In those days sea travel was the norm. Instead of thirteen ghastly hours spent several miles above the earth's surface, we had a leisurely voyage of some four weeks in which to adjust to climatic and temporal changes.

On the "Canton" were the many colonial officers, and those from Malaya and Sarawak were happy to organise classes in Malay, and to introduce the newcomer to the ways of colonial life. Some years later, I remember entering the Civil Service Club in Johor Bahru for the afternoon meeting of the Rotary Club: when David Somerville turned to me and said, as he viewed the members sitting in solitary state, "Ah, tea time on the P&O". The habits of the English are at times infectious.

Fortunately for me, Tom Cromwell, the Secretary for Chinese Affairs in Sarawak, was a fellow passenger, and he introduced me to some aspects of the country. He was an M.C.S. officer and had, like many other officers in Sarawak at that time, been a prisoner of the Japanese. My war had been in the Navy, his in a brutal captivity which led to his early death but he had no resentment against the Japanese whom, indeed, he rather reluctantly respected. "They did try to do the right thing," he once said, 'whereas had it been the Chinese....' Which left me somewhat confused, for he was, after all an officer dealing with Chinese affairs. Looking back, perhaps he had studied the language, rather than Lao Tse.

On arrival at Singapore, the Government agents, Manfields, informed me that I was booked to fly to Kuching the very next day: leaving Tom to travel by sea - the old "Rajah Brooke" I think. It seemed that my services were urgently required by the Attorney General, Arthur Grattan-Bellew: once a DPP in Malaya and the prosecutor in the case of PP v White (1940), and also an ex-POW. In consequence, after a night in the vast gloom of the Raffles, my wife and I turned up at Kallang, to take our first flight. We climbed into a Malayan Airways twin-engined Dakota (that workhorse of the Second World War) and took off for Kuching. For one who had never been to the mysterious East before, it was all magic.

We landed in a field near Kuching, went off to a Kajang hut which proved to contain customs and immigration officials, and were met by the only law officer in government, the Attorney General himself. He too was kind and helpful to such an extent that in a few weeks we were

moved into his house, "Pentargon". Across River: that is to say, a mile or so from Pangkalan Sapi, on the other side of the Sarawak River from the town of Kuching. The urgency was soon explained: he was anxious to take leave, long overdue. And he had prosecuted a few months before, in the case of Duncan Stewart's assassination: an assassination intended, I believe, for Arden-Clarke.

WONDERFUL BLOSSOM

Arthur Grattan-Bellew took us to the Rest House in Kuching, almost opposite the famous Museum. A lovely, gracious building, I was distressed, years later, to learn that it had been burnt down. On a small hill overlooking the town, the road to the Secretariat (now the court complex, I believe) led by the Sylvia Cinema: a happy place, now, too, long gone. Our room was full of frangipani, the first time I had encountered that wonderful blossom of Southeast Asia.

In the Secretariat I had a lofty office, next to that of the AG. There was, of course, no air-conditioning in those days, and each office had an electric fan which occasionally stirred the last air and did little to dispel the heat. Living "Across River", as the address was, I was picked up in the morning by an old Jeep which, loaded with the few Government officers living across river, took us to the pangkalan boat wharf. Of these I remember one in particular, Douglas Appin, an elderly, tall and thoughtful officer who had taken part in the last of the Rajah's expeditions against headhunters. But he soon returned to England as did, gradually, all the old officers of the Rajah.

From the pangkalan we were rowed by a white boat manned by three sturdy Malays, who often had to struggle against a river in full spate. Such was the morning commuter service. We took the boat and the jeep again at lunchtime - the lunch break of an hour made for a hasty meal - and then we were back across the river and in the Secretariat again, to

work often until late. After office hours one took a *tambang*, ten cents for a trip across the river in a craft manned by one skilful oarsman standing in the prow no doubt he is still about. I have always admired these men.

Anyway, my first prosecution soon arrived on my desk. At that time I had just begun to learn the intricacies of the Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes: though based upon, far superior to parallel English law and practice. A Chinese lady had complained to her parish priest that her husband had committed bigamy; the priest had complained to his Catholic bishop; and the bishop had complained to the Catholic Attorney General, who had instructed his assistant (me) to prosecute the unfortunate husband for bigamy.

I consulted my authorities: one thing is to be said, the Indian legal writers are indefatigable. I had no shortage of guidance. All I had to do was to prove the two marriages. It appeared that the husband had originally married in China, had left his wife there in order to seek work in Sarawak; had then married a Catholic Chinese girl in Kuching; and had then sent for the wife from China, whose arrival had led to all the fuss.

From the start, my sympathies were with the husband. It seemed to me that he had enough problems, without my adding to them. Still, orders were orders. I had a statement from the wife from China, which set out the details of 'the marriage ceremony there, and then consulted my friend, Tom, my expert witness on the matter. Yes, he assured me, the marriage in China was a valid one. On this basis, the case went to trial before Kenelm Digby. Digby, whose memoir, "Lawyer in the Wilderness" (Cornell University, 1980) gives a lively, readable account of his career under the Rajah (he arrived in Sarawak in 1934), was now one of the two Circuit Judges, the other being —Daniel Lascelles - another old officer of the Rajah. These two judges, together with the Chief Justice, Robert Hedges (a double LLD) constituted the higher judiciary of the colony.

I produced my star witness, my friend Tom: Alas, he now told the court, the wedding in China was a nullity: a law of the Kuomintang had decreed a minimum age for marriage, and the Chinese bride was under that age at the time of the marriage. The case collapsed before my eyes, and I was little annoyed not to have been told of this KMT law before the trial. At all events, the accused, now acquitted, came to me for advice. "What is *my* position," he enquired. I was indeed sorry for him: the law had made his life a misery, and he now had to resolve it somehow. So ended my first and, I am happy to say, my last case of bigamy. As an offence, I can foresee its disappearance in our degenerate society.

IMPECCABLE

Robert Hedges was an exceptional lawyer. He had an LL.D. from, I think, Manchester, had then gone to Queensland and obtained another there, then joined the Australian forces and ended the war in Sarawak: where his abilities had made him the C.J. His judgements were short and impeccable, and it was a matter of regret to me that he was not made Chief Justice of the unified judiciary of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, set up in 1951. He went to Nigeria and, later on, to the Lord Chancellor's Office in London.

An admirable man, with a keen conscience, he was responsible for the establishment of the Sarawak Boys' Home, designed to keep youthful offenders out of prison. The home was therefore under the jurisdiction of the Director of Education. When, on one of his visits, the Colonial Office Prisons Adviser gave a flattering report on the prisons of the Colony, the Chief Secretary (Gordon Aikman (appointed a cadet under the Rajah in 1926) urged that he inspect our showpiece, the Boys' Home at Padungan. Off he reluctantly went, pointing out that the matter was strictly one for the Education Adviser. Several hours later, he returned to ask the Chief Secretary, "Have you seen the Boys' Home?" The Chief Secretary asked me to go down and inspect the place. I found it in a

condition of chaos, the older boys dominating the younger, and behaving as they wished, the warden being a timid, nervous man. Together with Robert Nicholl, of the Education Department, we tried to round up all the boys, and transfer them to the prison. Several we did not manage to find. In all, a worthy experiment ended in disaster.

When I first went to Sarawak, there was but one lawyer in the Colony, Mark Morrison, a shrewd Australian lawyer. His solitary presence created difficulties for me, for I was in consequence asked by many for advice, an awkward situation for a government officer. Indeed, we were considering the establishment of the office of a Public Defender, in order to assist those affected by litigation and the like, whose only recourse, and that expensive, was to legal advice in Singapore. But soon the legal grapevine got to work, and before long other lawyers appeared, to save the situation.

Some time in 1954, I was offered a transfer to either Singapore or the Federation of Malaya. The salary in Singapore was, I remember, slightly more than that in Federation, where the Emergency of 1948 was still very much alive; but the Federation appealed to me more than Singapore. Before I could go to Malaya, however, I was required to go to Brunei, to do some constitutional drafting.

In those days, the AG Sarawak was also ex-officio the Legal Adviser, Brunei: not a satisfactory situation, and one which did not, happily, last too long. When I reached Brunei, I found Denis McGilligan there as Deputy Legal Adviser - a step in the right direction. I set to work, drafted the necessary documents, and then took them to the Sultan, His Highness Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin. He was a wonderful man, quiet, of simple tastes, an excellent poet. He asked me to go round the State and explain the nature of the new proposals. This I did. At Kuala Belait there was a town meeting at which I explained these, then asked for questions. An elderly towkay at the back of the hall stood up. "I'm not quite sure," he said, "is it that we are to elect a committee to run this

town, and from this committee we elect several members to the central law-making body in Brunei Town?" I looked at him as I used to look at a good law-student. "Exactly right," I replied. Well he continued, "I am just a shopkeeper. We, my colleagues and I, are simply businessmen, we don't know the first thing about running a town. We have a District Officer. If we have a problem, we go to him. If he thinks anything can be done and should be done, then so it is. If not, never mind."

From Brunei I went to Kuala Lumpur. The capital I had first seen on a brief trip from what was then Port Swettenham. A taxi ride from the port where the "Canton" was docked took us through miles of rubber plantations and winding roads, unending greenery, until we came at last to KL itself. Now, arrived there for work six years later, I found myself in the AG's chambers, then at one end up the top floor of the building housing the present superior courts. In those days, chambers were crowded, and my desk was in fact in the corridor, overlooking the (now-departed) statue of Sir Frank Swettenham. The AG was then Michael Hogan, something of a meteor in the Colonial Legal Service and already, perhaps, looking forward to his appointment to that glittering prize, the chief justiceship of Hong Kong.

For a short time, I acted as his "devil" in the Legislative Council, and learnt to admire his political skill in the chambers from Tom Brodie, who succeeded him. I found KL far too noisy after Kuching, and was delighted to be despatched to Johor Bahru, to succeed Douglas Grant as Legal Adviser.

The lot of a Legal Adviser in the State of Johor is not, I think I can fairly say, altogether a happy one. Government is sandwiched as it were, between palace and people. In my day, the personality of Sultan Sir Ibrahim was to be felt everywhere. Living for much of the time on the top floor of the Grosvenor Hotel in London, he came and went with an awe-inspiring unpredictability. Shortly after my arrival, we senior officials went down to the docks in Singapore to greet the arrival of His Highness

(HH) in the Dutch liner, "William Ruys". Ah, the "William Ruys"! Those who have never travelled in the "William Ruys" do not know how marvellous a long voyage can be. And, after all, only the best would for the HH! We followed his limousine back across the Causeway, and waited for the thunderbolts to fall.

The first soon came. Crossing the Causeway, HH had noticed that on the lampposts on the Johor side were enamel advertisements promoting the virtues of Cold Storage Butter and the like. These continued along the waterfront of Johor. They had been permitted as an experiment for one year, by the elected Town Council of Johor, and their installation had involved negotiation with the owners of the lampposts concerned. Having heard from the State Secretary who was responsible, HH sent for the unfortunate chairman of the Council ex-officio, the District Officer and told him to remove them immediately. This was of course done. Some days later, a Singapore lawyer acting for the agency responsible for the advertisements came to my office, threatening litigation. "And who are you going to sue," I enquired - this was long before Part XV of the Federal Constitution was ever thought of, "We are taking counsel's opinion in London," he explained. I wryly wished him the best of luck. He reappeared some time later, no, litigation was not a solution. We came to some acceptable compromise.

BOYCOTTED

In "The Dog Satyricon" (Pelanduk Publications 1994) I mention in the story "Down in Johor" several of the things that happened to me as Legal Adviser, Johor. When the Sultan celebrated his eightieth birthday, and invited the High Commissioner and his fellow Rulers to the festivities, those who did not know him no doubt expected that, after receiving the appropriate birthday greetings, HH would reply in formal, bland terms. Those of us who knew him a little better held our breath. After the greetings, HH rose to reply. "There are," he observed, "those going

around the country talking of independence. Independence! Where is our army? Our air force? Our navy? To speak of independence without them is absurd!" The Tunku walked out of the ceremony together with his colleagues, and boycotted the State banquet in the Istana Besar that evening. Unconcerned, HH made another speech, repeating his earlier theme, in case it had been missed by any member of the audience.

In all, a remarkable man, one whose judgement I learnt to respect. Over the years since his early days - when his father was said to have told the authorities in Singapore to arrest and hold him overnight whenever found there - he had changed. But the principle of Miss Mighell's case was never, I think, absent from his thoughts, and his personality had matured over the years, giving him a tremendous aura of authority. No, not the man to be the first Yang di-Pertuan Agung, in spite of his seniority. How could such a man overnight lose his authority, and become the puppet of a politician? He was an eagle among sparrows.

I was succeeded in Johor by Tun Mohd. Suffian - as he now is. Just before I left, the Legal Adviser had been appointed ex-officio as the chairman of a committee appointed to look into the question of "tarian-tarian bogel" and to advise on "where to draw the line." Years later, I asked Suff where the line had been drawn. "Neck and ankles", replied Suff. Alas, Rose Chan! Bang went the tourist trade of JB. Or I ask myself, did it?

From JB, back to KL. By this time, I had become used to the ways of the federal capital. I arrived, to become Legal Draftsman, the third senior post in the AG's chambers, at a fascinating time. I had been interviewed by Lord Reid, Sir Ivor Jennings and other members of the Constitutional Commission, while I was in JB. Now, back in KL, I was soon to learn their decision. Although requested to do no more than make recommendations, the Commission had, thankfully, offered a draft constitution for the Federation to which end they had (without knowledge) borrowed freely from the 1947 Constitution of India

which proved to be a useful model. From the vantage point of draftsmen, I could therefore observe the negotiations and their outcome. Finally, at almost the last minute, Tunku wanted a "Proclamation of Independence": to which end the AG (Tom Brodie) and myself, produced the document read by the Tunku at the Stadium Merdeka on 31 August 1957. And yes, I still like it. Beginning "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful," it concludes with the objective of "a sovereign democratic and independent State founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations." This is not a bad objective for any nation, young or old.

At first I was, after Merdeka much engaged with Tun Razak and the rationalisation of the land laws: rural development being seen in those days as a primary principle of government. I spent much time on the Penang and Malacca land laws, with a view to bringing them into conformity with a new National Land Code, and worked in a happy collaboration with Kenneth Blacker of the MCS, to whom the country



owes much. Then came 1962. One day, Tun Razak called me into his office. "The Tunku must be mad," he said. I learnt for the first time of the imminence of Malaysia, and could understand Tun Razak's anxiety: after all, at Merdeka, there had been an exodus of expatriates, while at the same time, embassies and High Commissions had to be set up overseas – a heavy burden on a new nation, short of skilled personnel.

Tun Razak asked me to study the laws of Singapore in order to assess the extent of the Federal Government's duties under the proposed distribution of powers. This I did, and then, considering that the time had come for the local officer to take over, left government service.

Well I left government service in Malaya. Before long, I was to be pitchforked into government service in Aden. But that is another story.

EDITOR'S NOTE: As those who attended his lecture may note, the above represents not exactly what Professor Hickling said at the time. He tells me that he has lost the notes of his talk, and cannot remember precisely what he did, which is, as he says a tribute to Ipoh hospitality. Anyway, when asked for a copy of his talk, the above is what I received, and I hope that it represents an acceptable substitute for any transcript.



Perak : The Last 50 Years

by Prof Dato' Dr Khoo Kay Kim

PROFESSOR EMERITUS DATO' DR KHOO KAY KIM was born in Kampar, Perak and underwent schooling in the Anglo Chinese School, Teluk Intan (1945-51) and St. Michael's Institution, Ipoh (1952-56). He holds a PhD from the University of Malaya in addition to other degrees.

A keen sportsman, he has also carved out for himself a highly respected academic career, including appointments as Head of the Department of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science in University Malaya.

Today, Professor Emeritus Khoo is reputed to be Malaysia's pre-eminent historian as well as a highly regarded speaker and writer:

A History of Southeast, South and East Asia
Kuala Lumpur: The Formative Years
Malaysia's Foreign Policy 1957-1997
Malaysia in the 20th Century

Until WW II Perak was the most advanced of the Peninsular Malay states. It had the largest population, the most number of relatively sizable towns, the best developed infrastructure, and the most number of schools hence the largest school-going population.

Perak scored many firsts in the history of modern Malaysia. It was the first state which experienced an influx of Chinese miners (as a result of the emergence of the tin plate industry in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century) although the process of immigration had begun earlier on a more modest scale at Lukut and Sungai Ujong.

The first British Resident was appointed to Perak in 1874 and by the 1880s, Taiping was clearly the most modern town in the Peninsula. In 1885, a railway linked Taiping to Port Weld. The port had been established by 1881. Taiping also had an English school by the 1880s—the Central School which later was renamed King Edward VII School.

In 1882, another port was opened up in Perak. This was Teluk Anson (now Teluk Intan) which was linked to Ipoh by rail before the beginning of the 20th century. The port of Teluk Anson replaced Kuala Bidor which previously, for centuries, had been Perak's leading port. Kuala Bidor became instead part of the new town of Teluk Anson. Until the advent of the railway, the Kinta river, flowing into the Perak river, had been the main transport route between the Kinta and Lower Perak.

Although by the early 20th century, the Kinta had emerged as the world's foremost producer of tin, Perak also featured significantly as an agricultural centre. Commercial agriculture began in the Krian as well as the Larut and Matang districts between the 1870s-1890s. Sugar and coffee, favoured earlier, were, by the 1910s, superseded by rubber. By the close of the 19th century, Lower Perak had become the new focus of commercial agriculture in Perak. In the north, a government padi scheme was opened up at Krian in the early years of the 20th century.

It was at Gopeng, Kinta, in 1912, that the first dredge was used to mine tin. It drastically transformed the tin mining industry in the country. Whereas Chinese capital had hitherto dominated, Western capital, by the late 1920s, began to overhaul Chinese capital in the tin producing sector. It was the triumph of technology and capital over labour.

But the competition between Western and Chinese capital did not adversely affect Perak. Both tin and rubber continued to contribute overwhelmingly to the state's wealth. Initially, tin had the edge over rubber. It was the revenue from tin, value-added, which in the 19th century enabled the government to develop the state's infrastructure.

Although Ipoh was, before WW II, neither the state nor the district capital, its development was rapid since it was the centre of the tin mining industry. The new Ipoh town — the construction of which began in about 1905-1906 — was situated on the left bank of the Kinta river. Though more systematically planned, it did not eclipse the old town on the opposite bank. The former grew in importance as the new commercial centre while the latter was the focus of officialdom. Except for the General Hospital and the Anderson School, all the other government buildings in Ipoh were located on the right bank of the river.

Commercial life in Ipoh became so vibrant that Ipoh became known as the 'hub of Malaya' whereas Kuala Lumpur, the federal capital since 1896, was known as the "Washington of Malaya" and Singapore the "New York of Malaya".

Perak's development would have been truly phenomenal had either Taiping or Ipoh been selected as the capital of the Federated Malay States, established in 1896. Taiping (in 1896 Ipoh was still just outgrowing its image of a mining village) made a claim on the grounds that it was the most senior "colonial town" but lost out because Kuala Lumpur was considered more central — equidistant from the port of Penang in the north and the port of Singapore in the south. It had been envisioned by

the 1890s that the railway would soon be extended to link Prai (opposite Penang) with Johor Bahru and eventually Singapore. Prai and Johor Bahru were indeed connected by 1909 but the railway was not extended to Singapore until the Johor Causeway had been completed in 1923.

Kuala Lumpur benefited immensely from its official status because priority was given to the development of Port Swettenham, opened in 1901, which initially was meant to serve the state of Selangor. It grew, not by design, into an international port by the 1920s. Because Kuala Lumpur was the federal capital, attempts by Perak to build a port at Lumut received no support from the government although reports by engineers indicated that, potentially, Lumut was the best harbour east of Suez.

Owing to its economic success, social life in Perak did not lag behind that of Selangor. It was the first state in the Peninsula to register cars — the alphabet ‘A’ has been retained to this day. The completion of the hydroelectric dam at Chenderoh by the late 1920s enabled mines and towns to be electrified. The opening of Ipoh’s first cinema hall - the Sun Cinema - coincided with the advent of the talkies. The cabaret and the amusement park followed in the 1930s.

Perak’s society was highly cosmopolitan owing to the nature of its economic development. In the early days of the sultanate, trade was the mainstay of its economy. Many of the traders travelled frequently between Perak and Sumatra in the course of their commercial activities.

As in the case of Selangor, Perak’s Malay society was very heterogeneous. Apart from those who called themselves “pure Perak Malays” (found today mainly in the Parit area and converging on Lower Perak), there had long been a very large Sumatran presence composed of Mendailing, Rawa, Kampar, Aceh and Minangkabau. These were found largely along the lower reaches of the Perak river and along the Kinta river.

The Malays who had long settled down at the upper reaches of the Perak river were people of Pattani descent. In the Krian area, substantial immigration occurred on two occasions. The Siamese conquest of Kedah in 1821 saw an exodus of the Kedah population to north Perak. When the British administration began developing a large padi scheme in Krian in the early 20th century, those who were brought to work on the scheme were mainly Banjarese who came via Sumatra. Today the Malays in Perak, north of Padang Rengas, speak a dialect akin to that of Kedah and Penang.

The Malays in the vicinity of Parit use a different dialect, presumably with some Bugis influence as it is believed the Bugis who ravaged Perak in 1745 left significant socio-political imprints on the state. The multiple four system (4, 8, 16 & 32) of chieftainship which still exists in Perak alone is believed to have originated from the Bugis.

Lower Perak Malays also have their own dialect and they claim that it is the purer dialect. A large number of the Malays of Lower Perak had close affinity with those of Sumatra. There was a significant Acehnese presence. Aceh conquered Perak in the 16th century. The Maharaja (Pandak Lam), a member of the group of 8 chieftains, and was one of those implicated in the assassination of J.W.W.Birch, was of Acehnese origin.

Hulu Perak Malays speak Malay with a Pattani accent. The area was until the 1870s under Siamese control and Siamese titles, such as Tok Nebeng, were once adopted. British administration in due course reduced Siamese influence. A distinct boundary was drawn up in the process delineating Siamese and Perak territories.

Owing to the large Chinese presence, a direct result of tin mining, it was often surmised that Perak had a small Malay population. On the contrary, by the 20th century when regular Census was introduced, Perak was found to have the second largest Malay population in the Peninsula, second to only Kelantan. Malays were found in large numbers in the

north, the *hulu*, the west (in the vicinity of Sitiawan-Lumut) and the south (Batang Padang and below) as well as the lower reaches of the Perak river. There was also a large Malay concentration in the Kinta district. In general, the Malays were found in numerous villages just on the fringe of the main urban areas rather than in the towns.

There is a great deal more about Perak's demographic history which deserves closer study; suffice it to say that it is definitely the most heterogenous of the Peninsular states. Even before what was loosely called "Malaya" officially emerged as a nation, ethnicity played an important part in generating political activities in Perak.

For instance, Malays of traceable Indonesian origin were primarily involved in the Malay Nationalist Party, founded in Ipoh in late 1945. Among the Chinese, the Kwong Sai who were found mainly in Ulu Perak were staunch supporters of the Kuomintang and, during the early days of the Emergency (1948-1960), readily enlisted in the Kinta Valley Home Guards made up entirely of Chinese. Those who were adherents of the Communist Party of Malaya comprised largely Hainanese and Hakka. Their number in Perak was not particularly large. Perhaps this was a reason for the lower frequency of communist activities before WW II.

The Japanese Occupation (1942-1945) ruined many wealthy Chinese as the mines could not be worked. Diseases also took their toll as Western medicine could not be obtained and malaria was one of the main killers. Japanese atrocities, in particular against the staunch supporters of the Kuomintang (and most of them were members of the Chinese business community), reduced to some extent the Chinese population.

But the Chinese were not as drastically affected as the Indians although India and Japan were officially not at war and the Indian Independence Movement led by Subhas Chandra Bose allied itself with the Japanese. Towards the latter part of the war, in their attempt to conquer British India, the Japanese began extending the railway from the Malay Peninsula

and Thailand into Myanmar with the idea of pushing it into India. As most of the railway workers in the country were Indians, they were sent to work in Thailand where thousands died of diseases. For years thereafter the whole episode was popularly referred to as the "death railway".

Perak shared with the other states a period of near chaos and political instability after the Japanese officially laid down arms in the middle of August 1945. The British returned in early September the same year. The country was then temporarily placed under the British Military Administration which could not immediately fully restore order. Ethnic riots occurred in Lower Perak in early September 1945.

Constitutional restructuring between 1946-1948 kept the British busy and this was aggravated by the communist insurrection beginning from 1948 and officially ended only 12 years later. There was little development until 1957. Although mines and estates were able to operate not long after the war ended and the Korean War of 1950 boosted the rubber sector in particular, much of the country's revenue had to be deployed to suppress the activities of the Communist Party of Malaya.

In the 1950s, Perak had almost recovered from the ravages of WW II, but it was as if time had stood still between the thirties and the fifties. Be that it as it may, Perak remained the most progressive of the Peninsular states.



This was despite the fact that Perak was as badly affected by the Emergency as a few of the other states, viz. Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Johor. It was the killing of two British planters at Sungai Siput that immediately led to the imposition of Emergency laws. Other parts of Perak where communist activities were rife included Upper Perak, Lower Perak and South Perak where the High Commissioner, Sir Gerald Templer, in the early 1950s, imposed a curfew on Tanjong Malim for not providing sufficient co-operation to the government. An Assistant District Officer had been earlier ambushed and killed by the communists near the town.

But Perak's further decline did not occur because of the Emergency. The year 1957 witnessed the birth of the new Malayan nation as a result of which the government made concerted efforts to develop Kuala Lumpur, the national capital, into a city befitting its status as the national capital.

Centralization occurred even more visibly as both the public and the private sectors endeavoured, with government encouragement, to expand their activities in Kuala Lumpur. Foreign investments were channelled eventually to not just Kuala Lumpur but the Klang valley as a whole. Plans had been laid, even by the early fifties, to focus more on industrialization. Petaling Jaya which later became Kuala Lumpur's satellite town had been earmarked, even before 1957, to be the country's new industrial centre owing to its proximity to Port Swettenham, the country's leading port.

Compared to Kuala Lumpur and the Klang valley, Ipoh and the Kinta valley were left very much to their own devices. Although tin output was still relatively high, it had passed its peak since the late 1930s. Tin, at any rate, is a temporary asset. Production cannot be maintained at even the same rate for long unless new fields can be found. But in the case of Perak, even where it is known to exist and to have remained unworked, it lies beneath existing towns. Kampar is one such town. It has not been considered economically viable to remove the town in order to mine tin.

Apart from tin and rubber, Perak in more recent times also depended on oil palm. But the achievement of nationhood directly affected the agricultural sector as, from the beginning, rubber and then oil palm, developed primarily owing to European capital although in the case of rubber, the contribution from the smallholders, comprising mainly Chinese and Malays, was also substantial. The eventual withdrawal of European capital from the country's agricultural sector led to the fragmentation of estates. The decline in the importance of commercial agriculture was not compensated for by the expansion of the industrial sector. Apart from the Klang Valley, it was Penang (the electronic sector) which became another important focus of industrial activity.

By the 1980s, the manufacturing sector in Malaysia had surpassed both the tin and agricultural sectors as the pillar of Malaysia's economy. By comparison, Perak gained little from the country's expanding manufacturing industry. By the nineties, economic development in Johor, owing to its proximity to Singapore, proved even more impressive than that of Perak. Johor's population grew rapidly and soon outstripped Perak's.

Although Ipoh, Perak's capital since the end of the war, has experienced some amount of reconstruction, the other major towns in Perak have remained almost unchanged.

It is not the lack of physical change alone that has placed Perak in an unfavourable light when compared with Selangor or Johor, and now Negeri Sembilan (since the move of the international airport from Subang to Sepang), but the mindset of the people as a whole.

There is no doubt that intellectually Selangor leads. It is the country's centre of education, the existence of universities in various other Malaysian states notwithstanding. Apart from the presence of about half a dozen universities in the Klang Valley, the majority of the nearly 600 private colleges are also located in the same area.

In Kuala Lumpur national news filter through by word of mouth faster than the electronic or print media. The whole way of life is different. Kuala Lumpur, in particular, ever expanding and progressing, is now to the whole of Malaysia what Singapore was to the pre-1957 Malaya.

As a result, the young, to pursue education or to seek lucrative employment, flock to Kuala Lumpur-Petaling Jaya. Here they are soon introduced to a way of life which is more independent, more indulgent and more experimental. Many in subsequent years make their way to the West to continue their education. In most instances, whether or not they proceed overseas, do not return to Perak for not even Ipoh is able to provide the opportunities for lucrative employment.

It has been remarked that Ipoh, and that is even more true of the rest of Perak, lacks a middle class – in a cultural rather than an economic sense



— which was indeed the process of formation from the 1930s to the early 1950s. Therefore, cultural, literally and intellectual activities, if they exist at all, are in a dormant state, less vibrant than in the 1930s and 1950s. Developments in the country after 1957 which initially attempted to create a more egalitarian society also stunted the growth of the middle class except in Kuala Lumpur-Petaling Jaya where vibrant economic activities and returning overseas graduates have provided the environment for the emergence and likely consolidation of a middle class.

Perak today is also marginalized by the national dailies. Except when more dramatic political events occur, news of the state is conspicuously absent. In the past, Perak had its own newspapers. One of them, the *Times of Malaya* which began publication in 1904 survived until the mid-1930s when it merged with Penang's *Straits Echo* (founded in 1903 but the merger did not long survive. It became defunct after the country's attainment of nationhood.

Perak continues to have excellent infrastructure because of its past development. At a time when the manufacturing sector enjoys pride of place in the country's economy, Perak does not lack what Penang has to be an important manufacturing centre especially since the port of Lumut has been lately developed.

In the area of tourism, Perak has both eco- and cultural tourism to offer. It remains for the state to support research to identify what it can meaningfully offer to the outside world. Perak can certainly take a cue from Singapore which despite having less to offer has achieved better results than Malaysia as a tourist centre. But knowledge and invention rather than sentiments and rhetoric must prevail. It must know where its strength lies and exploit it to the full.

On The Trail Of A Traitor

by **Captain Philip Rivers**

CAPTAIN PHILIP RIVERS a Canadian citizen from Toronto graduated from the Royal Canadian Naval Academy. After learning Cantonese, Captain Rivers became a police officer in the colonial service before lecturing in nautical studies in the Singapore Polytechnic.

Upon retirement his background as a sailor, policeman and lecturer suited him for marine insurance investigations and legal work. In the closing decade of the 70's he was particularly involved in investigating the scuttling of ships for fraudulent purposes in the "Bermuda Triangle" of the South China Sea.

When Singapore fell to the Japanese, rumours spread that a British officer had been an enemy agent. In the favoured version the spy was a southern Irish officer in the Royal Air Force. But there were others, summed up by Mr. Ian Belloch, the legal adviser in Kedah - that the secret agent was "an officer in Kedah - sometimes said to be RAF, British Army, Irish, AIF (Australian Imperial Force)".

But the spy was none of the above according to a then anonymous Australian flying officer whose letters to his wife were later published. The culprit was Capt. Heenan of the Indian Army, a New Zealander and a Liaison Officer with the RAF in the north where the author was stationed.

All that associated Heenan with the other stories was that he had an Irish name and was an officer in Kedah. But a long retired Singapore Police Superintendent Sandy Minns, well known in Turf Club circles, confirmed to me the name he immediately recognized. Over four decades later he still vividly recalled being sent to the Air Force base to take in charge a suspected spy. The armed RAF guards were so excited that Sandy was afraid that they would both be shot.

Sandy knew little else, not even what happened to Heenan. But the connection was made, which I added in an endnote to my manuscript "Clipped Wings" - the Collapse of British Air Defence, Malaya 1941-42". I sent a copy to Capt. Peter Elphick, an old friend who was creating a niche for himself in the crowded field of maritime writing. Elphick was so taken by the short paragraph about Heenan that by clever literary sleuthing he published an absorbing narrative called *Odd Man Out*. Rather surprisingly, it was subtitled *The Story of the Singapore Traitor*, because Heenan's Malayan activities had been only in the north west.

There is a copy of *Odd Man Out* in the library of the Royal Ipoh Club and I highly recommend it. And also Elphick's *Singapore, the Pregnable Fortress and his "Far Eastern File-The Intelligence War in the Far East*

1930-1945" are probably the most extensive surveys of that subject that will ever be attempted.

Captain Elphick fully acknowledged my contribution when his book was published. A friend in London telephoned: "You're in the *Daily Telegraph*" and read out a heading "Captain unmasked as traitor of Singapore." I thought the Captain was me!

In fact, it was Heenan. Born on the wrong side of the blanket in New Zealand, he spent his childhood in Burma, was educated in England, then served as an army officer in India and betrayed his trust in Malaya. To call Heenan a British traitor is too limiting ; he was a product of Empire.

A PRODUCT OF EMPIRE

Patrick Stanley Vaughan Heenan, a Captain in the 16th Punjab Regiment, was stationed at the Alor Star air base for Army-Air co-operation. This seems straight forward but, like so much about the bold captain, it has to be qualified.

His birth in 1910 was registered in his mother's family name of Stanley. Less than two years later he was baptized a Roman Catholic at Rangoon with a new surname when his father was given as George Heenan. There is no record of his mother's marriage, nor proof that Heenan was even the father of the infant to whom he gave his name.

A public school boy, George Heenan had been some sort of indeterminate engineer at the mining town to where Annie Stanley had drifted. What she did there is uncertain but she ended up with a bastard child and travelled to Burma as the wife of George Heenan. To account for the later defection of Patrick, Elphick half heartedly opines that some Irish Republican ideals may have been absorbed in the wild west atmosphere of the town where Annie gave birth.

But as George himself died about six months after Patrick's baptism, it is unlikely that any Fenian sympathies rubbed off on either the baby or his mother who was born in New Zealand of English working class emigrants.

Although George operated at the foreman rather than the managerial level, he had been educated at Cheltenham College, the most senior of the Victorian English public schools. His father was Irish but practised as a civil engineer in India where George was born shortly before the Great Mutiny. Other than the Irish name there is not the slightest hint of a rebellious background in George's life.

Overlooked is the possible part played by the mother in moulding the character of the future traitor. The widowed Annie was a survivor who maintained herself, perhaps as a governess, in Rangoon for ten years until 1922 when she took her son, not to their homeland of New Zealand, but to England. Of lower class origins and of uncertain positions, she was determined that her boy would be educated as an English gentleman.

Her now 12 year old son was of the age when children returned "Home" from the East for their schooling. How she managed to afford it is not known, but in 1929 when Patrick was in his last year at Cheltenham she married a recently widowed Bernard Carroll. This man, who had been an accountant in Rangoon during Annie's time and fairly well to do, retired to London a few years after she moved there. On his death once more widowed Annie was left comfortably off in middle class suburbia.

Annie had achieved the respectability she wanted, despite having come from "Humble Origins". Moreover, she ensured that her son went to a good preparatory school at Sevenoaks and received a public school education at Cheltenham - his father's old school. Yet he never made the necessary contacts in the "Old Boy Net" to help secure a place in English society.

Upward mobility in England still had its hurdles for those who tried. As George Bernard Shaw put it in *Pygmalion* – “The moment an Englishman opens his mouth, another Englishman despises him” and “they give themselves away every time they open their mouths”. And many people who knew Heenan from his school days onward recalled his coarse speech and accent.

Together with a complexion described as anywhere from sallow to ruddy many thought that he was not of pure European parentage on both sides. The book hints that George Heenan may indeed have been the true father and of Anglo-Indian blood. The possibility of Maori parentage is not mentioned.

At first, an attempt was made to send Patrick back to the familiar grounds of Rangoon. On graduating from school in 1920, he joined the London offices of Steel Brothers, a well established mercantile house in Burma. As a junior assistant he expected to be transferred East in the near future. This never happened and for a time he may have become a London policeman.

To establish himself as a gentleman, Heenan next set his sights on the Army. As Ben Johnson observed, “An officer is much more respected than any other man who has as little money”. As true in the early 20th century as it had been in the 18th.

In any event, in 1933 he applied for a Commission in the Supplementary Reserve of Officers. At school, Heenan had done well enough in the Officers’ Training Corps to obtain a good reference to support his application. True he had not been much in academic studies but as a crusty four-ring naval captain used to claim stupidity was a requirement for a commission in the Army.

So after some basic and further part-time training, Heenan on 1st February 1935 was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant and placed on the unattached list of the Indian Army.

Heenan was undoubtedly a complex character who generally made an initial favourable impression "that soon faded away". One officer put it neatly that Heenan was "not quite a gentleman". His accent and the look of mixed blood and his general attitude told against him. The fact that he was a Roman Catholic also put him outside the main stream. Despite being good at sports, especially at boxing and rugby, he never fitted in either at his school or his regiment - he was always a loner and "the odd man out".

INDIAN DAYS

By foreboding coincidence, Annie last saw her son on 15 February - the date of the future surrender of Singapore and of his reported death. A few years later when Heenan was entitled to home leave he started off to visit her but never made it. A stopover in Japan was extended for the entire six months.

The parting in 1935 was at Southampton where Second Lieutenant Heenan was the eldest of a large party of newly commissioned subalterns bound for India. Almost 25 years of age, he was big, just over 6 feet and muscular; at 180 pounds, he became the Heavyweight Boxing Champion of India. A picture of a well-set-up "pukka Sahib", he was nothing of the sort.

Something just wasn't right, his fellow officers found him abrasive and overbearing and most disliked him intensely. Because of his complexion, he was sometimes thought to be of Anglo-Indian descent. But this may have been afterthought as no "true blue" Brit could be possibly have been a traitor - hence the southern Irishman of 1942 rumours.

Recollections were coloured by the subsequent knowledge of his disloyalty, but his service record underscored that he really wasn't acceptable. The usual route for Supplementary Officer on arrival in India was to learn the ropes in a British Battalion before being posted to the Indian Army itself.

Heenan was attached to the Royal Warwickshire Regiment stationed at the famous centre of snobbery – Poona. The Warwicks had been until recently commanded by the redoubtable “Monty” of the Desert War in North Africa, whose successor doesn't seem to have been too enamoured of the fledgling officer and gentleman. At the end of his year, in an unusual and perhaps unique step, Heenan was sent to the Norflocks for a further six months shape-up.

In October 1936, at long last, Heenan was admitted to the 1st Battalion 16th Punjab Regiment. Despite adding the laurels of a Boxing Championship to his new regiment, Heenan was still not popular.

A year after Heenan joined the Punjab Regiment, “because he didn't fit in” he was transferred to the Royal Indian Army Service Corps. In those days of army snobbery, regimental officers looked down on those who served in Corps. To add to Heenan's discomfiture, he remained a lowly subaltern although others transferred to the “Rice Corps” were promoted as a consolation. He lasted a bit longer in his new unit possibly because he had been away on six months long leave in Japan. After his return to the 15th Motor Transport Company in July 1939, they too quickly had enough of him. He was returned to the Punjabis by October 1939.

The European War had broken out and the Indian Army sent its best battalions to the Persian Gulf and on to the Western Desert. Many hoped for action there but in the meantime the North-West Frontier beckoned. The Waziristan Expedition of the 1940 included the 16th Punjabis. Although, according to a fellow officer, Heenan acted with “courage and determination” in action against the Pathans, shortly

afterwards a change of commanding officers led to another change for Heenan.

Promoted to temporary Captain, in once more, for him the fateful month of October, Heenan was transferred to the 2nd Battalion 16th Punjabis.

MALAYAN SERVICE

On 27 October 1940, Heenan arrived at Penang aboard the troop transport "Santhia" in Force "Abnormal". A week or so later his battalion was in camp at Ipoh by early 1941 moved north to the 11th Indian Division on the Thai border. Once more found wanting as a regimental officer Heenan lasted but six months with his new battalion. To get rid of him, he was sent on a three-month Air Ground Liaison Course at Seletar – apparently the only time he was in Singapore. After his brief training, he was made a Grade Three Intelligence staff officer.

In what, with hindsight, was a foolish move, he was attached to a newly created Air Intelligence Liaison Section with the RAF at Alor Star airfield. He joined on 22 June 1941, and in November replaced the second-in-command who was killed in a flying accident.

The Air Liaison Unit was intended to co-ordinate movements between the two services, so he gave lectures about Army Air Force cooperation "as experienced during this war". These were not very successful, which is not surprising in view of Heenan's lack of experience with aircraft and also in modern warfare. Indeed, his only active service had been a brief encounter chasing a few gypsies around the mountains.

Heenan was now in position to provide the Japanese with extremely valuable information on air defences as well as of course, about army arrangements in Kedah and Perlis.

It is not known when the Japanese recruited Heenan - perhaps as early as 1939 during his long leave when he extended his stopover in Japan to the exclusion of visiting his mother. Per chance enmeshed through dalliance with a Madam Butterfly, there would have been time to train him in radio and photography.

Another possibility was contact with the Indian Independence League who sought freedom from British rule. There was an important group of them in Japan but it is also now known that a cell at Bangkok worked very assiduously to infiltrate Indian troops in northern Malaya. When Heenan was at Arau he made unauthorised visits to Thailand where he may have met Indian Nationalist agents.

Rejected by other British offices Heenan was known to ingratiate himself with his Indian colleagues. At his court martial an unsuccessful attempt was made to connect Heenan with dissident Indian troops, particularly with Captain Jahangir of the Bahawalpur State Force, which provided ground defence at Alor Setar and Sungai Patani. Later a Major in the Indian National Army, Jahangir went on to become an important member in their parent organisation at Singapore.

It is of course puzzling that shortly after his arrival in Malaya, Heenan was sent to his sensitive intelligence job where he was capable of causing wide ranging damage to the Allied cause. But the transfer followed the previous pattern of passing along an officer who just didn't fit in. Heenan still made no effort to improve his personal relationship with others.

British servicemen under him remember "a heavy drinker, a loner, and a man detested by all - he upsets a lot of us".

THE UNMASKING

Although Heenan was sent to the ALU to get rid of him, the same could not be said for the others in the unit, especially the commanding officer Major James France who finally uncovered Heenan. France later became suspicious of his visits into Thailand, which included meeting an unnamed "Dutchman" at a bungalow. Probably at first the trips were connected with Heenan's prowling after sexual adventures. Indeed, they nicknamed him "Tom" because of his tom-acting proclivities. He was even thought to have either a Malay or a Chinese 'keep' in a kampung near the air base.

Gradually suspicions formed as questionable circumstances mounted up. Heenan's frequent trips and his prying into matters of no concern to his post took on a sinister connotation. On two occasions when France was away, Heenan tried to gain entrance into the Confidential Safe. A tale even surfaced that an incredibly large sum of 40,000 pounds was discovered in his local bank account, which he passed off as a gambling debt.

Eventually some officers took Heenan to the Club for a drink while Major France searched his quarters. Incriminating papers were discovered giving positions of aircraft, fuel dumps and so on. There were even "sitreps" - Situation Reports - headed "Dear Mom". A Bible was also found with "a number of underlined sentences and an obvious code". Heenan's profile didn't fit that of a Bible student.

The Major now had a sufficient proof to ask for a meeting with Major-General Murray-Lyon at Headquarters in Penang. But events were against him, the incriminating evidence was discovered on Sunday 7 December - the next day the air was full of Japanese planes. The General was otherwise fully engaged.

Major France was also thoroughly occupied; by the morning of the 9th the RAF evacuated Alor Setar to go to Butterworth. France placed in his

car the Padre's field communion set in its distinctive Air Ministry case, when to his amazement he saw it again in one of his trucks. A hasty check revealed a second such case but inside was no communion set. The contents were a beautifully fitted two-way radio transmitter and receiver.

The origin is uncertain, my guess is that the Japanese supplied it at Singapore when Heenan was training for his present post.

A watch was kept and Heenan was seen to move the set to his tent, which France later sent his driver to secure. After a discussion with the Wing Commander, observation was continued on Heenan who later made a desultory attempt to wander off in civilian clothes. France made another appointment for the next day with the General who immediately ordered the arrest of Heenan. Finally, about noon, fate caught up with the traitorous captain but, in fact, his usefulness to the Japanese had already been served.

GEN TO THE JAPS

During the invasion of Kota Bharu defending British bombers were puzzled that Japanese ships flashed the letter "K" - the Air Recognition Code of the Day. This was noted by Datuk Mike Wrigglesworth, the well known lawyer at Kota Bharu, in "The Japanese Invasion of Kelantan in 1941". The code utilised a different letter of the Endorse Code that was changed every 24 hours. It was a simple means to identify friendly aircraft, yet in their first attacks the Japs always seemed to know the correct signal. By the time the enemy aircraft could be visually recognised, it was always too late. In his job of Air Liaison Heenan would have known such information.

The Japanese wanted to take out the northern airfields and within hours they had all but achieved their objectives. The British were left without

air cover and so began the long retreat down the peninsula to Singapore. It might be going too far to say that Heenan played a crucial role in the Japanese victory, but he certainly made it easier.

Major-General Kirby said "of the 110 British aircraft located in northern Malaya on the morning of the 8th, only 50 were left fit for operations by the evening." Furthermore, "by the evening of the 9th the RAF... in northern Malaya had only a combined fighter and bomber force of ten aircraft at Butterworth".

Legends has it that swarms of the famous Zero fighters blasted the British out of the sky but they were not yet engaged in this theatre. Of the losses just noted by Kirby, very few were shot down, the foe had an uncanny knack of catching the RAF on the ground. The Japanese may have used the tactics to suit the absence of radar and an early warning system, but British aircraft were caught so often the belief grew that reports were being passed to the enemy. Indeed, at Ipoh an agent with a radio was discovered on a hill overlooking the airfield.

After Heenan was arrested, many were to recall that he had a knack of disappearing just before enemy bombers roared in. The obvious conclusion was that he radioed when the British planes landed for refuelling and rearming.

Survivors pointed out that on that first morning, although other airfields in the north had already been savaged, Alor Setar was left strangely alone. Only after their aircraft returned from Kota Bharu did the familiar v-shaped formation of 27 Japanese bombers arrive. Nine out of eleven British planes were damaged, four in fact were written off. Not much of a result for 135 bombs dropped, but these were anti-personnel, as the Japs wanted the facilities for themselves.

It is also possible that Heenan had a hand in one of the most effective raids. Although the sacrilegious radio set was impounded, he may have

had another hidden away. At about 17.00 hour on the 9th, the remaining Blenheim bombers were forming up for a raid from Butterworth when the usual 27 Japanese bombers struck. The airfield buildings and most of the planes were virtually destroyed.

Only the leading Blenheim became airborne to make a lone sortie on Singora through enemy fighters and flak. Although badly wounded his plane shot to pieces, the pilot managed to save his crew by crash landing at Alor Setar where demolition work was under way. This field had been the home of No.62 Squadron and the pilot was Squadron Leader "Pongo" Scarf, VC, awarded the RAF's only Victoria Cross in Malaya. He died at the nearby hospital where his wife had been a nurse. Contrary to legend she was not at his side when he died; she had already been evacuated. He was buried in the Military Cemetery in Taiping.

The erstwhile fellow mess member of Heenan thought that he ran a ring of native spies. The RAAF pilot Elson Smith wrote to his wife that Heenan "controlled all the subversive elements in the northern area from the Prai River to Penang and the Thailand border". At Alor Star about the time Heenan was picked up, eight Malays were arrested; one, an overseer at the aerodrome, was found in possession of "Jap propaganda and signalling apparatus".

Heenan was supposed to have built up this net through his popsie conveniently stashed in a nearby kampung. But all in all this seems doubtful – its highly unlikely that in such a short period an outwardly typical British officer could gain that degree of confidence. Especially as Heenan was no linguist, it took him two years to even pass the Lower Standard Examination in Preliminary Urdu.

There is no way of knowing just exactly what intelligence Heenan passed to the Japanese who were already extraordinarily well informed. Every British account tells of their network with officers working as dentists near army camps or even as mess boys with them. The hot favourite was

the ubiquitous photographer in practically every town and village. There is even a record of one in the Cameron Highlands who diligently photographed every sign post in the hill resort where there was only one road.

Heenan may have contributed some information that permitted the Japanese to pierce with consummate ease the Jitra line, which the British had expected to hold for several months! Lieutenant-General Heath, the British Commander, later wrote that the Japanese general had "almost an uncanny sense of directing his attacks against the most profitable targets at Jitra". This is not surprising considering that the Japanese knew exactly where the British planned to station their troops.

Colonel Tsuji, the Japanese Chief of Staff, tells of "a blood-smeared map" recovered from a wrecked armoured car abandoned by the British. Tsuji observed "It was accurate and showed clearly in coloured pencil the enemy fortifications and dispositions around Changlun and Jitra". All the British sources say that it had been lost during the debacle at Jitra. The inference, of course, is that the map was acquired in the midst of the battle and played no part in Japanese planning. But restudying all the facts, the conclusion must be that this was a cover story of Japanese intelligence who had earlier acquired this valuable information.

I don't think Heenan had any hand in this acquisition, which Elphick doesn't mention. In my opinion, a more likely source was Captain Mohan Singh, the future General of the INA. His regiment had been stationed in the midst of the Jitra line, the defences of which he had helped to plan. He would have been able to pass such a map to the Indian Nationalists in Thailand before the invasion took place. No one else seems to have reached this conclusion, but when all the evidence is re-examined it seems a likely possibility.

TRAITORS AND SCAPEGOATS

The major point is whether Heenan in fact supplied information to the Japanese. There is no doubt that he was arrested, but that is not proof of guilt. So were several other Europeans among a number who were under suspicion during that time.

The radio in the communion set brought trouble upon Reverend Donald Harper, the padre at Alor Star aerodrome. To compound his problems, he had worked with Heenan in the London office of Steel Brothers.

A closed file mentions two questionable Perak plantation managers. One, who is unnamed, co-operated with the Japanese from November 1941 to January 1942. Another was O.W. Grut, possibly because he had a Japanese wife. He was called a Scandinavian and there were many tales concerning continental Europeans who were German sympathisers. An Indian sentry shot one off a bridge – leading a file of Japanese infantry.

THE END OF THE ROAD

But Heenan was more than a victim of hysteria and his remote Irish derivation. There was plenty of circumstantial evidence, including most damaging of all, the hidden radio set. All official detail in death penalty cases are embargoed for seventy five years but nothing will be revealed until 2017. There was a court martial, Elphick even spoke to a doctor who attended it. But there is no record of any file on his trial. Was this the result of a cover up or were the papers lost in the confusion of surrender?

Heenan was undoubtedly executed. Indeed at Elphick's request I made a search of the files of the Syonan Shimbun (the renamed *Straits Times*). On 2nd April 1942 an article quoted a French officer, detained by the British at Outram Road Prison, who said the British had shot Heenan, a captain of the New Zealand Army.

Yet the circumstances of this were also shrouded in the mists of time and war. Personally I fancy the old soldier's yarn. As the Japanese closed in on Singapore town, Heenan was in Outram Road Prison whose grim walls were still pockmarked from the firing squads after the Indian Mutiny of 1915. He sneered at his escorting officer. "Tomorrow I shall be free and you will be all dead or prisoners." The officer made the perfect response -he took out his revolver and shot Heenan dead.

Even the date he died is uncertain. He appears on the Roll of Honour at his old school Cheltenham and I photographed his name chiselled on granite at the Kranji War Memorial -no dates are given on these. The War Graves Commission, records that he died on 15th February 1944 - two years after Singapore surrendered. However, his mother was advised to post war that his death was on February 15, 1942 and accordingly put an obituary in 'The Daily Telegraph'.

Elphick, after careful scrutiny of all that he uncovered, is in no doubt as to how and when Heenan died. As he succinctly put it in a recent book *Lifeline*, a tribute to the Merchant Navy in World War 11: "Two days before Singapore surrendered he was taken down to the harbour by military policemen and there shot in the back of the head. The body was then pushed into the sea". In the *Odd Man Out* this is obliquely confirmed - after his mother placed the obituary notice, she received an unsigned postcard that finished "He has no grave other than a watery one".

Travels With Frank Swettenham (In Malaya)

by **Datuk Lim Chong Keat**

Datuk Lim Chong Keat, an architect in private practice, received a B.A.(Hons. Architecture) in 1955 from the University of Manchester and a Master in Architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1958.

He was a Founder Partner of Malayan Architects Co-Partnership (1961-67), Architects Team 3 (1967-80) and Director and Partner of Jurubena Bertiga International Sdn & Team 3 International.

He has served on the Board of the National Art Gallery in Kuala Lumpur and has been a member of the Penang Museum Board and Founder Chairman of the Penang Heritage Trust.

Although he is still very interested in Architectural and Cultural issues, his current engrossment has been on botanical research and fieldwork on endangered flora. He is the author of *Penang Views 1770-1860* published in 1986.

Sir Frank Swettenham, Governor of the Straits Settlements from 1901 to 1904, certainly had the interests of the Malayan Peninsula at heart. He lived a long life, dying in 1946 at an age of well over 90 years. Even to the last, almost at deathbed, he would still advise, energetically, all concerned as to the best interests of Malaya.

One, from many, of Frank Swettenham's outstanding accomplishments, is represented by a journey undertaken with three other friends: Captain George Giles, Martin Lister and Wan Muhammad Saleh (son of Dato Sri Adika Raya). This journey was prestigious in nature as it embraced a crossing from Kuala Bernam at the mouth of Sungei Bernam on the Malacca Strait to Pekan near Kuala Pahang situated at the opposite coast on the South China Sea.

Not only was Swettenham an able administrator, he realised instinctively that such an expedition, representing the first crossing of the Malay Peninsula by Europeans, would live on in history. Thus, he had personal ambitions as well. His journal recording this expedition gives an insight into his thinking. It covered diplomatic relationships with the various regional leaders, an assessment of the natural or indigenous wealth of the area and included a realistic survey, useful to civil engineers and developers, as to the possible location for roads or railways, even a township.

The journey from Bernam began on Friday, 10 April 1885, consisting of his friends and around 200 other helpers. It took twenty seven consecutive days for a sadly depleted, sick and exhausted party to reach Pekan near the mouth of Sungei Pahang on the South China Sea. In fact Swettenham's friend and fellow artist, George Giles, due to the seriousness of his sickness, had to be sent by steamer to Singapore the day after their arrival at Pekan. Cholera seemed to have been their major hazard rather than any difficulties in crossing the country. Swettenham records that twenty per cent of the party suffered from ill-health at any time.

Towards the end of the journey, their final number fell to around twenty four or twenty five. The cross country expedition covered an amalgam of – fourteen days by boat, one day spent changing from boat to raft, three days on rafts and four days walking. Although they must have been near exhaustion during their twenty seven days, only a total of five days were spent in some kind of rest camp. Yet, in spite of these hardships, Swettenham and Giles, between them, managed to come up with more than sixty sketches and watercolours.

The display of slides, covering many of these sketches and watercolours gave a wonderful review of the Swettenham expedition. They covered beautiful views during sunrise and sunset, interesting studies of members of their party, sumptuous breakfasts held at around lunchtime and perhaps unwittingly, a record illustrating some of the local flora. Many of the scenes can be identified, even though the location may not have been given on the sketch. Others have to be guessed at from the details given in Frank Swettenham's journal.

Illustrations had to be left to the natural artistic ability of Swettenham and Giles. Assessment of these pictures from an art critic's point of view, suggests that of the two artists, Swettenham and Giles, it is Swettenham who seems to have an exceptional gift in artwork. Photography certainly did exist in those days, but there were many years yet



before the portable hand-held camera would make its debut. Thus, heavy, specialised photographic equipment could not be included as part of the tour's accoutrements. Nevertheless, the two artists would have had some background knowledge of graphic art as it still remained a core subject in classical education. Government officials of those times were very much expected to include sketches with their reports in order to illustrate their meanings more fully.

As an artist, Swettenham's sense of perspective is good, his technical skills in sketching are delivered with confidence and the chromatic tone used in his watercolours indicate an innate sensitivity. In fact, knowing something of his basically unsatisfactory marriage, it is quite possible that Swettenham used this creativity to soothe the unhappiness within him. More than likely, in the years to come, he would take lessons in classical art as implied by some of his later watercolours.

The Swettenham expedition raises many points of interest to the botanist. However, many years are still to pass from that time before a fuller, more complete classification and cataloguing of unique indigenous specimens will be made.

Even today, much of the route taken by Frank Swettenham and his party represents pristine jungle countryside, in many places only inhabited by orang asli. Much could still be done to keep track of the nomadic lifestyles represented by these people. Malaria remains a dangerous hazard to them and only by publicizing these difficulties can we be made aware of work yet to be accomplished.

Chief Secretary To The Government Since 1957

by **Tan Sri Dato Seri Ahmad Sarji Bin Abdul Hamid**

TAN SRI DATO SERI AHMAD SARJI BIN ABDUL HAMID was educated at the University of Malaya, B.A. (Hons.); the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague (Diploma in Public Administration); and Harvard University (Master in Public Administration).

He was in Government service since 1961, occupying senior positions at the District level, State level and at the Federal Government level. On 1 February 1990, he was appointed to the most senior position as the Chief Secretary and concurrently Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of the Civil Service until his retirement on 16 September 1996.

He is also actively involved in non-government organisations at the national and international levels.

Besides receiving honorary degrees, he has also received numerous royal and public honours and awards. He has published a book entitled "Chief Secretary to the Government".

I was appointed to the post of Chief Secretary to the Government, Malaysia by the Prime Minister Dato' Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, with effect from 1 February 1990, 79 years after the post was created in February 1911, and the ninth Malaysian to hold the post since Independence in 1957. It was the culmination of a 29-year career in the Civil Service since my first appointment as Deputy Assistant District Officer, Klang in 1961. The Chief Secretary to the Government is not only the Head of the Civil Service but also the Secretary to the Cabinet, the supreme tier in the edifice of the Malaysia Government.

THE CABINET

An aura of importance surrounds the Cabinet. Its papers are highly confidential, its proceedings secret, attaining Cabinet rank is an enormously significant step for a Member of Parliament and it places the Minister above the salt. Attendance at Cabinet takes precedence over all other ministerial duties and only Cabinet Ministers are permitted to attend. No civil servants are allowed to be present except for the Chief Secretary to the Government and the Deputy Secretary-General (Cabinet) of the Prime Minister's Department.

The principle of collective responsibility is deeply rooted in the Cabinet's ethos. All Ministers are equally and jointly responsible for every decision by the Government. This applies both to decisions taken in Cabinet and by Cabinet committees. It is the foundation of unity to Government. Cabinet committees have evolved to make it easier to transact Government business, but the most important and critical issues are discussed in the Cabinet itself.

In his capacity as Secretary to the Cabinet, the Chief Secretary communicates Cabinet decisions to three main committees. These are

the meetings of the Secretaries-General of ministries, Heads of Service and State Secretaries (which include the Inspector-General of Police and the Chief of the Defence Forces since 1990); meetings of Heads of Federal Departments; and meetings of Chief Executives of Federal Statutory Bodies. The decisions of the Cabinet are conveyed at these meetings in clear terms.

The Cabinet comprises Ministers who are experienced in the field of administration. My own observation is that our Cabinet Ministers practise "hands-on management" and know as much as the permanent civil servants. Malaysia is not governed by the creative friction in some countries generated by putting "amateur Ministers in charge of professional civil servants". In unstable coalition governments, Ministers always arrive in the knowledge that they will not be staying long. In Malaysia, because the Government has been stable and Ministers are long-standing, the cult of the "amateur Minister" does not exist. Ministers have immersed themselves in the details of their Ministry's work, grasped the basic issues and injected the Government's political priorities into their Ministry's thinking.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

The Chief Secretary to the Government is often referred to as "Head of the Civil Service", functioning as the principal link between the political leadership and the Civil Service; overseeing the interests of the Civil Service; and providing a model for others by displaying efficiency, effectiveness and professionalism in the conduct of his duties.

What is this institution, the "Civil Service" that he heads? The Civil Service is part of the executive arm of the Government, concerned with the implementation and administration of policy decided upon and legislated for by Parliament, which is the supreme authority in the State. Civil servants are officers who serve at the pleasure of the Yang Di-

Pertuan Agong. For all practical purposes, in this context, it means and is represented by the Government of the day. Civil servants are only concerned with the civil as opposed to the military or police functions of the executive. Nor are they concerned with judicial matters. Government Ministers, judges and members of the Armed Forces are not civil servants.

Responsibility for the central, strategic management of the Civil Service resides with the Prime Minister who is the Minister in charge of the Civil Service. It is the responsibility of the Chief Secretary to the Government as Head of the Civil Service to bring efficiency and effectiveness to the Civil Service through organisational change, promotion by merit, reform, imposition of discipline, etc. The Chief Secretary is by law the Chairman of the Promotion Board and the Disciplinary Board, as well as Chairman of the Panel on Administrative Improvements to the Civil Service, the Committee on rightsizing the Civil Service, the Superscale Review Committee, and the Permanent Committee on Public Complaints.

At the beginning of my tenure, I have been able to discern a few challenges which the Civil Service have to face. Firstly, it will have to play a facilitator role so as to create a conducive environment for the private sector and this meant that rules, regulations and procedures have to be reviewed. Secondly, the Civil Service will have to be more efficient and effective. Thirdly, with the increased allocations to Government agencies, there is a still greater need for accountability in financial management. Fourthly, with an expanding economy and with greater temptations, civil servants must have the highest sense of discipline and fifthly, with an expanding population, the management of public complaints must be improved. In short, the Civil Service will have to be reformed in order to be effective, efficient and more competitive in the global context.

The Chief Secretary to the Government is the chairman of a plethora of committees which provides him with the opportunity to play a role in

reforming the Civil Service, in the formulation of national policies, in the monitoring of development projects and to be directly involved, in some areas, in the development projects. The chairmanship of the above committees bestows influence and absorbs a lot of time.

The Chief Secretary is the administrative head of the Prime Minister's Department, providing guidance and direction in the formulation of its policies and responsible for its financial management and budgeting, which include financial planning, disbursement, procurement, virement, accounting and controlling of public funds.

No modern state can exist without an administrative system. The Government delegates a lot of powers to the Civil Service. The legitimacy of the power delegated is premised on several important conditions, some of which are as follows:-

- (a) that civil servants should act in accordance with the basic principles which uphold the authority of the constitutionally elected Government;
- (b) that civil servants should perform according to the constitutional and legal directives pertaining to their areas of authority;
- (c) that civil servants are sworn to remain continually accountable in an accurate and honest manner for their actions to the relevant authorities;
- (d) that civil servants should act in a competent and effective manner to achieve set purposes and produce desired result; and
- (e) that civil servants are to use public funds entrusted to them for authorised public purposes, not for their own gain or the private gain of others.

What all these conditions mean is that, civil servants should serve the will of the people as circulated through the authority of the executive and the legislative. Policy matters and decisions should rest ultimately with the elected representatives of the people, and all decisions made

by civil servants must be within the parameters of defined mandates and delegated authority.

The Civil Service which is entrusted with public resources and the authority to utilise them to achieve its desired goals, has a moral responsibility to be fully accountable for its activities. All public officials are accountable to those who provide the resources for them to carry out government programmes. The accountability of public officials is deemed to part and parcel of a good and responsible Government.

In short, the Chief Secretary to the Government is the custodian of the ethos of the Civil Service.

I was the Chief Secretary to the Government from 1 February 1990 to 16 September 1996. During these 6 years, I had the privilege of working under the formidable leadership of the Prime Minister, Dato Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad. I have always admired Dr Mahathir for his great mind. In Civil Service reforms, he has provided many of the ideas. In 1991, a new type of circulars, now known as the Development Administration Circular, was issued under my hand and the seal of the Prime Minister's Department, which contain the detailed guidelines on each of the administrative improvements to be implemented by Civil Service agencies, enabling reforms to be pushed ahead with better clarity, precision, consistency and uniformity.

A Client's Charter was set up in June 1993 to enable the public to know in advance the quality of service to expect and to oblige Government department agencies to enforce these Standards. The implementation of the Client's Charter is a commitment undertaken by the Civil Service to provide effective service to its clients, the general public, who are now empowered to take any Government department or agency to task where there any shortcomings.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, concerned citizens became entranced by the notion of “downsizing” or “rightsizing” the Civil Service. So the policy came about to rightsize the Civil Service through the process of restructuring, fixing its role of growth, privatisation, etc.

In the quest for a paper-less Civil Service, I could not help but be amazed at the sheer impact of and tremendous spin-offs and benefits accrued through the computerisation of Government agencies. In general, I found many Government department overly-burdened with paperwork and advocated a “paperless Civil Service” using the relevant modern information technologies.

The principle of political impartiality of the public service in Malaysia has been practised from the pre-Independence era. To ensure the neutrality of public servants, various measures have been adopted by the Constitution, notably the establishment of independent service commissioner and the conferment of a strong measure of job security. Government employees must serve the Government of the day in a dedicated and loyal manner, implementing the policies and programmes of the Government, irrespective of their personal preferences and judgment. This tradition has provided stability to the country. The central characteristic of Government service in Malaysia are “permanency”, “neutrally” and “a career service”.

The foundation of an excellent work centre of the public service must be sound professional ethical practices. It is a performance ethic, close to a noble vocation, by which professionals are called to do their best.

Evolution Of The Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange... from coffee house to demutualisation

by **Encik Izlan Izhah**

IZLAN IZHAB was born in Kampung Paloh, Ipoh. He obtained his LLB at the University of London. Upon returning to Malaysia in 1978 he secured a position of Assistant Legal Officer at Majlis Amanah Rakyat and also worked as Joint Company Secretary at Kompleks Kewangan Malaysia Berhad (now known as Amanah Capital Partners Malaysia Berhad).

During 1978-1984 he worked for Permodalan Nasional Berhad/Amanah Saham Nasional Berhad carrying out company secretarial and legal advisory work.

Since 1985 Izlan has been at the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange as Executive Vice President in charge of corporate and legal affairs.

FROM A SELF-REGULATORY ASSOCIATION TO A FRONT-LINE REGULATOR

Stockbroking in Malaysia began in the late 19th century as an extension of commodity broking in Malaya and Singapore. The commodity brokers traded in raw materials, mainly tin and rubber, produced by British companies whose shares were listed on the London Stock Exchange. Other than in Singapore, stockbroking services were set up in the other commercial centres of the Straits Settlement and Malaya, namely Penang, Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur and Melaka.

The stockbrokers formalised their existence in 1930 by forming the Singapore Stockbrokers Association, which in 1938 became the Malayan Stockbrokers Association. In 1960 the Association was succeeded by the Malayan Stock Exchange, with one trading floor in Kuala Lumpur and the other in Singapore, communicating via the telephone.

In 1963 the exchange became the Stock Exchange of Malaysia. With Singapore's independence in 1965 the Exchange was further re-named as the Stock Exchange of Malaysia and Singapore.



In 1973, with the termination of currency interchangeability between Malaysia and Singapore, the exchange was separated into The Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange Berhad and the Stock Exchange of Singapore Ltd.

In 1973, the first statutory regulation over the securities industry was passed by Parliament, namely the Securities Industry Act 1973. This law came into force in 1976. In the same year a company limited by guarantee called The Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange (KLSE) took over operations of The Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange Berhad as the Stock Exchange.

From the days of the Association up to before the coming into force of the Securities Industry Act 1973, the stockbrokers and the securities industry in general existed with minimal governmental involvement or interference. It was essentially a self-regulated industry.

To further ensure investor protection by having an orderly and fair market in the business of dealing in securities, it was only a matter of time for the government to introduce additional laws to govern the securities industry, leading to the establishment of the Securities Commission in 1993.

Today, the KLSE is essentially a front-line regulator, the regulatees being the KLSE Members who provide stockbroking services, and the public-listed companies whose securities are listed and quoted on the KLSE Boards.

MARKET PARTICIPANTS

During its early days, the participants in the securities industry were basically the stockbrokers and their clients. Legend has it that transactions between stockbrokers and clients were sometimes conducted outdoors under shady trees. As mentioned earlier, the stockbrokers, through their in-house rules and by-laws, were self-regulating. If any

of their peers violated any of the rules or by-laws, they would discipline the errant peer with appropriate sanctions depending on the gravity of this violation.

Over and above the rules and by-laws, the credo of the stockbroker was *"My word is my bond"*. It could not be any other way. Otherwise the stockbroker would lose his credibility with his clients and worse still lose the clients' business.

As far as the business was concerned, long before the need to employ economists, researchers and analysts, the universal precept of the stockbroker to his client would be "buy when low, sell when high". And because there was the early recognition that stockbroking was a personalised service, the unique remisier system came into being.

Today, the situation is different. To begin with, the term "stockbroker" no longer exists in law. A company engaged in the business of dealing in securities is legally called a "dealer". The persons permitted under law to actually deal in securities on behalf of the dealer are known as "dealers representatives".

In the early days, incidental to providing the services of stockbroking, a stockbroking company would sometimes provide investment advisory and fund management services. Today companies may be permitted under law to specifically provide such services respectively.

FROM TRADING FLOOR AND OPEN OUTCRY SYSTEM TO COMPUTERISED TRADING

From its early days up to November 1992, the KLSE had a trading floor in which the floor boys of the stockbroking companies would vocally and by sign language indicate their buy or sell orders to the KLSE trading floor boardwriters. This was the open outcry system of clinching buy or sell orders of shares.

Signals for specific counters were unique because the gestures were imaginatively created by the floor boys and the board writers.

The boardwriters could even lip read and differentiate the voices of the floor boys! The level of shouting and noise in the trading floor was a fair indication of market activity on a particular day.

Today the KLSE provides a fully automated system on order routing and execution of securities trading. For a trip down memory lane, visitors may see a mock-up of the trading floor in the Gallery at the KLSE building, and share transactions under a shady tree!

WHITHER, KLSE?

Fairness, efficiency, liquidity and transparency – these are the attributes expected by the investing public of a stock exchange. Can these attributes be provided by others? In the United States of America non-exchange electronic trading systems are increasingly competing with traditional exchanges by matching buy and sell orders of securities, thanks to rapid developments in computer technology.

Becoming publicly listed seems to be another way for a stock exchange to maintain its existence. With the objective of becoming more business-oriented in facing an increasingly competitive environment, in 1998 the Australian Stock Exchange became the first stock exchange to directly list itself.

Another approach by some of the traditional stock exchanges to continue to be economically viable vis-a-vis the investing public is to merge with other exchanges. News has it that the London Stock Exchange will be merging with the Frankfurt stock exchange to form a new exchange called iX.

Over to the KLSE.

Sinking Of The Titanic – Tip Of The Iceberg

by Mr John M E Alpe

JOHN M E ALPE started his professional career as a Merchant Navy officer and served in various incidents including "Britain's Last Stand" at the Suez. Upon leaving the Navy, he earned his Bachelor of Science Degree, majoring in Communications Engineering. Thereafter he embarked on a career as a lecturer with the Inner London Education Authority.

His other appointments were with an American contractor doing telecommunications work on North Sea oil rigs, with a telecommunications company doing contract work for the BBC, with British Airways as a senior lecturer in Riyadh, and then in other interesting work in Malaysia. Currently he is a freelance newspaper journalist, fulfilling a lifelong interest in journalism, and writes for the New Straits Times, the Sun and the Star.

This talk was based mainly upon archive material taken from transcripts originally prepared by the United States Senate investigation of what they called the 'Titanic Disaster'. This investigation commenced only four days after this tragic event, that is, the day immediately after the rescue vessel, 'Carpathia' arrived in New York. The investigation proved exceptional, in that it accepted evidence from survivors - ship's officers, crew and passengers as well as from various informed persons from occupations and professions ashore.

The evening's talk set out to examine this information in the light of modern management theory. By use of evidence carefully selected from both passengers and crew it shows that Titanic did not possess a management system sufficiently flexible, or skilled in the interchange of information, to either prevent or ameliorate the circumstances in which she found herself. A practice of neoclassical industrial age, matrix, management would have prevented the disaster. Even had the collision between ice and ship been inevitable, then on the basis of these principles, far more people could have been saved. The talk would try to illustrate this premise.

Titanic sailed as a White Star Line ship, this affiliation at one time being readily understood from the 'ic' suffix of her name. Although registered in the Port of Liverpool by British owners, Titanic, its proprietor and their ships were, in turn, totally owned in the United States by the rich and powerful American magnate, John Pierpont Morgan.

Titanic was big. Her volume is represented by gross register tons - 46,328. Gross register tons is a traditional and useful measure of enclosed space used by commercial shipping. It comes from an old English name for a large barrel, a tun. By Titanic's day, one ton (corrupted from tun) had come to mean 100 cubic feet of enclosed space. From bottom to top of funnels, she measured 175 feet. When afloat, about 35 feet of

her became immersed, known as draft, and from water line to boat deck she was seven decks high.

She had two steam reciprocating engines and a turbine, driving three screws or propellers. The builders of the ship, regrettably, had used a low grade steel, sulphur steel, for Titanic's construction. Not really of much consequence, unless something goes wrong at low temperature when this kind of steel is highly brittle. Something did go wrong at low temperature. It is likely that the 'sulphur steel' hull assisted action of the ice, by fracturing, splitting and splintering during impact.

A Royal Mail contract gives a British vessel right to use the initials, RMS, as a prefix to the name. RMS means Royal Mail Ship, its use applied to Titanic and also meant that Titanic could maintain a minimum Atlantic crossing speed of 16 knots. In fact, her service speed was at least 22 knots and her full speed, never properly established, probably more than 23-1/2 knots.

With state of the art radio, 1912 style, she had two wireless operators. These young men each worked a six hours shift or watch, turn and turn about, maintaining a full wireless watch for Titanic. Many north Atlantic ships carried radio, or wireless as then called, but usually only one operator.

Lifeboats on Titanic met completely the current British Board of Trade regulations of 1912. Nevertheless, their total capacity did not cover all on board. Titanic sailed from Southampton into history at 12 noon, Wednesday 10th April, 1912.

The subject matter of the talk shifted to that of management in the twentieth century; the century of change.

In 1900, a commonly accepted and practiced form of management existed, nowadays referred to as the 'classical industrial age style' or 'hierarchical

system'. It represented the norm. However, the technique already showed clear signs of being irreparably flawed. Changing technology – with an ever increasing rate of change requires a more and more flexible system, incorporating feedback of information. Indeed, as the century progressed, free flow of information with adequate, continuous, training and retraining of personnel became a byword.

Systems of hierarchy produced management attitudes rigidly conforming to the precept: "I am in charge, I give the orders, I do not discuss what I know with subordinates".

It took human tragedy to help effect a change towards neoclassicism in management. The resultant 'matrix' style did not become generally accepted until around 1950.

The 'matrix' supports a management style characterised by its concept, expressed in a managerial statement, as: "To be successful I must cooperate, not only do I inform, I also listen". Feedback of information has become paramount, it is known to be the touchstone of any organic system. It will be a key feature of the fast approaching 'Information Age'.

The Titanic disaster suggests a loss of life precipitated by human failure within hierarchical management. Any modern disaster is more likely to be a mechanistic failure of technology.

Principles of better management may be applied to the appointment of Captain Edward John Smith and his command of the Titanic. In modern appointment procedures dealing with positions of senior management, we are no longer subjected to a single interview testing our own specialisation. The speaker suggested that, as an engineer seeking promotion with a present employer, he would be reviewed by a very senior engineer in order to determine his proficiency and suitability for the new engineering position. But that is not all. Such interview would be followed by another, seeking to investigate qualities other than

engineering. In positions of senior management other additional skills are necessary. Does the candidate project a personal image of good leadership? How does the candidate's work influence his personal family life and vice-versa? Has the candidate a personable disposition, enabling and encouraging others to work at optimum performance? Can you deal with stress – how? As well as questions such as these, one's past performance must be analysed thoroughly. These interviews are often carried out by a Human Resource Officer, who will probably possess the subject of Behavioural Psychology as a module within their degree package.

The Human Resource Officer's role was applied to the appointment of Captain Smith as – Titanic's commander. Past performance examined in the light of new duties is a common procedure. In Captain Smith's case his past performances as a ship's manager were far from satisfactory. He had been in command when three different ships of his ran aground. One occasion, three men were killed. Smith could cite that these matters were not his direct fault – but he was in overall charge. Further, two ships of his had to deal with serious fires which threatened safety of these ships. One of Smith's ship was handled so badly on berthing in New York that an attending tug was almost crushed. He was commander of the Olympic when it was deemed to have been so erratically navigated that it was rammed by a British warship. The ensuing Court of Inquiry placed the responsibility fully in the hands of Olympic.

Shortly after, while approaching New York, the Olympic struck 'something submerged' and smashed a propeller. With some credibility Captain Smith could claim he was not entirely to blame for these incidents. But he was the overall director of operations. Perhaps he did not exercise, or even possess, all the necessary qualities of leadership.

What may be a reasonable explanation of Captain Smith's appointment to Titanic could be summed up by his relationship with Mr. Bruce Ismay managing director of White Star Line. On that fateful maiden voyage,

Ismay was one of Titanic's passengers. Testimony given by passengers at the United States Senate Investigation clearly points to Smith's obsequiousness or compliancy to the will of his managing director. Perhaps Captain Smith allowed himself, and his better judgment to be misled by the forceful charm of Mr. Bruce Ismay. Ismay understood publicity, balance sheets and profits far better than Captain Smith. Ismay had commercial reasons for the ship to travel faster and make good arrival time in New York.

Following departure from Southampton there were two quick stops, one at Cherbourg and the other at Queenstown in Ireland – now called Cobh. Once westward bound on the north Atlantic, Titanic settled down to a regular daily pattern. During these first days ice warnings were received by radio. In fact, at the time of the disaster at least four or possibly five had been received. Generally, they were pinned on the chart room notice board shortly after receipt.

Sunday 14 April 1912 is the day fate reserved for Titanic. One particular ice warning came by radio. It was rather special, as addressed just to Titanic and not a routine general warning. One of the radio men received it at 1.42pm. It coincided with Titanic's leisurely life style, luncheon was still being served. The signal was taken to the bridge where, by chance, Captain Smith still stood. The captain accepted it personally. He was seen to read it and then place it in his uniform jacket pocket.

Evidence suggests that shortly after this Captain Smith took lunch with Mr. Bruce Ismay, the Line's managing director. Smith is seen to hand a radio message to Ismay. There is a discussion, a witness stating that ice and lighting boilers were mentioned between the two men. Ismay puts the radio message into his own pocket.

Much later in the day, this fateful Sunday, at around 7pm, passengers testify that Smith and Ismay meet again. Ismay returns the radio message to Smith, they also have a brief chat which is not overheard.

At around 7.15pm Captain Smith pins an important radio message on the chart room notice board. It's a signal addressed to Titanic advising her of the known location of an ice field. It gives coordinates. The ice field is right on Titanic's course. Captain Smith makes a desultory change of course, very slight, hardly worth making. This is to be confirmed by experts later. Smith, in his deck instructions, writes that lookouts are to be posted in the crow's nest during the hours of darkness. He makes no alteration to the ship's speed, now said to be just over 22 knots.

In four and a half hours, Titanic will sustain a mortal blow by striking ice. A better attitude towards responsibility and management, taken while there was still time, could have changed the situation dramatically.

The question of lifeboats on Titanic received a review by the speaker. They could accommodate just over 1170 people, nowhere near the number on board. But all the same, this was no fault of White Star Line as British regulations were fulfilled completely.

From that total of twenty boats, fourteen were full size, each being Board of Trade certified, and could carry 65 persons at any time. They were of the latest approved design, able to be lowered from the davits containing their full complement of 65 persons.

This fact was not known by the ship's deck officers, who under-filled each boat, believing it would be dangerous to lower them with more than around 25 to 30 people. That is half full. They feared the unsupported keel would snap. We have good reason to believe that Ismay and Captain Smith knew all about the boats' specification. But informing, training and retraining subordinates was not part of their management code.

Over 1500 people lost their lives in this disaster, with a little more than 700 saved. Possibly, at least another 400 people could have been saved by proper knowledge of those latest lifeboats.

The Titanic disaster remains one of twentieth century's controversial subjects. Sadly, there were other disasters – or examples of poor management – but, in due time human tragedy eventually eroded that rigid mind-set of the hierarchical system. It would be broken, possibly forever.

The speaker thanked the audience for their attendance. He said that when preparing this talk he decided on two main requirements, to entertain and to inform, but not necessarily in that order. Hopefully, the audience had been both informed and entertained.