

UNIVERSITI SAINS MALAYSIA

Peperiksaan Semester Pertama  
Sidang Akademik 1995/96

Oktober/November 1995

HSM 411 & HSM 412 Dokumen-Dokumen Dalam  
Sejarah Malaysia

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Masa: [3 jam]

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KERTAS PEPERIKSAAN INI MENGANDUNGI ENAM [6] SOALAN DI DALAM LIMA PULUH EMPAT [54] HALAMAN.

Jawab TIGA [3] soalan. SOALAN NO. 1 adalah WAJIB dijawab dan DUA [2] soalan lain.

Semua soalan membawa nilai markah yang sama.

1. [a] Bagaimanakah sesuatu dokumen sejarah haruslah didekati untuk tujuan penulisan sejarah?

[b] SAMA ADA

i. Dengan menggunakan (DOKUMEN A) petikan-petikan daripada Undang-Undang Melaka sebagai contoh apakah rumusan-rumusan yang anda boleh buat mengenai keadaan politik dan sosio-ekonomi masyarakat Melayu di Melaka lama?

ATAU

ii. Dengan merujuk kepada Tuhfat-al-Nafis sebagai sumber sejarah untuk mengkaji Kerajaan Johor Riau-Lingga pada kurun ke-17 dan ke-18, apakah aspek-aspek sejarah yang boleh ditekankan?

2. Berdasarkan (DOKUMEN B) surat daripada Sir Frederik Weld kepada Lord Kimberly, apakah faktor-faktor luaran dan dalaman yang mungkin menentukan Gabenor Weld untuk mengekalkan pengaruh British di Negeri-Negeri Melayu?

.../2

3. "Di tengah kata-kata bersatu, kata-kata membina kekuatan bersama dan kata-kata melahirkan tenaga nasional, usul hendak menggabungkan Persatuan-Persatuan itu ke dalam gerakan nasional gagal samasekali..."

Berdasarkan (DOKUMEN C) minit Persidangan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu, setujukah anda dengan pendapat tersebut?

4. [a] Minat ahli sejarah terhadap kajian pelacuran di Malaysia merupakan sebahagian usaha mereka untuk menulis semula sejarah Malaysia dengan menekankan peranan wanita dalam sejarah. Apakah asas yang menimbulkan aliran baru ini pada 1980an?

[b] Berdasarkan (DOKUMEN D) memorandum tentang pelacuran apakah niat sebenarnya yang mendorongkan W.T. Chapman menghasilkan laporannya?

5. Berdasarkan (DOKUMEN E) Laporan Cawangan Khas Polis, apakah rumusan-rumusan yang boleh dibuat tentang kedudukan dan dasar Parti Komunis Malaya pada dekad 30an?

6. [a] Berdasarkan (DOKUMEN F) dokumen-dokumen yang berkaitan dengan pendudukan Jepun, bincangkan sejauh manakah dasar pemerintahan Jepun berbeza daripada zaman British sebelum tahun 1941.

[b] Berdasarkan (DOKUMEN G) memorandum kepada Gabenor Sir Edward Gent, kenalpastikan tujuan wakil-wakil United Planting Association of Malaya yang menyerahkan memorandum mereka kepada Gabenor Gent pada awal tahun 1947.

.../DOKUMEN A

.../3

DOKUMEN A

PETIKAN-PETIKAN DARIPADA UNDANG-UNDANG MELAKA

PETIKAN 1

Adapun pada segala raja-raja itu, pertama-tama menjadikan bendahara, kedua menjadikan temenggung, ketiga menjadikan penghulu, keempat menjadikan syahbandar, maka terpeliharalah segala raja-raja itu dengan segala rayatnya. Adapun maka dibahagi hukum itu atas tiga bahagi. Pertama pada bendahara, kedua pada temenggung, ketiga pada syahbandar.

Adapun hukum yang diserahkan kepada bendahara itu, seperti hukum orang yang berjabatan dan segala tuan-tuan dan segala sida-sida dan segala anak orang besar-besar.

Adapun hukum yang diserahkan kepada temanggung itu barang yang dihukumkan di dalam negeri seperti tafahus-menafahus dan seperti tangkap-menangkap orang yang jahat di dalam negeri itu.

Adapun hukum yang diserahkan kepada syahbandar itu yaitu menghukumkan segala dagang dan anak yatim dan segala yang teraniaya dan adat segala jung dan baluk dan barang sebagainya.

PETIKAN 2

Jikalau abdi menetak merdehika, maka iaitu masuk ulur. Adapun jikalau merdehika menetak abdi, kenalah denda setengah harganya. Jikalau ia miskin, kenalah ia sepuluh emas akan dendanya itu.

Adapun jikalau abdi menampar merdehika, hukumnya dipotong tangannya itu. Adapun jikalau merdehika menampar abdi tiada dengan salahnya, kena lima emas hukumnya. Jikalau ia kaya, kena sepuluh emas. Adapun hamba orang itu, jikalau dengan judah mulutnya, seperti memaki, maka suatupun tiada salahnya lagi merdehika itu.

Adapun jikalau merdehika menampar abdi, maka ditikamnya oleh abdi itu, mati merdehika itu, suatupun tiada salahnya. Tetapi pada hukum Allah, yang membunuh itu dibunuh pula hukumnya, maka adil namanya. Adapun jikalau merdehika ditampar abdi, maka ditikamnya mati, serta ada syaksinya, tiadalah perkataannya lagi.

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Fasal yang kesembilan pada menyatakan yang dapat membunuh itu atas empat perkara, suatu bendahara pada waktu tiada raja atau di dalam anak sungai sendiri harus membunuh dengan tiada titah raja. Kedua temenggung pada waktu menangkap orang, itupun tiada menanti titah lagi, dan ketiga ayahbandar tatkala di kuala, barangsiapa tiada menurut katanya pada waktu membawa perahu dan kapal itupun tiada lagi dengan titah melainkan mana perintahnya juga. Keempat nakhoda tatakala di laut, dapat ia membunuh tiada dengan titah, kerana ia raja pada masa itu. Adapun apabila sudah datang ke negeri, maka dihukumkan ia. Jikalau dibunuhnya itu tiada dengan dosanya, patut dibunuh pula nakhoda itu atau didenda sekati lima.

### PETIKAN 3

Fasal yang kedua puluh pada menyatakan hukum tanah perhumaan atau bendang atau sawah atau ladang. Adapun tanah itu atas dua bahagi, suatu tanah hidup, kedua tanah mati. Adapun tanah mati itu tiada siapa yang empunya hak, tiadalah alamatnya empunya dia, niscaya tiadalah ada lagi perkataannya pada tanah itu. Jikalau diperbuatnya huma atau ladang atau sawah atau bendang, tiada siapa dapat berkata-kata lagi akan dia. Itulah tanah mati namanya.

Adapun akan tanah hidup itu iaitu ada alamatnya dariapda perigi atau pohon kayu-kayuan yang dimakan buahnya, atau ada alamatnya tempat perhumaan orang. Maka jikalau diperbuatnya kampung atau rumah atau huma atau barang sebagainya itu, di dalam perkataan orang, lagi dapat dida'wa orang, kerana tanah hidup namanya itu. Jikalau digagahi, didenda oleh hakim sepuluh emas akan orang itu.

Adapun jikalau diperbuat dusun, maka jadi dusun itu, maka oleh yang empunya tanah itu dida'wa diberinya harga tanah itu bahagi tiga, dan yang empunya tanah itu sebahagi, dua bahagi akan orang yang menanam dia itu. Adapun seperti sawah dan bendang, itupun demikian juga 'adatny.

### PETIKAN 4

Adapun jikalau ia menikam kerbau bendahara atau temenggung atau orang besar-besar atau penghulu bendahari atau syahbandar, masuk ulur juga; demikianlah hukumnya. Adapun jikalau ia menikam kerbau orang lain daripada itu, tiada masuk ulur melainkan mengganti kerbau orang itu atau lembu barang berapa patut harganya dan dendanya sepuluh emas. Jikalau kerbau itu menanduk, maka ditikamnya, diganti seharganya.

PETIKAN 5

Adapun jikalau ada merdehika laki-laki itu harus kahwin dengan abdi itu melainkan dengan empat syarat juga maka harus. Adapun syarat pertama (jika laki-laki itu merdehika, belum beristeri perempuan) merdehika, maka ia harus kahwin dengan abdi itu. (Kedua syarat) sebab karena tiada tertahan ingin hawa nafsunya, harus kahwin dengan abdi. <Ketiga syarat> sebab karena tiada ia kuasa memberi isi kahwin perempuan merdehika itu, maka itupun harus kahwin dengan abdi itu. Adapun syarat yang keempat, sebab karena abdi itu diIslamkan, maka harus kahwin dengan dia. Demikianlah hukum merdehika laki-laki kahwin dengan perempuan abdi. Adapun jikalau tiada dengan syarat yang tersebut itu, tiadalah ia boleh kahwin dengan perempuan abdi itu. Adapun jikalau tiada seperti syarat itu, maka ada ia kuasa memberi isi kahwin perempuan merdehika itu, maka ia hendak kahwin dengan perempuan abdi itu, tiada sah nikahnya itu atas kaul yang sah.

Adapun akan perempuan yang merdehika itu boleh ia duduk dengan laki-laki abdi, itupun jikalau ada dengan dua syarat diperolehnya. Pertama-tama ada dengan redanya perempuan merdehika itu akan laki-laki abdi itu. Dan kedua disukakan oleh segala keluarganya itu, maka boleh ia kahwin dengan abdi itu. Jikalau tiada dengan dua syarat ini, niscaya terurailah kahwinnya mereka itu, atas kaul yang sah. Wa'llahu alama bi s-sawab.

PETIKAN 6

Fasal yang kedua puluh sembilan pada menyatakan hukum segala gantang dan cupak kati dan tahlil dan segala hukum pasar sekaliannya itu pada syahbandar juga, dan hukum nakhoda kapal dan jung dan baluk atau barang sebagainya yang bernama perahu, mau yang besar, mau yang kecil. Apabila datang sesuatu perkataan atasnya atau daripada berkelahi dan berbantah atau luka dan melukai daripada samanya dagang, karena utang piutang atau sebab yang lain, itupun terserah atas syahbandar yang menghukumkan dia.

PETIKAN 7

Fasal yang ketiga puluh esa pada menyatakan hukum berjual tanah itu, masuk kayu-kayuan di dalam tanah itu melainkan huma akan yang berjual, jikalau tiada disebutkan. Jikalau ada yang diketam berulang-ulang seperti padi: Pertama yang diketamnya itu akan yang berjual empunya dia. Kemudian buahnya akan orang yang membeli beroleh dia melainkan berjanji isti adat janji.

Jikalau ada di dalam tanah yang dijual itu pohon kayu yang berbuah, tiada disebutkan buahnya itu; jikalau berputik tatkala berniaga itu, akan yang berjual. Jika belum berputik, harganya itu akan yang membeli.

### PETIKAN 8

Fasal yang keempat puluh empat pada menyatakan undang-undang negeri. Bermula segala orang yang berutang, maka ada anak isterinya, maka seorang lakinya juga masuk kerja dalam, tetapi utang itu sama <dengan anak isterinya menanggung>, anak isterinya kerja luar, maka mati dalam kerja yang empunya emas itu, tiada harus ditimpakan kepada anak isterinya utangnya itu melainkan dibahagi tiga, yang sebahagi itu anak isterinya membayar dia, yang dua bahagi itu hilang, itulah adatnya.

Bermula segala orang yang berutang itu, isterinya tiada harus dipernakal, hilang emasnya itu, karena ia merdehika.

Adapun barang benda yang dihilangkannya itu disilihnya. Apabila tiada terbayar olehnya, dinaikkan kepada utangnya.

Apabila perempuan bujang yang berutang itu, jikalau dipernakal ia, maka hilang emas itu akan belanjanya. Jikalau tiada mau laki-laki itu menikah perempuan itu, hilang emas itu sebahagi, demikianlah adatnya.

.../DOKUEMN B

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DOKUMEN B

Khoo Kay Kim, (ed) History of Southeast, South and East Asia: Essays and Documents, K.L., 1977.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE MALAY STATES

WELD TO KIMBERLEY, 21 OCTOBER 1880

1. The Native Protected States are now unquestionably in a satisfactory positions, and every year of peace, prosperity and progress, renders it less likely that the present state of affairs will be disturbed, but nevertheless some years must elapse before good government can be said to be secured on a firm basis. Any moment, some slight matter, the indiscretion not only of a Resident, but a subordinate, might lead to difficulties, and it is impossible, with the men and means at our command, or indeed with any given men and means, to be sure that no such accident may occur. Moreover, it must be remembered that advantageous as the present system is for the people who are rescued from oppression-peace, order and good government, however pleasant for those formerly oppressed is a restriction not a relief to the oppressors. Consequently during my tour through the States I was gratified, but not surprised, to see the loyalty of the people to our rule, but not only gratified but surprised, to find the Rajahs working with us, and some such as Rajah Dris of Perak apparently taking a real interest in the work beyond their merely selfish interest arising from the receipts of a fixed salary, yet it must be remembered that the contrast between their former and their present state may hereafter be dimmed in the memory of the people, whilst the feeling of the loss of real power, possibly of national dignity of constraint and forced obedience to law, compensated for only by a moderate salary or pension, will not at once die out in the breasts of many Rajahs and of the immediate followers. Again quarrels between Chinese factions, or feuds between native chiefs or states on the borders of protected states, may easily lead to complications; and if the spark be once lit, the wild fire runs, though I do not believe that with an efficient well armed police its extinction would be difficult. It was on that ground that I at once suppressed the petty hostilities between Rambaw and Tampin on my arrival in the Colony.

2. The present theory of the Native States Government is simply that we advise, and we do not assume the possibility of our advice not being taken. Notwithstanding this, just before my arrival, the administrator acting under instructions from England declined to permit the Resident of Sungei Ujong to give any advice whatsoever in regard to the

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election of the new Datu Klana. I am myself of opinion that it was wise for some reasons to leave that election quite free, though some very guarded indication of the terms of Government might be often given with advantage in such cases, and in other possible ones more decided action might be absolutely necessary.

3. But immediately afterwards the question rose: If the Resident will not advise upon the election of the new Datu Klana, and has no hand in his making, on what ground can he presume to advise the levy of taxes, decline to recommend pensions we want, and prevent us, the chiefs of Sungei Ujong, from exacting imposts from the people for our own purposes. The only answer is: Because in the one case it was not seen fit that he should interfere, and in the other cases it is held to be advisable. It is for the Government to judge what is best.

4. As a matter of fact our advice in financial matters, in criminal cases, and in the prevention of oppression of the weak, of slaves and slave girls, is often merely taken because it is supposed that what we 'advise', we mean must be done, and that we are considered powerful enough to insist upon it as the police forces in the protected states are entirely under the control of the Resident. It stands to reason that a Rajah who has been subject hitherto to no law but his own pleasure does not like to be forced to set free a girl whom he forcibly detains and ill treats, or to deliver up to justice his relative who has stabbed a 'mere' Chinaman, or to be prevented from making requisitions at will on the weaker neighbours when he is impecunious.

5. Again a very great and increasing Chinese population containing a large proportion of the lowest class is an element which requires careful but firm handling. Looking most hopefully as I do on the excellent work we are doing on the Peninsula, and never doubting its success, it is still impossible to shut my eyes to the fact that we are and have been relying on something more than simple advice, and must continue however unostentatiously to do so, unless we are preparing to retire from the country.

6. There are three courses open:

1st. To prepare gradually for retiring from the Native states

2nd. To annex them

3rd. To gradually and gently increase our influence as occasion offers over the Peninsula south of Siam, not necessarily with any view of an immediate extension of the Residential system: and in respect to the protected states to determine never to relax our hold, but not to annex whilst it is possible to go on under the present system. In the meantime to work by and through the native governments by advice discreetly but firmly administered.

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7. In regard to the first course, the question at once presents itself: Have we been preparing the protected states for self-Government of such a nature as to enable us, if so minded, to abandon them to their own guidance? I concur with Sir William Robinson in thinking did we abandon them, their state would probably be worse than it was when we first intervened. I do not think that anything could justify us in leaving them to anarchy, and our own interests as well as theirs forbid it. Nothing that we have done has taught them to govern themselves; we are merely teaching them to cooperate with us in governing under our guidance. I have always held the theory that to teach men to govern themselves you must throw them a good deal on their own resources: we are doing, necessarily doing, the very reverse. Moreover, I doubt if Asiatics will ever learn to govern themselves, it is contrary to the genius of their race, of their history, of their religious systems, that they should. Their desire is a mild, just and firm despotism, that we can give them but under the circumstances of the states on the Malay peninsula they are not likely to be able to give it to themselves. Johore may be quoted against my view but the case of this state is itself exceptional and unlike that of any of the other states. When the late Temenggong Ibrahim, the Maharajah's Father, began to turn his attention to Johore, the native population was extremely small; there was little cultivation and the whole revenue even so late as 1852 was \$7200 or about 1800. Now nine-tenths of the population of Johore are Chinese, European, Singapore and Chinese capital is invested in the state, the more readily on account of its close proximity to Singapore, and also because the Maharajah is always advised, not only by Governors, but also by his own European agents, merchants and lawyers. The Maharajah himself is an exceptional Malay ruler; he has lived all his life among Europeans; he is intimately bound up with our own government and has been the personal friend of successive Governors; and after all he has not much for Johore yet, and we do not know what will come after him. Good rulers do doubtless arise in all countries, but judging from the past, native good government hardly seems a plant congenial to the soil, and the increased large Chinese population would present much greater difficulties not to native rulers than it did some ago.

8. Further it must be borne in mind, that not only has European and Chinese capital been encouraged to flow into the Native States by the order we have established in them, but a large field has been opened to European and Chinese settlement for agricultural 'planting' purposes. This capital is being invested in the confidence that we shall not retire from the protected states or be entirely indifferent to the interests of our countrymen even in native ones where we possess influence. Both Malays and Chinese accept our rule in the protected states as a fact, and the large majority, I doubt not, most gratefully accept it, and further the British Government is by both chiefs and people looked upon as the arbiter between the purely native states, and as the guardians of the people of the Peninsula and it really is so.

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9. If this be conceded, the next point to be considered is the advisability of annexation, not of course sudden or immediate, but proximate annexation as circumstances may dictate; and a framing of our policy to accelerate that end. Setting aside any possible unforeseen and exceptional case, I am nor prepared to advocate that policy. I think we can more safely, and on the whole more advantageously to ourselves and to the people, go on as we are doing. Complications may no doubt arise but I fail to see any reason why they may not be as readily averted, or as effectually dealt with, under the present system as under any other whilst the development of the resources of the States and their partial colonization (if I may use the term) by European capitalists can now, I think, be promoted as rapidly as is desirable, so long as the present impression is fostered that we shall not recede from our present position. Countries in the position of the Malay States want a somewhat elastic form of government: justice and firmness tempered by great discretion and tact, great care in the selection of Governors, of Residents, and even of subordinate agents, and under the direction of the Secretary of State a latitude allowed them, which the more rigid and complicated and expensive system of a political and legal organisation, suited for a British colony does not admit of. The Native States are not. I think, ready for the more perfect or purely British system and most likely to go on well under Residential advice, the influence of which more indirectly, and as it were reflectedly, will gradually permeate the more purely Native States, affording them the opportunities, should wise rulers arise, of imitating the example of our Residents and working out their own good. It is much more likely, however, that the contrast between their own rulers' conduct and that of our Residents, will lead to the speed of a desire which is already felt amongst the people, in Sri Menanti for instance, to throw themselves on our protection.

10. Such are briefly my views up on the first two propositions. I see no valid reason against adhering to the third course which may be said to be nearly that now pursued, at least it is the view by which I, unless otherwise instructed, should be guided so far as circumstances may permit, and I take it to be in accordance with the existing instructions and despatches of the Secretary of State as I understand them.

11. It will not be irrelevant to add that the Bendahara of Pahang, which is situated on the East coast and marches with Selangor and Perak, has just written to me to say that it is his desire to visit me in Singapore, if it be my pleasure to receive him. I had some little time ago expressed to envoys sent to me by him my desire to maintain most friendly relations with him, and I look upon his intended visit with much satisfaction. Though several times invited by my predecessors, the Bendahara has never been to Singapore since he obtained the supreme power in Pahang. While on my recent

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tour in the Native States, I heard confidentially from native sources that it was the Bendahara's wish to come to Singapore to seek my chose friendship and advice; and looking to the position of Pahang with regard to the Western States under our protection, I am of opinion that should the Bendahara seek it, our relations with him may with great advantage to him and to his people and also to the Colony and Protected States, be drawn as close as possible, but advances should come from him, for I hear that offers of advice made to him by Sir Harry Ord, Sir A. Clarke and Sir W. Jervois, though received with great politeness, had apparently but slight effect upon him. I am inclined to think that he has been led to his present step by seeing the increased prosperity of his western neighbours, and the stagnation of his own country, which possesses such magnificent resources. Standing alone as he does, he is likely to seek a close alliance with the British Government which he, in common, I am told, with all other natives in these seas, looks up to as the most powerful and most just of European powers. It is unnecessary for me to say how much alliance with a state so important by its resources and still more so by its geographical position, would tend to consolidate our position and influence in the Malay Pensinsula, and I think that it will be probably wise for me on the arrival of the new steamer, which I have already asked for, to return the visit of the Bendahara and personally to see his country and possibly cross it to Perak on my return thence.

Kimberley's Comments (14 Jan. 1881) on Weld's Despatch of 21 Oct. 1880

I agree generally in Sir F. Weld's views. This no. 3 is the policy which should be pursued. I would lay down no rule as to the appointment of Residents to the states which now have no Residents.

.../DOKUMEN C

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DOKUMEN C

**Minit Persidangan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu  
Semenanjung Tanah Melayu Yang Kedua Kali**

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Peringatan Persidangan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu Yang Kedua Kali diadakan pada hari Rabu dan Khamis 25 dan 26hb Disember 1940 di rumah Persekutuan Guru-Guru Melayu Singapura, Palembang Road, Singapura.

**Yang hadir bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Perak:**

Encik Tak, Datuk Muda Orang Kaya-Kaya Panglima Kinta  
Encik Ahmad Karim

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Selangor:**

Y.M. Tengku Ismail b. Tengku Mohd. Yassin (Peguam)  
Y.M. Raja Bon b. Raja Yahaya  
Y.M. Raja Yaakob b. Raja Alang  
Encik Ismail b. Mohd. Saad  
Encik Yunus b. Abdul Hamid  
Encik Noraldin b. Nawi  
Tuan Hj. Mohd. Kamal  
Tuan Hj. Mohd. Dahlan Mashod

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Pahang:**

Encik Mohd. Tahar b. Setia Raja  
Encik Mohd. b. Bagina Besar

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Negeri Sembilan:**

Y.T.M. Tengku Nasir (Tg. Panglima Besar)  
Datuk Raja Di Raja Muid  
Y.M. Raja Mohd Noordin b. Raja Dali

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Sarawak:**

Abang Hj. Zaini b. Datuk Bentara  
Encik Mohd. Johari b. Inang  
Encik Mohd. Mahmud b. Noor

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Brunei:**

Encik Mohd. Hassan

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Johor:**

Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib  
Capt. Mohd. Noor b. Hj. Ismail  
Encik Jaafar b. Hj. Abd. Rahman  
Tuan Hj. Hashim b. Hitam  
Tuan Hj. Mohd. b. Hj. Hassan  
Tuan Hj. Arshad b. Awang

**Bagi pihak Persatuan Melayu Kelantan:**

Encik Ibrahim b. Hj. Yaakob  
Encik Ismail b. Ibrahim

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka:**

Encik Mohd. Ali b. Mohd. Araf  
Encik Osman b. Kering (Orang Kaya Seri Raja Merah Datuk  
Penghulu Naning)  
Encik Sidin b. Abdullah

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan  
Pulau Pinang:**

Encik Abdul Majid b. Abd Hamid  
Encik Abu Bakar b. Mohd. Noor  
Encik Abdul Wahab b. Mohd. Zain

**Bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat  
(Singapura):**

Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (J.P.)  
Encik Ashak b. Ahmad  
Tuan Putera Jumaat  
Encik Ismail b. Abdul Aziz  
Encik Yunan b. Hj. Daim  
Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim

Hari yang pertama 25hb Disember 1940 persidangan diadakan pada pukul 9.35 pagi.

Sebelum persidangan dimulakan maka sekumpulan kanak-kanak dari Sekolah Melayu Tanglin Tinggi menyanyi suatu lagu Kebangsaan Melayu dipandu oleh Encik Mohd. Sidik bin Hj. Ismail

Encik Daud bin Mohd. Syah, Yang Di Pertua Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura), memberi suatu ucapan bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura) mengalu-alukan kedatangan wakil-wakil bagi Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang hadir dan mengenalkan mereka itu kepada persidangan.

Yang Mulia Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Mohd. Yassin, Yang Di Pertua Persatuan Melayu Selangor, membalas ucapan selamat itu bagi pihak Persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang lain.

Dengan cadangan Encik Daud bin Mohd. Syah dan disokongi oleh Encik Mohd. Ali bin Mohd. Araf, Y.M. Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Mohd. Yassin dengan sebulat suara dipilih menjadi pengerusi dan dengan cadangan Tuan Hj. Hashim bin Hitam serta disokong oleh Encik Jaafar b. Hj. Abdul Manan, Encik Ishak b. Hj. Mohammad dengan sebulat suara dipilih menjadi Setiausaha bagi persidangan itu.

Tuan Pengerusi melafazkan suatu ucapan terimakasih kepada persidangan kerana memilih akan dia jadi Pengerusi seraya menyebut perihal perjumpaan pertama yang telah diadakan di Kuala Lumpur dalam bulan Ogos tahun 1939 dan dihadiri oleh wakil-wakil bagi tujuh buah persatuan-persatuan Melayu.

Lepas itu persidangan membicarakan fasal pembahagian undi kerana bilangan wakil-wakil bagi sesebuah persidangan yang mengambil bahagian tidak sama banyaknya: iaitu ada yang dua, ada yang tiga, ada yang lima, dan ada pula yang delapan orang. Keputusannya ditetapkan tiap-tiap sebuah persatuan beroleh satu undi sahaja. Maka Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka dan Cawangan Pulau Pinang dihitungkan seperti persatuan-persatuan bersendirian dan beroleh satu undi masing-masing.

Giliran yang pertama membawa cadangan terjatuh kepada Persatuan Melayu Perak dan cadangannya ialah: "bagaimana jalannya untuk meluaskan pelajaran anak-anak Melayu laki-laki dan perempuan pada masa yang akan datang" Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta, Yang DiPertua Persatuan Melayu Perak, bangun bercakap. Wakil Perak itu tidak membutirkan sesuatu cadangan yang tertentu bahkan ia membukakan perkara itu bagi timbangan persidangan.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (Singapura) bercakap memberi fikirannya serta mendatangkan syor supaya diadakan scholarship kerana pelajaran tinggi oleh sekalian Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu. Keduanya ia mengesyorkan supaya pelajaran di Sekolah Melayu dinaikkan hingga darjah enam dan tujuh dimana-mana tempat yang patut diadakan. Ketiganya ia mengesyorkan supaya diadakan sekolah pertukangan dengan ajaran dalam bahasa Melayu. Bagi anak-anak perempuan Melayu ia padakan dengan pelajaran Sekolah Melayu seperti yang ada sekarang, termasuk pelajaran rumahtangga. Melainkan anak-anak perempuan bagi orang-orang kaya. Mereka itu Tuan Hj. Mohamad b. Hassan (Johor), mengesyorkan supaya ajaran tulisan rumi dalam Sekolah-Sekolah dihapuskan dan digantikan dengan ajaran bahasa Inggeris.

Encik Mohamad Yunus b. Hamid (Selangor) mengesyorkan supaya ditanam perasaan kebangsaan Melayu pada murid-murid di Sekolah-Sekolah Melayu. Ia bersetuju dengan syor menaikkan darjah Sekolah Melayu dan mengadakan scholarship.

Raja Bon b. Raja Yahaya (Selangor) dan Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Zaib (Johor) menyokong syor-syor Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (wakil Singapura). Raja Bon mengesyorkan supaya ditulis surat rayuan kepada perintahan. Cadangan ini disokong oleh Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (Singapura).

Raja Yaakob b. Raja Alang (Selangor) menunjukkan bahawa masa pada sisi wakil-wakil itu pendek pada hal banyak cadangan yang ditimbangkan. Ia mengesyorkan supaya cadangan-cadangan yang besar dan utama sahaja dibawa ke tengah.

Encik Mohd. Tahar b. Setis Raja (Pahang) dan Encik Mohd. Ali b. Araf (Melaka) memberi fikiran masing-masing berkenaan perkara ini.

Tengku Pengerusi mengulas buah-buah fikiran yang dibentangkan dan menyatakan pendapatnya sendiri iaitu scholarship sayugia diadakan oleh masing-masing persatuan. Ia bersetuju supaya dinaikkan pelajaran Sekolah Melayu.

Encik Ismail b. Mohd. Syah (Selangor) mencadangkan, disokongi Encik Ibrahim b. Haji Yaakob (Kelantan), bahawa perkara ini ditangguhkan. Cadangan ini diluluskan oleh persidangan.

Apabila tiba pada giliran Persatuan Melayu Selangor membawa cadangan-cadangannya maka Tengku Pengurus menyatakan ada suatu cadangan persatuannya yang tidak sempat dimasukkan di dalam kerja-kerja persidangan ini iaitu, "patut persatuan-persatuan Melayu mengadakan kumpulan wang kerana membeli kapalterbang "Spitfire". Ia berharap perkara ini boleh kiranya dibenar dibicarakan oleh persidangan.

Pada tentang ini Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (Singapura) bangun menyatakan yang kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura) ada suatu cadangan seumpama cadangan Selangor itu juga. Ia menambah kata lagi sekiranya persidangan bersetuju bolehlah perkara ini dibentangkan oleh Wakil Singapura yang telah ditetapkan akan membawanya iaitu Tuan Putera Jumaat.

Tuan Putera Jumaat (Singapura) mencadangkan supaya Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang mengambil bahagian dalam persidangan ini bersekutu mengadakan loteri kerana membantu perintahan Inggeris dalam masa peperangan yang ada ini. Cadangan itu disokong oleh Tuan Hj. Hashim (Johor) dan disertai oleh Raja Yaakob (Selangor).

Apabila perkara ini dikemukakan kepada Persidangan maka Encik Mohd. Tahar (Pahang) dan Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei) menyokong cadangan itu. Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib (Johor)

menyatakan fikirannya tidak bersetuju wang kumpulan itu dibelikan kapalterbang kerana iaitu akan membunuh kanak-kanak dan perempuan.

Tengku Pengerusi mengulas seraya mengatakan jikalau kita tidak membunuh musuh nescaya dia akan membunuh kanak-kanak dan perempuan kita sendiri. Keputusannya persidangan bersetuju dengan sebulat suara menolong pemerintahan Inggeris dengan seberapa daya-upaya dalam masa peperangan itu. Dengan cadangan Tengku Pengerusi dan disokongi oleh Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta maka suatu Jawatankuasa dilantik bagi menghalusi jalan-jalan yang baik sekali pada mengadakan bantuan itu. Jawatankuasa itu mengandungi seorang daripada tiap-tiap Persatuan Melayu yang hadir. Nama-nama tuan-tuan yang dipilih jadi anggota jawatankuasa itu adalah seperti dibawah ini:

Singapura	-	Tuan Putera Jumaat
Perak	-	Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta
Selangor	-	Y.M. Raja Bon b. Raja Yahaya
Pahang	-	Encik Mohamad b. Baginda Besar
Negeri Sembilan	-	Datuk Raja DiRaja Muid
Sarawak	-	Encik Mohamad Makmun b. Nor
Brunei	-	Encik Mohd. Hassan
Melaka	-	Datuk Penghulu Naning
Pulau Pinang	-	Encik Abd. Majid b. Abd. Hamid
Johor	-	Tuan Hj. Mohamad b. Hj. Hassan
Kelantan	-	Encik Ibrahim b. Hj. Yaakob

Setiausaha Jawatankuasa ini ialah Encik Ishak b. Hj. Mohamad, Setiausaha Persidangan. Kemudian persidangan terus pula menimbangkan cadangan-cadangan Persatuan Melayu Selangor. Tengku Pengerusi membawa cadangan, "cukai pendapatan tidak patut dijalankan dalam Malaya". Tengku Pengerusi memberi beberapa sebab maka cukai pendapatan itu tidak patut dikenakan dalam negeri ini. Setengah daripada sebab-sebabnya ialah cukai itu tidak sama berat. Pada masa ini telah diketahui kecabulan kakitangan-kakitangan pemerintahan. Cukai itu akan memberi pekerjaan kepada orang asing lebih daripada orang Melayu. Apabila berjalan cukai itu kelak orang-orang asing akan menuntut lebih-lebih hak negeri kerana maka itu taat dan membayar cukai. Pada masa ini belum ada orang yang cukup faham berkenaan dengan cukai pendapatan. Kira-kira perniagaan dalam negeri ini berlainan aturannya. Oleh itu sukar hendak dikira cukai itu. Dan lagi jikalau berjalan cukai itu nescaya terbuka rahsia-rahsia perniagaan. Lagi pula tidak ada sesuatu akuan yang menentukan bahawa cukai itu tidak diturunkan hadnya. Dan penghabisannya sungguh pun dikatakan cukai itu akan dikenakan dalam masa peperangan ini sahaja, harus juga iaitu akan menjadi cukai yang tetap.



Hingga ini (12.30) persidangan pun ditangguhkan dan wakil-wakil itu pun beredar ke Islamic Restaurant di North Bridge Road kerana makan tengah hari.

Apabila persidangan disambungkan semula maka Y.M. Tengku Ismail mengulangi lagi sebab-sebabnya maka patut dibangkang cukai pendapatan itu.

Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib (Johor) menyokong cadangan Selangor itu.

Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim (Singapura) mencadangkan suatu pindaan kepada cadangan yang asal itu. Kata Encik Abd. Rahim, "saya cadangkan bahawa perkataan "Malaya" dalam cadangan yang asal itu dipinda dengan Perkataan-perkataan "Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu". Dalam Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu (Malay States) boleh dibangkang cukai pendapatan kerana Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu itu ialah Sovereign State (Kerajaan-Kerajaan Pertuan) yang tidak terkandung dalam British Empire (Pemerintahan Besar British) ertinya Kerajaan Pertuan itu ia mengeluarkan perintah kepada sekalian manusia dan persatuan dalam negeri dan ia tidak menerima perintah dari luar negeri.

"Sekiranya diluluskan juga cukai pendapatan didalam Straits Settlement (Pendudukan-pendudukan Selat) maka bukanlah ertinya tak dapat tidak diluluskan jua dia dalam Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu. Saya suka menguatkan bahawa tiap-tiap orang Melayu ialah satu anggota bagi Kerajaan Melayu. Ianya berhak berkata-kata sebelum dikeluarkan sesuatu undang-undang.

"Ada pun Pendudukan-pendudukan Selat ini lainlah kiranya. Iaitu tanah yang dipunyai oleh Great Britain pada hal di Great Britain isi negerinya dikenakan cukai pendapatan, di atas itu pula nyawa mereka sekarang ada dihujung tanduk. Jadi tidaklah molek tanah jajahan seperti Penduduk-Pendudukan Selat ini tidak menurut tauladan negeri ibunya.

"Sebanyak yang berkenaan dengan Pendudukan-Pendudukan Selat, Kesatuan Melayu Selat berfikir patut diadakan cukai pendapatan dan keputusan itu sudah pun dihamparkan kepada perintahan. Tinggal lagi Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu boleh membangkang cukai pendapatan dengan alasan-alasan siasah dan perlembagaan (Political dan Constitutional Reasons)"

Pindaan itu disokong oleh Raja Bon bin Raja Yahaya.

Encik Ibrahim b. Yaakob wakil Kelantan membangkang dan bangkangnya itu disokong oleh Datuk Muda Orangkaya-Orangkaya Panglima Kinta wakil Perak.

Cadangan itu seperti yang dipinda pun diundikan, keputusannya pihak cadangan dapat tujuh undi berlawanan dengan tiga undi bagi pihak pembangkang.

Cadangan Persatuan Melayu Selangor, bahawa bahasa Melayu dan tulisan Jawi patut dijadikan bahasa dan tulisan perjawatan oleh Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu". Itu tidak dibawa ketengah.

Cadangan Selangor yang akhir iaitu, "taarif Melayu pada Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang mengambil bahagian dalam persidangan itu patut disatukan". Dibentangkan oleh Raja Yaakob Raja Alang. Taarif Melayu yang dikehendaknya begini; Yang dikatakan "Melayu" itu ialah seseorang yang keturunannya dari sebelah bapa berasal daripada Semenanjung Melayu atau Gugusan Pulau-Pulau Melayu dan berpegang dengan adat-adat Melayu serta beragama Islam.

Abang Hj. Zaini b. Datuk Bentara (Sarawak) menyokong cadangan Selangor itu.

Encik Daud b. Mohd Syah (Singapura), berkata sekiranya dikehendaki taarif Melayu itu serupa pada segala syaratnya barangkali sukar sedikit. Ia bersetuju dengan syarat keturunan dari sebelah bapa akan tetapi tidak bersetuju dengan syarat beragama Islam. Bagi Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu; pada fikirannya taarif Melayu Johor itu molek. Dan lagi ia menunjukkan bahawa takrif Melayu bagi Kesatuan Melayu Selat mempunyai syarat "taraf rupabangsa" (Nasional Status). Ertinya hanyalah orang Melayu rakyat British atau rakyat yang dibawah naungan British sahaja dibenarkan masuk bersekutu, pada takrif Melayu Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu yang lain tidak ada syarat ini.

Raja Mohd. Noruldin b. Raja Deli (Negeri Sembilan) menerangkan iaitu sudah hendak diikuti takrif Melayu seperti cadangan wakil Selangor itu didalam Negeri Sembilan kerana disana ada berlaku adat perpatih, dan adat itu pula mengambil keturunan pesaka dari sebelah ibu. Datuk Raja Di Raja Muid pun bercakap juga menambah keterangan Raja Mohd. Noruldin itu.

Encik Mohd. Tahar b. Setiaraja (Pahang) berkata pada tentang ianya sendiri sangat bersetuju dengan takrif mengikut keturunan sebelah bapa itu. Akan tetapi persatuan yang diwakilinya itu tiada mempunyai takrif Melayu. Hanya terpulanglah kepada Jawatankuasa persatuan itu menimbangkan seseorang itu Melayukah atau tidak, apabila ia minta bersekutu. Biasanya jawatankuasa itu menilik, pada tentang orang yang bukan keturunan Melayu jati, adakah dia mempunyai telateh Melayu dan adakah hatinya cenderung pada orang Melayu. Jika adalah ianya demikian maka terimalah permintaan hendak bersekutu itu.

Encik Mohamad b. Baginda Besar (Wakil Pahang juga) berkata iaitu susah hendak diketahui seseorang itu Melayu hatikah atau tidak. Barangkali diketahui oleh persidangan ini, katanya lagi, bahwa pada zaman purbakala orang-orang

asing telah datang ke Semenanjung dan ke Gugusan Pulau-Pulau Melayu ini. Boleh jadi setengah-setengah orang yang mengaku Melayu jati itu hanyasanya keturunan daripada orang-orang asing itu.

Encik Mohamad Yunus Abd. Hamid berujar bahawa sekalian manusia dalam dunia ini ialah keturunan Nabi Adam. Akan tetapi pada masa ini telah ada berbagai-bagai bangsa. Oleh itu tentulah ada sesuatu masanya sesuatu puak manusia itu jadi satu keturunan yang tertentu. Umpamanya, kata Encik Mohd. Yunus lagi, jika orang Melayu itu mulai dikatakan (Melayu) pada masa Raja Besar Iskandar atau Raja Iskandar Dzulkarnain, maka daripada masa itulah turun kepada hari ini mereka itu dipanggil "Melayu". Yang ke atas daripada masa Raja Iskandar Besar tidaklah dikatakan "Melayu".

Tengku Pengerusi mengulas pendapatan-pendapatan yang dibawa oleh jurucakap-jurucakap itu sambil ia meminta kepada persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang belum mempunyai takrif atau mempunyai takrif yang tidak ketat supaya berbuat demikian. Dalam perkara ini persidangan tiada mengambil sesuatu keputusan hanya memulangkan perkara takrif itu kepada Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu itu masing-masing.

Cadangan Persekutuan Melayu Negeri Sembilan yang pertama iaitu mengeluarkan Majalah bagi Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu itu ditangguhkan kepada tahun akan datang kerana menimbangkan pada masa sekarang dunia sedang bergelora.

Cadangan Negeri Sembilan yang kedua ialah berkenaan dengan meminta kepada pemerintahan supaya melantik seseorang Melayu jati jadi wakil dalam sebarang utusan bersangkut paut dengan Tanah Melayu yang dihantarkan oleh pemerintahan keluar negeri. Cadangan itu dibawa oleh Datuk Raja Di Raja Muid. Dalam ucapannya Datuk itu menyebutkan utusan Ahyam dan utusan Tanah Melayu bagi persidangan kumpulan Timur yang baharu diadakan di Delhi itu. Dalam kedua-kedua utusan itu tiada seorang pun wakil Melayunya. Ia menambah kata lagi bahawa orang Melayu sekarang bukanlah orang Melayu enam puluh tahun dahulu. Orang Melayu sekarang ada mempunyai pengetahuan pada perkara tentera dan perkara ketukangan dan sebagainya.

Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim (Singapura) pada menyokong cadangan itu berkata: Saya menyertai perundingan wakil Negeri Sembilan itu. Sebagai menambah perkataan atau alasan pihak pencadang itu saya suka menguatkan bahawa "Melayu" atau "Tanah Melayu" itu mengandungi yang pertamanya Pendudukan-Pendudukan Selat (S.S.) dan yang keduanya Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu atau Malay States. Perhatikanlah kiranya perkataan-perkataan "Kerajaan-Kerajaan Melayu" itu kerana mengikut perbincangan pengetahuan cara siasah "Kerajaan" dan "Negeri" itu berlainan maknanya. Kerajaan-kerajaan Melayu itu tidak termasuk dalam pemerintahan besar British.

Apabila dihantar dari sini wakil-wakil bagi persidangan di luar negeri wakil-wakil itu biasanya digelar Malayan delegates atau "Wakil-wakil Tanah Melayu"> Sekiranya digunakan gelaran "Wakil-Wakil Negeri Selat" nescaya mengertilah kita orang Melayu. Akan tetapi apabila digunakan gelaran "Wakil-Wakil Tanah Melayu" - pada hal tidak ada seorang pun orang Melayunya di antara mereka itu - tak dapat tiada orang Melayu raya berasa yang mereka itu sehingga dilupakan dan hak-hak mereka tidak diindahkan.

"Sebagai lagi, Great Britain sekarang sedang mempertahankan lunas-lunas kuasa ramai (democratic principle) dalam peperangan yang ada ini. Suatu daripada lunas-lunas kuasa ramai itu ialah "self government" (perintahan sendiri).

Sedikit masa dahulu seorang Menteri British ada berujar begini: "Tujuan kita bukannya hendak memerintah kaum lain bahkan hendak menolong kaum lain memerintah diri mereka sendiri". Inilah dasar perintah British. Sekarang orang Melayu ingin hendak mengambil bahagian dalam tadbir negeri mereka lebih besar daripada yang ada sekarang. Dari sebab itu patut diberi peluang kepada mereka berbuat demikian.

Pada penghabisan perkataan saya maka saya menyokong rundingan wakil Negeri Sembilan tadi iaitu persidangan ini berpendapatan bahawa bila-bila masa pemerintahan menghantar wakil-wakil Tanah Melayu bagi persidangan-persidangan di luar negeri hendaklah ada sekurang-kurangnya seorang Wakil Melayu". Cadangan itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Persidangan Melayu Pahang dan Kesatuan Melayu Brunei tidak membawa apa-apa cadangan.

Persidangan hari yang pertama tamat pada pukul 4.30 petang. Wakil-wakil beredar ke Hotel Kapalterbang di Kelang kerana jamuan teh yang diadakan oleh Persidangan Melayu Kelantan.

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Di antara tetamu yang hadir dalam majlis jamuan itu ialah Y.B. Encik Onn bin Jaafar, anggota Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan dan Mesyuarat Kerajaan Johor, (ianya hadir juga pada persidangan dari pukul 2 petang itu sebagai seorang pemerhati), Alfazal Tuan Hj. Mohamad Fazallah Suhaimi Al Zahri, Gurubesar \_\_\_\_\_ Alfardus, Singapura, Syed Ahmad bin Mohd \_\_\_\_\_, J.P., Encik Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (Zaaba), Syed Mohd bin Alsagof, Tuan Hj. Abd. Hamid Fazal Al Muari dan lain-lainnya lagi.

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Encik Ibrahim bin Hj. Yaakob, Wakil Persatuan Melayu Kelantan, memberi ucapan bagi pihak penjamu. Menjawab bagi pihak tetamu Y.B. Encik Onn bin Jaafar memberi suatu ucapan yang mengandungi bernas dan nasihat yang berguna serta galakan yang gembira bagi kejayaan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu. Diantara lain-lain ia berkata yang orang-orang Melayu belum jatuh dan tidak akan jatuh. Orang Melayu lemah bukan kerana tak pandai, bukan kerana miskin, akan tetapi kerana tidak ada penganjur-penganjur. Katanya lagi oleh kerana sekarang telah ada persatuan-persatuan Melayu hendaklah pegawai-pegawai persatuan-persatuan itu bekerja sungguh-sungguh. Ianya percaya sekiranya persatuan-persatuan itu bekerja sungguh-sungguh, hak-hak orang Melayu pada perkara tadbir dan negeri akan beransur-ansur kembali kepada mereka itu. Sebaliknya jikalau persatuan-persatuan itu bekerja sambil lewa sahaja lebih baiklah tutup akan dia semuanya.

Tuan-tuan yang bercakap lain daripada Y.B. Encik Onn dalam majlis itu ialah Y.M. Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Mohd. Yassin dan Encik Daud bin Mohd. Shah.

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Hari Yang Kedua 26hb Disember 1940 Persidangan diadakan pada pukul 9.30 pagi.

Semua wakil-wakil persatuan-persatuan itu hadir melainkan Y.T.M. Tengku Nasir, Tg. Panglima Besar, Tuan Hj. Arshad b. Awang, iaitu seorang wakil Kesatuan Melayu Johor, hadir pada kali yang pertama hari ini.

Setelah persidangan dibuka oleh Tg. Pengerusi, maka Encik Daud b. Mohd. Shah berkata oleh sebab kerja-kerja, persidangan itu banyak lagi yang akan diputuskan, ia meminta supaya seorang wakil dibenarkan bercakap atas sesuatu rundingan hanya sekali sahaja. Persidangan bersetuju dengan cara Encik Daud itu.

Setiausaha persidangan menyatakan bahawa jawatankuasa yang bersidang pada malam tadi pertamanya di Hotel Kapal terbang di Kallang dan keduanya di rumah Encik Daud bin Mohd. Shah di Siglap itu telah mendapat keputusan bersetuju membantu pemerintahan British. Dalam masa peperangan ini dengan jalan loteri. Aturan-aturan ditetapkan adalah seperti ini:

1. Pengelolaan bagi menjalankan loteri itu dipulangkan kepada Kesatuan Melayu Negeri Selat-Selat (Singapura).

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2. 40 peratus daripada wang pendapatan loteri itu akan dikirimkan kepada Tuan Winston Churchill melalui Tuan Gabenor bagi membeli kapalterbang "Spitfire"
3. 50 peratus akan diberi sebagai hadiah-hadiah dengan jalan "War Savings Certificate".

iaitu:

25 peratus bagi hadiah yang pertama.

12 peratus bagi hadiah yang kedua & peratus bagi hadiah yang ketiga.

Bakinya dibahagikan kepada 100 hadiah-hadiah hiburan.

10 peratus diperbuat perbelanjaan-perbelanjaan keputusan itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

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Cadangan Kesatuan Melayu Johor ialah "Perkebunan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu" iaitu dibawa oleh Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib. Tuan Doktor itu menerangkan bagaimana kekayaan tanah Melayu telah dan sedang diperah oleh orang-orang asing pada hal orang-orang Melayu tidak berharta dan bertambah miskin. Ia mengesyurkan supaya persatuan-persatuan Melayu mengadakan "syer" sebanyak dua juta ringgit berharga seringggit pada satu "syer" kerana membeli ladang getah atau ladang kelapa dan sebagainya.

Cadangan itu disokong oleh Encik Mohd. Yunus Abdul Hamid (Selangor) dan Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei). Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (Singapura) dan Encik Daud b. Mohd Shah (wakil Singapura juga) menerangkan yang cadangan itu termasuk kedalam perkara perniagaan pada hal berkenaan dengan perniagaan, Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat tidak dibenarkan menjalankannya.

Tuan Hj. Arshad b. Awang (Johor) menguatkan lagi keterangan-keterangan yang dibentangkan oleh rakannya Dr. Hamzah itu. Encik Mohd. Sahar bin Setia Raja (Pahang) menerangkan sekiranya hendak dijalankan cadangan Johor itu berkehendakan kepada tiga perkara. Pertamanya tanah, keduanya pekerja, ketiganya modal. Menyambungkan perkataannya Encik Mohd. Sahar berkata yang tanah itu masih banyak lagi boleh didapati dengan tidak susah. Tentang pekerja banyak orang Melayu boleh didapati. Hanya pada tentang tadbir orang

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Melayu keciwa sedikit, orang Melayu belum ada tadbir yang cukup. Syarat yang ketiganya iaitu modal. Disini setengah orang berkata orang Melayu ada mempunyai modal. Akan tetapi wakil Pahang itu mengingatkan persidangan bahawa yang dikatakan modal itu ialah wang yang lebih daripada hajat-hajat kehidupan, pada hal hanya sedikit sahaja daripada orang Melayu yang ada wang lebih daripada hajat-hajat kehidupan mereka. Dengan alasan-alasan itu, Wakil Pahang itu membangkang cadangan Johor itu.

Tengku Pengerusi ketika mengulas berkata cadangan yang dibawa oleh kesatuan Melayu Johor itu boleh dijalankan dengan tiga cara. Pertamanya, Syarikat Kerjasama; pada tentang ini dikehendaki kebenaran perintahan, keduanya dengan jalan kompeni perniagaan, dan ketiganya dengan jalan persatuan. Akan tetapi perkara ini besar dan susah membuatnya jikalau sekalian persatuan-persatuan itu dikumpulkan sekali. Oleh itu pada fikirannya moleklah perkara ini dicuba dan dijalankan oleh persatuan-persatuan Melayu masing-masing. Maka persidangan pun bersetuju dengan syur Tengku Pengerusi itu.

Persatuan Melayu Sarawak jangkanya membawa tiga cadangan tetapi yang pertamanya iaitu "mengadakan lagu kebangsaan Melayu" dibatalkan. Maka yang dua lagi iaitu (1) mencari jalan bagi melebihkan kerapatan sama bangsa dan (2) mencari jalan bagi membangunkan semangat perniagaan Melayu telah ada terkandung dalam cadangan-cadangan yang dibawa oleh persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang lain. Dari kerana itu, Encik Mohd. Johari b. Inang, dengan persetujuan wakil-wakil Persatuan Melayu Sarawak maka cadangan-cadangan itu ditarik balik.

Encik Ibrahim b. Hj. Yaakob, wakil Persekutuan Melayu Keantan membawa cadangan "patut dilantik suatu jawatankuasa bersekutu bagi Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu Tanah Melayu, Sarawak dan Brunei kerana menyelidik hal-ehwal kehidupan bangsa Melayu dan memberi syur-syur bagi memperbaikinya.

Cadangan Kelantan itu disokong oleh Y.M. Raja Yaakob bin Raja Alang (Selangor) dan Dr. Hamzah bin Hj. Taib (Johor). Encik Mohd. Sahar b. Setia Raja (Pahang) berkata ianya bukan hendak membangkang cadangan Kelantan itu, kerana cadangan itu bukanlah perkara mustahil tetapi pada perkiraannya tidak boleh jadi. Selidik seperti yang dicadangkan oleh wakil Kelantan itu hendaklah meliputi selidik atas siasah dan ikhtisad. Perkara ini hendaklah digali sampai ke akar tunjangnya. Wakil Pahang itu mengingatkan persidangan bahawa perbelanjaan-perbelanjaan berkenaan dengan perkara itu sangat banyak dan ia berfikir persatuan-persatuan Melayu tidak mampu memberi wang yang dikehendaki itu pada masa ini. Keduanya perkara itu tak dapat tidak diperbuat oleh orang-orang pandai. Katanya lagi barangkali ada orang yang layak

diantara orang Melayu boleh menjalankan selidik itu akan tetapi mereka itu ada kewajipan yang lebih awal dihadapi mereka. Sungguhpun Persatuan Melayu Pahang ada cadangan yang seumpama itu berkenaan dengan Pahang sahaja, akan tetapi kerja itu belum dapat dijalankan oleh jawatankuasanya.

Y.M. Raja Mohd. Nor Aldin bin Raja Deli (Negeri Sembilan) menyokong cadangan Kelantan itu. Ia berkata jawatankuasa yang dicadangkan itu boleh sambil menyelidik hal kesihatan dan pelajaran orang Melayu.

Encik Daud b. Mohd Shah (Singapura) mencadangkan perkara ini ditangguhkan hingga persidangan tahun yang akan datang. Cadangan itu disokong oleh Tg. Pengerusi dengan ulasan yang menasabah, lalu diluluskan oleh persidangan. Pada ketika ini sepucuk kawat dari Setiausaha Kesatuan Melayu Brunei dibacakan, iaitu menyatakan dukacitanya tidak dapat hadir dalam persidangan itu serta mengucapkan selamat dan jaya.

Cadangan Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka yang pertama, "patut diadakan sekolah pertukangan dengan bahasa Melayu", iaitu dibentangkan oleh Encik Mohd. Ali b. Mohd. Araf.

Dr. Hamzah b. Hj. Taib (Johor) menyokong cadangan itu.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (Singapura) mencadangkan suatu pindaan kepada rundingan yang dibawa oleh wakil Melaka itu demikian "meminta kepada pemerintahan mengadakan sekolah pertukangan dalam bahasa Melayu".

Pindaan itu disokong oleh Y.M. Raja Mohd. Nor Aldin b. Raja Ali (Negeri Sembilan) dan dikuatkan lagi oleh Encik Daud bin Mohd. Shah (Singapura).

Setelah diulas oleh Tg. Pengerusi maka cadangan ini seperti yang dipinda diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Cadangan Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat Cawangan Melaka yang kedua ialah "patut diadakan scholarship bagi Tanah Melayu" telah terkandung didalam cadangan yang dibawa oleh Persatuan Melayu Perak. Oleh itu tidaklah bincangkan dia lagi.

Encik Abd. Majid b. Abd. Hamid, bagi pihak Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Cawangan Pulau Pinang, membentangkan suatu cadangan iaitu, "meminta kepada pemerintahan supaya dilanjutkan umur kanak-kanak Melayu masuk ke Sekolah Inggeris, daripada sebelas tahun kepada dua belas tahun dan dilanjutkan umur mereka lepas sekolah Inggeris kepada 20 tahun".

Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei) menyokong cadangan itu. Encik Mohd. Ali b. Mohd. Araf (Melaka) mengesyorkan suatu



pindaan kepada cadangan Pulau Pinang itu dengan tambahan "serta dibenarkan kanak-kanak Melayu masuk ke Sekolah Melayu sekurang-kurangnya berumur 5 tahun". Ia menerangkan kesusahan ibubapa yang mempunyai anak-anak yang hampir enam tahun tetapi tidak diterima masuk ke Sekolah Melayu.

Encik Yunan b. Hj. Daim (Singapura) membangkang pindaan yang dibawa oleh Encik Mohd. Ali bin Mohd Araf itu. Ia menyatakan bahawa kanak-kanak Melayu yang dibawah 6 tahun itu kerap kali tidak maju pelajaran mereka kecuali pada sedikit-sedikitnya.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (S'pura) memberi fikirannya iaitu tidak payahlah meminta kepada pemerintahan melanjutkan umur sekolah bagi kanak-kanak Melayu. Ia mengesyurkan mana-mana ibubapa Melayu yang mampu bolehlah menghantarkan anak-anak mereka terus ke sekolah Inggeris tidak ke sekolah Melayu lagi.

Encik Mohd. Hassan (Brunei) tidak bersetuju dengan syur Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz itu kerana katanya lebih banyak ibubapa Melayu yang tidak mampu daripada yang mampu.

Pindaan daripada wakil Melaka itu ialah, dan cadangan wakil Pulau Pinang itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Sekarang persidangan beralih menimbangkan cadangan-cadangan daripada Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura).

Cadangan yang pertama ialah "patut meminta kepada pemerintahan supaya diadakan seorang pengelola bahasa dan pelajaran Melayu, dengan gelaran "Penolong Penguasa Pelajaran Melayu", daripada "Keturunan Melayu Jati". Rundingan ini dibawa oleh Tuan Putera Jumaat wakil Singapura. Dalam ucapannya menerangkan cadangannya itu Tuan Putera Jumaat menyebutkan bahawa pada masa ini bilangan sekolah-sekolah Melayu adalah sebanyak 850 dan bilangan kanak-kanak Melayu yang ada belajar di sekolah-sekolah itu adalah sebanyak 105,000. Pada hal bilangan sekolah-sekolah China di Tanah Melayu itu sampai begitu banyaknya tetapi ada seorang Penolong Penguasa Pelajaran (Cina) disini.

Cadangan itu diluluskan oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara.

Cadangan Singapura yang kedua ialah "mencari jalan-jalan mendidik perasaan bersatu diantara orang Melayu". Tuan Putera Jumaat membutirkan jalan-jalannya ialah dengan perantaraan syarah-syarah dan perdampingan dengan surat-surat khabar Melayu. Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz, wakil Singapura juga, menambah lagi perkataan rakannya dengan jalan berbalas-balas lawatan di antara anggota-anggota persatuan-persatuan Melayu dan dengan jalan temasya bangsa Melayu daripada berbagai-bagai pertunjukan dan permainan padang.

Cadangan itu diterima oleh persidangan dengan gemar dan dicuba melakukannya oleh persatuan-persatuan Melayu itu masing-masing.

Cadangan Singapura yang ketiga iaitu, "mencari jalan dengan seberapa daya upaya menyokong pemerintahan British dalam masa peperangan ini" telah diputuskan lebih dahulu oleh persidangan.

Cadangan Singapura yang keempat dibawa oleh Encik Ashak bin Ahmad, wakil Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura). Encik Ashak mencadangkan perjumpaan persatuan-persatuan Melayu ini dinamakan, "Persidangan Bangsa Melayu". Katanya jikalau dipanggil akan dia "perjumpaan" atau "Persidangan Persatuan Melayu Tanah Melayu" sahaja barangkali tidak kena kerana pada hari ini persidangan-persidangan Melayu Sarawak dan Brunei ada sama hadir.

Encik Mohd. Sahar b. Setia Raja (Pahang) menyokong cadangan Singapura itu akan tetapi dengan pindaan perkataan "kebangsaan" ganti perkataan "bangsa".

Encik Abd. Rahim b. Ibrahim (Singapura) bangun menunjukkan perbezaan diantara "bangsa" dan "kebangsaan". Katanya: "Saya suka hendak menunjukkan perbezaan diantara rupanama "Kebangsaan" atau nationalist atau rupanama "bangsa" atau national. Sesuatu itu dikenakan "kebangsaan" apabila ia cenderung kepada self-sufficiency (lengkap diri) atau independence (kemerdekaan), dan sesuatu itu dikatakan (bagai) "bangsa" (national) apabila ia dipakai oleh seluruh kaum atau keturunan, atau "rata" (general) atau "raya" (public).

Tg. Pengerusi mengulas cadangan itu penghabisannya persidangan bersetuju dengan syur Tg. Pengerusi menamakan persidangan itu dengan nama, "Persidangan-Persidangan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu Semenanjung Tanah Melayu", dan jikalau persatuan-persatuan Melayu diluar Semenanjung itu hadir bolehlah ditambah nama-nama desa yang berkenaan di hujung nama itu.

Cadangan Singapura yang akhir, "mintakan persidangan tahun yang akan datang". Dengan sebulat suara persidangan tahun yang akan datang ditetapkan di Ipoh, Perak.

Tuan Putera Jumaat (Singapura) bercakap berkenaan dengan perkara wakil-wakil sayugialah mereka itu mendapat se-penuh-penuh kuasa daripada persatuan-persatuan masing-masing. Ia berharap tidaklah akan jadi pada persidangan yang akan datang seseorang wakil berkata yang ianya tiada berkuasa memberi perkataan yang putus: Ia hanya memberi fikirannya sendiri bukannya fikiran persatuannya.

Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz (wakil Singapura juga) mengambil peluang bercakap peri wakil-wakil, kuasa-kuasa mereka, aturan-aturan persidangan dan akhir sekali kebebasan

percakapan. Ia berharap sekiranya pada persidangan yang akan datang pengerusinya seorang anak raja, janganlah digunakan bahasa dalam tatkala menghalangkan percakapan kepada pengerusi. Memadailah - kata, Encik Ismail itu lagi disebut pengerusi itu "Tuan Pengerusi" sahaja. Maksudnya Encik Ismail dengan percakapannya itu ialah didalam persidangan sahaja, diluar persidangan patutlah bercakap dengan anak-anak Raja mengikut bahasa dalam seperti biasanya.

Tg. Pengerusi bersetuju dengan percakapan Encik Ismail b. Abd. Aziz itu dan berharap pada persidangan yang akan datang dapat dilakukan aturan-aturan persidangan dengan sempurna.

Dengan cadangan Encik Daud b. Mohd. Shah (Singapura) aturan-aturan persidangan seperti dibawa ini dipersetujui oleh persidangan dengan sebulat suara:

1. Pengerusi persidangan itu akan dipilih oleh wakil-wakil yang hadir.
2. Setiausaha persidangan itu ialah setiausaha persatuan Melayu bagi desa tempat diadakan persidangan itu.
3. Cadangan-cadangan hendaklah dihantarkan kepada setiausaha persidangan itu tiga bulan lebih dahulu daripada tarikh persidangan supaya dapat diperkelilingkan kepada tiap-tiap Persatuan Melayu.
4. Tiap-tiap cadangan yang dibawa oleh seseorang wakil tidaklah boleh disokong oleh wakil-wakil persatuan yang membawa cadangan itu juga, tetapi boleh mereka menambah atau menerangkan keterangan-keterangan rakan mereka.
5. Hendaklah diberitahu kepada setiausaha persidangan sekurang-kurangnya 15 hari lebih dahulu daripada hari persidangan berapa orang wakil-wakil bagi sesebuah persatuan yang akan hadir.
6. Tiap-tiap wakil boleh menghurai atau menerangkan pendapatnya hanya sekali sahaja di dalam suatu perkara yang dirundingkan dalam persidangan itu.
7. Peringatan-peringatan persidangan itu hendaklah diperkelilingkan oleh setiausaha persidangan kepada persatuan-persatuan Melayu yang mengambil bahagian.

Abang Hj. Zaini b. Dato Bentara (Sarawak) menyatakan terimakasih dan besar hatinya yang Persatuan Melayu Sarawak dapat hadir dalam persidangan itu.

Persidangan ditutup pada pukul satu petang dengan ucapan terimakasih kepada Tengku Pengerusi dan Setiausaha persidangan.

Lepas itu sekalian wakil-wakil beredar ke Cafe de Luxe, High Street, kerana jamuan makan tengah hari yang diadakan oleh Kesatuan Melayu Negeri-Negeri Selat (Singapura).

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Disebelah petang hari itu setengah daripada wakil-wakil itu melawat ke Johor Bharu dan mencontoh tempat-tempat yang indah disana, seperti Masjid Abu Bakar, tempat binatang-binatang hidup, Makam Mahmudiah dan Istana Persemahyaman baharu bagi Sultan Johor. Persekutuan Keharapan Belia Johor meraikan pelawat-pelawat ini sekeliannya di rumah persekutuan di Jalan Mildred, Johor Bahru dengan suatu jamuan teh yang diserikan oleh sepasukan bunyi-bunyian Melayu yang merdu. Ucapan-ucapan yang menyeru baik perasaan dan kod persaudaraan serta teguh persatuan di antara kaum bangsa Melayu dilafazkan oleh kedua-dua pihak.

Allah selamatkan Persatuan-Persatuan Melayu!

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DOKUMEN D

**MEMORANDUM on Sly Prostitution in Kuala Lumpur and  
other large Town in the Federated Malay States**

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Speaking generally I do not think that the amount of prostitution which goes on in the bigger towns in the Federated Malay States is more than one would expect from similar towns elsewhere, certainly not when one comes to consider the condition, character and habits of the inhabitants, and the great disparity in numbers of the sexes in all the immigrant races one finds here.

2. During the last twenty years, however, a change has come over the character of the prostitution. Formerly men kept women or patronised the regular brothels. Now, however, the "sly" prostitute is the vogue.

3. The patrons of the "sly" prostitute in town are Europeans, Eurasians, Bengalis, Malays (especially unmarried foreign ones) and some Chinese of middle class who have families here and would rather not be seen going to a regular brothel. In China, a Chinese incurs no disgrace by going to a high class brothel or a restaurant at which prostitutes attend the guests to see his friends, but here there is a certain stigma attaching even to a Chinese who frequents brothels.

4. The sly prostitutes were principally Malays or Siamese in the first place, but of recent years, many Chinese have followed their example as also have some Japanese and Eurasians. The latter two classes to some extent keep themselves for the Europeans and better class patronage.

5. I do not think it is correct to say that prostitution goes on in coffee-shops and eating houses, but these places are resorts of sly prostitutes, where a man in search of a woman can go, give her the "glad eye" and either arrange with her there where to meet, or she will follow him outside.

6. In a few cases where, there are coffee shops and eating houses downstairs and lodging houses upstairs, actual prostitution may go on the premises.

7. Many factors have participated to bring about this vogue of the sly prostitute:

- (a) The Confidential Circular Letter from the Secretary of State dated January, 1909. This not only had a deterrent effect on actual concubinage, but led many people to think that occasional lapses from

virtue would be considered equally reprehensible and so led to attempts at concealment and the patronage of sly prostitutes.

- (b) The increase in the number of Kinemas. These provide a place where the sly prostitute can regularly display herself and where men in search of a prostitute can easily find one without courting the publicity of the regular brothels.
- (c) The inmates of regular brothels found their better class customers falling off and they began to receive engagements from customers of a lower class with the result that eventually these brothels became haunts of Malays and Southern Indians. These affected the Japanese brothels mostly and caused the local Japanese not directly connected with brothels to start an agitation to get these brothels closed, whether their inmates continued prostitution or not, with the result that -
- (d) A considerable number of Japanese brothels shut down. This decreased the number of the brothels, but the inmates were not all repatriated. Many became nominally servants in coffee-shops, etc., but clandestinely carry on their old occupation.
- (e) The slump has affected the prosperity of many regular brothels and the keepers being unable to pay the high rent usually demanded for brothels have closed down. This has affected Chinese brothels as well, and the inmates following the examples of Malays, Japanese and Straits Born Chinese, have become "sly" and extended their clientele to include all nationalities.
- (f) Among Malays, the increase in the amount of "Mas kawin" for the marriage of an "Anak Dara".

Formerly the regular amount was \$22.50, but now, in all the Western States, very much larger sums are demanded often as much as \$100 to \$125.

This except in boom times is a very considerable sum to Malays with a result that instead of Malay men getting married in their teens the age is now postponed to 25 or 26.

A divorcee could be married for much less, but, of course, it is not the thing for a Malay in his own State to marry a divorcee as a first wife. So more of the young Malays are driven to illicit intercourse to satisfy their sexual desires.

- (g) Among Europeans, the feverish and insatiable thirst for gaiety and excitement, which finds its expression locally in indulgence in the various sensuous forms of "jazz" dances. I believe that the result of the excitement produced by participation in these dances is to drive many young men out to find women willing to satisfy the desires aroused.
- (h) Sikhs are forbidden by their religion to have intercourse with a woman other than their wives. There are very few Sikhs here who are married, consequently the bulk of this class of the community are driven to the cult of the sly prostitute, instead of patronising the inmate of the regular brothel.

8. In addition to the reasons for the vogue and genesis of sly prostitutes given above, there are the following reasons why they abound:

- (a) The case with which a Mohammedan can divorce his wife.

Many Malay women are married at 13 or 14 to very young husbands. After they have been married a few years the husband tires of his wife and divorces her. By this time, she is at an age when she is sexually vigorous. Before marriage a Malay woman is kept carefully shut up and looked after but as a "divorcee", she enjoys a practically unrestrained freedom to which she has hitherto been unaccustomed. In addition to this she has been put to shame by her husband and it is small wonder that she decided to give reins to her sexual desires and have a good time either as an enthusiastic amateur or a professional. In the present state of education of Malay women a divorcee unless she happens to get remarried, has few interests to which she can devote herself.

- (b) The raising of the age at which prostitutes are allowed to enter regular brothels from 16 to 20. This, in my opinion, has been reasonable for a great increase in sly prostitution. It has chiefly affected the Chinese. In this country, there are many girls who attain maturity at 13 to 14 years of age. Between this age and 20 there are many who are determined prostitutes either having been trained up with this one idea before them or having already been prostitutes in some other country. Such girls cannot enter a regular brothel, so they are driven to sly prostitution, in which state they are far worse off than the inmate of a regular brothel, as not only do they lack the protection afforded by the Women and Girls Protection

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Ordinance but they are always open to black-mail, and in defence often put themselves under the protection of some person who merely exploits them.

9. It is hardly within the realm of practicability to hope for any alteration in the above two prime causes, one being an inherent part of the Mohammedan religion, and the other a result of the Colony's adherence to the standard of the League of Nations, probably more or less in accordance with instructions of or at least strongly intimated wishes from the Secretary of State.

10. The question of dealing with sly prostitution is a most difficult one as there is great danger that in order to combat this evil one must introduce rules which infringe on the liberty of the subject. Further it is necessary to avoid anything which will render respectable people open to blackmail for the delinquencies of their lodgers or dependents.

11. As the law stands at present, the prostitute herself cannot be punished. Punishment can only be inflicted on brothel keepers, pimps and bawds. In order to constitute it a "brothel" a place must be used by two or more persons for the purposes of prostitution. If this has been established, an order may be made by the Protector or a Magistrate on the keeper of the brothel, or its tenant to close the brothel. If the brothel continues open the brothel keeper may be prosecuted in Court and fined for disobedience of the order. If this step has been successfully taken, an order may be issued to the owner of the house and if the house still continues to be used as a brothel the owner also is liable. This procedure on the face of it would appear to be simple, but in practice there are innumerable difficulties in the way of getting convictions".

- (a) The order can only be issued against a certain person in respect of certain premises. In order to defeat subsequent proceedings all that is necessary is for the person who pays the rent to be changed. In the last resort the brothel can always be removed next door. In either case there is a return to the "status quo".
- (b) The difficulty of obtaining evidence which will satisfy the Court.

In order to obtain a conviction in Court evidence must be obtained that two or more girls are using the place for the purpose of prostitution. To establish the fact of their prostitution, it is necessary to get two men, give them marked money, tell them to go to the brothel and engage prostitutes and then raid the house when the men are there. With reference to this procedure quite

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apart from the odium attaching to any officer who goes into Court and admits he has adopted this procedure there is the danger of infection to the agent provocateur for which I presume, Government should be responsible. Further it is extremely difficult to get any one but the very dregs of society to be willing to undertake such a task, and give evidence of it in Court, and it is just such people who, if one used successfully, would have no scruples in going round and blackmailing all sly prostitutes in the town whether living in brothels or not.

- (c) The present state of the social conscience of the community, which on the whole is satisfied with the state of affairs as it is and therefore its members do not come forward to give evidence of what they know as apart from hearsay. Apart from the medical aspect of venereal disease, complaints mainly come directly or indirectly from a very limited number of sources, principally from missionaries, who, I believe, speak from hearsay. It has become a platitude that it is impossible to make people moral by legislation or in advance of the social conscience. It would appear that the remedy should be with the missionaries who should so work upon their flocks that their minds may be raised above possible contamination by the social evil, which is certainly condoned by the bulk of the community.

12. In spite of my general opinion that prostitution is no worse here than might be expected, there are certain points in respect of which improvement might be made, in order to make indulgence rather more difficult:

- (a) Section 16(1)(b) of the Women and Girls Protection Ordinance should be amended by the omission of the word "persistently".

This as should be the case would make even a single act of solicitation by a male person punishable.

- (b) The keeper of a hotel, tavern, ale house, coffee shop or eating house and boarding house, etc., should be made responsible for the acts of his servants permitting prostitutes or persons of notoriously bad character to meet or remain on his premises.

In section 23 of the Minor Offences Enactment 1920, the word "knowingly" should be omitted. This is a great stumbling block to the success of prosecutions. The penalty also should be increased to \$300 for a first offence and \$500 for a second or subsequent offence.

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- (c) Hotels and Lodging Houses should be required to take out licenses. This has already been recommended in correspondence C.S.O.G. 850/1920. The suggestion was at first approved in principal by the Residents but the Enactment drafted to carry it out failed to meet with their approval and they were in favour of leaving the law pretty much as it is at present when only Chinese Native Passenger Lodging Houses, whatever they may be, require to take out licenses.
- (d) Licenses to Native Coffee-shops, Eating Houses, Restaurants etc. should only be issued by the Sanitary Boards quarterly and a successful prosecution or a representation from the Protectorate that the shop used for immoral purposes should be certain grounds for the cancellation or non renewal of the licence.
- (e) In correspondence C.S.O. 4773/1915, the suggestion was made that there should be an amendment of section 8 of the Women and Girls Protection Enactment giving the Protector power to order any prostitute whom he has reason to suspect to be diseased to be examined. The suggestion made therein was not adopted. Although the suggestion was made from the point of view of venereal disease the existence of such power should have a very considerable deterrent effect on the activities of the sly prostitute.

As there might be some objection to the wide powers there suggested to be given to the Protector they might perhaps be modified to provide for the compulsory examination of any woman to whom a protection ticket has been issued, or who may have been issued, or who may have been found on any premises against the occupier of which an order has been made by the Protector under section 27(i) of the Women and Girls Protection Enactment.

- (f) The following amendment to section 28 of the Women and Girls Protection Enactment would also probably be of considerable effect in dealing with "sly" brothels, but is open to some objection:

The section as it stands at present to be repealed and the following substituted -

"If the tenant, occupier, or keeper of any premises not being the owner thereof has been ordered by a Magistrate of the First Class or the Protector to discontinue the use of such premises as a brothel or lodging house for prostitutes or disorderly persons under section 27(i) and the owner of such

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premises has received at least one month's notice of such order, such owner shall in the event of any subsequent conviction of any person of an offence under this Enactment in respect of such premises be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars for the first offence or five hundred dollars for a second or subsequent offence."

"All prosecutions under this section require the previous sanction of the officer in charge of the Chinese Protectorate in the state".

13. The objection to this last amendment is that if an order is made on a tenant and that tenant disobeyed it the owner of the house is liable. This principle is accepted at present in respect of what amounts to a third conviction in respect of the premises. The above suggested amendment accelerates the power to prosecute by eliminating one step.

Sd. W.T. Chapman  
Secretary for Chinese Affairs  
F.M.S.

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DOKUMEN E

SUPPLEMENT NO. 1 OF 1937

TO

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS POLICE

SPECIAL BRANCH

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE JOURNAL

REVIEW OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN MALAYA, 1936

I. EXTERNAL DIRECTION

(a) The Malayan Communist Party remained throughout the year isolated from contact with the Comintern. Previously the Malayan Communist Party had been both directed and financed by a Comintern organisation in Shanghai. This organisation was, however, broken up in March 1935, since then all liaison with the Comintern has been severed.

(b) Many attempts were made during the year by the Malayan Communist Party to regain contact with the Comintern via China, Siam, French Indo-China and France. In December contact was made with the Southern Bureau of the China Communist Party in Hongkong.

II. INTERNAL ORGANISATION

(a) Owing to lack of trained personnel the Party found it impossible to place the Communist Party (C.P.), Communist Youth (C.Y.), and the General Labour Union (G.L.U.) organisations under separate committees. A combined Malayan Communist Central Committee directed C.P., and G.L.U. activities throughout the country, issuing propaganda and instructions in the name of the appropriate organisation. These three organisations were similarly represented on the local and Town Committees.

(b) The Central Committee itself consisted partly of members resident in Singapore and partly of members resident elsewhere in Malaya. The work of the Committee was carried on by those members resident in Singapore. The Central Committee members up-country acted as channels through which the directions of the

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Singapore members reached the Local and Town Committees. These up-country Central Committee members were also responsible for conducting activities in their areas and for reporting progress to Headquarters in Singapore.

(c) To assist the above Committees to maintain discipline among members "picket corps" were formed in Singapore and Johore to murder traitors to the Party, to attack any police who attempted to arrest members of the Party and to carry out robberies to supply the Party with funds.

### III. LACK OF FUNDS AND STEPS TAKEN BY THE PARTY TO REMEDY THE SITUATION

(a) The Party was considerably handicapped by lack of funds throughout the year. Various devices to raise funds were proposed, including armed robbery, organisation of a lottery, making collections from Chinese patriots for the defence of China against Japanese aggression and importing and selling anti-Japanese literature. Of these methods the only temporarily successful one was an armed robbery carried out in Johore in September when approximately \$8,700 were stolen from an European employee of a building contractor who was conveying the money without a police escort to pay the labour force. However, the men participating in the robbery were arrested and the money was recovered as well as two pistols and a knife.

(b) In November the Negri Sembilan Local Committee reported that an attempted robbery to raise funds had failed owing to unsatisfactory arrangements. Reading between the lines of that report, it appeared that the Negri Sembilan Local Committee had not seriously contemplated a robbery.

(c) A small sum of money (\$40) was collected from students in Johore by asking for subscriptions to a Chinese communist paper, the Gin Guo Sh Bao, published in Paris, which subscriptions were never sent to Paris but were retained by the Central Committee who arranged with the Editor of the paper that an acknowledgement should appear in the paper to satisfy the subscribers, to which the Editor consented.

(d) Actually the current expenses of the Party were not heavy. Money was necessary to pay fares and passages of members of the Committees on transfer and to pay the cost of stencils and paper for propaganda issued by the press. These expenses were paid for by small subscriptions collected from members.

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#### IV. POLICY OF THE PARTY

A representative conference of the Party was held in September in Johore as a result of which three lines of activity were decided on. These three lines may be briefly designated as:

- (a) Activities among the Intelligentsia,
- (b) Labour activities
- (c) Propagation of communism among races other than Chinese.

##### (a) Activities among the Intelligentsia

This work was undertaken by the Communist Party and Communist Youth organisations, chiefly among school teachers and students. It had been the policy of the Comintern, since the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern was held in Moscow in July 1935, to form an United National Front of Communists and Kuo Min Tang against Japanese imperialist aggression in China. The period of communist influence over the Kuo Min Tang government in Southwest China from 1924 to 1927, when communist books, pamphlets and plays were produced in great quantities, had left its mark on Chinese schools, the press and literature generally. The proletarian literature movement which succeeded the communist regime reached its zenith in 1931 and was particularly popular among editors, school teachers and students upon whom it had made a deep impression.

During the year the Malayan Communist Party, exploiting the prevailing anti-Japanese tendency, started a local National Salvation (Anti-Japanese) Movement among the school teachers and students similar to the National Salvation Movement in China, and, in order to facilitate the dissemination of communist propaganda in this guise among the Chinese educated youth in Malaya, revived the Malayan Proletarian Art League under the new name of Malayan Proletarian Writers Association. Local Young Men's Literary Research Societies, Romanised Chinese Research Societies and Reading Clubs were organised in conjunction with the Malayan Proletarian Writers' Association and the Students' Federation.

##### (b) Labour Activities

The Malayan General Labour Union aimed during the year at increasing the membership power and prestige of the vocational Labour Unions. It was realised by the Central Committee that the best way to achieve this aim was to instigate strikes by labour forces.

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This was not difficult since Chinese labour forces already had grievances by reason of their low wages, long hours and abuses by Chinese contractors and sub-contractors who often cheated them of their rightful wages. The Communist Labour Unions were already in contact with certain labour forces and these in many cases required but little persuasion to declare strikes. Such strikes were almost invariably successful in securing some improvement in labour conditions and the example soon spread to other forces. The General Labour Unions took the opportunity to enrol the strikers as members of the appropriate vocational union. This increased membership and the success of the strikes in turn increased the prestige of the Communist Labour Unions. The increased membership, however, was chiefly a paper one. The ordinary Chinese labourer was not particularly interested in a communism as such but was prepared to join an union if told it was going to assist him to get more pay.

(c) Propagation of Communism among races other than Chinese

A Malayan Racial Emancipation League was started in October under the control of a Committee of Chinese, Indian and Malay comrades. So far as is known, there were not more than two Tamils and two Malays who took an active part in this work. Their efforts appeared to have met with little success.

V. SPLIT IN THE PARTY AND MURDERS OF SUSPECTED TRAITORS

(a) The arrest of two successive chairmen of the Central Committee in December, 1935 and March, 1936, respectively led to a belief in Party that certain members, who were known to be dissatisfied with the lukewarm manner in which communist activities were being conducted, had set up an opposition faction which was betraying the Central Committee to the Police. In May, at a meeting held in Johore, it was decided to murder certain suspected traitors. Three of these suspected persons were lured to Johore and were murdered there. Two bodies were recovered by the Police. One man had been strangled and buried in a Chinese vegetable garden; the other had been shot. There was no evidence, other than his own statement, that the owner of the vegetable garden had been present at the murder of the strangled man and had buried the body. He could not, therefore, be charged in court but was banished. The murderers in these two cases were not arrested.

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(b) A further murder took place in November in Johore. The Johore Local Committee suspected two Hailam brothers of having given information to the Police regarding communist activities. It was also ascertained that there was a sum of \$2,000 in the house where the brothers lived. One of the brothers was seized by three Chinese members of the Johore "picket corps", tied up in the jungle and questioned until he disclosed where the money was kept. Leaving him there, the three men, armed with a pistol and knives, proceeded to his house where they held up the inmates. One man, however, escaped. Fearing that he would raise an alarm the robbers fled. They returned to the jungle where they killed the brother whom they had tied up. No arrest was made in this case.

(c) On the 16th August, a Hailam member of the party who was erroneously suspected of having given information which led to a raid by the police was murdered at Machap by two Hailam fellow members. His two assailants were arrested but the evidence was insufficient to substantiate a charge of murder.

(d) These murders culminated in the murder of a police detective when making the arrest of a slogan writer in Singapore in December.

(e) In order to appreciate the difficulties of the police in bringing these communist murderers to book, it should be realised, as soon as a murder has been committed, the murderer is taken by a member of the Central Committee to a hiding place which is known to, at most, only two absolutely trustworthy persons. Furthermore, it is almost invariably impossible to find witnesses to give evidence against the murderer. The difficulty is not so much to learn the identity of the murderer as to effect his arrest and to obtain evidence to charge him with the crime.

## VI. INCIDENTS

### (a) Demonstrations

The following public demonstrations took place during the year:

(1) In January, an anti-bicycle registration demonstration took place in Singapore. On this occasion a party of Chinese riding bicycles broke a window in the Registrar of Vehicles Office and made off scattering some pamphlets on the road way.



(2) In February, an anti-Japanese demonstration was carried out in Singapore. A party of Chinese carrying a banner was stopped by two policemen who seized the banner and arrested one of the banner bearers. A detective and a constable shortly afterwards made a second arrest, whereupon the demonstrators fled.

(3) In June, on the occasion of the taking of the municipal census in Singapore, a party of Chinese distributed anti-Japanese and anti-census pamphlets but fled at sight of a police corporal in uniform on routine divisional duty. A Chinese youth on a bicycle pulled a street fire alarm and escaped on his bicycle.

A home-made bomb was thrown through a window of the Chinese Protectorate but failed to explode. The gun powder was found to be so faultily mixed as to be non-explosive. There was no interference with the actual taking of the census.

(4) In August, a party of Chinese demonstrated in front of a Chinese theatre in Singapore. A police lance-corporal who went to investigate was attacked. He blew his whistle and the demonstrators ran away scattering pamphlets. One arrest was made.

(5) At the end of July a serious and well organised demonstration was planned. This was to have taken the form of an attack on Japanese shops by communists using incendiary bombs, pieces of iron, stones and sticks. At the same time anti-Japanese leaflets were to be distributed. This demonstration was frustrated by the arrival of the police who found the bombs, pamphlets, etc., abandoned on waste land near the rendezvous.

(6) Slogan writing on walls and scattering of pamphlets took place on the occasions of communist commemoration days in those places in Malaya where communists were active.

#### **(b) Attacks on Police**

In Singapore slogan writers were protected from police interference by members of the "picket corps" armed with knives and iron bars. The following four cases occurred in Singapore of the "picket corps" attacking policemen who attempted to arrest slogan writers. In July, a police constable and a civilian who went to his assistance were attacked with iron bars. In September, a Sikh constable was attacked with iron bars. In October, a police constable was stabbed in the arm and in December, a detective was stabbed to death. In the last case two gangs of

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slogan writers joined together, each gang led by a "picket corps" leader. The leader of one of the gangs was arrested. The murderer, whose identity was known, was not arrested by the end of the year. The attack took place at night and evidence from eyewitnesses was not forthcoming. Banishing proceedings were taken in respect of the arrested gang leader.

**(c) Strikes organised or influenced by Communist Agitators**

(1) In September the Singapore General Labour Union organised strikes in the pineapple canning and building trades in Johore and Singapore. Large bodies of strikers visited the Chinese Protectorate and remained there all day and slept outside the Protectorate building that night. Early next morning, the crowd having refused to disperse, the police arrested 22 persons and dispersed the strikers with a fire hose. The Singapore General Labour Union urged the strikers to remain out but they gradually drifted back to work. Steps were taken by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs to remedy the genuine grievances of the strikers.

A sequel to the pineapple cutters' strike was a night raid made in October by five pineapple cutters assisted by communist members of other trades on the What Hin Pineapple Factory in Singapore. Sand was thrown into some of the machinery, a corrosive liquid was thrown over a dynamo and the account books were burned. The raid was actuated by motives of revenge on one of the foremen of the factory who was unpopular with the coolies on account of his harsh treatment and with the communists because he would brook no communist interference. The foreman was shot in the back in November and subsequently died of his wounds. The shots were fired by the Chairman of the Communist Domestic Servants Union who went into hiding. No witnesses of his murder can be found.

**(2) Singapore Traction Company**

In September, a number of drivers and conductors employed by the Singapore Traction Company struck work. This strike was not organised by the Communist Party. It was a half hearted affair and after having been addressed by the Extra Assistant Controller of Labour the men resumed duty.

In October, they again came out on strike demanding higher wages and better conditions generally. The strike lasted two and a half days. Eventually the Company made a number of concessions and the employees

returned to work. As soon as this second strike had been declared the Malayan Communist Party Central Committee offered the assistance of pickets which was accepted. Apart from this the Communist Party played no part in the strike.

**(3) Malayan Collieries, Batu Arang, Selangor**

In November, a strike occurred on the coal mine at Batu Arang. The strike was precipitated by an European employee on the mine attempting to break up a meeting of the Chinese employees who were preparing representations for submission to the company. The strikers disconnected the electric current at the power station and became so menacing that on two occasions the small police post at the mine were obliged to fire. Police reinforcements soon had the situation under control and negotiations between the employers and the strikers were able to proceed as a result of which certain concessions were granted to the labour force. A communist agitator who had been sent to the mine by the Selangor Local Committee a few days before the strike took place remained on the mine throughout the strike.

**(4) Sungei Besi Tin Mine, Selangor**

In November, a strike took place on the Sungei Besi tin mine and, after negotiations, the demands of the miners were granted. Certain communist agitators, who were at work to prolong the strike, were arrested. About 500 truck coolies endeavoured to march from the mine to Kuala Lumpur to demand the release of the arrested men but were met on the way by a party of police and turned back the mine. Normal conditions prevailed on the mine by the end of the month.

**(5) Tong Sang Tin Mine, Selangor**

A strike occurred on the mine in December. Among the demands of the strikers was one demanding the release of a communist agitator who had been arrested on a neighbouring mine in possession of documents containing terms suggested by the Selangor General Labour Union. This strike was quickly settled.

**(6) Pineapple Factories in Morib and Klang, Selangor**

Small strikes occurred in pineapple factories in Morib and Klang. These were believed to be the result of agitation by communist emissaries. They were quickly settled.

(7) United Engineers and Singapore Harbour  
Board Fitters Strikes, Singapore

In December the fitters struck for better terms. Negotiations proceeded amicably but a settlement had not been reached by the end of the year. In both these cases the Singapore General Labour Union sent agitators who urged the fitters to strike.

VII. LIAISON BY THE PARTY WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

Correspondence was maintained between the Central Committee in Singapore and individuals known to them in Burma, Siam, French, Indo-China, Shanghai, Hongkong, Amoy, Swatow and Bagan Si Api-Api in Sumatra. The object of this correspondence was, except in the case of the last named, mainly to find a way to regain touch with the Comintern. In Burma a member of the Malayan Communist Party took up his residence in Rangoon in July but soon had to go into hiding. Correspondence with him produced nothing of value to the Party. The correspondence with Siam was equally abortive. The French Indo-China Party showed little desire to co-operate. The correspondence with Hongkong and China consisted chiefly of instructions to former members of the Party, who had fled or been banished from Malaya, to endeavour to make contact with the China Communist Party or with the Comintern organisation in Shanghai. As regards the Netherlands Indies the correspondence only concerned a very small monthly subscription from sympathisers in Bagan Si Api-Api.

VIII. PROPAGANDA

(a) The whereabouts of the Central Committee press in Singapore was kept a most closely guarded secret during the year; it was known to only the Chairman and the Secretary of the Central Committee. Most of the local propaganda, which was issued in considerable quantities by means of cyclo-styled books and pamphlets was in the handwriting of the Chairman. The police did not succeed in locating the main press, although a subsidiary press in Singapore was successfully raided in August.

(b) In Penang police efforts to locate the local Party press were similarly unsuccessful.

(c) Communist literature continued to be received from abroad. The "Giu Guo Sh Bao" (Au secours de la

patrie), an anti-Japanese paper published in Paris, was very popular and arrangements were made by the Central Committee to increase its sales locally. The "Chinese Vanguard", also published in Chinese, was received from New York. Mendacious accounts of local communist activities were sent to both papers by the Central Committee. Various other communist papers in Chinese and French and English were received from Paris, Berlin and London.

A new feature during the year was the introduction of romanised Chinese in reports and letters between communist organisations in Malaya. Text books were distributed and members were encouraged to use this form of script.

#### IX. GENERAL

It is no easy matter to obtain a clear view of present day communist organisations and activities in Malaya since the break down of the orthodox communist organisation which was previously operating in this country. The functions of Committees are now indefinite and vary according to the ideas of the leading members and circumstances. The Central Committee has little hold over the local and town committees. The main function of the Central Committee appears to be to issue propagand and instructions and to arrange transfers of personnel. Subsidiary committees, having received a general idea of what is required, whether it is to stage demonstrations, to develop anti-Japanese activities or to organise strikes, act independently. Inspectors are sent around from time to time by the Central Committee to see how matters are progressing. In Singapore and Johore, chiefly due to the activities of the present Secretary of the Central Committee who has so far evaded arrest, "picket corps" have been formed, composed of men of the secret society gangster type, who are prepared to commit murder without any qualms. These men are exceptional and few in number. The majority of active members are far from bold, as is obvious from the timidity displayed when demonstrations have taken place without the presence of picket corps members. The Chinese national salvation movement and prevailing labour unrest provided the Party with opportunities of which they were not slow to avail themselves. It is probable that, had there been no communism in Malaya, strikes for increased wages would still have taken place on the return of prospective to the country. Although more spectacular at the moment, the exploitation of labour discontent among uneducated Chinese coolies is

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probably not as likely to have as lasting an effect as the dissemination of communism via the national salvation movement among Chinese schools in Malaya may have, if it progresses further. This movement has been recently noticeable particularly in the Chinese schools in Penang. Increased activity in this direction coincided with the arrival in October of three Hokkien communist members of the Amoy Provincial Committee. Very little is known as yet about these three men. It is believed that the Malayan Party succeeded in making contact with the Party in Hongkong through the good offices of these new comers.

Special Branch

**Source:**

S.S. Police Special Branch, Political Intelligence Journal, Revision of Communist Activities in Malaya, 1936, 1st Jan. 1937, File No. 50147/1/37, CO273/63

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MEROBAH DASAR PENGHIDUPAN

Tahun baharu yang ita hadapi sekarang, adalah tahun peperangan yang dicadangkan oleh P.M. Tojo menjadi tahun kemenangan yang akhir dari peperangan ini. Tiap-tiap orang dari 1000 juta umat Asia Timur menyesuaikan kehidupan dan penghidupannya dengan kewajiban dan pekerjaan yang terkandung dalam cadangan cita-cita yang maha dakshat dan berhabis2an sekarang ini.

Demikianlah kewajiban yang mesti dijalankan oleh tiap2 umat kita. Kebiasaan kita yang suka memilih pekerjaan yang ringan-ringan asal dapat menutup keperluan hidupnya sehari-hari, haruslah dirobah dengan dasar hidup yang lebih giat dan bekerja kuat lagi, yang mendatangkan hasil yang lebih besar bagi peperangan sekarang ini. Dalam kenyataan baru yang dikeluarkan oleh Pemerintahan Balaitentera Nippon di Malau ada diterangkan bahawa tujuan politik Gunsei dalam tahun baharu ini adalah terbahagi kepada 6 macham:

1. melipat gandakan pengjriman bahan-bahan peperangan ke Nippon
2. memperbanyak pengeluaran barang-barang makanan
3. mengerakkan kaum buruh perempuan
4. menarik balik wang yang berlebihan supaya harga wang jangan turun
5. menguatkan susunan baharu untuk saling menukar barang-barang antara satu daerah dengan daerah yang lain dan
6. menguatkan keamanan dankesejahteraan

Dari 6 tujuan itu dapatlah dikumpulkan kepada 4 macham: Memperkuatkan tenaga peperangan (no. 1), berkhidmat kepada tanah air dan kerajaan (no. 3 dan 6) dan memelihara keselamatan ekonomi dan penghidupan (no. 2, 4 dan 5). Tetapi kewajiban kita sekarang hendak menasihatkan kepada tiap2 umat kita supaya dengan selekasnya merobah dasar penghidupannya sehingga sesuai dengan kehendak zaman peperangan ini.

Pemerintahan Nippon di Malai sudah menunjukkan langkah yang harus diturut oleh masing-masing orang untuk merobah dasar penghidupannya. Untuk memperkuat tenaga peperangan, pemerintah sudah membenarkan berdirinya barisan Giyu Gun dan Giyu Tai (Askar Perkawalan) yaitu dua barisan untuk mempertahankan negeri ini. Tiap-tiap pemuda Melayu yang dalam tubuhnya sudah mengalir darah bakti dan berkorban untuk tanah air dan bangsanya mestilah mendaftarkan nama memasuki salah satu dari barisan ini. Untuk berkhidmat kepada tanah air dan kerajaan, pemerintah membuka pula beberapa pekerjaan yang memberi kesempatan bagi bangsa kita akan mempersembahkan khidmat dan baktinya. Tiap laki-laki yang kuat tubuh

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haruslah menerima pekerjaan-pekerjaan yang sepadan dengan kekuatannya, sedang pekerjaan-pekerjaan mereka yang ringan akan diserahkan kepada kaum buruh perempuan. Begitu juga, untuk memelihara keselamatan ekonomi dan memperbanyak penghasilan makanan pemerintah sudah membuka beberapa banyak tanah-tanah bahru dan hutan-hutan simpanan yang tidak dikerjakan dizaman dahulu supaya ditanami dan dijadikan kebun-kebun. Pembukaan tanah Endau bagi kaum China dan Baharu bagi kaum Serani menjadi bukti akan chita-chita pemerintah.

Zaman senang lenang sudah habis. Sekarang adalah zaman berkhidmat dan berkorban.



## Beramai-Ramai Masuk "Giyu-Gun"

Oleh: Dzulkifli Ownie

Hidup manusia dalam arti yang sebenarnya, ialah berjuang. Tiap-tiap perjuangan yang sungguh-sungguh menuju perubahan yang baik, untuk menyelamatkan masyarakat dan menyantuni tanah air, mestilah didahului dengan menyerahkan tenaga yang sepenuh-penuh yang disertai dengan semangat berkorban mati-matian. Kita umat Melayu yang termasuk dalam lingkungan Asia Timur Raya, sudah menerima ni'mat kema'muran dan kebebasan semenjak Dai Nippon telah menghalau Inggeris - Amerika dari seluruh A.T.R. ini. Umat Melayu haruslah menunjukkan kerjasama dan memasukkan bahagian tenaganya dalam kekuatan perang raksasa tentera Diraja Nippon dalam peperangan Dai Toa ini.

Tiap-tiap Umat Asia mestilah menanggungjawab yang sama atas keselamatan dan kema'muran Asia Raya. Kita umat Melayu yang termasuk dalam lingkungan Asia Timur, mestilah menyerahkan tenaga yang sebesar-besarnya dalam mempertahankan keselamatan tanah air kita yang tercintai khasnya, dan Asia amnya. Kita harus berdiri tegak dengan semangat waja dan jiwa kesatria bersama tentera Dai Nippon yang gagah perkasa.

Perjuangan yang kita hadapi sekarang, bukanlah suatu perjuangan yang boleh dicuainya. Dahulu pada waktu tentera Dai Nippon masuk ke tanah air kita, bangsa kita hanya tinggal menonton dan menengok dari jauh sahaja. Kita hanya menjadi orang yang ketiga, orang yang tidak campur serta, kita hanya pandai melarikan diri dan bersembunyi-sembunyi kerana memelihara diri dari bahaya peperangan. Kita menegok dengan ta'jub akan kegagahan tentera Nippon menghalau musuh kita Inggeris Amerika, sehingga terusir keluar batas tanah air kita. Di masa itu ada juga dari antara kita yang timbul semangatnya hendak ikut menumpaskan musuh, tetapi musuh itu sudah mematahkan segala kekuatan kita, melemahkan segala semangat keberanian kita. Mereka yang memegang kuasa, sebab itu dengan mudah mereka membunuh akan tiap-tiap semangat kita yang berbangkit hendak melawan mereka.

Zaman melarikan diri dan menonton itu, sudah habis, sudah tinggal jauh di belakang kita. Sekarang tidak ada lagi pemerintah Inggeris yang akan menyekat menghalangi langkah perjuangan kita. Sekarang pemerintah Dai Nippon mempunyai sifat yang sebaliknya dari demikian. Dia mengobarkan semangat perjuangan kita, mengapi-apikan semangat kesatria dan gagah berani yang kita pusakai turun temurun dari nenek moyang kita purbakala. Pemerintah Nippon mengembalikan kita kepada arti hidup yang sebenarnya yang kita sebutkan di atas, ialah: Hidup untuk berjuang, berjuang untuk membela dan mempertahankan tanah air kita. Jika kita berani hidup untuk perjuangan tanah air, maka kita harus juga berani mati untuk menegakkan tanah air itu. Sebab itu, hanya satu semboyan yang mesti dikobar-kobarkan sekarang, nyawa kita sekalipun,

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biar hancur dan musnah, kerana membina keselamatan dan kema'muran tanah air kita khasnya, dan Asia Timur Raya amnya.

Pemerintah Nippon sudah membukakan pintu masuk tentera, dengan mendirikan "Tentera Pembela Tanah Air". Kebetulan pula berdirinya sewaktu Dai Nippon sedang berazam hendak menjadikan tahun peperangan yang ketiga "tahun kemenangan yang akhir". Sa'at berdirinya adalah pada sa'at yang bertuah sekali, sewaktu 1000 juta umat A.T.R. sudah mengumpulkan segenap tenaga perjuangannya untuk menghancurkan Inggeris-Amerika.

Tiap-tiap pemuda Melayu harus bersiap. Sa'atnya sudah tiba, panggilan tanah air sudah datang. Ucapan sakti "Tidak Melayu Hilang Di Dunia" sekaranglah masanya mesti dibuktikan. Bukanlah ucapan itu tinggal di atas kertas atau menjadi permainan bibir sahaja, tetapi mesti dibuktikan dengan perbuatan. Ucapan itu mesti kita tebusi dengan darah kita, dengan semangat kita, dan dengan perjuangan kita yang mati-matian yang tidak mengenal takut dan lari. Pantang Melayu berbalik surut, tidak adat Melayu mendiamkan diri sewaktu musuh sudah menggertak dan mengancam akan masuk menyerbu.

Wahai pemuda-pemuda harapan bangsa! Marilah kita menyambung limpah kurnia dari kerajaan Dai Nippon ini dengan semangat yang bulat dan penuh kegagahan. Jika bangsa kita di Djawa rela menuliskan surat permohonannya meminta berdirinya "Tentera Sukarela" dengan mencungkil darah mereka sendiri, dan jika bangsa kita di Sumatera telah menerima dengan tempik sorak akan berdirinya "Lashkar Ra'yat", maka wahai pemuda-pemuda Melayu, marilah kita sambut limpah kurnia pemerintah di Malai ini dengan iqrar kita, dengan sumpah setia, dengan menyerahkan jiwa raga kita, darah dan nyawa kita.

Peluang yang sekali ini tidak akan terulang dua kali, kalau tidak kita pergunakan dengan sebaik-baiknya. Bangsa kesatria yang berdarah turunan gagah berani, mesti menyambut peluang menjadi "Giyu Gun" itu dengan muka yang berseri-seri. Dan sebaliknya, hanyalah bangsa yang pengecut menolak peluang keemasan untuk membela tanah air itu.

Pemuda-pemuda! Marilah beramai-ramai memasuki "Giyu Gun". Barah darah kita, jiwa kita dan pengorbanan kita menjadi tima emas yang akan menghiasi lembaran sejarah tanah air kita. Hidup dan mati akan datang silih berganti. Pergunakanlah hidup kita untuk berkorban, dan mati kita untuk kemuliaan. Sejarah kita yang lama sudah dilukis oleh pahlawan-pahlawan kita yang tetap tercanai namanya. Sekarang, bahagian kita lagi membuat lukisan baharu dengan darah dan jiwa kita!

Marilah beramai-ramai memasuki "Tentera Pembela Tanah Air".

(Dokumen ini dipetik dari majalah **Fajar Asia**, Januari 1944  
(Singapura))

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DOKUMEN G

Kuala Lumpur  
3rd February, 1947

H.E. The Governor of the Malayan Union  
Kuala Lumpur.

Your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, have the honour to request that Your Excellency will grant us an interview at the earliest possible date with the object of our being afforded an opportunity of putting forward certain representations concerning the labour situation in the Malayan Union.

2. We approach Your Excellency not as employers seeking assistance from Government in the carrying on of our own undertakings and projects but as individuals who have resided in Malaya for a considerable number of years and who, having been for some time past gravely concerned about the trend of events, now find ourselves united in the apprehension that this country is in serious danger. We have expressly refrained from open discussion and from communication to the Press because we considered such a course to be inadvisable, and we have not invited any locally born citizen to join us - though we believe that there are many who share our views - as we fear that it might involve him in personal risk.

3. It was evident in the years preceding the war with Japan that times were changing in the East in general and in Malaya in particular. Government introduced Trade Union legislation but there was little opportunity to carry it into effect before the Japanese invaded this country. If the need for such legislation required invaded this country. If the need for such legislation required to be demonstrated, the strikes in Malaya in the years 1940 and 1941 afforded ample justification for the introduction of measures to organize labour so that collective bargaining and settlement of labour disputes could readily be achieved. At the same time Government laid itself open to criticism in our opinion not unjustified - that it permitted strikes - known to be political in origin - to drag on under conditions of intimidation and actual violence.

4. It is not surprising that even this country, once so happy and contented, should be seriously affected by the surrounding unrest. We however, see no reason why it should be permitted to drift into a state of political and economic chaos without the most strenuous and energetic measures first being taken to avoid such a disaster.

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5. We do not think it can be disputed that there is evidence of wide-spread industrial unrest among the labourers of Malaya and that the epidemic of strikes throughout the country, and the manner of their organization, are symptomatic of a condition of affairs so radically wrong as to require the immediate and earnest attention of Government.

6. The indisputable evidence before us is that the position as regards labour unrest in Malaya is becoming progressively worse and that the situation today is critical.

7. The main causes of this state of affairs appear to be:

- (a) Disruption following upon the Japanese occupation
- (b) Unrest in neighbouring countries
- (c) Shortage of rice
- (d) Shortage of labour
- (e) Direct political agitation
- (f) Lack of proper direction and control of the Trades union movement.

8. The first of these causes has been gradually adjusting itself and in regards the second, Malaya, so far, has suffered less from the growing pains of nascent democracy than have her neighbours. But for the four remaining causes little danger would have resulted to this country from the first two. It is with the last four that the Administration has now both effectively and promptly to deal if disastrous consequences to the country are to be avoided.

9. As regards the shortage of rice, we are aware that Government has made and is making strenuous in the face of a world shortage to secure further imports of rice and to increase local production. That these endeavours have not succeeded to date in providing for the population of Malaya adequate supplies of rice at reasonable prices is not - we are prepared to believe - to be attributed entirely to the Malayan Government.

10. We are, however, of the opinion that the shortage of rice is one of the main contributing factors to the present dangerous position in which Malaysia today finds herself. The case which we hear put forward on many sides may be summarized as follows:

- (a) The people of Malaya has an exceedingly bad time during the time of the Japanese occupation

- (b) They were led to believe that upon the entry of the British troops a prosperous time lay before them
- (c) So far as rice is concerned they are now getting what they consider a shabby deal
- (d) Other countries, including Japan, get a higher rice ration than they do, and they do not even get their allocation
- (e) They are content to let the other countries have the flour if they get a proper allocation of rice and in fact receive what is allocated.

11. It is widely felt that because in the past Malaya has been an orderly, peaceful country, the reaction of Authority has been to fail to press her legitimate claims as regards a rice allocation and a to pay undue attention to territories whose inhabitants hitherto have been more vocal and less accommodating.

12. Political agitators to whom we make further reference hereafter find a fruitful field among people who are hungry and who labour under a feeling of grievance against established authority.

13. We represent with all the force and earnestness of which we are capable that unless and until the situation in Malaya as regards the provision of rice in adequate quantities and at reasonable prices has been safeguarded, the efforts of labour agitators will have progressively effective results and the efforts of Government and well disposed persons to prevent disorganization of industry and eventual civil disorder will prove ineffectual.

14. The general shortage of labour resulted in the early stages in cut-throat competition with the results now being experienced; the ever-increasing demands by labourers are being met on all sides and beyond all reason by the more short sighted employers. We consider that there must be co-operation between all employers, including Government if the alarming progress of inflation is to be checked. In this connection again we refer to the shortage of rice and we wish to stress that our view that wages must be stabilized and limited is based solely upon economic considerations.

15. We now invite your consideration of the undoubted existence of direct political agitation. At the outset we wish to make it clear that we have for years realized the value in industry of Trades Unions provided they are used for the benefit of employees and are not allowed to become the tools of political agitators and subversive elements. Approaching the problem upon different lines, we are all

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convinced of the value of a system which will educate the employer, the employed and the Government servant to an understanding of the principles of collective bargaining. At the present time it is more than evident that the labourer in this country is receiving his Trade Union education at the hands of paid political agitators and that the Trades Unions are being used for political ends and are becoming the tools of subversive elements.

16. Nothing we think could be more disastrous. These agitators are well organized; in many cases they are not natives of Malaya, and in few cases have they a genuine connection with the Trade Union they control. They are little or nothing for the worker or his welfare.

17. Trade Unions in Malaya require to be supervised to a considerably greater degree than at present and if even more serious troubles are to be avoided steps must be taken immediately to ensure that Trades Unions are limited to legitimate trade union activities and that their funds are properly accounted for and legitimately expended and do not find their way to support organizations whose activities militate against the well being of the country.

18. It is our firm belief that if these known paid political agitators are allowed unchecked to pursue their subversive programme we shall have before long disturbance which will set back the rehabilitation of Malaya for months, if not years, and what is even worse, we shall have permitted a traditionally diligent and rational type of labour to be corrupted beyond all hope of remedy.

19. We fully understand the reluctance of Government to make sure of the law as regards banishment but we remember the salutary effect of direct action in Singapore in 1941 and again on the 15th February 1946 and in Selangor in the year 1941. We believe the present situation to be more serious and the dangers more wide-spread than ever before.

20. It is for these reasons that we ask Your Excellency to afford us at the earliest possible date an opportunity of discussing with you the questions of immediate action, of future measures and of educational policy.

We have the honour to be  
Your Excellency's obedient servants,

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