HISTORY OF TERENGGANU 1942-1973: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ISLAM, POLITICS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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This thesis is submitted to the
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
February 2008
“I hereby declare that the work herein, now submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor Philosophy by research of the Charles Darwin University, is the result of my own investigation, and all references to ideas and work of other researchers have been specially acknowledged. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being currently submitted in candidature for any other degree.”

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<td>Administrative Office of the East</td>
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<td>API</td>
<td>Angkatan Pemuda Insaf</td>
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<td>AWAS</td>
<td>Angkatan Wanita Sedar</td>
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<td>Batas</td>
<td>Malayan Peasant Front/Barisan Tani SeMalaya</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAT</td>
<td>British Administration of Terengganu</td>
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<td>BMA</td>
<td>British Military Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMA RC</td>
<td>British Military Administration Resident Commissioner</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLM</td>
<td>Commissioner of Land and Mines</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAP</td>
<td>Democratic Action Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>DBP</td>
<td>Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCCAO</td>
<td>Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOD</td>
<td>District of Dungun Office</td>
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<td>DOK</td>
<td>District of Kemaman Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>FLDA</td>
<td>Federal Land Development Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Independent Malaya Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISA</td>
<td>Internal Security Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>JMBRAS</td>
<td>Journal of Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSEAS</td>
<td>Journal of Southeast Asian Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMM</td>
<td>Kesatuan Melayu Muda</td>
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<tr>
<td>KPGMS</td>
<td>Kesatuan Persatuang Guru-Guru Melayu Semenanjung</td>
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<td>KRIS</td>
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<td>LEPIR</td>
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<td>MBOF</td>
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<td>MCA</td>
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<td>MCP</td>
<td>Malayan Communist Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDU</td>
<td>Malayan Democratic Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIC</td>
<td>Malayan/Malaysian Indian Congress</td>
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<td>MNP</td>
<td>Malay Nationalist Party</td>
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<td>MPAJA</td>
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<td>MPABA</td>
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<tr>
<td>OUP</td>
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<td>PAP</td>
<td>People’s Action Party</td>
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<td>PAS</td>
<td>Parti Islam Se Malaya/Malaysia</td>
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<td>PAT</td>
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<td>PETA</td>
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<td>PEPEPERMAS</td>
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<td>PKI</td>
<td>Parti Komunis Indonesia/Indonesian Communist Party</td>
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<td>PMFTU</td>
<td>Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Union</td>
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<td>PMIP</td>
<td>Pan Malayan Islamic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Parti Negara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>People’s Progressive Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRM</td>
<td>Party Rakyat Malaya/Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU</td>
<td>Pejabat Ugama</td>
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<tr>
<td>RIDA</td>
<td>Rural and Industrial Development Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCAO</td>
<td>Senior Civil Affairs Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAOT</td>
<td>State Agricultural of Terengganu Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>Socialist Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUK TRG</td>
<td>State Secretary of Terengganu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trg</td>
<td>Terengganu</td>
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<tr>
<td>UMNO</td>
<td>United Malays National Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UMCO</td>
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ABSTRACT

The main argument of this thesis is that the people of Terengganu, who have been described as being religious, did not choose the party with Islamic platform when they were introduced to a modern political system that involved them directly in the process of electing political officials. The Islamic influence amongst the people became apparent when PAS an Islamic political party was elected as the Terengganu state government in the 1959 election but their hegemony was short lived. PAS stayed in power until end of 1961 and then did not win the elections until 1999. Did this mean that the people of Terengganu have changed their ways of thinking vis-à-vis politics? This question is the major issue discussed in this study and Islam has been used as the framework as it was an important element in the state politics and education regardless of political maneuvers.

Primary sources such as files from various departments of the Terengganu state government, political parties’ collections, personal collections and newspapers were used to analyse the questions regarding the stance and support for political parties which contested for control of the state government from 1955 to 1969. These materials also were used to analyse the state government’s performance which influenced the voters’ decision as to whether to stay loyal or to change the government. This study shows that elections can be used as an index for the political, economic and educational development in Terengganu. The Malaysian general elections have a significant impact for both political parties and the people especially in Terengganu. The survival of political parties is heavily dependent on the people during each election. The people in
Terengganu chose only the parties that would bring good governance which would bring fair and just development for all.
INTRODUCTION
Map 1: Peninsula Malaysia
Islam and Politics in Malaysia

Before we begin the discussion on Islam and politics in Terengganu, it is best to discuss the Islamic religion and its relationship to politics in this country. To understand Islamic politics in Malaysia, \(^1\) history of the development of Islam in Malaysia will be analysed.

The exact date Islam reached Malaya/Malaysia has yet to be ascertained. However, many scholars have agreed that Islam came to Malaya from various countries such as Saudi Arabia, Persia (Iran), India, China and even from the Malay Archipelago itself and was couched in Sufi metaphysics.\(^2\) During the early stages, Islamic doctrine was taught to the Malays in a simple way. Muslim merchants and missionaries who were Sufi practitioners from the sunni sect familiarised the Malays with the orthodox teaching of the religion.\(^3\) At the same time, local beliefs were continuously practised without any hindrance. Therefore Islam at that time “was not pure; it was syncretic, mixed with local custom (adat), mystical and magical practices, and the Hinduist, Buddhist, and animist beliefs that preceded it.”\(^4\) These practices remained within the Malay community throughout the centuries.

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Even though Islam had its own kingdoms in the Malay Archipelago (the kingdoms of Perlak, Demak and Melaka, among others), Islamic doctrine and law that they professed to follow was not harmonised with the natives’ laws. However, efforts were taken by Muslim scholars to enforce Islamic law which could be seen in several Malay kingdoms’ laws such as in *Hukum Kanun Melaka*, *Undang-Undang Pahang*, *Undang-Undang Kedah* and the Ninety Nine Laws of Perak. The Islamic elements in these laws however, were only effective for aspects connected with Islamic daily practices such as praying five times a day, fasting during Ramadan, paying *zakat* (almsgiving) and so on. It is believed that at this point, politics in Islam had not been introduced to the Malays. Nevertheless, Islam then had become the base for the Malay rulers’ legitimacy. The Sultan played the role as the head of religion, defender of the faith and the guardian of Islamic and customary laws, education and values. In Terengganu these roles were seen through Baginda Omar and Sultan Zainal Abidin.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Islamic world particularly in the Middle East faced western imperialism and colonialism. The Ottoman Empire in Turkey faced challenges from British colonialism. This situation forced a large number of Arabs to flee to other countries including to the Malay states. Even though their numbers were considered small, with wealth and influence their

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6 Discussion on Islamic influences in these laws can be viewed in Azmah Abdul Manaf, *Sejarah Sosial Masyarakat Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya, Utusan Publications & Distributors, 2001, Chapter 9.
presence had a significant impact on the Malays as they (the Arabs) were considered as descendents of the prophet Muhammad.\textsuperscript{9} At the same time a small number of Malays from the Malay states and Indonesia traveled to Mecca either to perform the Hajj or to pursue Islamic studies. The Wahhabi movement created by Muhammad Abdul Wahab and the modernist movement inspired by Mohammad Abduh and Sayyid Jamaluluddin al-Afghani took shape during this period and heavily influenced those Malays. They returned home and tried to spread the ideas and movement to the Malays through Islamic schools (pondok) and newspapers. The group, which was known as Islamic reformist gave the Malay community a new interpretation on Islam as a way of life.\textsuperscript{10} Through this group, Pan-Islamism was spread to the Malay world that helped Muslims in Malaya awaken from their long sleep. The mindsets of the Malays were now changed drastically as a whole new dimension was open to them. This galvanised them into opposing British imperialism in Malaya.

Undeniably, western imperialism and colonialism in Muslim states had a great impact on Muslim politics. Muslim scholars focused on the new interpretation regarding politics in Islam to find strength against the threat posed by western civilization. Robert W. Hefner admitted that, “for new Muslim intellectuals and their followers, Islam must entail more than personal piety and public devotion. It must offer an alternative model of politics.”\textsuperscript{11} Muslims were advised by scholars to analyse Islam during Prophet Muhammad’s time to find the answer for questions

\textsuperscript{10} Further discussion on this group will be on chapter three.
\textsuperscript{11} Robert F. Hefner and Patricia Horvatich, p.7.
regarding Islamic values in politics particularly after the establishment of the first Islamic state in Medina. Thus, Prophet Muhammad has been regarded as a political prophet.\textsuperscript{12} This is to stress to the Muslim that there is no distinction between religious and political realms in Islam even though both aspects became separated not long after the death of the prophet and the establishment of dynastic rule.\textsuperscript{13} As a matter of fact, western imperialism had developed a new understanding and new dimension on how the Islamic religion could respond to these challenges. Many Islamic organizations were formed in the Middle East and other Islamic states. The Muslim Brotherhood for example was founded in Egypt, Jamaati Islami came into being in Pakistan and Masyumi in Indonesia.

In Malaysia, the movement and ideas which emerged born from the new interpretation of the Quran\textsuperscript{14} is believed to have had a great impact when the Islamic political parties were formed. Hizbul Muslimin, the first Islamic party was formed within the establishment of national and radical nationalist parties. Hizbul Muslimin’s short life could not prevent Islamic politicians to form another party, which later came to be known as PAS. It is said that the party’s ideology was influenced by the Islamic movement not only in Egypt but also in Pakistan and Indonesia.\textsuperscript{15} Even though PAS was formed later than those organizations, its

achievement in politics was remarkable\textsuperscript{16} when the party won in the general elections to form the state government in Kelantan (1959-1978, 1990-2008) and Terengganu (1959-1961 and 1999-2004). In the latest elections, in 2008, PAS has also wrested Kedah from the National Front (Barisan Nasional). Because of the events mentioned, Islam in Malaysia experienced a longer period of time to develop, take root and be dominant in the Malay community. For this study, Terengganu has been selected as a case study to look into PAS performance from its first year of establishment to 1973 when the party joined the coalition party, Barisan Nasional.

The Terengganu Setting

In contemporary Malaysia there are fourteen states and in the northeast of the peninsula lies the state of Terengganu. Back in 1905 the region had an estimated 115,000\textsuperscript{17} people, which made it the largest state in the country at that time. Sixty five years later a census\textsuperscript{18} in the predominantly Muslim state recorded the population as 405,500, with ethnic Malays comprising the largest group at 381,335. Measuring approximately 5,750 square miles the state, of Terengganu’s economic activities are based predominantly on agriculture, fishing, crafts and other small

\textsuperscript{16} Erica Miller in her thesis, titled, Democratic Islamists? A Case Study on the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), p. 24, has quoted from Farish Noor, \textit{Islam Embedded: The Historical Development of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (1951-2003)}, that PAS was the first Islamic party to come to power by electoral means in Southeast Asia and one of the first in the entire Muslim world.


industries. It is considered one of poorest and least developed states in Malaysia, which is oft attributed to its geography and lack of natural resources.

Historically, the people of Terengganu *Darul Iman* (State of the Muslim faith) have been described as “the most zealous Mohammedans in the Peninsula”\(^{19}\) and Terengganu state as a “famed centre of Islamic studies and Arabic.”\(^{20}\) Terengganu converted to Islam prior to Melaka by at least a quarter of a century\(^{21}\) and the discovery of the Terengganu stone, dated 1303CE, inscribed with Malay Jawi Script, also highlights the existence of a Muslim ruler who adopted Islam some years before the rise of Melaka, which was founded around 1400 CE. Baginda Omar (1839-1876)\(^{22}\) and Sultan Zainal Abidin (1876-1919)\(^{23}\) were Sultans who enforced strict observance of Islamic practices during their reigns, with the assistance of the religious scholars (*ulama*). Efforts to implement Muslim precepts and eliminate un-Islamic practices were given continuing priority.\(^{24}\) The *ulama* occupied a central role in Islamic education establishing religious schools called *pondok* for the people of Terengganu.


Stronger links were forged between Terengganu and the Islamic world, as mentioned before, during the First World War, when Britain declared war on Turkey (Ottoman Empire),\textsuperscript{25} a major centre of Islamic community. A \textit{Sarekat Islam} (Islamic Association), a sort of political organization with economic objectives, spread to Kuala Terengganu, led by Terengganu \textit{ulama}, Sayyed Abdul Rahman. A similar organization was formed in Kemaman under the leadership of Sayyed Abdul Rahman Jambi.\textsuperscript{26} The peasant uprising in 1928 against the British government was a protest against new agricultural regulations and land taxes, and was closely associated with the \textit{ulama}, which inspired the uprising without becoming directly involved.\textsuperscript{27} Also, with the rise of the Islamic reformist movement throughout the Malay world in the early twentieth century, the Terengganu \textit{ulama} were prominently featured. All of these examples show the strong Islamic influence in the state of Terengganu, from the top echelon of the rulers to the level of the masses (\textit{rakyat}).

What is interesting, however, is that when the electoral system was introduced to Terengganu the people opted for a party less Islamic in nature than other possible parties. In Kelantan, the Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PMIP), later known as Parti Islam se Malaysia (PAS), secured victory\textsuperscript{28} since elections were introduced until

\textsuperscript{27} Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong was captured by the British government after allegations that he was the person responsible for the uprising.
1978. In Terengganu, in 1959 PAS was elected to govern the state with a slim victory, and it did not stay in power as in Kelantan. Of note two years later the PAS government was forced to step down by a vote of no confidence which handed over control to the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) after four PAS Assembly members joined UMNO. While PAS candidates were given full support in the districts of Besut and Dungun, it was not until 1999 that Terengganu was able to embrace the beleaguered party. However PAS did not stay longer as the government because the party lost to Barisan Nasional in the 2004 election.

What eventuated politically after 1961 followed a relatively smooth though ineffectual path with PAS leaders accusing UMNO of stealing the PAS majority by devious means. UMNO in turn criticised PAS for incompetence and maladministration. Unfortunately both parties began to use Islam as a political tool for battering the opposition parties with an ever-increasing sense of self-righteousness. Of note the UMNO state government led by Ibrahim Fikri faced allegations of corruption by putting their personal interests before those of the state and its people. This became a major campaign slogan during the 1969 election and was instrumental in the near defeat of UMNO. A year after their slim victory the leader, Ibrahim Fikri, was forced to step down to end an unhealthy situation for UMNO in Terengganu and the new government led by Datuk Mahmood Sulaiman

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29 In 1973 PAS joined the Alliance Party, later known as the National Front. However, due to disputes over many leadership issues, PAS withdrew from the coalition in 1978.
30 In the election, PAS won 13 seats, UMNO 7 seats and Party Negara 4 seats.
32 Ibrahim Fikri, for instance was alleged to have a new house, which was bigger than the Sultan’s palace in Seberang Takir, beside other houses and land and mining licenses in Kemaman. See M. Kamlin, History, Politics and Electioneering: The Case of Trengganu, p. 28.
took over (though it was short lived and replaced by Datuk Nik Hassan b. Abdul Rahman in 1972). Finally, when PAS amalgamated with the Alliance Party in 1973; the end coverage of this thesis, strong opposition to the state government waned. Islamic political elements then dissolved with the new National Front coalition stands and policies. All of these political developments are interesting to study.

**Issues**

This study is to examine the political aspects in Malaysia as a Muslim country with Terengganu as a case study. The primary issue is how the people of Terengganu who have been portrayed as more religious, have responded to the changing world and how they have reacted to the new idea of Islamic politics, economic needs and social aspirations in the modern world. Has the strong Islamic background possessed by the people of Terengganu influenced their decision in selecting their political representatives after independence, and in this case PAS, the party on the Islamic platform? Clearly, in three elections held from 1959 to 1969, PAS did not gain enough support in the state, unlike in Kelantan. Perhaps the majority of the people in Terengganu did not really understand the political ideology disseminated by the party. There is an answer to this issue and this study attempts to explain it.

Before explaining the main research questions, the years of British colonial rule, the Japanese occupation and experiences faced during the Emergency will be examined, and will be evaluated for the effect they had on religious beliefs and the
population’s selection of leaders at the time. The major impact of Japanese and British occupations on Terengganu’s history is the main focus in this section. British and Japanese policies on Islamic affairs eventually preserved and intensified Islamic fervour among the people of Terengganu. However, instead of increasing the number of religious schools during those periods, the people of the state, unlike in Kelantan, seemed not to employ a sufficient number of strategies to strengthen the position of Islam. During the Emergency, Islam and its people were threatened by communist ideology. Perhaps adherence to Islam prevented Muslims in Terengganu from giving support or sympathy to the communist movement.

To investigate the response by the people of Terengganu towards the introduction of a new political system, this research started with the electoral system introduced since 1955. The slim victory of PAS in the first election in 1959 will be studied, in addition to PAS strategy, voting preferences and patterns of the populace, all supported by interviews with subjects present at the time. Discerning reasons for the voters’ choices, the internal crisis resulting in the new administration two years later will be another critical incident placed under the microscope. This would answer the question on reasons as to why the people of Terengganu decided to opt for the UMNO leader instead of the PAS elected leader in the tumultuous year of 1961. Apart from that, this investigation also strives to answer additional questions which are related to the responses of the people of Terengganu towards its political development. What were the UMNO and PAS strategies and what was their overall

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success in attaining popular support? Next, what did the new state government led by UMNO do to overcome the backwardness and poverty in Terengganu and how far did they succeed (if at all)? Another question is what was the major factor leading to Ibrahim Fikri stepping down in 1970? Finally, what reasons led the PAS leader to merge with the Alliance Party in 1973 and what was the response of Terengganu PAS members? The examination of sources from political parties’ offices and personal collections may illustrate the crisis which occurred among concerned members over the performance of the parties.

Having captured and successfully retained power, UMNO and their relationship with the Terengganu people will be the next point for investigation. Examining their strategy and campaign, from reports by the state department and other sources, the general satisfaction of the Terengganu people with the party will be detailed with particular attention being paid to economic growth, average state income, and land ownership, the progress of education, religious affairs and infrastructure development. Therefore this research covers not only politics and religion. This is an attempt to approach history in a very holistic way. This study also tries to escape from the limitations of historical research as mentioned by Khoo Kay Kim: “Most people would study only one aspect of it. Even if they do a PhD, it would be on one aspect or they would study one ethnic group.”

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34 The Sun Weekend, 12-13 February 2005.
A lot of published material exists in both Malay and English dealing with the history of Malay states, particularly before independence. Mubin C. Sheppard,35 Shahrl Talib Robert,36 Haji Buyong Adil,37 Heather Sunderland,38 J. de vere Allen,39 and Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali40 wrote on the history of Terengganu in the pre-war period. Therefore, this thesis does not focus on Terengganu history during the pre-war period. The history of Terengganu, however, was rarely given attention during the war and after. Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali41 and Mohd Nasir Ismail42 wrote about the Japanese occupation in Terengganu, however, their focus of discussion was different. Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali’s work was more on Japanese policy and administration rather than focused on the people. Mohd Nasir Ismail, on the other hand, focused his research on state socio-economic conditions during that period. Little work has touched on its people - insufficient to understand their suffering lives.

There were a few post-war written materials on the state, by Muhammad Abu Bakar,43 Osman Mamat44 and Hussain Muhammad.45 The focus of these works was

35 M.C., Sheppard, A Short History of Trengganu, Kuala Lumpur, MBRAS, reprint no. 10, 1983.
37 Haji Buyung Adil, Sejarah Terengganu, Kuala Lumpur, DBP, 1982.
on a certain period or events. Muhammad Abu Bakar discussed the influences and role played by the religious scholars in the sultans’ courts, politics and education. Osman Mamat focused his research on the state’s experiences during the Emergency period with special attention to the socio-economic field. However, the people’s suffering and difficulties following the communist attack were insufficiently discussed. The chapter that discusses that period will focus on the experiences of the people of Terengganu, both from communist attacks and laws, regulations and restrictions imposed by the government. Hussain Mohammad wrote about politics and elections in Terengganu from the first election to the 1978 election. However, the discussion was very brief and did not cover in-depth every election in terms of causes and effects.

Discussing the history of the northeast states or Unfederated Malay States, scholars and writers reveal that the states and the people of Terengganu and Kelantan share similarities. Both have a strong Malay population and witnessed similar political experiences, religious influences and economy. Yet come independence the scenario changes. The influences of Islam saw the success of PAS in Kelantan since 1959. Kessler has researched these victories giving attention to the political behaviour of Kelantan people in Jelawat district, utilising both sociological and anthropological approaches. For Terengganu, though, the existing research is inadequate and fails to understand the political behaviour of the Terengganu people.

Even though this research has the same intention as Kessler’s on Kelantan, apart from methodology, the approach of this research is also different. Kessler analyses in-depth the religious concept as understood and practised by the Kelantan people in Jelawat district, whereas in this research, the Terengganu peoples’ beliefs and practices in Islam were examined in different ways. The focus was more on their day-to-day lives in almost every aspect that related to Islamic practice.

It needs to be considered that utilizing historical methodology may prove more adept at revealing the political events of this unique time. The choices people make regarding political parties are influenced by satisfaction with the existing political rulers of the day, economic growth, religion and also the development of education and other infrastructure. Studies made by political scientists have focused only on the Terengganu administration and the political affairs such as the battles between PAS and UMNO. Alwee Jantan has written on the political development dating from 1945 to 1957.47 Roger Kershaw wrote an article focusing on Kelantan and Terengganu politics in 1977,48 M. Kamlin discussed the 1974 electioneering in 1977,49 Adnan Mohd Noor focused on the role played by Terengganu’s famous politician, Ibrahim Fikri in 197450 and Safar Haji Awang on the emergence of political parties in Besut Terengganu dating from 1945 to 1970.51 Definitely these

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49 M. Kamlin, History, Politics, and Electioneering: The Case of Trengganu.
50 Adnan Mohd. Noor, Perjuangan Dato’ Ibrahim Fikri dalam Arina Politik di Negeri Trengganu, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya, 1974 (Unpublished B.A. Academic Exercise)
written works were insufficient to understand the whole picture of Terengganu history after the war and independence, especially for its people. The political behaviour of Terengganu people themselves has never been studied per se or discussed in depth. This study purposes to fill the void, examining Terengganu not only in terms of political affairs, but also in economic, geographic, educational and religious terms, from a historical perspective. In addition, research on post World War II Terengganu, especially on its economy and educational development, has yet to be conducted so the proposed study will accomplish twin objectives as well as enriching research on Malaysian history.

Research Methodology and Sources

To explain the issues discussed in this study in greater detail, primary and secondary sources will be utilised. Content analysis was the methodology adopted for the immensity of government and political parties’ documents. Integral investigative research was undertaken in Malaysia for various UMNO and PAS collections; State government reports (Education, Religious, Land, Industrial and Agricultural departments), assorted correspondence; District Offices files, personal documents and letters, and newspapers were studied in depth. The National Archives in Kuala Lumpur, University Malaya Library in Kuala Lumpur, the National Archives in Kuala Terengganu, and PAS and UMNO head offices in Kuala Terengganu were all key locations for data acquisition.
Primary sources were obtained from the National Archives of Kuala Lumpur and Kuala Terengganu mainly in Malay and the English language. Documents found in Bahasa Melayu were mostly written in the Jawi script especially during British and Japanese periods. Documents in the Malay language written in Roman script were rarely found, except for political parties’ documents.

Primary sources on the Japanese occupation in Terengganu especially on the policy towards Islam and the Malays are barely to be found in the National Archives in Kuala Lumpur. However files found in the National Archives in Kuala Terengganu help to fill the vacuum, though the information is insufficient. Therefore secondary sources were used. Discussion on the Emergency in Terengganu on the other hand was easier, subsequent to the opening of confidential files recently. The files which contained police reports, government reports, meeting minutes and etc. have assisted me in understanding the communist threat in the state and how the people of Terengganu faced it. The researcher found difficulties in obtaining information on the state’s land and economy and also educational development during PAS’s control of the state government unlike the Alliance’s tenure. PAS’s short tenure (two years) in the state office was fraught with crises which explained the difficulty in obtaining the documents.

To strengthen the analysis, interviews were conducted with selected individuals, such as former leading politicians from UMNO and PAS administrators and key civilian personnel. However, as a result of the death of almost all key politicians
from those parties, oral evidence was difficult to obtain, particularly for Parti Negara. Since its abolishment in 1963, the key political personnel were hardly to be located. For PAS, the only witness interviewed was Abu Bakar bin Mohd Salleh, the former PAS state’s house representative (1959-1961). He gave very useful information that could not be found in written material. However, interviews could not be conducted with Ustaz Harun (PAS politician) due to his age and illness. An interview with the current PAS leader could not be conducted because the current policy and circumstances are different from the previous administration. For the UMNO, the persons interviewed were not really involved in the crises which occurred and also in the administration. Therefore, in many cases, this thesis could not depend on oral evidence to support its arguments.

Obtaining information from political parties’ collections was not easy. It might be thought that getting files from the opposition party, PAS, would be difficult compared to the ruling party. Surprisingly, PAS files were easier to access. In fact, quite a number of UMNO’s documents were found in the personal collection of Tan Sri Hassan Adli, former PAS deputy leader, which were obtained from the National Archives in Kuala Lumpur. PAS documents which contain meeting minutes, official and personal letters, declaration, parliamentary debates and newspapers release have really helped discussion in this thesis. On the other hand, UMNO’s files were very difficult to access as a result of the confidential status of the files, apart from the fact that many had been burnt.52 Files or documents could hardly be

located from UMNO’s head office in Kuala Terengganu for the reason they were not well organized. Therefore, knowledge of UMNO affairs in Terengganu was insufficient to reach precise conclusions upon certain questions about the party. For example, the question of the major factor that brought Ibrahim Fikri down as *Menteri Besar* in 1970 was not really answered.

**Thesis Synopsis**

This thesis will begin by discussing Terengganu’s early history as background to understanding the nature of its politics and its inhabitants. This chapter focuses on the politics of Terengganu before and after British intervention. It is shows how the remarkable Sultans and their ruling elites maintained the state’s independence from foreign interference into its political affairs. Those interested in gaining power in Terengganu were the Siamese kingdom, the Melaka/Johore Sultanate and the British government. In fact Terengganu was the last Malay state which accepted a British adviser after being pressed for years. Alongside the political, religious influences inside the court and amongst the Terengganu people is another aspect of Terengganu history. Islamic elements were evidently practised in the court, both in the enforcement of laws and regulations and in routines of daily life as obligated upon Muslims. The presence of many Islamic scholars (*ulama*) in the court and religious education institutions motivated the rulers and people of the state to practise Islam peacefully.

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53 In 15 September 2003 the researcher went to the office to seek assistance in finding related documents but was told that the document could not be viewed.
As the state economy and land development after independence will be examined in this thesis, background conditions, with detail on economic activities and state income, will be discussed in the background chapter. This will show the unimpressive economic and land development before the war and the people’s living conditions and hopes. This discussion will help to explain economic development after independence and how it changed the attitude of the Terengganu people towards modernization. Education of the Terengganu people is another aspect touched upon in this background chapter. Religious education was far better than modern education. The Malay parent’s trust in Islamic education meant that modern education was less developed.

Chapter two discusses the turbulent years experienced by the Terengganu people during the Japanese occupation from 1942 to 1945 followed by the Emergency period from 1948 to 1954. Even though the Emergency officially lasted from 1948 to 1960, communist attacks lessened around 1955. In fact, Terengganu was the first state declared as a white area in Malaya (in 1957). The impact on the Terengganu people’s lives during these crucial periods is the main aspect to be discussed. Thus, the Japanese administration is only given little attention, as Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali has covered it in depth. The Terengganu people’s response to the decision made by the Japanese government to transfer the state to the Thai government is also touched upon. After the Japanese government was defeated, definitely the people looked forward to a better life. However, before everything was back to
normal, communists frustrated by the British move to continue governing Malaya, launched a guerilla war against them. The communists did not merely direct their attacks against British officials, and estate and mine managers; civilians in Terengganu were heavily affected by the communist attempts to destroy the state’s economy. Differing from the approach taken in Osman Mamat’s work, this chapter does not focus on the state’s economy during these crucial years but on its people’s suffering. They endured not only the attacks but also the regulations and restrictions imposed by the government to counter the communist movement. In addition, the analysis depends more on written materials rather than interviewing people, as Osman Mamat did.

The following chapter is on the political parties’ emergence in the state. Political activities occurred in the state as early as the 1920s. The chapter shows when and how the Terengganu people were introduced to modern politics. Leading up to the election in 1954, political parties mushroomed in Malaya and also in Terengganu. Their emergence, ideologies and aspirations are discussed to understand their stance and their struggle on behalf of the people. Special attention is given to the parties’ branches and divisions in Terengganu, along with their progress and problems. People’s support for the parties is also examined in this chapter.

The discussion continues with the elections held in Terengganu from 1954 to 1969. These interesting events showed the stance of the Terengganu people in politics, especially in choosing their political representatives to make their aspirations come
true. The first election did not give a wide choice to the voters as only two political parties contested (The Alliance and Parti Negara), besides independent candidates. As the Alliance was a strong and grounded party, it won a landslide victory. However, the 1959 election saw a battle between various parties with PAS and Party Rakyat Malaya joining the Alliance and Parti Negara as contestants. This gave more room for the people of Terengganu to choose. A strong Islamic belief and practices made the people of the state choose PAS in many constituencies to allow them to govern the state. The 1964 election saw a shift amongst the people of Terengganu. They wanted a progressive economy and land development, and re-elected the Alliance after becoming dissatisfied with PAS’ performance. The dilemma of choosing between state development and honesty saw the Alliance lose popular support even though they retained power as a state government in the 1969 election.

PAS’ short-lived tenure as state government raises questions about the factors leading to its fall. A continuation from the previous chapter, chapter five examines factors that created internal crises within the party, which affected the state’s administration and led to the toppling of PAS as a state government two years after the 1959 election. Even though Ismail Ibrahim has done research on the PAS failures in maintaining its position in the state government, his focus was more on the party’s internal crisis. This chapter’s focus is not only on PAS’ problems, but also on crises occurring in the Alliance party, UMNO in particular. Every aspect connected to the crises is given attention in order to find accurate answers about
what really happened during those years (1954 – 1973). Efforts by UMNO to invite PAS to join the Alliance party, later known as the National Front, is another aspect discussed in this chapter. It is very interesting to find that those two major Malay parties, with different ideologies, struggles and aspirations could work together as partners in one party. The ‘marriage,’ which came to life in 1973, was momentary and it is believed that dissatisfaction amongst the party members on that merger led to the party’s fragile relationship with UMNO. However, this chapter does not attempt to examine the ‘broken marriage.’

Land and economic development no doubt were important factors in the state’s progress. They could influence the voters to select only competent candidates who were able to fulfill the people’s dreams. Therefore, in searching to understand the political behaviour of the Terengganu people, the state’s land and economic development are the next aspects to be discussed. Terengganu, that less developed state in the peninsula due to insufficient natural resources, was definitely looking forward to a better future in the years after independence. This chapter attempts to examine developments in both fields from 1954 to 1973, comparing the level of progress achieved when different parties ruled the state. Undoubtedly the people of Terengganu, who hungered for development that could bring higher earnings, were not ready to sacrifice it when they decided not to re-elect PAS after the party failed to develop the state during their two year tenure. The tremendous performance showed by the Alliance in implementing land and economic plans gained trust from
the voters to stay loyal until the 1969 election, even though some of them were affected by the corruption allegations faced by the state’s UMNO leaders.

The final aspect investigated in this thesis is educational progress in the state after independence, as education received serious attention from both political parties and voters. Modern educational development in Terengganu before the Second World War was not impressive in comparison with religious education, as discussed in chapter one. Nevertheless, the situation was quite different after the war. In the hope of getting a better future, parents in Terengganu wanted more modern schools to be built. Even though schools built in Terengganu were not as good as in other states, the increasing number of Malay and English schools lessened the importance of and support for religious institutions. In fact Malay parents, especially in urban areas, favoured placing their children in English schools to ensure their continuation through to higher education. The Terengganu people’s responses towards modernization were parallel with current needs.
CHAPTER ONE
TERENGGANU BEFORE 1942
MAP 2: TERENGGANU
Introduction

To understand the history of Terengganu after 1942, it is important to know its historical background, from the general description of the state and its inhabitants, to political affairs and the socio-economic situation. From its early history, the people of Terengganu experienced changes and responded in a unique manner to the changing world. Hence this chapter will focus on these experiences and responses, in order to understand the political, religious, social and economic behaviour of the people from the top echelon to the lowest rungs of society. The early political history of the state showed the struggle of the Sultans to maintain their independence from foreign intervention: Melaka/Johor kingdom, the Siamese kingdom and the British. The remarkable Sultans made every effort to ensure that the state and the people were stable in economic and religious practices. However the British government finally succeeded in making Terengganu a British protectorate state in 1919.

As an independent state, the inhabitants were protected from outside influence. As a result, the people of Terengganu were less sensitive about Malayan politics. In the latter part of the twentieth century, the people of Terengganu for example were not aware of a Malay nationalism which occurred in other Malay state.\(^1\) However, with influence of the local religious scholars, the people of Terengganu for the first time united against a new British law which resulted in the 1928 peasant uprising.

\(^1\) Discussion on Malay Nationalism can be found in W.R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, K.L. OUP, 1995. Further discussion on Terengganu will be in chapter three.
Therefore, the Islamic beliefs and practices the people of Terengganu will be discussed as background knowledge in this chapter. This discussion will examine the influence and practices of Islam among the people of Terengganu which led to the view that the people of Terengganu were “the most zealous Mohammedans in the Peninsula”\(^2\) and later gave room to the Islamic based political party (PAS) to govern the state after the 1959 election.

The experiences and responses of the people of Terengganu form the main focus of this study. In order to understand their living conditions, the focus will be on their economic activities and development (including infrastructure) and education. As regards the economy, the analysis will be on the people’s living conditions in order to obtain a better understanding of their expectations and needs in the near future which could affect the choice of the ruling party. Though Terengganu was always described as having a lack of natural resources which indicated that it was the least developed state in the Peninsula, economic development actually had been tightened to special practices among the royal family such as a concession system.\(^3\) In reality, natural resources from the sea and land were sufficient to feed a small number of the inhabitants in Terengganu.

The religious education system in Terengganu was the oldest, most advanced and was acceptable by most of the people compared to the modern vernacular system which was the least developed in the state. A Terengganu ruler, Baginda Omar, for

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\(^3\) Discussion on concession system can be found in Shaharil Talib Robert, *After Its Own Image*. 

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example, was a student of the famous religious scholar Ungku Sayyid Kramat, who was also brought to teach the court’s advocates. Due to the small number of modern educated people in the state, the level of political awareness was low. Nevertheless, the religious education system produced a large number of politicians with religious backgrounds who later had a great influence on the religious movement and political development in Terengganu.

**Terengganu in General**

Terengganu has been a predominantly Malay state since its early history. Although the Chinese maritime traders were trading with Terengganu, the state was not of interest to them compared to Penang or Singapore and the rest of the Malay states. Lack of natural resources and economic opportunities were believed to be the main factors driving them away. However, there was a small Chinese village in Kuala Terengganu named Kampong China where the Chinese Hokkien and Kheh settled. Most of them were traders with their own junks who traded with Siam, Cambodia, Tongkin and Sambas. Unlike Chinese communities in other states in modern periods, Chinese in Terengganu and also Kelantan assimilated their culture with that of the locals. They speak fluent Malay using the Terengganu dialect. Probably because of their small number, they were forced to mix with locals in everyday life to meet their needs.

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4 Chinese communities in early periods had assimilated their culture with the locals especially during the Melaka period. In the modern period, because of their large number, they formed their own communities in selected areas and they seemed to feel it unnecessary to mix with the locals.
Hugh Clifford provided a detailed description of the people of Terengganu based on his visit to the state in the late nineteenth century. Making comparison with the Malays in Pahang, he said:

The native of Trengganu proper is, first and foremost, a man of peace. His sole interest in life is the trade or occupation which he plies, and he has none of pride of race and country which is so marked in the Pahang Malay. All he asks is to be allowed to make money or earn a livelihood unmolested, and he has none of that ‘loyal passion’ for his intemperate Kings which is such a curious feature among the people of Pahang.\(^5\)

Terengganu is a large state which comprises thirteen rivers. Each river acts as a border, surrounding the following districts: Kuala Terengganu, Besut, Kemaman, Dungun, Kijal, Marang, Kemasek, Paka, Merchang, Setiu, Kemasek and Kretai. The Besut district is located at the upper north and Kemaman at the lower south. The Besut River marks the boundary of Kelantan and Terengganu. Regarding the boundary between Pahang and Terengganu, there has been prolonged dispute.\(^6\) Terengganu claimed the state extends along the coast as far as Tanjong Tengah to the south, but Pahang claimed that the boundary was at Tanjung Gelugor, which would mean Terengganu territory is shorter than previously claimed. Sultan Muhammad, the successor of Sultan Zainal Abidin III, took a serious view about this dispute and therefore set up a committee to resolve the dispute in 1920.\(^7\) The committee was led by a state magistrate and five members including the British Resident of Pahang and the British Agent of Terengganu which finally made a decision that satisfied both states in July 1928.

\(^{6}\) Clifford, pp. 58-59.
\(^{7}\) Mentri Besar Office, MBOF 166/1339, Minta Persetujuan meletakkan Sempadan di antara Pahang dan Terengganu.
During their early days, each district in Terengganu, as in other Malay states, “was held by district chiefs called Dato.” The districts were sub-divided into minor mukim (parish), each of them was held by a Dato’ Muda or Chief of secondary importance, on similar tenure with the District Chief. The villages contained in these sub-districts were headed in similar manner by the Ka-tua-an or headmen under the Dato’ Muda. As an income for the ruling class (royal family), one or more districts were allocated to them. The income came from revenue collected from the people by their trusted agents or the Chief himself. Normally when the elected Chief died, he would be replaced by someone from his family. This system produced a monopoly by a certain family over the area. Due to the lack of control from Kuala Terengganu, the place where most of the royal family settled and stayed when they were absent from the district, some of the chiefs became very powerful. The chief of Besut, for example, would only surrender the revenue collected when pressed. This situation resulted in reduced income for the royal family, and nothing could be done to overcome the matter. Only the strong leadership of sultans such as Baginda Omar made attempts to minimize the chief’s position.

**Terengganu’s Early Political History and Its Rulers**

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8 The penghulu was responsible to chief district in collecting tax or revenue while the latter was responsible to the ruling class to ensure all the collected tax and revenue went to the ruling class.
Terengganu had a long political and religious history. From research and from the
discovery of the Terengganu Stone dated 1303CE (788H) with a little inscription on
Islam in Malay Jawi script, it was proven that Islam first came to the Malay
Peninsula through Terengganu and not Melaka. It was said that there was a small
Islamic state named Taashih\textsuperscript{10} was formed in Terengganu in the tenth century,
approximately four hundred years before Melaka. The Arab colony to be said
settled in Kuala Terengganu since the eighth century and the Terengganu Stone was
found in this Arab colony which later formed a small state. Even though there is no
further information about this state, it was believed that the people of Terengganu
embraced and practised Islam following the establishment of this Arab colony.
Later in the fourteenth century, the state was ruled by a local ruler, and Sheppard
referred his identity as Telanai.\textsuperscript{11} During his time, the struggle for independence for
the state started and Telanai was assured that neither the Siamese Kingdom nor the
Melaka Sultanate, nor the Kingdom of Inderapura (the ancient name of Pahang)
would dominate them,\textsuperscript{12} even though he had created a close friendship with these
kingdoms.

As a most stable and strong kingdom, Melaka Sultanate always referred to
Terengganu as their protectorate and this claim remained even after the Portuguese

\textsuperscript{10} Abdul Rahman Hj. Abdullah, \textit{Asia Tenggara Tradisional, Politik dan kebudayaan}, Kuala Lumpur,
\textsuperscript{11} Mubin Sheppard, \textit{A Short History of Trengganu}, p. 5. The name of Terengganu was not mentioned
in \textit{Sejarah Melayu}, the most known Malay source, but has only been mentioned in \textit{Hikayat Hang Tuah}. See also Clifford, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{12} Telanai as a Malay ruler in the area of Kuala Terengganu paid some nominal form of tribute to
Melaka in the 15th century but there is nothing to indicate that he was in any way subject either to
Siam or the Siamese Viceroy of Pahang. See Mubin Sheppard, p. 5. According to Hugh Clifford,
who referred the early history of Terengganu to \textit{Hikayat Hang Tuah}, Pahang had conquered
Terengganu after the fall of Melaka.
captured Melaka in 1511. In 1587 the Sultan of Johor summoned the ruler of Terengganu to give him aid against the Portuguese when they attacked Johor Lama.\textsuperscript{13} Even though they gave the requested aid, Terengganu’s chiefs and mentri (ministers) were unhappy with this situation. Sultan Abdul Jalil, who was driven away from the Johor capital by Raja Kechil from Siak in 1718,\textsuperscript{14} chose to stay in Terengganu while Raja Sulaiman, his son, prepared to strike back at Raja Kechil with assistance from the Bugis royal family. During his long stays in the state, Terengganu chiefs and mentri showed their rejection of his presence. Therefore Sultan Abdul Jalil fled to Pahang after three years in the state.\textsuperscript{15} Perhaps the Sultan of Johor realized his fragile influence on Terengganu. Seven years later he made his younger half brother, Tun Zainal Abidin, the first Terengganu ruler,\textsuperscript{16} named Sultan Zainal Abidin. However, his later successors took several moves to minimize the influence of Johor and maintained its independence.

Not headed for a single attachment to the Johor kingdom, Terengganu extended a gesture of friendship, and a mark of cordial relationship, with the King of Siam by sending the \textit{Bunga Mas} (Golden Token) every three years. This practice was started by Sultan Mansur I to show his gratitude for the generosity of the Siamese King in 1782, a year after being presented with twenty filled boats for taking part in an attack on Ligor. This was believed to be the first contact with the Siamese Kingdom

\textsuperscript{13} Mubin Sheppard, pp. 6-7.  
\textsuperscript{14} Raja Kechil claimed to be a true successor of Sultan Mahmud of Melaka who was the first Sultan of the Johor kingdom. Raja Kechil then drove the existing Sultan out and proclaimed himself the new Sultan of Johor. See Mubin Sheppard, p. 8.  
\textsuperscript{16} Mubin Sheppard, p. 9.
and this practice continued during the reign of Sultan Zainal Abidin III,\textsuperscript{17} after being stopped for a while during Baginda Omar’s reign. The practice, however, was misinterpreted by the Siamese King, who believed that Terengganu was paying tribute like the other Siamese protectorate states. In fact, the Siamese kingdom kept an eye on Terengganu’s political affairs to ensure that the British government’s expansionist policy towards the Malay States did not extend to Terengganu as well as Kelantan.

Terengganu was unhappy with the attitude shown by the Siamese kingdom. To ensure that Terengganu could maintain its independence, the rulers sought help, first from the British government and then from the Dutch government in Melaka, but in vain. Sultan Mansur I began a remarkable correspondence with Captain Light in Penang and referred to Light as “our son” in the letters.\textsuperscript{18} When the Siamese King instructed the Sultan to pay homage to Bangkok, the Sultan wrote a letter to Captain Light for help:

\begin{quote}
Now if our son feels any concern for our situation, he will give orders for a couple of guardia costas to proceed to this place in the course of four months, bringing with them a set of English colours.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

However, Captain Francis Light refused to interfere just as he rejected the same request from the Sultan of Kedah who faced the same problem. Despite refusing the Sultan of Terengganu’s request, the British government developed an interest by tying a trading rope with both Terengganu and Kelantan. This trading rope later

\textsuperscript{17} Mubin Sheppard, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{18} In most letters Sultan described his state’s relationship with the King of Siam. See The Annual Report of The British Agent, Trengganu for the year 1915, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{19} The Annual Report of The British Agent, Trengganu for the year 1915, p 14.
created a new phase in the relationship between the British, Siam and Terengganu itself. In order to ensure peaceful trading without interference from Siam, the British forced Siam to sign a treaty involving the states of Terengganu and Kelantan. The Burney Treaty was finally signed in 1826 by both governments. According to Article XII in the treaty, Siam was ordered not “to go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringano and Calantan.”20 However the treaty left the status of Terengganu and Kelantan ambiguous.21 The Siamese considered article XII a confirmation by the British that both states were Siamese protectorates, because Terengganu and Kelantan were their tributaries. However, the British government interpreted the article differently in that each was an independent state.22 For Terengganu, the treaty signed should confirm its status as an independent state. Finally, the status of Terengganu was resolved in 1909 when another treaty was signed by both Siamese and British governments.

The treaty fully transferred Terengganu together with Kelantan into a British protectorate therefore ending the minimal Siamese influence over Terengganu. At this stage, Terengganu was then forced to get involved in another relationship, with the British government which was not actually acceptable to the Sultan. The Sultan of Terengganu considered this new relationship on a friendship basis. Therefore, unlike Kelantan, which had a British adviser, Terengganu only had a British Agent with very limited power. Having a British Agent was proof of the Sultan’s brilliant

20 Hugh Clifford, p. 74.
moves to ensure that Terengganu remained independent. The first British Agent was W. D. Scott. Regardless of the pressure on the existing sultan (Sultan Zainal Abidin III) to accept British Adviser, the sultan continued his policy of friendship with the British officer and maintained the state’s independence.

Undoubtedly, the rulers of Terengganu and their ruling officers were responsible for preserving the state’s independence. Their wisdom in having engagement with foreign powers to solve the state’s internal crises hampered the British government’s efforts to bring the state under its administration. Dato Seri Amar Diraja Haji Ngah @ Muhammad bin Yusuf who held posts such as States Confidential Secretary, Deputy Mentri Besar,\(^\text{23}\) Mentri Besar, Judge for Appeal Court, Acting Religious Commissioner and Acting Raja, was the person responsible for delaying the appointment of a British Adviser for Terengganu.\(^\text{24}\) However, it was only a matter of time before Terengganu was ruled by the British, when J. L. Humphreys was appointed as the first British Adviser in 1919. The appointment came after the death of Sultan Zainal Abidin III. Sultan Muhammad, the successor, was forced to accept a British Adviser replacing the British Agent. Nevertheless Terengganu remained as the last Malay State to accept British protectorate status after struggling for a long time to remain an independent state.

\(^{23}\) Two different spellings of the word mentri besar will be used throughout this thesis. The spelling of mentri besar is used to refer to the respective persons before 1957 while menteri besar will be used for after that year.

During its relationship with Siam and British governments, the Sultans of Terengganu enjoyed an independent existence compared to the other Malay rulers. Terengganu had never had a Siamese Adviser, and the link with Siam was limited to the symbolic triennial sending of the *bunga mas.*

Even after becoming a British protectorate, the British government failed to get an assurance that Terengganu would accept the administrative advice offered by their agent in the state. From time to time the British tried very hard to appoint their adviser by signing a new treaty in 1910 but it was fruitless. Being ruled by remarkable rulers, Terengganu was free from British control for quite a long time compared to the other states. Furthermore, regardless of small indiscretions from their chiefs, Terengganu protected itself from foreign intervention; unlike for instance, that experienced by Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang that forced them to sign a treaty with the British government and accept a British Resident whose advice had to be followed.

The wisdom of the rulers ensured the stability of the state in political and social affairs. Though internal problems occurred during Baginda Omar’s reign, he managed to overcome those conflicts without interference from foreign powers.

Sultan Mansur I (1740-1793), Baginda Omar (1839-1876) and Sultan Zainal Abidin III (1881-1918) were the most capable rulers in Terengganu, dealing with foreign powers and developing economic activities. Sultan Mansur I, an ambitious young man, ruled Terengganu for about 53 years, long enough to stabilize the new state.

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26 Those states faced a dispute regarding the appointment of the ruler while more than one claimed to be the next ruler. In Perak, for example, there were four persons who claimed to be ruler after the death of the previous Sultan.
Sultan Mansur managed to reduce Johor’s influence over the state that started in 1764 and began to expand and strengthen his power over the neighbouring state. During his reign Terengganu became involved in Johor-Bugis-Dutch relations. The involvement was an attempt to reduce the Bugis’s influence and power in the Johor court on the request of the Sultan of Johor.\textsuperscript{27} Thinking that the Dutch government in Melaka would help, Sultan Mansur sought its assistance in driving the Bugis away from Johor’s court. However, the Dutch refused to provide assistance due to their desire to maintain an amicable relation with the Bugis leaders in Riau. By seeking help from Terengganu, Sultan Sulaiman of Johor confirmed the fact that the state was strong enough to intervene in his state’s affairs. Sultan Mansur also kept a view on political affairs in Kelantan. Terengganu was involved in a war with the Kelantan ruler, when Long Drahman, the existing ruler, refused to appoint Long Yunus his successor, as Terengganu wished. Kelantan was attacked and defeated twice by Terengganu armies with assistance from Siak men led by Raja Ismail in 1775. Long Drahman, however, remained a ruler in Kelantan\textsuperscript{28} after he accepted the Terengganu Sultan as his overlord. Terengganu not only maintained its independence, it also became a powerful state in the northern part of the peninsula.

\textsuperscript{27} Bugis influence in the Johor court began when Sultan Abdul Jalil was driven away by Raja Kechil from Siak. In order to get back his throne, Raja Sulaiman son of the expelled sultan, gained help from five Bugis royal brothers, Daeng Celak, Daing Menambun, Daing Perani, Daing Kemboja and Daing Merewah. Daing Merewah had been appointed as Yam Tuan Muda after succeeding in driving Raja Kechil from the Johore throne. Then Bugis influence flourished in Johor court and left Sultan Sulaiman powerless. Further information can be viewed in Leonard Andaya, \textit{The Kingdom of Johore}, chapter X.

\textsuperscript{28} Although Long Drahman remained in power he had an obligation to put Long Yunus in as the next ruler when the time came. See Mubin Sheppard, p. 18.
Thus, Sultan Mansur I was the ruler who was responsible for making contact with foreign powers, the Siamese in Bangkok, the Dutch in Melaka and the British in Penang. Those contacts were believed to strengthen his political power by forming close friendships with those powers. Even though these moves were misinterpreted by the Siamese King especially, and not welcomed by the Dutch, Terengganu managed to maintain its independence. In fact, states such as Johor and Kelantan gave Terengganu full respect in accordance with its status as a stabilized and independent state. However, due to controversy in the latter part of his reign, Sultan Mansur I decided not to be involved in foreign affairs anymore. Instead, he concentrated on internal affairs, especially an increasing economic activity, resulting in increased growth in the state’s economy. Terengganu’s annual exports then increased to an impressive thirty thousand Spanish dollars. This showed that the sultan was not only interested in retaining his power but also taking care of the state’s economy.

Baginda Omar, the ninth Sultan of Terengganu, stabilized political disputes in the state prior to his reign. He became the ruler of Terengganu by challenging the existing Sultan, Muhammad Shah. The replacement of the Sultan did not result in protest or objection from the people of Terengganu; in fact they gave full support to Baginda Omar as the new Sultan. This did not happen because the peaceful artisans

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29 The Dutch not merely refused assistance requested by Terengganu but also embarrassed the Sultan by a rude letter in replying to the Sultan’s letter. See Mubin Sheppard, p. 81.
30 Mubin Sheppard, p. 22.
31 Baginda Omar was a member from a royal family, however he was expelled from Terengganu by his elder brother Tengku Mansur to prevent him from claiming the throne. Omar took revenge by attacking the new sultan, Sultan Muhammad Shah, and driving him to Kelantan. Omar then ruled Terengganu as the ninth Sultan of Terengganu and adopted the title baginda-signifying conqueror. See Mubin Sheppard, pp. 27-28.
of Kuala Terengganu and the fishermen of the coastal villages had little inclination for fighting. Rather it was due to his personality and remarkable strength and being a stronger man compared to his predecessors who were described as irresponsible and unpopular.\(^{32}\) Baginda Omar continued the tradition of sending tokens to Siam to show respect and friendship. However he discontinued this practice when Terengganu became more involved with other Malay state affairs (Riau/Lingga and Pahang), which caused interference between the British, Siam and Terengganu itself. Baginda Omar probably saw the possibility of direct interference from Siam especially if he continued sending tokens. Furthermore, when the Siamese King ordered him to pay homage to Bangkok the sultan refused. Baginda Omar wanted to ensure that Terengganu remained as an independent state.

A complex situation began in Pahang, when Terengganu was forced to get involved in a civil war after the death of Pahang’s ruler, Bendahara Ali, in 1857.\(^{33}\) The conflict involved Sultan Mahmud, the deposed Sultan of Lingga in Riau whose allies were Baginda Omar’s nephew who was seeking Siamese support against the British in Singapore.\(^{34}\) The presence of Sultan Mahmud in Trengganu, after he sailed to the Siamese capital, brought on a dilemma for Baginda Omar when the

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\(^{32}\) Munshi Abdullah, *Kisah Pelayaran Munshi Abdullah* quoted by Mubin Sheppard, p. 27. See also Hugh Clifford, *Expedition: Trengganu…..*, p. 69.

\(^{33}\) The Pahang throne was claimed by two royal successors, Wan Mutahir with British support and Wan Ahmad who was seeking Baginda Omar’s support. This claim resulted in a war when Wan Ahmad attacked Wan Mutahir the new Bendahara several times until he claimed victory in 1862. See Kobkua Suwannathat-Pian, “The Bombardment of Trengganu 1862: The Power Struggle in a Small Corner of the World” and Mubin Sheppard, pp. 33-34.

\(^{34}\) Riau/Lingga was under Dutch rule. Tengku Sulaiman replaced Sultan Mahmud following the dispute to appoint Yam Tuan Muda. The British claimed former sultan to be taken out from Terengganu upon his support to Wan Ahmad in Pahang war and his intention to usurp the Terengganu throne with Siam’s support. Because of the soured relations between Baginda Omar and King Mongkut of Siam, it is doubtless that Siam would support the former sultan.
British officer wanted his nephew to surrender to the British. The former sultan’s refusal to do so brought on an attack from British troops in 1862 that killed about twenty people. To maintain a peaceful and smooth relationship with the British and probably with the Siamese too, Baginda Omar forced his nephew to sail out to Siam to end the dispute. Sultan Mahmud had no other choice but to flee to the Siamese capital. Even though Terengganu experienced severe damage and loss of life, at the end, Baginda Omar was able to control the situation without losing his state’s freedom either to the Siamese or British.

Having realized that the practice of giving power to district chiefs had resulted in weakened central administration as mentioned above, Baginda Omar took a move to change the practice. He declined to appoint a new chief to replace a deceased chief. Instead, the sultan appointed a *penghulu* to take charge of the district affairs and he was directly responsible to the sultan. Because of this action, Baginda Omar faced resistance from a royal family member, Tengku Ali, who administered the district of Besut. Tengku Ali had a plan to replace Baginda Omar as a Sultan with Tengku Chik Muda, son of Yam Tuan Muda Abdullah, but Tengku Ali’s attempt was unsuccessful and resulted in the death of Tengku Chik Muda.\(^{35}\) However, no action was taken by Baginda Omar against Tengku Ali but he was obliged to swear an oath of loyalty to him and that ended the dispute. Once again Baginda Omar managed to overcome the problem that would affect his position as a ruler without seeking any assistance from foreign powers as sultans in other states did. Probably

\(^{35}\) Mubin Sheppard, p. 35.
his capability and charisma as a ruler won the court’s full support for him and all attempts to replace him failed.

Baginda Omar devoted a lot of his time and energy to the revival of trade in Terengganu. His first step was to encourage foreign skilled artisans to settle in Terengganu and ask them to teach his people how to develop state industries. This resulted in Terengganu being later described by Hugh Clifford as the Birmingham of the Peninsula. During Clifford’s visit to Terengganu, there were 5,000 artisans. Baginda Omar’s efforts developed Kuala Terengganu as the main centre of Malay shipbuilding. In fact, the Malay craftsmen were trained in Singapore to produce very creditable pieces of workmanship. Baginda Omar was said to have travelled across the country not merely to extend his authority over outlying areas but also to supervise prospecting for tin and gold in the interior.

Sultan Zainal Abidin III who replaced Sultan Ahmad Shah II in 1881 was another remarkable ruler who abandoned the traditional policy of isolation and embarked on a series of reforms, especially in external affairs. Terengganu remained independent even though the tradition of sending the bunga mas continued. In fact the Siamese King, in return, sent a few articles of at least equal value. During Sultan Zainal Abidin III’s reign, the King of Siam twice visited Kuala Terengganu,
in 1887 and in 1889 with gifts, which he presented to the Sultan.\textsuperscript{40} The Siamese King retained a minimal influence on Terengganu as shown when Sultan Zainal Abidin III denied the request from the King to open a post office in Kuala Terengganu and use stamps bearing the effigy of the King. The King of Siam did not apply pressure and the idea was abandoned shortly after.\textsuperscript{41} In 1896 the Sultan again paid a visit to Bangkok to demonstrate friendship with the King. The King of Siam was satisfied with the gratitude shown by the Sultan and did not interfere with the state’s internal affairs.

As Baginda Omar made an effort to have close relations with the British government by sending envoys to London bearing presents for Her Majesty the Queen in 1869, Sultan Zainal Abidin III visited Singapore in 1898 and 1910. However Sultan Zainal Abidin refused further relations beyond friendship with the British by declining to sign an agreement, prepared in both English and Siamese versions, in 1902 to appoint a British Adviser and Assistant Adviser in Terengganu as enacted in the neighbouring state, Kelantan. This stance continued when Sultan Zainal Abidin again refused to accept a British adviser even though another Treaty was signed in 1910. Nevertheless, the Sultan maintained a serious relationship with the British. When the British Agent was appointed following the 1910 agreement, the Sultan listened to the agent’s advice patiently but in the end he

\textsuperscript{40} Mubin Sheppard, pp. 40-41.
\textsuperscript{41} Sultan Zainal Abidin III in fact said that if the post office opened he should have stamps struck bearing his own likeness. See Hugh Clifford, pp. 75-76.
politely took his own counsel. In fact there were a lot of state affairs in which the agent remained uninformed. The Sultan acted to ensure sovereignty over his own state and did not want outside interference in administering the state.

In November 1911 Sultan Zainal Abidin, though described as a very conservative ruler, felt the need to reform his state. He followed the move taken by Johor to form a state constitution called *Itqanul muluk bi’ta’lid a-suluk*. The meaning in Arabic is “perfecting kings in improving their conduct.” The forming of this new constitution made Terengganu’s administration more organized. The laws contain 53 clauses. Following the constitution, the Council of Ministers was formed creating a different body from the State Council. Although British officials drafted the constitutions, the Islamic elements were strongly stressed. For example, a council member “who has seriously and clearly infringed the Mohammedan law or the laws and custom of the country” could be dismissed from his position with advice from the Ministry Council. The Constitution declared that Islam and no other religion should be declared as State Religion. Probably the move to have a state constitution was to ensure that Islam could be preserved as a state religion if Terengganu in future became a British protectorate. The Sultan and the Terengganu ruling officers realized that it was hard to deny the British efforts. The British government perhaps tried to convince the Sultan in drafting the Constitution that, if

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Complaints always came from the British Agent about his powerlessness over state affairs.
43 J. M. Gullick, *Malay Society in the Late...*, p. 5.
44 Moshe Yegar, *Islam and Islamic...*, p. 78.
45 Clauses 1 to 22 touched the Sultan’s affairs including the former sultan. See the Undang-Undang bagi diri Kerajaan Terengganu, (The Terengganu Constitution) 1911 (second print) 1931, pp. 2-14.
46 The Terengganu Constitution 1911, p. 6.
Terengganu accepted a British adviser, religious practices could be enjoyed without hindrance.

Besides the above law, there were other laws granted by the British government to ensure the stability of administration. However, in 1925 the Land Enactment 1344H was enacted and came into force in 1926. There is no written law on land before, to resolve disputes among parties involved such as ruling class and peasants. The 1344 Land Enactment contained six chapters and 48 sections regarding every aspect of land, including description of government land and its prohibition, reservation land, land ownership and land concession.\(^{48}\) The Waters Enactment was produced in 1534H (1935) to provide for the control of rivers and streams. This enactment is a further explanation of section 5 article 2 in Land Enactment which holds 13 sections. The very important matter in this enactment is a prohibition of diverting water from rivers except under licence both for private or domestic purposes and for industrial and other purposes.\(^ {49}\) Long before that, in 1918 the Rubber Lands Restriction Enactment was passed on the lines of the legislation of the Federated Malay States.\(^ {50}\) Terengganu then became more and more stable and well administered.

The introduction of such laws and enactments has shown that Terengganu did not want to be left behind the modern system which was introduced in other states. Even though the state was the last to accept a British adviser, the state was more

\(^{48}\) See the 1344H Terengganu Land Enactment.  
\(^{49}\) Waters Enactment, no. 3 of 1534, section 5 article (b).  
\(^{50}\) *The Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918*, p. 10.
advanced in giving response to the modern world and at the same time preserving its Islamic element which coloured the administration. It was also shown that the Sultans of Terengganu were amongst the most remarkable rulers in the Malay Peninsula who were sensitive to the current issues and needs of their people in the latter part of twentieth century.

The influence of Islam

The Islamic influences were very strong in Terengganu, and were clearly reflected in everyday activities. All of the three rulers mentioned above paid strict observance to the religious practices and encouraged their people learning Islamic teaching. They not only attended the mosque but also never missed any of the daily prayers, setting good examples for their people. Baginda Omar especially prohibited all sports that were against Islamic teaching such as all kinds of gambling and cock fighting.\textsuperscript{51} Those who were found to have neglected their religious obligations were punished, and no objections were raised by the people regarding the matter. Ramadhan was observed more strictly in the state than in most Muslim countries and Sultan Zainal Abidin regularly fast an extra six days in the following month.\textsuperscript{52}

For administration affairs, the government of Terengganu followed the Islamic Calendar. These practices show that the government of Terengganu placed serious attention on Islamic matters.

\textsuperscript{51} Hugh Clifford, p. 116.
At the ground level, the people of Terengganu learned Islamic teaching from childhood by attending *Quran* reading classes, and then for most, continued their education in religious schools called *pondok* where classes were conducted by religious scholars called *ulama*. In fact they were the only education institutions that were available for the people. The first secular school was only founded in Kampong Kling in 1908.\(^{53}\) The first *pondok* had been formed in the seventeenth century in Pulau Manis by Sheikh Abdul Malik bin Abdullah.\(^{54}\) Therefore the *pondok* became the best choice for education as so many *pondok* were built around Terengganu. The need to improve their Islamic knowledge drove a lot of students from Terengganu to other states or countries that had a great *pondok* or Islamic institution, such as Kelantan, Patani and Mecca and Madinah in the Middle East. Thus, it was not surprising that the state was full of Islamic scholars. Later they made great contributions to the Islamic development either in state administration, education or politics.

*Ulama* have held strong positions since early Terengganu history, as influential religious teachers, chiefs, leaders and advisers to the sultans. It is reported that “the land was full of holy men…”\(^{55}\) According to Shaharil Talib Robert, *ulama* became the third element in the Terengganu ruling class especially during Sultan Zainal Abidin’s reign, which comprised Sultan and *Kerabat Diraja* (the royal family) as the first element, *Kerabat Am* (the aristocracy) as the second, *ulama* as the third and

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\(^{53}\) Heather Sunderland, “The Taming of the Trengganu Elite,” p. 50

\(^{54}\) Shafie Abu Bakar, “Tok Pulau Manis dan Pengasasan Pendidikan Islam,” p. 53.

the group of *Orang Keistimewaan* (the court favourites) as the fourth element.\(^{56}\) The influence of *ulama*, however, emerged within the courts since Sultan Zainal Abidin I’s reign (1725-1734) when the Sultan himself married the daughter of Sheikh Abdul Malik. Together with his court advocates the sultan learned Islamic doctrine from his father-in-law. Sheikh Abdul Malik then was appointed as *Sheikh al-ulama*\(^{57}\). From then on Islamic scholars played an important role in state affairs and they helped in preserving the state’s independence.

According to Hugh Clifford, Baginda Omar mainly was responsible not merely for bringing *ulama* into state affairs, but also for bringing the famous *ulama*, Ungku Sayyid Kramat from Daik\(^{58}\) to teach his people. He himself was one of Sayyid’s students. The appointment of the *penghulu* and an *imam* in the district to replace a deceased district chief made the influence of Islamic religion much stronger among the villagers. Baginda Omar is also said to have appointed the first state *mufti* (religious chief) to encourage religious activity and reform.\(^{59}\) The rest of the rulers followed this appointment that strengthened the influence of Islam in administration, where there was already *Sheikh al-Islam*. First and foremost, *mufti* held the responsibility to construct *fatwa* regarding *syariah* laws. During their days, the *mufti* was consulted about the application of a piece of land to build a church.

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\(^{56}\) For further discussion about the Terengganu ruling class, see Shaharil Talib’s article, “The Trengganu Ruling Class in the Nineteenth Century,” *JMBRAS*, vol. 50 pt.2, 1977.

\(^{57}\) Shafie Abu Bakar, “Tok Pulau Manis dan Pengasasan Pendidikan Islam,” p. 58, quoted from *Hikam Melayu*. In Mubin Sheppard, *A Short History of Trengganu*, it was stated that the wife of the Sultan was from Patani. However it also mentioned Dato Pulau Manis as elder chief in Sultan’s court.

\(^{58}\) Daik is the royal capital of Riau Lingga in Sumatera. See Hugh Clifford, p. 115.

\(^{59}\) Heather Sutherland, “The Taming of the Trengganu Elite,” p. 37. In *Hikam Melayu* written by Tok Pulau Manis mentioned that besides his position as *Sheikh al-Islam*, he was also a state *mufti*. See Shafie Abu Bakar, “Tok Pulau Manis and Pengasasan Pendidikan Islam,” p. 58.
and missionary school in Terengganu by a priest from Melaka. Though this application was highly recommended by the British Agent for none of them existed in the state compared to the other Malay states, the application was rejected by a fatwa of the mufti which relating the nature of Terengganu as an Islamic state.60 This explained the lack of churches and missionary schools in the state even though there was a Christian community in Terengganu. The authority of Terengganu mufti was recognized by other Islamic association which referred to them on similar incidents.61

There were several famous religious scholars in the history of Terengganu. Among them were Sheikh Abdul Malik bin Abdullah (1650-1736), the well known Tok Pulau Manis, Syed Muhammad bin Zainal Abidin al-Idrus, well known as Tok Ku Tuan Besar (1795-1878), Wan Abdul Kadir bin Wan Abdul Rahim who died in 1864, Haji Wan Abdullah bin Haji Wan Mohammad Amin or Tok Sheikh Duyong (1802-1889), Tuan Guru Haji Hussein who died in 1917, Syed Abdul Rahman al-Idrus (1817-1917), well known as Tok Ku Paloh, Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong who was born in 1868, Dato Seri Amar Diraja Haji Ngah @ Muhammad bin Yusuf (1878-1940), Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad (1880-1971) and Haji Abas bin Muhammad who was born in 1909.

60 Menteri Besar Office, MBOF 34/1354, Padri negeri Melaka mohon sekeping tanah kerana mendirikan sebuah gereja dan sekolah.
61 In 1918 Islamic Federation of Singapore referred to Terengganu mufti about the Muhammadiyyah movement and the appointment of uncharacteristic qadi by a Governor of Singapore. See Terengganu State Secretary Office, SUK TRG 90/1936, Persekutuan Islam Singapura meminta fatwa daripada Mufti Terengganu berkenaan dengan Syariat Muhammadiyyah.
Syed Muhammad bin Zainal Abidin al-Idrus, Wan Abdul Kadir bin Wan Abdul Rahim, Haji Wan Abdullah bin Haji Wan Mohammad Amin or Tok Sheikh Duyong, Syed Abdul Rahman al-Idrus and Dato Seri Amar Diraja Haji Ngah @ Muhammad bin Yusuf were actively involved in Terengganu’s administration as Syeikh-ul Islam, Mufti, and ruler’s assistants (Religious Commissioner). Their knowledge and attitude towards Islamic teaching and practices had successfully gained respect from the people of Terengganu and the sultans themselves. As a matter of fact, these ulama influenced the government to ensure the practices of Islamic Law continued. Baginda Omar strengthened the religion vigorously in government by expanding the Islamic Judicial System in 1863.62 The role played by the ulama in the state’s administration was obviously strong. For instance, Dato Seri Amar Diraja Haji Ngah @ Muhammad bin Yusuf was said to have been the person who was responsible for delaying the British Adviser’s appointment to Terengganu.63 He also acted as a personal secretary of the Sultan. In fact one of the British Advisers had described Datok Seri Amar Diraja Haji Ngah as a typical priest and a man of intelligence.64 Dato Seri Amar Diraja continued his role in state administration even after Terengganu became a British protectorate.

Syed Muhammad bin Zainal Abidin al-Idrus (Tok Ku Tuan Besar) and Haji Wan Abdullah bin Haji Wan Mohammad Amin (Tok Sheikh Duyong) were the most influential ulama among the Terengganu royal family. Tok Ku Tuan Besar, whose

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father came from the Middle East, settled and married with the daughter of al-Idrus family who settled in Terengganu. Tok Ku Tuan Besar obtained his Islamic education in Kuala Terengganu and Mecca. When he came back from Mecca he began his career as a religious teacher in his own pondok in Chabang Tiga. He then became a famous religious teacher and his popularity reached Baginda Omar’s court. Baginda Omar welcomed Tok Ku Tuan Besar to assist him regarding religious matters. Baginda Omar had formed a Dewan Ulama (Ulama Hall) and Tok Ku Tuan Besar was appointed the first Dewan Chief and was referred to as Sheikh al-Islam.

As a minister, Tok Ku Tuan Besar was given the title Paduka Raja Indera. He was given also authority to rule Chabang Tiga district. The death of Baginda Omar’s Chief Minister in 1864 widened the influence of Tok Ku Tuan Besar in Baginda Omar’s court with the appointment of Syed Muhammad Zain, the son of Tok Ku Tuan Besar, as the new Mentri Besar in 1864. Tok Ku Tuan Besar’s other son, Syed Abdul Rahman al-Idrus (Tok Ku Paloh), continued the important role played by his father in Trengganu administration when he was appointed as Sheikh al Islam by Sultan Zainal Abidin III. Hugh Clifford described Tok Ku Paloh as “a man who is certainly possessed of an extraordinary strong personality and of immense personal magnetism.” This description shows that Sultans of Terengganu selected

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66 Wan Husin Wan Embong, “Peranan dan Pengaruh Tok Ku Tuan Besar,” p. 140.
only the competent *ulama* to be in their courts to ensure respect and sovereignty from others.

Discussions about the Islamic influences in the Terengganu court are not complete if the Islamic law enforcement was left out. Islamic Law written on the Terengganu Stone indicates that the early state in Trengganu, probably Taashih, used the Islamic Law. However, while discussing that inscription, M. B. Hooker questions the assumption made by Paterson and Bladgen stating that:

The inscription, on the other hand while it does not show a link between Indian-Javanese legal thought and the later Malayan texts, at least indicates a continuity of thought on the definition of law. To a large extent the fact of life in Malaya particularly in the agricultural sphere, determined the content of the law texts. This is explanation for the similarity between the Trengganu Laws and the later Malayan texts as well as the contemporary Majapahit Law.  

Even though Hooker’s explanation may be accepted, the determination to enforce the Islamic Law in Terengganu cannot be denied as the following rulers from time to time made efforts to enforce the law with the assistance of the *ulama*.

As with most of the Malay states, Terengganu exercised or implemented the Islamic Law (*Hukum Shari’a*), even though mixed with *hukum adat* (customary law) in everyday life. However the implementation of the *hukum Shari’a* during the reign of the first Sultan till Sultan Muhammad’s cannot be traced as there were no written materials on that matter. Baginda Omar, nevertheless, took a serious precaution on implementing the Islamic Law by the appointment of Wan Abdul Kadir bin Abdul

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Rahim as the first state mufti. However, Baginda Omar “administered the law in person, sitting in public to dispense justice to his people, all of whom had free access to him.”

This was something that had not been done in most of the other Malay states. The Islamic Law enforcement during the reign of Sultan Zainal Abidin was described as follows:

The judges or hakims as they were called, were assisted by a clerk, a bailiff, an administrator of oaths and an examiner of witnesses. In criminal cases the procedure was to hear both sides and then withdraw to consult the Quran and its commentaries to see if a parallel case could be found – often a very lengthy process during which bribes were taken. Possible sentences were death by strangulation, imprisonment, fines, or whipping and a woman guilty of ‘incontinence’ might be buried up to waist in the marketplace for a day and passers-by permitted to throw stones at her. If she survived this she was free.

Although the report made by Conlay showed the practice of Islamic Law seemed unsatisfactory, probably because he was not familiar with the laws, these penalties such as burying women in the marketplace were not common and the total number of deaths in twenty-seven years of Sultan Zainal Abidin’s reign was only five. The same practice was found when dealing with property where when the owner of the land died, his land was either divided among his heirs or if this was inconvenient, the property would be sold and the proceeds divided by the court using the hukum fara’id (property’s dividing formulae in Islamic Law). Muslims in Terengganu were also forbidden by the Islamic law to enter the gaming house and get involved in

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In order to strengthen the religious affairs and produce a systematic administration, the Department of Religious Affairs (Pejabat Hal Ehwal Ugama) was formed in 1911. It was led by Tengku Ngah Omar bin Abdul Rahim as the first Minister, also known as Religious Commissioner. The Religious Commissioner was under the command of the state mufti. The mufti and Sheikh ul-Islam were linked to the department but they were not subordinated to it. It shows that the Sultan of Terengganu had placed religious affairs in a high position. The Department of Religious Affairs held huge responsibility to ensure that Islam was practised at every level.

At the ground level, before Islam and the coming of Hinduism, the Malays were animists. Even though the entire Malay community embraced Islam, some forms of animism and Hindu ritual elements were still practised and were absorbed into the Islamic belief. The most popular element was regarding supernatural power and the spirit of ghosts. Periodically, Islamic scholars tried hard to stop the Malays from continuously practising this kind of ceremony which was against Islam. In Terengganu, even though the Malays in the state were always described as most

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73 SUK TRG 85/35, Antara Undang-Undang dalam Terengganu, Orang-Orang Islam tidak dibenarkan masuk ke rumah Judi dan bermain.
75 Heather Sutherland, “Transformation of the Trengganu Legal Order,” pp. 18-19.
76 There are a lot of books written on this aspect. Among them were W. Skeat, The Malay Magic, Mohd Taib Osman, Malay Folk Beliefs, an Integration of Disparate Elements, Kuala Lumpur, DBP, 1989, K.M. Endicott, An Analysis of Malay Magic, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1991.
religious, they could not discontinue the ceremony which they inherited from their ancestors. Furthermore, because fishing was the main economic activity, the Malays believed that before beginning the fishing activity after the rainy season they had to hold a special ceremony called *pesta puja pantai* (coast worshipping feast) to appease the spirits who lived at sea.77

They believed if such ceremony was not performed, they could not obtain more fish and the most important thing was that their safety while at the sea was at stake. Paddy planters also held such ceremonies called *buang ancak* (tradition of tray offering) for the same purpose. These practices still remain in modern times. On top of that, this ceremony was followed by traditional entertainment shows. The so-called religious ceremony then turned to a fiesta which was full of anti-Islamic elements. The Department of Religious Affairs realized such activities were carried out and tried to advise the Malays regularly not to be involved in such ceremonies during weekly sermons on Friday (*khutbah*). Even though the Department was very concerned about such activities, they could not do anything because no laws or enactments were imposed. After Terengganu gained independence, this kind of ceremony still continued.

Occasionally, to ensure the smooth and effective running of Islamic affairs, new laws and enactments were introduced even though Terengganu had become one of the Unfederated Malay States since 1919. The British government regulated Islamic

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laws and enactments. In 1936 for example, Mosque and Surau Regulations were introduced.\textsuperscript{78} This regulation was applicable to the administration of mosques and surau (prayer place) and Islamic teachings in the state. In the same year, another enactment was introduced: Baitul Mal Enactment no 37 of 1356.\textsuperscript{79} This enactment applied to the estates (property) of Muslims who died domiciled in the state and to any immovable property within the state forming part of the estate of Muslims who died on or after the commencement of this Enactment. The enforcement of these regulations and enactments brought a lot of benefits to the state government regarding Muslim property. It also prevented the influence of ideas and movement of pan-Islamism which could create disharmony among Muslims in the state.

Protest movements amongst the Malays, mainly the Malay ruling class, against the British government in Malay Peninsula began in 1831 in Naning, Negeri Sembilan followed by Perak (1875), Pahang (1891-95), Kelantan (1915) and later Terengganu (1928).\textsuperscript{80} Except for Terengganu, protest movements in other states were led by the Malay ruling class who lost their position and income under the British administration. The protest movement in Terengganu\textsuperscript{81} involved peasants and rural ulama, therefore it was referred to as a peasant uprising. The outbreak occurred following the enforcement of new agricultural and land laws which involved

\textsuperscript{78} B.A.T. 1106/1936, Religious Department – Mosque and Surau Regulations.
\textsuperscript{79} B.A.T. 1090/1936, Religious Department – Baitul Mal Enactment.
revenue to be paid by peasants and a special pass that should be obtained for drawing out every single product from the jungle by the British government.\textsuperscript{82} The peasants who were affected by the laws were dissatisfied and reluctant to pay any revenue or apply for any special pass to draw out jungle products.

The influence of the \textit{ulama} in this uprising can be seen by the involvement of Haji Abdul Rahman Abdul Hamid also known as Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong, and Haji Musa Abdul Ghani as peasants sought their opinion on the matter. Both of them were respected \textit{ulama} and they were alleged to have caused dissatisfaction among the peasants over the laws that were responsible for the outbreak, even though there was no solid evidence of their involvement during the event. The British government accused Haji Abdul Rahman of being the peasant’s leader by encouraging them to show their resistance towards the new agricultural and land law and revenue.\textsuperscript{83} Haji Musa was accused of influencing the peasants not to pay any revenue to the government.\textsuperscript{84} In 1925 Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong was brought to court for his involvement in defending the summoned peasants on cultivating new land without British permission. During the trial, Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong used his ability and religious knowledge to defend himself and the summoned peasants. He was found not guilty. Probably this outcome had

\textsuperscript{82} Before, land and all products belonged to the Sultan. Peasants were free to cultivate the vacant land or drawing the jungle product. They only paid indirect taxes to the Sultan or the royal family who owned the land.

\textsuperscript{83} Terengganu State Secretary, SUK TRG 1269/1342, a letter from Sultan Office to State Secretary.

\textsuperscript{84} Trengganu State Secretary, SUK TRG 1268/1342, a letter from commissioner of Kuala Brang to State Secretary dated 7 Zulkaedah 1342 (1924).
influenced the peasants to continue their protest against the laws which led to the outbreak in 1928.

The Malay secret society called the *Bendera Merah* (The Red Flag) and *Bendera Puteh* (The White Flag), which were based in Penang, were also said to be involved in the 1928 peasant uprising. However, this claim is questionable for there was no further evidence that these secret societies existed in Terengganu. Mubin Sheppard who was an English officer then was said to be confused by the red flag that was raised by the peasants after they captured Kuala Brang town. In fact, the flag was a sign of their bravery. However, an Islamic association called Sarekat Islam was said to have played a key role in the outbreak. Though Moshe Yegar, based on Anthony Reid’s research, found no evidence of the existence of the association that was founded in Java in 1912, according to police investigations after the outbreak, they recovered a list of 800 members registered in the organization. Syed Abdul Rahman of Balok brought the association to Terengganu and Syed Mohamed from Johor actively recruited new members from the state. The existence of Sarekat Islam forced the state government to publish a warning to their people about becoming involved in such an association. Even the Sarekat Islam of Terengganu did not have widespread influence among the peasants compared to

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85 Mubin Sheppard, p. 65.
87 Heather Sutherland, “The Taming of Trengganu Elite,” p. 77.
88 Moshe Yegar, p. 112.
91 Trengganu Secretary Office, SUK TRG 1033/1342, Pakatan Sharikat Islam.
other similar associations in the Southeast Asian region, the existence of the association in Kuala Terengganu and Kemaman indicated that Muslim communities in those districts gave full support to the Islamic association.

At the same time, the Muslim world was involved in fighting against Western forces when Turkey went to war in World War I. The downfall of the Turkish Empire led to the beginning of the religious movement called pan-Islamism which fought western domination of Islamic states and communities in the whole world. Aided by the contact with the Arab world through trade, pilgrimage during the end of the Muslim Calendar and religious education, the movement became more active. Terengganu, a sympathizer of the Turkish Empire during the war, undoubtedly experienced the Pan-Islamic movement through their ulama as most of them had been in those areas.

**Economic activity**

Even though Terengganu was a large state, its economy was always described as the least developed in the Peninsula, besides Kelantan. This was due to the lack of natural resources and Terengganu’s dependence on agriculture and fishing which generated very little income for its people. Nonetheless, Terengganu’s income in the early period came from jungle products such as getah (rubber), pepper, camphor, agila wood, gambier, damar and rattan. All these products were exported to the neighbouring states and even to Singapore and China. In fact, pepper from

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Terengganu was especially favoured in China, considered superior to any other in the archipelago and cheaper than that from Malabar.\textsuperscript{93} For this reason pepper became a favourite cash crop to a royal family. Sultan Zainal Abidin III himself ordered the district chief of Kemasik to open a pepper plantation in that district.\textsuperscript{94} This shows that pepper was an important commercial plant in Terengganu from its early days till the twentieth century. In fact some of the English traders considered Terengganu more important than Kelantan as a trading centre because Kuala Terengganu in the eighteenth century was an important international port.\textsuperscript{95}

Like the other Malay states, agriculture was an important economic activity in Terengganu, with about 26,000 agriculturists involved in this sector. Most of them were involved in paddy cultivation. There were 24,509 male and 16,945 female agriculturists involved in paddy cultivation in 1923.\textsuperscript{96} Though the state was a rice bowl after Kedah, Perlis and Kelantan in the Malay Peninsula, rice production was insufficient for the state’s requirements. For instance, Besut district which did not cultivate rice, suffered a shortage of rice in 1928.\textsuperscript{97} Therefore every year Terengganu had to import rice, mainly from Siam. About 80,640 \textit{pikuls} of rice were imported in 1915.\textsuperscript{98} This number increased every year. For instance 150,000 \textit{pikuls} of rice or 800 tons was imported in 1918.\textsuperscript{99} Efforts were taken by the government to increase the utilization of land for paddy cultivation. Between 1930 and 1931, for

\textsuperscript{93} B. W. Andaya & L. Y. Andaya, \textit{A History of Malaysia}, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{94} Shaharil Talib Robert, \textit{After Its Own Image}, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{96} The Trengganu Census of Year 1341(H)/1923 in MBOF 270/1341
\textsuperscript{97} Mentri Besar Office, MBOF 761/1346, Terah berlaku kekurangan beras di Besut Terengganu.
\textsuperscript{98} The Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1915, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{99} The Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918, p. 6.
instance, 40,000 acres of land was used for paddy cultivation. However this move failed due to the world economic crisis in the 1930s.\textsuperscript{100} The state government then had to spend a lot of money on food instead of spending on infrastructure in places which were least developed.

Besides paddy, coconut was an important crop in Terengganu. Rubber, which became an important source for the industrial sector from the end of the nineteenth century in Europe, was planted in Terengganu. The agricultural sector in Terengganu became commercialized. Starting with European estates; Kretai Plantations about 3,427 acres were cultivated with coconut and 1,211 with rubber in 1915\textsuperscript{101} and this was increased to 3,841 for coconut and 3,670 for rubber three years later.\textsuperscript{102} There were other major coconut and rubber estates such as Bukit Tengah Coconut Estate Ltd., Paka Coconut Estate (Bangkok), Japan Estate Kemasik (belong to Japanese), Sungei Telemon Rubber Estate (Chinese Singapore) and Sungei Pinang Rubber Estate (owned by a local Chinese). These facts show that foreign investors were welcomed to develop the state’s economy though it was not satisfied with the British Resident. All the companies worked on concessionary land and were obligated to pay a large sum of money to the existing concession holders and to the Sultan for the leases. The export of rubber for the year of 1918 was 3,166 pikuls, equivalent to 186 tons. This was considered impressive for a state like Terengganu which had little infrastructure to run a commercial activity.

\textsuperscript{101} The Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1915, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{102} The Annual Report of The British Agent, Trengganu, for The Year 1918, p. 6
The people of Terengganu lacked knowledge on how to cultivate rubber. Very few of them were involved although the Terengganu government provided assistance to those who were interested. Though there were no statistics on Malay labour participation in rubber industry, it was stated that in 1916 Malays were involved in cultivating rubber. However this number was small compared to the number of Chinese (2689103 who were involved in the industry). This could be due to the lack of land to cultivate rubber. In 1932 out of the total 260,000 acres of agricultural land, only 48,050 were allocated for rubber cultivation and yet only 30,000 acres were cultivated.104 The Terengganu ruling class, who owned land under the concession system, was not interested in commercial agriculture because the plant was “slow to grow and the industry did not gain sufficient momentum to alter the state’s basic economic framework of subsistence agriculture.”105 This fact probably worried the British Adviser who objected strongly to the concession system. However, the rate of rubber cultivation increased after the Second World War when the people of Terengganu showed interest to get involved. Every month, individuals and groups applied to cultivate rubber and thousands of them were approved.106

However, this potential development was insufficient to make Terengganu a developed state compared to the other states, especially those in the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. This situation will be discussed further in chapter six.

103 The Terengganu Census of Year 1341(H)/1923 in MBOF 270/1341
104 Shaharil Talib Robert, After Its Own Image, p 80
105 Shaharil Talib Robert, After Its Own Image, p 80
106 Further discussion is in chapter 6.
Rice, coconut and rubber were not the only agricultural products in Terengganu. Pepper, gambier, tapioca, local fruits and tobacco were also cultivated widely. According to the British Agent’s report (1918), based on the demand for land by interested investors, the agricultural sector would develop rapidly. However, he added, this growing activity was retarded by some factors, “poverty of communications, the evils of the Concession System and the inefficiency of Land Office.”

Though the comment is possibly true, it seemed unfair to the Terengganu government. As an Englishman, J. L. Humphreys was perhaps unaware of the lack of state funds to develop communications networks. Contrary to J. L. Humphreys’ statement, Shaharil Talib Robert found that the concession system was an instrument to develop commercial agriculture among the ruling house including the Sultan himself. This system of monopoly by the ruling class, according to J. L. Humphreys, had limited the participation of foreign investors in Terengganu. In the Land and Survey Department, Humphreys found that the officers, who were untrained in dealing with the demand for mining land, drove away many intending prospectors and investors. Moreover, the ruling class did not want to see too many foreign investors monopolising the state’s economy. This could adversely the ruling class’s chances to get involved economically.

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107 The Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918, p. 6.
108 Concession System refers to land given to the royal family as one of their sources of income. Those who were given the land freely used the land for economic purposes and usually used for planting crops and the peasants had to pay tax to the owner of the land. See Mentri Besar Office, MBOF 959/1344. Contrary to other Malay States, the ruling house’s income comes from the tax collected from peasants in their administered district.
109 Further discussion is in Shaharil Talib Robert, After Its Own Image, chapter 4.
110 Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918, p. 7.
Besides being agriculturists, many of the people of Terengganu were artisans manufacturing silk, cotton fabrics, native weapons and metal and wood work such as metal craft and boat building. It is unsurprising that the people of Terengganu were described as among the most industrious Malays in the Peninsula.\(^{111}\) The skill of Terengganu’s craftsmen was in fact almost legendary and their work was described as among the most brilliant metalwork done by smiths.\(^{112}\) For the British Adviser, these brilliant and quality craftsmen’s products required an exposure to foreigners. The government of Terengganu was advised to increase investment and organize a trade fair for the products in Kuala Lumpur to attract new buyers.\(^{113}\) However, there is no evidence that these types of products were exported to other countries. For product development and marketing, a craftsmen’s association was formed with the British Adviser as president. However, no further evidence on this association was found.

Having a long beach (130 miles), fishing industry became the second major economic activity in Terengganu. There were about 6,000 fishermen during Hugh Clifford’s visit to Terengganu. This number increased year by year. In 1923, there were 9190 Malay fishermen including 387 females and 152 Chinese fishermen.\(^{114}\) The number went up to 10,407, including 366 females and 203 Chinese fishermen.

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111 Hugh Clifford, p. 103
113 A letter from British Adviser to Terengganu’s Mentri Besar dated 29.1.1934, Mentri Besar Office, MBOF 678/1352.
114 The Census of Terengganu of the year 1341(H)/1923. See MBOF 270/1341.
eight years later.\footnote{The Census of Malaya of 1931, quoted by Raymond Firth, \textit{Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy}, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. 1971, p. 37.} The fishing season in Terengganu falls between the months of March to October while the remaining months constitute a wet season. Fishing activity continues during the wet season. The fishing industry produced dry and salted fish and shrimp paste for export besides other marine produce. From 1910 to 1939, the total value of fish exported was approximately $25 million.\footnote{Firth, pp. 34-35.} Dried and salted fish contributed a sum of $844,444 for export to Singapore in 1918.\footnote{The Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918, pp. 6.} These figures show that fishing was a lucrative industry for the Malay especially. However, because of the presence of Chinese middle man,\footnote{For further discussion on the relationship between Malay fishermen and Chinese dealers, see Raymond Firth, \textit{Malay Fishermen}....} who gave very low price for the produce, the fishermen’s income remained low. Hence, their standard of living was low too. Basically during the wet season, fishermen either worked on boat building, net-making or concentrated on rubber or coconut planting. For the people of Terengganu, even though their income was low and they had little savings, they were not worried, as long as they had enough to survive.\footnote{Firth, p. 62.} Due to this attitude, the fishing industry did not promise a better life for Malay fishermen. This will be discussed further in chapter six.

Tin-ore and wolfram ore were two major products from the Terengganu mines. There was a report made which mentioned that Terengganu was the first state in the Peninsula which ran the mines.\footnote{Osman Mamat, \textit{Darurat di Terengganu 1948-1960}, Kuala Lumpur, DBP, 1983, p. 85} In fact, Terengganu became a leading exporter of...
tin (with 7,000 *pikul*) on the east coast during the reign of Baginda Omar.\textsuperscript{121} Tin-ore was found in the area of Sungai Bandi, Sungai Ayam, Sungai Kajang and Tebak in the district of Kemaman and also in Paka. From 1916 to 1941, Terengganu produced 141,946 *pikul* of tin-ore.\textsuperscript{122} Wolfram was found in Dungun and also in Kemaman. Before World War I, Terengganu was reported to be a main producer of wolfram within the Peninsula.\textsuperscript{123} The entire mines were run by European (Bundi Mine and Sungei Ayam Mine at the Kemaman River), Chinese (Wah Li Kongsi and Ji Juan Kongsi at the Paka River) and Malay venture (Sungei Kajang). The mines at Chemuak, district of Dungun, were the large mine owned by the Terengganu Sultan and the royal family, Tengku Abu Bakar. They leased the mine to be operated by the Japanese. J. L. Humphreys commented that this was a very promising industry for the future but it was hampered by the concession system and the inefficiency of the Land and Survey Department.\textsuperscript{124}

The criticism may be substantiated if we examine the payment of tax by the company which ran the mines or lands. In the case of mines, companies had to pay 10% tax on every *pikul* of tin or wolfram sold to the government but 50 percent of it went to the land owner under the concession system. As a result, the government lost a lot of money to individuals. For instance, Tengku Abu Bakar received a sum of $17,898.28 in 1916 from the company which ran the wolfram mines in

\textsuperscript{121} Shaharil Talib Robert, *After Its Own Image*, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{122} Quoted by Osman Mamat, from Annual Report, Commissioner of Land and Mines Terengganu, 1948, p. 90
\textsuperscript{123} Osman Mamat, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{124} *Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918*, p. 5.
Every year, the government lost thousands of dollars to the royal family under the concession system. Furthermore, no premium or land rent was paid to the government. Even though the state was making money, it did not go to the government. Consequently, the state government had insufficient fund to develop the state. Thus, the British government wanted to abolish this system when Terengganu became its protectorate as this was practised in other Malay states.

Humphreys listed the principal concessions held by the Sultan and members of the ruling house which were granted from 1906 to 1916. From the list, the Sultan himself had 160,000 acres of land in the district of Kemaman and Marang. 570,000 acres were granted to the other members of ruling house, including his nieces, nephews, uncles, aunts and brothers-in-law. This number did not include 326,600 acres which was issued by Sultan Zainal Abidin III to his children on a single day, on 26 February 1906. Except for the land in Kretai district which was taken up for planting, three-quarters of the remaining land containing minerals were known mining lands in the state. This fact definitely caused discontent in the mining industry in Terengganu. Furthermore, gold and iron-ore were reported in the state, both in Bukit Besi in the Dungun district. These mines, however, were given to a Japanese company, Nippon Mining Company, to run and start producing iron-ore in

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125 Terengganu Secretary Office, SUK TRG 33/34, Bijeh Wolfram.
126 According to Humphreys, none of the grants are demarcated or surveyed and estimated area may be far short of their true extent.
1930. From 1930 to 1942, 6,297,786 tons of iron-ore was produced in the Bukit Besi\textsuperscript{128} mines and most of it was exported to Japan.

Terengganu had a significant trade with Singapore. If we examine Table I, economic activities in Terengganu grew year after year. Exports to Singapore increased significantly compared to imports. Articles imported included sugar, rice, condensed milk, tobacco, cotton materials, petroleum, cigar and cigarettes. Rice and cotton goods were important needs and the state spent more money importing them. The government of Terengganu had to spend up to $274,896 to import 50,990 pikuls of rice and $219,187 to import 40,334 pieces of cotton stuffs in 1917. Articles exported included black pepper, copra, dried fish, tin-ore, wolfram ore and rubber. Dried fish contributed a large sum of money to exports valued at $763,807 in 1917 for 80,017 pikuls. It increased to $844,444 a year later. However, tin-ore became a major export in that year with a value of $1,005,916 for 10,194 pikuls.\textsuperscript{129} Though the number of pikuls of dried fish exported increased every year, the value sank because of the fall in prices. For example, in 1936, the total export was 90,848 pikuls but the value was $647,597\textsuperscript{130} only, compared to the value in the year 1917 as stated above. These figures show the growth of the state’s economy before and after British involvement, and its dependence on the world economy since it was involved in the commercial industry.

\textsuperscript{128} Quoted by Osman Mamat, from Annual Report, Commissioner of Land and Mines Terengganu, 1948, p. 93
\textsuperscript{129} Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{130} Annual Report, Unfederated Malay States, 1937, p. 27.
Table I: **Terengganu: Imports and Exports 1914-1918, 1925-1937**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>$1,242,410</td>
<td>$1,962,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,266,654</td>
<td>1,989,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,157,788</td>
<td>2,079,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,187,917</td>
<td>2,306,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,459,429</td>
<td>3,749,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>4,556,366</td>
<td>8,072,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>5,915,560</td>
<td>8,244,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>6,064,748</td>
<td>8,244,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>3,744,463</td>
<td>6,895,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>5,528,194</td>
<td>7,269,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>4,799,763</td>
<td>5,227,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3,028,906</td>
<td>3,689,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>3,128,765</td>
<td>3,965,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>2,693,951</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>3,460,829</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>5,551,658</td>
<td>7,940,986</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>5,258,496</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>6,443,326</td>
<td>11,679,578</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1918, p. 4 & Annual Report, Unfederated Malay States 1937, p. 62)

As a whole, the economy of Terengganu fared well compared to other Malay states. In fact, it was much better compared to Kelantan and even Pahang. With mining, agricultural and fishing activities, Terengganu should have become a rich state. Terengganu’s debts to the Straits Settlement Government and Federated Malay States Government were under control and not the highest compared to other Malay states. For example, in 1915, Terengganu’s debt to the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States governments were only $22,498.10 and $24,965.06 respectively.\(^{131}\) Every year, the government of Terengganu was able to pay its debt.

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\(^{131}\) *Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1915*, p. 2.
Therefore, in 1931, the government of the Straits Settlements approved a loan of $100,000 for Terengganu to develop its infrastructure.\textsuperscript{132}

**Infrastructure and Education**

Despite the greater economic activity, the communication network in Terengganu remained unsatisfactory. There were only about ten miles of the total road mileage in Terengganu Town and suburbs in 1915. Inland communications were by footpath. There were footbridges over streams and swampy places which were built for the public by religious persons. With poor infrastructure, transportation of all kind of products was carried daily by peasants without the help of animal or vehicle transport.\textsuperscript{133} The government of Terengganu was aware of the predicament and had planned to provide a good infrastructure including a telegraph network and railway. The Public Works Department planned to construct buildings and government quarters, roads, bridges, upkeep palaces and prisons and also to build telegraph lines connecting Terengganu with neighbouring states like Kelantan and Pahang costing $40,000 in 1916.\textsuperscript{134} For railway transport, the proposed work was planned since 1920.\textsuperscript{135} The programme was much more ambitious than anything attempted earlier in Terengganu. The British Agent reported that most of these works remained unfinished at the end of the year and were postponed to the following year,

\textsuperscript{132} MBOF 390/1350, a letter from British Adviser to Mentri Besar.
\textsuperscript{133} Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1915, pp. 11-12.
\textsuperscript{134} Terengganu State Secretary Office, SUK TRG 197/34, Estimate belanja bagi 6 bulan tahun 1916 bagi tiap-tiap negeri. An agreement has been made between Terengganu government and the Federated Malay States regarding telegraph network in 1921. See Mentri Besar Office, MBOF 170/1340.
\textsuperscript{135} Mentri Besar Office, MBOF 606/1339, Cadangan hendak membina jalan keretapi di Terengganu.
incurring further expenses. For example, a proposed railway did not come into reality until the outbreak of the Second World War even though the need for such transport was urgent. The poor financial state and the lack of technology could have caused the delay.

The same situation occurred in the educational development of the state, especially for Malay education. The British government’s policy on education in Malaya also applied to Terengganu. It was known that “Education never came high on the list of priorities of colonial authorities and until the Colonial Office assumed responsibility for administering the Straits Settlement in 1867, there was no official education policy.” This fact applied to other Malay states too. While in other states the growing number of Malay schools increased, in Terengganu, until 1918 there was only one Malay school with 80 male pupils. The average attendance was 50, with one teacher teaching all of them. Therefore, the school had to be closed when the teacher fell sick. Seemingly, the government had no interest in Malay education as no buildings were provided for that school and no payment was made to the teacher. However, in 1916, there was a report made that the school needs to be repaired and budget was asked from the government.

Contrary to the Malay schools, Chinese schools were built and attended by both boys and girls in urban areas in Terengganu. The British Agent had tremendous

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137 SUK TRG 15/34, Report Rumah Sekolah.
respect for the Chinese community, especially the Chinese merchants, for their dedication and generosity towards their children’s education. The lack of development in Malay education was probably due to the attitude of Malay parents who had greater interest in religious education. Humphreys recorded that religious education in Terengganu probably was far ahead compared to other Malay states. H.R. Cheesemen added that the secular education practised in Malay schools had driven Malay parents away from placing their children in those schools.

The British government’s policy on education in Malaya was not clear, especially before the First World War. Even though modern schools were built, the curriculum was unable to meet current needs. In fact the British Government had a definite aim in giving education to the Malays, which was:

The aim of the Government is not to turn out a few well educated youths nor a number of less well educated boys; rather it is to improve bulk of the people and to make the son of fisherman or the peasant a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had been, and one whose education enable him to understand how his life fits in with the scheme of life around him.

This sort of education planned for the Malays certainly could not bring any good for them in the changing world. The main objective of the curriculum was to transmit colonial knowledge in British Malaya through subjects such as geography and

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138 Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1915, p. 11.
142 A Federated Malay States report quoted by H.R. Cheesemen, “Education in Malaya 1900-1941”, p. 129.
history. This had probably discouraged Malay parents from placing their children in Malay schools.

On the contrary, religious education was inspired by Islamic scholars and it had a long history as it was first established in Pulau Manis. From thereon, numbers of pondok were built throughout the state and they received warm response from the inhabitants. Among the famous pondok were Pondok Tok Kali (Sungai Rengas), Pondok Haji Abdul Hamid (Nerus, Kuala Terengganu), Pondok Haji Hussin (Besut), Pondok Haji Hassan (Besut), Pondok Haji Said (Besut), Pondok Haji Daud (Besut), Pondok Haji Muhammad bin Endut (Kuala Terengganu), Pondok Haji Mat bin Hussain (Besut) and Pondok Haji Omar (Besut). Most of these pondok were established in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Besut became a famous place for pondok. Influences from its neighbouring state, Kelantan, could have led to this situation. The coming of the British did not affect the development of this type of schools. Support for this kind of educational institution continued because the Malay parents had placed religious education as a high priority. Regardless of whether their children would get a job or continue their study to a higher level, religious knowledge was regarded as of utmost importance in their life.

Despite the sluggish development in Malay and English education, until 1937 there were a number of Malay schools which were set up to provide modern education.

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According to the Annual Report of 1937, there were 22 Malay schools (including one girl’s school) in Terengganu with 2,157 boys. This number, however, was only 20 percent of the total number of school-age Malay boys in the state. For girls, the school that had 31 girls was a gift from Her Highnesses of Terengganu. It shows that Her Highnesses were concerned about girls’ education in the state, even though it was not enough to cater to the number of school-age Malay girls in the state. The number of teachers also increased proportionate to the number of schools and pupils. There were 71 teachers; 29 were trained and 42 untrained. The government of Terengganu also opened an English school with an enrolment of 130 pupils in Kuala Terengganu, the capital city of the state. Besides that, there were other English schools built by the Chinese community in urban areas. Private schools also flourished in urban areas, inspired mostly by the Chinese community. The educational development in Terengganu, especially after the state was self-governing, will be discussed further in chapter seven.

Conclusion

Comparatively, the early political history of Terengganu differs in many aspects from other Malay states. The government’s endeavor to prevent foreign interference in the state’s administration and politics was stronger than in other Malay states. However, it was quite difficult to stop their influence, especially the British, as Haji Ngah Mohamed Yusof (Dato Seri Amar Diraja) stated:

\[145\] See Annual Report, Unfederated Malay States, 1937, pp. 35-36.
It is tough for us [Terengganu] to reject those [British] because that counsel [British Agent] extends friendship and peace between other states and from them we got the benefit so if we reject them it means that we are breaking the friendship and rejecting the benefit from them.¹⁴⁶

However, the wisdom of the ruling court succeeded in delaying the British government from ruling the state. It was not until 1919 that the British government achieved their ambition to gain control over this last Malay state as a protectorate.

Regardless of their interest in political affairs, the people of Terengganu were keen to narrow down their day-to-day lives to important needs. They can be described as easy-going people as long as they could live happily without interference from other parties. Even with limited sources of income or economic opportunities, the people of Terengganu did not visualise British power as a source of such development. Compared to many other Malays in other states, the people of Terengganu were more interested in religious education. Religious influence was proven strong from the very top structure to the very lowest rank of the community. The role played by ulama not merely slowed down the progress of British influence in the state but also led to the rise of an anti British movement which was shown by the 1925-1928 peasants’ uprising.

From the above discussion, Islam had been practised as a way of life, and was not only bound to the religious rituals such as the five daily prayers, Quran reading, fasting during Ramadhan, paying zakat and performing Hajj to Mecca for those

who could afford it. The government with advice from the religious scholars put in every effort into ensuring that the Islamic religion was included in their laws and order, in education and every aspect of life. *Darul Iman* literally means a state of Islamic faith. The name of Terengganu *Darul Iman* was approved by several politicians and visitors at that time. It truly portrays the religious nature of its inhabitants.

As discussed, in most cases, Terengganu was not left behind in this changing world. Having been ruled by remarkable Sultans, the state was able to adapt to the new environment. Introduction of certain laws and enactments have systematized its administration. Even though modern education was not introduced until the twentieth century, the people of Terengganu obtained their education from well-organized religious institutions. However, the state economy suffered due to the lack of natural resources such as tin which was found in Perak or Selangor. Consequently Terengganu lagged behind compared to other states in terms of economic and social development. The presence of the British in the state administration did not have a great impact on the development in economy, infrastructure or modern education. Perhaps, the claim that the British government had brought modernization to its protectorate was not applicable to Terengganu.\(^\text{147}\)

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\(^{147}\) Western scholars such as R. Emerson and G. D. Ness claimed that the British government created modern structure and modern government for the Malay states. For further discussion on this issue see Azmah Abdul Manaf, *Kemunculan Malaysia Moden*, Petaling Jaya, Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn Bhd, 2003, chapter 2.
CHAPTER TWO

TERENGGANU DURING AND AFTER THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION,

1942-1954
Introduction

During and after the Second World War, Terengganu was involved in three different events that involved administrative, political, social and economic changes: firstly, the Japanese invasion, 1942-1943; followed by administration by Thailand, 1943-1945; and finally the Emergency period, 1948-1954, under British administration. Hence, the focus of this chapter is on the Terengganu people’s experiences during these periods which had a great effect on their lives. However the chapter will also discuss the Malayan Union scheme of 1946 and the Federation of Malaya that was imposed by the British government on Malaya after the Second World War. In the case of the Terengganu people, the impact will be examined on their political awareness, religious practices and freedom, and socio-economic conditions. As discussed in the first chapter, religious practices and freedom, and also socio-economic conditions seemed to be satisfactory for the inhabitants; these uncertain periods, however, had a great impact on these aspects of life.

For the period of the Japanese invasion, the focus of discussion is on experiences in the normal day-to-day lives of the inhabitants, especially in the socio-economic field. Tough laws and restrictions imposed by the Japanese government and shortages of food supplies placed the Terengganu inhabitants under pressure. This continued into the very short period of Thai administration. However, the limited availability of historical material on the Japanese and Thai administrations in Terengganu has restricted the analysis. For the Emergency period, discussion will touch on every aspect, including laws and restrictions imposed by the British government, since these restrictions affected the inhabitants, making them suffer and live constantly in fear. Poverty and
suffering and fear experienced by the Terengganu people undoubtedly had a great effect on their future thinking and development. The experiences and responses of the Terengganu people, especially the Malays, with respect to the political movement during these periods will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Japanese occupation, 1941-1945 and the Emergency, 1948-1960 were two historical events that gained great attention from both local and foreign historians and political scientists. Apart from being touched upon indirectly in books discussing Malayan/Malaysian history,1 there were books focused on the Japanese occupation in Malaya. *Japanese Administration in Malaya* by Paul Kratoska was an example. This book focused on the Japanese administration in Malaya as a whole, whereas this chapter looks into the Terengganu people’s lives during these periods. However laws and restrictions imposed and administration will be discussed briefly. Even though Mohd. Nasir Ismail2 researched the Japanese occupation in Terengganu, his research was more on administration and economic development in the state with little on socio-economic conditions of its inhabitants. Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali3 wrote a book on the Japanese Army and Thai administration in Terengganu. However, the discussion was focused on the administration only. This chapter, on the other hand, will concentrate on the inhabitants of Terengganu under both governments.

Books on the Malayan Emergency basically focused on the communists’ insurrection and efforts taken to combat it by the British government. Books written by Anthony

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Short,\textsuperscript{4} Gene Z. Hanrahan,\textsuperscript{5} Richard Clutterbuck,\textsuperscript{6} Richard Stubbs,\textsuperscript{7} John Coates,\textsuperscript{8} Harry Miller,\textsuperscript{9} Mohd. Reduan Haji Alias\textsuperscript{10} and Cheah Boon Kheng discussed the threats of communism in Malaya during the Emergency period and efforts taken by the government to counter the problems. Communist strategies and tactics in launching the guerrilla war were of interest to most of the writers. Harry Miller, Richard Stubbs and Mohd Reduan Alias gave attention to the strategies and tactics of the government to face the communist challenge. The latest research on the Emergency period was by Ho Hui Ling\textsuperscript{11} and Brian Stewart.\textsuperscript{12} Ho Hui Ling focussed more on social impacts on the Malayan inhabitants during those years. This chapter also discusses the social impact but is limited to the people of Terengganu and the discussion will be in depth. Brian Stewart gave attention to smashing terrorism by the police. These researchers did not limit their discussion to certain areas or states.

For Terengganu, although research has been conducted on the Emergency period,\textsuperscript{13} most of the resources came from interviewing people who were involved and had personal experience. In this study, on the other hand, much emphasis is placed on

\textsuperscript{13} Osman Mamat, \textit{Darurat di Terengganu, 1948-1960}. The focus of this book was on the socio-economic development during the Emergency.
Osman Mamat stressed the state’s economic growth during the period while the focus in this chapter was more on people’s suffering from the communist attack apart from the acts and restrictions imposed by the government to diminish the attacks. As a result, the experience of the Terengganu people during the Emergency period was confirmed by the availability of primary sources gathered from British officials.

**Terengganu under the Japanese occupation**

Lengthy British rule in the Malay Peninsula was interrupted by the Japanese when they declared war on western colonization in the Asian region in December 1941. The new eastern power took a very short period (68 days) to remove the British troops from the Malay Peninsula when they landed at Kota Bharu, Kelantan, on 8 December 1941 and Terengganu was captured ten days later. The invasion ended in Singapore on 15 February 1942. The desire and capability of the Japanese to invade the Malay Peninsula was under estimated by the British. This was the main factor making the collapse of British power not only exceptionally easy but also totally unexpected. Structured planning ensured the collapse of western colonialism in the Malay states because the Japanese kingdom had spies in all the strategic places. These were disguised as fishermen, merchandisers, tin labourers and so on. In Terengganu itself, there was a Japanese company named The Nippon Company Limited that operated the mines in the state at Chemuak in Dungun district. The Japanese strategies yielded fruit when the Malay states fell easily into their hands.

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14 Most of these written sources obtained from the government department files are stored at the National Archives of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur that have been recently opened to researchers.
Japanese occupation turned the Malay states upside down.\(^{16}\) Almost everything changed, from the administrative system, economic activities, education, law and order, even the everyday life of the inhabitants. The formal declaration of the fall of Terengganu was made on 29 April 1942. The proclamation made by the Governor of Terengganu (Shu Chiji Kaka), stated that “all of the Malay States had become a Japanese colonial territory therefore the inhabitants are their subjects forever.”\(^{17}\) The state administration was under Japanese rule. All of the Terengganu people especially the Malays were asked to cooperate and be loyal to the Japanese Maharaja and they were also asked to understand the true spirit and aspirations of the Greater East Asia War declared by the Japanese against Western domination so that the Malays did not regard the Japanese as enemies of the people in Asia. In fact, according to the Japanese, the true enemies of the people in Asia were the English and the Americans.\(^{18}\) The Malays’ cooperation and loyalty would be fairly rewarded by the government.\(^{19}\) On the other hand, if there was no cooperation with the Japanese government, they would be punished. Actually, the inhabitants were not given a choice, except to follow orders, since in order to secure its power the Japanese government enforced harsh orders and restrictions on the inhabitants.

The administrative system introduced by the Japanese was completely different. The Japanese government brushed away almost all of the British administrative mechanism with the purpose of setting up its own power and influence. The Japanese government

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\(^{16}\) Cheah Boon Kheng, *Red Star over…..*, p. 18.

\(^{17}\) Sultan Terengganu Office, ST 51/03. Negeri Terengganu di pindahkan kepada Pemerintahan Thailand. Proclamation no 1/2602 dated 29 April 2602


\(^{19}\) Sultan Terengganu Office, ST 51/03. Negeri Terengganu di pindahkan kepada Pemerintahan Thailand Proclamation no 1/2602 dated 29 April 2602.
used a new calendar and changed the year from 1942 to 2602, the year of the appointment of the Japanese Maharaja. The incumbent Sultan remained on his throne with the reduced status of a minor official, as the head of the Islamic affairs state bureau. However, many Malay Sultans were replaced by their heirs, who were more willing to cooperate with the Japanese. In Terengganu, the death of Sultan Sulaiman placed his son, Tengku Ali, and then called Sultan Ali on the throne, in spite of the fact that his uncle, Tengku Ismail, was next in line for the throne. The Malay Terengganu leaders were dissatisfied with the decision of the Japanese. However they were powerless, and had no say in the matter. The posts of Mentri Besar (Chief Minister) and State Secretary were abolished and the incumbents were transferred to the Governor’s Office (Shiji Kambu) as members of the Investigation and Meeting Room (Shin Ngit Shu). The state of Terengganu was divided into five districts, Kuala Terengganu, Dungun, Kemaman, Hulu Terengganu and Besut. All districts with the exception of Kuala Terengganu were administered by a commissioner. The District Officer was co-opted by the government, with the penghulu and ketua kampong (head villager).20

In addition to the Governor’s Office, there were five main offices: Shumubu – General Affairs, Zaimubu – Financial and Treasury Bureau, Kimubu – Security Affairs, Shanyubu – Industrial Bureau and Kemubu – Secretariat Office.21 The daily routine for the government servants had changed as they now had to learn the Japanese language before starting their office work every morning at 8.30.22 Not only civilians but also the officers were ordered to bow when meeting Japanese officers and soldiers. According

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21 Paul Kratoska, *Japanese Administration*…, p. 52. Each of the said bureaus or offices was administered at least with two connected offices. For instance, there were ten offices under Shumubu including police, courts, jail, religion, education, audit, medicine, store, print, local council and enemy’s wealth. Land and mines office, survey, plant and sea, forest and food restriction were administered under Sangyobu office.
22 Land of Kemaman Office, LOK 268/2602, Pekeliling Kerajaan dalam tahun 2602, circulation no 10/02.
to the Japanese, this bow released the inhabitants from the “miserable life” brought by the British.\textsuperscript{23} As an encouragement, those officers who were diligent and industrious were promised a reward or promotion. Any complaint heard about an official was viewed as a non-cooperative act towards the government and anyone who opposed the administration, or whose work was unsatisfactory, would be expelled from the state or even killed.\textsuperscript{24} Malay officers were also advised not to accept bribes from the public or favour their families while managing public affairs.\textsuperscript{25} Undoubtedly these changes, consisting of new rules, tough orders and restrictions, had a significant effect on Malay government servants.

When their new government appeared to be well established and seemed stable, the Japanese began to establish a proper legal system, since there was only a police court which was set up two months after the invasion. While pre-war laws remained in force unless specifically rescinded,\textsuperscript{26} the Japanese government formed three courts: \textit{Koto Hoin} (High Court), \textit{Chiho Hoin} (magistrate court) and also \textit{Kaikyo Hoin} (Kadzi court) in which the pre-war system was practised.\textsuperscript{27} The appointment of Malay judges in both courts showed that the Japanese government wanted the local people to become involved in law and order, an unheard of practice during the British period. Judges however had limited power, having to seek advice from the Governor in certain cases before any decision could be taken. This was mandatory for murder cases and in sentences of life imprisonment or indeed in any other serious cases.

\textsuperscript{23} Land of Kemaman Office, LOK 268/2602, Pekeliling Kerajaan dalam tahun 2602, circulation no 5/02.
\textsuperscript{24} Paul Kratoska, \textit{Japanese Administration}…, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{25} Land of Kemaman Office, LOK 268/2602, Pekeliling Kerajaan dalam tahun 2602, circulation no 4/02.
\textsuperscript{26} Land of Marang Office, LOM 3/1946, Penyiasatan dalam perkara-perkara terjadi daripada pemerintahan Jepun, proclamation no 2486.
\textsuperscript{27} Land of Kemaman Office LOK 268/2602, Pekeliling Kerajaan dalam tahun 2602, circulation no 1/02.
The changes introduced by the Japanese government were a harsh reality for their subjects. Those who ran away, trying to escape the horrors of war, were urged to return home and if they refused, after 31 May 1942/2602, they were referred to as non-cooperative subjects; therefore no protection would be given to their family members. Furthermore, all of their belongings would be seized.28 In March 1942, the Japanese government circulated a proclamation to the Terengganu people containing several new orders. Firstly, the inhabitants were asked to hand over the lost firearms which belonged to the police; secondly, a curfew was imposed after 10.00p.m., which prevented the residents from leaving their homes. Being in possession of British firearms was prohibited and finally all petrol had to be handed in to the police.29 Anyone who contravened any of the restrictions would be fined $100 or jailed for not more than six months with hard labour if found guilty. No doubt these restrictions limited the freedom of the inhabitants, who had certainly not experienced the same during British rule. This had the effect of diminishing support for the Japanese government. This was evidenced by the warm welcome towards the British troops returning after the fall of Japanese power in 1945.

A shortage of troops was perhaps the reason for setting in place the *Jikeidan* force (Self Defence Corps). The Malays in all towns and villages became members. The main reason for the establishment of *Jikeidan* force was to generate a close collaboration between civilians and the police and to give Malays responsibility30 for their own safety. *Jikeidan* members were given the power to arrest suspects involved in criminal

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30 Sultan Terengganu Office ST 39/2603, Berkenaan hendak Menubuhkan Jemaah Jikeidan di dalam Bandar Terengganu, Peratoran Menubuhkan Jikeidan. The circulation contained six chapters including general orders, Jikeidan formation, obligations, expenses, list of wounded and dead.
matters as well as to provide intelligence on enemies’ presence in their area. Jikeidan members were paid a small allowance for their extra services. In addition, Giyu Gun (Volunteer Army) and Giyu Tai (Volunteer Corps) were specifically set up by the Japanese government to enable the Malays to join the armed forces in order to build up their self esteem. Army training was provided for Giyu Gun recruits. These armed forces were probably set up because the Japanese government recognised the mistakes made by the previous British government. It discouraged or refused, or was not interested in recruiting inhabitants in its armed forces to protect their own homeland from foreign intervention. In fact, the British government employed foreigners mainly from India in its armed forces. Unfortunately there was no definite statistical data on the Jikeidan volunteers, Giyu Gun and Giyu Tai recruits in Terengganu, possibly because of the transfer of the state to Thailand in October 1943. Therefore it is very difficult to evaluate the Terengganu people’s response to the armed forces.

Policy towards Islam and the Malays

Contrary to the Meiji Constitution, in which the Muslims in Japan were unfairly treated, the Japanese policy towards Islam and the Malay community was considered fair. The Japanese government showed interest in the development of Islamic affairs in the state and had the intention of maintaining a good relationship with the Muslims. Immediately after the occupation, Japanese officers organised two meetings to discuss religious matters and explain their policy; one with the Malay ruling class and another with the religious leaders in Terengganu. They also apologised for the improper

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behaviour of their soldiers around mosques, which concerned the local people.\textsuperscript{32} The Japanese Foreign Minister, Masayuki Tani, expressed his sadness for Muslim repression as a consequence of American and British colonization in Muslim countries. Masayuki Tani also declared that Japan recognised all of the religions including Islam.\textsuperscript{33} The basic principle of the Japanese policy towards Muslims was that they were free to practise their faith without hindrance.\textsuperscript{34} The Japanese officers also attended the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday celebration in Singapore and delivered speeches advising the Muslims to follow the prophet and holy book (\textit{Quran}) teachings.\textsuperscript{35} The Japanese government also organised a conference for Muslim scholars from the Malay states and Sumatra in Singapore on 5 and 6 of February 1943 with the objective of “bringing about closer cooperation between Moslems residing in Malai and Sumatra.”\textsuperscript{36} However it was reported that the Conference was “a one-way flow of information from the Japanese to the delegates, containing less about Islam but more on the South Pacific front.”\textsuperscript{37} Eventually, the Japanese government, through the Malaya Military Administration tried to get religious elites and the sultans to agree that the ‘Greater Asian War’ was a \textit{jihad} (holy war).\textsuperscript{38}

For the inhabitants, lack of such information made them believe that the Japanese were honest in dealing with Islamic affairs. In fact Sultan Ali thought that the Japanese took much interest in Islamic matters, even though other sultans did not think so,\textsuperscript{39} as many Islamic schools were opened and the government would punish those who did not

\textsuperscript{32} Paul Kratoska, \textit{Japanese Administration}…., p. 110
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Fajar Asia} 15 Nigatsu (January) 2603.
\textsuperscript{34} Paul Kratoska, , \textit{Japanese Administration}…., p. 110
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Fajar Asia} 27 Sagatsu (February) 2603.
\textsuperscript{36} Paul Kratoska, , \textit{Japanese Administration}…., p. 111.
\textsuperscript{38} Abu Talib Ahmad, “Research on Islam…..,” p. 87.
\textsuperscript{39} Abu Talib Ahmad, “Research on Islam…..,”p. 89.
perform Friday prayers without an acceptable reason. In Terengganu, about 12 of 26 days declared as public holidays had a close connection to Islam. These included New Year’s Day in the Islamic calendar, Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, the beginning and end of the fasting month (Ramadan), the celebration of the coming of Syawal month and three days in the pilgrim month (Zulhijjah). During the fasting month, Muslim workers were allowed to go home early at 2 o’clock in the afternoon. Undoubtedly, the Muslims appreciated the efforts taken and toleration shown by the Japanese government towards their religious practices. The non abolishment of the Kadzi court showed that the Japanese respected Muslim laws. The Muslims in Terengganu seemed satisfied with the Japanese government policy on religion and used this factor in their resistance to the government’s decision to transfer the state along with three other northern states (Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis) to Thailand. Their resistance was also based on the unfair treatment by the Thai government, a Buddhist kingdom, of the Muslim minority in southern Thailand (Patani). Terengganu people feared that they would be treated in the same way. The Muslims also described the transfer as a move to separate the inhabitants in those states from their Muslim brothers remaining in the other states.

Although the Japanese government outwardly showed tolerance to the Muslim community, in reality they were less sensitive when organizing Muslim affairs. Several orders of the Japanese government showed this attitude and offended many Muslims. “Insistence that people bow in the direction of the Imperial Palace, their use of religious occasions to deliver propaganda, the inclusion of prayers to the Emperor and to Japanese soldiers killed during the war in the mosque services and the promotion of

40 Wan Ramli Wan Mohammad, pp. 42-43.
lotteries and other forms of gambling,”

are all examples which brought about uncomfortable feelings among Muslims. Muslims were ordered to donate some money to help the government to build a war memorial in Singapore for its soldiers killed in the war. In fact the Malays of Terengganu had to donate a sum of $10,000 for this purpose. Actually most of these orders contravened the Muslim ethic. Islamic followers were also unable to pay a visit to Mecca to perform the hajj pilgrimage during the Japanese invasion.

Economy and education

During and immediately after the war, economic activities in Malaya slowed, reached a standstill and made everything regarding incomes and production of the Terengganu state stationary. As a result of shipping shortages, import and export numbers decreased significantly. Even though the Japanese government and its companies tried hard to overcome the situation by taking over most of the property and businesses owned by British, American or other European companies and running the businesses properly, they failed to produce even half of the pre-war amount of production. This reduction was particularly marked in tin and rubber. The price of both products went down to the minimal margin of profit, and impoverished the labourers involved in the industries.

The prices of about 800 types of goods were fixed to ensure price stability. Shortages eventually spread from commercial products to food supplies. Therefore, local peasants had to cultivate crops for food in place of commercial enterprises thus exacerbating the

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43 Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, *Pentadbiran Tentera Jepun*…, p. 51. However, the people of Terengganu donated only $2,805.
44 Statistics or records on Muslims’ visits to Mecca during the Japanese invasion were not found. Whether the Muslims were prohibited from visiting Mecca or they were unable to pay the cost remains unknown.
situation. Food shortages became a crucial problem which forced the Japanese government to encourage their subjects to get involved in cultivation of food crops. For the first time, the inhabitants of Malaya faced a serious challenge.

Poverty and starvation were common problems amongst the people of Malaya during the Japanese period. In fact, the era of Japanese occupation in Malaya was well known as the “tapioca era,” due to the lack or shortage of rice supplies. The Japanese government focussed attention on rice and made it a prohibited good; “rationing of rice was in effect from the beginning of the occupation.” Consequently, the inhabitants had to look for other food as alternatives, and tapioca was the best choice. The Terengganu population was slightly down from the estimated number of 205,743 in 1942 to an estimated 193,100 in 1943. There were several explanations for this but certainly it was closely connected with poverty and starvation. Certainly the Japanese government took several actions to help those in need by initiating a census of those experiencing difficulties such as the loss of a job, a damaged house and running away. These people were given money. However, in order to overcome the food shortages, the Japanese government supplied aid to the inhabitants, enabling them to produce their own food. Therefore, the government agreed to supply paddy and corn seeds in the 2602 seasons to the peasants. Peasants residing in Mukim Binjai in the Kemaman district, for example, were supplied with approximately 4 ½ to 6 ½ gantang to suit their lands. In addition, the government announced that for the year 2602, peasants

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47 Paul Kratoska, Japanese Administration…, p. 18
48 Land of Kemaman Office, LOK 15/2603, Bancian Orang-Orang yang di dalam Kesusahan Kehidupan. The census had been taken in Kemaman district. Most of the affected people were Chinese.
49 Land of Kemaman Office, LOK 62/2603, Beneh-Beneh Padi dan lain-lain jenis beneh bagi tanaman makanan jajahan Kemaman koki 2603.
50 Gantang was a scale used to weigh seeds such as paddy, flour and corn. One gantang was approximately equivalent to three kilos.
were allowed to cultivate government land free of taxes for three years. However, the government had limited the so-called free land. There were certain acres which could be cultivated freely, depending on the district. The largest area was in Ulu Terengganu, 9,506 acres, 3,427.90 acres in Kuala Terengganu, 3,154 acres in Dungun, 2,200.55 acres in Kemaman, 1,870 in Marang and 919 in Besut and Setiu districts.\textsuperscript{51} The total amount of cultivated, tax free land was 21,077.45 acres. The government also announced a sum of fifteen dollars ($15) per acre to be given to people who opened up land for the same purpose.\textsuperscript{52} To ensure that everybody had enough food, the government introduced a card system for all the heads of families to get rice from the government. The amount given was based on the number of family members.\textsuperscript{53} Undoubtedly, the government’s move was to ensure an adequate supply of food for the inhabitants.

In order to encourage the involvement of more inhabitants in cultivating food plants, the government appealed to the locals to:

1. Use the land and paddy land to cultivate varieties of food crops (corn, tapioca, rice, etc).
2. Save all the money derived from cultivation
3. Use the land efficiently or government would confiscate any neglected land or paddy land
4. Inform the village head through the *penghulu* about suitable seeds
5. Inform the village head about the free land which could be cultivated

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\textsuperscript{51} Commissioner of Land and Mines of Terengganu, CLM 1/1942, Hal membenarkan mereka-mereka boleh menanam jenis-jenis makanan dengan tiada bayaran.
\textsuperscript{52} Land of Marang Office, LOM 106/2603, Chadangan hendak dikurniakan $15.00 atas satu ekar tanah kepada rakyat yang membuka tanah kerana tanaman makanan.
\textsuperscript{53} Mohd. Nasir Ismail, p. 81.
6. Inform the village head about the cost associated with building drainage and irrigation for those who intended to do it.\textsuperscript{54}

In spite of all the efforts taken, the project unfortunately remained unsatisfactory. The government officer (Syuchokan Terengganu) expressed his unhappiness about the progress of food cultivation among the inhabitants and reported that:

Regarding increasing the food supply, main office (Gunseikambu) had spent a lot of money. Terengganu state ordered their officers to work to increase the food supply and build water drainage and irrigation, cleaned the rivers, repaired a river bank; blocked the water from the sea, built a plant path etc. Furthermore the government agreed to pay $15.00 per acre for those who opened up new land. However, as the year passed by, the inhabitants were too lazy even to cultivate food for their own need. Very few people applied for free land or aid from the government and this was something miserable.\textsuperscript{55}

The negative reaction of the Terengganu people is understandable, even though the Japanese government was attempting to lessen their suffering, which they had not previously experienced. Moreover, they were only concerned with surviving from current suffering and hoped for immediate aid rather than thinking of planting new food crops which would take a long time to bring any returns.

In addition to encouraging the inhabitants to use the land efficiently and produce a good agricultural product, the Japanese government established an agricultural school at Bukit Sawa Kuala Brang in Kuala Terengganu district on 11 July 2603.\textsuperscript{56} This training school was opened for one month to train fifty young Malay men whose ages ranged from 20 to 29 years old. They were trained in every aspect of the agricultural field. Every village had to send its representative to be trained. The minimum qualification was standard six school passes. After training, they were appointed as government

\textsuperscript{54} Land of Kemaman Office LOK 268/2602, Pekeliling Kerajaan dalam Tahun 2602.
\textsuperscript{55} Land of Kemaman Office LOK 268/2602, Pekeliling Kerajaan dalam Tahun 2602.
\textsuperscript{56} Land of Marang Office LOM 171/2603, Sekolah Tanaman di Bukit Sawa Terengganu.
agricultural officers and sent to specific areas to perform their duties. These officers were responsible for teaching the villagers how to cultivate the food crops and manage cattle efficiently. They also had to lead the villagers in performing their everyday and Friday prayers. Unfortunately there was no further information on the trainees and how far this scheme was successful in encouraging production and overcoming the shortage of food supplies. The food shortages were still a crucial problem and the government failed to overcome this, before the state was transferred to Thailand’s administration. As a result, the districts of Besut and Setiu, Dungun and Kemaman experienced shortages of food and poor quality of life. In January 1944 (2487 in the Thai calendar), a sum of $5000 was distributed among poor families all over the state: $2200 for Kuala Terengganu, Marang, Ulu Terengganu and Batu Rakit, $1500 for the poor people in Kemaman, Kemasik and Kerteh, $800 for Dungun and Paka, while $500 was allocated to the Besut people. As a whole, the Terengganu people had difficult lives during the Japanese invasion and were trapped into unlawful activities such as smuggling.

In the light of food shortages, smuggling of food, especially rice, became a popular activity among the villagers all over the peninsula. This came mainly from the rice growing states. Although Terengganu cultivated more rice than Pahang or Johore, it was still insufficient for local needs. Therefore rice smugglers became active in the state. This activity primarily occurred in the district of Besut, the only one where rice was not cultivated. Most of the rice was smuggled in from Kelantan (Air Putih district) to Besut. In order to curtail this activity, the Japanese government placed restrictions on the transfer of food from one place to another. This restriction was named The Food

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57 SUK TRG 25/2486.
58 Land of Dungun Office LOD 10/2486.
59 Land of Kemaman Office LOK, 15/2603, Banchian Orang-orang yang di dalam kesusahan kehidupan.
60 District of Dungun D.O.D. 6/2487.
Control 1358, and ordered that every paddy cultivator in every village must report to the village head the correct amount of rice produced, so that censuses could be taken, and no further transfers would be possible.\(^{61}\) Those who failed to obey the restriction were punished. Despite all the strategies implemented by the Japanese government, the food shortage continued and economic growth remained slow until the state was transferred to Thailand.

Malay communities had experienced a miserable life during the Japanese occupation. Even though the Japanese government was more tolerant towards the Malays, with respect to overall restrictions or orders, the Malays were not excluded. For example, about 1,077 Terengganu labourers were sent to work on the Thai-Burma and KRA Railways; of these, 84 died, 210 deserted and about 783 remained unaccounted for.\(^{62}\)

The Japanese company also recruited several Malay labourers including women and children to go to the iron mines at Dungun to undertake numerous tasks. The government ordered its soldiers not to enter the Malays’ houses, however the Malay men were still being tortured physically by the soldiers. Cases of torture and rape of women were mainly against Chinese women, but the Japanese soldiers haunted the inhabitants. As a result of this women locked themselves in their homes at all times.\(^{63}\) This meant the loss of their freedom in their own homeland, which had not happened during the British period. Fear was the appropriate word to describe the Malays’ feeling towards the Japanese soldiers.

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Even though the Japanese government tried to raise the self esteem among the Malays towards their homeland, the response from the Malay population as a whole was limited to those who were interested in political affairs, such as Kesatuan Melayu Muda (Malay Young Union) or KMM members. When KMM was banned a few months after the Japanese invasion, most of the members in Terengganu would not get involved in such affairs even though the Japanese government had created a special force for them: Pembela Tanah Air or PETA (Motherland Defender). The uncertain socio-economic conditions forced them to focus their attention and efforts on survival rather than how to be active in politics.

Malay education during the Japanese invasion was not interrupted. This was not the case for English and Chinese education. Chinese schools were closed, and English schools were converted into public primary schools. Intermediate and high schools no longer existed. In their place, the government established technical schools, carpentry schools, and colleges for marine research, fisheries, telecommunications and agriculture and a centre for navy, air force and army apprentices.  

These kinds of schools were formed to be in line with Japanese education policy:

The emphasis of native education shall be upon industrial technological instruction adapted to practical life and the vigorous cultivation of an atmosphere respectful of labor. At the same time an education conforming to the special character of each region and to local circumstances shall be implemented, but policies such as compulsory or universal education should not be devised. Schools beyond the existing precollege level shall be universally closed….

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64 Mohd. Nasir Ismail, p. 84.
Certainly the policies were different compared to the British era and were intended to make the inhabitants become more skilful workers. However, in Terengganu, except for the agricultural school at Bukit Sawa Kuala Brang which was opened for one month only, there was no other evidence of the formation of technical and industrial schools or colleges. Instead there were only Malay schools reported to be running as usual, including Atas Tol School, Ladang School, Paya Bunga School, Bukit Jambul Grammar School, Air Jernih School, Chabang Tiga School and Paloh School. The pupils of these schools were taught how to read and write in Roman and Arabic script, mathematics, geography and Japanese language. Although the Japanese language was compulsory, the shortage of Japanese language teachers forced the abandonment of the discipline. This explained why none of the inhabitants could speak and write the Japanese language fluently. Despite the reduction in Malay education, Islamic and Arabic schools were flourishing in Terengganu. Religious schools were formed in almost every district. At least two schools were formed in Besut: Sekolah (school) Maarif and Nurul Ittifaq. Japanese policies on Islam had inadvertently facilitated the growth of schools which were preferred and appreciated by Malay parents.

**Terengganu under Thailand Administration**

Having ruled the four northern Malay states for about one and a half years, on 20 August 1943 the Japanese government signed a treaty with Thailand to transfer Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu to Thailand. Signed in Bangkok, this treaty would be effective from 18 October 1943. In the proclamation circulated, the Japanese government gave a reason for the transfer:

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66 Mohd. Nasir Ismail, p. 84
67 Mohd. Nasir Ismail, p. 86.
Terengganu had a long history and according to the Treaty of Bangkok 1909, Terengganu was a British protected state, and on 8 of December 2601 [1942] Dai Nippon declared war against America and British which wanted to rule all over the world, and .... The reason was based on friendship between Dai Nippon and Thailand and as a reward for the Thai assistance to make a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere come true.\textsuperscript{68}

Undeniably, the Thai government had supported and/or given assistance to the Japanese soldiers during the invasion of Malaya. However, according to Cheah Boon Kheng, the real reason for the transfer was to reduce the area of command in northern Malaya in order to free more Japanese troops for the Burma campaign.\textsuperscript{69} In actual fact, the transfer of the four northern states had a major impact on Malaya itself. Firstly, shortages of food became more crucial since the four states were the major rice growing areas. Secondly, as the majority of the inhabitants of the four states were Malay, the Malays became the minority in Malaya and definitely in Thailand. The Malay population in the peninsula was reduced slightly to 1,210,718 (34.3\%) compared to Chinese, 1,699,594 (47.7\%) in 1945.\textsuperscript{70} This situation was seen as the loss of a special position that belonged to the Malays in their own homeland, to the immigrants (Chinese and Indian). Based upon these facts, the Malay nationalist movement was strongly against the transfer. This however proved to be fruitless.

From his research, Alwi Jantan said that the people of Terengganu were not aware of the transfer of the state to Thailand.\textsuperscript{71} However, his statement is perhaps not true since it was reported that 95\% of the Terengganu people opposed the transfer. According to

\textsuperscript{68} Sultan Terengganu Office ST 51/03, Government of Terengganu Special Proclamation no 12 dated 7 July 2603. Before 1909, Thailand claimed that Terengganu was their protected state as discussed in chapter one.
\textsuperscript{70} Cheah Boon Kheng, \textit{Red Star}..., p. 28.
the survey conducted by the Mufti of Terengganu, it was revealed that there were two reasons for the resistance:72

1. Even though Terengganu had become a Japanese colony by an armed invasion, the people of Terengganu had trusted that Dai Nippon would not turn them into slaves. They also had confidence that Dai Nippon invaded their state with a sacred objective to build trust, assist the hopeless and bring prosperity to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. So, certainly they could suffer under the Thai government which also sought protection from Dai Nippon.

2. The people of Terengganu felt sad about the transfer because of their religious affairs. Dai Nippon made numerous efforts to help develop the religious affairs mainly in education which led to an increase in the number of religious schools. Furthermore, the Terengganu people heard a sad story about the Muslim minority who lived in Thailand and how they were being treated by the Thai government. They were prohibited from wearing Muslim costume.

The Sultan of Terengganu had no say in this matter even though he was unhappy with the decision.73 However, he expressed anxiety about his position and wrote a letter to the Japanese Governor requesting him to consider six things for him, including, getting his Maziah’s Palace back; assurance that his position as a Sultan was equal in ranking to the other Malay Sultans; the rights to administer religious affairs and the right to use his own flag as did the others.74 One of the Japanese officers in Terengganu recognised people’s opposition and was displeased with the transfer. He had no influence on the

72 Sultan Terengganu Office ST 51/03, a letter written by the Mufti of Terengganu to the Sultan of Terengganu dated 18 July 2603.
73 Wan Ramli Wan Mohammad, p. 36.
74 Sultan Terengganu Office ST 51/03, the letter has no date.
transfer because the decision was made at a higher level of Japanese authority. In fact, the decision about the transfer “received considerable criticism in the Japanese Privy Council on the ground that it was not in conformity with Japanese economic interests and with the policy of assisting the occupied territories towards independence.”

Nevertheless, the Japanese officer had no choice but to ask all of the people of Terengganu to obey the decision. The Thai government actually was said to be reluctant to take over the states since the tide of battle had begun to turn against the Japanese.

Proclamation of the transfer in Terengganu was made by the Military Commissioner of Terengganu, Colonel Prayoon Ratnakit, on 18 October 2486. In the proclamation, he demanded loyalty and cooperation from the existing administrative officers and stated that they remained where they belonged. Under the new regime, Terengganu would be administrated as outlined below:

1. The administration of the four states shall be placed under control of the Thai Army
2. The administration of each state shall be carried out by the administrator
3. The chief administrator shall directly supervise the work of the four administrators under him. The administrator of each state shall be advised by the local army commander
4. Each administrator shall be empowered to choose any administrative method defined as most suitable for the inhabitants or conditions in the province

75 Alwee Jantan, p. 17.
76 Sultan Terengganu Office ST 51/03, a letter written by the Japanese Governor to the Sultan of Terengganu dated 17 July 2603.
77 Alwee Jantan, p.17.
78 Land of Marang Office, LOM 3/1946, Penyiasatan dalam perkara-perkara terjadi daripada pemerintahan Jepun, proclamation no 2486.
5. The administrative adviser shall assist the chief administrator in carrying out general administrative affairs and

6. The chief of the armed police force shall assist the chief administrator in matters concerning general policing.⁷⁹

The existing laws remained in force, while property and individual rights would be protected. Religious principles and freedom of worship would be fully respected,⁸⁰ announced the Thai Military High Commissioner after the transfer took place. This initial announcement gave Muslims in the four states a sense of security not only for their religious practices but also their special rights. However the feeling of safety vanished when in November the same year, the Thai Prime Minister issued a new statement that affected the inhabitants of the four territories. They were to be “accorded treatment equal to that enjoyed by the inhabitants of other parts of Thailand.”⁸¹ In addition the Thai government passed two bills that affected the Malay community. The first bill required that persons between the ages of twenty and forty-five must be able to read and write in the Thai language by the end of 1943 and if they failed, they would have to pay surtax. The second bill affected Muslim practices on polygamy, where the government rescinded the recognition of polygamy and banned the registration of polygamous marriages.⁸² Although the cases of Muslim men marrying more than one spouse were very rare, this bill obviously restricted the freedom of religious practices which offended many Muslims. The fears of the people of Terengganu previously stated had come true.

⁷⁹ *Malai Sinpo*, Friday, September 2603.
Two months after the Malay states were ruled by military administration, the Thai government announced that the states’ administration would be handed over to the respective sultan of each state. The Thai government also planned to strengthen the political power of the sultans, so as to place these states completely under their leadership.\textsuperscript{83} The present military administration remained as advisers. Following the abolition of military administration, a state government was established with a municipal system in each town. A council named Montri Spa was established with powers “to carry out the executive functions”.\textsuperscript{84} Social and economic policy changed little during the Thai administration. This was also true for the lives of the Terengganu people. In the meantime, the British struggle to defeat the Japanese invasion and get back their lost colonies became more aggressive and it had a great effect on Thailand’s policy and administration in the Malay states. Finally, when the Japanese officially surrendered to the Allied forces (American, British and French), the Thai government released the four states to their own fates.

**The return of the British**

Atomic bombings by the Allied forces on the Japanese islands ended the Japanese invasion in the Asian region. The Japanese officially surrendered on 15 August 1945 in Malaya and British troops expected to take over the country immediately. However, they took two weeks to land in Malaya. Although the British troops had landed two or three months before the Japanese surrender it was only in small groups, hence it was insufficient to regain overall control of the whole peninsula. In the struggle to get back Malaya, the British trained specially selected members of the Malayan Communist

\textsuperscript{83} Malai Sinpo, Saturday 18 December 2603.
\textsuperscript{84} Paul Kratoska, Japanese Administration…, p. 89.
Party (MCP) in guerrilla warfare techniques and supported a special organization called the Malayan People’s Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) to fight the Japanese. The British supplied firearms, ammunition and medical supplies.\textsuperscript{85} The MPAJA, however, took advantage of the Japanese surrender and the late arrival of the British armies in Malaya to take the law into its own hands. MPAJA took over the country for about two weeks but its tough actions intimidated the people causing much trepidation among the civilians. MPAJA members prosecuted and killed suspected Japanese collaborators, and even went to the extent of ransacking the local police stations and seizing all available rifles and ammunition. The so-called actions of vengeance then turned into racial conflict since the MPAJA members were mainly Chinese and the Japanese collaborators were mainly Malays. A few bloody tragedies occurred in some places.\textsuperscript{86}

In Terengganu, though no bloody tragedy was reported, the Commissioner of Police (Tengku Indera Segara), became powerless and frightened. Lieutenant Colonel D. Headly who was dropped in the jungle of Pahang and arrived in Terengganu in September “was welcomed warmly by the inhabitants and on his journey from the Dungun district to Kuala Terengganu, he was accompanied by the State Judge, Tengku Paduka Raja.” To curtail the MPAJA’s killing and intimidating activities, Headly, “assisted by the Mentri Besar, Dato Jaya Perkasa registered the MPAJA members, paid them salaries and supplied them the new rifles and ammunition to enable the British troops to establish law and order.”\textsuperscript{87} Then, the arrival of Indian detachments of the British Army in town boosted the morale of the people. For a short while the


\textsuperscript{86} See Cheah Boon Kheng, \textit{Red Star}….., for further discussion on these bloody tragedies.

\textsuperscript{87} Alwee Jantan, pp. 19-20.
Terengganu people could breathe easily and believe that their miserable life for the past years would end.

The British Military Administration (BMA) was implemented throughout Malaya under a Deputy Chief Civil Affairs Officer (D.C.C.A.O.). Malaya was divided into nine regions and each of the regions was ruled by a Senior Civil Affairs Officer (S.C.A.O.). In Terengganu, Headly was appointed as S.C.A.O. The return of the British however, brought an unfortunate fate to the Sultan of Terengganu, Sultan Ali. The British made a proclamation that all of the officers in the country who had been promoted during the Japanese invasion should return to their pre-war posts. Sultan Ali’s position was reviewed and because he was very unpopular among the Terengganu Malay leaders and often described as an opportunist and puppet, the decision was made to replace him with his uncle, Tengku Paduka Diraja, Sultan Ismail ibni Almarhum Sultan Zainal Abidin I on 24 December 1945. 88

A few months into BMA rule, the British government in Malaya announced a new policy to be implemented in January 1946. This was the Malayan Union Constitution which had been planned since the downfall of the Malay states to the Japanese, and united the entire Malay states except Singapore. Too many systems of administration (Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States and Unfederated Malay States)89 implemented during pre-war times emphasized the fact that the British lacked true

89 The Straits Settlements comprised Penang, Melaka and Singapore. The Federated Malay States comprised Perak, Selangor, Pahang, Negeri Sembilan and Johore, while Kelantan, Kedah, Perlis and Terengganu were the Unfederated Malay States.
control over the Malay states. Thus, the Malayan Union scheme\(^{90}\) united the entire Malay states into one system of administration headed by a Governor. This controversial\(^{91}\) scheme commenced on 1 April 1946 after Sir Harold Mac Michael managed to obtain signatures from every sultan to hand over their consent to the Malayan Union Constitution, which meant that they lost their state sovereignty to the Malayan Union government. The first Governor, Sir Edward Gent, declared that the BMA was no more and the new constitution was inaugurated. However, the historic day was boycotted by all of the Malay Rulers and leaders to show their resistance to the new constitution, even though it was perceived as a preparation for Malaya’s self government.\(^{92}\) The inauguration of the new constitution was protested and mourned by the wearing of a white band on their arms for a week by all the Malays.

The opposition to the new constitution was more serious than the British government had expected. In fact it brought a new phase into Malay politics. People from all over Malaya were united and voiced their opposition to the British government; this resulted in the establishment of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO).\(^{93}\) Led by Dato Onn bin Jaafar, the Chief Minister of Johore, UMNO organized opposition to the proposal throughout the country. Public rallies were organized in every state. In Terengganu however, no rally was reported. Nevertheless, the dispute brought by the

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\(^{91}\) This scheme was strongly opposed by the Malay leaders and former British officers who served in Malaya during the pre-war period. Malay leaders opposed the scheme on the ground that the Malay Sultans would have lost their state sovereignty under this scheme. Granting citizenship for all of the Malay states’ residents including non Malays was the point that brought dissatisfaction amongst Malay leaders, besides the fact that the Malays would have lost their special rights as sons of the soil in this new constitution.


proposed scheme affected the Terengganu people’s sense of politics which was described as “they all of a sudden, had been woken up as though from a deep slumber. She had been very slow to realise the significance of the Union proposals and when she did, it was through the influence of her more politically mature neighbours. She combined with them for the first time to preserve whatever rights she had previously possessed, and it is remarkable to find that in the interest of mutual help and collective strength the attitude of provincialism which had hitherto prevailed was changed into national political consciousnesses.”

Without cooperation from the Malay leaders, the British government realised that they could not rule the country, therefore they had to revise the Malayan Union Constitution principally in the three articles that were strongly opposed by the Malays. Unlike the Malayan Union Constitution, the new constitution was set up by a special working committee formed in July of that year, comprising the British officers and the Malay leaders from UMNO, in the presence of the Malay Sultans. After several meetings, the working committee proposed a new scheme called the Federation of Malaya Constitution. After a few amendments, the constitution commenced in January 1948 and was ratified by the Malay rulers. For Terengganu, the agreement was signed by Sultan Ismail and Sir Edward Gent. The governor was replaced by a High Commissioner. Furthermore the sovereignty of the Malay states and settlements was protected and preserved with the rights, powers and dignity of the rulers. Although the new constitution granted other races (Chinese, Indian and other than Malays) federal citizenship, strictest conditions applied to obtain it.

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94 Alwee Jantan, p. 29.
95 See The Terengganu Agreement 1948 in T/PU 1 The Laws of the Constitution of Terengganu.
In the new constitution, Sultan Terengganu had complete control of the defence and all external affairs of the state and undertook to protect the government and the state from hostile external attacks. Furthermore, the Sultan could not make any treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters or send envoys to any foreign state without the knowledge and consent of the government. The Sultan under this agreement also had to seek advice on all matters connected with the government other than matters relating to the Muslim religion and the customs of the Malays. It seemed that the pre-war British resident role was applied. The British government had definitely tightened its control over the Malay rulers by this clause. As a result of the signing of the Federal and State Agreement, two councils were constituted in the state: The State Executive Council (Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan)\textsuperscript{96} and the Council of State.\textsuperscript{97} The chief Administrative Officer was the State Secretary who was in charge of the Secretariat. The State Secretary administered through the Administrative Officers, of whom there were three: Administrative Officer, Central, at Kuala Terengganu; Administrative Officer, East, at Kemaman; Administrative Officer, West, at Besut. The Administration Offices in turn had a varying number of District Officers under them according to the size of their Administrative Districts.\textsuperscript{98} At the district level, the administration did not change much from the pre-war system.

At the ground level, starvation and food shortages inherited from the previous years continued. The situation was relatively serious because it resulted in malnutrition and

\textsuperscript{96} The council had a membership of ten (six official and four unofficial members) and the Sultan as president. The function of the state executive council was to assist and advise the Ruler in his executive functions.

\textsuperscript{97} The Council had twenty four members (ten officials and fourteen unofficial) including the Mentri Besar as president and its function was legislative and subject to the assent of the Ruler.

\textsuperscript{98} Annual Report on the State of Terengganu, 1948, pp. 51.
would affect rehabilitation efforts.\textsuperscript{99} It seemed that the end of the Japanese invasion did not end their suffering. The British government planned solutions to overcome this problem including appointing a Food Adviser. In July 1946 a report was made to the United States Department representative that half the population in Malaya was starving.\textsuperscript{100} The British government took two years to overcome this problem.

**Terengganu during the Emergency Period, 1948-1954**

Politics and socio-economic conditions seemed to be back to normal again as well as the life of the people, until suddenly, the activity of the MCP increased rapidly with violent actions.\textsuperscript{101} The MCP was not satisfied with the Federation agreement and demanded self government for Malaya with the aim of turning the country into a communist state. They became aggrieved when the British government ignored the demand. MCP, the Chinese dominated political party, then planned three strategies to pressure the British government which were:

1. To weaken and destroy the Malayan economy by attacking the estates and mines.
2. To create, declare and dominate the so called liberated areas.
3. To lead a revolution by freeing the army to unite the liberated areas towards the formation of a communist republic for Malaya.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{99} Paul H. Kratoska, “The Post-1945 Food Shortages in British Malaya,” p. 31
\textsuperscript{100} Paul H. Kratoska, “The Post-1945 Food Shortages in British Malaya,” p. 41. Kratoska has details on the efforts taken to overcome this problem.
\textsuperscript{101} The MCP’s move towards violence was begun in the Fourth Plenary Meeting held in Singapore from 17-21 March 1948 which issued three resolutions. One of the resolutions was that the party should abandon its former “ostrich policy of surrenderism” and prepare the masses for an uncompromising struggle for independence without regard to considerations of legality. This resolution led to the communists’ violent activities in Malaya starting in June 1948. See John Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency*….., p. 7 for the other two resolutions.
\textsuperscript{102} Osman bin Mamat, p. 5.
The first victims targeted by MCP were estate and mine managers. They hoped that by killing them, the affected estates and mines would be closed down. MCP members started killing people and coincidently most of the estate and mine managers were European so they became the major target. The first incident took place in Sungei Siput, Perak where two European estate managers were killed on 16 June 1948. From then on, murder of estate and mine personnel was reported almost every day. The worst affected areas were Perak and Johore. Serial killings by MCP members all over the Federation led the British government to pass an Emergency Regulation Ordinance throughout the country on 5 July 1948, after a State of Emergency was declared in the Federation on 19 June. This declaration was followed by the banning of the MCP along with other suspected political parties and associations including Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (PKMM) or Malayan Nationalist Party (MNP), Angkatan Pemuda Insaf or API (Aware Youth Corps), Angkatan Wanita Sedar or AWAS (Aware Women Corps), Malay Democratic Party (MDU) and Hizbul Muslimin (Islamic Party).

Following the plan, the MCP urged the trade unions (Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions – PMFTU) to run a series of militant strikes among the workers to disrupt the economy and convinced the British that there was no stable future for their industries in the country. MPAJA members who turned to the Malayan People’s Anti British Army – MPABA, were also incited by the MCP to create massacres. The MCP and its allies

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103 Sir Edward Gent at the beginning of the period refused to take action especially on security matters in estates and mines or even declare an emergency all over the country. Instead, he described the attacks as “a war of nerves by the forces of disorder” but after facing serious criticism from the planting and mining interests, he declared a state of emergency. See Noel Barber, *The War of the Running Dogs*, New York, Weybright and Talley, 1972, p. 26 and John Coates, *Suppressing Insurgency*….. p. 184.

planned to declare a Communist Republic in Malaya in August of the same year, while hoping that the British would decide to write off their losses and abandon the country.\footnote{Clutterbuck, 167.}

The MCP launched guerrilla warfare, following Mao Tse-tung’s strategy of “people’s war” which was concentrated on rural areas, to seize selected locations, adjacent to the jungle. While estates and mines were seized by the strikers, these were linked later and expanded as liberated areas.\footnote{Clutterbuck, p. 170.} In this warfare the bandit only needed to strike swiftly with murder and terror, and then disappear back into the jungle before the police arrived. Bandits were not only killing the planters, but also innocent people, stealing their goods especially food. In addition they were also ambushing buses, trucks and trains. Their objective was very clear, to brand innocent, frightened people with the trademark of terror. If ordinary men and women wanted to stay alive they had to do only one thing, obey.\footnote{Barber, p. 44.} As an outcome, from June to October 1948, 223 civilians were killed all over the country and among them only 17 were European while the rest were Chinese.\footnote{Clutterbuck, p. 170.} In order to weaken the economy, the bandits’ target was to ensure that economic activities totally ceased by slashing rubber trees and smashing mine machinery.

It was reported that the bandits’ strategies were successful when planters, tappers and labourers feared to go to work thus, “the working of the estate is of course impossible now.”\footnote{Osman Mamat, p. 9.} Bukit Bandi Mines in Terengganu was forced to close for a short period because of the severe attacks, and only reopened when the government allotted a few policemen and special constables to guard the mines. Rubber estates in Binjai and Pasir

\footnote{Clutterbuck, 167.}
\footnote{Clutterbuck, p. 170.}
\footnote{Barber, p. 44.}
\footnote{Clutterbuck, p. 170.}
\footnote{Osman Mamat, p. 9.}
Semut in Kemaman were forced to close because of labour shortage subsequent to the attacks. Another 700 acres of rubber estates in Batu Puteh Kerteh were forced to close in 1949 when some of the tappers were arrested and the area was declared unsafe. In September 1953 the estates were reopened with 28 home guards and 70 families relocated in the area. District Security Committees comprising the Administrative Officer, District Police Chief, local Military Commander (if there is one), and local mining and/or planting representatives were formed to counter the problems. The committees, however, were incapable of chasing the bandits away and preventing attacks in the targeted areas.

Severe attacks did not take place all over the state of Terengganu; in fact in the Besut district no incident or even a suspected incident occurred. This was because no mine or estate was present in the district. However, there was a serious attack in the southern areas (Kemaman and Dungun) where the estates and mines were operated. It was reported that there were at least fifty incidents of communist attacks every week towards the end of 1948 all over the state. In the following year, the number of incidents decreased to an average of 26 a week. This decrease was a result of the bandits’ “reluctance to attack targets which were guarded, or where surprise and numbers were not overwhelmingly in their favour”. However attacks rose again in 1950 and 1951. The first two attacks in Terengganu took place in August 1948 when two mines were fired. Terengganu lost one of its unofficial members of the State Council when on 18 December 1948 the Honourable Haji Wan Ngah bin Haji Wan

110 Administration Office of the East, A.O.E 83/54. Reopening of Batu Puteh
114 Coates, p. 77.
Mamat, the owner of Kajang Tin mines in Kemaman, together with his maid was killed by two bandits on his mining property at about 6.30 in the morning.\footnote{SUK TRG, 1193/48, Death of Honourable Hj. Wan Ngah bin Hj. Wan Mamat.} An attempted murder of the assistant managers of the Kretay Estate and Plantation in Kerteh took place in early 1949 along with the manager of Jabor Valley Estate. Having failed to kill the managers of that estate, the bandits burnt the Kretay Estates and Plantation rubber smoke house. Approximately 600 labourers lost their jobs as a result of the burning. The rubber tappers on that estate also became targeted by the bandits and in another ambush, all of them were injured.\footnote{Osman Mamat, p. 8.}

There were cases of the Malay village head (penghulu) who acted as informant to the communists in Terengganu. The village head of Ulu Paka in Kemaman district, Ariffin bin Yunus, for example, was detained under the Emergency Regulation in 1948 for two reasons: a small quantity of gun powder was found in his possession and he was supplying information to the bandits in his mukim instead of supplying information to either the District Officer or the police.\footnote{DOK, AOE series, 18/48. Ariffin bin Yunus was a member of PKMM at Kampong Buaya Dungun and a treasurer of the Dungun branch.} He lost interest in his mukim. He was then sent to the Malay Rehabilitation Centre Morib in Selangor till March 1954. The other penghulu was from Ayer Puteh, Penghulu Senik bin Mohd. He was arrested and charged for not cooperating with the police\footnote{Commissioner of Land and Mines, CLM 15/48.} and also because he was closely connected to Awang Ali, a former PKMM member who fought with the communists against the government when the party was banned.\footnote{Osman Mamat, p. 11.} The communists used Awang Ali, through penghulu Senik to influence the Ayer Putih people to give support to the communists because most of the people of Ayer Putih were Malays. They aimed to
create liberated areas in Ayer Puteh. It seemed that some of the Malay political activists in the state were influenced by an independence movement even though it was created by a communist.

In May and July 1949, bandits killed three police, two in Ayer Hitam Kemasek and one in the Sungai Kajang, Kemaman district.\textsuperscript{121} On 2 March 1951, bandits ambushed and killed the son in law of the District Officer of Kemaman, Dato Bentara Luar.\textsuperscript{122} Another ambush was recorded on 14 July 1951 and a police truck was attacked at Ayer Jerneh Road, resulting in the death of three special constables, the driver and the rubber tapper. Two civilians were also injured.\textsuperscript{123} Besides killing related individuals, bandits also attacked civilians. There were a series of bandits’ attacks that targeted the Malays and created terrible feeling among them. An example was an incident report made by a Malay rubber tapper following the murder of his father:

About 11.00 o’clock at night on 28 October 1948, I was at home in Kampong Payoh, my step mother Sena binti Minal arrived with my brother Yusof bin Mamat who informed me that about 40 Chinese bandits in the uniform of triangle hat entered my father’s house Mamad bin Deraman and shot him dead and stabbed two other adults and kicking to death one month old girl. The bandits also took another male named Wan Botok and his whereabouts remained unknown. My mother and brother were afraid to return home as we heard two guns fired. When we arrived at their house next morning, we found the dead bodies of my father, two adults and a girl.\textsuperscript{124}

Another report was made on stealing goods including money, clothes, rice, jewellery, paddy and gas. The bandits also burnt the house.\textsuperscript{125} On top of that, because of the urgent need for food, the communists stopped a lorry full of rice and snatched it and

\textsuperscript{121} SUK TRG 69/49, Federation of Malaya, Police Contingent Order 1949.
\textsuperscript{122} District of Kemaman DOK 42/51, Kematian Menantu Dato Bentara Luar.
\textsuperscript{123} District of Kemaman DOK 93/51, Bandit Ambush on the main Kemasek (Ayer Jerneh Road), a report from penghulu Mukim Kemasek dated 18 July 1951.
\textsuperscript{124} A.O.E., 20/49. A copy of a report by Ngah bin Mamat on 29 October 1948.
\textsuperscript{125} A.O.E., 20/49. A copy of a report by Ya’Ali bin Mat Asin, the stolen man.
killed the driver,\textsuperscript{126} apart from stealing food stuffs from the shops. Frequently attacks impacted on civilians in terms of losing life, goods and property. Though the government provided indemnity and compensation for death and injuries, it was insufficient for the magnitude of losses. Undeniably, the life of the Terengganu people during and after the Second World War had changed dramatically and became much more difficult.

From the government side, especially under the new High Commissioner, Sir Henry Gurney,\textsuperscript{127} they took a series of actions to counter attack the communists. The government paid serious attention to security to restore law and order. Police were given more power to search properties, detain suspected persons and impose curfews. The armed forces were ordered to assist the civil authority in security matters. Several special armed forces were formed as the numbers of police and military forces were limited. Special Constables, Auxiliary Police, Kampong Guard also known as Home Guard and Jungle Squad, were formed immediately. A Jungle squad was formed with the special function of getting information about the bandits’ camps in the jungle and setting up an operation to ambush them. The Kampong Guards were selected residents and their duty was to guard their kampong to prevent and reduce the bandits’ stealing activities and eliminate the temptation for the bandits to influence the kampong people to support their movement. In the meantime, the Kampong Guard had to get as much information as they could about the bandit’s activities.\textsuperscript{128} Special Constables was a special post created to crush the bandits and was responsible for assisting the police in

\textsuperscript{126} Osman Mamat, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{127} Sir Henry Gurney was appointed as High Commissioner on 6 October 1948 after the death of Sir Edward Gent in an air crash over London on 4 July of the same year. However Sir Henry Gurney was killed a year later in a communist ambush and Sir Gerald Templer was appointed as the new High Commissioner.
\textsuperscript{128} Further information on Kampong Guard or Home Guard can be found in Osman Mamat, pp. 29-55.
ambushing the bandits. Those who joined Special Constables were trained as ordinary police. The Auxiliary Police was a volunteer force to assist the police and Special Constables. Other than Special Constables, the rest of the forces were not paid.

In the beginning of the Emergency period, the Terengganu people showed no interest in joining these special armed forces, especially the Auxiliary Police. It was reported that there were only 150 registered Auxiliary Police at the end of 1948. However, the number increased to 2,194 with 2,102 Malays, 55 Chinese, 13 Indians, 20 Europeans and 4 Eurasians on 20 January 1949. Surprisingly the number was reduced to only 915 in May of the same year. Although the Kampong Guard was formed, the number was nonetheless insignificant compared to the registration in January. Probably the people of Terengganu did not realise how increasingly dangerous the bandit attacks had become, since the attacks at the beginning of the period were not widespread and did not really affect their everyday lives. Presumably they also thought the bandits’ targeted victims were those who were devoted to the government and they would not target them. Conversely, when the bandits turned to the civilians for moral and material support, and threatened to kill if no cooperation was received from them, the number who joined the Auxiliary Police amazingly increased. By 16 February 1950, 24,383 had been registered. The total number of volunteers was 35,583.

The percentage of the Malays who joined the volunteer forces was above 50% for every district, with Ulu Terengganu the highest (90% from the male population over 15 years

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129 Osman Mamat, p. 29.
130 SUK TRG 81/49, Auxiliary Police Routine Order 1949.
131 There were about 810 Kampong Guards registered in Terengganu. Kampong Guard was legally AP but their employment differed; they were intended solely for the defense of kampongs and for the purpose of obtaining information about the movements of bandits. See A.O.E. 93/48, a letter from Police Headquarters Kuala Lumpur dated 10 October 1948.
132 District Of Dungun DOK, 18/50, a circulation from the state management.
old). This number increased due to the anti bandit month that was launched by the government in February 1950 and also because the Malay community was disappointed in the communists’ claim that the Islamic religion encouraged not merely persecution of human beings, but also the detestation of believers from other religions. In other words, the communists accused the Islamic religion of discouraging human unity.\textsuperscript{133} The Malays, who were very sensitive to Islamic matters, rose to fight against their enemy. The increasing number of volunteer forces helped to reduce the bandit attacks. The Chinese on the other hand were very reluctant to join the police force. They started to join the forces in December 1950 only because they were being paid by the Chinese organizations\textsuperscript{134} and the number was unimpressive.

The Terengganu people experienced new problems whenever they were forced to hold an identity card. The government introduced the use of identity cards in order to combat bandits.\textsuperscript{135} Certainly the compulsion to hold an identity card differentiated the residents of the Federation from the bandits. Use of identity cards would stop the bandits from loafing in the villages and threatening to steal from the villagers. The police from time to time did check the identity cards of trespassers. However, in addition to stealing food, the bandits also stole identity cards, changed the photo and used it for themselves. In order to prevent this from happening, the village heads were urged to take extra precautions against unfamiliar persons in their area.

\textsuperscript{133} District of Dungun DOK 18/50. This propaganda aired on Radio in Moscow and was circulated by the Public Relations Office of the Federation.


\textsuperscript{135} Emergency (Registration of Residents) Regulation 1948 section 4 stated that “All persons resident in the Federation, other than those exempted under Regulation 30 of these Regulations, unless already registered under the Emergency (Registration Areas) Regulation 1948 are required to be registered in accordance with these Regulations, and as soon as possible obtain an identity card as evidence of such registration.”
Repeated attacks on certain areas created a new regulation; this was 10A in Emergency Regulation 1948. Under this regulation the targeted areas were declared “special areas.” The purpose of the regulation was to empower any members of the security forces to call upon any person found in a “special area” to stop, and if he failed to do so, they were authorised to use immediate force if necessary. The declaration of the “special areas” was intended to give notice to those living in the neighbourhood that they should be aware of the risks if they ventured into one of these areas. However the exercise of the Regulations was limited to small areas only, such as estates or mine areas. Supplementary to this regulation was Regulation 17FA, Controlled Areas. This regulation gave power to the Mentri Besar to declare any areas within the state a controlled area. The power enabled the residents to spend their nights in specified parts of the controlled area, so that they could be given protection and they could not easily, either voluntarily or under pressure, gives aid to the bandits. In Terengganu, from 15 April to 26 September 1951, six areas in Kemaman district were declared controlled areas. These declarations were made as a result of the frequency of stealing by the bandits from the shops and their seeking support from Chinese living in the areas.

In addition to this regulation was 17EA, ‘Restriction Food Controlled Area’. Under this regulation government declared some food as restricted articles and no trade or business was possible with such food. This restriction came into force to ensure that no business or trade of these articles was undertaken with the bandits. Ulu Paka, Ulu Kerteh, Ulu Dungun, Ulu Chukai and Ulu Cherul in Terengganu were the affected areas.

138 Osman Mamat, p. 21.
139 Restricted articles were biscuits, flour, cooking oil, bread, cooked food, salt, sugar, rice, tinned food, dried fish and concentrated foods.
under this regulation. The District Officer was given the power to close any shop or to order that no trade or business in any restricted article should be carried on in any such shop. As a result, some of the retailers experienced a loss of income when their shops were closed under this restriction. The closure of shops took place in Nibong and Sura Gate areas in July 1951 for the following reasons.  

1. These shops were on the outskirts of the Town Board areas and it was extremely difficult to check that restricted articles were not being bought by bandit agents and taken inland.

2. The railway line ran adjacent to both shopping areas and it was very easy for goods to be thrown into empty wagons at night time.

3. In March 1951 reports were received that bandits had visited the shop of Tan Cheng Eng at Nibong Station and had taken away a quantity of foodstuffs. The goods were believed to be taken up to Che Lijah and Binjai.

Though the retailers on the recommendation from the Dungun MCA branch appealed against this closure, it continued until January 1952, in consideration that the lower reaches of the Sungai Dungun (which is near the areas) were the centre of intense activity by communists and this activity culminated in the death of the OCPD and CPI *muda* of Paka. Undoubtedly the closure of the shops affected not merely the retailers but also civilians because they faced difficulties in getting foodstuffs.

The business operated by retailers in Restriction Controlled Areas tightened when they were ordered to obtain licences issued by the District Officer to trade or transact business in restricted foods. The licensed retailers had to follow certain rules including

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140 A.O.E. 31/51, Closure of shop at Nibong and Sura (under ER 17EA).
141 A.O.E. 31/50. From November to January there was one case of attempted bandit intimidation in the lower Sungai Dungun area and two contacts by security forces in the Paka area. In these two contacts two bandits were killed.
the prohibition against selling any restricted foods to any person who was not in possession of a registration card issued to him under Emergency (Registration Areas) Regulation 1948 or a company pass. Even though this restriction was perhaps able to stop the foodstuffs being taken or bought by the bandits, it had a great effect on the local people who operated businesses that used the restricted articles, such as coffee shops or restaurants. There were about seven coffee shops and restaurants in Kerteh affected by this restriction in November 1952. With no trade or business in rice, sugar, salt and flour, all of the coffee shops and restaurants experienced shortages of supplies of food in their premises. In an appeal written by seven of the coffee shop and restaurant owners to the Mentri Besar of Terengganu, begging him to cancel that order, they emphasised their difficulty in gaining an income just by selling drinks without food. However, the Mentri Besar had no power to fulfil their request and the restriction remained in force.

An Anti Bandit Month campaign was launched throughout the country in February 1950 when bandit activity became more frequent and widespread. In fact, “the whole idea behind anti-bandit month is to allow the people to demonstrate their loyalty and readiness to help…” There were two main purposes of the anti-bandit month campaign: to supplement the efforts of the security forces and to unite the whole country in opposition to the local terrorists and what they stood for. For Terengganu, several actions were taken during the campaign which included:

1. Maximum assistance to the police in areas of known bandit activity,
2. An appeal to the people in areas of known bandit activity to supply information,

3. Propaganda talks on the evils of communism and alien doctrines and the necessity for the people to co-operate with the government in the maintenance of law and order,

4. Extensive touring by the District Officer, or his representatives in their districts with the objective of getting to know the people in the remote kampongs and encouraging the people to establish contact with government officials.

The Islamic Religious Department was ordered to give talks in mosques and at religious meetings stressing the menace of communism contravening the ideals of Islam.

Recruitment of volunteers and propaganda talks, distribution of leaflets and posters were the tasks allotted to the people of Terengganu during the anti-bandit month campaign. Volunteers were needed to relieve police of routine tasks, augment police patrols and operate posts in urban areas, check roads, markets, and undertake river patrols and augment the kampong guards in rural areas. Recruitment of volunteers during this month was amazing as stated above and their response to the duty calls was generally excellent. However there was a tendency for some volunteers to feel that they were not being of much use because they were not armed, though they (especially Auxiliary Police) had and could exercise the powers and privileges granted to a Police Officer of the rank of constable. This resulted in a shortfall in the attendance during the last week of the campaign. State Organiser of the Anti-Bandit Month in Terengganu, D. C. L. Wilson, in his report said that the volunteer forces particularly the

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146 The powers included checking identity cards, searching for any offensive weapons and detention of suspected persons. See D.O.K. 18/50, Memorandum Anti-Bandit Month, Powers of Auxiliary Police.

Auxiliary Police were not fully utilised because of “lack of cohesion and discipline and their standard of efficiency leaves much to be desired.” In fact he added that “one of the biggest mistakes made in the conduct of the Anti-Bandit Campaign was the disbanding of Ferret Force. This force was for the most part officered by men who knew the country and spoke the language and was one of the most effective instruments in the hands of Government.”\textsuperscript{148} Gaining more information on banditry and their helpers’ activities, which were the main aims of the campaign, failed due to fear of the bandit’s reprisals. Furthermore there was no active role played by an under-cover team to get more information.

Despite dissatisfaction regarding security implementation,\textsuperscript{149} the anti-bandit month campaign received good cooperation from government departments particularly the Public Relations Department and the Government Printing Department in dealing with propaganda and the distribution of leaflets and posters about the danger of communism. Cooperation from the political associations (Malayan Chinese Association – MCA, Malayan Indian Association – MIC and UMNO) was reportedly significant. However there was no cooperation from the European firms.\textsuperscript{150} As a whole, the anti-bandit month campaign gained success in preventing communist attacks. There was no bandit activity recorded during the month, though D. C. L. Wilson thought that the campaign was not properly organised since the ad hoc framework of the month could not cope effectively with the large number of volunteers. Conversely, the large number forced the bandits’ activity to decrease. Nevertheless the bandits increased their activity in the following

\textsuperscript{148} Ferret Force was a small operational unit of troops, police and hand-picked local Asians. It has been called the first group of real jungle fighters of the Emergency. The force however soon disbanded because of administrative reasons and the services’ dislike of private armies. See A. J. Stockwell (ed.) \textit{Malaya, Part II, The Communist Insurrection 1948-1953}, British Documents on the End of Empire, London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1995, p. 48 (footnote). Wilson was a former member of Ferret Force.

\textsuperscript{149} Security matters were a crucial problem in combating the communists. To view the problems, see Richard Stubbs, \textit{Hearts and Minds} …, pp. 69-77.

\textsuperscript{150} A. J. Stockwell, \textit{The Communist Insurrection} …, p. 7.
month when the number of volunteers decreased after the campaign. In April 1951, for instance, the number of Auxiliary Police was only 424 while Kampong Guard fell to 710 to make a total of only 1,134 volunteers. The inhabitants withdrew as volunteers probably because of fear of being accidentally killed during their duty, since they were not armed.

During this tough period, the British government was forced to produce several regulations and restrictions to counter the bandits’ actions. For instance, to prevent the transfer of foodstuffs to the bandits by the villagers, either voluntarily or under pressure, an Emergency (Restriction of Movement of Foodstuffs) Regulation 1950 was promulgated. The regulation clearly stated that:

All movement of foodstuffs should be prohibited in the whole state between the hours of 7pm and 5am, the only exemption being movement within town board areas and movement of fresh fish. Furthermore it was considered that movement of foodstuffs by day should be restricted so as to be allowed only on permit issued by Assistant of Suppliers, Kelantan/Terengganu/Pahang East or such persons who have been authorised in writing to issue such permits.151

To prevent the paddy crops from falling into the hands of bandits, the government suggested rationing of paddy supply to the villagers, meaning that all of the paddy should be stored in the government store in every district and only be given to the villagers when needed.152 This restriction unfortunately affected certain kampongs which were located in the coastal areas such as Kampong Telok Kalong in Kemaman.

151 A.O.E. 10/1950, a letter from Assistant of Suppliers, Kelantan/Terengganu/Pahang East to Administrative Officer of the East dated 20 March 1950. Such permits could be issued by the Chief Clerk, food and price control office Kuala Terengganu, the Chief food and price control Inspector Terengganu, Assistant Rationing Officers, Kuala Terengganu, Dungun, Kemaman and Besut, Administrative Officers Kemaman and Besut and District Officer and assistant District Officer at Kuala Brang, Marang, Dungun, Kemaman and Besut.

152 A.O.E. 26/49. This suggestion however was not approved by the head villagers for several reasons. Paddy crops were to be stored in the head villagers’ house and every villager was supplied rice for one month.
The people there suffered from a shortage of food. Moreover, Wilson in his report stated that this regulation was useless and was only playing with the problem. Even though a permit was given to those who needed to transfer foodstuff, it could not stop the bandits from attacking the food lorry and stealing the food. The restriction was only effective when the transportation or movement of food in large amounts was protected by armed guards, which were scarce.

Combating the communists was not easy and after two years, the MCP activities were getting more and more serious and incidents were increasing to dangerous proportions and “affecting the morale of the country and threatening its economy.”153 From 1950 to 1951 the number of civilians being killed increased to 646 and 533 respectively.154 The government was forced to seek another solution to overcome the problems created by the communists, and not merely depend on military and police operations. Sir Harold Briggs, newly appointed Director of Operations, proposed and brought into law the Resettlement Plan popularly known as the Briggs Plan. This plan concentrated on the local level, primarily with the Chinese community which was isolated from contact with government representatives.155 Under this new plan, hundreds of the people of Terengganu were affected, particularly the Chinese. This plan involved the resettlement of the affected people from one place to another as their permanent home. Basically this plan was targeted at the Chinese living as squatters156 who were living in fear and easily contacted by the bandits for aid and food supply. Even though there was no squatter problem in Terengganu, there were Malay and Chinese communities living in the

153 Stubbs, p. 98.
155 Stubbs, p. 77.
156 A squatter here means an unauthorized occupation in a reserved place. During the Japanese occupation, the MPAJA members relied heavily on aid and food from the squatters. See J.M. Gullick, Malaysia, Ernest Benn Ltd. London, 1981, pp. 87.
isolated remote area near the jungle and near the mines. In fact, the Malay inhabitants had been resettled through this scheme in Terengganu. Under this plan, in October 1950, about 150 Chinese families were moved either to the new villages or to the existing safe villages from their home in Dungun.\textsuperscript{157} The whole population in Bukit Labohan including 42 Malay families were moved to another safe place in Paka and Kerteh due to the frequency of bandits visiting to demand food.\textsuperscript{158} Most of the affected area was in southern Terengganu.

Compared to the other states, there were only three new villages (out of the six) set up in Terengganu. There was Kampong Baharu Batu Lima in Dungun district, Kampong Pulai Baharu, in Kuala Nerus and Kampong Baharu Jabor Valley, Ulu Jabor in Kemaman district.\textsuperscript{159} Most of these new villages were resettlement areas for Chinese families. Malay families were resettled in the existing kampongs since they basically had their own land and would return to their homes when the situation was under control. To ensure that the settlers had new jobs in the new areas, locations were chosen to provide enough land for agricultural activities. In this scheme, it was necessary for governments, both federal and state, to finance the building of new houses and other facilities in the new areas, such as schools and clinics, temples, communal buildings, social associations such as the Red Cross, water and electricity supply and other infrastructure. Financial assistance received from MCA helped provide facilities for the new settlers.\textsuperscript{160} For their own safety, the new settlers had to form a home guard. In

\textsuperscript{157} A.O.E 15/50, Chinese Resettlement- Dungun.
\textsuperscript{158} A.O.E. 33/51, Bandit Incidents at Labohan, Regrouping Bukit Labohan.
\textsuperscript{159} For further information on the setting up of these three villages, see Osman Mamat, p. 61-73.
\textsuperscript{160} The MCA branch in Terengganu contributed financial aid for the Chinese new resettlement area in Kuala Dungun in building houses. A reply from British Adviser to Honourable Joint secretaries of MCA Terengganu Branch dated 19 March 1951 in A.O.E. 15/1950 pt. III.
other words, new villages gradually became like any other kampong, with much better facilities.

In the main, the resettlement scheme, declaration of controlled areas and restriction of movement of foodstuffs were successful in decreasing the bandits’ activity. Nevertheless, it had side effects as discussed above. The curtailment of support from the Chinese community forced the communists to seek support from the Malays. In June 1952, the government of Malaya uncovered a new communist tactic to win over the Malays’ hearts. They used the Islamic religion in their propaganda and tried to convince Muslims that Islam and communism were blood brothers and working for parallel ends.\(^{161}\) In his letter to all administrative and district officers, the *Mentri Besar* of Terengganu urged that “we must take immediate action to counter this communist move, otherwise we may find ourselves beaten by the Communists in our fight to win the hearts of the people.” *Mentri Besar* instructed them to tour to each and every kampong and tell the people about the fallacy of the communist claim. The government became aware of certain tactics employed by the Communist 10th Regiment, which was composed of Malay communists and led by Abdullah C.D. The regiment was broken up into sections; these were then posted to Kelantan, Pahang, Terengganu and Negeri Sembilan with a view to organising the Malay population of these states. It was said that “the success or failure of the Communist revolution will largely depend on the extent to which MCP can succeed in penetrating and subverting the Malay population.”\(^{162}\) The seriousness with which the government viewed the communist tactics to win over the Malay people was illustrated by numerous actions.

\(^{161}\) A.O.E. 14/52, Urgent need for counter measure against Communist propaganda claiming Islam and Communism are similar in aim and objective. A letter from *Mentri Besar* to Administrative Officer of East, West and District Officers dated 2 June 1952.

\(^{162}\) A.O.E. 14/52, a document titled MCP policy towards the Malays and its implementation.
As an immediate response to the new communist tactics, the government published and circulated leaflets focusing on communism and Islam with titles such as: Islam an answer to Communism, Communism denies individual freedom, Communism kills initiative, Return to the principles of Islam is needed, Communism is opposed to the interests of workers, Communism is another form of imperialism, Islam is a bulwark against Communism and Destruction is the aim of Communism. The government also wrote an open letter to the residents of Malaya, especially to the Malays and said that:  

1. Any Malay who forsakes his home and family to live in the jungle lets down his family and his country and should be ashamed to call himself a Malay  
2. Any Malay who takes side with the Communist terrorists who have been carrying out a campaign of violence, terror and intimidation had lowered his character to such extent that he should be regarded as an outcast  
3. Any Malay who by his action in support of the Communist terrorists, causes people of his own trouble, hardship, inconvenience and subjects them to terrorism, is an enemy to himself, his family and the whole of his race  
4. Communism is contrary to the principles of Islam, any Malay who supports the cause of Communism alienates his faith in Islam  
5. The total number of Malays in the jungle throughout the Federation supporting Communism is far less than the total number of Malays in the security forces.  
6. It is a foregone conclusion that communist terrorism will be wiped out. Those Malays still left in the jungle must make up their minds to return to the right}

163 A.O.E. 14/52, Open letter titled To the People of Malaya.
path and start a new life or remain in the jungle and die a miserable death. The door of repentance is still open.

No doubt the content of the letter scared Malays sympathising with the communist struggle. Religion is a sensitive issue for them together with their self-esteem as Malays. The number of Malay communists and sympathisers was essentially too small. However, the communists believed in using the Malay leftist activists such as former members of MNP, API and AWAS to influence the Malays to rise and fight the British imperialists in Malaya. It was reported that a document written in Arabic script was issued in Indonesia by Ibrahim Haji Yaakob, former Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM) and MNP member. The document circulated among Malay communities suggested that “the British attempt to build up a Malayan Nation can only result in the Malays losing Malaya to other nationalities.” The government feared that such a statement would influence the Malays to fight against it.

In Terengganu, especially in the Kemaman district, the activities of communists were considered disruptive and dangerous to the Malay population. Datuk Bentara Luar, the Kemaman District Officer, wrote and circulated an open letter to the people titled ‘Life today; Can you stand with the present situation?’ The letter emphasised the difference between Islam and communism and convinced the people that the communists’ claim that they had a similar direction with Islam was absolutely false. The communist pressure on the Malays in rural areas reportedly increased day by day. As a solution, the government put their effort into exploring such pressure and in the meantime combating it. Focus was concentrated on “development schemes for kampongs,  

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164 MCP Policy towards the Malays and its Implementation.
improved relations between Kampong Guard officers and the people and encouragement of the dwellers in kampong to pass information through village heads, *penghulu* or *penggawa* or through KG channels to the authorities.¹⁶⁵ Even though the Muslims were not easily influenced by the communists, the government did not undervalue the communists’ efforts. The government went all out to ensure that the Malays stayed out of the communist struggle.

In order to create a closer co-ordination at the *mukim* level, the government urged the formation of the *mukim* council with elected members under the chairmanship of the *penghulu* or *penggawa*. The *mukim* council were “designated to give the inhabitants of the *mukim* the chance to air their views and grievances through their elected representatives.” Therefore the members of the council were in close contact at the ground level. Meetings were held frequently between the *penghulu* and village head; the outcomes were reported to the District Officer, at least once a month. The government also sought help from good religious speakers to visit the targeted areas and deliver speeches on appropriate subjects in order to ensure that the kampong people were not being influenced by the communist propaganda. Following the move, the Information on Emergency and Religion Committee was formed by the Terengganu Department of Information which included a Religion Commissioner, Mufti of Terengganu, Chief Kathi, Dungun District Officer and Deputy Chief Police Officer of Terengganu as members. At their fourth meeting held on 14 June 1954,¹⁶⁶ a committee was told that the Mufti had written an article titled *Islam and Communist Doctrine* and they intended to print about 5,000 copies for distribution among the religious teachers, mosques, *penghulu*, etc. In addition, the committee also agreed to translate the Arabic

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¹⁶⁵ A.O.E.14/52, a letter from Chief Secretariat Kuala Lumpur to all state chief secretaries dated 19 February 1953.
¹⁶⁶ Religious Department, P.A.T. 260/1371, minute of meeting held at the department, Kuala Terengganu.
article which discussed communist and Islamic doctrine and concentrated on three topics that touched on communist manners in an Islamic country, the concept of capitalism in Islam and racism in the Muslim brotherhood.

It was reported that two of the Terengganu Malays went to the jungle and fought with the bandits. The two however chose to surrender and one of them, Osman Darus, wrote an article that described his experience in dealing with the communists in the jungle. This article was used to spread the danger of the communist concept for Islam and other religions to the Malay community. In his article, Osman described the tactic used by the communists to gain support from the Malay community, which was: “If the targeted area flourishes with Malay nationalist sentiment, communists will stress on the same issue, and if the inhabitants at certain places are religious people, they will use the religion to convince them to support their struggle using *Quranic* verses.” One of the unhappy situations faced by the writer was in performing the five daily prayers as a Muslim. He was asked: “Why do you have to pray? We are communists and no matter what our race, we do not need to pray, praying does not give you anything, no work no food, praying does not give us anything to eat.” Probably the experiences drove Osman away from the jungle and from the communist struggle. There are no other reports made by Malays who joined or gave their moral or material support to the communist struggle in Terengganu.

The counter attack and struggle in combating the communists in Terengganu were considered successful when Terengganu became the first state in the peninsula to be declared an all-white area in June 1957, two months before the state gained

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167 Religious Department, P.A.T. 260/1371, article titled Communist and Islam.
independence from British colonization within the Federation of Malaya. In fact, in 1953, some of the areas, especially in the north of the state were declared white areas, meaning that the area was free from the communist menace. In the beginning of 1953 several areas in the south of Terengganu were reopened for normal activity. A rubber estate at Batu Puteh in Ulu Kerteh area which had been closed since 1948 was reopened in the middle of 1953.\(^{168}\) The strategies designed by the British government, the role played by the government departments especially the religious department, and commitment from the people of Terengganu were successful in driving out the communists from the state. Terengganu as a predominantly Malay state and the strong beliefs and practices in Islam of its people, perhaps made a significant contribution to combating the communists.

The communists’ ultimate goal to paralyse the economic growth of Malaya failed, even though the British government had to spend US$90 million in 1953 to combat the communists.\(^{169}\) The closure of several rubber estates and mines subsequent to the communist attack did however cut down production in the first two years of the Emergency period. As the attacks took place only in certain areas in Terengganu, its economic condition was less affected and the production of tin ore, iron ore and rubber stood still on average.\(^{170}\) Conversely, infrastructure development changed rapidly because of the efforts in regrouping affected villagers in the resettlement scheme under the Briggs Plan. Components of both plans were building a good infrastructure and public facilities that benefited the inhabitants involved, and also promoting economic growth.

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\(^{168}\) A.O.E. 84/54 a letter from A. Huckle, Chairman, District of Executive Committee Kemaman and Dungun to the Chairman, State of Executive Committee dated 2 June 1953.

\(^{169}\) Gene Z. Hanrahan, p. 131.

\(^{170}\) Further discussion on mines and rubber planting activity during the Emergency can be found in Osman Mamat, chapter 4 and 5.
Conclusion

Throughout and after the Second World War until Malaya gained independence, the people of Terengganu experienced extreme difficulties in their life. Being administered under the three different powers really placed the inhabitants in an uncertain position. With the harshly enforced laws of the Japanese government, the inhabitants suffered a loss of freedom in almost every aspect of life, in addition to poverty and starvation. Some of them in fact were involved in the smuggling of foodstuffs in order to survive. There was no record of deaths subsequent to the starvation and torturing by the Japanese army, however suffering from both aspects was common among the inhabitants. Some of the Terengganu people were reported missing while they were being taken to the Thai-Burma border. Despite horrible experiences, the people of Terengganu took advantage of a tolerant Japanese policy toward the Islamic religion by forming as many religious institutions as they could. Poverty and starvation suffered by the inhabitants continued under administration by Thailand.

The return of the British could perhaps have improved the situation, but unfortunately, it had just begun when their lives were again involved in terrible trauma subsequent to the communist attacks. Even though the British government was successful in combating the communist challenge, it took a long time, which resulted from its insufficient response from the beginning of the period. It was impossible to ascertain the enormity of the effect on the inhabitants because of attacks or ambushes by the communists. Nevertheless the impacts were there and the people of Terengganu experienced difficult life during those periods. In addition, laws and restrictions
imposed to lessen the communist strength eventually affected the inhabitants. Restrictions on foodstuffs for example impacted on the residents’ needs and resulted in food shortages. Severe attacks resulted in the loss of property and jobs primarily for those who were involved in rubber tapping and work in mines.

Fear amongst the inhabitants which first appeared during the Japanese period was continued in the Emergency period which in fact, was more dangerous and unpredictable. For rubber tappers and farmers, they could not do their everyday work because of the communist attacks and several acts that affected them. As a result, rubber production in Malaya as a whole decreased from 708,184,759 kilos in 1948 to 613,590,783.3 in 1951.\textsuperscript{171} The British government had to spend on defence, however, the people of Terengganu suffered from insufficient income to feed themselves and family, loss of jobs and properties, loss of freedom and fear of being killed. Even though the Terengganu people may not have experienced difficulty as did other people in other states, their day-to-day life was greatly affected. Full support from the Terengganu people for the campaigns launched by the government had paralysed the communist attacks in the state. The communist strategy to gain support from Malays through religion failed as strong belief in Islam possessed the people of Terengganu. In fact Karl Hack cited that “Locally, Malaya’s communal patterns ensured neutrality of support for the government from Malays.”\textsuperscript{172} This citation suits the situation in Terengganu and could be considered as the factor that demoralised communists in the

\textsuperscript{171} Ho Hui Ling, p. 113.
state. However, subsequent to the dearth of written works on the Emergency in other states in Malaya, comparison of the experiences faced could not be made.\textsuperscript{173}

Having been ruled by the three un-Islamic administrations, Japanese, Thai and British governments within 16 years (1942-1957), undeniably had different effects on the Terengganu people and probably had a great influence on them in choosing their own state government through an election system introduced by the British government in 1955 prior to full self government. Difficulties faced under the un-Islamic governments could influence the people of Terengganu to choose political representatives who possessed Islamic elements and would end their suffering. The political activities among the inhabitants of Terengganu however were not impressive due to the uneasiness of the situation. The popular support for the existing political parties will be discussed in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{173} There were academic exercises made on Emergency in certain states such as Perak, Pahang, Negeri Sembilan and Johor, however its focus was on communist activities and the British reaction rather than people’s experiences as stressed in this chapter.
CHAPTER THREE
POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR STRUGGLES
Introduction

This chapter begins by briefly touching on political and socio-economic awareness, which was first expressed by religious scholars in the early twentieth century. Though this awareness cannot be classified as nationalism, it can be seen as a root for its later development. Terengganu was not exempted from the influence of this religious movement, which spread from Singapore and Penang. Political parties then formed in the later part of the century and will be discussed. However, this chapter does not attempt to cover the history of every party that existed in Trengganu since there are already many books written on this topic.\(^1\) Of note, none of the political parties were actually first founded in Terengganu, but state branches of parties were formed. Hence there will be a discussion of the formation of these Malay parties at national level. However the focus will be on the formation of the state branches in Terengganu. Most of the earliest parties were radical and faced tough action from the British government and were even banned. Regardless of their achievements or longevity, every party that ever existed and was active in the state will be discussed in this chapter.

Topics such as leadership, membership, ideology, influence on the people of Terengganu and the problems faced by each party are issues that will be looked at. Knowing each party is essential in order to comprehend the political conflict that occurred, which was basically caused by their different ideologies. Political

ideology was the main line that differentiated the political parties. Support from people for each party was based on its aims and goals which were in line with the ideology. Therefore in order to understand the aspirations of the people of Terengganu in politics and their hopes for their future, discussion of the ideologies of the parties in Terengganu is essential. The discussion will begin with UMNO, the largest Malay political party, followed by PAS, Party Negara and the Socialist Front.²

The problem of communalism in the most influential parties will not be discussed in depth since it has already been covered in many other books on Malaysian politics.³ Of note, focus in this chapter is on the Malay political parties since the Malays are the majority in Terengganu and the main theme of this research has close connections with the religion of the Malays, Islam. Even though there were non-Malay political parties in the state that played an important role, they were only concerned with their own people, such as the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), which directed its interest to the Chinese community. In political events, however, with very small numbers and congregated in certain areas, non-Malay votes had insufficient influence on the formation of the state government.

² PKMM and Hizbul Muslimin had existed in Terengganu, however because they were very short lived, the support for both parties in the state cannot be examined and therefore the ideologies of these parties will not be discussed here.
Pre-war Period

Instead of Malay nationalism, there was a group of people with an Islamic educational background, either obtained from the Middle East or from the Malay Archipelago, who created some kind of socio-economic and political awareness among the Malay community in the peninsula in the early twentieth century as mentioned in the Introduction. These religious scholars were mostly from Singapore (for example, Syeikh Tahir Jalaluddin, Haji Abas Taha, Syed Syeikh Al-Hadi and Abdul Salim al-Kalali). Although the influence of this new group within the Malay community could not be measured, their propagation of the new understanding of Islam was discussed in public, particularly in newspapers published by this group. They talked about Islam as a way of life that played an important part in daily activities including politics. They called for Islamic purification and rationalism\(^4\) to ensure that Malay Muslims could veer away from their current weaknesses.

These religious scholars main concern was the backwardness of Muslim/Malay society in the social and economic field compared to the non-Malays who had started to settle in large numbers in Malaya since the 1800s. In order to deliver their voice, the group known as Kaum Muda\(^5\) published newspapers and magazines: *Al-Imam, Al-Ikhwan, Neraca* and *Saudara*. The Kaum Muda called on the Malay

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\(^5\) The term Kaum Muda was given by the readers who read their writings in the newspapers and magazines. The term Kaum Tua refers to the existing religious and Malay leaders who bitterly opposed the Kaum Muda. The phrase Islamic reformist is also used in referring to Kaum Muda in this chapter. For more detail on the emergence and struggle of this group, see W.R. Roff, *The Origins of the Malay Nationalism*, 1994.
community to wake up from their long sleep and work hard to secure a better life. Kaum Muda believed that the Malays should unite to overcome those problems. Their ideas were based on Islamic teaching and urged the Malay/Muslims to refer back to Islamic principles. They blamed the religious leaders and gurus for leaving the Malay community in a weak condition and lacking initiative to develop their lives especially in economics and education. This attitude, the Islamic reformists believed, was the result of the way religious teaching was given by those religious gurus, having no innovation, instead just following the old religious books. This attitude was popularly known as taklik buta (following blindly). They blamed the Malay leaders for not making any efforts to develop a better life for their people, instead busying themselves developing their own wealth. Because of these accusations, the Islamic reformists faced opposition from the religious gurus and Malay leaders. Nevertheless, the group was successful in influencing the religiously educated from many states, including those residing in Terengganu.

In Terengganu Tuan Guru Haji Abas from Besut district was among the religious scholars who were attracted to the reformist ideas. He studied in Mecca for several years, was attracted to the Wahabbi movement and travelled to India to further his Islamic studies. During his stays in India he was also attracted to the anti-colonial

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6 In their magazines especially al-Imam, the Kaum Muda wrote an articles urging the Malays to follow the true Islamic teaching. Anthony Milner in, The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya: Contesting Nationalism and the Expansion of the Public Sphere, Melbourne, 1994, discussed the Kaum Muda ideas exposed in al-Imam. See his book, chapters 6 & 7. Virginia Matheson Hooker discussed Syed Shaikh al-Hady. See her book, A Short History of Malaysia, Linking East and West, pp. 167-169.

7 The Wahabbi movement was inspired by Abdullah bin Abdul Wahab from Saudi Arabia against western domination in the Muslim world.
movement created by the Islamic League. Tuan Guru owned a religious school in Besut, and influenced his students with reformist ideas, urging the Malay community in Terengganu to rise from their backwardness. As in other parts of the Malay Peninsula, the Islamic reformist movement in Terengganu faced resistance from the Malay and religious leaders. On one occasion the newspapers and magazines published by the Islamic reformists were prohibited in Terengganu under order of the state administration. However, this action failed to stop the spread of reformist ideas. In fact, Mohd Sarim states that the Islamic reformists inspired the later political movement and there was cooperation between the reformists and interested political persons especially the radical ones. Members of API (Aware Youth Corps) and AWAS (Aware Women Corps), two wings of the Malay Nationalist Party, used the religious school yard for their training activities. Moreover, the first political Islamic party; Hizbul Muslimin was formed at the religious school owned by a well-known religious reformist, Ustaz Abu Bakar al-Baqir, who also led the party.

Another development was the establishment of the Indonesian association, Sarekat Islam, in Terengganu. Though the association was not a genuine political party, it was the first association formed in Terengganu. Sarekat Islam was formed in Solo Java in November 1912 from its origin, Sarekat Dagang Islam, a trade association.

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The association then formed in almost every part of Java and Sumatra. From 1916, Sarekat Islam started to get involved in politics and religious matters and got serious attention from the Dutch government. Its members who had to flee Indonesia subsequent to Dutch pressure on the association brought the association to the Malay States. Sarekat Islam was brought to Terengganu from Johore. The definite date of the emergence of the association in Terengganu is not known but is believed to be in the early 1920s. According to Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, Sayyid Muhammad from Johore tried to establish the association in the state, but was not allowed by Datuk Seri Amar Di Raja, Haji Mohammed bin Yusof, the Mentri Besar. This disagreement was based on the struggle of Sarekat Islam in Indonesia which was against the Dutch government. Mentri Besar is reported to have said that he feared that they would fight the British too. However Sayyid Abdul Rahman from Siak managed to establish the association with assistance from Sayyid Muhammad who actively recruited the members. Imams and religious teachers in Pulau Duyung in Kuala Terengganu, Kuala Besut, and Kemaman were influenced by this association and became members.

The formation of the association and recruiting of members were done secretly. This led to the accusation that it was some kind of secret society. The Terengganu

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13 Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, “Sarekat Islam di Terengganu,” p. 21. Shaharil Talib Robert, in his work, After its Own Image, states that Sayyid Abdul Rahman was from Balok while Safie Ibrahim in “The Islamic Elements in Malay Politics in Pre-Independent Malaya, 1937-1948,” p. 185 states that he was from Jambi and migrated from Indonesia in 1918.
government published a warning that people who joined such associations had done wrong and action would be taken against them.\textsuperscript{14} Some of the Sarekat Islam members, especially those who held positions in government offices, were arrested; however they were released after the government was satisfied that the association was harmless.\textsuperscript{15} As mentioned in the introduction, it has been claimed that Sarekat Islam never existed in Terengganu but there is no doubt that Sarekat Islam had many members, approximately 800 people, there. Furthermore Sarekat Islam is reported to have been involved in the peasant uprising against the British government in Terengganu in 1928.\textsuperscript{16} At the very least Sarekat Islam was involved in persuading the peasants to gather in Kuala Brang and Kuala Telemong, the place where the outbreak took place. During their investigation after the outbreak, police found three letters that linked the association to the outbreak. All of the letters stated that

\begin{quote}
Be it known by all who belong to the Association [i.e. Sarekat Islam] in the matter of which information was given previously, let all the districts and outlying places and all the families which dwell there come at once to receive what ever orders may be given. - Very important.
\end{quote}

The letters also have the name of Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong, the person who was said to be responsible for creating peasant dissatisfaction with the enforcement of new tax laws by the British which led to the outbreak. Religious leaders were obviously successful in creating a first semi political movement among the Terengganu people, regardless of their awareness of the political struggle. The fate

\textsuperscript{14} SUK Trg 1033/1342, Berkenaan Sarekat Islam.
\textsuperscript{16} Further discussion on the uprising can be found in Timah Hamzah, \textit{Pemberontakan Tani di Terengganu 1928}, Kuala Lumpur, DBP, 1978.
of Sarekat Islam after the outbreak however, is not known. Perhaps the British government took tough action against the association and its members.

Malay political awareness moved to the next stage when Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM - Young Malay Union), the first fully Malay political party, was formed in 1938. Formed by Ibrahim Haji Yaakob, a radical with Malay education, KMM was obsessed by the Indonesian political movement. Its main objective was struggling for Malaya to achieve independence within greater Indonesia. The idea of greater Indonesia was based on the argument that the inhabitants of the Malay and Indonesian archipelago were one people who shared a common language and religion and that therefore they should occupy a single state. Hence, KMM struggled for Malaya to be part of Indonesia. Ibrahim Haji Yaakob claimed that Indonesian leaders also wanted Malaya to be part of an independent Indonesia. However, before going that far, Ibrahim Haji Yaakob as a founder of KMM wanted unity of the Malays, which for him was lacking. The existence of association in the various Malay states led by the Malay elites he described as an additional factor in the division of the Malays.

Being the first radical Malay political party, and having the slogan of “independence with blood” (Merdeka dengan darah), the KMM absolutely rejected

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18 This argument was first expressed by the Malay and Indonesian students who studied in Cairo in the 1920s. See Angus McIntyre, “The ‘Greater Indonesia’ Idea of Nationalism in Malaya and Indonesia,” *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 7, no 1, 1973, p. 76.
20 Ibrahim Yaakob traveled to the entire Malay states as a journalist and found out that the Malays as a whole was divided into groups and did not have sense of united. His experiences about his journey can be found on his book titled *Melihat Tanah Air*.
cooperation with the British government. The objectives and struggle of the KMM were far ahead of the mainstream of Malay community aspirations in politics.\textsuperscript{22} Furthermore, ordinary people, unlike the other Malay associations, led KMM.\textsuperscript{23} Therefore, very few of the Malays joined the party or even realised that it existed. Most of them who did join were educated persons. In Terengganu there were some religious scholars who were interested in the party, however they disagreed with the party’s stance on religious matters.\textsuperscript{24} Even though it had little support from the Terengganu people, the first branch of KMM was established in Kuala Terengganu in 1940. Among the young Malay people who joined the party were Wan Daud Ahmad, Ibrahim Mohammed (Fikri), Muda Jalil, Muda Kassim and Ibrahim Sulaiman. Within the state, the young educated people from Besut district were most attracted to the party.\textsuperscript{25} Besut district later became a stronghold of the genuine Malay nationalists after the war when Party Rakyat led by Ahmad Boestamam was established.

Even though KMM had members in Terengganu, the movement was not very active. In fact, some of its members were unaware of the party’s struggle and aims,

\textsuperscript{22} Further discussion on the party can be found in Cheah Boon Kheng, \textit{Red Star over Malaya}, pp. 11-13, 101-108. The ideas of Ibrahim Yaakob can be viewed in Anthony Milner, \textit{The Invention of Politics….}, pp. 257-277.

\textsuperscript{23} There were several Malay associations (Singapore Malay Association – 1926, Selangor Malay Association – 1936) before KMM but their struggles were not in politics. Further explanation on these associations is on pages 11 – 12.

\textsuperscript{24} KMM believed in the principle of freedom in religious affairs. See Abdul Aziz bin Satar Khan, “Terengganu 1940-1945; Satu Kajian Mengenai Kemunculan Golongan Kiri Melayu,” in Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali (ed), \textit{Terengganu, Dahulu dan Sekarang}, Kuala Lumpur, Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, 1984, p. 122 for the debate about this matter in Kuala Terengganu during Ibrahim Hj. Yaakob’s visit to the state.

\textsuperscript{25} Abdul Aziz bin Satar Khan, “Terengganu 1940-1945…,” p. 123.
because they joined the party only on the suggestion of their friends.\(^{26}\) Hence, the existence of the KMM in Terengganu was not very significant for the political movement in the state. As mentioned above, KMM was not acceptable to the religious people, or to the Malay officers because of its radicalism. Since these people had great influence among the inhabitants, this was unfortunate for KMM. Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Terengganu people were not very interested in political affairs. Conversely, they were more sensitive to issues raised by the religious leaders. For example, when Tuan Guru Haji. Abas called on the Muslim community in Besut to boycott Chinese and Japanese shops in his anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese campaign in the 1930s, people responded profoundly. As an outcome, some of the Chinese shop owners in Kuala Besut, Jerteh and Kampong Raja went bankrupt and some were close to the same fate.\(^{27}\)

During the Japanese occupation, the party “members emerged as the new privileged political elite, whose prestige superseded that of the Malay aristocracy and the British-trained bureaucratic elite.”\(^{28}\) The Japanese government supported the party because of important information they provided before and during the war. The Japanese government also used the party to gain Malay support. Some KMM members held important positions in the Japanese government, such as Ibrahim Mohammad Fikri, who held a position in the Information Office in Kuala

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\(^{26}\) Abdul Aziz bin Satar Khan, “Terengganu 1940-1945....,” p. 124.  
\(^{27}\) Tuan Guru was arrested by the British government and jailed due to a letter written by the affected shop owners. Hj. Abas was said to be a very active KMM member. See Muhammad Abu Bakar, “Ulama Pondok dan Politik Kepartian,” p. 224. The support given to his campaign was probably because of his influence as a religious leader and not because he was a KMM member.  
\(^{28}\) Cheah Boon Kheng, Red Star..., p. 104.
Terengganu, although he quit in 1943. With its special position and strong
influence in Japanese offices, KMM became an influential party and claimed that it
had approximately 10,000 members all over the peninsula in 1942. KMM leaders
tried to minimize Japanese torture of the Malay community and impede them from
sending Malays as labour to the Siam and Burmese borders to work on the railway
project. KMM became a new patron to the Malay community for aid and protection.
However the party’s activity came to an end when it was banned in August 1942
after suspected betrayal of the Japanese when one of its leaders demanded Malayan
independence. KMM gave full support to the Japanese government to defeat the
British, but independence for Malaya was still its ultimate goal, and the Japanese
government was not ready for that.

KMM members were not arrested due to the banning of the party. The Japanese
persuaded them to join a new force formed purposely for them, called Askar
Pembela Tanah Air (PETA- Homeland Security Force). However, most KMM
former members in Terengganu, except Ibrahim Fikri, refused to join the force.
They refused to join the new force probably because of the limitations put on their
original struggle to gain independence. Political interest and activities in
Terengganu then remained minimal. This was proven when some former KMM
members, in the light of the Japanese surrender, tried to persuade their colleagues to
fight the returning British troops; the response from Terengganu was very poor.
Ishak Haji Mohammed found out that in Terengganu “young people there have no

29 SUK Trg, 73/2486, Pejabat Maklumat: Ibrahim Fikri memohon berhenti daripada jawatannya.
30 Ramlah Adam. Ahmad Boestamam ……, p. 47.
more spirit…Ibrahim Fikri and …Wan Daud Ahmad have become rice retailers, Salleh or Misbaha is more brave than the other, however because of his high position and the fact that he is well known, I can’t let him join the underground force to fight back the British following the Japanese surrender.”31 There was also no record of the people of Terengganu joining Angkatan Pemuda Melayu, an association created by Ahmad Boestamam after the ban on KMM.32

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the trend of having Malay associations in each state or district became common throughout peninsula. This trend was influenced by the Kaum Muda’s call to the Malay Muslims to unify, to overcome their backwardness and compete with non-Malays in socio-economic development.33 The first Malay association was the Singapore Malay Union or Kesatuan Melayu Singapura, established in 1926. The Selangor Malay Association was formed ten years later, followed by the Pahang Malay Association in 1938, the Perak Malay Association a year later, and so on. Almost every state had a similar kind of association and most of these were formed by the Malay aristocratic elites. In Terengganu, Persatuan Melayu Kemaman (Kemaman Malay Association) was formed in 1938, however, this association was not active due to the lack of a charismatic leader.34 Persatuan Melayu Terengganu was formed in 1945 in Kuala

32 Ramlah Adam. Ahmad Boestamam ……, p. 50.
33 Further discussion on Malay backwardness and the emergence of Kaum Muda can be found in W.R. Roff, Malay Nationalism.
Terengganu, nevertheless, there is no further information about the association, except its participation along with the Malay leaders in opposing the Malayan Union scheme in 1946. The significance of these so-called welfare associations in Terengganu political history is little compared to the Sarekat Islam, or even KMM. Malay aristocratic and bureaucratic elite domination of the associations probably accounts for the lack of interest of people in the community. Insufficient knowledge about the associations was another reason, as well as their limited activities. This situation was in contrast to the other Malay associations which gained more support and were more active.

Undoubtedly, political and socio-economic awareness among the Terengganu people was limited. Therefore, signs of the emergence and rise of Malay nationalism in the state were also scarce. Only a few people were really interested and got involved in the political struggle and joined political parties. Besut district became the main centre of political and social activity in the state before the war. Insufficient numbers of Malay and English educated young people in Terengganu, compared to the religious educated, as discussed in chapter one, was probably the reason for the slow development of Malay nationalism. However, the Terengganu people were not totally left out of the political, economic and social mainstream of the peninsula. Even though they were limited in numbers, there were signs of

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36 Most works that discussed on the emergence of Malay nationalism in the pre-war period agree that its development was slow because of several factors. W.R. Roff stressed on Malay loyalty to the Malay aristocratic elite, while Cheah Boon Kheng looked at the concepts of daulat and derhaka promoted by the royal institution as the main factor. See W.R. Roff, The origins of ..., and Cheah Boon Kheng, “The Erosion of Ideological Hegemony and Royal Power and The Rise of Postwar Malay Nationalism, 1945-1946,” JSEAS, vol. 19, no 1 March 1988 for more discussion on the issue.
response from some people towards the changing world, including the religiously educated ones.

Post-War Period

Immediately after the end of the war, Malay radical leaders formed a new party named PKMM or Malay Nationalist Party (MNP) in Perak. The Malay or Indonesian communist Moktaruddin Lasso initiated the establishment of the party. Most of the leading individuals in this party were former members of a leftist party, such as Ahmad Boestamam, formerly of KMM, Burhanuddin al-Helmy, formerly of KMM and Kesatuan Rakyat Indonesia Semenanjung (KRIS which was formed during the Japanese period) and Arshad Ashaari, former editor of the leftist newspaper; Suara Rakyat (The People’s Voice). The KMM political spirits and elements therefore shadowed this new aggressive party. Besides API and AWAS, MNP had special bodies to fight in their own special field; Barisan Tani Se Malaya or BATAS (Malayan Peasants Front) and Barisan Buruh (Labour Front). The Malays gave a good response to this newly formed party and it claimed in December 1947 that it had approximately 53,380 members, including 8,770 youth and 1,490 women all over the peninsula. PKMM struggled for full independence of Malaya with the slogan of Independence (Merdeka). MNP demanded basic

37 Both terms MNP and PKMM will be used in this chapter.
38 Cheah Boon Kheng, Red Star….., p. 278
freedoms of speech and press, the raising of the people’s livelihood, increased wages, ‘and reforms in education, friendly relations among the races, equal rights for all races, emphasis on the development of agriculture and the abolition of land taxes, and support of the Indonesian nationalist movement’. Above all, MNP dreamt of Malaya being part of greater Indonesia. All of these demands were definitely in the people’s interests and needs, but not for those of the British government that had to struggle to restore its lost pride and make good its financial losses after being defeated by the Japanese.

The Besut people once again showed that they paid more attention to and had greater interest in politics when they took an immediate initiative to form a branch of the MNP two months later. The more active political movement of Kelantan perhaps influenced them, as Besut was just next door to that state. There were approximately 5,200 ordinary members, 300 youth and 60 women, with two district branches, in Kuala Terengganu and Besut. The party described its progress in the state as good and it had no difficulties or strong opponents. In Besut itself, PKMM managed to establish three sections: Kampong Raja, Kuala Besut and Jerteh. Wan Ahmad, Salleh bin Mohammed, Haji Taib bin Abdullah, Ibrahim Ismail, A. Rahman bin Mohammad, Md. Daud Abdul Samad, Yusof bin Embong, Mohd. Senari bin Yunus and Wan Hassan bin Muda were the main leaders of the party. BATAS in Kuala Besut was led by Md. Noor bin Haji Harun and Sheikh Ali bin

40 Cheah Boon Kheng, Red Star…, p. 279. See also UMNO/SG 96/1946, Rang Undang-Undang 1946 PKMM.
Haji Ahmad. Even though the party seemed well organised, there are few sources which outline its activities. However, it seems it was politically active because of the tough actions taken by the British against it during the Emergency, when some of its leaders were arrested and detained.

When the British government proposed a new political scheme for Malaya (Malayan Union Constitution), MNP at first had no strong objection, hoping that Malaya would be given full independence through a union of all the states. However, when the British government gave no exact date or year for independent Malaya and instead imposed direct rule on the hitherto protectorate states, MNP took a strong stand against the scheme. Along with other Malay associations, MNP showed its resistance by attending the Pan-Malayan Malay Congress held in Kuala Lumpur in March 1946 which resulted in the establishment of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). Following the failure of the Malayan Union scheme, the British government proposed a new constitution, the Federation of Malaya, which satisfied UMNO and the Malay Rulers, but MNP once again expressed strong objections on similar grounds. Nevertheless, MNP opposition meant nothing to the British and the Federation of Malaya was launched in February 1948.

Because of the MNP’s stance against the British government and its close ties with the MCP, the party was banned after the Emergency was declared and its leaders were arrested and detained for several years. In Terengganu a few MNP members,
mainly in Besut, were arrested and all of the party’s documents were seized. Ibrahim Ismail was the most unfortunate member since he was detained for five years compared to the other members who were only detained for a few months or even released after being arrested.\textsuperscript{42} The banning of MNP and the arrest of its members had a great effect on the radical political movement not merely in Terengganu, but in the whole of Malaya. It came to a halt and did not rise again until 1955.

There was a new element existing in the Malay political movement in the post-war period. It was Islamic political awareness, leading to the formation of an Islamic political party: Hizbul Muslimin (Party for Muslims). The party grew out of three bodies that were attached to MNP. These were Majlis Agama Tertinggi Sa-Malaya (MATA - Pan Malayan Supreme Islamic Council), Pusat Perekonomian Melayu seMalaya (PEPERMAS - Pan Malayan Malay Economic Centre) and Lembaga Pendidikan Rakyat (LEPIR - Council for the People’s Education). The three bodies were established in March 1947 during the Pan-Malayan Economics-Religious Conference held at Madrasah Ihya el-Syariff,\textsuperscript{43} Gunong Semanggol Perak, one of the most popular religious schools in the peninsula. This conference was initiated by Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy, the president of MNP, with the cooperation of the owner of the school, Ustaz Abu Bakar al-Baqir. Each body had its own agenda. MATA was established to focus on religious matters, PEPERMAS to aid the

\textsuperscript{43} For further discussion on this education institution and its role in the formation of Hizbul Muslimin, see Nabir Hj. Abdullah, \textit{Maahad Il-Ihya Assyarif Gunong Semanggol, 1934-1959}, Bangi, Jabatan Sejarah, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1976.
Malays in their economic endeavours and LEPIR in the field of education. These three bodies were very active and held several conferences and meetings to discuss their progress. At their fourth conference, held in March 1948, the formation of an Islamic political party was discussed and agreed to. Ustaz Abu Bakar was elected as President of the newly formed party. This party was born to preserve Islam, since UMNO could not hold that responsibility because of the secular element it possessed.

MATA, PEPERMAS and LEPIR became sections of the party and retained their functions. Hizbul Muslimin managed to attract religious leaders and scholars to take part in the party. It was reported that within months, approximately 2,500 people had joined Hizbul Muslimin and branches were established in most states. The character and achievement of Hizbul Muslimin left UMNO in an uncomfortable situation. Dato Onn warned about the danger to UMNO members coming from the mountain (Gunong) which was believed to be a reference to Gunong Semanggol, the place where Hizbul Muslimin came into being and the centre of its activities. Probably UMNO realised that it now had another strong opponent in politics besides MNP. Political strategy was the main point that made MNP involved directly in the establishing and then created cooperation with this new party. Ramlah Adam cited that MNP wanted to widen its influence amongst the Malays

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who were more interested in Islam, through this party. Elements of Indonesian politics also existed in this party when Masjumi, an Islamic political party in Indonesia, was taken as a model for Hizbul Muslimin.

Hizbul Muslimin was brought to Terengganu in the same year when the president of the party visited Jerteh to persuade the ulama in the area to form the party. Tuan Guru Haji Wan Abdul Latif bin A. Kadir, a former MNP member, who was also present during the formation of Hizbul Muslimin at Gunong Semanggol, managed to establish a party branch and was elected as the head of the branch with Haji Shafie as secretary. However, before the party managed to register, it was banned subsequent to the declaration of the Emergency. The banning of Hizbul Muslimin was believed to be because of the involvement of Dr. Burhanuddin in the party, and also because of the party’s close ties with MNP and API. Following the ban its top leaders were arrested, including Ustaz Abu Bakar al-Baqir. Thus, it is difficult to examine the party’s influence among the Terengganu people, though it can be said that there were people interested in joining and supporting the party. The party disappeared but was replaced three years later by another Islamic political party led by Terengganu born ulama.

As mentioned above, UMNO, a conservative Malay party, was born when the Malays of the entire peninsula amalgamated and took a stand to oppose the

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48 Nabir Hj. Abdullah, p. 159.
Malayan Union Constitution. UMNO was officially established at the second Pan-Malayan Malay Congress in Johor Bahru in May 1946. UMNO at that time was an associate body and all the state and district Malay associations became its affiliates. The slogan of UMNO was *Hidup Melayu* or Long Live the Malays, and it aimed “to upgrade and preserve our nation’s self-respect and morale, [to strive for] hopes for our homeland and nation to be safe and strong…. [and to] oppose the disreputable people who would bring devastation to our nation and cause it to vanish.”\(^{50}\) UMNO was dominated by Malay aristocratic and bureaucratic leaders and worked in line with the British government. In other words, unlike MNP, though UMNO through Dato’ Onn was bitterly against the new British proposals for Malaya, UMNO was not completely against the British and made no demands for an independent Malaya. To persuade the Malays to establish UMNO branches in all of Malaya, Dato Onn bin Jaafar travelled all over the peninsula in 1947. As a result UMNO had wider influence and branches in Terengganu were established.

Of note, before UMNO reached Terengganu, there were several Malay associations in the state: Kemaman Malay Association (an existing association, reactivated by new leaders after the war), Dungun (formed in 1946), Besut\(^{51}\) and Kuala Terengganu (Terengganu Malay Association). As mentioned before, all of the social and economic associations were established for the Malays’ welfare and protection, except for the Besut Malay Association, which was said to have been

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\(^{50}\) UMNO only became a political party in 1948.  
\(^{51}\) The exact establishment date is not known, but it is said to have been formed after the Second World War. See Muhammad Abdullah, “Sejarah UMNO Besut,” in *UMNO 50 Tahun*, p. 124.
formed to fight for freedom from British colonization.\textsuperscript{52} This statement is questionable because the association was abolished immediately after the establishment of the UMNO branch in that district and its members joined UMNO. UMNO’s ultimate goal, as mentioned before, in its early years, was obviously not struggling for independence but for Malay welfare and rights. In fact UMNO was more inclined to collaborate with the British authorities in order to fulfil its aims. When the radical political parties shouted for independence, UMNO leaders took a stand that Malaya was not yet prepared for self government due to the Malays’ backwardness in the political and socio-economic fields.\textsuperscript{53} Moreover, the Besut association was supported by Malay officials, a Besut Commissioner (Tengku Lela Segara) and a Besut District Officer, and with their high positions as British administrators, it is doubtful that they would have been involved in or even have sympathy for an association that was against the British. Furthermore, when Tengku Lela Segara led UMNO Besut, he had to step down as branch head in 1951 after he was advised not to take part actively in politics.\textsuperscript{54}

Most of the UMNO branch leaders in Terengganu were Malay bureaucrats with English educational backgrounds. Among them were Dato Bijaya Di Raja (Abdul Rahman Hj. Awang), Dato Nara di Raja (Ismail bin Abdullah), Tengku Lela Segara, Dato Bentara Luar, Abu Bakar bin Mohd Amin, Ismail bin Yusuff, Wan

\textsuperscript{52}Muhammad Abdullah, “Sejarah UMNO Besut.”
\textsuperscript{53} Ramlah Adam, \textit{UMNO, Organisasi} …, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{54} Muhammad Abdullah, “Sejarah UMNO Besut.” Another writer said that the stepping down of Tengku Lela Segara from UMNO was subsequent to Dato’ Onn’s resignation from UMNO and he was reported to have actively taken part in the formation of Party Negara led by Dato’ Onn in Kampong Raja Besut. See Mohd Nor bin Awang, “Sejarah UMNO Besut 1947 hingga 1976,” \textit{PESAKA} V, 1989, p. 112.
Ismail bin Wan Musa, Sulong bin Ngah, Wan Abdullah bin Sulaiman, Mohd Ali bin Abu Bakar and Mustafa bin Abdul Majeed. Support from the Terengganu Malays for the party was reportedly moderate and most of the people who joined it were government servants. Consequently in Terengganu, there were two Malay political parties which attempted to win the people’s hearts: MNP and UMNO. Because the MNP branch in Terengganu was limited to certain areas, while branches of UMNO were scattered all over the state, the influence of UMNO among the people was absolutely above that of MNP. By counting the number of branches, and the fact that former Malay association members joined UMNO, it might be assumed that the number of UMNO members was larger than MNP. However, this assumption may not be true because, in the report made by UMNO in 1947, of the 115,865 registered members in the peninsula, only 25,583 were fully paid up members. UMNO however enjoyed popular support. Besides the radicalism of MNP, leadership was the main factor that attracted people to UMNO. This is because of the Malay character which made them more comfortable with being led by Malay aristocrats, especially in political matters, with the assumption that politics belonged to this chosen group of people. This popular support gave a big victory to UMNO in the first state election in 1955 in Terengganu.

When MNP and Hizbul Muslimin vanished from the Malayan political arena, UMNO had no more challenges, and in Terengganu the party’s movement was de-

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55 There were about 7,540 Terengganu Malay Association members in 1946.
57 However this situation might not be true in Kelantan and also in Terengganu if we look further on the political development in the states especially after the formation of PAS which was composed by ordinary people.
motivated. Essentially, from 1948 to 1952, UMNO had several internal challenges that not merely affected the party’s credibility, but also stimulated partition in the Malay political world. As a result, new parties were formed: the Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PAS) and the Independent Malayan Party (IMP), followed by the Party Negara.\(^58\) In fact, Malay suspicion of UMNO’s struggle to dismantle the Malayan Union Constitution arose when the British government took time to replace it with the agreed new constitution.\(^59\) Changes in UMNO policies on certain issues drove away some of its affiliated associations. For example, when the high committee made a decision to change UMNO from an associate body to a political party in 1948, and urged the affiliated bodies to dissolve and for their members to become UMNO members, they faced strong opposition from the affiliated associations on the basis that the affiliated body had a different policy and struggle, and wanted to enjoy its freedom from UMNO policy and domination. Kelantan Malay Alliance and Johore Malay Union withdrew their membership as UMNO affiliated members when UMNO finally became a political party in 1948.

In 1950 the President of the party decided to open party membership to non-Malays, however, the decision was rejected strongly by most of the party’s leaders and members. As a result, Dato Onn withdrew from UMNO, followed by his devotees, and then established another party in 1951 that matched his aspirations,  

\(^{58}\) These parties were formed by UMNO former members including Dato’ Onn bin Jaafar.  
Independence of Malaya Party (IMP). In the same year, dissatisfaction had grown among the religious leaders from the party’s Religious Affairs Advisory Committee with the party’s policy on Islamic matters. They accused UMNO top leaders of not doing enough in Islamic affairs. They demanded a special organization to deal with Islamic administration and affairs. This group also disagreed with the party’s decision to produce an UMNO lottery in 1950 in order to raise party funds. Hence, this group of members decided to establish a separate party with Islamic doctrine as the new party’s principle. PAS eventually was born from this decision. UMNO made ties with MCA in 1952, which led to the Alliance of UMNO-MCA to deal with the coming first federal and state elections, but this led to dissatisfaction among UMNO members. Unsatisfied members accused UMNO leaders of departing from the party’s true spirit and struggle for the Malays and they did not trust the motives of the MCA in the Alliance.60

These confusions and dissatisfactions had a great effect on the party’s branch movement in Terengganu. Many of the branches were immobilized due to members’ lack of interest in running the party branches appropriately. The importance of UMNO for them no longer existed. These circumstances continued until actions were taken to remedy them by the committee from Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur in 1953. Tours made by the Supreme Secretary Office from 28 October to 2 November 1953, for example, revealed that sections in Kemaman, Dungun, Kuala Terengganu and Ulu Terengganu were simultaneously in poor

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60 Among the unsatisfied members was Syed Alwi bin Sheikh Al-Hady, UMNO Information Officer, who stepped down from his post. Then he wrote an article about UMNO in 1969. See his personal collection, SP/60/E/7a, “Ringkasan Penubuhan dari mula Dzahirnya hingga ka-Akhir Tahun 1950.”
condition. With poor finances due to uncollected fees since 1950, all of the sections and branches were “in deep sleep and if something is not done they will never wake up again.”\textsuperscript{61} The committee concluded that there were two major causes of the branches’ immobilization:

1. Insufficient suitable people to run the party,
2. Insufficient compliance within the working committee who administered the party.

Suggestions were made to reactivate the sections and branches by finding hard working young men and letting the older members encourage them.\textsuperscript{62} The suggestions were followed, including the replacement of the working committee in every section and branch; nevertheless, the outcome was not as expected. In fact, there were branches being closed down in 1954.\textsuperscript{63} The working committee, which had investigated the closure of these branches, found that the responsible people in the areas lacked knowledge of how to run a political party, in fact, most of the people there were unable to read and write. Poor educational development in Terengganu as a whole, as discussed in chapter one resulted in this uninspiring condition.

Despite facing internal problems, UMNO, with no other challenge from any other Malay party, was basically in a strong position. However it was not long before

\textsuperscript{62} UMNO/PUB- 10/53, Lawatan Pegawai Penerangan UMNO Malaya ke dalam Bahagian-Bahagian UMNO negeri Terengganu, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{63} The said branches were in Chendering and Telok Pasu in Kuala Terengganu. UMNO/SG Tr 124/54, Penyata Jawatankuasa kerja bahagian Kuala Terengganu.
PAS came into being. As mentioned before, UMNO leaders who were dissatisfied with the party’s policies on Islamic affairs founded PAS. UMNO, in its efforts to gain support from the religious groups, took an initiative to hold special conferences for Malay Muslim scholars in Malaya. The first such conference was held in Muar district in Johore in February 1950. Representatives attended this conference from the various state religious councils and other Islamic organizations. The conference concentrated on religious matters and pursued UMNO’s policy of spreading and uplifting the status of Islam.\(^6^4\) One of the main issues was to centralise the Islamic administration and urge the Malay rulers to give up their authority on Islamic affairs and administration\(^6^5\) to a special body run by Islamic scholars. In the following year, the same conference was held in Kuala Lumpur with several issues highlighted and discussed. One of the issues raised by the UMNO religious working committee was to form an association for Muslim scholars within UMNO, called the Pan-Malayan Association of Islamic Scholars\(^6^6\) (Persatuan Ulama Se Malaya). The association however, became a new political party with its own constitution, which meant that it was no longer under UMNO control.

The party that later became PAS was named Persatuan Islam Se Malaya or Pan-Islamic Malayan Party (PMIP) and came into being in November the same year,


\(^6^5\) Islamic affairs and administration were under the authority of each Malay ruler since the British intervention in the Malay states. PAS demand was not in favour with the Malay rulers and it reflects the PAS influence among them. In fact PAS was formed in Penang, which had no sultan.

\(^6^6\) In his work, Funston said that the association was formed during the first conference held in 1950, however, according to a letter from the UMNO Secretary’s Office dated 9 July 1951 to the Terengganu Religious Department, it is stated that one of the issues that would be raised at the second conference is to form a *Persatuan Ulama Se Malaya* (Pan-Malayan Association of Islamic Scholars).
during the third conference of Muslim scholars held in Penang.\textsuperscript{67} The actual reason for the breakaway of Pan-Malayan Association of Islamic Scholars from UMNO is not known, but was due to several considerations. If the Muslim scholars association were retained within UMNO, whose laws were not based on the \textit{Quran} and \textit{Sunnah}, the association would have a very limited function and be unable to act as a pressure group on religious matters. In fact, the association would be bound to UMNO policies. On top of that, UMNO leaders had made a decision to launch a lottery, which was forbidden in Islam. Also, the formation of the party probably was to ensure that the religious scholars had a suitable platform for the political struggle, which conformed to Islamic doctrine, and to ensure the unity of the Islamic administration in Malaya. The birth of PAS seemed to fill a vacuum on Islamic political struggle as no other Islamic political party existed since the banning of Hizbul Muslimin in 1948. Among the UMNO leaders who were responsible for the formation of PAS were Haji Ahmad Fuad (Terengganu born \textit{ulama}), Haji Ahmad Maliki, Haji Abdullah Fahim, Haji Ahmad Badawi (father of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi), Haji Zabidi Ali, and Haji Yahya Joned. Hence PAS came into being due to the need for the centralisation of Islamic administration and the unity of the Islamic community.\textsuperscript{68} On 25 December 1956, Dr Burhanuddin al Helmy, former president of MNP, became a new president of PAS after being offered the position several times.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{67} PAS, Sambutan Jubli Emas peringkat Negeri Terengganu pada 17 & 18 August 2001, p. 32. For discussion in this thesis, the abbreviation PAS will be used.
\textsuperscript{68} Discussion on PAS organization can be found in Safie Ibrahim, The Parti Islam Se Malaysia (PAS); Its Origins, Structure, Ideology and Achievements, M.A. Thesis, University of Hull, 1976
\textsuperscript{69} It was said that Dr Burhanuddin refused to accept the offer but changed his mind after Ustaz Hassan Adli joined the party. Hassan Adli was hardly took efforts to persuade Dr. Burhanuddin to join PAS and he was promised to be given a very top post in the party in he joined the party. There
In its early years, PAS was given support from Malays in the north of Perak, followed by Kelantan. There was no sign of support from Terengganu, even though one of the founders, Ahmad Fuad bin Hassan, who was also a president of the party, was from Ayer Jerneh Kuala Terengganu. Uncertain conditions and suffering during the early years of the Emergency period possibly made the Terengganu people less interested in politics and even unaware of the existence of PAS. However, PAS finally was established in Terengganu in 1956. PAS’s late coming to Terengganu was probably also because the people of Terengganu who were active in politics felt that the existing Malay parties, UMNO, Party Negara and Parti Rakyat Malaya (a coalition party in the Socialist Front) were good enough for them and could fulfil their aspirations in politics. There is no doubt that before PAS was formed, there were religious scholars who actively took part in UMNO and Party Negara. For example, Tuan Guru Haji Abas was involved energetically in Party Negara and Tuan Guru Haji Wan Latif in UMNO. However, no religious scholars were reported to be involved in the Socialist Front (Parti Rakyat Malaya), probably because of its ideology. Of note, before the end of 1954, PAS’s relationship with UMNO was good. When UMNO and their allies, MCA, sponsored a series of national conventions to discuss the coming federal and state elections, they invited

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all of the political parties, including PAS. PAS stayed until the third convention and then withdrew because of disagreement over several issues.\footnote{A letter from Hasan Adli Hj. Arshad, the deputy leader, to John Funston dated 9 September 1970 in SP/28/A/49, Kertas-Kertas PAS daripada Pejabat Agung 1968-1970.}

PAS arrived in Terengganu at a time when dissatisfaction was arising among UMNO members in Terengganu over the decision made by UMNO leaders to further coalesce with another non-Malay political party, the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), in 1955, leading to the establishment of the Alliance Party. Apart from that, PAS leaders probably also saw Terengganu as another promising state to gain support because there were many religious scholars in the state. Previously Besut was the first district to be influenced by the other parties, but not with PAS. Dungun, the southern district of Terengganu, was the first district to accept PAS on 6 July 1956 with Tuan Guru Haji Zainal Abidin Aman as leader.\footnote{PAS: Sambutan Jubli Emas peringkat Negeri Terengganu 17, 18 August 2001, p. 34.} Then, another branch was formed in Chabang Tiga Kuala Terengganu in the same year by Dr. Haji Abas,\footnote{Ismail Ibrahim, Kejatuhan Kerajaan PAS di Terengganu, Kuala Lumpur, Jabatan Sejarah UM, 1980/81, (unpublished B.A. Thesis), p. 16. Ismail claimed that it was the first branch established in Terengganu.} followed by Kemaman in 1957 and Besut in 1958.\footnote{Ismail Ibrahim cited in his thesis that the party branch in Besut was established in late 1956 by Mohammad Asri Haji Muda.} PAS was established in Jerteh in Besut district by Husin bin Jusoh along with Haji Muhammad bin Ismail, Wan Yusof bin Abdullah and Yaacob bin Sheikh A. Rahman. Besut district later became a strong party base in Terengganu.\footnote{PAS performance in the state will not be discussed here, but in chapter 6, while focusing on the political crisis it faced after the 1959 election.} By the end of 1957, membership of the party in Terengganu reached to 2,500 and before
the 1959 election, PAS had six branches. PAS position in Terengganu became stronger when Khatijah Sidek, a well known woman politician and former UMNO member, joined the party in October 1958 and decided to stay in the state.

As mentioned before, Dato’ Onn had established a new party after his withdrawal from UMNO in November 1951 along with several non-Malay leaders such as Tan Cheng Lock. IMP opened its membership to everyone who regarded Malaya as their homeland. Although this newly formed party was welcomed by all communal organizations and as a party which would be soon dominate the Malayan political scene, this communal party lasted only for a few years and there is no evidence that the party ever arrived in Terengganu. IMP’s major challenge came from UMNO when the party created a coalition with MCA. Support for IMP lessened until Dato’ Onn decided to eliminate the party and form another one.

Party Negara was then established in March 1954 with totally different aims and aspirations. Three months later, the first party branch was formed in Besut district by Idris bin Hassan, Salleh bin Ahmad, Haji Abdullah bin Haji Salleh, Wan Jusoh bin Ibrahim and Fauzi bin Hussein. In Dungun, Abu Bakar bin Mohd Salleh took initiatives to establish the party’s branch. Party Negara was considered an unpopular party among the Malay inhabitants of the Peninsula, although the party was joined by well known politicians, especially former UMNO members such as

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76 Ismail Ibrahim, Kejatuhan Kerajaan PAS…., p. 17.
78 For further discussion on this party see G.P. Means, Malaysian Politics.
79 Interview with Abu Bakar bin Mohd Salleh on 15 March 2005.
Dato’ Panglima Bukit Gantang, Dato’ Nik Ahmad Kamil and Dato’ Nara Diraja Terengganu. Anwar Abdullah cited that the establishment of Party Negara, even though it was in line with the Malays’ aspirations, was a little too late. Furthermore, Dato’ Onn was seen as favoured official of the British whereas in that period, struggle for independence from Britain was the main issue brought by each party. On the other hand, Ramlah Adam said that Party Negara’s performance was far better than IMP. The party managed to establish 35 branches all over Malaya six months after its formation and another 25 branches in 1955. Dato’ Onn gave optimum attention in obtaining support from the Malays for his party by touring to every state to introduce Party Negara.

However, Party Negara became weak at the national level consequent upon failure in the 1955 federal election. Terengganu inhabitants conversely gave special attention to the party. Noting this attention, Dato’ Onn made a decision to choose the Kuala Terengganu seat as his platform during the 1959 general election, instead of Johore Bahru, his home town. Furthermore he had been beaten twice in the previous elections in Johore. It was believed that Dato’ Onn’s charisma made the people of Kuala Terengganu support the party. His leadership in opposing the Malayan Union in 1946 was not forgotten by the people of Terengganu. Even

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81 Anwar Abdullah, p. 248. Dato’ Onn was appointed as a chairman of RIDA, a government agency in 1950, given a title Sir and appointed as Minister of Internal Affairs in 1955 by the British. These were proof to the Malays that he was a British man.
83 Dato Onn lost to Dato Suleiman bin Haji Abdul Rahman in 1955 election and lost again to Dato Syed Esa in the 1957 by election. Both candidates were from UMNO.
84 Ramlah Adam, *Dato’ Onn Ja’afar…*, p. 301.
religious scholar Tuan Guru Haji Abas was attracted to the party by its slogan “Malaya for the Malays.” However, it was said that Tuan Guru Haji Abas joined the party because he was influenced by a local party leader rather than being attracted to the policies of the party.\(^{85}\) Dato’ Onn, the centre person of the party, went all out to secure support for Party Negara. However, the support for the party in the state narrowed following his death in January 1962 with his dream unfulfilled.\(^ {86}\) In fact, Party Negara became history after its major losses in the 1964 general election that make all of its leaders join either UMNO or PAS or retire.

The Socialist Front was another political party that existed in Terengganu. The Socialist Front was a coalition of opposition parties established to challenge the Alliance. The coalition between Parti Rakyat Malaya (PRM) and the Labour Party was launched on Independence Day, 31 August 1957, with Ahmad Boestamam from PRM as president and D.S. Ramanathan from the Labour Party as vice-president. The Labour Party was formed in 1954 and opened its membership to all races, while PRM was established in December 1955.\(^{87}\) PRM welcomed everyone to become a member, however most of the people interested in becoming members were Malays. It is believed that the Terengganu branch of PRM was established immediately after the formation of the party to challenge the Alliance and Party

\(^{85}\) Muhammad Abu Bakar, *Ulama Terengganu…*, p. 225.

\(^{86}\) Dato Onn dreamt of a fully independent Malaya with Melayu as its name, Singapore being given back to Johore, the original owner, based on the early history of the state, Melaka to Negeri Sembilan and Penang along with Seberang Prai to the original owner, Kedah. See Syed Alwi Sheikh Al-Hady, UMNO, SP/60/E/7a, UMNO, darimana dan bagaimana mula jadinya, dan apa kehendak tujuan asalnya, p. 6.

Negara in the 1955 elections. Of note, PRM was more active in the state compared to the Labour Party. In fact, most party members were formerly API and PKMM members. Response from the Terengganu people to the party was considered fair enough. There were 17 party branches in the state in 1957 and the number of members rose after the party leader, Ustaz Yahya Nazim, made a road tour to the east coast states including Terengganu. This number was quite impressive as UMNO and Party Negara were already there. Though the party never won any seat in state elections, they won three seats in the 1963 local authority and local council election.

**Political aspirations and ideologies**

UMNO was not established in line with strict ideologies but rather was initially a single issue party which aimed to overturn the Malayan Union Constitution. From then on, the aims, goals and political strategies of UMNO changed from time to time to respond to current issues. For example, UMNO designed a uniformed youth movement to win recruits from the militant youth organizations of the radicals. When IMP, the communal party was formed, UMNO established a coalition with other non Malay parties as mentioned before, and when IMP demanded that independence be given to Malaya within seven years, UMNO demanded the same.

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88 Ramlah Adam, *Ahmad Boestamam…*, p. 252.
89 *Fikiran Rakyat*, 19 April 1957. *Fikiran Rakyat* was a PRM official weekly newspaper. Published in March 1957 after the previous newspaper, *Mingguan Pedoman* was closed.
thing, but within three years. As the dominant party in the Alliance, UMNO had changed its original aims and aspirations to meet demand from the MCA and MIC. This can be seen in Tunku Abdul Rahman’s stance as Malayan Prime Minister after he won the 1955 election. He said that he had to “soften” Malay nationalism to promote his pluralism concept.

However, as a Malay party, UMNO’s aims hitherto were centred on Malay welfare in politics, and the social and economic field. These aims, UMNO believed, could be secured by special privileges being given to the Malays in certain areas, especially in politics, economics and education, which would be included in the constitution. UMNO’s aspirations were eventually realised and secured in the Federation of Malaya Constitution which guaranteed special Malay privileges and the sovereignty of the Malay Sultans. However, to respond to the demands for self government of Malaya by other parties, UMNO had to change its aims toward independence even though UMNO leaders were unsure of the readiness of the Malay people to govern the country. Otherwise UMNO could be left behind the other parties and could lose its popular support.

In its new constitution, UMNO’s stated aim was “to make all efforts to form self government within Malaya” and “to return opportunities to the inhabitants, especially UMNO members, with special concern for political affairs, welfare,

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91 Cheah Boon Kheng, Malaysia, the Making of a Nation, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002, p. 29.
92 Further discussion on the Tunku’s pluralism concept can be found in Cheah Boon Kheng, Malaysia, the Making..., pp. 75-120.
culture and economy.\textsuperscript{94} Even though UMNO had made an amendment to its constitution, the party’s slogan, \textit{Hidup Melayu}, remained until its youth wing made a proposal to change it to a new slogan, \textit{Merdeka} (Independence) in 1951. When UMNO changed its slogan it left the conservative leaders (including Dato Onn) with a heavy heart. The conservative leaders thought that the word \textit{merdeka} was too demanding in asking for independence and they also thought that UMNO should not demand independence when the Malays were not ready. Even though this idea was backward from the political mainstream and showed how conservative UMNO was, this stand taken by UMNO saved the party from tough action from the British just like other radical political parties. However UMNO had no other choice since the youth wing won its proposal with two votes in the party’s high council meeting.\textsuperscript{95}

The UMNO struggle for the Malays was heavily questioned when the leaders made a decision to form a coalition with MCA in 1953. Besides challenging the IMP, Tunku Abdul Rahman realised that Malaya now had become a multi racial country and it was impossible to disregard other races to build a new nation and a new independent state. Hence, to obliterate the racial sentiment, cooperation with MCA was UMNO’s first move in creating closer ties with other races.\textsuperscript{96} Then the coalition extended to MIC in 1955. The coalition was based on political cooperation

\textsuperscript{94} Perlembagaan UMNO 1949 (Constitution of UMNO), quoted in Ramlah Adam, \textit{UMNO, Organisasi…}, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{95} Ramlah Adam, \textit{UMNO, Organisasi…}, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Utusan Melayu}, 22 November 1954, p. 5.
with other non-Malay parties struggling towards independence. It did not involve any changes in the nature of UMNO as a Malay party or in its struggle for the Malays, as MCA’s struggle was for the Chinese and the MIC for the Indians. However this stance created a dilemma for each party when it came to important issues such as citizenship, nation, language, education and so on for the future of independent Malaya.

On the path to independence, the Reid Commission was established to design a new constitution for Malaya. In preparing the constitution, the Reid Commission welcomed a memorandum from various political parties and associations. As the elected government that won the 1955 election, the memorandum from the Alliance Party (UMNO, MCA, and MIC) was given priority by the commission. UMNO however, was very disappointed with the report released a few months later when the commission did not include the provisions for Malay special privileges in the draft constitution, instead leaving the matter to the appropriate state and federal legislatures. UMNO faced a critical situation because, as a member of the government, it had to support the report and on the other hand it had to satisfy its members regarding the matter. Finally dissatisfaction on the part of UMNO members was over when Malay special privileges were included in the revised constitution.

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97 The British government warned UMNO leaders that Malaya would only gain independence when cooperation between the three major races was achieved. To avoid British support for IMP, UMNO made a move to create cooperation with other parties.
98 Even though agreement was reached on those matters in the constitution, dissatisfaction flowered among members of the parties. See for instance the debate on citizenship within the Alliance in Cheah Boon Kheng, *Malaysia, the Making…*, pp. 28-29. The 13 May 1969 tragedy is always described as a failure of the Alliance government in dealing with these issues.
Differing from UMNO, PAS ideology was based on Islamic doctrine. PAS claimed that its references were the Quran and Sunnah.\textsuperscript{100} There were two reasons for the PAS struggle which were stated in the party’s constitution:

1. To create a movement for the independence of the state and the Muslims
   and
2. To strive for Islamic ambitions within the community and in the state administration.

In order to achieve those aims, PAS gave five outlines:

1. Generate a Muslim brotherhood to create an energy to fulfil the Islamic demand and politics based on democracy,
2. Concentrate with every effort and energy to create an Islamic administration,
3. Preserve and protect Muslims’ rights and respect,
4. Endeavour to practise the Islamic laws and teaching in the everyday life of individuals and society in order to achieve God’s blessing,
5. Cooperate with other organizations to gain democracy and justice in society and humanitarianism as long as it is not against Islamic teaching.\textsuperscript{101}

PAS endorsed Islam as a comprehensive way of life with a clear interpretation based on the Al-Quran, the Prophet’s sayings (sunnah), Muslim intellectuals’

\textsuperscript{101} Undang-Undang Tubuh Persatuan Islam se Tanah Melayu, p. 1
consensus (ijma’) and analogy (qias). This meant that Islam was a religion to organize the administration system and to build the society in an impartial fashion. In politics, PAS believed, it was Muslims’ responsibility to form a government which enforced Islamic law. A political party was a must as an instrument to obtain power and fulfil that responsibility. Therefore PAS’s involvement in politics was to struggle constitutionally for the establishment of an Islamic state. PAS also wished to develop a welfare state with an Islamic economic system. PAS ideology experienced changes under different leaders even though the main aspirations and goals remained on a firm Islamic basis. Under the leadership of Dr. Burhanuddin (1956-69) for example, “PAS’s discourse was re-oriented towards a hybridized ideological symbiosis between Islamism, leftist Malay-Nationalism and fervent anti-imperialism.” This explained the element of radicalism existing in PAS’s aspirations especially when rejecting the Reid Commission report which will be discussed later.

Most of the Muslims were Malay, so PAS’s main aim was to strengthen the Malays’ position in the country and to ensure the protection of Malay privileges. PAS gave three reasons for fighting for the Malays. First, Malays were the

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105 Sistem Ekonomi Islam untuk Negara Kebajikan, a working paper presented in Muktamar Dewan Ulama PAS on 12th of August 1966 in SP/28/A/24, Surat-Surat Peringatan PAS, p. 3.
107 Memahami Perjuangan PAS, Dasar dan Ideologinya, pp. 6-7.
original inhabitants of the state, but colonialism had destroyed the Malays’ power and sovereignty, while encouraging an influx of other races. Thus for PAS, it was every Malay’s responsibility to return the Malays to their previous position on their own land. Second, geographically, Malaya was a Malay state, located within the Malay Archipelago with the name of Malay Peninsula. The British, however, had changed the name to Malaya to suit the multiplicity of races now residing in the Peninsula. And third, when the British government proposed a Malayan Union scheme, only Malays bitterly opposed the proposal while the other races showed no interest. This was because, according to PAS, the Malays felt that they owned the country whereas the rest did not feel it. PAS added that even though they fought for Malays, it did not mean that the party was opposed to other races. The ultimate aim for PAS was to let the Malays rule the country and in the meantime, acknowledge the right of other races to live happily and be deserving of a “halal” right as a people of the country.\textsuperscript{108}

Based on the above reasons, PAS was strongly opposed to the Reid Commission report. In the first place, PAS disagreed with the appointment of foreigners to undertake this important task\textsuperscript{109} with the assumption that foreigners had limited knowledge and understanding about the nature and needs of the people in the country. Furthermore, the situation in the country was complicated with a multi...

\textsuperscript{108} Memahami Perjuangan PAS, Dasar dan Ideologinya, p. 8. The term halal was originally a term used in Islamic teaching and referred to the food that can be eaten and the source of livelihood that can be undertaken by Muslims. The halal right here referred to the right to search for livelihood.

\textsuperscript{109} Ulasan Terhadap Penyata Perlembagaan, in SP/28/A/70, PAS, Bahan-bahan Pilihanraya, p. 1. The Reid Commission comprised Australian, Pakistani, Indian and Canadian members and was chaired by Lord Reid from the United Kingdom.
racial people and it was very hard for foreigners to fulfil their aspirations. The only eligible persons to hold the job were none other than the Malay inhabitants, added PAS.

In their response to the Reid Commission statement, PAS highlighted six items that dissatisfied them. These were nationality, citizenship, Malay special rights, Malay economic conditions, Malay language and state official religion. PAS strongly believed that “because this state was a Malay state, it is important to understand that the political right should be given to the Malays only as a son of soil that had an absolute right as the owner of the land.” From this point, PAS urged that the proposed constitution for an independent Malaya should be centred on the Malays’ position and needs. In their earlier memorandum to the commission, PAS proposed to use the term *Melayu* for nationality and a single citizenship with strict conditions which meant no to the principle of *jus soli*. Therefore, PAS was very disappointed when the commission proposed a loose requirement for citizenship and ignored a single nationality. It seems that PAS dreamt of a situation similar to that which obtained in Indonesia. This stand was unlike that of UMNO, although the main struggle of UMNO was also for the betterment of the Malays, but in different ways. Perhaps PAS’s struggle for the Malays attracted the Malays.

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110 Ulasan Terhadap Penyata Perlembagaan Reid, p. 4.
111 In the principle of *jus soli*, citizenship was open wide for the people residing in the state or country with minimum conditions. This would have included many Chinese, Indian and others within national citizenship.
112 Ulasan Terhadap Penyata Perlembagaan Reid, p. 5.
113 UMNO sought to better the position of Malays in certain aspects such as special scholarships for Malay students, Malay reserved land, jobs in the government sector and so on, included in Malay special privileges. See letter from Hasan Adli in reply to Prime Minister of Malaya dated 11 November 1958 in SP/28/A/18, PAS Kongres 1962-1964 (MP/KTU/28).
mainly in predominantly Malay States such as Kelantan and Terengganu, which led them to win in both states in the 1959 election.\textsuperscript{114} Even though UMNO was a strongly Malay party, coalition with MCA and MIC put the Malays in a difficult position, whether to support them or not because they would govern the state together with non-Malays if they won the election.

When the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, announced the Malaysia plan whereby Malaya would merge with Singapore in 1961, PAS was once again strongly opposed to the proposal. This opposition was based on the fact that Singapore was a predominantly Chinese state and merging with Malaya to form Malaysia would change the proportion of the population as a whole who were Malay. If Singapore stayed out of the federation, the number of the Malay population would be slightly above that of the Chinese. If Singapore joined Malaysia this situation could affect the Malay safeguards and every aspect of life. Before the proposed Malaysia was officially declared, PAS, which governed Kelantan, took several actions to show its resistance.\textsuperscript{115} PAS leaders decided to write memorandums to the governments of Indonesia and the Philippines and to the United Nations to explain to those countries about PAS resistance to the Malaysia plan. Memorandums were also sent to the Malay Sultans, and to all the Arab and Afro-Asian countries. PAS urged the Sultan of Kelantan not to sign any agreement on the formation of Malaysia and urged the state government to reject any amendment made to the state constitution in order to justify the formation. Kelantan

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{114}{For further discussion on the election, see the next chapter.}
\footnote{115}{Usaha dan sikap PAS untuk menentang Malaysia in SP/28/A/46, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1962-65.}
\end{footnotes}
state did not celebrate Malaysia day but instead a public rally was held in the state one week prior to Malaysia day. Even though PAS failed in restraining the formation of Malaysia, all of its actions showed that PAS was bitterly against the proposal, which perhaps won the hearts of the inhabitants of Kelantan.

Party Negara had several aims in politics. However, because the founder of the party was Dato’ Onn, who failed in his earlier attempt to open UMNO’s membership to non-Malays, and the abolishment of the IMP for no support, the aims and aspirations of his third party, Party Negara, did not clearly emerge. Dato’ Onn had changed his political stance and strategies to ensure his survival in the political arena and it can be seen in Party Negara’s aims and aspirations which differed from IMP but were similar to UMNO. The ideology of the party was not clearly stated. It was believed that the party’s aims and aspirations were influenced by current issues from the other parties. There were six aims for the Party Negara establishment\textsuperscript{116} which were:

1. To operate in the Parliament and in the whole state as a political party.

2. To develop Party Negara as a government of the Federation of Malaya and in every state, following the principles of democracy and justice.

3. To constitute the one nation called \textit{Melayu} and a single citizenship for the Federation of Malaya.

4. To constitute Islam as an official religion for the Federation of Malaya, with freedom of religion to be practised without hindrance.

\textsuperscript{116} Anwar Abdullah, p. 199.
5. To constitute the Malay language as a single official language for the Federation of Malaya.

6. To develop the political, social and economic life of the people and especially for those searching for halal livelihood with their own efforts.

Obviously Party Negara’s struggle on single nationality and citizenship was influenced by the earlier leftist parties particularly PKMM. Like the other parties, Party Negara also responded to the Reid Commission report. Party Negara first and foremost commented on the draft based on its struggle for single citizenship and for Melayu as nationality. It showed that these aims were not stated in the draft constitution and accused the Reid Commission of being anti-Malay. However, the Reid commission abandoned the Party Negara’s critics.

Even though “Malayan politics do not follow patterns which fit the usual socialist categories,” both Party Rakyat and the Labour Party claimed that they were socialist parties. Parti Rakyat has eight aims to be achieved which were:

1. To unite all the people in family spirit to defend the country’s sovereignty,

2. To provide wide political education to the people for their awareness,

3. To demand people’s representatives at all levels of social status in order to materialise the people’s government,

4. To create a strong national front for independence,

5. To free all political prisoners,

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117 Means, p. 233.
118 Means, p. 240.
6. To demand independence immediately,

7. To demand that the government improve social conditions (public facilities),

8. To demand a national and democratic policy in education.

Parti Rakyat, on some of the immediate political issues, took several stands. For citizenship, Party Rakyat wanted to grant it “to all locally domiciled people owing undivided loyalty to Malaya,” but was opposed to the principle of *jus soli*; it called for “no discrimination against any race or religion in commerce, education and culture; it proposed international mediation as a means for securing peace with the Malayan Communist Party; it demanded abolishment of the Emergency Regulations; and it favored halting foreign investments in Malaya.”  

Ahmad Boestamam was a radical politician, so the aspirations and struggle of the party were full of radicalism. Party Rakyat had boycotted the Reid Commission and not submitted any memorandum to the commission. The boycott was based on the grounds that the Reid Commission was composed of foreigners.

The Labour Party, as part of the Socialist Front coalition party, was struggling for nationalizing industry, mining and rubber estates. They proposed multilingualism in giving recognition to languages other than Malay, easy citizenship based on the principle of *jus soli* and legal and political equality for all citizens. Definitely these proposals did not favour the Malay people. Furthermore, the party did not recognise the need for special rights for the Malays in the economy.

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120 Means, p. 240.
121 Means, p. 238.
122 Means, p. 239.
Realising that Malay support should be gained for its bright future in politics, the Labour Party made some changes in its struggle and included the Malay special privileges, but merely as a transitional measure to raise the Malays’ economic position.123 Because the majority of the party members were Chinese and Indian, and because of the party’s leaning towards communism,124 support from the Malays was far from being achieved. As mentioned above, the Socialist Front gained support from the Terengganu people for Party Rakyat and not for the Labour Party though the party put its candidates in the state elections.

**Conclusion**

Some of the Terengganu people were introduced to political associations as early as the 1920s, as a unifying experience. The involvement of Sarekat Islam in the peasant uprising in 1928 was significant, showing the importance of some kind of association if not a political party to bring the people together and raise their voices to the government. Possibly this experience led some of the people to get involved in the later political organizations before and after the Second World War. In fact, branches of most of the Malay political parties that were established in the Peninsula were formed in Terengganu. It showed that the Terengganu people, even though less educated, gave attention to and took an interest in politics and got involved seriously. Although it was difficult to examine the performance and

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123 Means, p. 239.
124 The Labour Party strongly opposed the government policy towards communists and demanded the freeing of the political detainees including Malayan Communist Party members and also called for the abolishment of the Emergency Regulations.
support for the earliest parties, especially radical Malay parties, Terengganu people seemed to give a reasonable response, based on the fact that the parties’ branches were established in the state.

The aims and aspirations of the political parties in Malaya changed to meet current issues. Nation-building was always a major factor in the changes of the parties. It can be seen for example in UMNO aims and aspirations and also in Dato Onn’s struggle in politics. Perhaps this shifting attitude was a main factor in UMNO attracting popular support from the people. UMNO seemed more sensitive and willing to change for the people’s needs. Support of the Terengganu people for the existing parties can be described as multi-faceted, based on their educational background and sensitivity to the changing world and experiences. At this point, even though it was difficult to examine the true support from the people for the parties until the result of elections (discussed in the next chapter), parties with simple ideologies and clear aims seemingly gained support. Party Negara on the other hand was believed to gain support because of the leadership of Dato Onn bin Jaafar. Even though the Terengganu people did not get seriously involved in fighting the Malayan Union scheme, which inspired Dato Onn, perhaps they never forgot Dato Onn’s initiative for uniting all of the Malays in 1946 and clearly showing his resistance against the British over the scheme which had never been undertaken before by an English educated bureaucrat. The religious background of the Terengganu people gave PAS a strong base in the state. In fact, PAS was chosen to govern the state in the 1959 election, three years after the party branches were
established. However, PAS’s internal problems halted the party’s strong position in the state, as will be discussed in chapter six.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE ELECTIONS: 1954 - 1969
Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, by examining the elections, the aims and aspirations of the people of Terengganu can be traced through their selection of parties to govern them. Evidence for the true support of the people for the parties can be found in the election results. Hence, this chapter focuses on the elections held in Terengganu in 1954 and 1955, 1959, 1964 and 1969. Before 1964 the local authority and municipal council elections were held every year. However because of the nature of these elections, which were less important and did not significantly reflect popular support for political parties, they will be discussed only briefly. To achieve the aims of this chapter, discussion will focus on the parties’ campaigns, especially on their strategies and manifestoes during each election. An examination and discussion of these three aspects is essential to determine the parties’ efforts to win over the people’s hearts particularly in Terengganu.

Problems faced by each party during the elections will be discussed; for example, allegations made about PAS candidates by their opponents. However, because there are limited sources of information available on the Party Negara and Socialist Front campaigns, strategies and manifestoes, focus will be placed on the Alliance Party (UMNO) and PAS. Of note, PAS was not yet established in Terengganu during the 1955 election, therefore discussion of that election is not in depth compared to the 1959, 1964 and 1969 elections. The problems resulting from communalism will not

Furthermore, Terengganu was a predominantly Malay state and the problems of communalism rarely arose. Nevertheless, the 1969 election ended in an unforgettable bloody tragedy, and this chapter will give more attention to it. Racial tension perhaps made UMNO seek cooperation from another Malay party, PAS, in order to strengthen Malay power in the Alliance, which resulted in the opposition party joining the government party four years later. The causes of the racial riots have been discussed in many sources\footnote{Examples include Goh Cheng Teik, \textit{The May Thirteenth Incident and Democracy in Malaysia}, Kuala Lumpur, OUP, 1971; Karl Von Vorys, \textit{Democracy without Consensus: Communalism and Politics Stability in Malaysia}, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1975 and James P. Ongkili, \textit{Nation-building in Malaysia, 1946-1974}, Kuala Lumpur, OUP, 1985.} and several factors have been identified, which need not be repeated in this chapter.

Elections have usually been discussed by political scientists and rarely interest the historian. Normally research on elections is done a few years after the election or immediately after.\footnote{Among those works were K.J. Ratnam & R.S. Milne, \textit{The Malayan Parliamentary Election of 1964}, Singapore, University of Malaya Press, 1969; R.K. Vasil, \textit{The Malaysian General Election of 1969}, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1972 and Martin Rudner, “The Malaysian General Elections of 1969,” \textit{Modern Asian Studies}, Vol. 4, no 1, 1970.} Most of these works focus their analysis of election results on the race issue. They also touch on the parties’ campaigns and factors responsible for the outcome. These works have not analysed the changing atmosphere that could bring a different outcome in the elections, especially in Terengganu. This chapter focuses on the political behaviour of the Terengganu people, how their religious background influenced their choice of political representatives and how their urgent
needs have changed their stance and support for the respective political parties. Focus will be more on the dominant parties in the state elections: the Alliance, PAS and Party Negara candidates rather than Socialist Front and independent candidates. The question of the Terengganu people’s choice of who would govern them and fulfil their aspirations will be addressed in this chapter. However, more in depth analysis of their choices will be undertaken in the following chapters.

**The 1954 and 1955 Election**

Talks about holding state and federal elections in Malaya began in August 1953, following the success of the municipal council elections held in Penang in 1951 and Kuala Lumpur in 1952. These were followed by local council elections in other state capitals including Kuala Terengganu. A special committee was appointed in 1953 to discuss all matters related to the organization of the elections. There was disagreement about the government’s federal election plans among the major political parties such as the Alliance Party and the IMP. In Terengganu, the disagreement led to the resignation of six of the Town and Rural Council members from the Alliance Party. A public rally sponsored by UMNO was held in Kuala Terengganu as a protest. However, the proposed election was successfully held on 27 July 1955. A year before, elections were held in every state, with Johor being the

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4 Further discussion on the municipal election in Kuala Lumpur can be found in G.P. Means, *Malaysian Politics*, pp. 132-134.
5 Further information on the disagreement over the election plans can be found in K.J. Ratnam, *Communalism and Political Process in Malaya*, pp. 176-186.
6 D.O.K. 116/54, Withdrawal and Resignation of Members of UMNO-MCA Alliance from Town and Rural Council. When it was all over, two of them rejoined, two stayed away and the other two disappeared.
first. As discussed in the previous chapter, the existing communal political parties (UMNO, MCA, and MIC) sought cooperation in order to win the election, which led to the establishment of the Alliance Party. However, Party Negara and PAS, a non-communal party, remained as they were. Along with the Alliance Party, Party Negara and PAS, the Labour Party of Malaya was another contender in the federal and other state elections.

Terengganu experienced its first election in 1952 when the Town Council of Kuala Terengganu election was held. The state election for the State Legislative Council was held on 29 October 1954, the second after Johor. There were fifteen constituencies contested which were Kuala Besut, Ulu Besut, Setiu, Kuala Terengganu Utara, Kuala Terengganu Barat, Bandar Kuala Terengganu, Bukit Besar, Kuala Terengganu Tengah, Kuala Terengganu Selatan, Ulu Terengganu, Marang, Dungun, Paka and Kemaman Utara and Kemaman Selatan. For this election the Alliance and the Party Negara nominated their candidates along with independent candidates. The Alliance had won Paka and Kemaman Utara and Ulu Besut seats on nomination day when two Party Negara candidates were disqualified because they could not read or write in Malay or English and incorrectly filled in the nomination paper. The Alliance nominated fourteen candidates for the remaining thirteen seats, Party Negara ten, and independents six.

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9 Alwee Jantan, p. 46.
10 The number of contestants was not definite. The New Straits Times dated 29 October 1954 stated as above but the same newspaper reported on 1 November that there were 16 Alliance candidates, 12 from Party Negara and 7 independents. See Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, Terengganu: Tokoh,
To win over the Terengganu people’s heart, parties involved in the election produced manifestoes which satisfied local needs. The Alliance announced that “Position of the Sultan as the constitutional head to be maintained, fair allocation of federal funds, higher standard of living for the kampong people, Malay as the official language, more and better Malay schools in the kampong, more Malay classes in English schools, the establishment of trade schools, more health centres, better roads and bridges in place of ferry services, setting up of postal agencies in the kampongs and better religious administration.” Party Negara did not promise much. However several important issues were included in the manifesto: “An early end to the emergency, more efficient government services, better religious administration, improved maternity services in the kampongs, expansion and development of educational facilities with special emphasis on trade schools, more roads for marketing of kampong products, improvement of cottage and fishing industry on a co-operative basis and more cultivable land for kampong people.”

To compare these two manifestoes, the Party Negara manifesto seemed close to the local character and needs. The big names in UMNO such as Tunku Abdul Rahman, Abdul Aziz Ishak and Dato’ Abdul Razak Husin had come down to Terengganu for campaigning activities during the election. UMNO also used mosques to deliver...
its campaign speeches in accordance with the teaching of Islam.\(^{14}\) There is no information about Party Negara’s campaign. It was believed that the Alliance campaign was more energetic than its opponent’s. As a result, the Alliance had a landslide win. From 71,787 votes, Alliance enjoyed 56,554 votes (80%) while Party Negara only gained 7,169 votes.\(^{15}\) Even though the real cause of the tremendous Alliance performance in the state is imprecise,\(^{16}\) their victory was based on their strong position and candidates who were well known. Even though the activities and performance of UMNO in Terengganu were not satisfactory in the 1950s as discussed in the previous chapter, UMNO was the only party that was known to the people of Terengganu. Richard Stubbs cited that UMNO and also MCA gained benefits from the restrictions imposed on the activities of many Malayan political parties that accompanied the introduction of the Emergency Regulations.\(^{17}\) Therefore UMNO was allowed to develop and to fill the political vacuum created by the government policies. He added that when the incentive of elected positions was introduced, UMNO “quickly established themselves as the major indigenous political force within the Federation.”

As a newly formed party and as yet unknown among the Terengganu inhabitants, Party Negara in contrast, seemed not well prepared for the election even though it

\(^{14}\) UMNO/SG Tr. 124/54, UMNO Bahagian Kuala Terengganu. Even though the using of mosques is forbidden for political speeches, UMNO gave religious speeches which managed to deliver its messages.

\(^{15}\) Alwee Jantan, p. 47.


managed to contest in all constituencies. Party Negara’s unpreparedness can be traced to its candidates’ backgrounds, which included a member who could not read or write while it was clearly stated in clauses 40A and 41 of The Federation (amendment) Ordinance 1954, that elected members in the state or federal Legislative Council must be able to read and write the English or Malay language.\(^{18}\)

The Alliance, on the other hand, was in a strong position in the state, as most of the party candidates were well known to the Terengganu people. Among those candidates were Ibrahim Fikri and Wan Yahya Hj. Wan Mohamed, the very well known politician, involved in politics since the pre war period. In addition, PAS was not yet established in the state. Thus, the Alliance did not face a strong adversary.

The system of electioneering conducted in Terengganu can be considered as another contributory factor to the Alliance victory. Because they were less developed, most of the areas were regarded as rural. Fearing that the inhabitants would not take kindly to attending the polling station twice to register as a voter and again on polling day, the government announced that the inhabitants could register and vote on the same day. Election day turned out to be chaotic and voters were exposed to threats because there was inadequate supervision.\(^{19}\) For some people it turned into a festival.\(^{20}\) In this circumstance, it is doubtful whether the people of Terengganu were able to make a conscientious choice and most probably they just voted for the party with which they were familiar. Even though the politics of independence


\(^{19}\) Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, *Terengganu: Tokoh, Pentadbiran .....*, p. 231.

\(^{20}\) *The Straits Times*, 30 October 1954, quoted in Alwee Jantan, p. 47
motivated the Terengganu candidates to get involved in politics, they primarily became involved probably because they did not have to pay any deposit to become a candidate. In this case, anyone who was interested could contest and take their chances, including those who could not read or write.

During the federal election in July 1955, the Alliance Party made diverse promises, to gain independence for Malaya within four years and to preserve the Malay Rulers’ position as constitutional rulers in their respective states. They pledged to secure the Malay special privileges without denying non-Malay rights and to place only local people in administration and end the expatriates’ services (Malayanization). And also to increase food crop cultivation together with providing aid to small farmers in the commercial field. In order to ensure the state’s economic growth they promised to lower expenditure and increase income, and that this would attract foreign investment. They prioritised education of the people, ending the Emergency Regulations and giving amnesty to the bandits. They favoured facilitating the fisheries industry, building more houses, activating the information services, ensuring the equality of labourers and finally providing more land for peasants. It is said that the Alliance manifesto in most cases was a response to the Party Negara manifesto which promised:

To secure independence by 1960……; to preserve the functions and privileges of the Malay Rulers; to promote a more diversified economy……; to inaugurate a Planning Commission; to ensure the creation of a Permanent Civil Service free from corrupting.

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22 Considering the poverty of the Terengganu people, the government imposed no paid deposit for candidates in the election. See Alwee Jantan, p. 46.
influence of political power and patronage; to speed the Malayanization of administration; to avoid further increases in direct taxation…; to curtail government expenditure; to enact a single Nationality Law; to enact suitable legislation to provide security to the Malays against the risks of becoming a back number in their own country, and also to regulate by suitable machinery….; to accelerate the pace of Progress……; to initiate free compulsory education…; to make Malay the National Language and English a second language; to converse the Chinese and Indian culture….; to expand health and medical facilities; to promote good housing; to proceed gradually to a system of comprehensive Social Security; to remedy the monopoly in the transport industry….; to improve the conditions for padi cultivation; to initiate state financial aid to the peasants through Land Banks; to uplift the economic and social status of women, and to encourage youth movement as a means of creating a new nation.24

No matter how good the other parties’ promises, the Alliance’s big victory continued in this first federal election. In Terengganu they won in all three constituencies: Terengganu Utara, Terengganu Tengah and Terengganu Selatan. Party Negara failed in Terengganu as they did in the other states.25 The Alliance victory was purported to be as a result of the promise of Malayan independence.26 The Alliance’s good performance in the election was expected by its opponents, but not such a vast majority. However, because the Alliance Party was the only party effectively organized to compete in the election,27 it was virtually uncontested. T.G. McGhee cited three events that preceded the election, as causes: “firstly, by 1955 the country was weary of communist guerrilla activities, secondly, the British held out hopes of an early independence, subject to agreement amongst the political parties on the constitution and organization of the state after independence and

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24 Means, p. 168.
25 In the federal election the Alliance lost only one seat of the 52 seats to PAS in north Perak.
26 Means, p. 166.
finally, the electorate was small and predominantly Malay.” The remarkable victory allowed the Alliance to form a government with Tunku Abdul Rahman as the chief minister. After independence the title changed to prime minister. All the elected members of the State Legislative House for Terengganu were from the Alliance party and Ibrahim Fikri was appointed as a Mentri Besar.

The 1959 Elections

The Alliance government decided to hold another state and federal election in 1959, after two years of independence and four years in power. The state and federal elections were held in the same year, the state elections first, followed by the federal election on 19 August 1959. For Terengganu, the state election was held on 21 June 1959. Unlike the previous election, that of 1959 was well organized and voters had greater choice of candidates as many political parties contested the elections along with independent candidates. These political parties were the Alliance Party, Party Negara, PAS, Malayan Party (MP), Socialist Front and Peoples Progressive Party (PPP). 282 state legislative constituencies and 108 for the federal legislature were contested.

With a strong position and influence as a government, the Alliance Party were optimistic of another victory, in spite of the increase in numbers and influence of the other parties. There were six parliamentary seats and 24 state seats allocated to Terengganu. Four major parties attempted to win the Terengganu people’s vote: the

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28 McGhee, p.77.
Alliance Party, PAS, Party Negara and Socialist Front as well as independent candidates. The Alliance and PAS candidates stood for all seats, while Party Negara stood for 20 seats, Socialist Front for sixteen and independents for six seats, bringing the total to 90 candidates contesting. The seat of Kuala Nerus was contested by two candidates only: Ibrahim Fikri bin Mohammad from the Alliance and Haji Abas bin Haji Mohamed from PAS. From the total of 24 Alliance candidates, two of them were from the MCA for Bandar and Chukai constituencies, the areas which were dominated by the Chinese. Surprisingly enough the Socialist Front did not stand a candidate for these two seats as it did in the Chinese dominated areas in the other states.

In the 1954 and 1955 elections, parties contesting promised to secure independence for Malaya, but in 1959 they focused more on the country’s and state’s development. As a government, the Alliance promoted heavily their party’s achievement of independence for Malaya, securing peace and security, creating a strong financial position, ensuring enough food, developing more and better schools, jobs creation, developing good houses, the provision of medical facilities, releasing land for people, developing an improved infrastructure and securing Malayanization in the administration. To battle its opponents, the Alliance Party had produced a very promising manifesto. The Alliance Party focussed on developing the rural areas in Terengganu with more agricultural schemes for people’s benefit. The outlines of the promised development are not very much

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different from the previous manifesto. However they focussed more on religious matters such as building more mosques and religious schools and providing scholarships to potential students to study overseas. As Terengganu was a less developed state, the Alliance also promised to build more medical facilities in rural areas, to open more lands for the Malays, to build more roads and bridges primarily in rural areas and finally to provide water and power supply in rural areas.\textsuperscript{30} UMNO could not highlight anything regarding Islam in its manifesto to ensure the other component parties’ support. In political struggle especially in obtaining support from the Terengganu Malays who dreamt of Islamic laws being imposed, this circumstance could become an unimpressive aspect for UMNO to easily win in the coming election.

If elected as a state government, PAS on the contrary promised to run the state according to Islamic laws. PAS also intended to revise and amend the Islamic state administration laws in order to suit the state changes and development and also to add an allowance for the religious teachers, \textit{imam} and \textit{bilal} according to their responsibilities.\textsuperscript{31} As a new party in Terengganu, PAS was prepared to win the people’s hearts by putting forward religious promises. The manifesto for Party Negara was based on six aims:\textsuperscript{32}

- Establish the Malay language as the true national and official language of the country and English as the second official language,

\begin{itemize}
\item Manifesto Pilihanraya Perikatan Terengganu, \textit{Berita Harian}, 1 June 1959.
\item Manifesto PAS bagi pilihanraya dewan undangan negeri Terengganu Darul Iman, in SP/28/A/70, PAS, Bahan-Bahan Pilihanraya, p. 2.
\item \textit{The Straits Times}, 22 April 1959.
\end{itemize}
• Establish national schools wherever practicable and English as the medium of instruction in schools where it is not possible to use the national language as a medium of instruction,

• Introduce free and compulsory primary education for children up to the age of 14,

• Increase the basic wage of the workers and provide equal work for men and women,

• Promote primary and secondary industries and arrange markets for them and

• Introduce a quota system in immigration.

In addition, Party Negara promised to free the public services from political influence if they got into power.

To attract the Terengganu people to their rallies, the Alliance held them at night and provided a movie before the campaigning began. The party leader came down to Terengganu to campaign. In one of his speeches, Tunku Abdul Rahman, who recognised the Islamic approach used by PAS, stated that the Islamic laws were not suitable to be implemented in the state because of their nature which was not suited to a multi racial community and would probably incite disputes and riots.\textsuperscript{33} The Alliance Party allegedly used government servants to campaign on their behalf.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Berita Harian}, 1 May 1959.

\textsuperscript{34} Party Negara wrote a letter to the District Officer of Kemaman complaining that the Kadzi of Kemaman, Ahmad bin Abdul Rahman, had campaigned for the Alliance. See the letter dated 28/5/59 in D.O.K. no 622, Nomination of Candidates.
Party Negara also provided a movie in its campaigning, while PAS more likely campaigned through political rallies and distributing posters.

When the election result was announced, the Alliance had clearly won in almost every part of the Peninsular. Although the Alliance enjoyed the popular support, its overall majority dropped from 81.7% to 55.5%. In the 1959 state election in Terengganu and also in Kelantan, victory was not as sweet for the Alliance as in 1954. The result of the election surprised not merely the Alliance leaders but also PAS leaders when they won 13 out of 24 seats while the Alliance only secured seven seats. The rest of the seats were won by the Party Negara. With 13 seats in the state legislature, PAS was allowed to form a state government. Terengganu people then had a new government which promised to enforce the Islamic laws. Losses to PAS in the Terengganu state election were a setback to the Alliance, especially for UMNO when 17 of its candidates lost. Two of the MCA candidates won seats. UMNO maintained its seats in Kuala Nerus, Batu Rakit, Paka Kerteh, Kemaman Utara and Kemaman Selatan while Party Negara confiscated seats in Langkap, Bukit Besar, Batu Buruk and Ladang. Commenting on UMNO’s defeat in Terengganu, Tunku Abdul Rahman blamed the UMNO state committee for not doing enough in the election campaign, especially in influencing the kampong people individually.\(^\text{35}\)

As a matter of fact, the Alliance Party also lost several seats in Perak to PPP and in Penang to the Socialist Front\(^\text{36}\) where the dominant

\(^{35}\) *Berita Harian*, 22 June 1959.

\(^{36}\) From 282 seats, the Alliance won 207, Party Negara 4, SF 16, PAS 42, PPP 8 and Independents 5 seats.
population was non Malay. As a whole, the Alliance had lost in the constituencies which were dominated by Indian and Chinese.

Having lost many seats to opposition parties in the state elections, the Alliance doubled the party’s campaign during the federal election primarily in the states in which it lost. The Alliance once again faced PAS, Party Negara and Socialist Front candidates for six constituencies in Terengganu. The challenge was tough because opposition top leaders contested. There were Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy, Hassan Adli and Khadijah Sidek from PAS and Dato Onn Jaafar\(^\text{37}\) from Party Negara. In its manifesto, the Alliance Party promised to secure a fair and steady government, to develop rural areas, to create a new shape for state and nation through economic plans that would add income for a better standard of living to become the highest standard of living in the Southeast Asian region.\(^\text{38}\) In order to achieve these aims and aspirations, the Alliance promised the voters that they would run an honest government and provide more facilities in administration, to review current education policy in order to make the Malay language an official language, to add national income in order to upgrade the people’s standard of living, to expand the mines industry, to cultivate enough food, to develop more medical centres, midwives’ clinics and medical clinics in rural areas, to strengthen the rubber industry in order to overcome the artificial rubber problem, to establish an Industrial

\(^{37}\) Dato Onn contested in Terengganu because PAS in the state thought it would be good for him to fight in Terengganu. See the *New Straits Times*, 7 August 1959. Dato Onn was a popular candidate in the election. It was pictured in the Alliance rally when half of the crowd followed him when he walked away from the rally. See the *New Straits Times*, 17 August 1959.

Finance Company for credit facilities for cultivators, to improve infrastructure primarily in rural areas, to strengthen the armed forces with modern weapons, to guarantee just treatment to the labourers by encouraging the establishment of free, democratic and responsible trade unions and finally to ensure that every person have their own house.\textsuperscript{39}

To disseminate the manifesto, the Alliance Party circulated posters and leaflets. In one of its leaflets, Tunku Abdul Rahman urged the inhabitants to vote for the Alliance because the Alliance had brought a harmonious life between races and because the country’s independence was achieved by the Alliance. Tunku also urged the Malay inhabitants to avoid parties which used Islam and the name of Allah in their campaigns to gain votes.\textsuperscript{40} In fact one of the Alliance leaders, Bahaman Shamsuddin, Minister of Natural Resources, in a public speech said that the people of Terengganu and Kelantan were backwards compared to the other states, and that was the reason for them voting for PAS, a party that was only suitable to deliver prayers.\textsuperscript{41}

PAS on the other hand, produced a manifesto which suited the party’s root struggle in politics; Islam. Therefore, PAS promised that if the party won this federal election, it would run the country based on Islamic policies and laws which were full of wisdom and fairness and develop the country in leading it and the people to

\textsuperscript{39} Pilihanraya 1959 Apakah yang Perikatan tawarkan kepada Tuan-tuan,’ pp. 2-11.
\textsuperscript{40} SP/28/A/70, PAS, Bahan-Bahan Pilihanraya.
\textsuperscript{41} Berita Harian 11 August 1959 quoted in article titled Beberapa Perkara yang Patut diketahui oleh Rakyat, in SP/28/A/70, PAS, Bahan-Bahan Pilihanraya.
peaceful and graceful living. PAS had twelve aims and strategies in politics. The important and interesting points raised by PAS were that if it was elected as a federal government, the party would run the country by the Islamic laws through constitutional amendment and would restore Malay rights and sovereignty and ensure that only the Malays led the country, and in the meantime guarantee just treatment for all and freedom to worship, undertake politics and think. In the economic arena, PAS promised to ensure economic strength by developing more economic resources and lessening the economic ties with other countries and to rule the country with Islamic economic policies.

Preference would be given to Malays in holding important positions in the administration and PAS would ensure that corruption, nepotism, carelessness and all sorts of negative elements would be dispelled from the administration. In the education field, PAS promised to implement the policies that united the pupils through a single curriculum with the Malay language as a main medium. For other aspects, PAS promised to provide more lands and aid for cultivation, to build more hospitals primarily in remote areas and employ more doctors and nurses, to minimize unemployment by building more small scale factories with government aid, to build more jubilee homes and homes for poor people and finally to guarantee the importance and right of small groups of people such as aboriginals.

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43 The jubilee home is a home to place elder men and women who have nowhere to go.
44 Detail on PAS manifesto can be viewed in Manifesto PAS dalam Pilihanraya Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, 19-8-1959, in SP/28/A/70, PAS, Bahan-Bahan Pilihanraya, pp. 3-8.
Apparently the party went into detail in its manifesto to ensure support from the top
to bottom echelons in society.

To counter the Alliance Party statement and its accusations about their party, PAS
exposed the Alliance government policies or decisions that touched the Malays’
feelings primarily regarding the other races. For example, PAS revealed that within
twelve months after independence, new citizenship was given to one million people
and most of them were Chinese compared to only 54,000 a year during British
administration. It also revealed that the government proposed to spend 35 million
ringgit (Malaysian currency) for Chinese education in 1959.\textsuperscript{45} Certainly these facts
could scare the Malays into thinking of their future under the Alliance government.

The Socialist Front’s manifesto concentrated on “Three Stages to a Socialist
Malaya,” which is more specific in its aims and aspirations compared to other
parties’ manifestos. At the first stage, “national capitalists must be organized and
recruited to work under a planned system and to take over from foreign interests
wherever and whenever possible;” in the second stage, “these national capitalists
must be absorbed into a planned socialist economy under the direction of a Socialist
Government and national enterprises must be set up;” and in the final stage there
would be “direct control of national enterprises combined with legislation providing
for rent control and security of land tenure.” The Socialist Front also “promised
legislation to prevent fragmentation of land holding, to provide more land to

\textsuperscript{45} SP/28/A/70, PAS, Bahan-Bahan Pilhanraya.
farmers and new villagers, and to enforce compulsory replanting and reinvestment in the plantation industry.”

In actual fact, producing an attractive manifesto was not easy, especially for the communal parties such as the Alliance Party and the Socialist Front. In fact, the Alliance Party faced an internal problem in allocating their candidates primarily for UMNO and MCA. Disagreements over the number of seats given to the two parties almost caused the dissolution of the party. To secure peace and support, such communal parties tried not to touch on sensitive issues such as national language, Malay special rights and education policy, as some parties did ten years later, resulting in a bloody tragedy and many deaths. Those problems, however, did not stop the contesting parties campaigning throughout the country.

The result of the election held on 18 August 1959 showed that popular support was given to the government’s party, but not with a solid majority. From 104 seats contested, the Alliance lost 30 seats to the opposition parties. In Terengganu, the Alliance Party experienced a similar fate to that in the state election. It won only

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46 Means, p. 261.
47 Means, p. 261.
48 Cheah Boon Kheng, *Malaysia, the Making of a Nation*, p. 90. See also the *New Straits Times* 10 July 1959. The MCA asked for 40 seats or at least 38 seats however UMNO, on the other hand was reported to favour allocating a maximum of 28 seats only. The MCA disagreement on the Alliance policies in the election was pictured in its three demands. Firstly, the MCA candidates should be elected by the MCA headquarters not by the Alliance National Council. Secondly, the Alliance manifesto must express Alliance determination to uphold and sustain the federal constitution as it now stands and finally the manifesto must also pledge to review implementation of education policy in the light of experience in the past two years. In fact the Alliance supremacy was beginning to decline especially when it lost the December 1956 municipal election in Penang to the Labour Party. See T.G. McGhee, “The Malayan Elections of 1959,” p. 79.
49 PAS won 13 parliamentary seats, Party Negara one, SF eight, PPP four, Malayan Party one and three seats were won by independent candidates.
one seat, lost four seats to PAS and one to Party Negara. The seat secured by the Alliance Party was in Kemaman and was uncontested, won by Ibrahim Fikri. For Party Negara, Dato Onn won the seat in the Kuala Terengganu Utara. However, with 74 seats in Parliament, the Alliance survived as a government. Milne said that this was partly because the opposition parties’ policies were too divergent to enable them to form a coalition.\(^5^0\)

Analyzing the result of the state and federal elections, the inhabitants of Malaya seemed more critical about choosing their political representatives compared to the previous election. With more parties or candidates to choose from, the government party’s performance could be one of the factors that made the Malays in Terengganu and Kelantan decide to elect PAS as a new state government. It was reported that the Terengganu government run by the Alliance failed to process land applications made by the inhabitants efficiently. A few officials could not process the large amount of land applications. As a result, in some cases, land applications took six to seven years to process.\(^5^1\) The economy of Terengganu was based on agriculture therefore cultivation of the land was their means of livelihood. Failure to obtain land meant that they could not work. Furthermore, small group agricultural schemes launched previously by the government failed as a result of insufficient land. To make it worse, the people involved in the schemes were only given a dollar an acre per year to cultivate the land, far less than they should have received from

\(^{5^0}\) R.S. Milne, *Government and Politics in Malaysia*, p. 98.

\(^{5^1}\) *Berita Harian*, 1 May 1959. By the end of January, 15,210 land applications were not investigated and this did not include 20,000 applications in Besut district.
the allocated monies. It is most likely that these problems had diminished the Terengganu people’s support for the Alliance government.

The majority of the state’s residents were Malays, which probably played a part in their choice of government. Furthermore, PAS brought with them the Islamic ideology. This attracted the Terengganu Malays who were described as more Islamic than the other Malays. PAS’ promise to implement the Islamic laws probably interested the Terengganu Malays to vote for them even though some of the PAS candidates were not of Terengganu origin such as Ahmad Azam. The party’s promises to return to the Malays their rights as sons of the soil in Malayan politics could also be a factor that attracted the Malays to vote for them. Even though Ramlah Adam cited that PAS’s victory in both Kelantan and Terengganu because of Dato Onn’s presence in Terengganu, it is doubtful. The religious background possessed by the people of Terengganu was more accurate explanation on these victories. However with prolonged internal problems, the PAS government did not fulfil its promises. Furthermore, they only managed to govern the state for two years, and in October 1961 they were toppled by a vote of no confidence led by the Alliance representatives in the state legislature. Instead of organizing a new election, the Alliance was given consent from the Sultan to rule the state. From then, the Alliance governed the state.

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52 *Berita Harian*, 1 May 1959.
53 Ramlah Adam, *Dato’ Onn Ja’afar, Pengasas Kemerdekaan*, p. 367
54 Further discussion on this matter will be in the next chapter.
On the Alliance Party side, the losses could be attributed to “its policies of compromise and contradictions between its pluralism and Malay nationalism policies which displeased many Malay voters.” As a result, the Malays particularly in Terengganu gave their votes to the non communal party, PAS, which promised more hope and future for them. Choice of candidates contested should be considered as another factor for the Alliance Party losses in Terengganu. A few of the UMNO candidates were not popular amongst the voters because of their improper behaviour. One of the UMNO state members had written a letter to the UMNO president about this matter; however, it was not taken seriously by the party leaders. Therefore the unpopular UMNO candidates contributed to the PAS victory.

After the 1959 state and federal elections, a local council election was held from February to June 1961. There were 578 seats contested. Even though this election was not as important as the state and federal elections, it was used by the government parties as affirmation of their power and influence, and by the previously losing parties to gain back support from the inhabitants. Tunku Abdul Rahman, for example, had come down to the state to campaign for the Alliance candidates. Ahmad Boestamam and Ishak Haji Mohammed, the senior leaders from the Socialist Front, also visited Terengganu to campaign. PAS, which faced a critical situation in Terengganu, had nominated 33 candidates for 39 wards. The result was a setback for the party, not merely in Terengganu but in the whole

55 Cheah Boon Kheng, *Malaysia, the Making…*, p. 90.
56 See a letter from Raja Harun bin Jaafar to the UMNO president dated 3 March 1959, in SP/28/A/70, PAS, Bahan-Bahan Pilihanraya.
peninsula when it won only 17 seats. In Terengganu PAS won only one, in Dungun Town Council for Seberang Pintasan Ward. Party Negara won four; the Socialist Front won two and the remaining wards were won by the Alliance Party. The election gave the Alliance Party a strong indication that the inhabitants of Malaya as a whole were in favour of their coalition when it won 462 seats. PAS gave seven reasons for the losses.\textsuperscript{58} Firstly, because of the Terengganu crisis; secondly, all newspapers published only negative news about the party; and thirdly, the Alliance government development projects were reported widely by the media. PAS religious teachers were prohibited from becoming involved in politics and this was another reason. In addition, the Alliance Party guaranteed a good life for its members and the kampong people. PAS also admitted that its decline in campaigning was another contributing factor to its losses and finally there was the party’s financial problem. A warning was seemingly being handed to the PAS government that mismanagement would damage the party’s position and influence. However, internal problems faced by the ruling party reached a climax when it was toppled by a vote of no confidence in State House in December 1961. The Alliance party was given consent to rule the state.\textsuperscript{59}

After the death of Dato Onn in January 1962, a by-election was held for the Kuala Terengganu Utara parliamentary constituency. The result of the by-election showed that the people of Terengganu, particularly in Kuala Terengganu were only in favour of Dato Onn and not Party Negara. They also seemed to have lost confidence

\textsuperscript{58} SP/28/A/18, PAS Kongres 1962-1964 (MP/KTU/28), Penyata Jawatankuasa Pilihanraya PAS pusat, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{59} Detail of this situation will be discussed in the following chapter.
in PAS, giving almost full support to the Alliance Party, which won with a majority of votes. This situation was reinforced in the 1962 and 1963 town council and local authority elections. In 1963 the election was held on 4 August, and PAS nominated only fourteen successful candidates out of a total of 41 wards contested. Party Negara contested 25 wards, Socialist Front eight and independent candidates contested in five wards. The result was not impressive for PAS who won only two wards. Party Negara’s performance seemed to have improved as it won seven seats, Socialist Front three, independents one and the remaining 28 wards were secured by the Alliance Party. The result showed that PAS influence had become less and less each year.

The 1964 Election

The federal and state governments had been in power for five years and the next election was imminent. Even though the Alliance government’s term was to expire in August, it had already announced that the third state and federal election would be held on 25 April 1964. There was no change in the number of seats contested in both federal and state elections which were held concurrently. As a federal government, the Alliance Party stood candidates for all constituencies, PAS contested 54 parliamentary and 155 state seats, Party Negara four and 17 seats and the Socialist Front 63 and 167 seats. PAS contested all six seats in Terengganu.

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60 Pejabat Pilihanraya, P/PR 6, Local Authority General Elections and also General Elections to Local Council in Terengganu: Results and Statistics of votes.
61 For the reasons for the early election announced by the Alliance government, see G.P. Means, Malaysian Politics, p. 335. Detailed discussion of the parliamentary election can be viewed in K.J. Ratnam & R.S. Milne, The Malayan Parliamentary.............
Party Negara four and Socialist Front three. There were no independent candidates. In Besut constituency, the Alliance Party and PAS faced each other. PAS placed 23 candidates for the state seats, Party Negara 16 candidates, Socialist Front eleven and only two independent candidates contested. Paka Kerteh, Besut Tengah and Bandar constituencies were involved in a battle between the Alliance Party and PAS, while the seat of Batu Buruk saw a contest between the Alliance Party and Party Negara.

Manifestoes produced by contesting political parties were not dissimilar to those produced in 1959. As a consequence of the formation of Malaysia in 1963, and the Confrontation declared by the Indonesian government on Malaysia, the election campaign focussed mainly on matters especially for the Alliance Party. As discussed in the previous chapter, most of the opposition parties had condemned the Malaysia plan. As Malaysia came into being, the Alliance party had used this point to attack the opposition parties in the campaign. “The Alliance argued that it was the only party which could safeguard national integrity and that the difference between voting for it and voting for other parties was in essence the difference between being loyal and being sympathetic to Indonesian aggression.”

Unlike PAS, which avoided touching on the Malaysia issues in its manifesto, the Socialist Front in its manifesto and campaign against the Alliance continued to criticise Malaysia for the way it was formed.

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63 Means, p. 336.
In this election, the Alliance Party gave more attention to PAS and the Socialist Front, probably because both parties had a former leader who strongly supported the Indonesian political movement, namely Dr. Burhanuddin, a PAS President, Ahmad Boestaman and Ishak Haji Muhammad, a Socialist Front leader. Both parties also contested more seats in the election than the others, thus both parties were strong contenders against Alliance domination. A few months before the election, the leaders of both parties were arrested for different reasons, but closely connected to national security. These arrests had a serious impact on the parties’ preparation leading up to the election.

The Alliance Party worked very hard to gain votes from the inhabitants of Kelantan and to strengthen its position and influence in Terengganu. UMNO especially, set its efforts to blasting the PAS image as an Islamic based party. Therefore, religion became a major issue in the battle between these two parties. One of UMNO’s strategies was to stand candidates with religious backgrounds who could memorise *al-Quran* and *Hadith*. In Terengganu, several new faces appeared who were religiously educated (they were graduates from Al Azhar University in Egypt). They were Abdullah b. Abdul Rahman, Wan Kadir Ismail, Ahmad Omar and Wan Mukhtar Ahmad (the state’s *Menteri Besar* from 1974 to 1999). In one of its campaigns, the Alliance Party accused PAS of distributing to the people talismans and pamphlets which contained quotations from the *al-Quran* and *Hadiths* together.

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64 Ahmad Boestamam was detained in February 1963, allegedly involved in planning the Azahari revolt in Brunei on 11 March 1964 along with former secretary of the Party Rakyat Malaya. Two days later the Johore Bahru branch treasurer was also detained on a charge of possessing hidden arms and ammunition. See K.J. Ratnam & R.S. Mine, *The Malayan Parliamentary…*, p. 16.

with a medal\(^{66}\) which purported to serve as “guides for Muslim during elections.”\(^{67}\) PAS in its defence, said that the talisman was actually distributed by some of the UMNO members in Batu Pahat Johor and it was made in 1963.\(^{68}\) Personal attacks also occurred during the campaign. A PAS parliament member (Harun Pilus) was captured having close proximity (\textit{khalwat}) with a woman and being reported country wide in every newspaper.\(^{69}\) This was an enormous embarrassment for the party. Earlier, a prominent PAS member had been convicted of outraging a woman’s modesty.\(^{70}\) It was inevitable that these allegations would damage an Islamic party’s image. These actions were contrary to the teachings of Islam.

Even though PAS was no longer taking a stance on Malaysia issues and the “crush Malaysia” campaign by the Indonesian government,\(^{71}\) continuing accusations were made against it by the Alliance Party. For example, when a box of bullets was found in Bachok Kelantan, a stronghold of the PAS, dropped by “the enemy’s plane,” Tunku Abdul Rahman insinuated it was connected to PAS.\(^{72}\) In addition, Tun Abdul Razak, the deputy Prime Minister, accused PAS and the Socialist Front of receiving financial aid from Indonesia for their election campaign. Therefore, he claimed that anyone giving their votes to PAS was in fact voting for Parti Komunis

\(^{66}\)\textit{Berita Harian}, 17 April 1964.
\(^{68}\) Perkara Azimat yang disibarkan, in SP/28/A/46, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1962-1965. The defense was made in Parliament by Tuan Haji Hassan Adli, PAS deputy leader.
\(^{69}\) M. Kamlin, History, Politics, and Electioneering …, p. 26. Harun Pilus, the PAS election candidate, admitted to the wrong behaviour and was fined. \textit{Berita Harian}, 20 March 1964.
\(^{71}\) Means, p. 336.
\(^{72}\) \textit{Berita Harian}, 17 March 1964. PAS responded to this statement by saying that the box was found in the open area of Changong beach and Changong was not a PAS stronghold area. See Bahan-Bahan Memberi Penerangan Menentang Perikatan in SP/28/A/70, PAS Bahan-bahan Pilihanraya, p. 8.
Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party – PKI) and if they voted for the Socialist Front, they were issuing an invitation to Sukarno to invade Malaysia.\textsuperscript{73} The toughness of the campaign against PAS was proven by the arrest of seven PAS leaders and ulama under the Internal Security Act (ISA) for attempting to create public mayhem.\textsuperscript{74}

PAS on the contrary, accused the Alliance government, UMNO especially, of not doing enough for Islamic affairs; in fact it had diverged from the Islamic laws and orders in implementing the Islamic policies. UMNO, for example, did indeed build more mosques and Islamic schools, but with lottery money; furthermore they erected a National Mosque but not for Allah, instead as a present to Tunku Abdul Rahman in appreciation for gaining independence for Malaya (Father of Independence).\textsuperscript{75} The PAS also urged the government not to serve alcohol, using government funds for formal occasions; even though the agreement was obtained, the Alliance Party continued doing it and used its funds.

The result of the election gave a remarkable victory to the governing party. Out of a total of 104 parliamentary seats, 89 were won by the Alliance, whereas PAS secured only nine seats, PPP two, and the Socialist Front two. The United Democratic Party (UDP) and the People’s Action Party (PAP)\textsuperscript{76} gained only one.

\textsuperscript{73} Berita Harian, 3 April 1964. 
\textsuperscript{74} Berita Harian, 25 and 27 February 1964. 
\textsuperscript{75} Tun Abdul Razak had mentioned this in Parliament House when asked about the reasons for the National Mosque being built. See Bahan-Bahan Memberi Penerangan Menentang Perikatan in SP/28/A/70, PAS Bahan-bahan Pilihanraya, p. 3. 
\textsuperscript{76} PAP was a Singapore based party led by Lee Kuan Yew. Even though the Alliance gave no support for the party to contest in West Malaysia election, the party leader was ignored in searching
240 out of 282 State legislative seats were won by the Alliance Party while PAS secured 25 seats, Socialist Front eight seats, PPP five and UDP four seats. Party Negara, Malayan Party and independent candidates were not successful in this election. Party Negara and Malayan Party suffered major setbacks which ended their struggle in Malaysian politics and both parties were dispersed. Most of the PAS victory was gained in Kelantan. In Terengganu, PAS secured only one seat for parliament and three state legislative seats. The parliamentary seat won by PAS was in Besut but with a slim majority of only 135 votes. The three seats secured for the state legislature were in Ulu Dungun, Besut Tengah and Ulu Besut. PAS Terengganu maintained its strong position in parts of the Besut and Dungun district although by a slim majority. This result was far worse than in the 1959 election. In some constituencies, PAS candidates received only few votes and lost their money. This situation showed that the Terengganu people punished the party for their mistakes and mismanagement. Details on the number of votes received by each candidate are shown in Tables 2 and 3 (pages 210, 211 and 213).

An enormous country wide campaign by the Alliance Party yielded fruit. The possibility of facing racial disharmony if Malaya were governed by a non-communal party that was repeatedly pressed by the Alliance leaders, probably scared the voters to vote for other parties than the Alliance. For example, in its rally, the Alliance leaders said that:

[The PMIP’s] policy is particularly dangerous because there were almost the same number of Malays and Chinese living for popular support for its struggle to materialize the concept of Malaysian Malaysia, which will be discussed in the next part of this chapter.
in Malaya. No party should ever play the game of religious and communal politics. If ever the people accept the policy and propaganda put out by the PMIP and other opposition parties, then there will be trouble and chaos in the country. Malaysia might even end up worse than Cyprus.\footnote{The New Straits Times 31 March 1964 quoted in K.J. Ratnam, “Religion and Politics in Malaya,” p. 147.}

K.J. Ratnam and R.S. Milne offered three reasons for the Alliance Party’s tremendous performance in the election. They cited firstly, the arrests of opposition leaders, secondly, government advantages in propaganda and finally, the use of personal influence by government officials for the benefit of the Alliance party.\footnote{K.J. Ratnam & R.S. Milne, The Malayan Parliamentary……., p. 406.} On the PAS side, the party’s performance was unconvincing when the president of the party, Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy, could not contest as a result of being fined by the Kuala Lumpur Court a sum of $25,360 dollars, under the Companies Ordinance.\footnote{Berita Harian 4 March 1964.} The arrest of several potential candidates under the ISA was also a contributory factor to the unfortunate fate of the party.

The frustrations of the defeated parties led them to make accusations that the election was conducted in an unfair manner. PAS admitted that the delay in action to double the campaign was another factor for the party losses. However, the party accused the Alliance government of dissipating the democracy and PAS claimed that the other parties also had a similar feeling.\footnote{For example, Mr. D.R. Seenivasagam from PPP raised the question of why extra ballot papers were printed but not issued. See K.J. Ratnam & R.S. Milne, The Malayan Parliamentary….., p. 405.} There were six points leading to the accusation:\footnote{SP/28/A/18, PAS Kongres 1962-1964, (MP/KTU/28), Laporan Jawatankuasa Pilihanraya PAS Pusat, pp. 4-6. PAS claimed that the complaint of this undemocratic practice was made by the voters.}
1. Intimidating the voters especially housewives and adult teachers,
2. Improper voter registration,\textsuperscript{82}
3. Unfair treatment by the election officers,
4. Extra vote ballots and ballots were not counted,
5. Marked vote ballots and
6. Incorrect and unfair reports in a Malay newspaper.

The enormous victory gained by the Alliance Party in Terengganu came as a result of its thorough campaign not merely delivering its promises but also spending money for state development. The Alliance’s performance as a government should be counted as a factor in the 1964 election victory. The Alliance government made a vast effort to develop the state, primarily in the rural areas. After two months the party took over the state government. For example, Ibrahim Fikri as a Menteri Besar visited all parts of the state and granted $43,000 for minor works.\textsuperscript{83} It was said that the PAS ideologies were heavily accepted by the people in the state and it was difficult for the Alliance Party to shift their support from PAS to its party especially UMNO. However, as a consequence of the Alliance government promise to build better mosques, support for PAS gradually diminished.\textsuperscript{84} In actual fact, the Terengganu inhabitants were not fully aware of the current political issues such as

\textsuperscript{82} According to some voters, they could vote on polling day because their name was not registered, even though they had already registered for the 1959 election.


\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Berita Harian}, 3 May 1964. The above statement was made by the reporter who visited Terengganu during the election campaign.
Indonesian Confrontation. They were more interested in land and economic development. Therefore when such an effort was made by the Alliance government to develop Terengganu, the inhabitants who were hungry for development were impressed with the performance of the Alliance Party and had no hesitation in keeping the party in government. Though the Alliance government had failed to process many land applications previously, it promised to process them as soon as it could if elected as a government. On the other hand, PAS’s mismanagement, maladministration and broken promises regarding the setting up of an Islamic state for Terengganu, were possibly the principal factors that made the Terengganu people decide not to choose them again. The people of Terengganu felt frustration regarding PAS’s performance during two years in office and found themselves failing to get a better life and then found out that Ibrahim Fikri’s government fulfilled their needs, so they voted for the Alliance.

The 1969 Election

At the end of five years of government, the Alliance government announced that the fourth general election would be held on 10 May 1969. This general election was surrounded by a multitude of national issues that touched on the racial relationship, creating disharmony even in the government party itself. During the previous election, Singapore was in Malaysia but it was no longer part of the nation since

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85 Interview with Abu Bakar Mohd Salleh on 15 March 2005.
August 1965, a tragic episode for both countries. Even though Singapore was in Malaysia only for a short period (two years), Singapore’s politics had impacted on the views of the peninsular Chinese regarding certain matters especially with the PAP slogan, Malaysian Malaysia. Malaysian Malaysia was promoted by Lee Kuan Yew, the Singaporean Prime Minister, which demanded an equality of status between Malays and non-Malays. This demand had influenced the Chinese in the peninsula to seek equal status from the government, which caused a difficult situation for the government to implement important policy such as the National Language Bill and yet this issue had split Chinese support for the MCA and caused a major defeat for the party’s candidates in the election in Chinese dominated areas.

Racial tension between the Chinese and the Malays led to the formation of two new Chinese dominated parties: Democratic Action Party (DAP) on 19 March 1966 and Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia (Malaysian People’s Movement) on 24 March 1968. These two parties were believed to have been formed as a result of the Chinese community’s dissatisfaction with MCA’s struggle on their behalf. Even though the DAP claimed it was a communal party, only the Chinese were attracted to become members. This newly formed party’s principal struggle had a base similar to the PAP’s aims and aspirations. This was “the ideal of a free, democratic and socialist equality, and social and economic justice, and founded on the institutions of

87 Cheah Boon Kheng, Malaysia, the Making….., p. 50.
parliamentary democracy."\(^{88}\) On the other hand, the Penang based party, Gerakan, was also a Chinese party which grew out of the failure of the Labour Party and United Democratic Party and attracted Chinese academics. Both parties, DAP and Gerakan, then appeared as important opposition parties that challenged the MCA and MIC in the Alliance Party. In the 1969 election, both parties contested in constituencies dominated by non-Malay voters. MCA and MIC subsequently faced a strong challenge from the other parties compared to the previous elections. In contrast, UMNO was traditionally challenged by the PAS.

Six political parties contested this election together with the independent candidates. Along with the Alliance Party were PAS, Party Rakyat Malaysia,\(^ {89}\) PPP, DAP and Gerakan, not forgetting a new small party which concentrated its efforts in Negeri Sembilan: United Malayan Chinese Organization (UMCO). The number of state seats was reduced from 282 to 277 seats. There were no changes for parliamentary seats. As usual, the Alliance Party contested in all state and parliamentary seats. PAS on the other hand nominated 179 candidates for state seats and 52 for parliament. DAP had 57 candidates in state seats and 24 for parliament, Gerakan 37 and 14 seats, PPP 16 and six, Party Rakyat Malaysia 37 and five, UMCO three state seats and finally independent candidates contested 38 state seats and only two parliamentary seats. In Terengganu both state and parliamentary elections were contested by two parties, the Alliance and PAS. Party Rakyat Malaysia, however, stood one candidate for Bandar constituency while


\(^{89}\) Party Rakyat Malaysia was a coalition party in the Socialist Front. After the Socialist Front was abolished, Party Rakyat Malaysia stood as a single party.
independents contested two: Chukai and Ulu Terengganu Timor. Compared to the previous elections, MCA had only one candidate, who contested for the Bandar constituency. Overall, both state and parliamentary elections in Terengganu saw a battle between UMNO and PAS. Two Chinese candidates and 59 Malay candidates contested the elections in this predominantly Malay state. At the national level, with the exception of PAS, none of the opposition parties offered a real alternative to continued rule by the incumbents.90

Aside from PAS, the other political party manifestoes were centred on building one nation which included all races residing in the country. With the motto of ‘For a stable, liberal and tolerant society, advance all the way with the Alliance’, the party gave reasons for maintaining the special rights of the Malays in contesting the Malaysian Malaysia concepts brought by the DAP, Gerakan and PPP. In its manifesto, the Alliance stated that:

We have repeatedly affirmed that our policies are not designed to deprive anyone of opportunities for advancement. Rather our policies are aimed to extend these opportunities to those who have been denied them. We believe that everyone in this country shall have a place in the Malaysian sun.91

DAP clearly declared its struggle towards a Malaysian Malaysia. The party aims were:

In a political democracy, all citizens, regardless of race, language, or religion, enjoy equal political status, rights and opportunities. But, Alliance policies tend to divide Malaysians into unequal classes of citizens - ‘bumiputras’

91 The Alliance Manifesto, quoted in Vasil, p. 58.
and ‘non-bumiputras’. This must be opposed if a firm basis is to be laid for genuine unity. All Malaysians must have an equal place under the Malaysian sun. Hence our plea for is ‘A Malaysian Malaysia’. 92

Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, in contrast, did not emphasize the creation of a Malaysian Malaysia in the party manifesto even though its motto was ‘Equality, Justice and Equal Opportunities for all’. 93 Along with the reduction of the Alliance majority in parliament, in order to deny the two-thirds majority, the party intended to establish an integrated society of Malaysians sharing a common outlook and a common destiny as its seventeenth aim. Undoubtedly, equality for all citizens was a key point in attracting the young educated non-Malay generation aspiring to opportunities in every aspect which were limited previously.

As an Islamic based political party, PAS adhered to its principal struggles in establishing an Islamic state and preserving the Malay rights and sovereignty as sons of the soil of the country. To counter the statement that establishing an Islamic state in a multi-racial, multi-religion country such as Malaysia was unacceptable and impossible, PAS in its manifesto stated that:

> Even though this country had a multi-racial and multi-religion people, it was not impossible to establish an Islamic state because the Islamic teaching, either in faith or worship or even in politics and society was unlimited to certain races, instead, it was practical for all, wherever and whenever. Furthermore, the Islamic Laws were not inhumane for anyone whether they are Muslim or not,

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92 DAP General Elections Manifesto, quoted in Vasil, p. 59.
therefore fear of the Islamic state amongst the non-Muslims was disproportionate.\(^94\)

In contesting Terengganu’s Alliance government which was accused of corruption and putting their own personal interests before those of the public, PAS aimed to establish not only an effective government, but also trust and caring for the people.\(^95\)

Every party had issues for the voters to consider in choosing their state and parliamentary representatives. As mentioned above, racial problems became major issues that changed the mood of the non Malay electorate and yet turned out to be a challenge for the Alliance. However, according to R.K. Vasil, the Alliance had no idea of this change until the counting of votes began.\(^96\) Instead, in the party’s campaign, the Philippines’ claim to Sabah\(^97\) was used as a major issue rather than internal matters on which the opposition parties placed more emphasis. The opposition parties did not concentrate on the Philippines issue, instead describing the “threat” and “mounting of troops” by the Philippines mentioned by the Alliance leader as “a political gimmick.”\(^98\) The Alliance, especially UMNO, set its focus on PAS rather than the newly formed parties. Under-estimating the influence of the newly formed parties and the dismantled Socialist Front made the Alliance assume that the MCA or MIC were not actual threats. Considering that the Malays in the

\(^{94}\) SP/28/A/3, Pas Menghadapi Pilihanraya Umum 1969, Hanya Dengan Islam Pergantungan Kita, p. 5.
\(^{95}\) SP/28/A/3, Manifesto PAS Negeri Terengganu di dalam Pilihanraya 1969, p. 5.
\(^{97}\) The Philippines’ claim on Sabah arose when the Malaysia plan involved Sabah. The claim was based on the history of the Sulu Sultanate based in Sulu in the Philippines archipelago. Sabah was its territory.
\(^{98}\) Vasil, pp. 23-24.
predominantly Malay states had lost confidence in the ruling party in protecting their community and interests following the communal riots in Penang in November 1967, the Alliance saw that PAS would become the Malays’ alternative. Therefore, the Alliance set its focus in challenging PAS in the election.

UMNO adopted three strategies in facing PAS. First, responses to the accusations made by PAS, second, confronting the PAS stands and third, showing UMNO’s strength and advantages. In the party’s special booklet, UMNO challenged accusations thrown out by PAS. For instance, PAS accused UMNO of not holding any more Malay political rights in its bargaining policy with MCA. PAS mentioned the increase of Chinese voters and feared that the time would come when the country would become a Chinese country, the decreasing Malay seats in the parliamentary and state legislatures, the increasing number of non Malay ministers, numbers of demonstrations and communal riots by the Chinese, etc. For these accusations, UMNO pointed out that natural increase of the Malays was higher than other races; therefore, Malay voters could not decrease in the future. Instead UMNO accused that the PAS strategies in the election would split the Malay voters and could cause victory for non Malay candidates.

In Terengganu, public allegations that the Menteri Besar and his state working committees were involved in corruption and kept wealth, gave a big issue for PAS

99 Vasil, pp. 24-25.
100 SP/28/A/3, Menentang Parti Lawan, Menghadapi PAS 1969, p. 1.
101 SP/28/A/3, Menentang Parti Lawan, Menghadapi PAS 1969, pp. 3-8.
102 SP/28/A/3, Menentang Parti Lawan, Menghadapi PAS 1969, pp. 5-6.
to attack UMNO. Owning a house in Seberang Takir bigger than the Sultan’s palace along with land and mining licences in Kemaman, the image of Menteri Besar, Ibrahim Fikri, was tarnished. In its campaign, PAS focussed on these issues to convince the voters that the Alliance government had betrayed their trust, therefore the people should not re-elect UMNO in the coming election. PAS also highlighted the matters that the Alliance government had said and done which for PAS were contrary to Islamic aspirations. The statements made by the Education Minister, for example, that said “it worried us when Islam was being brought into political affairs because both aspects cannot be mixed,” “those with long white robes and big turbans are not Islamic scholars (ulama) but the true devils,” and a statement made by the Deputy Prime Minister that “traditional religious schools (pondok) were not suited to our civilised country,” were reproduced in the campaign leaflets and distributed to the voters. Another issue stressed by PAS was government financial aid to build temples for other religious believers. The money spent for that purpose was a main issue when $40,000 was given to build one temple in Perak, whereas only $2000 was provided for mosques. A total of eight million ringgit was allocated to build temples for Chinese communities. These facts had shocked PAS and the party used the news for the campaign.

103 M. Kamlin, History, Politics and ….., p. 28.
Map 3: Terengganu, Constituencies Map for the 1969 Election
The outcome of the election surprised the Alliance and other parties. Even though the ruling party maintained its overall victory and was allowed to form a federal government, popular support for the party decreased. As a whole, the ruling party won 162 state seats and lost 115 seats to the opposition candidates. For the parliamentary seats, the Alliance secured 66 and lost 37 seats. In actual fact, having failed to capture Kelantan from PAS, the Alliance performance worsened when it lost Penang to the newly formed party, Gerakan. In Selangor, the key state of the Malaysian Federation, and Perak, the Alliance suffered the loss of many seats. There were 28 seats in Selangor and the Alliance won 14, while DAP won nine and Gerakan four seats. The other seat was won by the independent candidate. In Perak,
the Alliance secured 19 seats from 40, DAP won six seats, Gerakan two and PPP twelve seats. The MCA’s poor performance led to this setback for the Alliance. All of its twelve candidates who contested in Penang lost to Gerakan. The party only secured one seat in Selangor from twelve seats contested. In this state, MCA lost to DAP. A similar performance resulted in major losses in Perak. MCA candidates only won one seat from 17 contested.

In Terengganu, the Alliance performance was as in the 1964 election. From the total of 24 seats, the party only secured 13 whereas in 1964 it won 21 seats. On the other hand, PAS won eleven seats. PAS secured seats in Kuala Besut, Jeram, Ladang, Bukit Besar, Batu Buruk, Marang, Sura, Ulu Dungun, Kemaman Selatan, Kuala Terengganu Tengah and Binjai. Even though UMNO managed to form a state government, popular support was enjoyed by PAS. The party gained 51.44% and UMNO 48.42% of total votes. The Menteri Besar also lost his majority support when he won by only 324 votes over the PAS candidate. With a slim majority, the Alliance could not form a strong government and faced difficulty in implementing its policies in the state with eleven opposition members in the State Legislative House. In parliamentary seats on the other hand, PAS performance was less significant, with two seats won in Kuala Terengganu Selatan and Dungun.

As a whole, the ruling party’s performance in the election was unexpected. Certainly the outcome could be explained by several points. The MCA and MIC suffered major defeats, which showed the lack of confidence among the non Malay
voters for them representing their interests. Similarly confidence was also lost among the Malay voters, especially in north-eastern Malay states. The politics of bargaining in the Alliance Party seemed to be malfunctioning. The voters were in favour of voting for the non communal parties, believing that these parties could represent the voters’ interests, aims and aspirations and they also felt that the politics of bargaining in the Alliance were no longer working. The Malaysian Malaysia concept and the series of racial riots that occurred before the election had impacted the voters and could be counted as another reason for the outcome of the election. The non Malays had no confidence in the MCA and MIC struggle in the Alliance to secure their aims and aspirations, whereas the Malays doubted that UMNO could maintain and retain their special rights when challenged by the MCA and MIC. Even UMNO itself also lost confidence with MCA and MIC in preserving their political bargaining when both parties demanded and kept questioning several matters regarding special Malay rights. In Terengganu, the corruption allegations had impacted the UMNO candidates. The Terengganu inhabitants seemed to have lost their trust in their representatives and shifted to PAS. The fact that the Alliance in Terengganu did not impose Islamic law in their administration could be one factor for the Alliance losses of a number of seats in the election. However, PAS had insufficient seats to form a government even though the party enjoyed popular support.

105 Vasil, p. 43.
106 SP/28/A/49, a letter signed by Musa Hitam, to all the UMNO members dated 5 May 1969. In fact, this letter urged the UMNO members not to vote for the MIC and MCA candidates in the election, instead, vote only for Malay candidates even though they were from the opposition party.
107 Interview with Abu Bakar Mohd Salleh on 15 March 2005.
The great impact of the outcome of the election was an overjoyed victory gathering of the opposition parties over the Alliance in Selangor on 11 and 12 May. The DAP and Gerakan members had organised rallies to show their happiness. However, the rallies ended up with racial clashes when some of the Malays who could not stand the anti-Malay words shouted by non-Malays involved in the rallies organised another rally to celebrate the UMNO (Alliance) victory in the election the very next day. The clashes began when several Chinese tried to stop a group of Malay men joining the rally. This disturbance created great anger among the Malays who started to run amok against the Chinese. A series of racial clashes occurred which forced the government to declare a State Emergency on 17 May. Hundreds were killed, hundreds more were wounded and thousands were arrested. In Terengganu, however, the people were not affected by these disturbances.
Table 2: **Results of Terengganu State Election, 1959, 1964 and 1969**

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Table 3: Results of Terengganu Parliamentary Election, 1959, 1964 and 1969

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* Kemaman seat was not contested and it was won by the Alliance.
Conclusion

The election system introduced to elect political representatives after independence was evidently used by the Terengganu people. Their beliefs, aspirations and aims were used as guidelines in choosing electoral candidates. This can be seen in three elections held within ten years. In the 1959 election, the Terengganu people chose the party (PAS) which was in line with Islamic teaching, hoping that the new state government would determine the state and its people according to Islamic policies as promised in the election manifesto. However the party was busy with its internal problems, it broke its promises to run the state with Islamic laws, ran the state’s administration inefficiently and neglected the people’s needs. In the next election (1964), the party was paid out in terms of losing so many seats and could not retain its power which was confiscated by the Alliance in December 1961. With its remarkable performance as a government in developing the state’s economic growth and land development and also in providing sufficient infrastructure, the Alliance could win the 1969 election impressively as it did in 1964. However, the corruption and nepotism allegations faced by the Menteri Besar and his state working committees put the Terengganu people in a deep dilemma, whether to maintain them as a government or replace them with another party. This dilemma was shown in the ruling party’s slender victory, with popular support dropping to below fifty percent and the loss of many seats.
The 1969 election and the bloody tragedy which occurred a few days after the result of the election was announced also impacted upon Terengganu politics. Facing internal problems which led to the stepping down and replacement of two Menteri Besars in a very short period (two years), UMNO’s position in the state was no longer strong. In considering its future politics in the state and in the country as a whole, UMNO, a large Malay party, sought cooperation with PAS to convince them to join the Alliance. There were possibilities that UMNO after the 13 May 1969 tragedy determined to strengthen Malay politics in the Alliance and saw that the most suitable partner was PAS. UMNO’s efforts succeeded when PAS finally joined the Alliance in 1973, a year before the next election. This will be discussed in the next chapter along with the political problems and crisis in Terengganu since 1954.

It is obvious from the discussion, that the people of Terengganu were very sensitive of the changing atmosphere. They have their own aims however, current issues are something important for them to take into account in electing their political representatives. In fact, elections in Terengganu can be seen as an index to the state’s political and socio-economic development during those periods. Compared to other states, such as Kedah or Johor, the people of those states placed their loyalty to the Alliance undivided. The Alliance party especially UMNO never faced any difficulty in winning a landslide victory in those states even in the 1999 election. Probably there was an explanation for this, but it needs another study.
CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATIONS 1954 - 1973
Introduction

In the previous chapter, the aims, struggles and involvement of the existing political parties in the Terengganu state elections have been discussed. This chapter examines political affairs in the state in greater detail from the time of self-government. The political development discussed in this chapter includes the internal crises which occurred in the Alliance and PAS which in turn impacted the state government’s stability as both parties ruled the state between 1954 and 1973.\(^1\) As highlighted in the previous chapter, crises which occurred especially in the ruling parties had a great effect on the people of Terengganu and influenced them in choosing their political representatives in the general elections. Therefore this chapter focuses on these crises. The important role played by some of Party Negara’s members in those crises will also be discussed. The discussion will be divided into three sections in order to ensure an organised narrative flow. Negotiations between PAS and the Alliance to form a coalition will also be discussed under a separate subtitle.

The main focus in this chapter is to examine the performances of the said parties and their influence among the inhabitants of Terengganu. The focus will be on the factors that created crises and the efforts taken by the involved parties to overcome their problems. There is insufficient written information or research carried out on this very interesting topic. No doubt research has been done on Terengganu political

\(^1\) The Alliance ruled the state from 1954 to 1959 and 1961 to 1973, while PAS ruled from 1959 to 1961.
history and has mentioned particularly the toppling of the PAS government in 1961. However, discussion up to this point is not in depth and more likely to be assumption rather than fact. M. Kamlin, for example, briefly touched on the crises in his work,\(^2\) as has Hussain Mohamed in his article\(^3\). Those researches did not answer important questions on PAS’s toppling such as: the true nature of the party’s problem; the persons involved and how those crises were handled by PAS leaders. There was also a thesis which focused on PAS’s elimination;\(^4\) it used newspaper references and interviewing the key persons, whereas in this chapter, resources have been obtained from PAS files which are more precise and authentic. Therefore this chapter is an attempt to find definite answers for those questions. UMNO’s crisis during the period of Ibrahim Fikri in the late 1960s has also been discussed in Adnan Mohd. Noor’s thesis;\(^5\) however, the focus of his research was more on Ibrahim Fikri’s role as a politician and *Menteri Besar* of Terengganu.

It is believed that the internal crises which occurred in the parties had a great impact on the efficiency of the state government in ruling the state administration and organizing the people. Differences in political views, aims and splitting within the party initiated partition in the parties and this can be seen in the section which discusses the devastation faced by these parties in Terengganu. The popular issue raised by researchers who discuss the internal problem in PAS of Terengganu, was

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\(^2\) See his research, *History, Politics and Electioneering: the Case of Terengganu.*


\(^5\) Adnan Mohd. Noor, “Perjuangan Dato’ Ibrahim Fikri dalam Arena Politik di Negeri Terengganu,” Jabatan Sejarah, Universiti of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1974/75. Unfortunately, the thesis was not found. The statement in the text was made from the articles which referred to this thesis.
the involvement of political leaders of non-Terengganu origin in the state’s political affairs. Ismail bin Ibrahim, for example, discussed this matter in-depth. However the conflict was created by the party’s member from Terengganu and on the whole it did not paralyse the party movement in the state. The difficulty in obtaining UMNO’s primary resources was caused by the burning of files and the confidential status of these files in the National Archive. This may result in insufficient discussion and a brief conclusion on the party’s crises. In addition UMNO of Terengganu did not allow this researcher access to its files. With this limitation, the actual facts of UMNO’s development and crises in Terengganu could not be analysed accurately. However by interviewing several former state UMNO members, this researcher has been able to reach some conclusions.

The First Stage: 1954 to 1959

In this section, the focus will be on the Alliance (UMNO) since it was the only strong party in Terengganu at that time. Even though Party Negara and Party Rakyat were established, they could not restrain the influence of UMNO among the Terengganu Malays. As stated in chapter three, the people of Terengganu chose UMNO in the 1954 state election even though branches were immobilized and it did not promise anything about Islam in its manifesto and campaigns. The people of Terengganu did not have any choice except to vote for the Alliance which focused its manifesto on struggling for independent Malaya. Probably the people of

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6 M. Kamlin and Hussain Mohammed mentioned this factor in their work.
7 Ibrahim, Kejatuhan Kerajaan PAS di Terengganu, pp. 25-27.
8 Ramlah Adam, UMNO, Organisasi dan Kegiatan Politik, p. iv.
Terengganu thought that they could rely on UMNO to ensure the stability of Islam in Malaya’s constitution because UMNO was a Malay Muslim party. As mentioned before, the people of Terengganu did not choose other parties as UMNO was a dominant party and UMNO’s relationship with the non-Muslim parties, MCA and MIC, did not bother them. Probably they thought that UMNO was more dominant than the two other Alliance component parties in the state.

When Terengganu was ruled by the Alliance, one major change regarding Islamic law took place. The Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1955 (1374) was enacted in March 1956 by the government of Terengganu. Due to this enactment, the administration of laws for Muslims was made consistent. Every aspect that touched Muslims was enacted in this law. However, this does not mean that Terengganu became a Muslim state because, as one of the Federation of Malay states, it was bound to the federal constitution which did not accept Islamic law as the national law. Furthermore, the British government would not allow this to happen for security reasons. In fact, the British government, as discussed earlier, took several efforts to reduce the use of Islamic law by the Sultan of Terengganu. The implementation of Muslim Law Enactment 1955 could be described as a turning point for Muslims and also for the Alliance in Terengganu.

This law defined the functions of the Department of Religious Affairs and the Council of Religion and Malay Custom and The Court of the Chief Kathi. It also portrayed the financial affairs including the general endowment fund, zakat and
The administration of mosques as well as marriage and divorce amongst Muslims would be standardized through this law. Besides these, it also managed matters regarding new converts and offences related to non-compliance with the Islamic teaching in public, such as shirking Friday prayers for no valid reason, the purchase, selling or consumption of intoxicating liquor and eating during daylight during the Ramadhan month. For the people of Terengganu, the enforcement of these laws was well-received, especially by Islamic scholars who really wanted to see Islamic law being imposed. The Religious Department would no longer face any problem in convicting any Muslim who violated Islamic teaching. This could reduce immoral activities amongst Muslims.

As the dominating ruling party, Terengganu UMNO, especially its religious arm, was very active in taking part in issues pertaining to Islam. For instance, when central UMNO wanted to organize a conference in 1956 to discuss Islamic administration and affairs in Malaya, Terengganu UMNO forwarded six proposals. Two of these pertained to marital and divorce laws for Muslims, another two were about Islamic subjects in schools and examinations, one on public holidays and the other on the protection of Islamic law from being voted out by non-Muslim members in Parliament and the state legislative house. UMNO in Terengganu was aware of the number of non-Muslim members in both parliament and state house.

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9 *Zakat* and *Fitrah* is the sum of dollars or dried food given to the institution called *baitul mal* every year by those who have extra income. The money or food collected would be distributed to the poor or other groups in need.

10 Government of Terengganu, the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment, 1955 (1374), part X, section 130, 131 and 132. (pp. 46–47).

11 UMNO/SUA/99/1956, Shor-shor berkenaan pelaksanaan perkara-perkara Ugama Islam di Malaya
which could affect the proposed Islamic law. Therefore they urged UMNO leaders to create regulations to prevent non-Muslim members from voting on matters regarding Islam. This regulation was proposed to ensure that non-Muslims did not interfere in Islamic affairs.

Terengganu UMNO also voiced its concern about the future of Islam in the constitution of independent Malaya. While other political parties were busy drafting their proposed ideas to be stated in the constitution, they urged UMNO’s top leaders to struggle for the recognition of Islam as the official religion in the constitution. They affirmed that “because United Malay National Organization was a Muslim party, Islam should be the main tasks that it must carry out and develop. UMNO then should not let down the struggle of Islam, in fact UMNO should put all its efforts to ensure that Islam would be recognised as the national religion for the independent Malaya.” Mahmud Salim, chief of the religious committee for Terengganu, gave guidelines that would aid UMNO Malaya to face any criticism and query on Islam as the official religion for the newly independent country. He also stressed the importance of having a ministry of religious affairs at the federal level to manage every aspect of Islam. These efforts taken by UMNO of Terengganu showed that they wanted UMNO at the central level to accept the fact that Islam was the party’s main struggle for the Malay/Muslim society apart from its struggle to preserve Malay rights and privileges.

13 UMNO/SUA/99/1956, a letter from UMNO branch in Kuala Terengganu to UMNO’ chief religion dated 7 March 1956.
UMNO’s strong position in the state, which was the result of a total lack of strong opposition in the State Legislative House, helped the Alliance to rule the state smoothly. However, there was a case where one of UMNO’s representatives in the State Legislative House, Che Muda bin Abdullah, went against the Alliance’s policies. He was also a member of the Kuala Terengganu Town Council and again he went against the government’s policies in the Council. Without any explanation for his acts, he then resigned as an UMNO member and though his action did not affect the Alliance’s decisions in the state and Kuala Terengganu Town Council, it was a setback for UMNO, because its member had acted as an opposition figure in both council meetings. In all likelihood, Che Muda wanted to create better policies or plans for Terengganu’s people or perhaps he wanted to act as an opposition leader in order to ensure that the government did the right thing by the people.

UMNO in Terengganu had landed splendidly in every area of the state, even though in some places, Besut primarily, UMNO could not easily establish itself. Besut was a Party Rakyat stronghold. UMNO managed to establish a branch in Besut only in 1958. However it then became UMNO’s stronghold after the weaknesses of Party Rakyat were exposed. UMNO in Kuala Terengganu was the most impressive section compared to others. As capital city of Terengganu and led by an experienced politician, Ibrahim Fikri, UMNO in Kuala Terengganu became a most

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14 UMNO/SUA, 63/56. A letter from UMNO state secretary to UMNO Malaya Secretary, dated 15 April 1957.
effective division in gaining support from the people. Having 21 branches, its movement was considered to be operational. With the intention of spreading its influence and attracting people to the party, this section provided financial aid for several Malay students to pursue their studies either in university or English college.\(^{16}\) Obviously, UMNO in Kuala Terengganu gave more attention to educating the inhabitants of Kuala Terengganu when English night classes were set up for the public in the area. Definitely UMNO became a respectable party for its efforts as no other parties had made such a move.

As a whole, from 1954 to 1959, UMNO did not experience any difficulty or major conflict in Terengganu. Even though there were cases of leadership struggle in some sections, it was controllable and did not shake UMNO’s position and stability in the state. However, those problems may have had a small impact on the party’s performance in the 1959 election. The first problem emerged in 1954 in Hulu Terengganu’s section. It began when the party had to choose the electoral candidate for the Hulu Terengganu constituency. At the state level, UMNO had nominated Setia Abu Bakar, a section secretary, as a candidate. However, this nomination was unacceptable to the UMNO Hulu Terengganu’s section. They nominated another candidate. This dispute ended with UMNO going to the election with two candidates, which was unusual. Setia Abu Bakar had won the seat and the members who were dissatisfied with the party’s decision and the result of the election had to

\(^{16}\) UMNO had provided a $131.00 scholarship for one university student and a sum of $10.00 for two Malay students who studied in Kuala Kangsar Malay College. See UMNO/SUA, 63/56, Report Penyata Tahunan UMNO 1955/56, p. 7.
accept the outcome unquestioned. However, splitting within the section had begun, leading to partition within UMNO.

Four years later, another conflict occurred in this section when Setia Abu Bakar, the secretary, acted in an autocratic manner by dismissing those who opposed him and abolishing one of UMNO branches under his authority.\(^{17}\) Dissatisfied members pleaded with UMNO Malaya to get involved in solving the problem and sacking the autocratic secretary. As no compromise was reached, Setia Abu Bakar was finally sacked as UMNO member. However he did not accept the sacking and claimed that the committee of UMNO Hulu Terengganu stood behind him and he decided to sever its links with the UMNO state committee.\(^{18}\) He claimed that the sacking was not valid and therefore he was still an UMNO member. Nevertheless, without support from UMNO Malaya, Setia Abu Bakar who was interested to contest in the 1959 election had to leave UMNO and contested for Hulu Terengganu constituency as an independent candidate. However, neither the UMNO candidate nor Setia Abu Bakar secured the seat. They lost to PAS. This dispute showed that UMNO in Terengganu was facing an internal conflict and it was not limited to the Hulu Terengganu section only. UMNO in Besut was also facing a leadership conflict that made the section unstable in challenging the opposition parties in the state election. As a result, UMNO lost four seats in the Besut district to PAS. In fact, the votes for UMNO candidates were far fewer than for the Socialist Front candidates. This was

\(^{17}\) The dismissed member was Alias Ali, the UMNO youth chief who strongly opposed the secretary, and the abolished branch was Ajil. See S.M. Noor, “UMNO Bahagian Hulu Terengganu,” in UMNO 50 Tahun UMNO Terengganu, p. 81.

\(^{18}\) UMNO/SUA, 63/56, a letter from Setia Abu Bakar to UMNO secretary of Malaya dated 20 January 1959.
a major setback for UMNO not merely in Besut but in the state as a whole. The leadership of Ibrahim Fikri as state chief was questioned. In order to overcome the weaknesses of UMNO, Ibrahim Fikri planned several tactics to stabilize UMNO’s position in order to win over the hearts of the Terengganu people.

In the meantime, PAS which was established in the state in 1956 had strengthened its position and influence amongst the Terengganu people. More sections and branches were opened in every part of the state. The people of Terengganu gave a good response to this newly formed party. However, the party may have had an insufficient number of capable leaders to spearhead its movement in the state, and so the leaders from the other state were invited to arrest the problems. Ustaz Ahmad Azam and Hassan Adli were the two outsiders (both of them were from Perak) who were entrusted to lead the party in Terengganu. The Terengganu people did not have objections regarding this matter as they voted for these two figures in the 1959 election.

The Second Stage: 1959 to 1964

PAS

PAS’ progress in Terengganu was considered truly remarkable when the party removed UMNO and the Alliance as the state government in the 1959 elections. As a newly formed party with little administrative experience, it was arduous for the
PAS government to run the state efficiently. It found it is difficult to realize its promises contained in its election manifesto, especially on issues regarding the implementation of Islamic law and policies in its administration. This responsibility became a burden because the party’s political representation in the State Legislative House, with only thirteen seats out of a total of 24 seats, was insufficient to get a two-thirds majority of votes to pass bills regarding Islam. The party’s weakness was evident when it took considerable time to nominate the Menteri Besar. PAS decided to appoint Ahmad Azam, PAS’s State Commissioner, as the Menteri Besar. However, the Sultan of Terengganu as advised by members of the Majlis Pangkuan Negeri, requested that two names were provided for his highness to make a choice. Rumour had it that this action came about due to the fact that Ahmad Azam was not a native of Terengganu. The name of Daud Samad, who had obtained only three votes, was also proposed. He was appointed as the Menteri Besar in August, three months after the election. Together with the Menteri Besar, Mohd. Taib Sabri was appointed as the Speaker in the State Legislative House while Umar Abdul Rahman, Ismail Yusuf, Ahmad Azam, Umar Syukri and Abu Bakar Mohammad Salleh were appointed as members of the State Working Committee.

These appointments were not the end of problems for PAS, but instead, just were the beginning. Ahmad Azam declined his appointment as a member of the State

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19 In the party’s meeting to nominate the Menteri Besar, Daud Samad gained only three votes while Ahmad Azam received 19 votes. Even though the number of votes for Daud Samad was far fewer than for Ahmad Azam, his name was brought to the Sultan along with Ahmad Azam’s name. Abu Bakar Mohammad Saleh gained 22 votes but declined to be nominated as Menteri Besar. Interview with Abu Bakar Mohammad Salleh on 15 March 2005. Ismail Ibrahim in his thesis stated that Abu Bakar Mohd Salleh gained only 2 votes. However, Muda Abdullah, an UMNO member, mentioned that Abu Bakar gained the highest votes. Interview with Muda Abdullah on 18 March 2005.
Working Committee. It was said that he was actually anticipating a better post; that of Deputy Menteri Besar after he missed the top post in the government. He had a right to that post since PAS had earlier declared that the person who vied for the post of Menteri Besar but was not appointed would be the deputy Menteri Besar. However, there were a number of PAS members who disagreed with this decision and tried to prevent Ahmad Azam from being appointed solely because he was not a native of Terengganu. This was the beginning of prolonged conflict within the party.

Conflicts which occurred in the PAS government were very complicated because they involved numerous persons and factors. Two factors should be borne in mind while discussing these conflicts. First, the party’s internal problem was created by candidates who failed to hold important positions in the state government and second, there were the weaknesses of the Menteri Besar himself in running the state administration efficiently and at the same time preventing his working committee members from creating any troubles. These were the major issues. Assumptions can be made that PAS in Terengganu lacked credible and charismatic leaders. These two conditions were used by the opposition party, especially UMNO, to attack the PAS’s maladministration and they finally succeeded in toppling the government with a vote of no confidence in the State Legislative House in October 1961. The falling of the PAS government was successfully done with the help of some PAS representatives who participated in the no confidence vote and other PAS members

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20 Ismail Ibrahim, Kejatuhan Kerajaan PAS di Terengganu, p. 23.
21 Ismail Ibrahim, p. 23.
who took a neutral stand. Therefore it is important to discuss and analyze those situations to understand what actually happened within the party and its government.

The key persons in the dispute experienced by PAS and the state were Ahmad Azam and Mohd Taib Sabri. Ahmad Azam, who was frustrated at not being elected as *Menteri Besar* and deputy *Menteri Besar*, always criticized the inefficiency of *Menteri Besar* and his working committees in running the state. Delay in appointing his deputy and yet passing the Bill to rule the state under Islamic law were the two points criticized.\(^\text{22}\) Ahmad Azam also condemned the PAS members of Parliament for not giving their attention to their voters. The situation became complicated because he was involved in criticizing and commenting on the PAS government’s policies as an opposition member in the State Legislative House meetings. In July 1960, Ahmad Azam wrote a warning letter to the PAS leaders to focus on the Terengganu government’s crises. He demanded that three items be done. First, reshuffle the government; second, sack Mohd Taib Sabri as a PAS member; and finally appoint a deputy *Menteri Besar* as soon as possible.\(^\text{23}\) Ahmad Azam disagreed with Mohd Taib Sabri because rumours had it that the speaker was also interested in being appointed as Deputy *Menteri Besar*. Ahmad Azam also demanded that one of the PAS leaders, who resided in Kelantan (Abu Bakar Hamzah), should move to Kuala Terengganu to resolve the crises. If the party’s leaders failed to do as he insisted, Ahmad Azam threatened to resign from PAS and

\(^{22}\) *Berita Harian*, 12 November 1961.

\(^{23}\) *Berita Harian*, 12 November 1961.
was prepared to appoint a new state government with help from the other PAS and Party Negara members in the State Legislative House.

The PAS’s central leaders went all out to ensure the stability of the PAS government in Terengganu and attempt to end Ahmad Azam’s disagreement with Daud Samad and Mohd Taib Sabri, including setting up an Emergency Committee on 16 October 1959 to find a solution regarding the post of deputy Menteri Besar and conflict between Ahmad Azam and those who disagreed with him. To fulfill Ahmad Azam’s demand, Abu Bakar Hamzah moved to Kuala Terengganu to assist in solving the party’s disputes. PAS leaders made an arrangement for Ahmad Azam to meet both Menteri Besar and the Speaker in the presence of Abu Bakar Hamzah to find solutions to overcome the problems amongst them. However, despite giving his cooperation to meet those persons, the state commissioner declared to the public that he had resigned from PAS and had become an independent member in the State Legislative House. His action can be described as backstabbing the party’s efforts to end the crises. His withdrawal from PAS had an immediate impact on the PAS government’s stability when a Party Negara member proposed a vote of no confidence in the government because PAS only had twelve members in the House. Ahmad Azam, however, objected to the proposal and the PAS government was safe from being toppled. In November of the same year,

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24 Conflict regarding Ahmad Azam also had created havoc in the party itself. Ismail Ibrahim discussed the dispute which occurred between Ahmad Azam and PAS members who took several steps to dismiss Ahmad Azam from his post as state commissioner. See his thesis pp. 26-31.
Ahmad Azam wanted to rejoin PAS but was rejected by the party. Probably the PAS leaders wanted to avoid another crisis which might occur if he were brought back to the party.\textsuperscript{27} Furthermore, Ismail Abbas from Party Negara had joined PAS and brought the total number of PAS members in the state legislative house to thirteen, a sufficient number for PAS to continue ruling the state.

The crisis created by Ahmad Azam brought confusion to the PAS organization in the state. For example, twelve of the Kuala Terengganu Utara branch committee members, probably sympathizers of the former state commissioner, wrote a few letters demanding that the Kuala Terengganu Utara Member of Parliament, Ustaz Hassan Adli, resign as a PAS member.\textsuperscript{28} The reason for him to resign was unclear but possibly it was based on his role in overcoming the dispute. Hassan Adli’s status as Terengganu’s outsider probably caused this demand. Some of the PAS members in Terengganu did not want an outsider active in their state political affairs. Hassan Adli, however, did not entertain the demand as he was very committed to finding a solution for the crises which had weakened PAS’s position in the state. His true commitment was shown by attending meetings held on PAS problems in Terengganu.

In the meantime, Dato’ Onn from Party Negara closely observed the dispute faced by the PAS government. Realizing that PAS did not have a strong position in the

\textsuperscript{27} Some of the party’s members welcomed his desire to come back with high hope that his coming back could strengthen the party’s position in state government, however, the party’s top leaders had split decisions over the matter.

State Legislative House, Dato’ Onn offered a coalition government as Party Negara had four seats in the House. Even though PAS had no trust or confidence in the idea, Dr. Burhanuddin opened the discussion on it. On 30 August 1960, the first meeting was held. Dato’ Onn gave eight outlines for PAS to consider in forming a coalition government with Party Negara. Among these eight, outlines number three, four and five were rejected by PAS.\(^{29}\) Outlines number three and four proposed that the number of chairpersons in the cabinet system and seats in the States Working Committee should be equal for PAS and Party Negara. Outlines number five wanted PAS to abolish their struggle to rule the state with Islamic law. Definitely PAS could not fulfill these three outlines as PAS had more seats in the House and Islamic ideology was the main struggle of the party. However, to attain the coalition government, Party Negara agreed to soften these outlines and a series of meetings was held to discuss the matter. The desire to form a coalition government was dampened by the disagreement regarding the Land Affairs and Kampong Development Chairperson’s post. Both parties wanted the post. In the end, on 26 October 1960, PAS’s president announced the party’s rejection of the coalition government’s proposal.\(^{30}\) PAS’s rejection of the idea did not stop one of the Party Negara members, Ismail Abas, from joining the party, taking the number of PAS’s seats in the House back to thirteen, a quite safe position.

Even though the PAS government managed to stand as a government and for the time being the crises and disputes slackened, they had a great impact on the party’s

\(^{29}\) All of the eight items can be viewed in Ismail Ibrahim, p. 62.

\(^{30}\) Ismail Ibrahim, p. 66.
efficiency in running the state administration. Daud Samad seemed not interested in ruling the state. It was reported that the Menteri Besar paid no attention to state affairs and as a result the State Council Meeting had not met from February to September 1961. Meetings of the State Working Committee were rarely held. If there were a meeting, the Menteri Besar was reported frequently not attending it for various reasons. In addition, the outcome of the meetings was not fairly implemented. The Sultan of Terengganu, who was frustrated because Daud Samad did not listen to his advice, had sought advice from the then Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman, regarding the weaknesses of the state government.\(^{31}\) The exact reasons for the Menteri Besar acting in such a reprehensible manner were not known, however, rumours stated that he was being treated in hospital because of mental illness. However, his state working committee, Abu Bakar bin Mohammad Salleh, denied these rumours. He admitted that Daud Samad was being treated in hospital, but not for mental illness.\(^{32}\)

Daud Samad’s poor performance affected the state administration adversely and saddened PAS members. Apart from the improper state meetings, the Menteri Besar was hardly ever present in his office from April 1961. At the same time his office had frozen applications regarding the cultivation of large land areas. This action was taken to process thousands of previously untouched applications. It was also said that this action was to prevent non-Malays from getting the land.\(^{33}\) In addition,

\(^{31}\) *Berita Harian*, 20 September 1961.
\(^{32}\) Interview with Abu Bakar bin Mohammad Saleh on 15 March 2005.
there were hundreds of unprocessed files sitting on the Menteri Besar’s table, including hundreds of confidential letters which were not open. The Menteri Besar was also reported as having disobeyed the Sultan of Terengganu’s three urgent orders to meet him. The Sultan was very disappointed with Daud Samad’s behaviour and his refusal to play golf and tennis with his highness. It seemed that Daud Samad distanced himself from the Sultan. The situation became worse because PAS leaders in Terengganu could not do anything about Daud Samad’s problem because he would not listen to any advice.

The morale of the party and its members were affected in the eyes of the people of Terengganu. However, some of its members did not abandon their duties to comment or urge the government to correct mistakes if they happened. For example at the national level, PAS representative, Ustaz Hassan Adli, was strongly opposed to the federal government proposal to launch a welfare lottery as an extra income. Hassan Adli tried to inform other representatives, especially Muslims, that the proposal was against Islam. Nevertheless, the calls by PAS were meager in preventing the proposal from being implemented. At the state level, PAS as a ruling party, was not effective not merely in administration, land development and the state economy, as well as the enforcement of Islamic law, but also in ensuring that the people of Terengganu would abandon prohibited and immoral activities. Even

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35 PAS leaders frequently held meetings in order to solve problems occurring in Terengganu. In one of their decisions, the deputy leader of PAS was asked to meet Daud Samad to calm him down and to urge him to put his full concentration on state administration.
though Terengganu was governed by the Islamic party, immoral and prohibited ritual activities were still rampant amongst the Muslim community, such as in Kemaman district, an UMNO stronghold area. In one case, a coast worshipping feast was scheduled in July 1960 at Kuala Kemaman. The Religious Department had sent a reminder to the District Officer of Kemaman regarding the prohibition, by Islamic acts, of the slaughtering of cows or goats that would then be thrown into the sea.\textsuperscript{37} If such ritual was conducted, those who were involved would be executed under Section 4 of the 1955 Act. In another incident, the people of Kemaman district wrote a letter to the kathi’s office requesting them to take necessary actions to check the problem of prostitution. In response the kathi’s office set up a special committee to investigate and curb this immoral activity. No further information has been found regarding these activities, whether they were successfully curbed or not.

On land and economic development in Terengganu, arguments occurred between the state and federal government over certain policies. The state government accused the federal government of delaying the development program in Terengganu on purpose. On the other hand, the federal government said that this was because the state government did not approve the development planned for the state. Apparently, this political disagreement between PAS which controlled the state administration and the Alliance at the federal level which managed every aspect of development impacted the people of Terengganu who hungered for development in every field. Having failed to get their land applications approved

\textsuperscript{37} D.O.K. 775, Main Pantai di Kuala Kemaman.
after years, the people of Terengganu felt hopeless and this may have changed their minds in the next election.\textsuperscript{38}

The difficulties experienced by the PAS government became critical rather than solved when the Terengganu speaker, Mohd Taib Sabri, wrote a resignation letter in April 1961. Before writing the letter, he publicly criticized the government for not entertaining the Deputy Prime Minister in a proper manner when he visited Terengganu. Following his action, the PAS leader sent him a reminder.\textsuperscript{39} This action was strange, coming from the speaker of the State Legislative House. In the by-election held for the South of Kuala Terengganu parliamentary constituency in June 1961 following the death of Dato’ Onn bin Jaafar, Mohd Taib Sabri campaigned, not for PAS but for Party Negara. There were several reasons for his action. It was reported that the PAS leaders denied his request to take part as a speaker in PAS’s campaign. He was also dissatisfied with the speech of one of the PAS leaders which according to him jeopardised racial harmony.\textsuperscript{40} It is believed that his endeavour affected the winning chances for the PAS candidate. The South Kuala Terengganu voters could see PAS’s image tarnished through his act. UMNO, the strong contender, used this disadvantageous situation during its campaign. The price was paid in losing the seat to the Alliance. Mohd Taib Sabri was accused of possessing an UMNO spirit. Having failed to hold any top post in UMNO, he then

\textsuperscript{38} PAS government efforts toward state development will be discussed in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{39} Agenda item number three of the meeting of PAS Supreme Committee held on 24 April 1961 in SP/28/A/45, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1959-1961.

\textsuperscript{40} Berita Harian, 21 June 1961.
joined PAS in the hope that he could be a leader. However, he was not satisfied with his position as a State Legislative House speaker and protested against his own party publicly.

The Terengganu speaker’s role in the PAS Terengganu crisis became more obstructive when he threatened the PAS leaders to appoint a Deputy *Menteri Besar* as soon as possible or he would quit the party. Again the Deputy *Menteri Besar’s* post became a contentious issue as this made Mohd Taib Sabri leave the party. Perhaps if the PAS government had not delayed the appointment of the post of Deputy *Menteri Besar*, the crisis would not have occurred. Finally after having failed to make the party’s leaders entertain his wishes, the speaker announced his resignation from PAS. He gave five reasons for his decision which he claimed was beneficial for the party. However, he still held the Terengganu speaker’s position. PAS could not do anything about this and realized that its government was in deep trouble. There was rumour that the party would try to influence two of Party Negara’s State Legislative House members to join PAS. At the same time, UMNO had strengthened its position in the state by recruiting more members. At this crucial moment, senior members from various parties - UMNO, PAS, Socialist

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41 Interview with Dato Syed Omar bin Mohammad on 15 March 2005.
42 The five reasons were: i) The weaknesses of the PAS government in running the state had frustrated him, ii) Government had failed in developing the state and processing land applications, iii) The PAS government failed to get cooperation from government servants, iv) The government did not pay attention to the people’s suffering and v) Disagreement with the PAS government’s rejection of the land development policies imposed by federal government. See *Berita Harian*, 19 July 1961.
43 *Berita Harian*, 2 October 1961. However this rumour was denied by the Party Negara member on 7 October 1961.
Front and Party Negara - planned to establish a new party named Parti Melayu Raya following the political split in Terengganu and Kelantan.44

A major setback was sustained in PAS government when Haji Wan Said bin Haji Mohammad Noor and Haji Abdul Kadir bin Haji Mohammad, PAS State Legislative Council members, withdrew from PAS and joined UMNO on 21 October 1961.45 Mohd Taib Sabri also declared that he was now an UMNO member. Three days later another two PAS members, Ismail bin Haji Yusoff and Ismail Abbas, also withdrew from PAS. UMNO’s position in the state house was strengthened when three of the Party Negara members, Wan Daud bin Haji Ahmad, Mohammad bin Abdul Rahman and Haji Abdul Mutalib Haji Salleh, joined the party. Subsequently, PAS had only eleven members while UMNO had thirteen, in the State Legislative House. Party Negara lost its representatives in the house. This position could definitely bring the PAS government down especially when the Alliance members proposed a vote of no confidence for the PAS government to rule the state on 30 October 1961.

The PAS leaders planned a last minute solution to avoid the vote of no confidence from being passed in the coming State Legislative House meeting. They urged Daud Samad to step down as Menteri Besar because of the small number of members in the State Legislative House. They also wanted Daud Samad to meet the Sultan of Terengganu to advise the Sultan to disperse the State Legislative House to

44 Berita Harian, 23 July 1961. However until the PAS government was toppled, no news was received about this plan.
avoid the vote of no confidence against the government and hold another state election.\textsuperscript{46} The last minute solution was fruitless. During the state house meeting, a vote of no confidence against the PAS government was proposed by the Alliance member, Wan Daud (former Party Negara member). He stated that the government’s paralysis which occurred after the \textit{Menteri Besar} fell ill, the leaking of confidential matters and giving the Sultan wrong advice, prompted this vote. Thirteen were in favour of the proposal, seven rejected it and two abstained from voting. The neutral members were from PAS itself. One of the PAS members was asked to leave the house by the Speaker. Ahmad Azam gave his vote of no confidence. From that moment, the PAS government in Terengganu became history after ruling the state for two years and three months. The Sultan of Terengganu rejected the proposal to hold another election, and the Alliance was asked to establish a new government. Ibrahim Fikri was then made \textit{Menteri Besar}.

It is very interesting to analyse the political crisis experienced by PAS during its tough years as a government. Ahmad Azam, Mohd Taib Sabri and Daud Samad would have had their own reasons for creating all those conflicts. In addition, the crossing over of two PAS members to UMNO made way for the toppling of PAS as the state government. Mohd Taib Sabri’s motives have been discussed before. Ahmad Azam may have taken revenge for what he thought PAS had done to him previously by supporting the no confidence vote against the PAS government. In his statement to the press explaining his action, Ahmad Azam blamed the PAS leaders

\textsuperscript{46} Minute from Unusual PAS Supreme Committee meeting held on 25 and 26 October 1961 in SP/28/A/45, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1959-1961.
for not listening to his advice to pay more attention to political conflict in Terengganu. PAS leaders later in their investigation of the falling of PAS government in Terengganu, agreed that one of the factors was the late action taken by them to overcome the conflict.\footnote{Memorandum Suruhanjaya menyiasat Hal Terengganu, p. 6, in SP/28/A/46, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1962-1972.} Ahmad Azam also accused the government of doing nothing to impose Islamic policies in the state, instead letting the activities forbidden in Islam continues with impunity.\footnote{Such activities were dancing and drinking alcohol. \textit{Berita Harian}, 9 November 1961.} According to Abu Bakar Mohd Salleh, this accusation was flawed and Ahmad Azam actually knew the reason for not passing the Bills in the State legislative House to impose Islamic law. Insufficient numbers of PAS representatives in the state house made the passing of such Bills impossible.\footnote{Interview with Abu Bakar Mohammad Salleh on 15 March 2005.} As a whole, Ahmad Azam admitted that the PAS government had to be toppled because of its irresponsibility to the people of Terengganu which had damaged PAS’ credibility as an Islamic party. Ahmad Azam’s career in politics after the conflict ended is not known. Probably he moved back to his state, Perak, as UMNO in Terengganu was not welcoming him as a member because even though Ahmad Azam was no longer a PAS member, he still held a strong belief in Islamic struggle in politics and he would not accept UMNO’s principles.\footnote{Ismail Ibrahim, p. 40.}

Apart from Ahmad Azam’s case that had caused the PAS government to be short-lived, the two PAS members who joined UMNO and gave their vote to topple the government should be counted as one of the factors. It was said that these two
members, Haji Wan Said bin Haji Mohammad Noor and Haji Abdul Kadir bin Haji Mohammad, were very decent and quiet persons, who did not argue about the conflict between Ahmad Azam, Mohd Taib Sabri and PAS leaders. It was reported that before both of them decided to join UMNO, they were called by the Sultan of Terengganu to come down to Kuala Lumpur. In that meeting, the Sultan in the presence of Tun Abdul Razak, the deputy Prime Minister, urged them to withdraw from PAS and join UMNO. Assurances were given that no re-election would be held if they joined UMNO and toppled the PAS government. With this assurance, they were influenced to make a step.\textsuperscript{51} PAS leaders came to the conclusion that some of the PAS government members’ blundering behaviour was one of the factors, even though it can be said that the opposition party, the Alliance, was a contributory factor in those PAS members’ decisions. Undoubtedly as an opposition party, the Alliance (UMNO) looked with interest into PAS’s internal problems that could give them room to topple PAS as the ruling party. It was said that the Alliance in response to its defeat in the 1959 election had sworn to topple the PAS government before the next election.\textsuperscript{52} In fact, Dr. Ismail, one of the Alliance Ministers urged the Terengganu people to organize rallies to demonstrate their dissatisfaction towards the government’s performance.\textsuperscript{53} However, no such rally was organized.

\textsuperscript{52} Hakikat Politik di Terengganu in SP/28/A/45, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1959-1961.  
\textsuperscript{53} Berita Harian, 21 April 1961.
PAS leaders in their investigation had counted the Sultan of Terengganu’s interference in politics as one of the factors that brought down the PAS government. The Sultan played an important role in making the state government unstable. They accused the Sultan of Terengganu of taking sides with the opposition party and said that the Sultan also chose to believe in the accusations thrown at the Menteri Besar by other parties.\textsuperscript{54} If the PAS leaders’ accusations regarding the Sultan of Terengganu’s interference are true, there must be same explanation for his Highness’s actions. Probably the Sultan was getting tired of PAS’s never ending conflicts. Actually, the Sultan of Terengganu had very high hopes of PAS establishing a strong and stable government for the benefit of his subjects. In his opening speech in the State Legislative House on 5 August 1959, the Sultan addressed his hopes that PAS could bring changes to his subjects and fulfill their promises to build good infrastructure for the state and people’s benefit.\textsuperscript{55} The Sultan also urged the members of the House to double their efforts to ensure that the people of Terengganu got a better life. Thus, when the PAS government was wasting its time in argument against each other with the result that all state affairs were abandoned, definitely the Sultan could not stay calm and just watch. As mentioned above, the Sultan constantly summoned the Menteri Besar regarding government affairs. Unfortunately, Daud Samad escaped the call for his own reasons. The frustration of the Sultan led him to his decision to take sides with the opposition party, UMNO. Probably the Sultan thought that replacing the current


\textsuperscript{55} Berita Harian, 5 August 1959.
government was the only way to solve the problem which impacted the state’s development.

The weaknesses and the illness of the Menteri Besar however was the first and foremost factor for PAS’s collapse in Terengganu. The selection of Daud Samad for the important post was a big mistake.\(^{56}\) Even though he was in favour of the Sultan compared to Ahmad Azam, Daud Samad did not gain strong support from the PAS members in Terengganu. This was the beginning of the prolonged conflict which ensued. Without cooperation from the rest of the party’s members such as Ahmad Azam and Mohd Taib Sabri, the Menteri Besar could not run the state smoothly and efficiently. Daud Samad also did not defend himself and his government wisely against opposition critics.\(^{57}\) Therefore, Daud Samad can be described as lacking capability and charisma to hold a top position in the state government and it was proven in his actions in running the administration. Criticism regarding his performance and lack of cooperation from his officials, possibly made the Menteri Besar lose interest in administering the state. Daud Samad himself admitted that he faced several challenges as Menteri Besar.\(^{58}\) According to him, he was avoiding meetings and playing sports with the Sultan because the latter wanted to influence him to approve foreign investment mines applications from his closest friends.\(^{59}\) In addition, Daud Samad said that the Sultan was used by these foreign investors who


\(^{57}\) Berita Harian, 21 April 1961.

\(^{58}\) See his statement to the PAS investigation committee in SP/28/A/46, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1962-1972.

\(^{59}\) Memorandum Suruhanjaya menyiasat Hal Terengganu, p. 5. in SP/28/A/46, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1962-1972. This is a statement by Daud Samad himself.
were interested in building their economic strength in the state. He accused the local MCA’s leaders of offering the PAS state working committees thousands of dollars if they approved their mines applications. Even though there was no proof that his working committees had taken the offer, this element gave the PAS representatives a bad image among PAS members. The Alliance, added Daud Samad, put pressure on the State Secretary to adjourn all the government plans so that the PAS administration would be immobilized. All the land development projects were abandoned due to the carelessness of the officers in charge. The former Menteri Besar also blamed the foreign diplomats for their role in influencing the Sultan to go against the PAS government. Among those diplomats were the British High Commissioner, Australian Commissioner, American Ambassador, Thai Ambassador and Netherlands Ambassador.

Seemingly, Daud Samad placed foreign interference in state affairs as a contributary element for his short-lived tenure rather than having a look into the internal conflict especially with regards to Ahmad Azam and Mohd Taib Sabri’s actions against him. Perhaps the former Menteri Besar had no intention of revealing the dispute among the party’s members which could damage the party’s reputation. Daud Samad also did not touch on his own performance that could have contributed to the government’s weaknesses. He denied the accusation that the government did not cooperate with the party to unite the government and the party. In fact, he added that he always informed the party about the state’s programs and administration.

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60 Daud Samad gave an example with the plan to build an Arabic school building. It had been approved, however the State Secretary did not implement it because he was short of staff to supervise the works.
affairs, even though it resulted in the leaking of government confidential matters through PAS’s non government officers.

As a whole, the PAS central leaders admitted that there were several factors which brought the collapse of its government in Terengganu. Most of the factors came from the party and its members. They included clashes between PAS leaders on government posts; no working coordination in the government; and impact from the PAS failure in the town council election in 1961. The problem of PAS’ representatives not performing their duties in their respective areas efficiently and diligently to the best of their abilities was also a contributory factor. Whatever it was, PAS in the next election, have not gained back the chance of governing the state, even though it managed to secure many seats in the 1969 election. Not until the 1999 election PAS back controlled a state government for another five years before losing again in the 2004 election. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the people of Terengganu probably never forgot the PAS government’s performance in 1959 to 1961 as a government, thus they did not give any chances to the party until the 1999 election.

As a political party, PAS’s struggle in Terengganu did not end with the collapse of the government. In fact the party paid its attention to retrieve the party’s problems in order to get back the people’s support. Undoubtedly the party’s popularity among the Terengganu people after the incident decreased, particularly in the south of Kuala Terengganu and south of Kemaman district. PAS did not delay its actions in
gaining back the support and began with the party itself. At its meeting on 10 November 1961, the party proposed to launch “clean actions” against its members in February 1962.\(^{61}\) Steps were taken to sweep away all the negative aspects in the party that were brought by the opposition and to dispel the disloyal members who plunged PAS into the critical conflicts which ended with the unexpected fall of the Terengganu government. They believed that having a small number of committed members was better than being large, but did not understand the party’s struggle in politics. In addition, coordination between the party leaders and branch leaders was strengthened which helped solve problems which arose. PAS’ current leaders were reminded to choose only persons who were honest and loyal to the party rather than making choices based on religious titles and outward trappings. As a consequence, PAS now became an opposition party in the State Legislative House and all of its members promised to become active and prominent in voicing opinions. However, PAS’s members were reminded that prior discussion had to take place at the party’s meeting before any issue was brought to the house to debate.\(^{62}\) This was to ensure that the issue was in line with the party’s policies and struggle.

**The Alliance/UMNO**

While PAS was having many conflicts, its opponent, UMNO made efforts to strengthen its position in the state and spread its influence by restructuring the

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\(^{61}\) Laporan Wakil pejabat Agong PAS di dalam Mesyuarat Perhubongan PAS Terengganu, Jumaat 10 November 1961, p. 3 in SP/28/A/45, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1959-1961,

\(^{62}\) SP/28/A/18, Penyata PAS Negeri Terengganu dan Kerajaannya.
party. There were four targets for UMNO to achieve by the end of 1961.\textsuperscript{63} Firstly, the party’s aim was to launch enormous campaigns throughout the state in order to recruit new members, at least one thousand people before the end of the year. Secondly, the goal was to organize the party’s head and leaders’ tours to all the branches and sections, thirdly to organize political and social courses for party’s leaders and finally to establish as many new party branches as they possibly could. UMNO eventually succeeded in recruiting new members including those who held important posts in their former parties as discussed before, when large numbers of PAS and Party Negara’s State Legislative House representatives jumped to the party, leading to the toppling of PAS as a state government.

In actual fact, UMNO also experienced conflicts. As has been mentioned before, the Kemaman section was the centre of UMNO’s problem in Terengganu during these years. It began after Ibrahim Fikri appointed his man, Dato’ Taha, as a section head. Wan Yahaya, one of the popular UMNO’s leaders in the south of Kemaman was another key person who was responsible for the crisis; he felt that he was the one who should have been selected. In 1960 Wan Yahaya obtained the post by replacing Dato’ Taha in the section contest. Ibrahim Fikri did not approve of this situation. Ibrahim Fikri saw Wan Yahaya, who was popular, as a threat to his position as head of UMNO in the state.\textsuperscript{64} The loss of four seats to its opponents in the 1963 local town council election was unacceptable to Wan Yahaya.\textsuperscript{65} He and his committee

\textsuperscript{63} Berita Harian, 23 September 1961.
\textsuperscript{64} Interview with Dato’ Syed Omar on 15 March 2005.
charged that the losses were due to the betrayals of UMNO members that let the Socialist Front and Party Negara candidates win. Dissatisfaction arose and ended with the stepping down of Wan Yahaya and his committee members from the branch leadership. Ibrahim Fikri could do nothing to stop them from taking this stand. As a punishment to the disloyal members, he used his position as Menteri Besar to transfer some of the committee members who were government servants from Kemaman to another district. This conflict, however, did not affect the party’s strength in preparing for the 1964 election, which it eventually won as a landslide victory.

The root of the party’s problem was Ibrahim Fikri’s leadership as head of UMNO in Terengganu. He was described as a very autocratic leader and did not listen to others in dealing with the party’s affairs in the state. The morale of UMNO in Terengganu was affected by those allegations and dissatisfaction among the ranks. In some of its branches and sections, splitting and craving for the top post became the main problem. UMNO in the Kemaman district, for example, faced numerous problems and most concerned the leadership. Even though Ibrahim Fikri tried to recover the party’s strength after the defeat of UMNO in the 1959 election by being more strict, (he was blamed by the President of UMNO, Tunku Abdul Rahman, for not doing enough to win the election) he could not control the UMNO members choosing their section or branch leader, even though the person was not his

“man.” The situation became worse when he was selected as *Menteri Besar* of Terengganu. No doubt Ibrahim Fikri succeeded in playing his role as *Menteri Besar* of Terengganu, but his role as the party’s state leader was questionable.

UMNO in Terengganu under the Alliance government enjoyed so many benefits as a ruling party in government. Coming up to the 1964 election, UMNO’s position became stronger and stronger after more branches were established and more members were recruited, including PAS members and the party’s branch in Ibok in Kemaman district which now joined UMNO. Having governed the state very efficiently, the people of Terengganu had no hesitation in supporting the party, so that UMNO faced limited challenges either as a political party or as a government. However, the typical problems that plagued UMNO were not solved outright. Dissatisfaction towards the *Menteri Besar* had arisen amongst the party’s members in the mid 1960s. Ibrahim Fikri’s good performance in governing the state’s development primarily in land and economic fields could not stop its own men from commenting and accusing his government of putting their own interests before the public. Allegations of corruption became public matters after some of the UMNO members clearly mentioned this matter in newspapers.

### The Third Stage: 1965 to 1971

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69 Sharif Putera, “Sejarah UMNO Terangganu,” in *50 Tahun UMNO Terengganu*, p. 50.
70 *Berita Harian*, 24 March 1964.
72 These allegations of corruption became public even in the university’s lecture hall. Interview with Dato Rashid Ngah on 17 March 2005.
UMNO

Ibrahim Fikri faced corruption allegations. At the same time, his competitor, Wan Yahaya, planned to make a comeback in the political arena and showed an interest in wanting to contest the coming election. Knowing that Ibrahim Fikri would not recommend him, Wan Yahaya tried to get support from UMNO leaders in Kuala Lumpur. Wan Yahaya made an effort to spread his influence by recruiting more UMNO members and established more UMNO branches in the Kemaman district. Ibrahim Fikri was curious as to what was happening and strongly voiced his rejection regarding Wan Yahaya’s return to politics. The Kemaman section then was divided into two groups: Ibrahim Fikri’s supporters and Wan Yahaya’s “men.” The situation became worse day by day and UMNO headquarters was forced to take control of the situation in order to find solutions for the crises. Wan Yahaya’s attempts to lead UMNO in Terengganu were thwarted after Tun Abdul Razak, the deputy UMNO leader, declared that he would take over the Kemaman section and suspended the section’s meetings until the entire conflict was solved.\textsuperscript{73} Both Ibrahim Fikri and Wan Yahaya were very disappointed with the decision. Ibrahim Fikri as UMNO’s state head seemed to have failed to control his “people.” For Wan Yahaya this decision appeared to mean that the UMNO top leaders did not give him their consent to take an active part in politics.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{73} The section was deactivated in July 1971.
\textsuperscript{74} It was said that Tun Razak’s decision had close connection with a letter he received from an UMNO member who disclosed Wan Yahaya’s bad character and actions. See Sharif Putera, \textit{Sekali Angin Menderu: Biografi…}, pp. 72-73.
The temptation to make a comeback into politics had made Wan Yahaya turn to PAS. He declared that he was no longer an UMNO member and joined PAS. He also offered himself as a candidate for the coming election. PAS did not see this as a loss and allowed Wan Yahaya to stand for the South Kemaman seat in the state and the Kemaman constituency for the parliamentary election. During the election campaign, Wan Yahaya disclosed all of Ibrahim Fikri’s and his working committees’ mismanagement in administering the state.\textsuperscript{75} In other words, Wan Yahaya provided a huge input to the PAS campaign in the election. It also seemed that PAS used this opportunity to take revenge on UMNO for luring their members to jump to the party eight years before.

Undeniably, Wan Yahaya had had a great negative impact on UMNO’s position in the state and painted a bad picture regarding Ibrahim Fikri’s role as \textit{Menteri Besar} amongst the people of Terengganu. This was seen in the election result as discussed in the previous chapter. Wan Yahaya won the state seat but lost in the parliamentary constituency. He lost to Wan Mokhtar Ahmad by a slim margin. The election result placed Ibrahim Fikri in a severely compromised position. He held full responsibility for the seat losses. UMNO’s state position and influence needed full attention from headquarters. Yet, Tun Abdul Razak took over the Ibrahim Fikri post as state head. However, he was once again appointed as \textit{Menteri Besar}, but not for long. He was advised to step down and finally on 30 September 1970, the career of Ibrahim Fikri as \textit{Menteri Besar} of Terengganu and politician ended.\textsuperscript{76} He then was replaced by

\textsuperscript{75} Sharif Putera, “Sejarah UMNO Terangganu,” p. 52.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibrahim Fikri died two years later in a car accident in Pahang.
Mahmood bin Sulaiman from Hulu Terengganu. The appointment of Mahmood Sulaiman as *Menteri Besar* was not final. The anxiety and desperation to dismiss Ibrahim Fikri from his office had forced the UMNO top brass to choose someone else even though the person was not a suitable candidate for that top post. A year later Dato’ Haji Nik Hassan bin Abdul Rahman was appointed as the new *Menteri Besar* of Terengganu after he won a by-election for the Batu Rakit seat in August.

No doubt the appointment of Dato’ Haji Nik Hassan as *Menteri Besar* and UMNO’s state leader had solved the prolonged party crisis. Nonetheless, Haji Nik Hassan’s tenure as *Menteri Besar* was also short-lived. In 1973 he was forced to step down because of several disagreements with the Sultan over a number of issues. Terengganu then had a new *Menteri Besar*, Wan Mokhtar Ahmad. Both UMNO leaders and the people of Terengganu seemed satisfied with his performance in administering the state as his position as *Menteri Besar* and UMNO state head remained untouched until 1999.

**PAS**

In the meantime, PAS was still strengthening its party position from previous crises. Reformation within PAS was not merely at the state level in Terengganu but also at the national level in order to ensure its strong position and spread its influence among the Islamic community and to coordinate its members’ behaviour. The PAS Supreme Committee was urged to have close contact with every section in the party

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78 A by-election was held to allow Nik Hassan to become *Menteri Besar*. Details of this by-election can be found in Sharif Putera, “Sejarah UMNO Terangganu,” p. 53.
and every officer at state, section and branch level. New ideas and new strategies were formulated and new leaders were appointed to enable the party to face its opponents and to get it ready for the 1964 election. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, PAS’s performance in the election showed little improvement. As a political party, its internal conflict never ended. In fact, at a national level PAS, which was the only Malay political party in Malaysia, faced strong pressure from the Alliance party. PAS for example was accused of being involved in several race riots which occurred in Penang and Bukit Mertajam in late 1967. Following this accusation, there was a suggestion that PAS should be banned for national security reasons. Some of the PAS leaders were arrested under the allegation that they had close contact with communists located in the south of Thailand. To make the situation worse, some of its top leaders left the party for UMNO. However because of no valid evidence, action was not taken against PAS on those allegations. Yet, PAS’ position in the Malaysian political arena became stronger day by day. The support from the Malays for the party was pictured in the 1969 election result which has been discussed in chapter four. The PAS candidates, for example Daud Samad, who won in the 1959 election and then were defeated in 1964 were re-elected in 1969. This showed that PAS in some places, gained back

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81 Press Statement, Langkah “Pondan” Perikatan untuk Melumpohkan PAS, in SP/28/A/49. Kertas-Kertas PAS daripada Pejabat Agung 1968-70. Allegations that PAS had close contact with communists were not new. It began when Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmi joined the party and was elected as the party’s president. Dr. Burhanuddin’s political history in PKMM and his stance towards communists was often used to associate PAS with the communist struggle.
82 Othman Abdullah and Hj Umar bin Daud were among the PAS leaders who moved to UMNO in 1968.
trust from the people of Terengganu even though it could not bring back the state government to the party’ controlled.

Nevertheless, PAS’ impressive victory in Terengganu in the 1969 election was dampened by several problems. The phenomenon of members’ crossing over into UMNO was the main problem faced by the party at state level. It was said that the Alliance, especially UMNO, did not stop influencing PAS members to join UMNO in order to strengthen its position in the State Legislative House. (Even though the Alliance was allowed to form a government, its position was not strong as it only had thirteen seats out of 24 seats in the State Legislative House.) A few months after the election, Ibrahim bin Mat Noh, the PAS representative from Sura-Dungun, decided to withdraw from the party and joined UMNO. Two years later, another two PAS representatives, Wan Mohamed bin Ngah from Ladang and Haji Mohd Taib bin Ismail Binjai, joined UMNO. PAS then was no longer in a strong opposition in the state house as its members occupied eight seats out of the total of eleven. PAS in Terengganu eventually was not surprised with the decision taken by both members. It was said that Wan Mohamed joined the party to have a platform in politics whereas he did not actually understand the party’s aims and struggle. It was said that he still drank alcohol in public which is against the party’s policy. Haji Mohd Taib bin Ismail, on the other hand, was a former government servant who was sacked because of bribery allegations. It was reported that he accepted
bribes while he held the state treasury chief’s post. However he managed to get support from PAS members in Binjai to be their candidate in the 1969 election.83

Even though the crossing of three PAS representatives into UMNO did not eventually shake the party’s position in the state, when the conflict touched the party’s ground level, it was something that worried the party’s leaders. PAS’s stronghold area in Terengganu (Dungun District) had weakened considerably because of the withdrawal of Ibrahim bin Mat Noh and the failure of a large number of PAS members to become candidates in elections especially in Dungun. This caused PAS members to become disillusioned with the party’s leadership. The PAS leaders were blamed for their carelessness in not choosing the right candidate in the elections and not paying attention to members to ensure their loyalty to the party.

The prolonged and widespread conflict became critical when efforts were taken by some PAS members to convert 30 of PAS’s branches in Besut district to UMNO branches. If they had succeeded, all PAS members in Besut would have changed membership to UMNO. However this was not realized because of the disagreement of most of the party members in the respective branches. This incident indicates that the conflict was created only by certain members and they tried to get sympathy from others who were still loyal to the party. The PAS branch in North Kuala Terengganu also faced trouble as it seemed that more members would leave the party for UMNO. The success of some of the frustrated PAS members (including its top leaders) in influencing others to cause problems in the party in that branch, had

created a huge conflict in the state party. As a consequence, the said party branch was immobilized. It ended with the suspension of the branch and also the person who was responsible for creating this chaos in April 1971 by the party headquarters.  

The financial situation, failure to be chosen as election candidates and failure to hold a better position in the party were the factors responsible for having created havoc in PAS in Terengganu. These typical situations surrounding the political movement in Malaysia were then exploited by the Alliance, particularly UMNO, to persuade dissatisfied PAS members to leave the party. Ordinary members were offered jobs in government departments such as teaching and state house representatives were offered incentives such as a few acres of land if they became UMNO members. Undoubtedly those who needed such incentives would change their mind, and no longer be interested to carry on with the struggle in a financially strapped party like PAS. Facing continuous conflict, PAS admitted that such problems had a great impact among its voters, sympathizers and even PAS members’ convictions regarding the party, especially in Terengganu where its people were more sensitive on current issues.

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84 A letter from PAS High Secretary to Terengganu Commissioner dated 25 April 1971 in SP/28/A/100, Persatuan Islam Se Tanah Melayu (PAS Umum 1971).
85 Penyata Perhubungan PAS Negeri Terengganu 1971/72 in SP/28/A/100, Persatuan Islam Se Tanah Melayu (PAS Umum 1971) p. 4. This report was presented in PAS’ 18th Annual Grand Meeting held in 1972.
PAS and the Alliance 1971-1973

The Malay political scenario had changed subsequent to the 13 May 1969 race riots. Soon after the tragedy, the PAS president, Dato Mohd Asri Hj Muda, came down to Kuala Lumpur upon request from Tun Abdul Razak to discuss the incident. PAS placed the blame on the political bargaining by the Alliance government, which for PAS was abandoning the Malays as sons of the soil of the country. PAS’ immediate reaction to the tragedy was understandable. For years the party reminded UMNO and the Alliance, as a government, to give more attention to the Malays’ backwardness and to give priority to the Malays in every aspect, especially in administration and at the same time develop their economy. The Alliance political bargaining which entertained the other races’ interests was not working, according to PAS. PAS saw no meeting point in different aims and aspirations in the Alliance coalition.

Not long after the riots, Mahathir Mohammad, an UMNO member who lost in the election, wrote an open letter to the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman. The letter, which blamed the Prime Minister’s soft policies towards the non-Malay parties in the Alliance, created havoc in UMNO and the Alliance. Multiple responses were made to the letter. Some PAS leaders agreed with Mahathir but some did not. Those who disagreed with Mahathir did so, on the basis that he and

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his group were opportunists and had no tolerance for an Islamic party like PAS. Therefore this group of leaders, such as Hassan Adli, urged PAS members not to give their sympathy to this group of “ultra Malays.” There is no indication of support from PAS members for Mahathir’s demands for Tunku Abdul Rahman to step down as Prime Minister prior to his so-called failure to safeguard Malay rights which was responsible for the riots. Possibly the PAS leader thought that for the sake of Malay unity, this was not a suitable time to show political conflict among Malay parties.

The immediate response from the government over the racial riots was to freeze the parliament and set up the National Operations Council (NOC) to rule the country. Several Acts regarding political activities were imposed to limit or control them from creating tension among the people. Therefore, political activities were prohibited in the name of national security. PAS was heavily disillusioned with these regulations as they felt that they were an infringement on democratic rights. However, the party “was cooperative with the federal government. The party was favourable to NOC rule, participated in the NCC [National Consultative Committee], supported the Constitution (Amendment) Bill in 1971 (although the party was internally at odds over this), and generally avoided political confrontations.” Understandably, PAS’s cooperation was because of Malay interests in unity against the non-Malays. The New Economic Policy launched by

89 A confidential letter from Haji Hassan Adli to Baharuddin, one of the PAS members, dated 13 August 1969 in SP/28/A/49, Kertas-Kertas PAS daripada Pejabat Agung 1968-70.
the government in 1970 to upgrade the Malays’ economic standing in the country received strong support from the party. PAS hoped that the government would give serious attention to the matter to ensure that the proposal did not remain merely on paper.\footnote{Uchapan Pembukaan Resmi Konggres PAS Yang ke XVII di Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, Penerbitan PAS Malaysia, 1971, p. 7.}

Fearing a repeat and intensification of the racial tension after the May 13 tragedy, the Alliance government sought political cooperation between the political parties to avoid the same incident happening again. Forming a coalition government at the state level was the first step taken by the Alliance. In most cases, the Alliance took the initiative and invited its opposition to a series of round table meetings. PAS was not excluded. Furthermore, the party was a ruling party in Kelantan and had won a number of seats in Terengganu. However the response from the party was not as pleasant as other parties such PPP from Perak and Gerakan in Penang.\footnote{The Alliance formed a coalition with Gerakan; however, it caused splitting in Gerakan. See Diane K. Mauzy, pp. 58-61.} In fact, PAS, particularly its president, Dato’ Asri Haji Muda, did not show any interest in Tun Razak’s idea of a coalition when he first met him in Kuala Lumpur after the riots. PAS eventually took a long time to consider a coalition government in Kelantan and also in Terengganu. The Alliance on the other hand did not give up easily even if PAS did not show any commitment to the proposal.

Diane K. Mauzy has several more suggestions regarding the motives of the coalition government proposed by the Alliance. She stated that “this coalition was
vital to the strategy of reducing ‘politicking,’ achieving Malay unity, and devoting all energies to the implementation of the Second Malaysia Plan and the New Economic Policy.”

She added that “the Alliance sought coalition with PAS in order to eliminate the threat of ‘outbidding’ by PAS and also stop the danger posed by PAS’s spreading influence in other northern states (Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis and Perak). Finally, the coalition gave the Alliance participation in Kelantan state government and reduced federal-state tensions there.”

The Alliance strategy to form a coalition with PAS was understandable especially when referring to UMNO. UMNO was the only Malay party in the Alliance whereas the Chinese had two parties, MCA and Gerakan, while the Indians also had two, MIC and PPP. The unstable position in the Alliance had forced UMNO to seek this coalition with PAS in the hope that the party would join the Alliance in the near future and at the same time strengthen Malay politics.

As mentioned before, PAS showed no interest in forming a coalition government with the Alliance in Kelantan. However, PAS kept observing the negotiations between the Alliance and the other parties. In the party itself, the leaders began to touch on the possibility of forming such a coalition with the Alliance. However the PAS leaders were reminded to consider this issue wisely and thoroughly because of the differences in the party’s views, concepts, struggle and aims in politics. Basically, PAS members were not in favour of forming the coalition because the

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93 Mauzy, p. 71.
94 Mauzy, p. 71.
95 A letter from PAS’s Ulama Hall’s secretary, Othman Hamzah, to their members dated 27 April 1971 in SP/28/A/100, Persatuan Islam Se Tanah Melayu (PAS Umum 1971).
party’s character was completely different and it was difficult to find the middle ground regarding views expressed by UMNO and PAS.

Nevertheless, beginning in 1972, the party shifted its stand. The PAS president gave a different view while commenting on the statement made by Ghafar Baba, an Alliance full minister. In April 1972 he said the Alliance government was prepared to consider a coalition government in Kelantan. However, Datuk Asri was not interested in the coalition at state level but at the national level, because he saw no necessity for PAS to form a coalition government in Kelantan because the party had an absolute majority to rule the state. The ambitious Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, had initiated a series of talks and meetings in order to convince the PAS leaders to form a coalition government in Kelantan. Having been pressured to consider the coalition, PAS brought this matter up in their own meetings and congress held in 1972. As a result, PAS created a special committee to examine the possibility of forming a coalition with the Alliance at all levels. A Consultative Committee was also formed for further discussion on the coalition and it was composed of three PAS representatives: Datuk Mohd Asri bin Haji Muda, Haji Hasan Adli bin Haji Arshad and Haji Abu Bakar bin Hamzah; and two from the Alliance: Tun Haji Abdul Razak and Dr. Ismail bin Datuk Abdul Rahman, to find a final agreement on the coalition. In the end, the PAS leaders were given a mandate by the party in an Extraordinary Congress held in December 1972 with 190 votes for the coalition, 94 against it, 19 abstentions and 30 absent.

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96 Mauzy, pp. 69-70.
PAS’s decision to collaborate with UMNO in Barisan Nasional resulted in a severe split within its party members. In fact some of the party’s members rejected the decision on the grounds that the coalition was “UMNO ‘tactics’ to lure PAS into partnership in order to destroy it.” In Kelantan, the party’s split obviously affected the party’s performance as a state government. In fact some political writers stated that PAS declined as an Islamic party when it joined the Barisan Nasional.

The Sedition Act, 1971, the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1971 and the 1972 Elections (amendment) Act, badly affected the PAS movement. These restrictions did not allow political parties to use or to campaign for certain races, especially in making claims that the country belonged to only one race, for example the Malay, which had been PAS’ clarion call in its struggle in the past. The Acts also prohibited political parties from using any symbol connected with any religion or sect. It seemed that both acts were legalized to control the PAS movement over the Malays/Muslims. Probably these matters changed PAS’s stance towards coalition with the Alliance. Financial problems, the isolation of Kelantan’s political situation, leadership crisis, allegations of corruption and Malay unity were the other reasons given by Diane K. Mauzy regarding the change of heart of PAS leaders towards the coalition.

98 Syed Ahmad Hussein, Muslim Politics in Malaysia, p. 24.
99 Mauzy, pp. 71-72.
100 Details can be found in Mauzy, pp. 71-73. Further discussion on the leadership crisis can be found in Alias Mohamed, Malaysia’s Islamic Opposition, Past, Present and Future, Kuala Lumpur, Gateway Publishing House, 1991, pp. 60-75.
Certainly the decision to form a coalition with the Alliance at all levels had affected the party in many aspects. No doubt the PAS leaders were brought directly into the government machinery at federal level with the appointment of Datuk Asri as the Minister of Land Development and Special Functions, apart from other posts such as Deputy Minister, a Parliamentary secretary and a political Secretary. However at the party level, PAS lost support from its followers, members or even sympathizers.\textsuperscript{101} PAS had to change its aims, struggle and strategies in politics. Some examples can be seen in the party’s struggle within the coalition government, such as:\textsuperscript{102}

1. PAS within the Coalition Government was determined to create a peaceful and harmonious Malaysia by fostering morale and spiritual elements. In other words, people’s spiritual development should go in tandem with the current material development and in line with Islam as the national religion, the principles of Rukunegara and religious elements.

2. PAS, with the Coalition Government will make efforts to insert Islamic elements into the country’s legislation and constitution.

3. PAS through the Coalition Government is determined to implement the New Economic Policy with trustworthiness and fairness until the aims to materialize social and economic balance between the rich and the poor are met.

4. PAS, with the Coalition Government is determined to create a Malay culture that is not in contradiction with Islamic teachings.

\textsuperscript{101} Sharif Putera, \textit{Sekali Angin Menderu; Biografi…..}, p. 89.
5. PAS, with the Coalition Government is determined to preserve national security and eliminate threats from within and without; therefore it hopes that the national defense forces will be upgraded.

6. PAS, with the Coalition Government is determined to continue the free and active foreign policy and will struggle for the Southeast Asian neutral concept in order to maintain stability. Also efforts will be taken to have close ties with other Muslim countries.

Obviously from the outline above, PAS’s principal struggle to impose Islamic laws in the country had been watered down. Even though the party’s laws and regulations still included the clause regarding the implementation of Islamic laws, some of its members believed that the party leaders had betrayed the party’s Islamic spirit with the decision to cooperate with the Alliance which comprised non Islamic believers. PAS members and sympathizers in Terengganu were not happy with the party’s decision to join the Alliance as well as UMNO members. The dissatisfaction was shown in the 1973 election when PAS members did not give their vote to UMNO’s candidate but to PSRM’s candidate (Party Sosialis Rakyat Malaysia; based on Party Rakyat). Whatever feelings arose against the coalition, PAS and other parties in the Alliance formed a Barisan Nasional (National Front) in January 1973 to complete the coalition and cooperation towards achieving a peaceful Malaysia. With the establishment of the National Front, PAS influence and challenge in Kelantan and Terengganu primarily ended until it withdrew from the National Front in 1978.

103 Interview with Dato Rashid Ngah on 17 March 2005.
Conclusion

Both UMNO and PAS faced several conflicts in their struggle to come into power in Terengganu. Having conflicts was a normal phenomenon in the political party. However the way they handled the crises gave different outcomes. From the discussion, PAS’s leadership looked weak in managing its own members, primarily those who were not satisfied with the party’s decisions over certain issues. Apparently, Dr. Burhanuddin and his team could not handle Ahmad Azam, Mohd Taib Sabri and Daud Samad, the key persons who created conflict in state politics. Probably because PAS was an Islamic based party, its leaders believed that its members including those men possessed an Islamic spirit that could set aside their own personal interests and attempt to solve whatever disagreement arose. The party leaders constantly mentioned that the Islamic spirit should be the prime consideration in handling dissatisfaction.  

However, they failed to understand that those persons had their own goals in politics and even dared to change their principles to ensure their aims were fulfilled, including expressing happiness in seeing the party lose power in Terengganu. The party’s soft and late actions on these trouble makers also contributed to the poor outcome. For example, when Ahmad Azam threatened to leave the party on several issues and condemned publicly the PAS government, the party leaders showed their tolerance until Ahmad

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104 See for example a letter replying to Ahmad Azam’s dissatisfaction over Terengganu affairs by PAS leaders, dated 12 July 1960 in SP/28/A/45, Kertas-Kertas PAS 1959-61.
Azam declared his withdrawal from the party. The party’s soft action was mirrored when it decided to allow Ahmad Azam back into the party in January 1961.

Even though these persons had their own reasons for creating conflicts, the lack of an Islamic educational background possibly was the principal problem affecting the party’s goal which is based on Islamic teaching. Even though many of the PAS leaders, including Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy, have an Islamic educational background, they were not considered Islamic scholars. Moreover, in political struggle, many of them were involved in the nationalist movement before joining PAS. Therefore, it was difficult for them to truly understand the party’s spirit and sacrifice their own interests in politics for the sake of the party. The people of Terengganu did have faith in this party; however, those persons had betrayed them by creating conflicts which affected the people’s trust regarding the party.

UMNO, on the other hand, showed no compromise in solving its conflicts even though it had lost its experienced and charismatic members. This can be seen with the stepping down of Wan Yahaya and his branch committee in 1963, which was followed by his withdrawal from the party in 1968. The UMNO leaders also forced their Terengganu state head, Ibrahim Fikri, the person who was responsible for the Alliance victory in Terengganu in the 1964 election, to step down on corruption allegations. Even though no investigation was carried out on the allegations, the party leaders counted the loss of several seats in the 1969 election as the price paid
for those allegations. Drastic and tough actions proved effective as UMNO’s position become stronger and stronger in the state.

Having a coalition government and party with the other Malay party to strengthen Malay politics in the Alliance after the 13 May 1969 tragedy brought the two different parties (UMNO and PAS) to round table meetings. This goal came into being when PAS joined the Alliance which was later called the National Front in January 1973. However this “marriage” was not harmonious. Different aims, struggle and strategies created conflict between PAS and particularly UMNO in governing Kelantan. Disputes continued with PAS declaring that the party was to split from the National Front, which occurred in 1978. PAS involvement in the National Front became history. The problems which occurred and reasons for this split require another study. Syed Ahmad Hussein however, suggested that PAS split from the Barisan Nasional to become more radical and to play role as an Islamic opposition\textsuperscript{105} in line with Islamic revivalism which arose rapidly in Malaysia from the 1970s.

CHAPTER SIX

LAND AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT 1955 - 1973
Introduction

Basically, political representatives and/or political parties were elected based on several factors. As Terengganu was an underdeveloped state, its inhabitants depended heavily on the government to develop the state and to create more economic activities in order to generate new jobs and sources for their livelihoods. Apart from political strength and performance, economic expansion was a crucial point that should be taken into consideration as one of the factors influencing the people’s choice of their state government. The state’s economic background before and during British rule has been discussed in detail in Chapter One, and also was touched upon in Chapter Two. Those discussions elaborated Terengganu economic conditions which were unimpressive. This chapter will concentrate on analysis of the state’s economic growth after those periods in order to discern changes made by the ruling parties.

There is a dearth of research on Terengganu’s economic development after independence. G.D. Ness¹ and Dorothy Guyot² briefly touched on Terengganu’s economic conditions in their works. Even though G.D. Ness’s focus was on economic development in Malaysia, he highlighted briefly the economic progress in Terengganu principally when it was ruled by PAS (1959-1961) and by the Alliance (1962). Dorothy Guyot, on the other hand, focused her discussion on a comparative study of land development in Johore and Terengganu in the 1960s. Both researchers

¹ G.D. Ness, *Bureaucracy and Rural Development in Malaysia.*
have linked land and economic development with the ruling parties’ policies and administration. This chapter attempts to find the answer to the political situation in the political behaviour of the inhabitants in Terengganu. Therefore it is not possible to separate the ruling parties’ policies and administration while discussing the land and economic development in the state. Undoubtedly, G.D. Ness discovered that there was insufficient land and economic development in the state under PAS government. However, he does not discuss the reasons for this nor did he consider the whole situation from the party’s point of view. It must be remembered that Terengganu was governed by the opposition party (PAS) and the central government always came up with strategies to reduce financial assistance for the state to lessen the people’s support for that party.

Unlike the work of previous researchers, whose sources were newspaper reports and central government documents, this chapter will use materials obtained from the Terengganu offices which administered both land and economic affairs. In other words, this discussion gives more details on the land and economic growth in Terengganu not merely from 1960 to 1962, as G.D. Ness did, but up to 1973. This chapter also focuses on the living conditions of the inhabitants of the state (something which Ness and Guyot did not do) because the land and economic development parallel the development of the people. Political development, which was discussed in the previous chapter, had impacted the land and economic development in Terengganu. Therefore, this chapter is an attempt to examine the

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state’s land and economic development during those crucial periods, with a view to disclosing every effort taken by the ruling parties in the state and also measuring the extent to which the development planned was compatible with the people’s wishes. It will be seen very clearly that there was a great difference between the Alliance and PAS governments’ performances.

**Land and Economic Development before 1955**

After the Japanese occupation, the living conditions of the inhabitants of Terengganu were basically dismal. This was described in the report given by the committee which was set up to investigate the living conditions of the people of Malaya after the war. In the report for Terengganu, it was said that “At the present moment the whole population in various categories of life are experiencing great difficulty to meet the post war high cost of living particularly in foodstuffs, clothing and the various essential commodities.”

Most of the economic activities run by the inhabitants in the pre-war period were affected which resulted in their inability to pursue their normal pre-war businesses because of property lost in the war, primarily for small trading. The report which covered all types of economic activities run by the inhabitants disclosed the weaknesses, advantages and personal incomes of those involved. As a whole, the report described Terengganu’s land and economic development as crucial, requiring serious attention from the government.

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As discussed in Chapter One, the fishing industry was a main economic activity in the state, therefore it was given top priority by the Committee. Instead of being an important activity, the Committee found that the fishing industry remained underdeveloped. According to the Committee, this was because of the attitude of the people who were involved in the industry. They were like their ancestors who lacked the desire to improve their standard of living. They were unable to intensify their efforts in the fishing industry and so they were mired in poverty. In addition, they were not envious of the property enjoyed by the other sections in the community. These attitudes, perhaps, were strongly linked to their religious beliefs and practices which dictated that it is enough to live simply and not in luxury, even though this is not forbidden by religion. Living in luxury is discouraged to ensure that the people do not become greedy and trapped in immoral ways such as accepting bribes. Furthermore, the Malays seemed happy to live according to that standard of living as long as they had houses to live in and jobs to secure their livelihoods. In Terengganu the majority of the inhabitants were Malays, so this attitude was common because there was no competition from other races and jealousy was virtually unknown.

As a consequence of that style of living, fisheries production was never improved in the 1950s and 1960s. Even though catches were exported to Singapore mainly, the amount was not impressive. In fact, the personal income of fishermen was not as good as that of labourers. Most of them only managed to obtain about $13.33 to

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$20.83 per month.\textsuperscript{7} This amount was too meager to sustain daily expenses. Therefore the state’s income from the fishing industry was insufficient to help the government to build up more facilities to rework this industry and to recruit more fishermen. In fact, the Committee was at a loss as to how to alleviate this condition because the root of this problem was the attitude of the people involved. The only solution to overcome this situation was to educate and train them.\textsuperscript{8} The Committee also recommended that these fishermen should be encouraged to do some extra work during the rainy season to ensure that they were not trapped in debt and unable to feed their families. The presence of middlemen (fish brokers at sea and fish brokers on land or fishmongers) made the situation even worse. The system of having these middlemen was deleterious to the fishermen’s low income, and should be abolished, the committee recommended.

The attitude of farmers, primarily paddy planters, was not much different. The British officials found it very difficult to encourage them to utilize whatever resources they had in order to upgrade their living conditions. In addition, they were not trained in the proper mode of living.\textsuperscript{9} Again the way of living practised by the farmers was the main factor in shaping the laidback style of the communities in Terengganu. They were not used to being involved in other activities for extra income, such as obtaining goat’s or cow’s milk instead producing only meat, even though they did not drink such milk and could have sold it to those who did. They were also not used to competing with others in order to get a better life. However,

\textsuperscript{7} A.O.E. 26/1950, Committee’s Report, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{8} A.O.E. 26/1950, Committee’s Report, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{9} A.O.E. 26/1950, Committee’s Report, p. 10.
there were numerous problems that worsened the farmers’ or cultivators’ plight in such living conditions. Insufficient land to cultivate was the most serious problem faced by those who lived in coastal areas. Those who lived in other areas were too poor to own the land and had to rent to cultivate grain, primarily paddy. Apart from low incomes, these people not only had to give either half or 3/5 of the yield to the landowner, but also were prohibited from cultivating other seasonal crops such as vegetables for additional income. This was because the land was turned to fruit cultivation land (*dusun*) by the landowner. Therefore, from the survey, paddy production in Terengganu was far less than in the other states such Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis, even though Terengganu possessed 47,820 acres of land suitable for paddy cultivation.

As a whole, the committee was not happy with the living conditions and the economic activities of the inhabitants of Terengganu. The Malays of Terengganu were pictured as being typically lazy, spending most of their time on leisure activities, gambling and stealing items rather than seeking job opportunities to add to their daily or monthly income just like other races. This negative description was common among foreigners, especially British officials. Some Malay scholars, however, have their own view regarding this matter. Syed Hussin al-Attas for example said that the Malays’ laziness was actually a myth created by the colonials.\(^\text{10}\) Eventually, to understand this situation is to know more about the way

of life of the Malays. They used to live a simple life and they did not think that living in luxury was a necessity.\footnote{A brief discussion on this matter can also be found in Azmah Abdul Manaf, Sejarah Sosial Masyarakat Malaysia, Petaling Jaya, Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn. Bhd. 2001, pp. 68-72.}

The Committee’s report also highlighted the inhabitants’ feelings towards the administration of affairs, which for them was not inspiring. The administrators at the kampong level were held responsible for having plunged the kampong people into poverty because they did not do enough to create more job opportunities, especially after the losses sustained during the Second World War. Two complaints that should be highlighted here have close connection with the role played by the head villager (penghulu) and the Agriculture Department officers. The head villagers were accused of “only looking after their own interests and trying to gain the favour of their superiors and do not care very much for the poor rakyat [inhabitant],” while “the agricultural officers have not so far given them material assistance beyond advice, and even advice cannot be followed.”\footnote{A.O.E. 26/1950, Committee’s Report, p. 21.} As a whole, the performance of the present administration was not satisfactory to the people. As a consequence, the Committee found that in the kamongs, where great poverty prevailed, there was no harmony in the lives of the people and no cooperation amongst them. Therefore, the committee felt that something had to be done to overcome these problems.
The Committee came up with numerous suggestions to persuade the government’s related agencies to upgrade the standard of living of the people and also to see if the economy would bloom. There were nine recommendations made by the Committee;

1. The scope and capital of Trade and Industry should be enlarged to be able to give financial assistance to the fishermen and kampong industry.

2. A Kampong welfare committee should be established and should be under the guidance of the land office and should give assistance to the kampong people.

3. The Restricted Residence Enactment (Enactment No. 5/56) should be imposed on people suspected of petty thefts so that this problem is reduced.

4. Training of children through schools should involve physical fitness and skills in agriculture and industry to produce efficient workers.

5. Religious instruction should be under the Religious Department to ensure punctuality and to bring about a greater awareness of God’s prohibitions such as adultery, gambling and taking alcoholic drinks.

6. Revival of ancient games usually played by the farmers to be done by the kampong committee to fulfill their entertainment requirement.

7. Government officers should supervise and organize the allocation of land to be cultivated, the paddy planting; encouraging the growing of seasonal crops and give talks on how to make manure, copra and rearing poultry.

8. All the agricultural programmes should be supervised and organized by the Pejabat Pendidikan Rakyat (Education People’s Office) to ensure that
they are implemented in a systematic manner. After some years this office would be able to decide whether any further improvement is necessary.

9. All fishermen and boat owners should apply for an insurance scheme (tailor made for their needs).\(^{13}\)

As a consequence of the report and the committee recommendations, the government was advised to allocate a sum of $200,000 as an advance to the trade and industry sector in order to finance small traders and another $200,000 advance to open up new paddy lands.\(^{14}\) How far the recommendations were put into action is not known, however, efforts were taken to allocate land to farmers and to open up new paddy land. The most important event that resulted from the recommendations in the report was the setting up of the Rural and Industrial Development Authority (RIDA) in Malaya. The first chairman was Dato’ Onn bin Jaafar. RIDA later became an important government agency in developing land and economic schemes after Malaya was self governing. In fact, one of the government’s motives in setting up RIDA was to be directly involved as a fund provider and as a partner in the plan to develop new areas or to re-develop existing settled areas.\(^{15}\)

Besides financial assistance and the recommendations, the British government initiated another task to expand Terengganu’s economic activity. To help increase the production of agricultural products such as rice, a programme of fertilizer subsidies was introduced in Kelantan and Terengganu. Other than paddy, rubber

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\(^{13}\) Further explanation can be found in A.O.E. 26/1950, Committee Report, pp. 24-33.
\(^{15}\) S.A.O.T. 180/51, RIDA Participation in Planned Development of New Areas, p. 1.
was introduced and cultivated widely in Terengganu. More land was cultivated for this purpose. From the report made by the Agriculture Department, there were 41,043.95 acres of land planted with rubber of which the Kemaman district was the largest area.\(^{16}\) From the statistics given, 8257 Malays held a small holding of under 25 acres of rubber land. However for medium holdings of rubber land, there were 128 Chinese while the Malays had only 36. Nevertheless, some of the Terengganu Malays were very keen and interested to get involved in this very promising industry despite being described as lazy and less ambitious.

As numbers of people involved in plantations grew, the small holding of land increased and the need to form an association was pressing. Therefore, the Terengganu Smallholders’ Association was formed on 22 July 1952 to unite all the rubber small holders in Terengganu.\(^{17}\) For the future, the Association felt that the current numbers planted with rubber were too few as there were still a lot of vacant lands. In July 1955 the Association made an application to the government, asking for financial aid in re-planting projects and providing more land for rubber cultivation. They looked for up to 150,000 acres to be cultivated.\(^{18}\) The application was approved. In the meantime, land applications for paddy cultivation were being continuously received. In fact, the British government had encouraged the inhabitants to grow wet paddy more in order to minimize its import from other countries.


\(^{17}\) To view the association’s functions see, S.A.O.T. 43/52, Terengganu Smallholders’ Association.

\(^{18}\) Letter from the Terengganu Smallholders’ Association to the State Secretary dated 10 July 1955 in S.A.O.T. 64/53.
To ensure the planned programme was a success, the government had built agricultural stations in almost every district. The stations were given some money so that assistance could be given to planters in terms of distributing fertilizers, budwood and plant seeds. Constructing new roads and repairing the existing ones were the other actions taken to improve the infrastructure which was very important in transporting the agricultural products. As mentioned in chapter one, the infrastructure system in Terengganu was very poor compared with other states and it was one of the factors that had diminished the growth of potential economic sources.

Undoubtedly, as discussed above, the government carried out numerous tasks to upgrade the quality and quantity of economic production and to improve the standard of living of the state’s inhabitants. As mentioned before, the fertilizer subsidies given were one of the strategies. Planting paddy twice a year was introduced to maximize the use of land, to increase the paddy production and to ensure that the cultivator’s time was fully utilized. From time to time, the Agriculture Department officers monitored the process of paddy planting to ensure that the paddy cultivation was only done during suitable times besides using good seed.19 The way the land was prepared before paddy could be cultivated was also highlighted. The department also gave its guarantee to solve problems of paddy disease if any. Systematic gauging of rivers was introduced but was limited to

certain areas because of financial shortages. More lands were opened to cultivate commercial crops such as rubber, cocoa and other seasonal crops. Terengganu’s inhabitants were encouraged to apply for land to get involved and to work in the newly opened estates. The high price of rubber production had helped in increasing the activity of rubber tapping. A new planting program was initiated in the Ulu Terengganu district where the people were very poor and did not own any rubber land. In the fishing industry, the Fisheries Department was opened to monitor fishing activities to ensure that the fishermen’s income and production rose. In short, the latest economic development introduced in Terengganu, which included building up sufficient infrastructure like roads, bridges, jetties and so on, put it on a par with other states.

UMNO, the Malay political party in the state, was also taking part actively in encouraging the people of Terengganu to get involved seriously in plantation activities. The party’s section in Kuala Terengganu, for example, had established a working committee to investigate and make proposals as regards ways and ideas to develop the Malays’ agricultural industry. They came up with three suggestions for the government to consider:

1. Apart from agricultural training provided by the government to students, additional carpentry skills should be given to ensure additional income.

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20 In 1947 the state estimates for example had to be revised due to the low accumulated reserve funds of the Malayan Union. See a letter from Department of Agricultural, Malayan Union to State Agricultural Officers, Terengganu dated 21 April 1947, in S.A.O.T. 44/46.


22 S.A.O.T. 36/54, Newplantings in the District of Ulu Terengganu.

23 S.A.O.T. 158/52. Suggestion by UMNO Kuala Terengganu on Improving Agricultural in the State.
2. To provide female students with handicraft skills.

3. To train the farmers in proper methods of cultivation (for example, using fertilizers and tractors).

No doubt UMNO showed interest in solving problems faced by Malay farmers and in developing their skills in agriculture and other fields.

However, five years after the Committee’s report on the living conditions of the kampong dwellers and fishermen in Terengganu was published, conditions remained unchanged. From the report made by a mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore in 1955, not many changes had been achieved in increasing production either in the fishing industry or in agriculture. Similarly the living conditions of the people had not improved. Probably the communist attacks during the Emergency period (1948 to 1960) had a great impact on the people’s motivation on putting more attention to upgrade their lives.

As usual, every effort to develop the state’s economic production faced several problems which retarded the programmes. The people of Terengganu seemingly lacked awareness about the government moves to change their life for the better. Probably they thought that as long as they did not suffer from hunger, the implementation of the development plans was the responsibility of the government itself. For example, to increase rubber production, more rubber estates were opened, but they faced labour shortages as Malays were not interested in working in the

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estates.\textsuperscript{25} The solution was to employ Chinese or Indians, which did not overcome the low income problem among the Malays. It seemed that there were two types of Malays in Terengganu: first, those who were enthusiastic about changing their lives, seriously getting involved in commercial industry as stated above; and second, those who were looking for easy jobs and were satisfied with their low income. In paddy cultivation, it was reported that “very little of the present paddy acreage produced more than one crop a year.”\textsuperscript{26}

Fear of communist attack had driven the farmers away from the communist targeted areas, primarily rubber estates. In fact, as discussed in Chapter Two, some of the rubber estates were closed due to the severe communist attacks. Some of the kampong folk eventually had to move to other places, leaving their homes and land for their own safety. This situation would have affected the agriculture industry. For example, from the 1951 Annual Report, rubber production in both Kemaman and Dungun districts, the most affected areas during the Emergency, decreased by 25\% from the previous year. New land could not have been opened in this district because of similar factors.\textsuperscript{27} Apart from this problem, the roads to be constructed and repaired faced challenges. Besides insufficient financial allocation, frequent water flooding during the wet season was a major problem.\textsuperscript{28} To overcome the financial shortages, kampong people were advised to construct and repair the roads

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\item \textsuperscript{25} A.O.E. 89/1948, Malay Labourers in Estate of Dungun.
\item \textsuperscript{26} The Economic Development of Malaya, p. 188.
\item \textsuperscript{27} S.A.O.T. 204/51, Annual Report 1951.
\item \textsuperscript{28} S.A.O.T. 37/1945, Cadangan membaiki Jalan-Jalan Kampong sedia ada.
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on their own.\textsuperscript{29} It is doubtful that the kampong people would take the responsibility. The bottom line is, all factors, which were caused either by nature or from human errors, hampered the land and economic development planned by the government.

From the second report, the Committee saw that there was more room to fill in order to improve the quality and quantity of the agriculture products. A mission proposed several tasks for the government to consider. They urged that the programme of fertilizer subsidies be continued, widening the double cropping of paddy, and upgrading the infrastructure, primarily in constructing more roads and jetties for fishing vessels. The government was also urged to take necessary steps to overcome the arrears in land applications and land registration so that the land would be used immediately. Even though economic conditions were unimpressive, the British government held a first election to appoint a new ruling government for Malaya including Terengganu. Economic and land development eventually was a main point in campaigns of the parties contesting in the election. Since the Alliance had a landslide victory in the election, the responsibility for building a better economy and greater land growth was placed firmly on its shoulders.

\textbf{Land and Economic Development under the Alliance: 1955-1959}

As the first elected party to be a state government, the Alliance had a great momentum in pursuing its development promises to the underdeveloped state of Terengganu. The Alliance party’s policy in agriculture was to achieve self

\textsuperscript{29} S.A.O.T. 9/50, Mukim Council Meeting on 15 February 1950.
sufficiency in essential foodstuffs and they gave five outlines to be concentrated on:  

1. Increasing quantitatively and qualitatively the agricultural produce and diversifying crops  
2. Improving the marketing system  
3. Giving financial assistance to agriculturists through the Land Bank and other agencies  
4. Ensuring security for cultivators  
5. Providing agricultural education on as extensive a scale as possible.

Having numerous recommendations and suggestions from the said Committee to develop the state’s economy in every field, an extra boost was given to the newly appointed government to realize the dreams of the people. The Alliance government eventually held a big responsibility in developing the state’s economy and the first five years of its administration would be a trial for them in winning over the Terengganu people’s hearts. As a Menteri Besar, Ibrahim Fikri and his Working Committees started the land and economic development by promoting commercial plants such as rubber to be cultivated widely and actively. However, first and foremost, the newly elected government studied the weaknesses of the current system which were associated with land and economic programmes in order to improve the system.

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Alienation of state land for rubber planting was the first thing touched upon by the government to correct the mistaken concept of land that resulted in inefficient work in producing quality rubber. The State Executive Council realized that this concept which was understood as being alienated land when an application was approved made the land either uncultivated or poorly cultivated. This was because the land given was too small for rubber planting and it was not economical. 60% of the peasants were given less than five acres, 80% under six acres and a large number obtained less than three acres under this programme. The minimum economic area for small rubber holding is six acres. 31 Therefore, the state council advised the Commissioner of Lands and Mines to propose new instructions in approving new land for rubber planting and give assistance to the planters, even though it might not be popular amongst the people as they preferred to own small land individually. However, this instruction should have been imposed because “it is the duty of Government to arrest a state of affairs which can only perpetuate the poverty of the Malay peasant and dissipate the natural wealth of Terengganu.” 32

Previous schemes launched were sustained with persistent monitoring from the government’s related agencies. For example, new planting schemes in new areas were widely implemented. After a few years, a report on the ongoing progress was made. From the report, it can be seen that the planting programmes were successful as they benefited the peasants. Through the program of fertilizer subsidies, the area of cultivation was increased year after year. In 1955 about 43,169 acres were

32 S.O.A.T. 76/57, Alienation of State Land for Rubber Planting, p. 3.
cultivated with wet paddy and it was increased to 44,624 in 1957 and 49,915 a year later. This increasing number was not limited to wet paddy only but for most of the plants including seasonal crops. Therefore, it was reported that some of the peasants had received double or triple incomes as compared with their past earnings.

The rubber plantations did not enjoy better conditions. As mentioned above, most of the land alienated to planting rubber was uncultivated or poorly cultivated. Even though more land was given to fulfill the Terengganu Smallholders Association’s application, the outcome of the production was very frustrating. After five years running, it was noticed that from every thousand acres allocated for rubber plantation, only 750 acres were cultivated, but with non-descript rubber which produced a low quality product. Re-plantation schemes by the planters to plant a better product with their own pocket money, proposed by the state’s Commissioner for Lands and Mines, were opposed by the planters because they were still looking for an income from those non-economic trees. The peasants who were given land to cultivate rubber, with monthly inspection from the Rubber Instructor, were asked only to pay a minimum premium or deposit of $20.00. However, most of them either failed to pay the premium or did not plant the rubber trees satisfactorily. Therefore the alienation scheme failed and the rubber industry in the state had not improved.

33 S.A.O.T. 80/55, a letter from State Agricultural Department to State Secretary dated 6 December 1958.
34 S.A.O.T. 43/52, Memorandum from the Commissioner of Lands and Mines Terengganu to State Secretary dated 28 April 1959.
However, the Alliance as the elected government had to fulfill its duties to develop the state’s economy and infrastructure for the future, and so it did not stop the inhabitants from involving themselves in the state’s economic development programs. One of the actions was to approve as many land applications as possible within a very short time. Every month the Agriculture Department approved land applications for rubber, paddy and other crop cultivation. For example in January 1956, the Kuala Terengganu Agriculture Department had approved about 580.477 acres for rubber, 54.147 for paddy and 200.073 acres for local fruit plantations. The numbers for rubber and paddy cultivation rose in December of that year to 1088.016 and 61.169 for paddy.  

A Rural Training Centre was built in Ajil to train Malay youth in agriculture. Probably the training centre was built to fulfill the proposal made by UMNO Kuala Terengganu as mentioned before. Twelve selected trainees from all over the state would undergo training for a fortnight by taking courses devoted to specialized subjects such as poultry and goat rearing, growing fruit trees and others. Throughout the year, the Rural Training Centre provided such training for each district. For example, from 24 January to 5 February 1959 and 5 to 17 September training was given to the trainees from Besut district. Each district organized at least three training sessions. It is believed that the training centre succeeded in producing skilled farmers to run the agriculture sector efficiently.

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37 S.A.O.T. 84/55, State Estimate 1957.
38 S.A.O.T. 8/59, Rural Training Centre.
In 1956 the Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA or well known as FELDA), a public corporation, was established by the federal government. The function of the FLDA was as follows: “It shall be the duty of the Authority to promote and assist the investigation, formulation and carrying out of projects for the development and settlement of land in the Federation.”

The state government in Terengganu never missed the opportunity to establish FLDA in the state. Therefore a Terengganu Land Development Authority Board was formed on 24 September 1956. Because the money used to award the project came from the federal government, the state government did not delay in finding suitable vacant land for that purpose. About four thousand acres of land in Chalok, Besut district, were earmarked for this scheme and four hundred lucky Malay families were chosen to be the pioneers of the project. These chosen people were considered lucky because all main facilities such as houses, schools, medical clinics and roads were provided by the government. It seemed that this scheme was launched to counteract the new settlement scheme for Chinese squatters during the Emergency as mentioned in Chapter Two.

A few years later, another FLDA scheme was launched in Jerangau, Ulu Terengganu. Tens of thousands of acres of land had been approved to cultivate oil palms. Apart from this scheme, another new planting scheme was imposed in Sungai Tong, Kemaman District, for 91 families, involving 548 acres for rubber plantation. The families were ordered to plant rubber trees with full assistance from

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39 S.A.O.T. 9/56 pt. II, Federal Land Development Authority. In this scheme, vacant land would be given to the selected people for them to cultivate with commercial crops such as rubber and cocoa and later palm oil. Each family was given one lot of land besides financial assistance.

40 S.A.O.T. 55/59, FLDA Jerangau Oil Palm Scheme.
the government. They only had to pay a land tax. No doubt the government had done a lot to develop the economy of Terengganu and at the same time helped in providing more sources of livelihood for the inhabitants.

Attention was not given to rubber industry only, as the cultivators of other crops were given top priority. For example, to help the paddy planters in producing a quality product, the state government in 1957/58 had allocated $100,000 and most of it was spent on paddy fertilizer subsidies. In addition, to help paddy planters in Batu Burok area, the Drainage and Irrigation Department had built canals for 31,496 acres of paddy. Again, the Alliance government tried to improve the state economy and the living condition of its people. Whenever reports came about landless families, the government would find suitable land for them. For instance, the government proposed to give land to about 50 landless families from Kampong Sekayu in mukim Tersat at a nearby kampong. However, the implementation of the proposal remained unknown because the Alliance lost to PAS in the July 1959 election.

For the fishing industry, since the government intended to permit the fishermen to get large catches, it allowed the large scale fishermen to use a different type of fishing net including those which were prohibited during the British administration. Even though most of the small scale fishermen were unhappy with this permission,

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41 S.A.O.T. 111/58, New Planting Scheme Sungai Tong, Kemaman.
42 S.A.O.T. 68/58, Assistance to Padi Planters in Terengganu.
43 S.A.O.T. 95/58, New Tali Ayer at Batu Burok Terengganu.
the large scale fishermen who were now at an advantage, caught more fish and managed to increase their catch on a daily basis. Eventually most of the small scale fishermen were disappointed by this permission. The use of nets like lekong net and side net would harm the fish, chase them away, and they were having difficulty catching those fish. The small scale fishermen, among them UMNO members, wrote a letter about this matter but there was no response from the government. It seemed that even the UMNO members were not happy with their leaders’ decision regarding the matter which would cause difficulties for most of the affected fishermen. This fact should probably be counted as one of the factors in the Alliance losses in the 1959 election. In fact, after the election, the party’s members from Pantai Telok Kuala Terengganu threatened to withdraw from UMNO if Ibrahim Fikri, the person responsible for permitting the use of those nets, was re-elected as head of UMNO for Kuala Terengganu. However, Ibrahim Fikri remained as head of the party in Kuala Terengganu as there was no other suitable person to hold that position.

**Land and Economic Development under PAS government 1959-1961**

Unexpectedly, the Alliance party’s losses in the 1959 election made land and economic development in Terengganu face different conditions. As a newly formed party, PAS was considered lacking in experience in governing the state. As

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45 N.E. Fish 14/50, a letter from UMNO Pantai Telok representative to Secretary of UMNO dated 28 July 1959.
46 N.E. Fish 14/50, a letter from UMNO Pantai Telok representative to Secretary of UMNO dated 28 July 1959
mentioned in the previous chapter, the PAS government from day one in office had prolonged leadership conflicts until it was toppled two years later. As PAS leaders were too busy solving the never ending internal conflicts, the state administration was affected. Having insufficient numbers of representatives in the state house was disadvantageous for the ruling party as they found it difficult to introduce and implement bills which could have improved the state administration and development. However, as a government, PAS leaders undoubtedly did put in every effort to develop the state’s economy as they had promised in the election manifesto. Their primary concerns were to improve and upgrade the standard of living of the state’s inhabitants, especially those residing in rural areas.

In the party’s manifesto, PAS was committed to improve every aspect of the state’s economy. There were thirteen aims to be achieved by the government in the economic sector.\(^{47}\) Among them were:

- To open new lands for estates and get all people involved, therefore efforts would be doubled to process land applications efficiently.
- To utilize natural resources efficiently.
- To give full assistance to the present planters in the form of advice and items like fertilizers.
- To encourage people to cultivate more commercial plants such as coconut, coffee and cocoa and to train and educate the farmers on how to cultivate such products.

\(^{47}\) SP/28/A/70, Manifesto PAS bagi Pilihanraya Dewan Undangan Negeri Terengganu, Darul Iman, pp. 3-4.
• To build more drainage systems.
• To encourage and to assist the establishment of commercial and merchant fishermen’s cooperative associations.
• To build factories to process the state’s natural resources.
• To encourage potential cottage industries in rural areas by providing related equipment.

It seems that the party’s goals to develop the economy were not much different from those of the previous government. Therefore, the choice of PAS to govern the state was not because of the party’s promises to develop the land and the economy but because of the Islamic elements in the party’s struggle. However, the economic aspect later became a contributory factor in the party’s losses in the 1964 election.

In order to understand this aspect, we have to view the economic development during the party’s administration before being toppled in October 1961. With just two years in office, and having numerous leadership crises, there is very little to discuss on the government’s efforts to develop the state economy and to improve the standards of living of the people. The dearth of written material on state development during the PAS administration makes the discussion incomplete. During the very short of period in office, planned land and economic reforms which needed more time to implement remained unfinished.

The PAS government continued the development planned and implemented by the previous government. Every department was ordered to implement beneficial plans for the people. PAS inherited a state full of economic problems. As mentioned in
the first chapter and in the first part of this chapter, the state economy’s performance was not impressive. Even though the British government and later the Alliance had carried out numerous actions to develop the economy, the achievement was considered mediocre. It was said that the Terengganu inhabitants did not get enough attention from their political representatives during the Alliance period. Therefore, the living conditions of the people remained unchanged.

From surveys made by government agencies such as the Fisheries Department, the poor income of the fishermen was still the major reason for their poverty. Even though the government tried several ways to overcome this situation either by introducing the latest, productive and economical fishing devices or giving financial assistance to them to get a new fishing boat, anomalies regarding practices among fishermen had held back the goal of alleviating their poverty. The methods of catching and marketing catches and salary distribution among them were the roots of the problem. Most of the fishermen were too poor to own fishing devices. Therefore, they used the middlemen’s devices which were not actually productive in gaining more fish. The presence of middlemen worsened the fish marketing system. The middlemen bought all the catches for a price which was very low compared with the price offered by the cooperative company. Eventually fishermen were not allowed by the device’s owner to sell the fish to the cooperative company. Another point was the salaries distribution among the fishermen. The ordinary fishermen obtained the lowest payment after the device’s owner, divers and the boat’s captain.

The fishermen’s mentality should have been changed by educating them and giving necessary advice, so that they would not depend on middlemen. Instead, they should have had direct dealings with the cooperative company either to seek aid or to sell their catches. These were two suggestions made by the fisheries officials apart from urging the fishermen to shift their paradigm and attitude in gaining success in life.\textsuperscript{49} In actual fact, fishermen in certain areas especially in Kuala Terengganu and Besut were aware of their minimum catches and knew the cause of it. They had the intention to change it, with the support from the government. As mentioned above, fishermen in some areas disagreed with the decision to allow the large scale fishermen to use certain fishing nets which for them could minimize their catches. As soon as PAS took over the reins of the state government, fishermen from Kampong Payang and Kampong Mangkok Setiu wrote letters to their political representative, Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy and the \textit{Menteri Besar} to express their dissatisfaction\textsuperscript{50} in the hope that both of them could do something about it. Unfortunately, there is no further information about the response from the government or action taken to overcome the problem.

The PAS government no doubt had its own plans to upgrade the infrastructure such as building canals, roads, bridges besides opening new lands for plantations and for the FLDA scheme. In the 1960 budget, the PAS government had allocated $207

\textsuperscript{49} NE.Fish.14/50, a report from Fisheries Department to the State Secretary dated 12 October 1959, pp. 1-3.
\textsuperscript{50} N.E. Fish 14/50.
million for physical and spiritual development. However, several problems hampered the projects planned. For example, the canal project at Paya Merjo in Kuala Terengganu district which should have been built in 1961 was postponed to a year later because of the floods. Even though the plans to open new lands in rural areas in Terengganu received immediate attention from the government, they faced numerous challenges. The insufficient number of land officials in respective departments hampered processing of the thousands of land applications received. The newly appointed government had to process initially hundreds of land applications made during the previous government’s tenure, and in the meantime, received new applications continually. The government decided to freeze the applications for large scale acreages (200 acres and over) and only concentrated on small scale applications as the department could not cope with the sheer volume.

To ensure the smooth running of the application process, the Menteri Besar established a special working committee to examine the case of group applications which did not have to be brought to the government’s attention and individual applications which previously took a longer time to approve. This committee was also given responsibility to investigate the reasons why the people stayed illegally on government land. Among the committee, two members were from the Alliance party (Sulong Mohamad) and Party Negara (Mohamad Abdul Rahman). Nonetheless, both withdrew from the committee because they were not in favour of

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52 DOK.Tr. 879(1), Peringatan Meshuurat yang ke sembilan Jawatankuasa Pembangunan Luar Bandar Daerah Kuala Terengganu, 23.2.1961 in SP/28/A/86.
the presence of District officers in the committee, and wanted the Commissioner of Land and Mines to be a member. Probably both persons were not interested in helping the government to overcome the land conflicts. Nevertheless, the Committee succeeded in processing those applications and it was reported that land applications were approved in great number. In fact it was claimed that the land approval by the committee was the highest ever in Terengganu’s history.  

Because the ruling party, PAS, was an opposition party to the Alliance, the assumption can be made that the state government was not in a position to receive any cooperation from the federal government in development projects, as experienced by the PAS government in Kelantan. The federal government gave financial support only to the projects under its programme such as FLDA because of political differences with the state’s ruling party. In some cases, the projects planned by the federal government could not be implemented because the state government rejected them solely for political reasons. For the state government, the FLDA scheme for example was against the party’s manifesto regarding land development in the state as the plan did not give any benefit to the Malays.  

The state government believed that those projects would give opportunities to the non-Malays from the other states to reside in Terengganu and also give room for foreign investment in the state economy. For the federal government, PAS did not have tolerance when it came to state development because PAS believed they were only concerned with political ideology and did not care about the people’s welfare.

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54 Interview with Abu Bakar Mohd Salleh on 15 March 2005.
55 Berita Minggu, 28 May 1961.
However for the Party Negara leader, the central government had every right to force the state government to implement certain schemes since those rights were enshrined in the Federal Constitution. Furthermore, the central government had the right to seize as much land as possible for the reasons of state development and for the people’s benefit.\textsuperscript{56} Therefore, there was no excuse for the federal government not to impose the Five Year Plans in Terengganu. Nevertheless, political disagreement between those governments seems to have delayed the proposed plans and the consequences were dire for the people of Terengganu.

The state government’s divergence with the federal had touched on the FLDA scheme which already ran in the state. The state’s ruling party was reluctant to hand over the Chalok FLDA scheme to the federal government. The state government instead wanted to finance the project and had loaned $640,000 to the FLDA state board without interest,\textsuperscript{57} which was insufficient to run the scheme efficiently. Some people believed that the state government’s fear of those projects which were sponsored by the federal government was unacceptable. Yet it only created dissatisfaction and unhappiness amongst the state inhabitants, because most of the people did not own land. Through these projects, they would have at least a piece of land in the state which possessed a lot of vacant land.\textsuperscript{58} It was reported that six hundred families from the FLDA Chalok scheme decided to take action against the state government because they were left in poverty since the government took over

\textsuperscript{56} Berita Harian, 23 April 1961.
\textsuperscript{57} S.A.O.T. 297, Mesyuarat Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Negeri Terengganu pada 7&8 May 1961. However, this decision had a great effect on the development of the scheme later.
\textsuperscript{58} Berita Minggu, 28 May 1961.
the scheme from the federal government. They claimed that the state government had broken its promises to give financial assistance and as a consequence, the cultivators suffered. Undoubtedly, the credibility of the PAS government was undermined and there was nothing they could do to overcome the problem since the government did not have adequate funds. As a consequence, the FELDA participants were suffering from starvation and this problem was said to be one of the factors that brought down the PAS government in the next election.

However, it is erroneous to draw the conclusion that the ruling party had failed in its aims to develop the state economy and raise up the standards of its people. The state government went all out to ensure that the people gained benefits from the scheme even in the situation of inefficient and insufficient government officials.

In their first year (1959), the ruling party had approved more land applications than ever before. For comparative purposes, in Ulu Terengganu, land approved in May 1959 (the Alliance government) was 63.793 for rubber and 125.176 for paddy, while in October the same year about 180.242 acres were approved for rubber plantation and 113.749 for paddy. In the Besut district, 65.226 were approved for rubber in May and 22.499 for paddy. In October 206.088 and 18.460 were approved for both crops. This is an example to show the efforts taken by the government to approve as many applications as possible from the people.

60 Berita Harian, 2 November 1961.
61 Interview with Abu Bakar Hj. Salleh, 15 March 2005.
The government without doubt tried to increase the state’s economy and the people’s standard of living however, without cooperation from the inhabitants it would not be materialized. The 1960 Annual Report on the rubber industry for the district of Marang and Kuala Terengganu were not impressive. The report said that:

The standard of sheet produced by smallholders was poor. The price offered by the dealers remained very low. Throughout the year, price per pikul smoked between $110-$80.50 (January to December), unsmoked $100-$60 (January to December). Rubber has been the favoured crops for the people of these two districts. A total of 821.368 acres of jungle land has been alienated for the new planting of rubber during the year. A total of 885 acres of rubber holdings [was] being approved for replanting. The standard of replanted holdings was poor and it was not common that some of the holders were converted by *lalang*.

Definitely, the economic growth in Terengganu in 1960 was not good, even after the government and its related agencies went all out to ensure that programmes were implemented successfully.

To improve the transportation system in the state, government had allocated about $12,750 for road repair in Kuala Terengganu district in 1961. This involved about 27.5 miles of road. $12,200 was also allocated to repair and construct eight bridges in the district. This amount was part of the $250,000 allocation for repair and the construction of roads for the whole state in the year. Beside that, a sum of $2,005,000 was distributed to build schools. It seemed that the state government

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64 S.A.O.T. 7/54, Mesyuarat Penghulu jajahan Kuala Terengganu pada 3 April 1960.
had set its goals for the Terengganu voters’ benefit. However, this plan was not realized because of the short tenure of the ruling party. PAS while in office managed to construct merely a few miles of new road. Financial shortages and time constraints were the reasons for this. Cooperation and financial assistance from the central government were nil. If any grant was allocated, it was just for Alliance stronghold areas, political strategies played by the Alliance party. In 1961, for example, Kemaman was supposed to have received over $400,000 for roads, bridges, and schools including $38,000 for four mosques. The money was from the central government. In Besut, $387,000 was allocated for development and $15,000 for mosques and $25,000 for community halls. Definitely the people of these two districts were fortunate for having voted for the Alliance party and it would influence the people from other districts to do the same in the coming election if they wanted their district to be developed.

Long term economic and land development planning came to an end with the toppling of the ruling party from the state office. The people of Terengganu seemed to penalize the PAS party for not fulfilling its promises by not voting for the party’s candidates in the next election. No doubt the political conflict had a great impact on the party’s performance in administering the state, but for PAS leaders the root of the problem was the limited number of its representatives in the state house. Having insufficient numbers of party officials in the government made the monitoring process on plans and programs launched by the government difficult. In

65 Aida binti Tengah, Pemerintahan dan Corak ….., p. 15.
the end, the plans and programmes could not run effectively. Moreover, UMNO’s influence on several state officers such as state secretary, as mentioned in the previous chapter, had intensified the predicament. To add to these difficulties, financial allocations from the federal government were not satisfactory. As a matter of fact, the state government did not receive any financial assistance to implement development schemes in rural areas. Therefore no such schemes were implemented in the state. Terengganu, which was known as having few natural resources, could not depend on its own money to build good facilities and infrastructure as well as investing in other projects to develop the state’s economy. With all the problems and limitations, the party could not satisfy either the party members or the inhabitants of Terengganu.

**Land and Economic Development under the Alliance 1962-1973**

Ibrahim Fikri as newly appointed *Menteri Besar* of Terengganu and his Working Committees offered the inhabitants land, schools, bridges, mosques, children’s playgrounds, markets, village wells and village roads in preparation for the 1964 election. In ensuring victory over its major opponent, the Alliance government, after a few months in office had allocated immediate financial aid to develop the state economy and planned to build as many community halls and mosques as they could, in every town and kampong. In 1962, a sum of $270,200 was allocated to

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build those facilities.\(^{69}\) In Kuala Terengganu district, the state government planned numerous projects under the Rural Areas Proposition. It is very interesting to mention here those projects and the cost involved, to show how keen the government was to develop the state in a very short period. For 1962, 23 new community halls were to be built and five to be repaired in 28 kampongs, which cost $140,000, of which $137,000 was from the federal government while only $3,000 was from the state government fund. The federal government contributed $17,595 while the state government gave $500 to dig 66 village wells. One new mosque was to be built and fourteen to be repaired and it cost the federal government $75,000. However the state government did not contribute any money for this purpose. Two prayer places (surau) were also planned to be repaired and the federal government agreed to spend $2,000 whereas the state government agreed to give $1,000 for that purpose. Ten new village roads were to be constructed with $23,000 from the federal government and $5,879 from the state. The federal government allocated $7,700 while the state gave $15,660 for eight bridges. For other facilities such as public resting seats, water drainages, public toilets and slaughter places, the federal government allocated about $81,360 and the state $9,280.\(^{70}\) Hence the central government planned to spend $343,685 while the state government could only promise $35,619 as total expenditure for all these projects. This amount was larger than stated in the press release quoted by G.D. Ness. Probably after touring the state, they found out that more money was needed to construct those facilities. In fact a week after the collapse of the PAS government,

\(^{69}\) Ness, p. 218.  
Tun Razak said that the federal government would allocate a lot of money to implement the Rural Areas Development Proposition and would also re-examine the “buku merah” (red book) project for the state.\textsuperscript{71} To implement the plans, for 1962, the central government decided to allocate $5.5 million for the development budget of Terengganu including $2.5 million for schools. In addition, the proposed highway from Kota Bharu Kelantan to Singapore which involved the entire east coast portion of Terengganu promised before the 1959 election was to be re-launched.\textsuperscript{72}

From the statistics above, it seemed as though the state government with the assistance from federal government gave serious attention to developing the state’s infrastructure. Most of the planned projects came into being in a year or so. Between 1963 and 1964, 36 community halls were built and completed and seven mosques were opened. In order to win over the people’s hearts, Ibrahim Fikri had gone down to every kampong to open those community halls and mosques.\textsuperscript{73} The provision of those facilities had delighted the kampong people and they began to have faith in Alliance leaders, a strategy that finally was successful in gaining votes for the 1964 election. Immediate success was obtained in the by-election for Kuala Terengganu Utara constituency when the Alliance wrested this seat from Party Negara at the death of Dato Onn. The Alliance candidate won with a huge majority.

\textsuperscript{71} Berita Harian, 7 November 1961. The Ministry of Rural Development launched the red book project. The project concentrated on building main facilities in every kampong and mukim.
\textsuperscript{72} Further information about the road projects can be found in Ness, p. 218.
\textsuperscript{73} S.A.O.T. 315, Pembukaan Balai-Balai Raya.
Indeed, the Alliance effort to gain support from the people of Terengganu was fruitful and its position in the state became stronger with the passing of time.

When the federal government launched a fringe alienation land scheme in 1961, the state government could not resist getting involved as soon as they could, since the financial aid was provided by the federal government. Thirteen areas in the state were identified for the scheme. There were three areas in Kemaman, two in Dungun, two in Marang, one in Ulu Terengganu, four in Kuala Terengganu and one in Besut district. (Table 4 has the detail about the scheme) This scheme involved about 8,625 acres of vacant land. About 1360 people participated in this scheme and they would be settled in those areas with seven acres given to each of them. Before getting started with the cultivation of rubber, a commercial crop, the cultivators were given training in several agricultural areas\textsuperscript{74} to ensure that only a good product was produced. The government hoped that this scheme would be beneficial to the state’s inhabitants especially those who were unemployed.

However, the need to implement the fringe alienation land scheme in a very short period resulted in an unimpressive outcome. In Kuala Terengganu district, for example, only one (Bukit Tinggi) from four selected areas progressed as planned while the other three had numerous problems. This situation also occurred in other districts. First, a very short period was given to the farmers to develop the fringe alienation land scheme, though Dorothy Guyot is of the opinion that the

\textsuperscript{74} S.A.O.T. 325 A, Ranchangan Tanah Pinggiran 1962.
Table 4: Fringe Alienation Scheme 1962 in Terengganu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ayer Puteh</td>
<td>Kemaman</td>
<td>380 (100)*</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semanyor</td>
<td>Kemaman</td>
<td>300 (217)*</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagos</td>
<td>Kemaman</td>
<td>370 (284)*</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pintu Gerbang</td>
<td>Dungun</td>
<td>660 (757)*</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Tepus</td>
<td>Dungun</td>
<td>480 (418)*</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukit Gerai</td>
<td>Marang</td>
<td>790 (779)*</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lubuk Hampsar</td>
<td>Marang</td>
<td>700 (958)*</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sungai Chepoh</td>
<td>Ulu Terengganu</td>
<td>1100 (708)*</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukit Tinggi Serdang</td>
<td>Kuala Terengganu</td>
<td>525 (525)*</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukit Gedok</td>
<td>Kuala Terengganu</td>
<td>750 (704)*</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bt 18 Jalan Kelantan</td>
<td>Kuala Terengganu</td>
<td>670 (500)*</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukit Sudu</td>
<td>Kuala Terengganu</td>
<td>500 (825)*</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong Dengir</td>
<td>Besut</td>
<td>1000 (885)*</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>8625 (7660)*</td>
<td>1360</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures given in bracket were the actual acreage planted.

(Source: S.A.O.T. 325 A, Ranchangan Tanah Pinggiran 1962)
The FLDA scheme continued. In fact, to be in operation, the state government generated more land for the FLDA scheme in the state. At the outset, Terengganu had only two schemes, but by 1964 it had seven FLDA schemes. Apart from FLDA Chalok and Jerangau, there were Seberang Tayor, Tenang, Belara, Paya Lawas and Bukit Payong FLDA schemes which absorbed thousands of acres. To attract more people to join in, FLDA increased the payment to whoever spent their days working in the areas, regardless of gender or age. Men would be paid $2.90 per day, women

75 Guyot, p. 372.

unsuitability of the land was most problematic. In the report, it was stated that the participants had insufficient time to cultivate land allocated to them. The state government set its own time to complete the scheme, whereas the time given to the cultivators was impractical. Therefore, a lot of vacant land was not planted either with rubber or other seasonal crops such as snake beans. The other major problem was the absence of selected participants to work on the lot given to them. The related agencies had to find new participants and this process involved a lot of time. Since the government officials took a long time to survey and layout the land before planting began, farmers became impatient and turned to other jobs, leaving a lot of land vacant. Nevertheless, the scheme was continued although it was delayed in progress. Despite its slowed progress, the fringe alienation land scheme, later known as Controlled Alienation Land Scheme, was expanding year after year.
$2.40, teenagers $1.80 and children under fourteen $1.00 for four hours work.\textsuperscript{77} Each family would get higher income which was especially beneficial if they had a large number of people. Undoubtedly, the Alliance government was concerned for its voters. FLDA Chalok, which was having problems as a consequence of the previous government not allowing the federal government to take control over the scheme, was given back to the central government.\textsuperscript{78} Personal applications for the vacant land rapidly increased. The government certainly took every effort to process the applications thoroughly to ensure the people’s satisfaction.

Discussing the achievement of all of the programs would help this research to examine the success of every programme. However, it is impossible due to time constraints and limited resources. As a whole, every scheme implemented had its own problems. Nevertheless, there was one major cause common to all schemes. Money was not the major factor as both central and state governments were willing to contribute generously. The common setback was the attitude of the participants. Some were not ready to change their lives by getting involved in such a promising scheme, others may not have had the strength to work hard to cultivate such land, and yet others did not give sufficient attention to their work. Some of them did not care to cultivate the land at all even though it was handed to them without any payment. Eventually these people needed to be guided and assisted in order to decrease their fears regarding modernization. The common problem of the Malays

\textsuperscript{77} Pejabat Daerah Marang, D.O.M. 63/1960, a letter from F.L.D.A. office to States Secretary dated 30 October 1962. The previous practice was that, the cultivators were given monthly from $50.00 to $70.00 per family.

\textsuperscript{78} S.A.O.T. 297, Meetings of Terengganu States Land Development Board on 29 April 1963.
was that they had no vision or future planning. It was difficult for government officials in approaching the Malays, primarily in rural areas.\(^7^9\) Fear of everything new delayed the implementation of planned programmes to upgrade their income and standard of living. In the long run, however, some of the schemes were successfully implemented and the people gained benefits, especially the new generation of farmers who were more open to modernization and who were more educated.

Apart from the Alliance exercising responsibilities as the state government in promoting, implementing and improving the state’s economy and land development, the political factor could not be played down in these actions. As mentioned above, the newly appointed Alliance government was given immediate financial assistance for kampongs’ small projects and opened as many lands as they could for the fringe alienation land scheme before the 1964 election. However, when the party had a landslide victory in the election, the projects began slowing down. Only one thousand acres of land were involved in the fringe alienation land scheme as compared to 7,500 acres in 1962 and 11,000 in 1963.\(^8^0\) The shrinking number obviously showed that the ruling party was determined to gain votes through the development scheme. After obtaining power, the Alliance may have thought that there was no urgency in implementing other projects. There was a possibility that the state government wanted to focus its attention on current projects to ensure its success, because the fringe alienation and FLDA schemes for

\(^7^9\) Interview with Dato Syed Omar bin Mohammad; former Marang, Dungun and Kemaman’s District Officer on 15 March 2005.

\(^8^0\) Guyot, p. 372.
example needed at least eight years before the results could be seen or the rubber was planted and ready to be tapped.

Another sector that remained unchanged was the fishing industry and the persons involved in the industry remained poor. Contrasted with other sectors, people who were involved in this industry were considered as having an uncertain future. Between 1957 and 1969, the fishermen primarily in Kuala Kemaman experienced famine twice, in 1959 and then in 1966. The state and federal governments tried hard to improve these tough conditions. Numerous techniques were used to improve this main industry in the state. As stated before, in order to avoid the dishonest middleman, fishing associations were established in every area with the main function to unite the fishermen and to buy the catches from them. However, these associations failed as the fishermen did not give enough support to them, instead still selling their catches to the middlemen even if they obtained low prices. In reviewing this matter, in the five year plan the government allocated one million dollars to set up another fishing association which possessed more power and authority.

Indeed, the Alliance government in Terengganu did not abandon this industry. New jetties were built and the old ones were repaired. The government also carried out tasks to deepen the river mouth for the fishermen’s convenience. Occasionally, the government through its related agencies made surveys on improving the fishing industry and the fishermen’s standard of living. For example, new processing
technology for the fish products such as dried fish and fish snacks was introduced to the fishermen. Therefore, a new pilot processing plan was implemented in Terengganu with the assistance of the F.O.A. of United Nations. The government also sought assistance in obtaining fishing technology and equipment from other countries, such as Canada. As a consequence, the Canadian government provided eight cold rooms for fishermen to store their catches.\textsuperscript{81} Possessing cold rooms, fishermen were able to be at sea for a longer time and could go to the deep sea to catch fish without apprehension regarding decomposing fish. Having numerous aids at their disposal, the fishing industry should have been improved and the fishermen’s life should have become better. However, in actual fact their living conditions remained unchanged and problems occurred repeatedly. The amount of monthly catches fluctuated. For example in December 1964 the amount of fish caught in Kuala Terengganu was 6,830 \textit{pikul} and that increased to 16,155 in the following month (January 1965). The amount again increased in May 1965 to 25,864 \textit{pikul}. However, it dropped to only 2,440 in December 1965. The related agency did not have a clue as to how it could have happened.\textsuperscript{82}

Most of the fishermen did not describe their difficulties to the fishing department officers.\textsuperscript{83} Foreign assistance was provided and other modern facilities were given, however, the change was negligible. Instead of using the facilities for their own convenience, the fishermen let the \textit{towkeys} or the middlemen use them. Hence, the

\textsuperscript{81} N.E. Fish 284, Penderitaan Nelayan, a letter from Fisheries Department to the State Secretary dated 26 February 1967
\textsuperscript{82} N.E. Fish.4A Pt. 6.
\textsuperscript{83} N.E. Fish 284, Penderitaan Nelayan, a letter from Fisheries Department to the State Secretary dated 26 February 1967.
fishermen were left behind. The government was urged to change the fishermen’s attitude by doing something effective otherwise this very important industry in the state would stagnate. Putting the blame totally on the fishermen’s attitude for the unimpressive growth of the fishing industry would be erroneous. Weather was a major factor as Terengganu goes through the rainy season at least three months in a year. During the rainy season, fishermen could not go fishing because of bad weather, heavy rain and stormy winds almost every day. There was no income from fishing during this period and as a consequence of limited land along the coastal areas, fishermen did not possess land for extra work during this season. This was sad as they could not find alternative work during the rainy season. As discussed in the first chapter, the fishermen most likely stayed at home doing nothing.

Having enticed the inhabitants of Terengganu with so many development and economic projects, the ruling party had begun slowing down the activity, especially after the 1964 election. Even though some new projects were launched, it was in the areas of the Menteri Besar and his Working Committees. The land applications approved shrunk to as low as only 1.600 acres for rubber cultivation in Dungun district in August 1966. In fact, in some districts no application was approved for several months. Economic growth was not very impressive for 1967. State expenditure was more than the revenue. Only about 429.34 miles of roads including

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84 Guyot, p. 374.
28.66 miles of earth surface were constructed.\textsuperscript{86} There is no further information on other facilities built.

In the meantime, the federal government was also slowing down its rural projects, not merely in Terengganu but in all states. This was because the related ministry found out that those projects were not bringing in progress when the people did not wisely utilize them. Mr. Khir Johari stated:

> The inhabitants wanted all sort of projects however the projects given were useless. In business, they act only as ‘sleeping partners’. In land development schemes, the inhabitants did not work hard as expected, and some of them did not give adequate attention to their lands. Community halls were not fully utilized, instead they remained unused and they were covered by lalang. Bridges and roads were not used by youth for beneficial works instead they were used for entertainment only.\textsuperscript{87}

This unconvincing situation was happening also in Terengganu, as PAS pointed out that some of the rural development projects which were classified as “prestige projects,” eventually had a minimal significance to the people. For example, the construction of the community halls in coastal areas was considered a waste of money, because most of the poor fishermen spent most of their time at sea. Instead the money should have been loaned to them to help them buy good fishing gear.

In Terengganu there was an allegation that the projects launched were given to the relatives of Menteri Besar and Terengganu’s State Working Committees’ members.

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Malaysia Year Book, 1968/9}, a Malay Mail Publications, pp. 447-453.  
\textsuperscript{87} Utusan Melayu, 29 July 1967, quoted in information release by PAS, SP/28/A/48, Khir Johari dan kegagalan Projek-Projek Luar Bandar.
The Menteri Besar was also being accused of having used the people’s money for his own personal interests. These actions were noticed by the people of Terengganu and created criticisms from the opposition party and even some of the political leaders in the Alliance seemed disappointed. Allegations were spreading that the Menteri Besar was involved in corruption. As mentioned in the previous chapter, even though there was no investigation of those allegations, it affected the Menteri Besar’s career as a politician when he was forced to step down from his office in 1970. Those allegations were true and the UMNO central leaders did not want to sacrifice their future in Terengganu by maintaining Ibrahim Fikri as Menteri Besar. In addition, in the 1969 election, the Alliance had lost many seats to PAS and Ibrahim Fikri’s lack of credibility as Menteri Besar was said to be responsible for it.

The politics in Terengganu were not stable after Ibrahim Fikri left office. Having difficulty finding a charismatic and favourable leader to be a Menteri Besar, Mahmood Sulaiman was elected. As discussed in chapter five, he was then replaced by Dato’ Haji Nik Hassan a year later. The short-lived tenure of Mahmood Sulaiman and the almost equally short tenure of Dato’ Haji Nik Hassan as Menteri Besar, who resigned in 1973, definitely affected Terengganu’s economy adversely. The state’s economy did not develop as quickly and efficiently as other states. Furthermore the iron mines in Bukit Besi, Dungun district which previously were the state’s prime natural resource were closed in 1972 because the iron had run out.

88 Interview with Dato Rashid Ngah, former Seberang Takir representative, in 17 March 2005. During the interview, Dato Rashid mentioned the statement made by Justice Hashim Harun in his lecture in 1967 at University Malaya, commenting on the allegations.
Conclusion

Having insufficient natural resources placed the economy of Terengganu in great difficulty. Poor infrastructure limited the chances of developing whatever economic potential the state had. However, there were no excuses for the ruling government not to impose plans and activities to build the state’s economy and develop its infrastructure. The federal system practised in Malaya/Malaysia eventually had a great impact on state development which was dependent on financial aid allocated to them by the central government. The allocation of financial aid which was based on the state’s population was a disadvantage to Terengganu’s inhabitants as its population was limited compared to its large size. Therefore, this exercise eventually was not practical to develop and to enhance state development, and to bring in others to settle in the state. To make it worse, political elements had a share in the state’s development. Terengganu’s economy was not given a boost after independence even though it was governed by the Alliance party from 1955. Probably insufficient experience in developing a state like Terengganu impeded the development programmes. Holding important jobs as political representatives and as people’s representatives had burdened these politicians and resulted in abandoning their respective areas a few years after having been elected.

The fact that PAS in Terengganu lacked experience in dealing with administrative affairs and with the needs of the inhabitants resulted in unsuccessful efforts to improve the people’s standard of living and develop the state’s economy. High
expectations from the voters put pressure on PAS’s political representatives to show their abilities and competencies as good leaders. Struggling with those who desired to be a state leader, facing criticism from the opposition parties, the state government leaders were vulnerable in their decision to implement effectively, the land and economic schemes for the state and its people. As a consequence, the party was given no more chances to govern the state.

The negative response from the people of Terengganu towards modernization introduced in terms of new technologies, new planting schemes and public facilities was a setback for state economic growth. Entire projects or schemes were to upgrade the inhabitants’ living conditions so whatever was planned should have been given full cooperation in order to reap the benefits; yet this did not happen.

The frustration of the government regarding the lack of cooperation from the people of Terengganu has been mentioned in the text. It is difficult to understand the needs of the Terengganu’s people when it touched on better facilities and living conditions. Probably, what they wanted was convenience in life and not wealth. Therefore, it is unfair for the people of Terengganu to make any complaint about their standard of living.

Nevertheless, it is erroneous to say that Terengganu did not experience any changes in the economy and development since independence. No doubt, the state was more developed in both economy and infrastructure especially under the Alliance government. A lot of vacant land was being planted with commercial crops; new
technology and modern fishing gear were introduced; more modern roads, bridges, jetties, schools, community halls and mosques were built for the benefit of the people. However, compared with other state’s development, Terengganu was left far behind.
CHAPTER SEVEN

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1954 - 1973
**Introduction**

Education has been an important issue in the modern world that has forced people all over the globe, including in Terengganu, to obtain schooling no matter in what field. Educational development in Malaya/Malaysia became a major issue after the Second World War. Therefore this research could not neglect the importance of education in finding answers to the political behaviour of the people of Terengganu after the state became self-governing in 1954. The discussion on education in this chapter is not limited to its development throughout the years but includes other aspects that have strong connections with and a great impact on educational development in the state. These matters are the government’s educational policies, plans, implementation of strategies regarding education; political elements that affected the progress of education and the responses from the inhabitants of Terengganu in educating their children. As one of the states in Malaya, Terengganu was bound to the federal government’s policies on education. Therefore, every policy which was planned in these years will be discussed. The above aspects will be discussed in depth using materials obtained from government officials, the education department, political parties’ collections and files, and from individuals who were involved in education during those years in the state.

Terengganu, like other states which were pre-dominantly Malay had two education systems. As mentioned in Chapter One, religious education was better organized than the Malay school system which received minor acceptance from the people.
Initially, the people of Terengganu lacked modern education, and they were more interested in giving religious education to their children. The religious education system in the state saw a growing number of religious schools year after year in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When the British government finally managed to take control of the state’s administration, “modern” Malay education was introduced. However, this new system did not diminish or obliterate the religious system. The people of Terengganu were keener on religious knowledge as they felt that this could guide their children in a proper way.

This chapter attempts to find a connection between the political aspirations of the ruling party and initiatives taken in educating the people of Terengganu. Many books have discussed educational policies imposed either by the British government or Malayan/Malaysian governments in the main, but have merely touched upon educational history and development in Malaya/Malaysia.¹ However, there is no book or study written solely on educational development in Terengganu. In 1975, there was a book written by a group of writers entitled History of the Development of Schools in Terengganu² and published by the Malaysian Education Ministry. This book focused on the history of schools in Terengganu with special emphasis on the national schools. The discussion covered the schools’ development in every district in the state with minimal reference to the religious and Arabic schools. However, this book barely elaborates on the activities of school building in

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² This book was published in two languages, Malay and English.
Terengganu with little reference to the role played by the State Education Department. This chapter therefore aims to cover this neglected area of research by providing in depth information regarding the educational development in the state which has not been available hitherto. However, the main target of this chapter is to understand the political behavior of the people of Terengganu by focusing on their education.

**Educational Development in Terengganu before 1954**

Before beginning the discussion on the educational development in Terengganu, it is necessary here to touch briefly on educational policies in Malaya during and after the British period. Having an understanding of those policies, which changed frequently, will give important input in order to understand educational development and responses from the people. Before the Second World War, the British government neglected the needs of education of its protected people to a very great extent, as a result of which they were unable to read and write. After the war, the British government changed its policies and placed great emphasis on the education of these people because the British government believed it had to fulfill its social obligations.

Establishing educational policy for a multiracial country like Malaya was a daunting challenge for the British. The heterogeneous concepts practised in Malaya amongst the races have created barriers between them. This allowed every race to
practise and preserve its own customs, languages and styles of living, which made it
difficult to produce a beneficial policy with which the British could satisfy every
race and at the same time create national unity. Each race wanted their languages
used in schools. The British government had to set up a special committee to review
the current education milieu and proposed a suitable policy for that purpose. Before
that, H.R. Cheeseman, the Director of Education of the Malayan Union, had written
a brief report on education in Malaya in 1948. In his report, Cheeseman outlined
several weaknesses surrounding the current education system:

In the past there has been no planned policy for education as a whole in Malaya. This lack of
common policy led to weaknesses in educational administration. In Federal Malay States where the
heads of state departments were completely independent of the Director/Adviser, divergences
were very wide indeed.

Therefore, the report suggested that a common policy in education was needed
urgently in Malaya. Cheeseman also reported that the local people’s interest in
English and vernacular schools was absent. The report cited that the Indian and
Chinese schools had an alien outlook; it was well known that both types of schools
used books and curriculum imported from China and India, and even the teachers
were also brought from those countries. This was disadvantageous for the future of
the people of Malaya. Nevertheless, instead of suggesting a common policy in
education especially in terms of language used in schools, Cheeseman suggested
that education should be given in four main languages: Malay, Chinese, Tamil and

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3 H.R. Cheeseman had a huge experience in Malayan education as he was education officer for the
Federated Malay States since the early twentieth century.
4 B.M.A. R.C., 137/1946, Cheeseman’s Report on Malayan Education.
English. Cheeseman also recommended free and compulsory education for all children aged six to eleven and that post primary education in Malay and English should be introduced.

Responses to Cheeseman’s report were varied. The Resident Commissioner of Terengganu, agreed in principle with the suggestions made. However, he did not see any necessity for providing post primary education in Malay language. He urged the government to concentrate on English post primary education only.\(^5\) No exact reason was given for this comment. For the people of Terengganu, the Resident Commissioner stressed “what at the moment is most urgently wanted in Terengganu, if the people are not to feel that they are being left behind or neglected is the opportunity and facilities [for] acquiring within the State an English education at least up to the minimum requirements as a pre-requisite.”\(^6\) He added that “before the war it was not possible to get further than standard vii, so that Terengganu candidates may find themselves handicapped or ruled out from entrance to Malayan Union Services.”\(^7\)

The Resident Commissioner also suggested that the government provide full assistance to the few brilliant students who came from poor backgrounds so that they would be able to proceed to study in post-primary English schools. Because of

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\(^5\) B.M.A. R.C., 137/1946, a note from Office of the Resident Commissioner of Terengganu dated 29 August 1946.

\(^6\) B.M.A. R.C., 137/1946, a note from Office of the Resident Commissioner of Terengganu dated 29 August 1946.

\(^7\) B.M.A. R.C., 137/1946, a note from Office of the Resident Commissioner of Terengganu dated 29 August 1946.
the very disappointing standard of spoken and written English, the Resident Commissioner made a plea for the simplification of the curriculum in the early stages and the omission of non essential subjects. He also thought that subjects such as geography and history should have a local bias. Probably he thought that even though history and geography taught in schools was about Malaya, it had insufficient local bias. As a Resident Commissioner, he would have understood the educational needs of the state and it seemed he wanted to provide the people of Terengganu with the most effective curriculum.

Based on the Cheeseman report, the first education committee was formed in 1950, chaired by L. J. Barnes. The committee placed their attention on the current education system especially Malay education. They found that the Malay education system was very ineffective and they feared that the Malay community would be left behind compared to other races. The committee came up with the suggestion that there should be a single school which should be known as a national school and English or Malay language should be used in this type of school. Indirectly the report had recognized Malay language and placed it at the same level with English. This proposal wanted other schools (Chinese and Tamil schools) to be closed down.\(^8\) This proposal was made because several weaknesses in the Malay education system of that period had to be overcome and the most important issue was to create national unity. In order to fulfill these aims the government should focus on the development of Indian and Chinese schools which did not have a local bias. Nevertheless, this proposal faced criticism regarding certain aspects. Cheeseman

found out that the committee did not suggest anything regarding the dropout of many smart Malay students because their parents were poor.\textsuperscript{9} Smart Malay students, according to Cheeseman, should be assisted in order to fight poverty amongst Malays. Regarding the closing down of other vernacular schools, it was heavily rejected by most of the leading Chinese and Indian politicians. They feared that the closing down of both types of schools would result in diminishing the importance of their respective languages among youngsters.

Such a rejection had forced the British government to set up another committee to look at these communities’ aspirations in education. The new committee, which was known as the Fenn-Yu Committee, suggested that these Chinese and Indian vernacular schools should remain in force to ensure the existence of their languages. Based on this report, Indian and Chinese schools continued their practices besides Malay and English schools. Educationists in Malaya came up with a policy based on the recommendations enshrined in the Barnes and Fenn-Yu reports which were as follows:

\begin{quote}
The aim and purpose of the national educational policy of the Federation is to achieve a sound education for all children in the Federation using in the main for this purpose, the official languages of the Federation and bringing together pupils of all races in a national type of school with a Malayan orientation: Provided that reasonable facilities for those children whose parents or guardians so desire shall be provided for learning the Chinese language in the medium of Kou Yu and the Tamil language and provided further that extent to which each official language is used in achieving the main purpose may vary throughout the Federation.\textsuperscript{10}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{9} Haris Mohd Jadi, \textit{Etnik, Politik dan Pendidikan}, Kuala Lumpur, DBP, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{10} Education Ordinance 1952, \textit{Government Gazette}, 16 October 1952.
This policy remained unchanged until Malaya gained its independence. The alien outlook in Chinese and Indian schools had been changed to a more local outlook when a new curriculum was introduced along with new school textbooks.

In the meantime, education in Terengganu was not developing at the same pace as in other states. As mentioned in Chapter One, only few schools were built in the state before the Second World War. For example, only one Malay school and one Chinese school existed in the Marang district while in Dungun there were only three Malay and two Chinese schools. Kuala Terengganu had six Malay schools and three Chinese schools. The Ulu Terengganu district also had only one Malay school.\(^{11}\) Most of these schools were built through individual initiative and not by the government. The schools, which were known as sekolah rakyat (people’s schools), had poor teaching equipment and unqualified teachers. This situation would jeopardise the pupils’ efforts in pursuing their education. It cannot be denied that the state government at that time had almost no interest in educating its people. Financial difficulties precluded implementation of the proposed plans to build more good schools.\(^ {12}\)

Having realized that there was a dearth of vernacular schools in Terengganu, the government proposed to build a school in every area. At the same time, the State Education Department made a survey on conditions in current schools. In the report made in 1948/49, it was stated that as a whole, the schools in Terengganu were in a


\(^{12}\) B.A.T. 141/1937, Malay Schools – Besut Section.
very bad state. Since most of them were built with bamboo and atap\textsuperscript{13} roofs, those schools needed to be replaced by new buildings.\textsuperscript{14} The only Malay girls’ school in Terengganu was crowded with pupils and therefore the government was advised to re-build the sheds which had been used before. The British government had to spend more money to provide adequate school facilities such as exercise books, gardening tools and repairing the damaged school floors.

The 1948/49 Report showed that in Terengganu government officials were interested in educating the children. This interest was clearly shown in the report made on Sultan Suleiman English School in Kuala Terengganu in March 1946. With 258 pupils, its average attendance was 92.39\% which was considered high. In 1948 the number of Malay pupils in this school increased to 294, including 43 girls, 102 Chinese and only 27 Indians. The existence of three English private schools in the state including one kindergarten showed that English education was a popular choice for parents in Kuala Terengganu. To fulfill post-primary education requirements, Sultan Suleiman Secondary School was established in November 1945 and it had 244 pupils in a few months after its formation.\textsuperscript{15}

The increased number of pupils in Malay schools was also very impressive. Before the Second World War, the number of Malay pupils was only 3,557 in 37 schools and it increased by more than fifty percent in 1945 for the same number of schools. However, the situation was different in rural areas. The number of registered pupils

\textsuperscript{13} Atap roof is a roof made of palm leaves.

\textsuperscript{14} S.C.A.O. 29/45, Report on Education.

\textsuperscript{15} S.C.A.O. 29/45, Report on Education
and their daily attendance were very poor. For example, in the Pasir Gajah Malay School in Kemaman district, the daily average attendance was three out of nineteen registered pupils. This happened because the parents were very poor and was not able to provide clothes for school.\textsuperscript{16} As a matter of fact, this circumstance was common among the Malays in rural areas. Even though the education was free and no money would be spent for text books, the Malays nonetheless could not spend money to buy clothes for their children to go to school. Moreover, the children were needed for daily work either at their home or farm or even at the sea.

The lukewarm response from the Malays especially in the rural areas did not stop the British government from providing adequate education for its subjects. As a result, in 1948, the number of Malay schools in Terengganu was increased to 77, including five girls’ schools with a total enrolment of 10,843. The inhabitants of Terengganu were aware of the importance of education for their children for a better future. Nevertheless, in actual fact, there were about 30,000 school age Malay children who received no education whatsoever in Terengganu in 1948.\textsuperscript{17} This number was far higher than those who went to school and it seemed that those parents lacked awareness regarding the importance of education for their children or perhaps, they needed their children to work. The insufficient number of Malay schools in rural areas was also another factor that resulted in the large numbers of children not attending school.

\textsuperscript{16} S.C.A.O. 29/45, Report on Education, a letter from a group of teachers of the school to District Officer of Kemaman dated 21 March 1946.
\textsuperscript{17} Annual Report of Terengganu 1948, pp. 20-21.
The curriculum taught in English schools was more competitive to suit current needs. Therefore most of the school leavers were able to find better jobs. In the Malay schools on the other hand until 1948, English was not taught. Hence the Malays from these schools had a limited chance to find a better job after having left school. This situation was not encouraging and in fact, British officials such as Cheeseman, the Director of the Education Department, urged the government to improve Malay education. No doubt the government, especially the Education Departments, was very concerned about the Malays’ backwardness in education. Therefore, educational policies in Malaya were being surveyed by a special committee which came up with other proposals. Based on the report named Report of University Commission on Educational Policy in Malaya,\textsuperscript{18} the Education Department made several recommendations which were focused on improving the education system.\textsuperscript{19} The proposals included:

1. removing the age handicap and providing a better foundation for progress –
   
   • English will be taught in the Malay schools (it should be noted that this will help all pupils, those who go to the English schools and those who remain in the Malay schools: there are few trades or other vocations in which knowledge of English is not a help and an advantage).
   
   • Transferring Malay pupils to English school at the end of Standard Three (instead of at the end of Standard Four as at present)

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\textsuperscript{18} Edn T 274/48, Educational Policy, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{19} Edn T 274/48, Educational Policy, pp. 1-2.
2. Preparing Malays for higher courses of studies, by having special post-School Certificate courses, for Malay pupils from English schools who have passed the School Certificate examination.

3. Increasing the number of English schools so that more Malay pupils can be admitted. It is realised that though the number of Malay pupils in English schools has increased from 5,200 in 1941 to 9,600 today, yet the number of these Malay pupils is small compared with the Malay population of the Federation. The reason for this is that the Malays are a predominantly rural people.

4. Continuing the campaign against illiteracy by providing Malay schools (in accordance with the full extent of the financial provision that can be governed), the building materials that can be obtained, and the teachers that can be trained.

How far these proposals materialized is not known but it is believed that English was taught in Malay schools starting with schools in urban areas. Perhaps to implement the proposed outline above, the government in Terengganu made inspections of Malay schools regularly in every district in order to find out the problems and difficulties occurring in educating Malay children. From the inspections made in 1950 to 1952, especially in Kemaman district, the major problems faced were poor buildings, lack of space and lack of trained teachers. In fact there was a case where children could not go to school in Kampong Sura because there was no teacher. Some areas had more children going to school, such
as in the Chukai area where about 591 pupils attended school, but in Ibok, only 40 children went to school whereas the population of the area was 500 people. In some places, the inhabitants were very enthusiastic to place their children at school even though it meant having to repair the school and replacing the roof which was damaged as was the case in Kampong Nyior. On the other hand, people in some areas (Telok Kalong for example) were very poor and could not afford to build their own school, depending on the government for help. Therefore, the government had to build schools otherwise children from those areas would not receive any education.

The government’s determination in building more schools was restricted due to the financial situation. In fact they had to ask kampong folks to build their own schools while the government gave only $100. This happened in two areas, Bukit Mantok and Telok Mengkuang. They had to spend time, energy and money to build those schools and it would delay the process of educating their children, making this an unfair deal for them. It could compromise their determination to give adequate education to their children and perhaps could make them turn to religious education as the schools were well established. Moreover the British government did not order such schools to be closed down. In fact the number of religious schools increased year by year. There were about 190 religious/Arabic schools in Terengganu in 1946. This number was far bigger than the Malay schools. As mentioned in Chapter One, religious schools had attracted more parents compared to the Malay schools.

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22 S.C.A.O. 29/45, Report on Education
schools. Run by well-known religious scholars, religious education institutions received impressive responses from the people of Terengganu.

**Educational Development under the Alliance 1955-1959**

Before Malaya was self-governing, in 1954 there was a proposal for the establishment of English medium classes in Malay vernacular schools. This proposal surfaced because for “many years the educational policy of the country has been criticised for not providing enough opportunities for Malays to obtain an English education.”

The proposal if implemented could have considerably increased the accessibility of English medium education available to Malays particularly in the rural areas. However, this proposal was strongly opposed by the Malay teachers based on their concern that there would be no subject taught in Malay in these streams. Malay language then could become less important in those schools. In Terengganu, the education department agreed to the proposal and was ready to introduce the English Medium Streams in certain Malay schools. However, they faced a shortage of qualified teachers to take charge of these streams. In short, the implementation of the proposal was hampered by several problems including fees which the selected pupils had to pay to be in these English medium streams.

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streams classes. No further information is available on the implementation of that proposal either in Terengganu or in the other states.

Having obtained power in Malaya, the Alliance government had the huge responsibility of educating its people, especially the Malays because compared with other races, the Malays were far behind. Even though the Malay schools were built, with very limited facilities and subjects taught in schools, the pupils had very limited knowledge and could not seek better jobs or opportunities to change their lives. For example, the curriculum taught in Malay vernacular girls’ schools focused on handicrafts such as needlework, knitting, _mengkuang_ weaving and sarong weaving instead of academic subjects. These non-academic subjects definitely did not suit current needs. Therefore in the election, the Alliance outlined several aims and aspirations in education. They would give special attention to education if they were elected to government. Among those promises were:  

- To change the education pattern to a more Malayan outlook  
- To increase the number of persons who can read and write  
- To upgrade school facilities including constructing cheap school buildings and providing morning and afternoon classes  
- To build more modern and technical schools  
- To provide financial aid to Islamic schools  
- To give free education as soon as possible

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26 _Mengkuang_ is a leaf which is woven to make household items such as carpet, baskets and food covers.  
• To establish national schools which could be accepted by the inhabitants of Malaya and could expand their culture, economy, society and politics towards one nation who use Malay language as the national language.

From the outline above, the Alliance government actually embraced the difficult task of executing those promises in order to satisfy the needs of the multiracial society in independent Malaya as every race had its own aspirations and aims in educating their children. The use of the mother tongue was the first and foremost aim and aspiration of every race.

Apart from the above outline, the Alliance also promised to re-examine the Educational Act 1952 and the Educational White Paper no. 67, 1954 regarding the establishment of English Medium Streams in Malay schools. The party realized that the Malays were not satisfied with the Act and policies in the educational system in Malaya. As a result, the government established an education committee in September 1955 led by Dato’ Abdul Razak bin Husain as chairman. This committee was set up to:

Examine the Federation of Malaya’s current policy on education and to propose changes if necessary or to modify it, with the intention to create a justified national education regulation which will be accepted by the inhabitants of Federation of Malaya, to fulfill their aims and efforts towards their development in cultural, society, economy and politics with the intention to materialize Malay language as national language and in the meantime preserve other languages and customs.

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28 Educational Act 1952 was based on the Barnes and Fenn-Yu Reports.

The setting up of this committee which was composed of nine Malays, five Chinese and one Indian could establish a strong base and effective educational policy which could satisfy the inhabitants of Malaya. The very important task for this committee was to create national unity through education. In actual fact, it is complicated to create adequate educational policy towards national integration and at the same time to preserve other races’ languages and customs. The contradiction was very comprehensible. Therefore the committee took a longer time to study the problem and then came out with a new educational policy and system which people thought was not promising in creating national unity. The committee admitted that the report was not the last and should be revised in 1959\(^{30}\) to suit current needs. Because of the said contradiction, the committee produced a similar policy and system to that which was implemented before. In other words, not many changes were made in most areas of policy.

Since English, Chinese and Tamil primary schools which were known as National-Type Schools, had been in existence for a while, every race had every right to place their children in any school they preferred\(^{31}\), even though Malay primary and secondary national schools were proposed to be built. It is questionable that national unity could be achieved through these multiple language schools. Perhaps this was the point that led to the statement made by a writer that this proposal, which was known as the Tun Abdul Razak Report, was a step back from the L.J. Barnes Report. This previous report recommended that only English and Malay schools

\(^{30}\) Penyata Jawatan-Kuasa Pelajaran 1956, p. 4.
\(^{31}\) Penyata Jawatan-Kuasa Pelajaran 1956, p. 11.
should be run. It was said that the new committee was apprehensive in recommending the closing down of Chinese and Tamil schools even though they admitted that national integration was a matter to be achieved through early education. Nevertheless, the committee said that the use of a single language, Malay, would achieve national integration only in the long term.

The committee instead believed that national integration would be better achieved through a single curriculum for every school, even though a different language was used. The committee suggested that the curriculum should have a local bias, hence every child, especially the Chinese and Indians, would claim Malaya as their motherland. Responses to this report were varied. The people of Malaya, especially politicians and educationists were dissatisfied with many aspects of the report. Even though the committee suggested a national school using the Malay language, the existence of Chinese, Tamil and English national-type schools made the Malays, especially teachers and politicians from UMNO, fearful that it would maintain racial disharmony as no integration would be generated amongst children. Chinese and Indian parents would of course send their children to either Chinese/Tamil or English national-type schools. National schools would be filled only by Malay children especially in rural areas.

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32 Ibrahim Saad, *Pendidikan dan Politik di Malaysia*, p. 52.
33 *Penyata Jawatan-Kuasa Pelajaran 1956*, p. 3.
34 To view these responses in detail, see Haris Md Jadi, *Etnik, Politik dan Pendidikan*, chapter Four and Five.
Strong opposition came from the Malay teachers’ association (Kesatuan Persatuan Guru-Guru Melayu Semenanjung – KPGMS) on the grounds that the Razak Report would jeopardize the status of the Malay language as the national language with wide usage of other languages at school.\(^3\) To make matters worse, the Razak Report did not recommend the establishment of Malay secondary schools until the Report was revised in 1959. The members of KPGMS (most of them UMNO members) were very disappointed with the stand shown by UMNO leaders who did not struggle to create a national education policy based on the Malay language. At the party’s Annual General Meeting in 1957, the president of KPGMS raised the issue of using the Malay language in secondary schools. However, the matter was rejected after the UMNO Higher Council Members did not vote for it.\(^4\) Tunku Abdul Rahman in fact, doubted that anyone would attend such a school because most parents, including the Malays were in favour of placing their children in English secondary schools.

A similar response came from PAS which said that the Report did not state clearly the status of the Malay language as the national language. At the same time, the Report did not suggest anything regarding the reduction of English language usage. Despite these comments, PAS focussed on the Islamic religious schools which comprised pondok (private religious schools) and sekolah agama rakyat (people’s religious schools). In fact, PAS had organized a Congress on 23 and 24 August

\(^3\) Haris Md Jadi, p. 112.
1956 on the topic of people’s religious schools in Perak.\(^\text{37}\) It would be said that this Congress was held as a response to the Razak Report. As a result, the Congress wrote a memorandum to the government to consider a few points regarding religious schools in Malaya. First and foremost, the memorandum welcomed the proposal to give financial aid to all religious schools since those schools were self-financed either by kampong folks or by individuals. This aid would be used to help provide a better environment for Malay students to pursue their Islamic education. This would show the government’s determination to provide an Islamic education to all Muslim children attending Islamic schools.\(^\text{38}\) Apart from that, PAS also wanted the government to acknowledge Islamic schools as they did with the missionary schools because Islamic schools did not focus only on Islamic teachings but also covered other subjects including Malay and English languages.\(^\text{39}\)

With the comments and criticism, this Report then was legislated and known as the Education Ordinance 1957. These policies were implemented in Malaya and the Alliance’s aim to set up national schools was eventually achieved even though it did not reflect UMNO’s principal aim to ensure the strong position of Malay education and language. In Terengganu, as the Alliance was the only party in the State Legislative House, the proposal received no opposition. However, by delaying the implementation of the secondary national and national-type schools, the Alliance government, primarily UMNO, faced a crucial challenge when KPGMS once again strongly opposed its implementation. They were disappointed because the Prime

\(^{37}\) SP/28/A/123, Kongres Pelajaran Sekolah-sekolah Agama Rakyat Se Malaya.
\(^{38}\) SP/28/A/123, Kongres Pelajaran Sekolah-sekolah Agama Rakyat Se Malaya, p. 2.
\(^{39}\) SP/28/A/123, Kongres Pelajaran Sekolah-sekolah Agama Rakyat Se Malaya, p. 4.
Minister had promised them that the Malay language would be used in all government schools beginning in 1959, but there was no indication of implementing those promises.\textsuperscript{40} This matter became contentious when it was discussed openly and widely in the newspapers.

The people who were dissatisfied with the delay in setting up national secondary schools accused the government of totally neglecting higher education of the Malays, which was a major provision in the Razak Report. Following the establishment of more primary schools, the need for national secondary schools was very urgent. Therefore, the delay in building secondary national schools was something unacceptable because the proposal for national secondary schools was formulated a few years before. When the government was ready to establish the national secondary schools, frustration and anger resulted because of the language used in these schools. Since the existing local and overseas universities used English as the medium, the government was of the opinion that the national secondary schools should use English. This would give Malay students an opportunity to pursue their tertiary education in the fields of medicine, law and engineering.\textsuperscript{41}

The Prime Minister, who was very upset regarding the responses shown by the teachers from KPGMS, said that giving only a Malay education could not help the Malays in securing a bright future. However, this reason was not relevant to the

\textsuperscript{40} Haris Md Jadi, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{41} UMNO/SUA/100/56, Jawatankuasa Pelajaran p. 3.
members of KPGMS. The KPGMS countered with the view that the English secondary schools would allow only students from national-type schools especially English national-type pupils to continue their education at a higher level. As a matter of fact, most of the Malays had their primary education in Malay national schools. Undeniably, very few Malay pupils would be able to continue their studies whereas the rest would have no such opportunity. Even though the government proposed to provide English transition classes for Malays and students from other streams to help them continue their studies in secondary schools, it would not be possible to place every student in such classes. The number of primary school leavers increased year after year until the Malay secondary schools came into being.

In actual fact, the limited number of Malay secondary schools led Malay parents to place their children in English schools. When asked why, they said that even though they noticed that Malay language would become a national language there was no guarantee that their children from Malay schools could continue to study at higher levels.\textsuperscript{42} Unequal attention given to both types of schools by the government contributed to the unimpressive support from Malay parents for Malay schools.\textsuperscript{43} The curriculum taught in Malay schools covered seven subjects: Malay language, geography, geometry, Malay history, mathematics, Malay literature and general health,\textsuperscript{44} which was not much different from subjects taught during the British period. Science was not taught. It is believed that this curriculum, which was

\textsuperscript{42} Mingguan Pedoman, 1 September 1956.
\textsuperscript{43} Fikiran Rakyar, November 1957. This paper reported that the government placed more attention on English schools in providing school buildings, equipment and textbooks compared to Malay schools.
\textsuperscript{44} Edn T. 13/57, Malay Schools Book 1957.
uninspiring compared to English schools, could be another factor in the lack of support for Malay schools.

The KPGMS’ seriousness in urging the government to consider establishing Malay secondary schools was shown clearly when they ordered their UMNO members to withdraw from the party in January 1958 because UMNO, the leading party in government, showed no interest in their requests. UMNO of Malaya wanted its members to act wisely on the education matter since the withdrawal of KPGMS members affected UMNO adversely as thousands were involved. To overcome the dispute, the Prime Minister held a meeting with the members of KPGMS to solve the problem and promised to establish Malay secondary schools in 1959. The dispute then ended but not for long as it became an issue again after the Razak Report was revised in 1960. Even though there was no indication of such opposition in Terengganu, it was believed that Malay teachers from the state also disagreed with the government’s policy and implementation on national and secondary education.

Undoubtedly, education was a sensitive issue amongst the multiracial inhabitants in Malaya. It could influence the voters to choose the party or politicians that would realise their educational aspirations. In fact, Tunku Abdul Rahman admitted that dissatisfaction regarding the government’s education policy and implementation had affected the Alliance’s performance in certain areas, especially in Chinese dominated areas where most voted for the opposition. As a consequence the
government’s policy on national education had affected Chinese schools. The Prime Minister in his speech regarding these issues warned KPGMS that the government would not change its education policy regarding secondary schools even though it would result in the loss of seats in the coming election because for him, the best policies for the betterment of Malays in education had been formulated.

Despite these disputes, educational development in Terengganu was being carried out as in other states. From 1954 to 1958 33 schools were built in Terengganu, including 21 Malay primary schools, three English primary schools, one Chinese primary school, one Malay secondary school, three English secondary schools, one religious school, one religious secondary school and four sekolah rakyat. Ibrahim Fikri as Menteri Besar, who was very keen on developing the educational facilities for his people, used whatever funds were available for that purpose. For example, in 1954 RIDA had allocated some money to build Malay national schools together with four sekolah rakyat in the state. The allocated money was more than sufficient. Ibrahim Fikri took the initiative to use the money to upgrade twelve poor sekolah rakyat in every district, three in Kuala Terengganu, two in Ulu Terengganu, two in Marang, two in Kemaman, one in Dungun and two in Besut. Later these schools were known as public schools. These twelve schools were fortunate as many others remained unimproved.

47 Jabatan Pelajaran Terengganu, Edn T. 190/54, Schools built from RIDA fund, a letter written by Ibrahim Fikri to the Chairman of RIDA dated 24 October 1955.
In the meantime, inspections were made on school buildings and facilities. The 1957 Report on the condition of public schools in the state stated that most of the schools had only one building which looked like a shed with no walls and no good roof. Therefore when it rained, classes could not be run. There were also cases where the school building collapsed several times due to the poor quality of building material. This happened to the Kampong Baru and Telok Pasu public schools.\textsuperscript{48} Even though new areas had been identified to build new buildings, it took a long time to implement the plans. The report ended with the conclusion that most of the schools were in a very poor condition, classes were not running properly, school equipment and tools were also unsafe and the teachers would not come to school because of bad weather. These conditions had wasted the pupils’ education and teachers’ time. Despite improper conditions, the number of children who went to school increased every year. The parents’ awareness about the importance of education was obviously awakened.

As mentioned before, apart from public schools which were fully sponsored by the government, sekolah rakyat (people’s schools) were also built in Terengganu. In the Razak Report, the government did not propose the abolishment of these schools nor did it recommend that such schools be converted to public schools. They remained as private schools. The government promised to allocate funds to these schools but it depended on the financial situation. Then these schools had to follow the curriculum designed for the public schools and were supervised strictly by the state.

Eventually, the fate of these schools was heavily dependent on the people who lived in the area. The state government paid little attention to these schools and did not take responsibility for their teaching staff. The people in the respective areas had to find teachers who basically lacked proper training. Definitely school leavers from these schools would not find good jobs or be able to continue their studies compared to those from public schools. However in Terengganu, as stated above, many of the sekolah rakyat were being upgraded into public schools. Apart from sekolah rakyat, sekolah pondok and sekolah agama rakyat, which were religious schools, also did not receive any financial assistance from the government as they were run by individuals. Even though this situation brought unhappiness to the parents who favoured placing their children in this type of school, both types of schools were not terminated until the late 1960s when most of the pondok were closed down because of financial problems.

Educational development under the PAS administration 1959-1961

Dissatisfaction regarding the Alliance government’s policies on education was believed to have been one of the factors responsible for the losses of seats in the state and federal elections in 1959. Haris Md Jadi cited education issues which were debated widely throughout the country in 1957, 1958 and 1959, as influencing the people of Malaya in making their choices in the 1959 election. The fact that the Alliance lost a few seats to the PPP in Chinese and Indian dominated areas showed

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50 Haris Md Jadi, p. 117.
that they disagreed with the Alliance’s tactics in implementing national educational policies. On the other hand, PAS’s victories in Kelantan and Terengganu can be seen as evidence for the Malays’ disappointment on this issue. Seemingly, the manifesto designed by PAS regarding education was heavily influenced by current education issues. The party’s manifesto for Terengganu included an election promise to build many Malay secondary schools in rural areas using the Malay language as the medium of instruction.\footnote{Sp/28/A/70, Bahan-Bahan Pilihanraya,, Manifesto PAS bagi pilihanraya Dewan Undangan Negeri Terengganu, p. 3.}

Regarding national education policy, it was believed that the Alliance government’s policy on sekolah rakyat and sekolah agama rakyat was responsible for the party’s defeat in Terengganu. Having promoted national education for every child, the Alliance government seemed uninterested in Islamic schools which were built by the religious scholars. The Razak Report did not cite its stand on religious education because for the Malays it was a must. As stated before, the Malays in Terengganu preferred to place their children in religious schools which were built and inspired by well known religious scholars such as Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Latif in Alor Keladi, Besut district, Tuan Guru Haji Mat Shafie in Losong, Kuala Terengganu, Haji Zainal Abidin in Dungun and Haji Wan Abdul Latif in Jertih. However, minimal attention from the government made some of these schools close down because they could not compete with modern education and Arabic schools which were built by the state religious department.\footnote{Muhammad Abu Bakar, Ulama Terengganu, Suatu Sorotan, pp. 68, 81, 107.} On the other hand, PAS in its election manifesto stressed giving more attention to religious education and schools. The
party promised to provide religious teachers for every school, to give scholarships to qualified students in religious education and other important subjects, to create religious classes for kampong folks and to revise the religious teachers’ status and grade of their salaries in the government schools. Apart from that, PAS also promised to provide adult classes in order to overcome illiteracy amongst the elders and to establish kindergarten classes.

When PAS came into power, and because some of the religious scholars who owned the religious schools became active in the party, schools development was in good shape. However, public schools did not fare as well as religious schools. This situation was understandable, because anything regarding national education was under the authority of the federal government. The state government had no say and it could only make an application to the central government to provide new buildings for existing schools or build more schools for the people. For example, in May 1960 the education office decided to build six new primary schools. However it is doubtful that the proposed plans had been approved by the central government. During PAS’s administration, eleven new schools had been opened, including nine primary schools, one Malay secondary school and one English secondary school. However, most of these schools were planned before PAS came into power. It was fitting that the federal minister presided over the opening ceremony of all these schools, and not the state government. These eleven schools

53 Sp/28/A/70, Bahan-Bahan Pilinanraya,, Manifesto PAS bagi pilihanraya Dewan Undangan Negeri Terengganu, p. 3.
55 Edn T. 285/58, Cadangan membuka Sekolah Baru.
were not enough to cater to the children’s needs in education in the state. As PAS was an opposition party at federal level, the central government held openings of more schools especially secondary schools in order to jeopardize the party’s credibility in Terengganu. The Alliance government wanted to open as many schools as possible once they took over the state government in October 1961 from PAS. This will be discussed further in the next part of this chapter.

Since the ruling party was experiencing internal conflict, important aspects which should have been given priority, as they promised in the election, had been abandoned, including education. PAS’s performance in promoting education for its people was unimpressive. Moreover, there is limited written material on educational development during PAS’s administration in Terengganu. Therefore, to make an accurate assessment of the party’s efforts in education is almost impossible. In fact, because of the short-lived duration of the party as a state government, every plan made to develop education facilities and opportunities did not materialise. For example, it was stated that in December 1960 the state government had decided to teach Islam in every school beginning in 1961. Unfortunately, this was not implemented as PAS was toppled.

As the sekolah rakyat was not under the control of the federal government, such schools were built to fulfill the needs for education amongst the children of Terengganu. For instance, Sekolah Rakyat Pa’ Ba in Ulu Nerus, Kuala Terengganu was opened in 1959 on the kampong folks’ initiative. This school however could
not run efficiently because of lack of finance. The government’s policy on sekolah rakyat made the situation even worse. Even though the kampong folks had written a letter to ask for financial aid from the government through the District Officer, their request was rejected as the school had only twelve pupils. Government policy cited that only sekolah rakyat with 30 pupils or more could be granted certain funds.

Another incident occurred in Kampong To’ Nasek in Kuala Terengganu, where hundreds of kampong children could not go to school because there was no school in the area. Instead of building a school, parents were advised to place their children in the schools in the neighbouring kampons which were far from their homes. Application to build a public school was denied even though the state education department proposed to build a national primary school in the area as mentioned above. Hence, those children did not receive any education. Efforts were taken by the kampong people to build a sekolah rakyat from their own pockets. However, after the school was running for a few months, the government ordered the school to be closed for no proper reason. This action frustrated the affected parents and they wrote a letter to the state government, asking for a solution because they could not afford to see their children having no adequate education as other children did. There is no further information on this incident and the school in the kampong was built only in 1963. This incident indicated that the political

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56 Edn. T. 285/58, Cadangan Buka Sekolah-Sekolah Baharu,
57 Edn T. 285/58, Cadangan buka Sekolah-Sekolah Baru, a letter written by the Education Office to State’s Secretary dated 17 August 1960.
58 History of the Development of Schools in Terengganu, p. 188.
differentiation between state and federal government impacted the sense of social obligation held by both parties to their voters. Another example happened to 35 of Sultan Zainal Abidin Arabic School’s leavers who went for an interview conducted by the Public Services Department for the post of religious teacher in 1960. None of them succeeded in getting the post. \(^{59}\) Fifteen of them wrote an appeal letter to the Menteri Besar seeking advice and recommendations. Nevertheless, there was nothing the Menteri Besar could do because the Public Services Department was under the jurisdiction of the federal government.

There were so many applications to add to and repair existing school buildings. \(^{60}\) As mentioned before, schools in Terengganu were in poor condition. Financial aid from government was required to ensure pupils’ convenience and safety while they were at school. Most of these schools were sekolah rakyat that had been upgraded to public schools. The number of pupils increased year after year and room for them at school was insufficient, a problem faced by almost all schools. Therefore many schools urged the government to build more buildings and to repair the existing poor buildings to cater for the increasing number of pupils. No further information on the approval of these applications was found. Therefore it is difficult to discuss the government’s response to these applications.

In the meantime, the Razak Report was being revised as promised, by another committee led by Abdul Rahman Talib in 1960. This committee was different from

\(^{59}\) Berita Harian, 23 April 1961.

\(^{60}\) Edn T. 67/59, Penyata Sekolah 1959.
the previous committee as it comprised politicians only, four from UMNO, three from MCA and one from MIC. No educationists or politicians from other parties were invited. Therefore, the outcome definitely met the aims and aspirations of the Alliance, although the committee’s task was to solve every aspect that was unclear in the previous report. The main point of contention in the Razak Report was the medium of language in government schools. This committee proposed that Malay language be used in primary schools which received government aid starting from 1961. As a matter of fact, English, Chinese and Tamil primary schools received government grants-in-aid. Therefore, this proposal affected them in terms of language use as a medium. In addition to promoting Malay language as a main language in education, every secondary school pupil had to sit the Lower Certificate of Education either in Malay or English language. To overcome the difficulty faced by pupils who were coming from Chinese and Indian national-type schools, transition classes were provided for them, not in Malay language, but in English. This move was taken to ensure that every child could be proficient in two languages, their mother tongue and Malay or English. Ibrahim Saad said that this proposal was not aiming to increase the standard and usage of Malay language in school but English.

The proposals contained in Rahman Talib’s Report were actually a move to get back Malay support for UMNO. However, because of the statement made by the committee that this proposal should be implemented gradually as a consequence of

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62 Ibrahim Saad, *Pendidikan dan Politik…*, p. 64.
insufficiently qualified teachers, the Malays thought that the government was not genuinely interested in upgrading the standard of Malay language in education. The non-Malays’ response was considered strong. Chinese educationists and politicians influenced the Chinese community to reject the proposal because the proposal in the long run would destroy Chinese culture and language\(^{63}\) by forcing the Chinese national-type schools to use Malay language as a medium. Once again there was no indication of such rejection occurring in Terengganu. Probably the Chinese community in the state did not really care about it because of its small population and Chinese opposition parties’ position was not so strong. As usual, the government did not care about those allegations and enforced the proposal without amending anything.

Since the PAS leaders were disappointed about the educational situation in Malaya, PAS’s Committee of Education and Culture drafted a memorandum to be forwarded to the federal government on several education issues in April 1961. There were five items highlighted in the memorandum:\(^{64}\)

1. To demand that the Malayan Federation government withdraw English from primary Malay schools.

2. To demand that the Malayan Federation government provide scholarships for the Islamic students to pursue higher Islamic education in other countries.

\(^{63}\) Haris Md Jadi, p. 118.

\(^{64}\) SP/28/A/86, General. These items were stated in the letter wrote by a PAS central office to Haji Hassan Adli, the chairman of Education and Cultural Committee dated 1 April 1961.
3. To demand that the Ministry of Education overcome thousands of ‘C’ grade Malay school students who cannot continue their studies in secondary schools.

4. To demand that the Ministry of Education withdraw the term applied to the women teachers that they cannot get married before serving as a teacher for eight years.

5. To demand that the Malayan Federation government set up a school uniform code for the Muslim girls that met religious requirements (national uniform with head scarf).

Even though these five demands could bring benefits to the respective groups, the Malayan Federation government did not entertain them. No evidence was found on the federal government’s response to this memorandum. For example, English continued to be taught in Malay schools. Probably the government only entertained the demand on item four because there were no arguments on this point.

The ruling party’s efforts to build more public schools were hampered by the federal government policy and jurisdiction thus, it was understandable. However, minimal attention from the state government on sekolah rakyat and other religious institutions to cater for the shortages of public schools was questionable. It seemed that the internal problems faced by the party really affected PAS’s promises to place its attention on educating the people of Terengganu. Since the Menteri Besar was absent for many meetings including in the State Education Council, state
scholarships could not be allocated to any pupils in 1961. Furthermore, no evidence was found on adult classes, as stated in the party’s manifesto. The insufficient number of party personnel in the state offices was another factor that brought this unimpressive result in implementing the party’s aims and aspirations. Whatever it was, the people of Terengganu were unhappy with the party’s performance and it showed in the 1964 election when they decided that PAS should not be reelected. The people of Terengganu gave the Alliance party another chance to rule the state.

**Educational Development under the Alliance 1961-1973**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Alliance government did not delay in showing its gratitude in every aspect that touched the people’s life including education. As no strong opposition occurred in the state regarding the Abdul Rahman Talib Report, the new state government implemented the federal government policy without problems. Even though people from the other states were not satisfied with provisions of the Report, the people in Terengganu did not express any objections. Postponed plans for the establishment of new schools during the PAS administration were implemented under Ibrahim Fikri’s rule. In every state development plan, building a new school or adding a new building to existing schools was included. This was to ensure the trust of the people of Terengganu on the Alliance performance would be prolonged until the 1964

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65 Berita Harian, 2 November 1961.
elected when the people of the state evidently showed their strong confidence in the party’s efforts in educating their children.

From 1962 to 1974, the Alliance government succeeded in opening more schools in the state, including seven primary and five secondary schools in Besut district, seven primary and one secondary school in Dungun, five primary and nine secondary schools in Kuala Terengganu, four primary and two secondary schools in Kemaman, one secondary school in Marang and four primary and two secondary schools in Ulu Terengganu, to make a total of 37 schools. Most of these schools were Malay national schools. This number did not include the numbers of sekolah rakyat which were upgraded to national schools. For example, in 1966, eight sekolah rakyat in Ulu Terengganu were given full grants-in-aid and were upgraded to national schools. Nevertheless, the number of sekolah rakyat which were in poor condition still outnumbered public schools, and the state government did not have sufficient funds to upgrade those schools. As a result, many of those schools were forced to close. However in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the state government allocated some money to improve the schools’ conditions which as a whole was not good. For example, under the First Malaysian Plan, ten poor primary schools in Ulu Terengganu were granted $222,000 for construction of new buildings, teachers’ quarters and other school equipment. This practice continued every year for other schools.

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67 History of the Development of Schools in Terengganu, p. 234.
Even though the Alliance tried to win the people’s hearts by creating a unified and standardized educational policy in 1960, they did not dare to use educational issues in their 1964 election campaign as they had learnt a bitter lesson from the 1959 election. Moreover, the revised policy satisfied the Malays as a whole. The threat to national security by the Indonesian Confrontation starting in 1963 was an escape for the Alliance from the education issue to the national security issue. The Alliance strategy was fruitful as Ibrahim Saad said that Chinese voters seemed to be willing to lose a little bit on their language and education rather than being chased for their whole lives like the Chinese in Indonesia. As a result, the Alliance managed to win back state and parliamentary seats which were lost to the opposition party in the previous election. In other words, education policy was not the main issue that brought a landslide victory for the Alliance. Nonetheless, many of the people of Malaysia were dissatisfied with those policies and this issue was debated from time to time, especially in 1967 when Malay language finally became a national language for Malaysia.

The increasing numbers of primary and secondary English national type schools in the country made Malay politicians and educationists unhappy. The fact that the number of English secondary schools was far bigger than Malay secondary schools had worried those who were concerned about the fate of Malay pupils. For example, in 1965 there were 421 English secondary schools and only 330 Malay secondary schools. These numbers shrunk to 298 Malay secondary schools and 408 English

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68 Ibrahim Saad, *Politik dan Pendidikan* …., p. 69.
secondary schools, two years later. The percentages of the growing number of schools, teachers and pupils for both types of schools underlined the strength of English schools compared to Malay schools. From 1958 to 1966, the number of Malay schools was increased to fourteen percent while the number of English schools was increased to 44 percent. The number of teachers in Malay schools for the same period was increased to 53 percent while in English schools it was increased to 128 percent. Enrolment in Malay schools was increased to 47 percent while enrolment in English schools was increased to 120 percent. These figures had shown the impressiveness of English education in Malaya/Malaysia after independence even though Malay was proposed to be a national language.

In most districts in Terengganu, English secondary schools were built before Malay secondary schools even though eventually it was considered impractical because the number of English primary schools was far fewer than Malay primary schools. In Besut and Dungun districts for example, there was only one English primary school in each district, built in 1954 in Besut and 1956 in Dungun. English secondary schools were built in these districts in 1958, whereas Malay secondary schools were only built in 1964 to cater for 48 Malay primary school students. In Kuala Terengganu, the first English secondary school was built as early as 1920, the same year English primary schools were built. Malay secondary schools were built starting only in 1961. Later the number increased to nine schools in 1973 to cater

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69 SP/A/28/3, Pelajaran dan Masa Depan Orang Melayu, p. 1.
70 SP/A/28/3, Pelajaran dan Masa Depan Orang Melayu, p. 2.
for more than 50 Malay primary schools. In the meantime another four English secondary schools were built from 1925 to 1962.

In Kemaman, no Malay secondary school was built until 1966. Therefore, pupils from Kemaman had to go to Kuala Terengganu to continue their studies before 1966. A similar situation happened in Ulu Terengganu when the first Malay secondary school was built in 1965 and six years later another one was built. Undoubtedly these facts were definitely against the government’s policy on national education and language. The small number of Malay secondary schools in Terengganu as a whole led to the problem of school leavers who could not further their studies. Furthermore, the delay in establishing Malay secondary schools left Malay teenagers with very minimal opportunities for pursuing their higher education that resulted in difficulties in finding better jobs. Therefore, the living conditions of the Malays remained unchanged, compared to other races that had more opportunity to further their education.

The figures above indicate that the government and the average Malaysian had confidence in English. Surprisingly, most Malaysians favoured giving their children an English education rather than Malay. However this situation could have been caused by the government’s moves to promote English education. The people of Malaya did not have much choice as Malay secondary schools were very limited. Because higher education was provided in English, many Malay pupils especially from the rural areas could not continue their study not only to university level but
even to post-primary education. As the Malay primary schools outnumbered English primary schools, in Terengganu, the number of Malay students who could not continue their studies at a higher level was very large and it was worrying.

This situation later became an important issue debated amongst politicians and educationists. The Alliance losses of seats in the federal election in Penang, Selangor, Perak, Kelantan and Terengganu in 1969 were attributed to the education issue besides other issues. In fact, while commenting on the 13 May tragedy in 1969, Datuk Abdul Razak admitted that education policy had a great effect on the Malays in terms of their backwardness compared to other races. That is why in the New Economic Policy launched immediately after the tragedy, focus was not only on upgrading the Malays’ position in the economy but also on education. Starting in 1970, English primary and secondary schools were abolished and turned into Malay national schools. However Chinese and Tamil national-type schools remained in force. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that the Alliance lost seats to PAS in Terengganu because of the education issues. It was believed that the major issues dealt with mismanagement and corruption allegations faced by the Menteri Besar and his Working Committees.

Even though the Alliance lost many seats in the 1969 election, the party continued to rule the state. Educational development in the state also continued to be implemented. Having realized that Malay secondary schools which were very slow in progress had become one of the issues of dissatisfaction amongst the Malays, the
Alliance government gave more attention to building up more Malay secondary schools in their future plans. As a consequence of the growing number of school-going children, the state government also proposed to build more primary schools. As a result, by the end of 1973, Terengganu had 204 national primary schools, 17 national secondary schools, eleven Chinese national-type schools, seven English national-type schools and nine national-type secondary schools.

**Conclusion**

Education is one of the important and sensitive issues in Malaysia as it is a multiracial society. To create a policy that can satisfy every race was almost impossible because the government wanted to generate national integration through education. Giving a single education system to all children is the best way to create such unity. After independence, the Alliance government faced several challenges on education and language used in both primary and secondary schools. The policies introduced did not satisfy every race. The political bargaining practised by non-communal political parties in the Alliance did not succeed in producing an efficient and suitable policy for the unity of Malaysia’s inhabitants.

Education development in Terengganu was considered not as impressive as in other states. Before and after the Second World War, Malay education depended heavily on the people’s initiative in building religious schools (*pondok*) and *sekolah rakyat*. Attention from the central government was minimal even when the state was self
governing after the 1954 election. In fact the newly appointed government had
relied on the people’s efforts in educating their children when they just upgraded
the existing sekolah rakyat to become public or government schools. Even though
education was under the authority and direction of the federal government,
Terengganu did not receive sufficient funds for it to develop education facilities. As
financial allocations to every state were dependent on population, Terengganu was
only allocated a small amount of money for its development including education.
The situation became worse when the state was governed by the opposition party
(PAS). The number of schools was small and hence insufficient for an increasing
number of school going children in the state. This situation probably contributed to
PAS losses in the 1964 election when the Alliance government increased the
number of new schools from 1962 to 1963.

Nevertheless, the people of Terengganu were not aggressive as in other states. They
did not openly show their dissatisfaction regarding government weaknesses in
education affairs especially in educational policies. A particular writer said that the
politics of the 1959 election was a language and education politics.\textsuperscript{71} This may be
ture at the national level (federal election) but not at state level, as in Terengganu.
PAS’s victories in the state were not heavily dependent on education and language
issues. The people of Terengganu as a whole were not really keen about those
issues as long as they had places for their children to gain education. They had
public schools and religious schools or sekolah rakyat for their children even
though the facilities in those schools were minimal. No doubt the people of

\textsuperscript{71} Ibrahim Saad, \textit{Pendidikan dan Politik}…. , p. 61.
Terengganu in the modern period had realized the need for education of their children. It was shown by their initiative in building and repairing sekolah rakyat with their own funds while waiting for new schools to be built by the government.
Conclusion

This study shown that, unlike the people of Kelantan who have stayed loyal to PAS, the people of Terengganu have not always been totally committed to this party. Islam was not the only reason for them in selecting their political leaders. In fact, this research has ascertained that the people of Terengganu responded to the changing world, and this could be explained in two ways. First, they were influenced by rulers who were concerned about religion, and in the long run this is believed to be influenced them to choose the Islamic based party (PAS) in the 1959 election when the party first contested. Second, when it comes to modernization and development, the Terengganu people chose political representatives who could bring elements of modernization into the state and at the same time to their lives. These two different responses showed by the Terengganu people will be explained further below.

Regarding Islamic influences, Baginda Omar and Sultan Zainal Abidin III were most remarkable rulers who not only managed to ensure the state’s independence from the Siamese kingdom, Melaka and the Johore Sultanate and finally the British, but also stressed practising Islamic laws and policies in administration. Having been led by these outstanding rulers, the morale of the people of Terengganu was boosted. However, being ruled by the British government, the people of Terengganu faced new rules and regulations which affected their lives. As a result, peasant uprisings occurred in 1925 to 1928 which were inspired by local ulama. In fact some of them showed interest in getting involved in politics when political parties were formed in the state in the 1930s.
During and after the Second World War, the life of the Terengganu people became a nightmare. Freedom in the day-to-day lives of the people was lost as a result of the tough laws and restrictions imposed by the Japanese government. Even though the Japanese government practised a smooth and friendly policy towards the Malays and Islam, restrictions, laws and slower economic development were inflicted upon them. The Malays had bad experiences during those years. Starvation, poverty and torture by the Japanese army were experiences that became unforgettable memories for the people. The transformation from Japanese to Thai government worsened the condition of the state and its people. The people of Terengganu now realized that being ruled by a non-Islamic government could make them lose freedom in their lives and religious practices. The Emergency declared in July 1948 subsequent to the communist attacks all over Malaya continued the people’s suffering. Every law and restriction imposed to combat and paralyse the communist attacks actually had a great impact on the inhabitants. They lived in fear of being killed and losing their property. The people became more sensitive to current issues. This sensitivity was shown after the state stepped into a new political phase starting with the 1954 election.

The people of Terengganu proved that they were religious by electing the Islamic based party, PAS, in the 1959 election. It is believed that the people of Terengganu wanted to be ruled by religious politicians who could materialize Islamic policy and laws in governing the state and at the same time develop the state’s economy and generate new jobs for them. However, internal political crises occurred in PAS which hampered whatever plans and promises were stated in their election manifesto, including implementing Islamic law. The people of Terengganu saw PAS as a fragile and weak party when it was toppled as a government in October 1961. Broken promises, which
were something that should not be done by a religious individual, had a great impact on
the people of Terengganu. They learned a lesson that without experience, PAS could not
develop the state as they wished. Therefore in the 1964 election, the people of
Terengganu voted for the Alliance after being convinced by the tremendous
performance of the Alliance in developing the state since they took over state office in
October 1961. At this time, the people of Terengganu put the state economy and land
development as their top priorities. This was the second important aspect of the
Terengganu people’s response to the changing world. The need for development and
more opportunities in the modern world made them sensitive to current requirements.

No doubt the people of Terengganu hoped for a better life when the British government
introduced a new system for electing local political leaders to lead Malaya after it was
given independence. It is believed that the people of Terengganu wanted to be governed
by local Islamic individuals after being ruled by the non-believers (British government).
As no Islamic based political party contested in the first election, the people of
Terengganu voted for the Alliance, which included UMNO. Even though UMNO gave
great attention to the development of the state, the majority of its people chose PAS in
the second election. Islamic values carried out by PAS influenced the voters to vote for
them and give the party a chance to bring the state to a bright future in every aspect of
life. However, their lack of experience in administering the state frustrated the voters.

Therefore, the economy and land development became priorities for the Terengganu
people in choosing their political representatives after the PAS government failed to
fulfill their dreams. Probably they were delighted with the land development and
economic progress which had occurred in other states such as Selangor, Johore and
Perak. Consequently, strategies of the Alliance, which focused on developing the state economy and infrastructure after they took over state office, proved fruitful in attracting the people’s support. Even though that strategy was said to be preparation for the coming election, the people of Terengganu did not hesitate to give their trust to the party in the 1964 election, as they knew that the Alliance could change their lives in the near future. Hence, the major factor that transferred support from PAS to UMNO was the economy and state development. As they were hungry for all modern facilities, from the Japanese occupation period, the Terengganu people wanted to see their state develop in economy and infrastructure that could create more jobs and business opportunities.

The Alliance’s tremendous performance did not last and their leaders faced corruption accusations. Even though there was no legal action taken on the allegations, especially on the Menteri Besar, Ibrahim Fikri, the people of Terengganu were confused. Slowing in economic and land development since 1967 added to their confusion. The State Working Committees were accused of putting their personal interests before the public interest. The people of Terengganu who were very sensitive on those issues showed their concern in the 1969 election. The Alliance party did not enjoy popular support in the election; in fact they lost many seats to PAS. Ibrahim Fikri also did not secure popular support when he won with a slim majority. Nevertheless, the people of Terengganu lacked confidence to give PAS another chance to rule the state. Two turbulent years under PAS administration was not forgotten, therefore PAS only managed to add their representatives in the state house to become a strong opposition front. As PAS became one of the allied parties in the National Front, which was formed in 1973, the people of Terengganu had no difficulty in choosing their political representatives in the following elections, even though that decision had weakened the
party’s position in the state following dissatisfaction over the merger. Nevertheless, PAS then decided to break off from the National Front in 1978 after they failed to find a solution to their crises with UMNO in Kelantan and Terengganu. The people of Terengganu stayed loyal to the National Front until, in 1999 once again, they showed their sensitivity on current issues\(^1\) (Anwar Ibrahim’s issues) when voting for PAS in the election. PAS won with a huge majority. That is the specialty of the Terengganu people compared to others. The people of Pahang and Johore,\(^2\) for example, stayed loyal to the Alliance since independence no matter what happened. Perhaps those people believed that the issues raised were temporary and would not affect the credibility and charismatic value of the Alliance/National Front leaders in politics and government.

As a whole, although the people of Terengganu were religious, current needs and issues eventually changed their priorities in life. In this case, UMNO was successful in its strategies to gain popular support from the people of Terengganu. Rapid implementation of development plans within two years (1962-1964) was fruitful in getting trust from the voters to re-elect them in the 1964 election. PAS, who broke its promises before, faced difficulties in gaining back the people’s support. Even though the party tried hard to persuade the people of Terengganu to elect them, victory was achieved only in certain areas. In fact, PAS’ presence in the National Front to strengthen Malay politics after the May 1969 tragedy could not save any support for the party; instead, support for UMNO was increased.

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\(^1\) Anwar Ibrahim was sacked as Deputy Prime Minister in September 1998 on personal wrong-doing allegations. However many people especially Malays believed that he was innocent. It is believed that the people of Terengganu were in favour of Anwar instead of Dr. Mahathir Mohammed, the Prime Minister, and the Menteri Besar of Terengganu, Wan Mokhtar Ahmad. Wan Mokhtar, lost in the election to a PAS candidate.

\(^2\) In Johore, for example, in the late 1970s, accusations were raised that the Menteri Besar, Dato’ Othman Saat, put his personal interest, before the public interest. However, this issue did not affect the National Front position in the state.
Beside economy and land development, modern education was another aspect that experienced slow progress in Terengganu. Whether this was resulted from the attitude of the people of the state, who did not respond enthusiastically to modern education, or because of less attention from the government, the growing number of schools in the state was not as impressive as in other states. However, the people of Terengganu had alternatives for the education of their children because there were Islamic institutions (pondok and sekolah agama rakyat) all over the state. Thus education did not strongly change support from PAS to UMNO in the 1964 and 1969 elections in Terengganu, even though it perhaps influenced support for UMNO and the Alliance in other states such as Penang, Perak and Selangor as education policy and implementation became important issues debated publicly in the 1960s.

However, it would be an exaggeration to say that the Terengganu people did not respond to the need of modern education. During the pre-war period, the Malays, especially in Terengganu, placed their children in the well-organized religious institutions, which were built by religious scholars. Even though modern English and Malay schools were built from the 1910s, Malay parents, who feared their children could be influenced by other religions, did not give enough support to the new schools. Nevertheless, this attitude changed in the 1920s, especially among those who settled in urban areas. Malay parents did not delight merely to place their children in Malay schools but also in English schools. In fact, they started to believe that the future of their children would be brighter if they studied in English schools. Even though this fact frustrated the Malay educationalists and politicians who struggled for primary and secondary Malay national schools, current needs had forced Malay parents to seek a better education for their children.
This study has covered the political behaviour of the people of Terengganu from the 1950s to 1973. The researcher’s earlier assumptions that they were putting their religious interests behind land and economic development proved wrong. In fact, the Terengganu people, especially the Malays, showed their sensitivity on current issues and needs. The people in other states in the Peninsula did not act as the Terengganu people did, even the people of Kelantan. This study is useful for understanding people’s attitudes and stance towards the changing world. Historical background and experiences faced throughout the years had shaped the minds of the Terengganu people. The Malays in Terengganu have shifted their paradigm in politics. Instead of assuming that politics and leadership were only for an aristocratic group, the people of Terengganu elected non-aristocratic individuals as their political representatives in 1959. It is believed that people in other states had their own historical background and experiences that made them choose to stay loyal to the first and foremost ruling party, the Alliance/National Front, which contained UMNO, the Malay aristocratic based party. The people of Terengganu, on the other hand, chose their political representatives/parties based on their abilities to bring the state and its people to a better future, discounting their social status.
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Abu Bakar bin Mohd Salleh
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Occupation: Farmer

Dato Rashid Ngah,
Age: 68
Occupation: Senator
Experiences: former political representative for Seberang Takir.

Draman @ Tuan Haji Muda Abdullah,
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Occupation: Pensioner
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