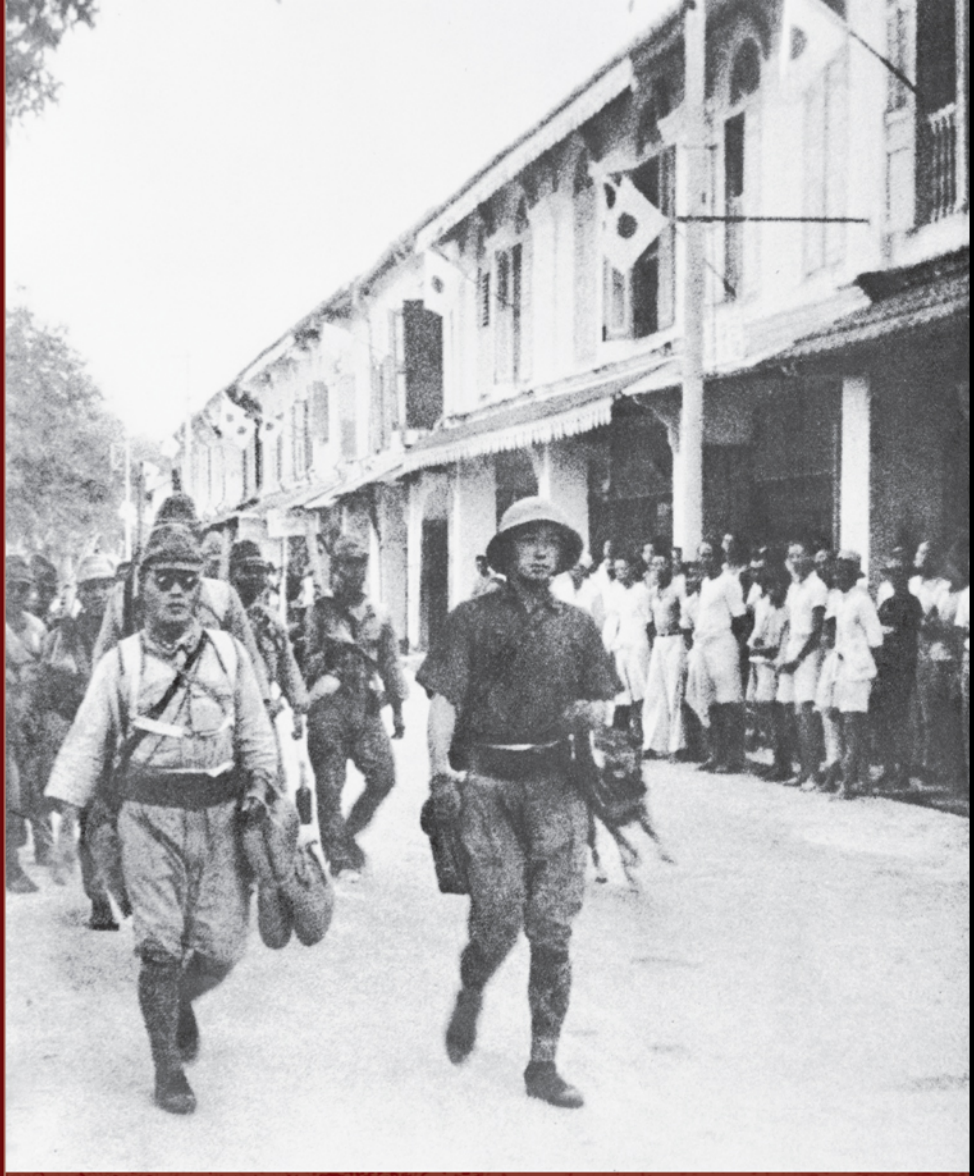

THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF BORNEO, 1941–1945

Ooi Keat Gin

ROUTLEDGE

The Japanese Occupation of Borneo, 1941–1945

The Japanese occupation of both British Borneo – Brunei, Sarawak and North Borneo – and Dutch Borneo in 1941 to 1945 is a much understudied subject. Of particular interest is the occupation of Dutch Borneo, governed by the Imperial Japanese Navy, which had long-term plans for 'permanent possession'. This book surveys Borneo under Western colonialism, examines pre-war Japanese interests in Borneo, and analyses the Japanese military invasion and occupation. It goes on to consider the nature of Japanese rule in Borneo, contrasting the different regimes of the Imperial Japanese Army, which ruled the north, and the Navy, which ruled in the south. A wide range of issues are discussed, including the incorporation of the economy in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and the effects of this on Borneo's economy. The book also covers issues such as the relationship with the various indigenous inhabitants, with Islam and the Muslim community, and the Chinese, as well as topics of acculturation and propaganda, and major uprisings and mass executions. It examines the impact of the wartime conditions and policies on the local multiethnic peoples and their responses, providing an invaluable contribution to the greater understanding of the significance of the wartime Japanese occupation in the historical development of Borneo.

Ooi Keat Gin is Professor of History in the School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society (London, UK) and formerly of the Faculty of Politics and International Studies, University of Hull (Hull, UK). He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *World beyond the Rivers* (1996) and *From Colonial Outpost to Cosmopolitan Centre* (2002). He is the editor of the critically acclaimed *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia*, 3 vols. (ABC-Clio, 2004). He is also the chief editor of the *International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* (IJAPS) and serves as series editor of the APRU-USM Asia Pacific Studies Publications Series (AAPSPS).

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To
my mother Tan Ai Gek,
my wife Swee Im,
and sisters Saw Lian and Saw Ean.

Also for
Beannie, Murfett, Gaston, and BP.

Gajah sama gajah berjuang;
Pelanduk mati di tengah-tengah.
When elephants struggle;
The mouse-deer in between perishes.

– Traditional Malay saying

The clash of great powers results in the
sufferings of smaller, weaker nations.

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Currencies

In the territories of Sarawak, Brunei and British North Borneo, which was collectively known as British Borneo and *Kita Boruneo* (Northern Borneo), the currency used was the dollar ($), viz. Sarawak dollar, Brunei dollar and North Borneo dollar, that was tied to the Straits Settlements dollar. From 1906 the Straits dollar was pegged to the sterling, whereby $1 approximated 2s. 4d., or $8.57 to £1. This exchange was retained until the outbreak of the Pacific War (1941–1945). Pre-war Dutch Borneo, which became *Minami Boruneo* during the Japanese wartime occupation period, utilized the Dutch guilder (fl.). Owing to the erratic fluctuation in wartime Japanese-issued currency, it was near impossible to provide any exchange rates for comparison with pre-war currencies.

Preface

There are compelling historiographical reasons for the present study and the most obvious is that there has yet to be a scholarly work on the Japanese occupation of Borneo. Past works have focused on the occupation period of specific territories or on certain themes. The contribution of this present work lies in addressing the lacuna in the scholarly literature of the wartime occupation of the entire island of Borneo in a single volume. The work's significance is in its comparision of the two halves of the island, which were administered separately by two branches of the Imperial Japanese Forces, namely the northern half (pre-war British Borneo) under the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), and the southern portion (pre-war Dutch Borneo) controlled by the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN). A long-term policy of 'permanent retention' (*eikyu kakuho*) was adopted for the resource-rich, sparsely populated territories that were allocated to the IJN. IJA-controlled territories did not adopt such a far-reaching agenda. In evaluating and comparing the wartime experiences of the two Bornean territories, this present study breaks new ground.

This work attempts to examine the wartime conditions and experiences of the multiethnic and diverse communities of Borneo and to ascertain the impact that the Pacific War and the Japanese occupation period had on the local inhabitants. At the same time, in comparing and contrasting the policies and activities of the IJA with that of the IJN this study seeks to uncover if there were disparate differences between the two services or whether they shared common basic traits and differed only in form.

Arranged into ten chapters, this volume covers the pre-war situation, the invasion and occupation, wartime conditions, atrocities and anti-Japanese oppositions, and a comparison between the Army and the Navy. Chapter 1, or 'Introduction', offers a historical and geographical background. Chapter 2 focuses on the pre-war Japanese community and their preoccupations (economic, social, etc.) including fifth column activities. The prevalence of anti-Japanese feelings and animosities of local inhabitants towards the Japanese is also examined. The reasons behind the Japanese decision to go to war are treated in Chapter 3. Japanese war plans, the denial schemes of the colonial regimes in lieu of military operations, and the invasion and occupation are presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 oversees the appropriation of Borneo: the island's upper half – 'Northern Borneo' – comprising pre-war British Borneo (Sarawak, Brunei and

North Borneo) came under IJA control, while the lower portion – 'Southern Borneo' – formerly Dutch Borneo, was given to IJN administration. Details and characteristics of the administration of the IJA and IJN in their respective domains are examined. While Chapter 6 looks at IJA policies and their implementation in *Kita Boruneo* (Northern Borneo), Chapter 7 likewise examines IJN in *Minami Boruneo* (Southern Borneo). The Long Nawang Killings (1942) and the Sandakan Death March (1945) are two of the atrocities discussed in Chapter 8. At the same time the chapter investigates the Kinabalu Uprising (October 1943) and the so-called anti-Japanese conspiracies in Minami Boruneo. Chapter 9 undertakes a comparison between the Army and Navy in relation to the exploitation of resources, the Japanization policy, attitude towards anti-Japanese, subversive activities, prisoners of war, and the issue of political participation of local inhabitants.

Chapter 10 looks at the preparations of the Japanese 37th Army to face an anticipated Allied re-conquest of Borneo, covert operations (AGAS and SEMUT) before the Australian amphibious landings (OBOE) and immediate postwar developments. The conclusion evaluates the impact of the wartime conditions, policies, and the experiences of the multiethnic inhabitants and their responses in the postwar period.

The genesis of this work dates back to the mid-1990s when my focus was on the Japanese occupation of Sarawak. My research and writing has since expanded to cover various territories of Borneo. My progress over the years is owed to the generosity of various funding bodies offering research grants and of institutions offering fellowships. In chronological sequence I express my gratitude to the following for funding my research and writing: the Toyota Foundation, Tokyo, Japan (1996–1999); Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia (1995–1997); and, the Sumitomo Foundation, Tokyo, Japan (2000–1). In the same vein I wish to record my appreciation to the institutions that offered me fellowships: Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia (1999); Tun Jugah Foundation/University of Hull Fellowship, University of Hull, Hull, United Kingdom (2000–2001); International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden, The Netherlands (2002–2004); Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (NIOD) (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation), Amsterdam, The Netherlands, (2006); Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies (CAPSTRANS), University of Wollongong, Wollongong, Australia (2006); Tun Jugah Foundation/University of Leeds Fellowship, University of Leeds, Leeds, United Kingdom (2009).

Research for this present study involved work at various archives, repositories, and libraries. The archives that were frequented: United Kingdom – Public Record Office, Kew, Imperial War Museum, London, and Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford; The Netherlands – Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Netherlands Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives), The Hague, Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation), Amsterdam. In the United States – National Archives, Washington DC; Australia – National Archives of Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, and Canberra) and Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. Closer to home sojourns were spent at Arsip

Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia and Brunei State Archives, Bandar Seri Begawan, Negara Brunei Darussalam. In Malaysia, research was undertaken at the Sarawak Museum and State Archives, Kuching, Sarawak, Sabah State Archives, Kota Kinabalu, Sabah and Arkib Negara, Kuala Lumpur, and in Singapore at the National Archives of Singapore.

Besides archives, several libraries were consulted including the British Library (London), School of Oriental and African Studies (London), Bodleian Library (Oxford), University of Amsterdam (Amsterdam), Leiden University (Leiden), the Australian National University (Canberra), National University of Singapore (Singapore), National Library (Singapore), Universitas Gadja Mada (Jogjakarta), Perpustakaan Negara (Kuala Lumpur), and Universiti Sains Malaysia (Penang). To the aforementioned I wish to extend my appreciation for the assistance of helpful and professional staff.

I am indebted to my current institution, the School of Humanities, Universiti Sains Malaysia, for tolerating my annual sojourns abroad for the past decade and for two nine-month sabbaticals.

Several individuals have lent their assistance professionally and personally in various forms for which I am indeed grateful. In random order, they include Paul H. Kratoska (National University of Singapore [NUS] Publishing), V.T. King (University of Leeds), Tim Huxley (formerly of the University of Hull), Carl Bridge (Menzies Centre, University of London), Adrian Vickers (University of Sydney), Tim Scrase (formerly of University of Wollongong), Peter Post (NIOD), Remco Raben (Utrecht University), Mario Rutten (University of Amsterdam), Wim Stokhoff (formerly of IIAS), Heleen van der Minne (IIAS), Sikko Vischer (formerly of the University of Amsterdam), Peter Stanley (formerly of AWM), Ian Smith (AWM), Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail (USM, Penang), Badriyah Haji Salleh (formerly of USM, Penang), Anthony Reid (ANU), Robert Cribb (ANU), Hank Nelson (formerly of ANU), Hara Fujio (Nanzan University), Michael Dove (Yale University), Bob Reece (Murdoch University) and A.V.M. Horton (Worcestershire).

Thanks also to Peter Sowden at Routledge, with whom I enjoyed many illuminating dialogues that were both interesting and motivational. One of the outcomes is this present work. I look forward to further conversations and outcomes.

On a personal level I am indebted to Brian Longhorn and Pat Smith (Hull), Pauline Khng (London), Frauke Frankenstein (Hamburg), the late Dr G.E.D. Lewis (London), Rhiannon Lewis and Russell Bywater (London) and Dr Ann Heylen (Taipei).

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The support and love from my family throughout this endeavour is immeasurable. This book is dedicated to all of them.

Ooi Keat Gin
The Pongo
Island Glades
Penang, Malaysia

Abbreviations

AIB	Allied Intelligence Bureau
AIF	Australian Imperial Forces
ANRI	Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia), Jakarta, Indonesia
ANU	Australian National University
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief (Royal Archives) The Hague, The Netherlands
ARP	Air Raid Precaution
AVC	Algemene Vernielings Corps (denial operations corps)
AWM	Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia
BBCAU	British Borneo Civil Affairs Unit
BCL	Borneo Company Limited
BGA	Borneo Garrison Army
BMA (BB)	British Military Administration (British Borneo)
BPM	Bataafsche Petroleum-Maatschappij (Batavian Petroleum Company)
CAPSTRANS	Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies
CO	(British) Colonial Office, London, UK
DIA	Daya in Action
DIKB	Daerah Istimewa Kalimantan Barat (Special Region of West Kalimantan)
DO	District Officer
DZs	drop zones
EEIC	English East India Company
FMS	Federated Malay States
FO	(British) Foreign Office, London, UK
IIAS	International Institute of Asian Studies
IIL	Indian Independence League
IJA	Imperial Japanese Army
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy
INA	Indian National Army
ISD	Inter-Allied Services Department

IWM	Imperial War Museum, London, UK
JOC	Jeugd Oefen Corps
KNIL	Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Leger (Royal Netherlands Indies Army)
KNIP	Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (National Central Committee of Indonesia)
LBD	Luct Beschermings Dienst (air raid shelters)
MFAA	Netherlands Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives), The Hague, The Netherlands
NAA	National Archives of Australia, Canberra, Australia
NAUSA	National Archives, Washington D.C., US
NBVF	North Borneo Volunteer Force
NEFIS	Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service
NEI	Netherlands East Indies
NIAM	Nederlandsch-Indische Aardolie-Maatschappij (Netherlands Indies Oil Company)
NICA	Netherlands Indies Civil Administration
NIOD	Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation)
NIT	Negara Indonesia Timur (State of East Indonesia)
NRK	Nanyo Ringyo Kabushi
ODC	Oriental Development Company
PETA	Pembela Tanah Air or Defenders of the Motherland; Giyugun
POWs	prisoners of war
PPC	Central Pimpinan Pemerintah Cipil (Central Leaders of Civil Government)
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew, UK
RHL	Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford, England, UK
RIS	Republik Indonesia Serikat (Republic of the United States of Indonesia)
RUSI	Republic of the United States of Indonesia (Republik Indonesia Serikat)
SMSA	Sarawak Museum and State Archives, Kuching, Malaysia
SOA	Special Operations Australia
SOE	Special Operations Executive
SRD	Services Reconnaissance Department
SWPA	South-West Pacific Area
UK	United Kingdom
UMS	Unfederated Malay States
US	United States
USFP	US Forces in the Philippines

USM	Universiti Sains Malaysia
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch) United East India Company
VO Corps	Vrijwillinggers Oefen Corps
WO	(British) War Office, London, UK
MP	military police

Military abbreviations

Aust	Australian
Bde	Brigade
Bn	Battalion
Cav	Cavalry
Cdo	Commando
Coy	Company
Div	Division
GHQ	General Headquarters
GOC	General Officer Commanding (Japanese)
Ind	Independent
Inf	Infantry
MG	Machine Gun
Mix	Mixed
NCO	Non-commissioned Officer
Pnr	Pioneer
RAF	Royal Air Force (British)
Regt	Regiment
Tk	Tank
Sqn	Squadron
WT	Wireless Transmission

1 Introduction

Borneo,[1] the world's third largest island (after Greenland and Papua New Guinea), straddles the equator, which slices the island's 754,000 square kilometre (290,000 square miles) area into two almost equal halves. Geographically, the island, strategically located in a central position in archipelagic Southeast Asia, was (and still is) off the world's major trade route. The Straits of Melacca prevented Borneo taking a role as a major player in the region. Historically Borneo had been the bridesmaid to more dominant territories. Java to the south and Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula to the southwest had greatly impacted on Southeast Asia's past developments while Borneo, despite its size, stood on the sidelines. More than anything it was the physical environment that ensured that Borneo took a backseat in most fields of endeavour – urbanization, modernization, telecommunications, transportation, and others.

Environmental setting

Shaped like 'a barking dog on its hind legs gazing attentively eastwards,' Borneo possesses a rugged terrain where a mountain range extends like a backbone from the 'dog's head' (northeast) running down the 'dog's back', to end in the centre of the canine's body. Land over 900 metres emanates from the northeast to run almost in a north–south direction to the heartland of the island. The highest point, at 4,093 metres, is reached at Mount Kinabalu in the heart of Sabah, which is reputedly the highest peak in Southeast Asia.

> Some 200 million years ago, a continental core of rock formed a highland area surrounded by volcanic activity. This older core, essentially an exposed part of the Sunda shield, was gradually worn away, depositing sedimentary rocks to the north-west and south-east. These sediments were subsequently compressed and folded, creating an arc of younger rocks around a central continental core which stretched across the south-central part of the island. [Mount] Kinabalu represents an igneous mass intruded into the sedimentary rocks of the Crocker Range some 10 million years ago. A 2-mile square summit area of the mountain experienced direct glaciations during the Quaternary [*c.* 2 million years ago]. The lowering of sea-levels during the Quaternary led to considerable

fluvial down-cutting and the deposition of large amounts of alluvium in many coastal areas as sea-levels were adjusted.[2]

Mineral resources such as gold, diamonds, iron, and tin deposits are present in the 'continental core' and the metamorphosed margins of this core, the auriferous areas of southwest Sarawak and West Kalimantan. The younger sedimentary rocks are equal or even more important; coal and hydrocarbon deposits are found inland as well as offshore in Sarawak, Brunei, and East and South Kalimantan.

From the mountainous centre of the island flows a network of rivers. The Mahakam (980 kilometres) heads eastwards to the Straits of Makassar while the Kayan drains into the Sulawesi (Celebes) Sea, the mighty Kapuas (1,143 kilometres) meanders westwards towards the Karimata Straits, the Barito (890 kilometres) and Kahayan (600 kilometres) make their way southwards to the Java Sea, and the Rejang (760 kilometres) flows northwestwards to the South China Sea. Between the mountainous interior and the swampy coastal areas (mangrove, nipah and sago palm), the rivers are a lifeline for many parts of the island. Besides the fatally obstructive rapids in the upper reaches of most of the rivers that hamper travellers, the rapid rise and fall in the water level as a result of torrential tropical downpours creates massive and destructive flooding in the downstream areas where most riverine settlements are situated.

Annual rainfall of between 2,500 millimeters and 3,000 millimeters is typical of the equatorial climate that envelopes the entire island. Precipitation increases inland and at higher altitudes. The rainy season is between October and March, when the northeast monsoon is prevalent. The *landas* (wet season) occurs in November, December and January, when coastal travel in small native crafts is discouraged owing to the choppy seas and strong winds. Nonetheless Borneo is typhoon-free. When the dry southwest monsoon blows during the months from May to September, there is less rainfall; the driest months, which are more pronounced inland, are July, August and September. Day temperatures can reach 37° C on the coast but are much cooler inland and upland. Hygrometer readings of more than 80 per cent relative humidity make it unwelcomingly uncomfortable. However, highland areas (over 700 metres) tend to be more agreeable and pleasant.

Heavy downpours and high humidity hasten considerably the decaying and decomposition process. Despite the luxuriant appearance of Borneo's immense rainforest the high precipitation leaches the red lateritic soil of nutrients.

Borneo possesses three distinct ecological zones: the coastal and estuarine periphery; the river valleys; and the forested uplands of the interior that impacted on the history and human geography of the island.[3] Despite the absence of good natural harbours and the presence of swamps, the coastal peripheries were convenient sites for trading settlements, which developed over time to become major urban centres; notably Bandar Seri Begawan, Kota Kinabalu, Samarinda, Banjarmasin, Pontianak, Kuching and Sibu. Many of these towns are sited on the estuarine area of the rivers: Samarinda on the Mahakam, Banjarmasin on the Barito, Pontianak on the Kapuas and Sibu on the Rejang. The river valleys of alluvial flood plains and gentle hills offer opportunities for farming and settlement. Along the banks or

at the confluences of the rivers settlements were established and economic activity promoted. Tropical rainforest with an astonishing diversity of flora and fauna throws a green canopy over the hilly and mountainous interior. Shifting cultivation and gathering of forest produce are the preoccupation of nomadic groups inhabiting the interior zone. But on intermontane plateaux and tablelands such as in the Kelabit Highlands of northeast Sarawak, there are picturesque irrigated and terraced wet-rice fields that ably sustain settled communities in these remote and isolated interior uplands.

The human factor

Malaysia's Sabah and Sarawak collectively are home to no less than 70 ethnic communities.[4] Brunei's ethnic composition is less diverse but still culturally colourful.[5] Kalimantan's human ecology is equally diverse as its neighbouring territories. Some generalization in classification is useful to present a sensible ethnographic picture of the inhabitants of Borneo. The Muslim Malays and the non-Muslim Dayaks is a useful division of Bornean society. The third category is of non-indigenous communities; those that migrated centuries ago and others that arrived in recent decades or years.

The ethnic term 'Malay' is at best a tricky category. However, one of the distinct characteristics of Malay-ness is being a Muslim, meaning one who embraces the Islamic religion. Other defining attributes of being Malay are the language and certain unique customary practices. In the Bornean context Malays are further defined by their places of origin: Brunei Malays, Sarawak Malays, Banjar Malays, Kapuas Malays, Bulungan Malays and others. There are also the non-indigenous Muslims, mainly with trading and mercantile backgrounds from neighbouring regions such as Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Madura and Sulawesi, who have migrated and settled in Borneo's coastal belt. Intermarriage with locals gradually dissociated the immigrant Muslim from their original homeland, although some maintained their identity and cultural norms. Malays predominantly settled in clusters of *kampung* (villages). Wet-rice cultivation, sea and river fishing, smallholding of commercial crops (rubber, coconut, fruit), and small-scale trading activities sustained a generally subsistence and spartan existence.

The term 'Dayak' means 'person' or 'inland person,' the latter because most of the communities settled in the interior, upriver, forested upland areas. Non-Muslim Dayaks are a heterogeneous group that are culturally diverse as well as numerically significant.

> . . . to simplify this complex reality we can make some generalizations in order to sort Dayaks into broader categories . . . Two categories based essentially on ecological criteria are hunters-gatherers and settled agriculturalists. Some of the settled agriculturalists can then be divided by sociological criteria into those which have stratified social orders comprising two or more named social classes or strata, and societies which are more egalitarian in organization, although they do acknowledge the importance of acquiring prestige or status.

> The settled agriculturalists can also be differentiated according to language and various cultural traits into smaller sub-groupings.[6]

The intention here is not to give a detailed portrait of the various categories of Bornean indigenes.[7] Instead the spatial distribution of Muslim Malays and the non-Muslim Dayaks (Map 1.1) should suffice.

Immigrant Asian peoples, notably Chinese, and Indians, from mainland China and the South Asian sub-continent respectively, are two minority groups in Borneo. Early Chinese immigrants to West Kalimantan were gold miners with self-governing mining settlements. Trading communities were established in most townships throughout Borneo; to a large extent before the Pacific War (1941–1945) the Chinese monopolized the commercial life of both coastal and inland settlements. The Chinese were also involved in commercial agriculture. Small pockets of both Indian Hindu and Indian Muslim communities are found in most Bornean towns. Cloth and spices are the mainstay of most Indian businesses. Arabs from West Asia who initially arrived as traders intermarried into Malay Muslim communities and settled as a small trading class. Overall the Chinese are the most significant minority community in present-day Borneo.

Map 1.1 Indigenous ethnic groups of Borneo

Source: After Victor T. King, *The Peoples of Borneo* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 39.

Contemporary Borneo

Borneo today is physically carved into four territories and politically into three nation states. The upper northwest part of the island forms the state of Sabah (before 1963, British North Borneo) while its lower portion is Sarawak; both Sabah and Sarawak are two component states of the Federation of Malaysia. The independent, sovereign Malay Muslim Kingdom of Negara Brunei Darulssalam perches comfortably between Sabah to the northeast and Sarawak to the southwest. The remainder, the larger portion of the island – southeast, south, and west – is Kalimantan, one of the many states of the Republic of Indonesia. Administratively Kalimantan is partitioned into four provinces, clockwise from Kalimantan Timur (Kaltim) (East Kalimantan), Kalimantan Selatan (Kalsel) (South Kalimantan), Kalimantan Tengah (Kalteng) (Central Kalimantan) and Kalimantan Barat (Kalbar) (West Kalimantan). Table 1.1 illustrates the contemporary political and administrative configuration of the island.

Pre-colonial Borneo

Archaeological finds point to continuous human habitation at the Niah Caves on the northeast of the island stretching from 40,000 to 2,000 years.[8] Santubong on the southwest coast was once the site of an ancient seaport and an iron-smelting centre (*c.* sixth or seventh century CE).[9] During the Hindu-Buddhist period (first to thirteenth centuries CE) there were numerous Indianized polities on Borneo. The Martapura Kingdom (predecessor of Kutai) located at present-day Muara Kaman on the confluence of the lower Mahakam River and the Kedang Kepala River on the southeast of the island appeared to be the earliest formal polity.[10] Artifacts including Pallawan script (*c.* 400 CE) and stone sculptures emphasized the strong Indian cultural influence. Vijayapura, supposedly on Brunei Bay, the precursor to

Table 1.1 Contemporary Borneo political and administrative configurations

Nation	*State*	*Population*	*Area (sq km)*	*Administrative centre*
Negara Brunei Darulssalam	–	348,800*	5,743	Bandar Seri Begawan
Republic of Indonesia	East Kalimantan	2,750,369†	211,440	Samarinda
	South Kalimantan	3,446,631‡	36,984	Banjarmasin
	Central Kalimantan	1,912,747§	153,564	Palangkaraya
	West Kalimantan	4,073,304†	146,760	Pontianak
Federation of Malaysia	Sabah	2,900,000¶	75,821	Kota Kinabalu
	Sarawak	2,300,000¶	124,485	Kuching

Notes:
* 2003 estimates; †2004; ‡2008; §2007; ¶2005 estimates

Sources: *Ensiklopedi Indonesia Seri Geografi*, pp. 150, 158, 165, 173; Ooi, *Historical Dictionary of Malaysia*, pp. 230, 283; *The Europa World Year Book 2005*, I, p. 928.

Brunei (whence the name Borneo originated), was the Borneo Srivijaya.[11] It was apparent that by the close of the first millennium Borneo's coastal settlements had trading relations with the surrounding territories as well as ties with the Indian sub-continent and China. Jungle products (bird's nests, bezoar stones, resins like benzoin and dammar, aloeswood or *gaharu*, camphor) from the island's interior and sea produce (*trepang* or sea cucumber, shark's fins) were prized exotic and/or medicinal commodities particularly in the China market. By the seventh century CE Borneo was drawn into China's tribute system. Envoys from the coastal kingdoms of Borneo's northwest brought tribute to the dragon throne; such tribute-bearing missions were nothing more than facades for trade transactions between non-Chinese territories and the Middle Kingdom (China).

Regional powers such as Buddhist Srivijaya (seventh to ninth/tenth centuries CE), Hindu Kediri (twelfth to thirteenth centuries CE), Hindu Majapahit (1293–*c.* 1520s), the Malay Muslim Melaka (1400–1511), and Muslim Banten (1526–1687) had each exerted their political and socio-cultural influence over the coastal polities of Borneo. Coastal Bornean kingdoms such as Brunei on the northeast, Kutai on the southeast, and Banjarmasin on the south all possessed Hindu-Buddhist roots. For instance, the Javanese chronicle *Negarakertagama* recorded that Kutai and Banjarmasin were vassals of Majapahit. Brunei had close trading as well as religious (Islam) links with Melaka. By the early decades of the sixteenth century these Bornean kingdoms embraced Islam and their rulers adopted the title 'sultan', hence the Sultanates of Brunei, Kutai and Banjarmasin.

Melaka's fall to the Portuguese in 1511 had to some extent brought a boon to Brunei when Muslim traders from India and the region deliberately shifted their commercial activities to this Malay Muslim sultanate. Banjarmasin also experienced an increase in trade when Chinese merchants preferred this southern Bornean port to Portuguese Melaka. This increased commercial prosperity resulted in Banjarmasin shifting from upstream to the Barito Delta during the mid-sixteenth century. Kutai, a vassal of the more dominant Banjarmasin, prospered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, trading in jungle products sourced from the Upper Mahakam. Bugis from southern Sulawesi (Celebes) had long trading ties with Kutai and the east coast; the eighteenth century saw substantial Bugis settlements on Borneo's eastern periphery.[12] Over on the west coast, 1772 was the emergence of the coastal trading centre of Pontianak on the Kapuas River. Syarif Abdurrahman, an Arab pirate of mixed race, established this commercial settlement to corner the lucrative flow of precious metals such as diamonds and gold and jungle products from the interior down the Kapuas.

Northwards from Pontianak were the Malay Muslim sultanates of Sambas and Mempawah that had since the mid-eighteenth century invited Hakka Chinese to develop the rich auriferous areas of gold deposits. A proliferation of Chinese gold-mining communities termed *kongsi* emerged in northwestern Borneo. These self-governing, independent kongsi were *imperium in imperio* that issued currency, dispensed justice, maintained public security, erected internal transportation, and utilized pseudo-religious rituals and traditions to bind and unite the community.[13]

European colonization of Borneo

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, riding on the crest of anticipated economic gains, European colonialism begun to intrude into Borneo. Syarif Abdurrahman's establishment of Pontianak in the early 1770s was partly assisted by the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) ([Dutch] United East India Company) that utilized this new trading centre as an alternative to the exactions of excessive taxes from the Sultan of Sambas. In retaliation the latter turned to raiding European trading vessels, including those of the VOC. These raids, referred to in contemporary literature as 'piracy', were eliminated when a British expeditionary force subdued the Sambas sultanate in 1813.

The outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) witnessed a transfer of temporary authority of Dutch possessions in the Malay Archipelago[14] to the British in order to deny them to the French. Following the end of the wars, in gentlemanly fashion the British returned to the Dutch government all the territories that were formerly held by the VOC. The latter had been dissolved in 1799 and the Dutch government assumed all the company's responsibilities and liabilities. It was at this juncture that the Dutch felt it imperative that they assert their authority and hence their economic control of Eastern spices and produce beyond their hold on Java. However owing to Borneo's scant economic resources, Dutch priorities were focused on other more gainful areas, namely Java and Sumatra.

Nonetheless in 1817 the Dutch entered into a contract for protection with the Sultan of Banjarmasin, whose claim over the throne was contested. In return he offered the Dutch east, south and central Borneo, which purportedly were territories under the sultanate's authority. Meanwhile, on the west of the island, the Sultan of Pontianak, who was a Dutch ally, was being challenged by his erstwhile rival, the less than neighbourly Sambas. In 1818 a Dutch expedition not only secured the throne for the Pontianak ruler but at the same time managed to repel a Sambas offensive against the city. The next decade saw events in Java – the uprising of Prince Diponegoro from 1825 to 1830 – overtaking all other concerns including attempting to halt Dutch assertion of their authority on Borneo and elsewhere.

Despite having an outpost on the island of Penang that begun in 1786, the English East India Company (EEIC), through the high-handed ambitious initiative of Sir Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles (1781–1826), had occupied Singapore, an island at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, in 1819. Singapore was deemed to be in closer proximity to ascertain Dutch designs in the East Indies.[15] Batavia, the Dutch headquarters on Java, viewed Singapore with suspicion. Furthermore the activities of an English gentleman-adventurer Sir James Brooke (1803–1868), who, in return for putting down a rebellion, was rewarded with the governorship of Sarawak by the Sultan of Brunei in 1841. With Kuching on the Lower Sarawak River as his base, the White Rajah of Sarawak begun to flex his authority in West Borneo. Utilizing the Royal Navy to eradicate so-called Iban 'pirates' on the northwestern Bornean coast and destroy the bases (longhouses) of the pirates upstream on the Skrang and Saribas Rivers, Brooke's actions, although successful in ending raids

on European, Chinese and native commercial shipping, were beginning to reveal an expansionist design over West Borneo, which concerned the Dutch. At the same time the increasing trade ties between Singapore, the Chinese kongsi of West Borneo and China begun to impact adversely on Dutch interests in the region. Brooke's proximity to Sambas was particularly disconcerting to the Dutch.

Therefore, in the 1850s and 1860s the Dutch launched an offensive to enforce their claim over West Borneo. The series of Kongsi Wars (1822–1824, 1850–1854, 1884–1885), the clashes between the contentious kongsi, was seized as a convenient excuse to once and for all establish Dutch control over West Borneo. By the mid-1880s Dutch authority was firmly entrenched in the 'Chinese Districts', the former kongsi territories.

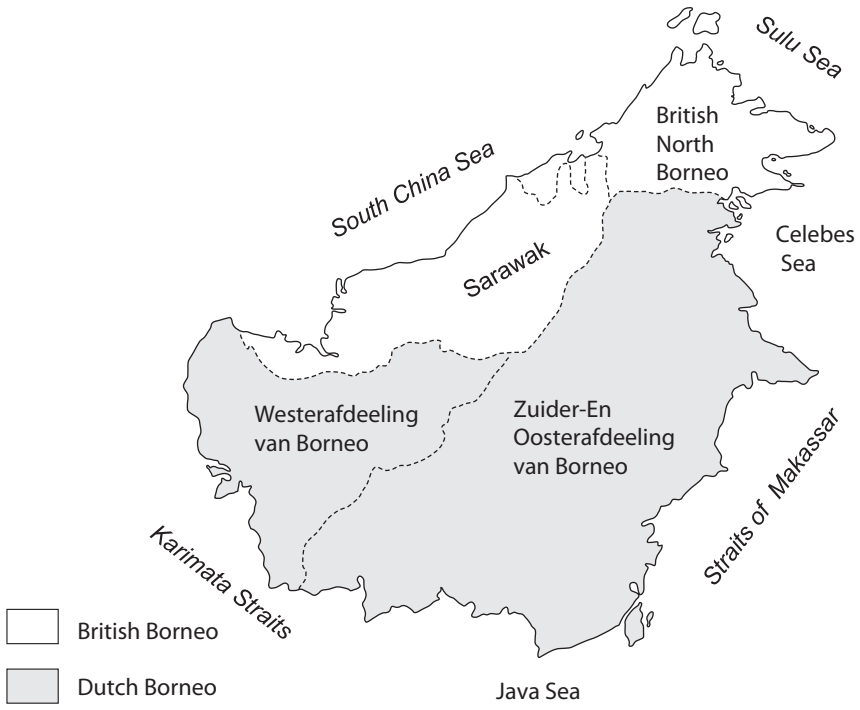
Meanwhile, across the island to the east, a Scottish adventurer named Erskine Murray sought to establish control over Kutai in 1844. Although the Sultan was initially friendly to the Scotsman, perhaps not knowing his real intentions, Murray's impatience led to open clashes between the Sultan's forces and his Bugis allies against the two-brig force of the British. Murray and two crew members died in the skirmish. Seizing these events as a legitimate pretext the Dutch sent a naval expedition to Kutai. The Sultan, fearing for his own existence, prudently welcomed Dutch 'protection'.

Having granted Sarawak to Brooke, the Sultan of Brunei also ceded the island of Labuan in Brunei Bay, which became a British Crown Colony in 1847. Through a series of calculated moves, the Brooke White Rajahs[16] pushed Sarawak's borders eastward, at the expense of Brunei. From the original granted territory in 1841 that comprised the river valleys of the Lundu, Sadong and Samarahan, the border had stretched to the Lawas River by 1905.

The northeast of Borneo, which subsequently became British North Borneo (or simply North Borneo), drew interest from a string of Western individuals, all harbouring pecuniary ambitions – Claude Lee Moses, the US consul general (1865); Americans Joseph W. Torrey and Thomas B. Harris (1865–1866); Baron Gustav von Overbeck, the Austrian consul, and Alfred Dent, a London-based English investor (1877–1881) – all acquired concessions, grants from the sultanates of Brunei and Sulu pertaining to the western and eastern portion respectively. Finally, through the efforts of Dent a royal charter was granted by Britain's parliament that in November 1881 brought about the creation of the British North Borneo Chartered Company, which administered North Borneo.

Taking notice of developments and as a means of ensuring the future integrity of the sultanate of Brunei, the British Colonial Office (CO) and Foreign Office (FO) agreed to the establishment of protectorate status over Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo in 1888. Hence the birth of 'British Borneo' (northeast and northwest) and 'Dutch Borneo' (west, south and east) (Map 1.2). The entire island of Borneo was formally under European colonialism until the outbreak of the Pacific War (1941–1945).

European colonial rule governed an estimated population of 3 million, comprising various indigenous communities and immigrant groups. Borneo's pre-war population is shown in Table 1.2.



Map 1.2 British and Dutch Borneo

Table 1.2 Demographic pattern of pre-war Borneo

Census	*British N. Borneo*	*Brunei*	*Sarawak*	*W. Borneo*	*S. and S.E. Borneo*
	1931	*1931*	*1939**	*1930*	*1930*
Indigenes	210,057	26,746	361,676	689,585	1,327,487
Chinese	50,056	2,683	123,626	107,998	26,289
Europeans	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,077	4,562
Other Asians	22,202	706	5,283	3,787	7,876
Total population	282,315	30,135	490,585	802,447	1,366,214
Total population		803,035 (British Borneo)		2,168,661 (Dutch Borneo)	
Area (sq km)	75,821	5,743	124,485	146,760	401,988
Total Area		206,049 (British Borneo)		548,748 (Dutch Borneo)	

Note:
* A head count undertaken by the Food Control Department

Source: Jones, *The Population of Borneo*, pp. 18, 31, 33, 63; *Volkstelling 1930*.

A tranquil tropical paradise

Borneo was a tranquil tropical paradise romanticized by the exploits of White Rajahs and head-hunting Dayaks. Most of the urban centres were small when compared to those on Java or the Malay Peninsula, and a multitude of ethnic groups roamed freely in the interior, practicing slash and burn farming while others continued with a hunter-gatherer lifestyle in the vast, abundant rainforest. Settlements dotted the non-swampy coastline and resembled sentinels to the unknown interior via chocolate-coloured rivers on native dugouts or motorized launches. Towns were far and few, and the pace of life pedestrian, even sluggish, when time hesitantly turned the page to reveal another mundane day where little happened and the rituals of routine continued uninterrupted.

On the eve of the outbreak of war, this description of Sarawak typified the overall situation throughout Borneo:

> . . . when the Japanese invasion forces arrived on Sarawak soil, they found themselves faced with a country and people contented with eking out a livelihood from the land, largely oblivious to happenings (whether political or otherwise) in neighbouring territories, and generally satisfied with the governance of their White Rajah.[17]

2 Pre-war Borneo

On the eve of the outbreak of the Pacific War (1941–1945), the island of Borneo was politically divided into two halves: the upper, northern portion was referred to as British Borneo, and the remaining southern and western parts as Dutch Borneo. British Borneo comprised three 'independently' administered territories: Sarawak under the White Rajah, Sir James Brooke (1841), the Malay Muslim Sultanate of Brunei, and British North Borneo administered by the British North Borneo Chartered Company (1881). All three territories were British protectorates from 1888. Dutch Borneo was administratively divided into Zuider-en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo (South and East Borneo), and Westerafdeeling van Borneo (West Borneo). Alongside Dutch-administered territories there were the various *zelfbesturen* or self-ruled native areas such as Berau and Kutai in the east and southeast, and Pontianak and Kota Waringin in the west and southwest respectively (Map 2.1).

The Japanese in Borneo before 1941

Prior to the outbreak of hostilities in early December 1941, there were pockets of Japanese communities in various parts of Borneo, not unlike elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Since the early Meiji period (1880s) many of them were known as *kimin*,[1] jobless individuals who fell victim to swindlers and were kidnapped and smuggled out of Japan without papers, ending up in Southeast Asia. The majority of the early Japanese inhabitants in Southeast Asia, particularly in British Malaya[2] and the Dutch East Indies[3] were *karayuki-san*,[4] inmates of brothels in urban centres.[5] These female Japanese prostitutes came from impoverished parts of rural southwestern Kyushu and were sold by their families into white slavery.

In Borneo Japanese brothels were notoriously conspicuous in urban Kuching and the oil towns of Miri and Lutong in Sarawak, and Seria in Brunei, a greater presence in the timber port of Sandakan, British North Borneo, and in the oil-rich centres of Kutai and Tarakan, Balikpapan, and other townships such as Banjarmasin and Pontinanak in south and west Dutch Borneo respectively. A typical scenario emerged as follows:

> Operating in rented Chinese shophouses in Khoo Hun Yeang Street and Kai Joo Lane, the red light district of Kuching's main bazaar, the Japanese brothels

Map 2.1 Pre-war Borneo

> became one of Kuching's better-known institutions. . . . [the Japanese] women in their bright kimonos sitting on wooden stools during the warm evenings to catch the passing trade. Most of their customers were Chinese kuli (day-labourers) who had migrated to Sarawak without any hope of ever marrying. However, some of the Rajah's [European] officers were known to resort there after a session [of drinking] at the Sarawak Club.[6]

In the prostitution-based Japanese community, not only the Japanese men working as pimps (*zegen*) and brothel owners but others – rickshaw pullers, barbers, laundrymen, photographers, drapers, masseurs, jewellery shop owners, inn keepers, restaurant and bar proprietors – were heavily dependent on the patronage of the prostitutes. Professionals like dentists and medical practitioners served the needs of the prostitutes, while others such as gamblers, bookmakers, medicine peddlers, and owners of small grocery stores in rural areas catering to natives relied on credit and loans from brothel owners and/or prostitutes.[7] Owing to expediency as remittances from prostitutes comprised a significant source of foreign exchange for the home country, Japanese officials tolerated this distasteful industry for the sake of *koku'eki* or 'national interests.'

Two determinants brought about a transformation within the prostitution-based Japanese community from the later part of the 1910s. Following unqualified military successes in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese

War (1904–1905), and its standing as an ally of the victorious powers – the UK, France, and the US – at the peace conference at Versailles (1919) that ended the Great War (1914–1918), Japan emerged as a so-called 'first-class' imperial power from the late 1910s. Japan was regarded on par with the Western powers of the UK, the US and France. Preoccupied with the conflict on the continent, European goods, hitherto the mainstay of imports to Southeast Asia, were cut off and into this market vacuum flowed cheap Japanese products. Seizing this opportunity many Japanese men started to disengage themselves from prostitution and brothels to enter respectable professions such as opening grocery stores that sold inexpensive Japanese goods to native consumers. It proved a lucrative enterprise and many pimps and others jumped on the bandwagon.

> Japanese peddlers, gamblers, and bookmakers who knew the [rural] area found good places to locate and opened small stores, brought in [cheap] Japanese [manufactured] goods on credit from larger Japanese shopowners in port cities, and sold them to natives. Those who had earned their livelihood by catering to Japanese prostitutes also moved into the countryside and opened stores. Japanese goods sold well. Larger shopowners moved into the import-export business. Large Japanese companies opened branch offices in major cities. Japanese banks and shipping companies followed them and also opened branch offices and agencies.[8]

Military triumphs and diplomatic recognition coupled with economic opportunities transformed Japanese communities throughout Southeast Asia; they shed their 'prostitution-based livelihood' label and became respectable communities. As early as 1898 the Dutch East Indies government had accorded Japanese nationals equal legal status with whites, and respectfully addressed them as 'honorary Europeans.' Consequently there was a policy reversal executed through Japanese consulates throughout Southeast Asia to eradicate the despicable and rather embarrassing operations of Japanese brothels and prostitution. Even before the elevation of Japanese as 'honorary Europeans,' there were moves to dissociate the Japanese community from prostitution. The earlier tolerance of this demeaning industry owing to koku'eki was replaced with *kokujoku* or 'national dishonour', or embarrassment.[9] The Japanese consulate at Batavia, established in 1910, within two years moved against Japanese prostitution, closing brothels, repatriating pimps and karayuki-san. However, when an imperial edict was similarly enforced in Singapore in 1920, some of the Japanese prostitutes and pimps re-located themselves to urban centres in British Borneo, including Kuching and Miri. But towards the late 1920s Kuching too apparently was rid of Japanese prostitution.[10]

One conspicuous feature of Japanese settlements, whether in urban environs or in rural settings, was the Japanese emphasis on education for the young, and this ensured there was always a community-sponsored elementary school. Like Chinese immigrants, it was imperative for the Japanese to maintain their cultural identity, language, and knowledge of the motherland through schools for the young. Hence the Japanese elementary schools (7 to 12 year olds) had teachers, textbooks, and

curriculum wholly imported from Japan. For instance, 'by 1940, three Japanese schools with 180 pupils were run by the Tawau rubber estate [in British North Borneo], and included children from the nearby Japanese-controlled [Manila] hemp estate.'[11]

From the late 1910s to the 1930s Japanese society in Southeast Asia had a preponderance of professionals in white-collar occupations (doctors, dentists, engineers), shopkeepers, clerks, workers in the timber and fishing industries, miners, planters and plantation workers, and entrepreneurs. In Borneo the Japanese were involved in fishing, plantation agriculture (rubber, Manila hemp, and jute), timber, mining (oil), and retail in Japanese goods.

Since the 1880s Japanese fishing fleets had been competing with Chinese in the waters off Sandakan in British North Borneo. By the mid-1920s, with their base in Tawau (Tawao) and Banggi Island and a modern cannery, an ice factory on Si Amil Island at the entrance to Darvel Bay, the motorized diesel vessels of the Boruneo Nippon Suishan Kaisha (Japanese Borneo Fishery Company) were outdoing all competitors in the fishing industry.[12] This company, related to the Mitsubishi group, supported a workforce of 300 producing tinned and dried bonito, prized products for the Japanese home market.

Rubber, the 'miracle crop', with celebrated boom prices in 1909–1910, begun to impact on Borneo in the early decades of the twentieth century. Besides European investors, the Japanese were also engaged in rubber planting. In southeast Dutch Borneo there was the Japanese Dutch Borneo Rubber Industry Company, which prudently acquired the Danau Salak plantation (established in 1907) in 1917.[13] There were also smallholdings of rubber such as Maloeka in Pleihari, owned by the Yamada family.[14] In Sarawak Japanese immigrants undertook market gardening on the eastern outskirts of Kuching. Near the Samarahan River was located the sole Japanese-owned rubber estate of more than 400 hectares, owned and managed by Nissa Shokai, the one and only Japanese trading firm in Brooke-era Sarawak.[15] Nissa Shokai focused on the import and retail of Japanese goods (mainly foodstuffs) for the Japanese community in Kuching.[16] At Tanjong Poh, Siniawan, a 400-hectare rubber holding was established by the Yamashita Steamship Company Limited in 1917. Apart from company-owned plantations there were independent Japanese planters that worked on smallholdings utilizing members of the family as labour. Kimura Hiroshi, with his Bidayuh wife, owned a rubber holding and orchard on the road to Quop from 1920.[17] In British North Borneo the Kuhara Mining Company, a part of the Nissan combine, acquired a former tobacco estate at Tawau and undertook rubber cultivation as the Tawau Rubber Estate. Two other Japanese concerns – Kubota Estate and Borneo Shokusan Kabuishiki Kaisha (Borneo Development Promotion Company) – had rubber plantations of 4,400 hectares and 4,086 hectares respectively. Kubota Estate, located in the Tawau area, was related to the Mitsubishi group.[18] By 1939 the Tawau Rubber Estate, then under Nihon Sangyo Kabuishiki Kaisha (Nippon Industrial Company), expanded its acreage to 44,820 and added Manila hemp to its rubber holdings.[19]

The exploitation of forest resources had long been a major preoccupation of indigenous peoples especially in the procurement of jungle products. However, the

timber and logging industry, which required large investments in capital, manpower and equipment in British Borneo was in the hands of Western enterprises. In British North Borneo the industry was under the dominant control of the British Borneo Company, which exported large quantities of timber to Hong Kong for the China railroad market.[20] Although only a footnote, it is interesting to recall that when the Forestry Department of British North Borneo was being considered, Goto Fusaji, a timber expert, was engaged in 1913 albeit on a temporary basis.[21] The Brooke Rajahs, who discouraged Western capitalist involvement lest they exploited native labour and adversely threatened their traditional livelihood had only the Borneo Company Limited (BCL) attempting in vain to develop timber resources.[22]

Dutch Borneo's timber industry supported by Malay and Chinese interests were on a small scale until the 1930s when foreign investments, mainly Japanese, expanded the industry and increased exports. Seiji Ide, the managing director of the Japanese Ide, undertook logging operations along the Sesajap and Sebatak Rivers in Bulungan in 1932. With its 1,000-strong workforce the company extracted large quantities of *bilian*, Borneo's prized ironwood, apparently without any legal concessionary rights.[23] Disallowing the operations in Bulungan, the Dutch East Indies government allocated a concession of 50,000 hectares at the mouth of the Sankulirang River near Kutai to Ide and his financial backer, the Oriental Development Company (ODC), based in Tokyo. Aizawa Jiro, the man-in-charge, was both ambitious and extravagant and his logging operations, which had more than 3,500 Dayak workers, were surrounded with barbed wire perimeters. In mid-1935 the ODC demanded a less extravagant operation and increased productivity at lower costs. Aizawa was recalled but refused to vacate his position amidst threatened labour unrest.[24] There was distrust of the Japanese amongst the local inhabitants and the colonial authorities. To appease public opinion the Japanese established Nanyo Ringyo Kabushi (NRK), a Dutch-style firm based in Samarinda, whereby it assumed responsibility for the Sankulirang operation. NRK immediately removed Aizawa and reduced the labour force to one-third of its size. NRK ran its operations as an *imperium in imperio*.[25] Exploitation of native labour, men that were overworked and underpaid, made NRK a contentious issue with the authorities. 'As a consequence of the frequent clashes between Dutch ethics and Japanese capitalism,' it was observed that, 'the fate of the 1,000-odd [native] coolies up in Sankulirang became an almost personal concern of the [Dutch] resident at Banjarmasin.'[26] Besides NRK, the Dutch authorities had to contend with the equally notorious rule-breaking Kobe-based Borneo Produce Company, which operated timber operations within the vicinity of Kutai that repeatedly attempted to violate custom dues.[27]

The prospecting and exploitation of strategic mineral resources were being cautiously monitored lest they fall into unfriendly parties to the governments in London and The Hague. Nissa Shokai cleverly curried favour with Rajah Vyner Brooke of Sarawak, including arrangement for his visit to Japan (1928) following discussions in London (1926) about Sarawak's mineral resources (oil, coal, etc.) during the second half of the 1920s.[28] Up to the mid-1930s Nissa Shokai was able to secure concessions for prospecting minerals: coal at the Pila and Pelagus Rivers in the Upper Rejang area as well as at Sama, Murit, and Pegau Rivers,

tributaries of the Rejang. Sizeable coal deposits were uncovered in the forested region east of Kapit sometime in1936 or 1937 and the Japanese showed a keenness to work the seams. It was then that the British Colonial Office in London, hitherto unaware of these aforesaid Japanese activities, immediately moved to halt 'any concession which afforded the Japanese a pretext for penetration into Sarawak as eminently undesirable from the defence point of view.'[29] Meanwhile, in mid-1937, in accordance to a concerted 'planned attempt to corner the iron resources of the Pacific area', there were prospecting activities undertaken in Sarawak.[30] However, Sarawak's oil installations at Miri and Lutong, and Brunei's Seria oil fields remained untouched by any Japanese concern or individuals.

There had been numerous reports of probable oil reserves on the Kudat Peninsula at Sequati in British North Borneo. Exploratory investigations were undertaken during the 1890s and 1900s but nothing positive emerged from these efforts. In 1922 the Kuhara Mining Company also sought concession to undertake prospecting work in the hope of establishing a source of oil for Japan in Southeast Asia. The British government, in particular the War Office (WO) and Foreign Office (FO), were alarmed at such Japanese intentions; such a concession was definitely disallowed for security reasons.

Ever since the early 1920s the Japanese had shown particular interest in the development of the oil resources at Kutai and Tarakan in southeast Borneo, which represented two notable sources in the Dutch East Indies. Overall oil exploration and production in Dutch Borneo had been dominated by Bataafsche Petroleum-Maatschappij (BPM; Batavian Petroleum Company) since the early 1900s. However, during the 1930s, two players made inroads beyond the exploratory stage, namely the Nederlandsch-Indische Aardolie-Maatschappij (NIAM; Netherlands Indies Oil Company) and the Japanese-owned Borneo Olie-Maatschappij (Borneo Oil). The former was in fact a joint venture between the Netherlands Government and BPM. The real 'outsider', from a military-strategic viewpoint, was Borneo Oil. What raised official eyebrows and confirmed initial suspicions of Japanese intentions were revealed through the antics of Borneo Oil at Sankulirang.

> Employment at Borneo Oil approached 500 persons already in 1932, but only a small fraction of the coolies seem to have ever been registered with the [Dutch] assistant-resident at Samarinda. Output never rose to a level warranting such large numbers of labourers and the authorities found the drilling installations suspiciously light. Government annoyance was aggravated by an incident in 1931, when the company physician was found to have been smuggled into Sankulirang as a coolie without a work permit.[31]

Japanese fifth column activities

With reference to Malaya, the following was observed.

> Commercial enterprises, official agencies, social organizations, private individuals, and . . . secret political associations became indissolubly linked to

> form the close network of the Japanese intelligence fabric, which covered every aspect of Malayan life. . . . The closures were made and the threads drawn tight, and the organism emerged from an unofficial underground existence as one of the most potent weapons used by Japan in developing her plans for southward expansion.[32]

This phenomenon was equally apparent in both British and Dutch Borneo, where Japanese residents were tapped by the Japanese intelligence agency of their knowledge of local conditions, geography, peoples and strategic information (air fields, military bases, shipping, etc.). Speaking of the Oriental Development Company that financially supported NRK's logging operations at Sankulirang, southeastern Borneo,

> . . . the British Consul-General in Batavia reported that it seemed the company was not run altogether for profit, to judge at least from the results of their ventures in the Netherlands Indies; but at the same time, although the results so far achieved by the Oriental Development Company (up to 1935) had been meager from a financial point of view, it could not be said that the aims of the company were not in the long run economic. It was a possibility, without claiming that it was anything more, that political and strategic motives were included in the company's plans.[33]

In Sarawak there was an espionage network known as Yorioka Kikan named after Yorioka Shozo, the founder-proprietor of Nissa Shokai.[34] Allied sources reported that the company's manager in Sarawak and its agent in Kuching as well as an employee, Kurasaki, Mori and Matsui Tomisaku respectively were all active in this espionage network.[35] A Javanese was apprehended in August 1941 and sentenced in Kuching to six years imprisonment for 'acts of espionage, presumably on behalf of Japan', feeding agents in Sambas in western Dutch Borneo.[36] Earlier in the month US Naval Intelligence alerted the authorities in British North Borneo to the activities of four Japanese engaged in espionage activities, including collusion with native chiefs on the west coast for strategic information.[37]

Boldly, in October 1940 Consul Taniguchi Takahashi, who was based in Sandakan, made a grand tour of his consular district, which comprised British North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, 'undisguisedly selecting suitable landing places for an invading force.'[38] A month earlier the Chartered Company government played host to eight members of Japan's House of Peers (Upper House of the Diet) headed by Marquis Maeda Toshinari (1885–1942) on a stopover visit to Japan's mandated territories in the Pacific.[39] The head of the delegation with the military rank of lieutenant general was later appointed in April 1942 as commander of the Borneo Defence Force.[40]

A most interesting and glaring example of the close rapport between a Japanese commercial concern and the Japanese intelligence establishment was Nomura and Company, which dealt in rubber, headquartered in Banjarmasin with a branch office in Singapore, and plantations in Borneo and Sumatra. What was telling

was the company's sudden expansion that coincided with the heightened pace of Japanese intelligence activities after August 1940 (the fall of France to Nazi Germany). Nomura then established offices in Bangkok, Sungei Golok on the Thailand-Kelantan border, and on Hainan Island. Meanwhile plans were underway to open an office in Batavia and a rubber estate in the vicinity of Sandakan, British North Borneo. Both the Dutch East Indies and Chinese authorities had suspected Nomura and Company of engaging in espionage activities; the most telling evidence was 'the address of the firm's Hainan office was "c/o the Naval Intelligence Officer."'[41]

Although Borneo could not boast of having the notoriously efficient Fujiwara Kikan of Malaya,[42] the following episode revealed how far and how deep the Japanese intelligence network had reached. John Beville Archer, chief secretary to the Sarawak government (1939–1941) and officer administering the government in the absence of the Rajah related this incident when he was in Singapore in 1939.

> . . . I visited a Japanese house down the East Coast road to sup off that splendid Japanese dish know[n] as sukiyaki. We were a party of four and whilst we squatted on the floor watching the girls prepare and cook it we got talking. They spoke some Malay and some English. We asked them their names and asked them to guess our professions. Well, blast my buttons, if those girls don't know not only our names but our jobs and where we lived! Not much of a story but just an inkling as to what a far-reaching spy system they must have had.[43]

An Allied intelligence report described the Japanese presence in Borneo as having these characteristics.

> The Japanese had the appearance of self-sufficiency. They maintained towards the local peoples an even demeanour not untinged with authority. In the Tawau district of B.N.B. [British North Borneo] most of the Chinese were dependent on the Japanese for their livelihood. When the Japanese had political or economic ends to achieve they could be friendly and hospitable . . . Members of Japanese commercial concerns as well as individually employed Japanese were disposed towards 'buying over' officials and others who might have been in possession of useful information or the means of obtaining it. The Japanese catered for the tastes of their 'prospects' – whether they were for money, women, drink or ambition. It was stated on reliable authority that costly Christmas presents were given to a few officials in some areas of B.N.B. . . . In Kuching the Japanese mixed freely with other Asiatics, especially Malays. Some had married native women, or nominally had adopted the Mohammedan faith.[44]

Anti-Japanese feelings

For the most part of their existence in Borneo, the Japanese communities drew little attention and did not create any serious problems with the local native inhabitants

and/or the colonial authorities, with the notable exceptions of a few notorious companies. Anti-Japanese feelings initially flared in mid-1919, when following the launching of the May 4th Movement[45] on the Chinese mainland there was public boycott of Japanese goods, particularly by the Chinese community, and denial of services to Japanese by Chinese stevedore workers that refused to load or unload from Japanese vessels at Sandakan wharf.[46] This was just the beginning of anti-Japanese feelings expressed not only in Borneo but throughout Southeast Asia.

The Great Depression (1929–1931) impacted adversely on both Japan and Southeast Asia. Japanese manufacturers sought to dump their goods in the region's market, creating rancour between Japan and the Western colonial governments. The latter moved against Japanese imports as well as Japanese commercial activities in their territories. Japanese small businesses such as shops and grocery stores went bankrupt; likewise branch offices of Japanese large companies were forced to close as the economic downturn took its toil. Overall many Japanese in Borneo suffered financial ruin.

Even before the negative effects of the economic crisis subsided and recovery gradually picked up, the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), following the so-called Marco Polo Bridge Incident, invaded and occupied Manchuria in 1931, a territory of China in the northeast, creating a puppet state of Manchukuo. It was a prelude to an arduous campaign of Japan in its attempt to conquer the entire Chinese mainland with the onset in 1937 of the protracted Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). The offensive on Manchuria, followed by China proper, sparked widespread anti-Japanese feelings among Chinese communities throughout Southeast Asia. There were a series of boycotts of Japanese goods, abuse of Japanese, quarrels and outright clashes between Chinese and Japanese, and Chinese who were friendly to Japanese or who patronized Japanese shops were physically abused and/or ostracized by the wider society.

By September 1940, as the IJA moved in and occupied North Indochina and in July 1941 proceeded to control South Indochina, it appeared that the Japanese policy of 'southward expansion' had been put into motion. It was a matter of time before rumours of war became a reality.

> With the beginning of the Japanese policy of Southward Expansion, the colonial authorities started to impose ever tougher restrictions on local Japanese economic activities and to place their movements under surveillance. In the Dutch Indies, Japanese immigration was severely restricted in 1936. . . . And in early 1941 the Indies government finally froze Japanese assets in the colony.[47]

Owing to the untenable situation that confronted immigrant Japanese communities in Southeast Asia in the last quarter of the 1930s and early 1940s, the majority decided to pack their bags and return with their families to Japan. In November 1941 Japanese were requested to leave the Dutch East Indies, including from Dutch Borneo.[48] Those who remained found themselves in dire straits. When the Pacific War broke out on 7 December 1941, they found themselves huddled into internment camps, only to be released upon the arrival of the IJA.

3 On the road to war

Harbouring expansionist tendencies for economic, political and imperialistic ends that became distinctly pronounced and vocal in the 1930s, combined with the attitude of the Western powers towards its ambitions, Japan was set on a collision course that ultimately brought it on the road to war. In hindsight, Imperial Japan's embarkation on the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45)[1] was an inevitable move, and one which subsequently led to the events at Pearl Harbor in 1941. The Japanese went to war for their very survival and in self-defense.

The policy of southward expansion and the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere

Writing in the mid-1930s, Yanaihara Tadao expressed the following opinion of Japan's future destiny.

> In view of the close geographic and historical relations between Japan and the South Sea Islands [insular Southeast Asia], it is but natural that this country should try to seek an outlet in the South Seas for her overflowing population and accumulating capital. To the right of the Japanese mainland, itself a narrow stretch of land, the Bonin Islands stud the Pacific like stepping stones to the South Sea Islands. From the viewpoint of political geography our national expansion naturally lies in this direction.[2]

Such an opinion was not uncommon and found support amongst many Japanese. This expansionist movement was closely associated with Japanese clandestine organizations or secret societies that championed an imperialistic agenda for the country.[3] The economic importance of the southward advance or expansion, referred to in Japanese as *nanshin*, featured prominently in arguments justifying and promoting such a course of action. By late May 1936, it appeared that a 'South Seas policy' had been adopted by the Japanese government 'for peaceful economic development.'[4]

One of the chief advocates of nanshin was Ishihara Koichiro, who promoted his ethnocentric views in writings that were widely published in his newspaper *Osaka Jiji*, which subsequently became the unofficial organ for Japan's southward

expansion lobby. Together with the writings of other members of the Showa Kenkyukai (Institute to Promote Pacific Relations), a think-tank organization established in 1937, Ishihara's views to some extent influenced the military planners at Tokyo.[5] Ishihara, who, in the preface to his *Japan at the Crossroads* (1940) claimed that a part of his views had 'already been adopted by the present Cabinet [Prince Konoe's second cabinet (July 1940-October 1941)].'[6] In fact, Prince Konoe, Admiral Suetsugu (later Home Minister), and Lieutenant General Tanaka Kunishege (co-founder of Merinkai)[7] wrote 'introductions' in Ishiwara's chauvinistic *The Building of New Japan* (1934), on which *Crossroads* was largely based.[8]

Japanese military plans in the event of the execution of the southward expansion policy would lead to the subsequent military occupation of *Nampo* or 'Southern Area' namely referring to Southeast Asia. When put into action the General Officer Commanding (GOC) the Southern Army would proceed to invade and occupy the Philippines, British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and part of British Burma.[9] Although not expecting any opposition from Thailand and/or French Indochina, in case of potential threat, both these territories were ordered to 'be fully occupied' by the military as well.[10]

The ultimate objective of the southward expansion policy was the creation of a new East Asia order referred to as the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, a phrase attributed to Matsuoka Yosuke (1880–1946), foreign minister in Prince Konoe's second cabinet, who first announced the concept on 1 August 1940.

> To the Japanese the phrase [Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere] did not convey a message of imperialism or expansion so much as one of co-operation, and it was part of a doctrine which began to be propounded midway through Japan's war with China . . . and before the outbreak of the Pacific [W]ar in December 1941, in order to explain and rationalize its relationship with the peoples of Asia. It amounted to a statement of Japan's war aims at their most favourable and was intended to give heart to the Japanese people, and to enlist the support of the populations of countries occupied [China] or about to be occupied [Southeast Asia] by the Japanese armies. As a slogan, it tried to rally those in the Japanese-occupied areas [ironically] against imperialism and colonialism, and to encourage them to mobilize with Japan both in the war and in the peace that would follow. The emphasis on mutual prosperity increased as the scope of the war extended.[11]

Initially the sphere encompassed Japan, Manchukuo and China as the core areas, with the South Seas area (meaning Southeast Asia) comprising French Indochina, Thailand and the Dutch East Indies as secondary territories. Then in September 1940, British Malaya, Borneo and British India were also incorporated.[12] Resource-rich Borneo, with its oil fields and installations, rubber, timber as well as its strategic location vis-à-vis British Malaya and Dutch Java figured prominently in Japanese military planning.

On the road to war

A combination of circumstances and events at home and abroad shaped Japanese foreign policy from the late 1920s to December 1941, which subsequently led to Mitsubishi Zeroes bombing the US's Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor in the Hawai'ian Islands. Various events, some beyond their control and others of Japanese design, created a situation that spurred US Secretary of State Cordell Hull's 'Note of 26 November 1941', perceived by Tokyo as an ultimatum. From Japan's perspective, its decision then to opt for war appeared to be a justifiable act of self-defence. Events that ultimately led to Hull's final 'Note' unfolded in quick succession with little respite, not unlike a roller-coaster ride.

The events began with the onset of the Great Depression (1929–1931), and then were followed by: the Mukden Incident (18 September 1931), the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (7 July 1937), the Munich Agreement (29 September 1938), the collapse of France to German forces (June 1940), the sanctioning by Vichy France of Japanese usage of military bases in northern Indochina (September 1940), the Germany-Japan-Italy Tripartite Pact (April 1941), the German Wehrmacht offensive on Russia (June 1941), the Japanese forces occuping southern Indochina (July 1941), the imposition of a trade embargo on Japan (July 1941) by the US, the UK and the Commonwealth and the Netherlands, and culminated in Hull's final 'Note' (26 November 1941).

The Depression severely hit Japan and its textiles, particularly silk, industry faced a collapsed American market. Unemployment rose and many factory workers returned to their country homes, facing near starvation. Emigration was a panacea to this dark situation but since the passing of the US Immigration Bill (1924), Japanese were hindered from entering the country. The vast expanse of resource-rich, underdeveloped Manchuria, across the Sea of Japan on the mainland was seen as a viable option that could absorb Japan's impoverished population.

But the vast territory of Manchuria was under the warlord Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang) (b. 1898) who recognized and supported the Chinese Nationalist (Guomindang) leader, Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) (1887–1975). In the later part of 1928 'the Young Marshall' (the Japanese name for Zhang) brought together the three northeastern provinces of Henglongjiang, Jilin (Kirin) and Liaoning under the ambit of Chiang's Nationalist China, then headquartered at Nanjing. The province of Rehe (Jehol) in Inner Mongolia, neighbouring Manchuria, was incorporated into a Nationalist-supported Northeast Political Council under Zhang's chairmanship. Japanese attempts to influence Zhang through two of his late father's confidantes were in vain; he had both of them shot in cold blood (January 1929) while 'he excused himself from his guests to get an injection of his daily morphine.'[13]

Then in the autumn of 1930, as a military manoeuvre in reaction to a concerted effort to oust Chiang by his enemies in the north, Zhang moved his troops south to occupy northern Hubei province, which allowed him to wrest control over the northern stretches of the strategic Beijing-Wuhan and Tianjin-Pukou railroads, including seizing receipts from the Tianjin customs revenues.[14] His earlier attempt

in the later part of spring the previous year to take over the Russian-controlled Chinese Eastern Railway and expel Russians in the region failed when Moscow reacted with a strong military force. This failed escapade of Zhang proved to the hardliners in Tokyo that strong measures (like the Russian response) were the only option for ensuring Japanese interests were met in the region.[15]

On the night of 18 September 1931 three Japanese officers engineered a plot, later to be referred to as the Mukden or Manchurian Incident, whereby explosives were planted on a stretch of railroad outside Mukden (present-day Shenyang). Mukden, the main city in Manchuria, was chosen owing to the presence of the largest barracks of Chinese troops in the region. Although the explosion caused little damage, not even disrupting any train services, Japanese troops of the Guandong (Kwantung) Army claimed that they had been fired on by the Chinese and had retaliated by returning fire as a means of self-defence. The next morning Japanese troops occupied Mukden. Reinforced by troops from the Korean Command of the Japanese Army, the Guandong Army launched its campaign for the occupation of Manchuria. The Mukden Incident was a pretext for the Japanese colonization of Manchuria in open defiance of the civilian cabinet in Tokyo.[16] By January 1932 the region came effectively under Japanese military control. The following month the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo ('land of the Manchus') was established, with the resurrection of the last Qing (Manchu) emperor of China, Aisin-gioro Pu Yi (1906–1967) as 'chief executive.'

Meanwhile in Tokyo Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi (1855–1932) attempted to delay the establishment of Manchukuo and at the same time tried to restrain the army. Inukai's assassination at his official residence on 15 May 1932 derailed the civilian cabinet's power over the military. On 15 September 1932 Japan formally recognized Manchukuo as a sovereign state with Tokyo assuming responsibility for its internal security and defence.

By April 1933 Japanese troops proceeded westwards to occupy Rehe (Jehol) Province, which effectively meant that the entire region of China north of the Shanhaikuan Pass, the coastal end of the Great Wall, was now under Japan's control. It was a psychologically devastating reality for Chinese nationalists and patriots to accept. At the new capital of Changchun in March 1934, Pu Yi, donning the imperial dragon robes, became emperor of Manchukuo with his new reign title *Kangde*, 'period of virtuous peace', an event witnessed by Chinese and Manchu courtiers and Japanese military officers.

The Mukden Incident and the assassination of Premier Inukai marked the primacy of the Japanese military both at home and abroad. The momentum had been set in motion. If the Mukden Incident set the motion, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (7 July 1937) launched the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945) into action.

> On July 7, 1937, the Japanese chose to make the bridge[17] the base of a night maneuver by a company from one of the Peking [Beijing] garrison battalions. The troops were also authorized to fire blank cartridges into the air to simulate combat conditions. At 10:30 P.M. the Chinese fired some shells into the Japanese assembly area without causing casualties. But when one Japanese

> soldier was missing at roll call, the Japanese commander, thinking the Chinese had captured the man, ordered an attack on Wanping. This attack, which the Chinese beat back, can be considered the first battle of World War II.[18]

The incident was followed by a frenzy of statements and counterstatements. In a belligerent mood, the Japanese War Ministry called for the mobilization of five divisions within the country to face any eventuality; the Nationalist Nanjing government ordered four divisions to proceed to the area in Baoding in southern Hebei Province. But in Tokyo, the Army General Staff that hitherto favoured the anti-Russian view of the 'northern advance' school was against the offensive in North China. On the other hand, Japanese naval circles that had propagated the 'southern advance' thesis viewed the situation from a different perspective.

> If a puppet government could be made to work in Manchuria, why not in North China and, later on, further south? . . . [B]elieving that control of the China coast, and of the Yangtze up to the Wuhan cities at least, would be enough to ensure Chinese compliance with Japanese political and economic demands. In the long run, however, what was of chief concern to the navy was assured access to oil, tin and rubber of South-East Asia.[19]

The so-called 'Young Turks', firebrands among young officers, especially in the army, were influential in both services. A section of this group adopted an anti-foreign, anti-capitalist, and anti-politician stance, and advocated a 'Showa Restoration' 'in which the capitalists would "restore" their riches, and the politicians their powers, to the reigning Emperor (Showa Tenno). . . . [A] nationalist socialist state ruled by the armed forces in the Emperor's name.'[20]

It was Prince Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1945),[21] Japanese prime minister (June 1937–January 1939), who adopted the War Ministry's hard-line approach and the offensive in China proceeded with earnest. It was even described as a forerunner to Hitler's *blitzkrieg* on Europe as the concentrated military thrust swiftly overran North China by October.[22] Shanghai collapsed in November and Japanese troops entered the Nationalist capital of Nanjing on 13 December, resulting in the infamous 'Rape of Nanjing', undoubtedly the worst war crimes perpetrated in the entire Second World War in the Asian theatre.[23] By the winter of 1938 all major cities and principal railroad lines of eastern and central China were in Japanese control. Chiang and Nationalist forces withdrew inland to Chongqing (Chungking) on the Yangtze River in southwestern Sichuan Province.

It was said that had action been taken following the sinking of the (American) USS *Panay* and the shelling of (British) HMS *Ladybird* on the Yangtze below Nanjing shortly before the fall of the city, all-out war in the Pacific (1941–1945) would have been averted.[24] But then Washington and London had not had the stomach to take action against Tokyo's aggression in China. The 'southern advance' school had won the initiative, and as events were to unfold, continued to favour its viewpoint, which culminated in Japan's 'southward expansion' and Pearl Harbor. The unfolding of three events – the Munich Agreement (29 September 1938),

France's capitulation (June 1940) and Vichy France allowing Japanese usage of military facilities in northern Indochina (September 1940) – brought the clock nearer to 7 December 1941.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's (1869–1940) 'peace in our time' at Munich was seen as a weakened Britain; the Japanese army took the initiative to launch a seaborne assault on Guangzhou (Canton), capturing the city in October 1938, which signaled its advance into southern China. Tokyo did not anticipate any military action from British Hong Kong and it was right. Newsreels showing German troops goose-stepping on the streets of Paris (June 1940) offered an opportunity for the Japanese to acquire access to the military facilities (namely air fields and harbours) of northern Indochina, granted in September by the Vichy Government. The Japanese military presence on the Indochina peninsula was a clear sign that the 'southward expansion' was well on its way to realization. In July 1941, the Japanese pressed the Vichy authorities to enable them to occupy the southern half of Indochina. The authorization was granted and it immediately prompted a severe retaliation from the US, the UK and the Commonwealth and the Netherlands, who imposed a stranglehold trade embargo on Japan.

Notoriously dependent on foreign imports including strategic materials such as oil (20 per-cent self-sufficient in 1936) and rubber (100 per-cent imported), the trade embargo was the ultimate 'weapon' to force Japan to kowtow to the Western powers.[25] Oil imports came from the US (80 per-cent) and the Netherlands East Indies (10 per-cent). Owing to this vulnerable situation, from the early part of the 1930s the Japanese embarked on plans for increasing storage facilities and refining capacity in an anticipated future scenario of hostilities: 'the increased storage to enable [Japan] to carry over the period of conquest and exploitation of the oil resources captured, and the increased refining capacity to handle the flow from the captured oilfields'.[26] The country managed to attain 30 million barrels in reserves in 1934; five years on, it had 51 million barrels.[27]

In early 1939 and again in early 1940 Japanese trade delegations headed by Kobajasi arrived at Batavia, headquarters of the Netherlands East Indies, to discuss with Governor-General Alidius W.L. Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer (1936–45) Japan's intention to purchase oil for its industrial development. The Dutch authorities disappointed the Japanese, despite the latter's argument that it had a healthy trade with the Netherlands East Indies in comparison with the Americans, and it was denied oil purchases.[28]

Not expecting such a harsh move by the Western nations, Japan thought that it could continue to advance its southward push without any adverse ramifications. The Anglo-American embargo was announced while Japanese Ambassador Normura Kichisaburo (1877–1964) was actively negotiating with Hull in Washington. The implication of the embargo was clear: within a span of 18 months Japan would run out of oil and its military campaign in China would come to a halt, leading to an inevitable retreat of the army and gross national humiliation for the nation. It was indeed an unpalatable outcome but interestingly many quarters in London and Washington expected Tokyo to bow to pressure and concede.[29]

'. . . for the sake of the [empire's] self-existence and self-defense.'

An 'Army-Navy draft policy of April 17, 1941', which offers an outline of the Southward Expansion policy, states, as follows:

> 1) The objective of policy toward the south, in accordance with the process of strengthening the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, is the rapid strengthening of Japan's defense posture for the sake of the empire's self-existence and self-defense.[30]

The document went on to espouse diplomatic means to ensure 'close relations with Thailand and French Indochina,' 'close economic relations with the Dutch East Indies,' and to 'endeavor to maintain normal commercial relations with other nations of the south'. However, the following measures had to be taken if circumstances developed in this direction:

> 3) If in the pursuit of the above policies the developments stated below occur, and if no other means are available, *the empire will exercise military means for the sake of its self-existence and self-defense*. The objectives, targets, dates, and methods of such military means will be decided quickly, in accordance with developments in the European war and the situation in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.
>
> a) If the empire's self-existence is threatened by embargoes imposed by the United States, Britain, the Netherlands, and others.
>
> b) If the United States, alone or in cooperation with Britain, the Netherlands, and China, gradually increases its pressures to contain the empire, making it impossible for the empire any longer to bear those pressures in the light of self-defense.[31]

In early September 1941 both the military and civilian leaders, including the Emperor, were aware that war with the US and UK were inevitable unless Normura could achieved a breakthrough in the talks in Washington. War preparations had in fact already been put in place in the early part of the year. The Japanese Admiralty had formulated plans for the Pearl Harbor assault and undertook exercises in complete secrecy at Kagoshima, where the topography resembled the Hawai'ian base. But navy brass were not so confident of the ultimate outcome of a clash with the Anglo-Americans. The army, on the other hand, appeared confident and decisive: the worst-case scenario that they envisaged was the withdrawal from southern Indochina; there would be no retreat from occupied China. Lieutenant General Tojo Hideki (1884–1948), the minister of war in Prince Konoe's second cabinet (July 1940–October 1941), advocated the army's tough stance.

The untenable circumstances that prevailed in mid-October – the army's strong opinion, the navy's preparedness, and no foreseeable agreement from Washington – finally led to Konoe stepping down and Tojo assuming the premiership (October

1941–July 1944). It was generally agreed that if there was no diplomatic solution, war was the answer. In Prime Minister Tojo's words:

> Two years from now [that is in 1943] we will have no petroleum for military use; ships will stop moving. When I think about the strengthening of American defenses in the southwestern Pacific, the expansion of the U.S. fleet, the unfinished China Incident, and so on, I see no end of difficulties . . . I fear that we would become a third-class nation after two or three years if we merely sat tight.[32]

Tokyo's last push was to offer the following proposal to Washington: withdrawal from bases in southern Indochina in return for lifting of the embargo. Washington's counter-proposal, as contained in Hull's Final Note of 26 November 1941, appeared as an ultimatum. Joseph C. Grew, US Ambassador at Tokyo recollected on the fateful situation then.

> It is true that the draft proposal was not presented as an ultimatum, but coming when it did, after the conversations had dragged on futilely for some seven or eight months, permitting the pro-Axis and extremist forces of opposition in Japan to organize and consolidate their strength and allowing them to convey to the Japanese public the impression that the United States was merely playing for time and had no real intention of reaching a settlement, it was definitely regarded in Japan as an ultimatum, and it consequently was followed by the almost immediate outbreak of war.[33]

From Tokyo's perspective the Japanese went to war 'for the sake of its self-existence and self-defense.' The onset of winter showed that war was inevitable as well as imminent.

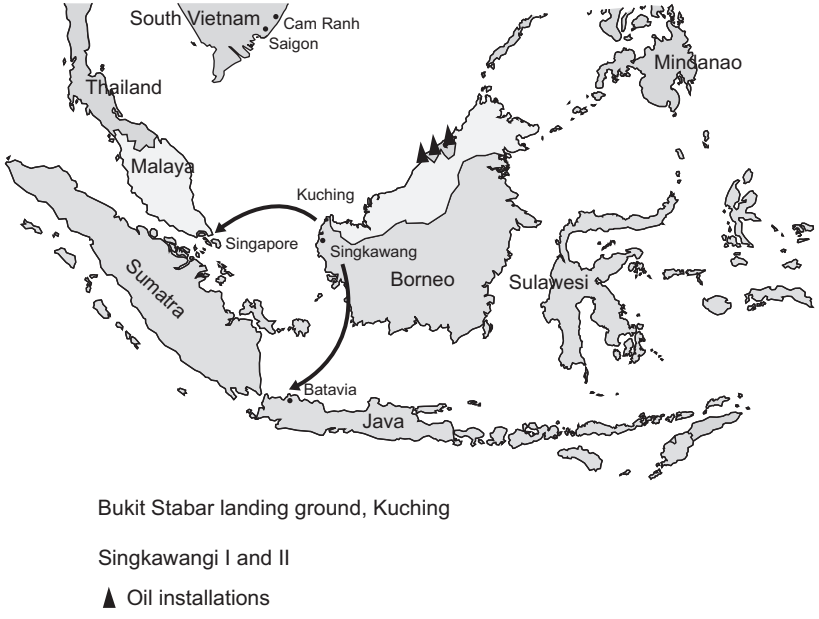
4 The Japanese invasion and occupation of Borneo

Oblivious to the multiethnic, sparsely populated communities on the island, who had not witnessed or experienced modern war in their lifetime, the people of Borneo were rudely awakened from their traditional slow-paced, peaceful lifestyle with the landings of Imperial Japanese Forces in December 1941. By early February 1942, in less than two months, the entire island of Borneo fell into Japanese hands, with little opposition from either the British or the Dutch colonial governments. Against a well-planned and equally efficiently executed military operation of the Japanese were an ill-prepared, both militarily and psychologically, British and Dutch side. Apart from the Chinese community, the majority of the diverse indigenous peoples of Borneo were not consciously aware of what the Pacific War (1941–195) entailed, the repercussions, and the implications on their lives and livelihoods.

The war plans of Imperial Japan

During the pre-war period, Borneo, despite its central location in Southeast Asia, was off the major trade routes, but strategically, from the military perspective, the island is a prime target in relation to the other territories of the region. Nonetheless any military intrusion into the region needed to take cognizance of the British naval base on Singapore, where it had the command of the all-important East-West sea passage of the Straits of Melacca and the southern portion of the South China Sea. In the pre-war period, Singapore, appeared as the gateway to resource-rich territories, notably British Malaya (rubber, tin, iron) to its north and the Dutch East Indies to its southeast, particularly southern Sumatra (oil, rubber) and Java (rice). Borneo, with its airfields that were located equidistant between Singapore and Java, and its oil resources (northeast, east and southeast) justified its occupation in the early part of the campaign to dominate the region (Map 4.1).

British Borneo possessed rich oil fields in Miri (Sarawak) and Seria (Brunei) and a refinery in Lutong (Sarawak). Across the border on Dutch territory, the oil-producing areas were Tarakan (east) and Balikpapan (south) as well as a port and refineries at the latter. Besides fuel oil for industries, Balikpapan produced high-octane aviation spirit, whereas Miri-Seria supplied crude oil for ship's bunkering. Tarakan produced low-wax crude oil that could be used for bunkering without any



Map 4.1 Borneo's strategic position

refining. In fact the three refineries at Balikpapan, which exported some 6.5 million barrels in 1939, comprising fuel oil, benzene, kerosene, lubricating oil, and paraffin wax, was reputedly the third largest refinery complex in the world then.[1]

Landing grounds outside Kuching (Sarawak) and two airfields (Singkawang I and II) 96 kilometres southwestwards in West Borneo offered an unenviable position to launch aerial assaults on both Singapore and Batavia (present-day Jakarta) about equidistant from the Bornean airfields, 560 kilometres and 740 kilometres respectively. In addition there was a military airfield codenamed 'Samarinda II' at Melak in the Upper Mahakam.[2]

Therefore, considering the military and strategic viewpoint, Borneo featured as a vital target for the Imperial Japanese Forces, which was making practical plans for its invasion and occupation in the event of the outbreak of a war that towards the later part of 1941 appeared inevitable and imminent.

Meanwhile in Borneo local Japanese residents were busily preparing the groundwork for their Imperial designs. An Allied intelligence report quoted information dated June 1941, regarding the local situation in Borneo.

> The Japanese were fostering a very definitive whispering campaign designed to shake confidence, inspire fear, sow treachery, and thereby weaken the local Government and popularize themselves. The Dutch authorities in the Netherlands East Indies attained considerable results from 'listening post' established throughout the country for reporting on bazaar rumours, coffee shop talk, barber shop talk, club and association and market place talk.[3]

In a military document issued by Imperial Decree by General Sugiyama Hajime, chief of general staff, dated 15 November 1941, Borneo, although not specifically referred to in name, was included in plans for offensive operations under 'essential places'.

> GOC [General Officer Commanding] Southern Army in cooperation with the Navy will immediately occupy the vital Southern Area in accordance with the following instructions: . . . i. Area to be occupied includes the following essential places: – THE PHILIPPINES, British MALAYA, NEI [Netherlands East Indies], a part of BURMA.[4]

British Borneo could be said to be an extension of 'British Malaya' and Dutch Borneo, an integral part of 'NEI'.

In fact the capture of Borneo was given high priority. According to Commander Mikami Sakuo of the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), Borneo's occupation preceded that of Java or Sumatra, 'in view of the necessity of securing the oil fields as soon as possible, and in view of the possibility of capturing these places readily at the very beginning of the war because of their topography.'[5]

Both airfields at Singkawang and the Bukit Stabar Landing Ground outside Kuching were seen as launching bases for the Japanese aerial assaults on Java and Singapore. Borneo's capture was one of the early targets to attain in Imperial Japan's invasion strategy of Southeast Asia.

'Scorched-earth and denial operations . . . the least they could afford.'

In contrast to Japanese military preparedness, both British Borneo and Dutch Borneo were wholly unprepared for an invasion and war. Therefore when Japanese Imperial Forces struck in early December 1941, Borneo was literally a 'sitting duck' waiting to be invaded and occupied by a foreign military force. The metropolitan governments in London and The Hague by then were themselves besieged and occupied (mid-May 1940) respectively.

In the mid-1930s, when rumours of impending hostilities were circulating, the British Royal Air Force (RAF) embarked on identifying suitable landing grounds. Three airstrips were designated at Kuching (southwest), Bintulu (north-central) and Miri-Lutong (north-northeast) and construction commenced from 1936.[6] While the Bukit Stabar (Seventh-Mile) landing ground, located about 11 kilometres southward of Kuching, and the Miri-Lutong airstrip were operational by the later part of 1938, work at Bintulu was shelved.[7] No airstrips were planned or constructed in British North Borneo or Brunei. Despite the usability of the two landing grounds in Sarawak, there were no military aircrafts stationed or available.

As for a military force for the defence of British Borneo, only the 2nd Battalion, 15th Punjab Regiment (2nd/15th Punjab), an Indian infantry battalion commanded by Major (later Lieutenant Colonel) C.M. Lane was sent from Singapore.[8] This 1,050-strong battalion arrived in April/May 1941. Upon arrival one infantry

company of 150 men with a detachment of one six-inch battery and a demolition squad of Royal Engineers were sent to the oil fields and refineries at Miri-Lutong in Sarawak and about 51 kilometres northwards to Seria in Brunei. In support of this British battalion the Brooke government had mobilized its European civil administrators, the Sarawak Constabulary,[9] and volunteers. The collective manpower of what became called SARFOR (Sarawak Forces) – 2nd/15th Punjab, and local forces from Sarawak and Brunei – totalled 2,565 men.[10]

In his report John Lyle Noakes, who was appointed Sarawak secretary for defence, commented on the available military presence.

> The 2/15th Punjab regiment was well equipped with motor transport, both in Kuching and Miri. In addition they had ten Bren-Gun carriers. They were well supplied with rifles, ammunition, stores, equipment, fuel oil, etc., and had four-eighteen pounders in Kuching, with a number of anti-tank rifles and mortars. . . . A Royal Air Force Detachment consisting of six men under Corporal C. P. Kirkland was stationed at the Bukit Stabar Landing Ground, Kuching and operated the R.A.F. Direction Finding Station.[11]

The presence of the 2nd/15th Punjab owed to appeals (March 1941) by Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke (1874–1963) to the British Agent for Sarawak at Singapore of Britain's commitment for Sarawak's defence under the terms of the 1888 Treaty.[12]

Owing to inadequate resources, scorched-earth tactics were employed to stop the enemy from utilizing the oil installations and the airstrips. Denial schemes were put into operation at the oil fields and refineries at Miri-Lutong and Seria.

Despite proximity with Dutch Borneo, there was no coordinated Anglo-Dutch action with regards to security and defence measures. Equally vulnerable as their British counterpart, Dutch Borneo possessed the all-important oil fields and refineries at Tarakan, Balikpapan and Banjarmasin in the east and south as well as viable airfields at Singkawang in the west, not far from Pontianak.

Earlier, in October 1940, an Anglo-Dutch conference was held in Singapore to discuss strategies for the defence of Borneo.[13] It was argued that if the sea lanes were not defended, it was fruitless to defend the strategic bases on land. Another proposal was that the command of the air, with some 200 planes, could sufficiently safeguard both British and Dutch Borneo. Apparently the delegates came away with no clear conclusion or strategy.[14]

Then in August 1941, prompted by the arrest of a Javanese on espionage charges 'presumably on behalf of Japan[ese] . . . agents in Sambas, Dutch West Borneo', attempts were undertaken to have direct contact between Brooke officials and their Dutch counterparts in West Borneo.[15] But permission to follow through the direct contact was not authorized by the British Agent for Sarawak based in Singapore; absurdly the green light was approved after war had broken out and by then it was too late for any joint action.[16]

Nonetheless there was a meeting between Lieutenant Colonel Mars, commandant of the Dutch military forces in West Borneo and his British counterpart, Lieutenant Colonel Peffers at Kuching in October 1941. The Dutch commandant,

after having been briefed on Sarawak's defence measures, namely denial schemes at the oil installations and defence of the Bukit Stabar Landing Ground outside Kuching, was tightlipped on Dutch plans. Although both commanders agreed to exchange liaison officers, nothing took place prior to or immediately after the outbreak of hostilities.

Like British Borneo, the Dutch colonial administration in their part of Borneo was skeletal at best and had scant resources in terms of man and material to face a modern war. Unlike Britain, which remained defiant to Nazi Germany, the Netherlands was occupied by German troops in May 1940. Although the Dutch colonial government in the Netherlands East Indies, headquartered in Batavia on Java, continued to be loyal to the Netherlands government-in-exile in London, there was little that Batavia could do for itself in military terms or for the outlying colonies, including Dutch Borneo, across the Java Sea.

In Dutch Borneo there were little in the way of defence preparations or contingency plans to meet the eventuality of the outbreak of war. Following the collapse of the Netherlands in Europe on 10 May 1940, the Netherlands East Indies was on a wartime footing, and only then were preparations made. As the administrative, financial and industrial heart of Dutch Borneo, Banjarmasin also became its military base. The Dutch colonial authorities, then under Governor Dr B.J. Haga, began a mobilization programme. Several institutions and organizations were reactivated and resurrected: Koninklijke Nederlandsch-Indische Leger (KNIL; Royal Netherlands Indies Army), Landswatcht, Stadswatcht (Local Militia), Jeugd Oefen Corps (JOC; youth corps), Algemene Vernielings Corps (AVC; denial operations corps), Luct Beschermings Dienst (LBD; air raid shelters), Vrijwillinggers Oefen Corps (VO Corps; Volunteer Corps).[17] Repair works were undertaken at the Ulin (Oelin) airfield, which was erected back in 1936 and armed with three Lewis anti-aircraft guns, and at other airfields at Dayu near Bunto, Kandris near Ampah, and Kotawaringin.

Civilians in Dutch Borneo were ordered to hand in their hunting rifles, both European-made or locally-assembled, and compensation was given for each weapon handed in. The guns were collected and stored in Banjarmasin. A small Dayak corps known as the Barito Rangers was established and given rifles from the seized stock. Dutch women were recruited to serve as nurses in a hastily established 'Emergency Hospital' of 100 beds at Banjarmasin. They underwent training alongside a few Chinese and native recruits.

Overall the defence establishment of Dutch Borneo stood at 250 men of KNIL, and a handful of local militia (Landswatcht, Stadswatcht), volunteers, and police. Furthermore, the Dutch colonial authorities had no clear military or political stance. An envisaged scenario was scorched-earth tactics and the withdrawal into the thick tropical forests to wage a guerrilla war. The civil administration would withdraw and relocate itself in the interior; initially Kandangan was the choice but later Muara Teweh and Puruk Cahu were proposed.

Events developed at a hurried pace. From November 1941 Japanese individuals in Banjarmasin and elsewhere in Dutch Borneo were repatriated. In late December a survey of rice storks revealed a serious shortage owing to hoarding by unscrupulous

Chinese and native dealers who were hoping for profits in a hike in prices. In facing the reality of zero imports from Java, attempts were made to source rice from the interior. Some fl.350,000 was provided to purchase rice stocks, but little was accomplished. Members of the AVC were given two trucks and a passenger van to carry out demolition works aimed at denying roads, bridges, airfields, warehouses and ships at the harbour to the invasion force.

Overall both British and Dutch Borneo were wholly unprepared for war whether physically (men, equipment) or psychologically (mental conception). John Belville Archer, the pre-war chief secretary to the Sarawak government, succinctly portrayed the reality of the situation.

> Naturally some of the people, principally Chinese, had a good idea of what [modern] war meant. China had been at war for years, although the Japanese always called it an 'incident'. The Dayaks, Malays, Melanaus and others had little or no conception. War to them was one of our 'expeditions' where a few Sarawak Rangers and Police accompanied by hundreds of [Dayak] irregulars toiled up rivers and up and down hills chasing a few slippery Dayak malcontents who were always one march ahead. If casualties came to double figures it was a major battle.[18]

The British military top brass in Singapore were very well aware of the dire situation facing Borneo, but played on the positive side of propaganda to at least uphold morale amongst Europeans and the native populace. Following his two-day tour of Kuching in the later part of November 1941, Lieutenant General A.E. Percival, general officer commanding Malaya, which included British Borneo, recalled the grave predicament in his postwar memoirs. In relation to the presence of the 2nd/15th Punjab, Percival maintained that:

> Nobody could pretend that this was a satisfactory situation, but at least it would make the enemy deploy a bigger force to capture the place than it would have been necessary if it had not been defended at all and that, I think, is the true way to look at it.[19]

In an effort to boost morale Percival promised to dispatch 'a few anti-aircraft guns and to tell them [people of Sarawak] of the arrival of the [battleship] *Prince of Wales* and [battle cruiser] *Repulse*', which were scheduled to anchor at Singapore's naval base in a few days' time.[20] But as it turned out, even the promise of two Bofors anti-aircraft guns was never fulfilled. Although the aforesaid ships did reach Singapore shortly thereafter while steaming northwards towards the Japanese beachhead at Kelantan, both were sunk off Kuantan in the South China Sea on 10 December 1941. Borneo then literally stood alone when the Japanese offensive begun.

Meanwhile the Dutch authorities were in a state of panic. As mentioned there were no concrete or agreed plans in place to deal with an invasion. In fact the governor, military commandant, and the police chief were in dispute with one another over what action or strategy to adopt. The situation worsened until the governor

dismissed Groen, the police chief, who was redeployed to take charge of the LBD (air raid shelters). Raden Said Sukamto Cokroadmojo was appointed as the new police chief. But when the military commandant was similarly sacked in the eleventh hour, there was no replacement and the military forces (KNIL) were left in disarray.[21]

Nonetheless Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark (d. 1945),[22] as Sarawak chief secretary (from May 1941), and in the absence of the rajah, assumed the position of Officer Administering the Government[23] and instructed all Brooke officers to remain in their post in the event of an invasion by enemy forces. The order was issued in June 1941, and confirmed by telegram on 1 December.[24] However, as events headed hurriedly towards inevitable hostilities, it was thought among official circles that the chief secretary should be evacuated lest he be utilized by the enemy in an untoward manner. But Le Gros Clark was adamant that he should remain in Kuching. He later (during internment) explained his stance.

> With these people of SARAWAK, among whom I have spent many years of my life, and in whose interests I have I believe devoted my unselfish and loyal services, I have determined to remain, and to share with them their sufferings during this period of trial.[25]

Unlike Sarawak, there was no clear directive relating to officials of the Chartered Company in British North Borneo as to whether to remain in their post or to flee in the face of an invasion by enemy forces. From the military standpoint both the North Borneo Armed Constabulary and the North Borneo Volunteers received instruction from the British High Command in Singapore (20 December 1941) not to fight; in fact the Volunteers was immediately disbanded when hostilities broke out, a prudent measure to avert the unnecessary loss of lives, as they were no match in training and weaponry compared to regular army units.[26]

On the eve of invasion

> The main pump station [at Seria] and main storage area was a particularly magnificent sight – viewed as a spectacle only. At one spot the blazing oil from burnt tanks had overflowed the firewall into the Seria River and the sight of this burning oil slowly drifting downstream against the background of palls of black smoke with a rising full moon in the East flickering through was a memorable one. Flames from the main fires and burning gas wells were also continually flaring 100 ft or more into the sky. At the same time the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lighting were incessant – and punctuated by the occasional detonations and heavier explosions throughout the field as charges were fired on isolated units such as fixed tank group pumps, compressors and other portable machinery.[27]

R.G. ('Tom') Tyler of the Sarawak Oilfields Ltd. wrote of the above 'spectacle' in his 37-page diary that recorded events from 8 to 18 December 1941. Although

the denial scheme was essentially necessary, in a regretful tone he lamented that 'The labour of years [was] destroyed in a few hours.'[28] He also witnessed a similar scene at Lutong, the major oil refinery for Sarawak where 'Nothing of the refinery and tank farm remains but blackened ruins and still burning tanks. Some 40,000 tons of oil in storage at Lutong has been destroyed, apart from the plant and machinery.'[29]

Meanwhile, across the island on Dutch territory, the authorities undertook similar destruction of oil fields and installations to deny the invading force use of the oil stocks, equipment and machinery.[30] Such denial operations in both British and Dutch Borneo, where groundwork was undertaken several months earlier, were implemented when it became apparent that an enemy offensive was imminent.[31] A partial denial scheme was activated in August 1941, rendering oil output to a mere 30 per cent capacity.[32]

One result of Percival's visit to Kuching was the redeployment of the 2nd/15th Punjab to focus on holding on to the airfield outside Kuching.

> O/C [Officer Commanding] Troops was instructed to concentrate on the defence of the Bukit Stabar Landing Ground, at the expense, if necessary of coastal and river defence against naval landings. There must be no retreat from the Landing Ground unless the enemy attack reached such a strength as to render positions absolutely untenable. In the words of [Percival] 'There have been too many retreats. You in Kuching must stand and fight'.[33]

Percival was in fact echoing his superior officer, Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham, British commander-in-chief in the Far East, who emphasized the retention of Kuching and its airfield because 'its occupation by the enemy might give access to the [Singkawang] aerodromes in Dutch Borneo at the north-western end of the island, these aerodromes being only some 350 miles [560 kilometers] from Singapore, i.e. much nearer than any in South Indo-China.'[34] Major Lane had advocated such a stance earlier in concentrating all his forces in holding fast to the airfield outside Kuching.

The adopted strategy then was as follows.

> It was decided that no attempt should be made to defend British North Borneo, Brunei or Labuan . . . Volunteers and police were to be used solely for the maintenance of internal security. . . . it was decided [September 1941] that [Kuching] could not be defended against the weight of attack which was to be expected, and the plan was reluctantly changed to one of static defence of the airfield.[35]

The Japanese assault and occupation

In describing the invasion and occupation of Borneo by Imperial Japanese Forces phrases such as 'without meeting any resistance' and 'swift and efficiently executed'

were often applied, as well as the more exaggerated 'not a shot fired' or 'a stroll in the park' for the invading forces. There is little doubt that the Japanese faced little or no opposition and incurred scant casualties, largely thanks to their well-planned military operations, professionally executed by well-trained and experienced field commanders and disciplined troops, superior weaponry and military equipment, and almost complete command of aerial space and seas surrounding Borneo.

The Japanese invading force was organized into two groups, one for British Borneo and another for Dutch Borneo.[36] On 13 December 1941 the 124th Infantry Regiment and the 2nd Special Naval Landing Force left Cam Ranh Bay, South Vietnam to head towards Miri. It anchored off Tanjong Baram (Baram Point) on 15 December. Meanwhile, the Sakaguchi Detachment, together with the Miura Detachment, seized Davao in Mindanao in December 1941. The 56th Regiment Group, a unit from Lieutenant General Imamura Hitoshi's Sixteenth Army, embarked from Davao on 20 December and headed towards Tarakan. Rear Admiral Nishimura Shoji was tasked to capture the oil installations of Dutch Borneo, an essential strategic target.

The conquest and occupation of Dutch Borneo was efficiently executed and faced little opposition. By February 1942 all major towns in the south and east were occupied. A two-prong assault on Banjarmasin, the key administrative centre, by the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) forces from Balikpapan utilized the overland route traversing the Meratus Range, while the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) came through Pelaihari following their coastal landing. The Japanese easily secured the town.

Within two calendar months beginning from landings on Miri (16 December 1941) to the capture of Banjarmasin (10 February 1942), the Japanese Borneo campaign was swift in achieving unqualified success. Table 4.1 shows chronologically the pace of the Japanese advance and conquest of the major towns in Borneo.

Although there were no serious confrontations or pitched battles there was some local response to the invading forces. Dutch naval aircraft bombed and strafed the Japanese ships off Tanjong Baram on 17 and 18 December but inflicted little damage. On 19 December a Dutch army aircraft from Singkawang II managed to sink a destroyer guarding the convoy.[37] Similarly the Japanese invasion force heading towards Kuching from Miri on 22 December was attacked by a Dutch submarine the following evening (23 December) 'sank two enemy ships and damaged two others,' and again the following night (24 December) 'another Dutch submarine sank a destroyer, but was herself sunk on her way to back to Sourabaya.'[38] An eyewitness told of the sinking by a Dutch aircraft of four Japanese transports carrying civil affairs staff off Santubong heading upstream to Kuching.[39]

Like clockwork the dominos across Borneo fell one after another according to Japanese military plans. Five days after the collapse of Banjarmasin, 'Fortress Singapore' surrendered – 'the worst disaster and largest capitulation in British history,' British wartime Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1940–1945) reportedly commented.[40] Batavia fell on 1 March 1942, and a week thereafter, the Dutch capitulated at Bandung.

Table 4.1 The Japanese invasion and occupation of Borneo, December 1941–February 1942

Date of Invasion/Occupation	*Town/Area*	*Territory*
16 December 1941	Miri	Sarawak, British Borneo
	Kuala Belait; Seria	Brunei, British Borneo
	Brunei Town	Brunei, British Borneo
24 December 1941	Kuching	Sarawak, British Borneo
31 December 1941	Limbang; Lawas	Sarawak, British Borneo
9 January 1942	Jesselton	North Borneo, British Borneo
3 January 1942	Beaufort; Labuan	North Borneo, British Borneo
11 January 1942	Tarakan	East, Dutch Borneo
19 January 1942	Sandakan	North Borneo, British Borneo
24 January 1942	Balikpapan	Southeast, Dutch Borneo
27/28 January 1942	Pamangkat	West, Dutch Borneo
28 January 1942	Ledo airfield	West, Dutch Borneo
29 January 1942	Singkawang	West, Dutch Borneo
	Pontianak	West, Dutch Borneo
10 February 1942	Banjarmasin	South, Dutch Borneo

Sources: 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, pp. 8, 12, 18; Kirby, *The War Against Japan*, p. 223; Ooi, *Rising Sun Over Borneo*, pp. 31–6; Dear, *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, pp. 788–9.

Overwhelmed by the enemy, Major Lane and his 2nd/15th Punjab retreated across the border into West Borneo.[41] When Java fell, Lane and his men surrendered in early April 1942 and they were brought to Java. Subsequently the Indian troops were brought back to their old barracks at Batu Lintang in Kuching as prisoners of war, and the barracks then assumed a new name and function – the Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp, reputedly the largest in all of Borneo.

5 The partition of Borneo

By early April 1942, Borneo was securely in Japanese hands. There followed a military reorganization and the establishment of peace and order in the occupied territories. The task of organizing Borneo's administration was related to its importance as a supplier of essential resources in particular oil and rubber as well as other minerals for the Japanese war effort. As a result of the fast pace in the shifting tides of war, revised planning and reorganization had to be kept abreast of the changing situation. Former British Borneo came under the administration of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), while former Dutch Borneo came under the fold of the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), and this was maintained until the Japanese surrender and the end of the Pacific War in mid-August 1945.

Military reorganization

Having accomplished its objectives of militarily securing Sarawak, Brunei and British North Borneo, which comprised the former territories that were previously British Borneo, in mid-March 1942 the Kawaguchi Detachment was transferred to the Philippines. Prior to the Detachment's departure, it handed its responsibilities to the Nakahata Unit (4th Independent Mixed Regiment) headed by Colonel Nakahata Joichi, which had just arrived from French Indochina.[1] The 4th Independent Mixed Regiment, which was directly attached to the Southern Army, took on the task of maintaining law and order in former British Borneo, undertaking mopping-up operations, setting up a military government, and developing the natural resources for the war effort.[2] On 5 May the 4th Independent Mixed Regiment came under the Borneo Garrison Army (BGA)[3] in the order of battle headed by Lieutenant General Marquis Maeda Toshinari.[4] The BGA was activated in April following orders from Imperial General Headquarters in Tokyo; it formed under the order of battle of the Southern Expeditionary Army.

The Army Headquarters arrived in Miri in early May to assume control of local forces, namely the BGA. Lieutenant General Maeda decided against Miri, a major oil-producing centre, as headquarters; instead choosing Kuching, the seat of government of the previous Brooke regime of Sarawak, as a more suitable base of operation.

A further reorganization occurred in July 1942 when the 4th Independent Mixed Regiment became the 40th and 41st Independent Garrison Infantry Battalions,

each with 500 men.[5] Interestingly, former British Borneo had only a 500-strong battalion for almost the entire year of 1943. Then from 22 September 1944 the BGA became the 37th Army.

After the cessation of hostilities the 22nd Special Naval Base Force based at Balikpapan assumed the responsibility of maintaining law and order throughout what was formerly Dutch Borneo. At Tarakan the 2nd Naval Garrison Unit was in charge of military matters.

Dividing the spoils

According to a pre-agreed division of authority between IJA and IJN dated 26 November 1941, where one service would assume 'primary' responsibility over a territory while the other the 'secondary' responsibility, the island of Borneo was split administratively between the army and navy authorities. Former British Borneo fell under the areas where IJA was assigned the primary responsibility; this authority was also extended to Hong Kong, the Philippines, British Malaya, Sumatra, Java and Burma. Former Dutch Borneo on the other hand came under IJN's primary responsibility alongside Celebes (Sulawesi), the Moluccas (Maluku), the Lesser Sundas, New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago and Guam.[6]

Although IJN was granted permission to establish 'operational bases' in IJA areas (Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore, Penang, Surabaya and Davao), there were only two Naval Attaché Offices, one in Singapore and another in Surabaya. IJA in turn had a liaison office in Makassar.[7]

The rationale behind the geographical distribution of military authority and responsibility was the practical and long-term objectives of Imperial Japan.

> In general, the Army has been charged with the administration of densely populated areas which demand complex administrative tasks, while sparsely populated primitive areas, which shall be retained in the future for the benefit of the Empire, have been assigned to the Navy.[8]

This policy statement, whereby IJN had the primary responsibility over 'sparsely populated primitive areas, which *shall be retained in the future* for the benefit of the Empire,' summarized clearly the intention of Imperial Japan for permanent possession of these occupied territories. According to Okada Fumihide, the chief civil administrator (superintendent-general or *sokan*; July 1942-March 1944) of the South Western Fleet Minseifu (Naval Civil Administration Office) based in Makassar, 'the basic policy of the Civil Administration in the Navy Territory was no more and no less than *eikyū senryū* [permanent occupation].'[9] 'This was a military secret,' Okada confided in his memoirs, 'and only a small number of people in the executive division were informed of it.'[10] This fact was clearly stated in a 'Confidential Secretariat Paper No. 3167,' dated 14 March 1942, under 'Principles of Administration'.

> The occupation areas where the Navy shall act as principal administrative authority shall be directed toward their *permanent retention* under Japanese control. To this end, administrative and other policies shall so devised as to facilitate the organic integration of the entire region into the Japanese Empire.[11]

With this clear delineation IJA assumed control of former British Borneo, which was referred to as Kita Boruneo (Northern Borneo) while IJN took charge of former Dutch Borneo, designated Minami Boruneo (Southern Borneo). Kuching and Banjarmasin became the administrative centre of the former and latter respectively (Map 5.1).[12]

The administration of occupied Borneo

In the early stage of occupation (December 1941), the military administration of Minami Boruneo came under the purview of the Southwest District Fleet, headed by a commander-in-chief and under him, a superintendent-general (*sokan*) of civil government. A civilian bureaucrat assumed the position of sokan of the civil government. Okada was the inaugural sokan. The sokan headed the *Minseifu*

Map 5.1 Occupied Borneo, 1941–1945

or Naval Civil Administration Office established at Makassar. Under the sokan there were three *Minseibu* (regional administrative departments) – the Sulawesi Civil Administration Department (Makassar), the Kalimantan (Borneo) Civil Administration Department (Banjarmasin) and the Ceram Civil Administration Department (Ambon) – each presided over by a *chokan* (department chief) with a team of civilian bureaucrats recruited from the various ministries (Home, Finance, Agriculture and Forestry, Commerce and Industry, etc.).

Minami Boruneo was administered by the chokan of the Borneo Civil Administration Department. This set-up had four sections: secretariat, political affairs, economics and sanitation, each with its respective departmental head (see Figure 5.1). When the war situation turned adversely for the Japanese, there was a shift in the higher command, and the commander-in-chief of the 2nd Southern Expeditionary Fleet assumed command (see Figure 5.2). The Borneo Civil Administration Department had a chief civil administrator and under his control were several categories of authorities (see Figure 5.3).

The pre-war Dutch-designated directly controlled territories, each headed by a communal chief with the title 'District Chief', were incorporated into IJN administration. As for the pre-war so-called 'self-governing territories', each under its respective rajah (sultans), the latter were re-designated as 'Chiefs.' West Borneo was organized into 12 self-governing territories, each under a 'Chief.'

At the higher level of administration, the jurisdictional areas of Departments were re-titled 'Residency' (*Shu*) under a 'Resident' (*Shu-cho*). In the case of a Residency coinciding with a seat of a Minseibu – a notable example was Banjarmasin in South Borneo – then it shall be a 'Direct Rule Area' under the Minseibu, in this instance the Borneo Minseibu.[13]

Meanwhile the pre-war Dutch *Afdeeling* was renamed 'Regency' (*Bun*) under a 'Regent' (*Bun-cho*). Tarakan and Balikpapan, however, did not fall into this category as they both came under the control of the Borneo Minseibu at Banjarmasin. The pre-war *Onderafdeeling* became 'Subregency' (*Fuku Bun*) under the charge of an 'Assistant Regent' (*Fuku Bun-cho*). Appointments as Residents, Regents, and Assistant Regents were reserved for Japanese civilian bureaucrats. For positions below the Assistant Regent level, District Officer (*Gun-cho* or the pre-war title, *Kiai*) were assigned to natives, but not to any ordinary native.

> Outstanding individuals as well as those with previous experience shall be engaged as lower echelon personnel from among the local inhabitants as much as possible, and, at the same time, due consideration should also be given in selecting and assigning offices to them, thereby contributing to the development of administrative efficiency and to gaining the confidence of the local peoples.[14]

While in the pre-war colonial period a Kiai was supervised by a *Controleur* and his *Adspirant* (assistant) *Controleur*, the Japanese placed a *Bunken Kanrikan* and his *Bunken Kanrikan Dairi* to oversee the work and activities of a Gun-cho. Each Gun was subdivided into Fuku Gun, the pre-war *Onderdistrict* (*Kecamatan*). Several

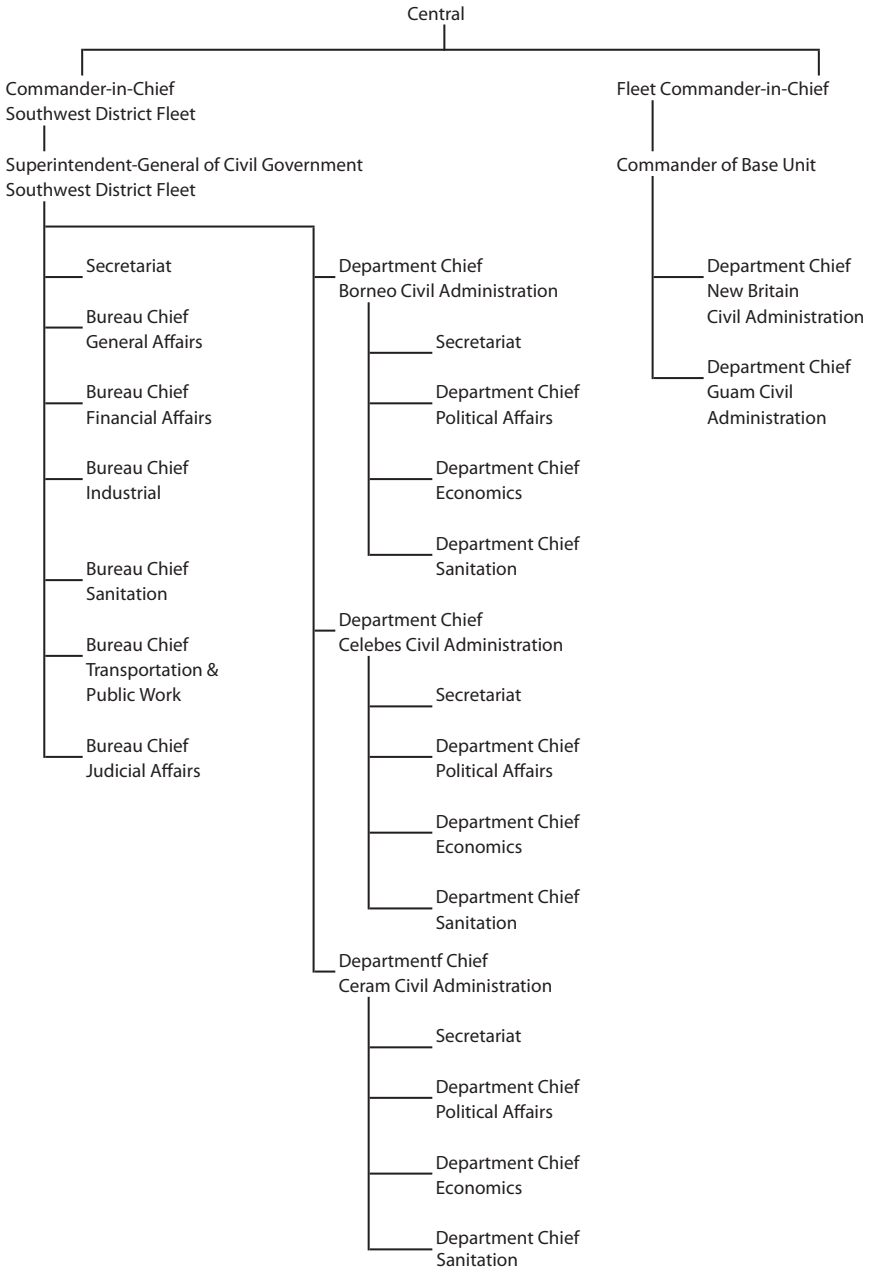


Figure 5.1 Structure of military administration in Navy occupied areas (December 1941)
Source: Benda, Irikura, and Kishi, p. 55.

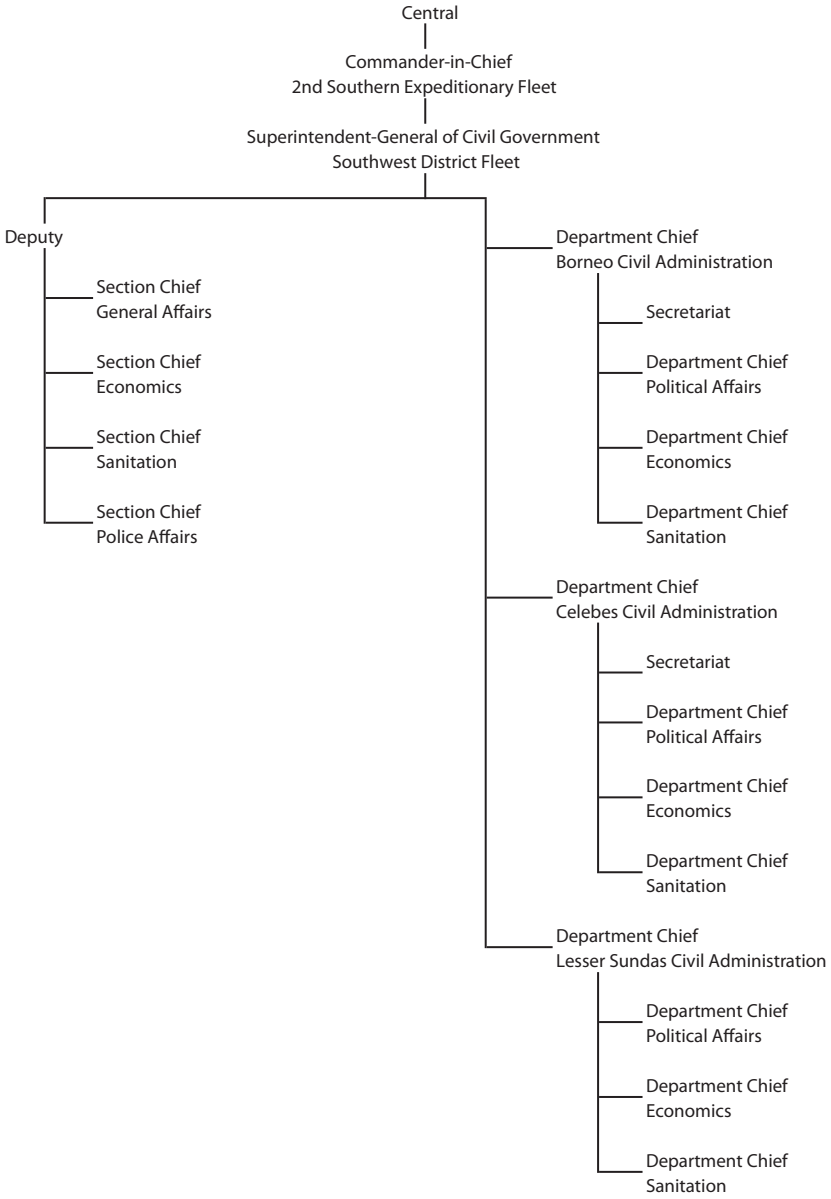


Figure 5.2 Structure of military administration in Navy occupied areas (later stage)
Source: Benda, Irikura, and Kishi, p. 56.

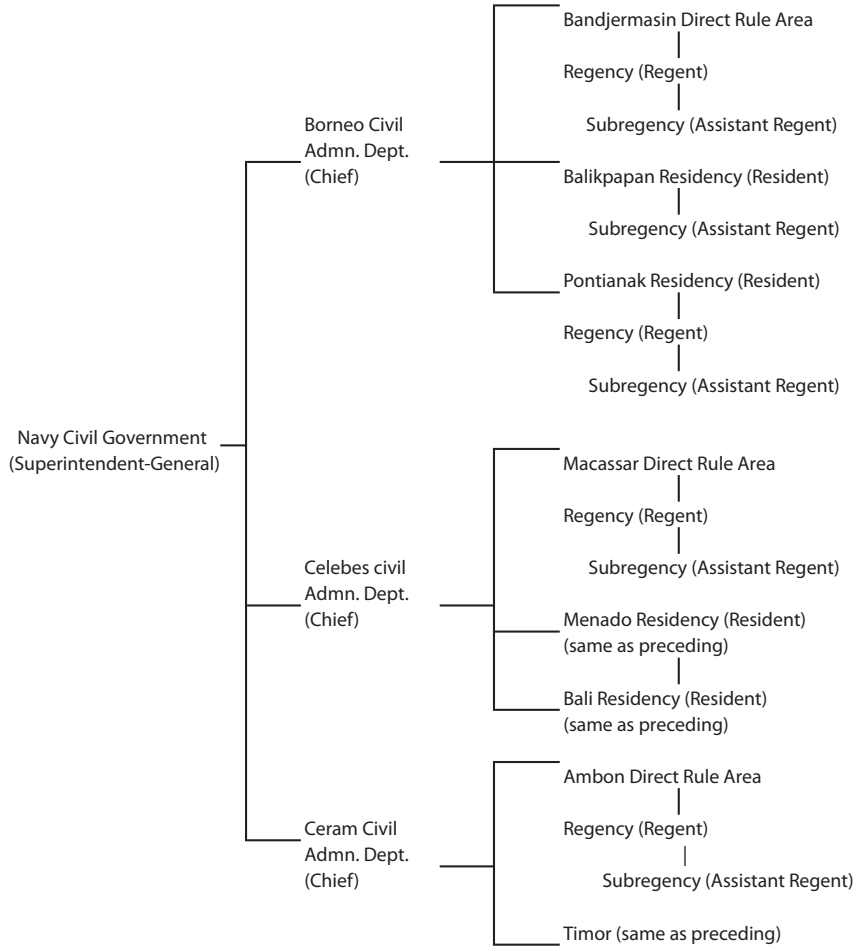


Figure 5.3 Navy civil government (October 1942)
Source: Benda, Irikura, and Kishi, p. 210.

Son or *Kampung* (village) comprised a Fuku Gun; each Son under a *Son-cho* or *Kepala Kampung* (headman).

In a confidential document dated 14 March 1942 from the Ministry of the Navy, Tokyo, there were specific principles of administration directed at IJN-controlled areas, including Minami Boruneo.

> The former system of government shall generally be followed in the administration of occupied territories, and [administrators] shall adapt themselves to the customs, social organization, religion, and cultural level of the various areas. . . . In using the existing administrative machinery, a major objective shall be the employment of native chiefs and officials displaying a sincere

> desire to cooperate with Japan. The employment of Dutch and other foreign national shall be confined to exceptional cases, such as where there employment will be of extraordinary benefit in governing the local population.[15]

Furthermore 'popular officials, elders, and residents shall be used' as a buffer, as 'care shall be taken to avoid direct contact between Japanese nationals and the local populace as much as possible.'[16] A sort of indirect rule over the local population was suggested.

Owing to the policy of *eikyū senryū* or permanent occupation, the civil administration based in Banjarmasin was staffed by civilians recruited from Japan. Okada explained:

> By sending to the South [Southeast Asia] talented men from each [Government] Ministry, and by appointing civilians as Sokan [chief civil administrator], Bureau Heads and Minseibu Chokan, the Navy was deliberately and carefully laying a foundation for the future. If the Administration had just been set up for the temporary convenience of prosecuting the war, then it would not have been necessary to have gone to such lengths.[17]

IJA-controlled Kita Boruneo possessed a hierarchical structure that flowed from the commander (of the BGA), chief of staff, residents and heads of eight departments: general affairs, police affairs, financial affairs, industrial, communication, military administration, enemy property control and investigation and research. From April 1943 the department of investigation and research was re-designated as 'Investigation and Research Agencies' (see Figures 5.4 and 5.5).

Unlike Minami Boruneo, which was administered by IJN as a single entity (other entities were Celebes and the Lesser Sundas), Kita Boruneo was divided into five administrative provinces (*shu*), namely Kuching-shu (First and Second Divisions of former Brooke Sarawak, West Borneo, and the Natuna Islands); Sibu-shu (Third Division), Miri-shu (Fourth and Fifth Divisions, and Brunei), Seikai-shu (west coast of former British North Borneo, and Labuan) and Tokai-shu (east coast of former British North Borneo). In mid-1942, following the cessation of hostilities, the Pontianak area of West Borneo was transferred to IJN authority, which subsequently became an integral part of Minami Boruneo. The aforesaid provinces were further subdivided into prefectures (*ken*) (see Table 5.1).

Despite the divergent long-term policy for IJN-controlled Minami Boruneo to that of IJA-administered Kita Boruneo there were several general guidelines and administrative principles by which both the army and navy had to abide. Three very basic objectives had to be attained in the occupied territories, notably 'to restore public order, expedite acquisition of resources vital to national defense, and ensure the economic self-sufficiency of military personnel.'[18] It was understandable that these objectives were seen as essential. In the context of establishing an administrative system, 'existing governmental organizations shall be utilized as much as possible, with due respect for past organizational structure and native practices.'[19]

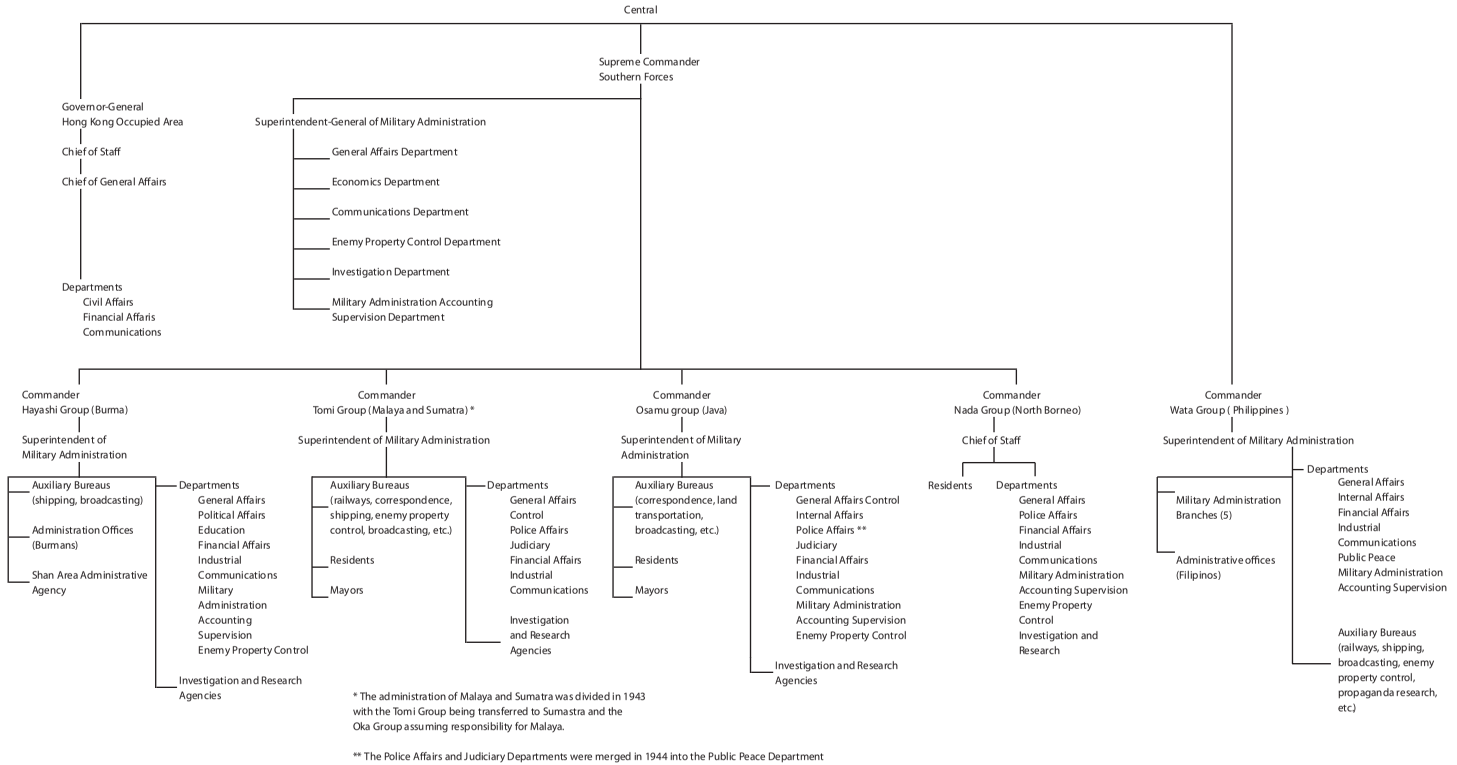


Figure 5.4 Structure of military administration in Army occupied areas (December 1941)

Source: Benda, Irikura, and Kishi, p. 53.

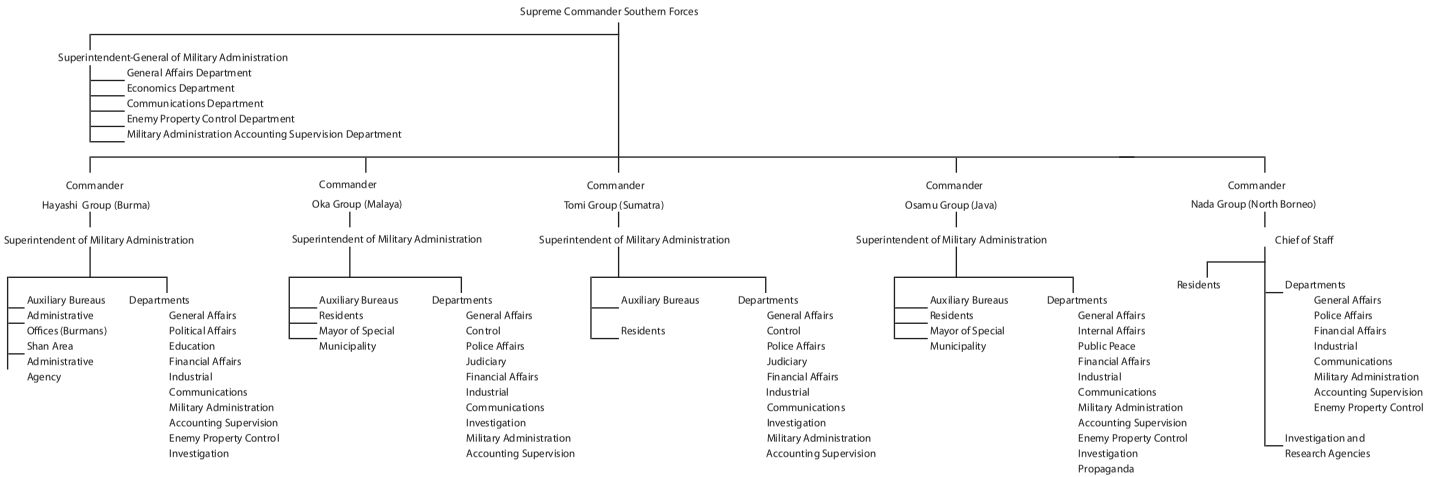


Figure 5.5 Structure of military administration in Army occupied areas (April 1943)

Source: Benda, Irikura, and Kishi, p. 54.

Table 5.1 Administrative divisions of Kita Boruneo

*Province (*shu*)*	*Area*	*Prefectures (*ken*)*
Kuching-shu	First and Second Divisions, Sarawak; West Borneo; Natuna Islands	Kuching; Simanggang
Sibu-shu	Third Division, Sarawak	Sibu; Bintulu
Miri-shu	Fourth and Fifth Divisions, Sarawak; Brunei	Miri; Brunei Town
Seikai-shu	West coast British North Borneo incl. Labuan	Jesselton; Bohoto (incl. Labuan); Kota Belud; Keningau
Tokai-shu	East coast British North Borneo	Tawau; Sandakan; Lahad Datu; Beruran

Sources: 'British Territories in North Borneo', PRO WO 208/105; Ooi, *Rising Sun Over Borneo*, pp. 40, 62; Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 55–6.

Meanwhile, consequent of past practices of rough handling or negligence of native rulers and local dignitaries a directive was issued from the vice-minister of the army to the superintendent of the Singapore Military Administration Headquarters that amongst other things,

> Since winning the hearts of the people under our rule is extremely vital . . . However, it may be concluded on the basis of various recent reports concerning the treatment of the heads of autonomous areas that . . . their prewar allotments of administrative subsidies, stipends, and such have been severely reduced and changes made from their past treatment with loss of prestige and the like . . . [Therefore] each Army [unit] should be especially prudent in the treatment of heads of autonomous areas . . . their prestige should be enhanced above their colonial experience . . .[20]

Nonetheless in the course of expediting acquisition of resources, native well-being was sacrificed: 'Economic hardships imposed upon native livelihood as a result of the acquisition of resources vital to the national defense and for the self-sufficiency of occupation troops must be endured.'[21]

Regardless of army or navy-controlled territories, the treatment of and attitude towards local inhabitants were guided by ethnic lines. The native population needed to be reassured that the Japanese were not their enemies; hence 'local customs, practices, and religions shall not be interfered with for the time being.'[22]

> The impact of the war on native livelihood should be alleviated where possible and within limits set by the need for rendering occupational forces self-sufficient and securing resources vital to national defense. However, no measures shall be taken for the sole purpose of placating the natives. At the same time, care shall be exercised not to encourage nationalist movement.[23]

With regards to Chinese residents in occupied territories, 'The main objective . . . shall be to utilize their existing commercial organizations and practices to the advantage of our policies.'[24] It was deemed imperative that ties among the various Chinese communities as well as between these communities and mainland China be severed.[25] Those Chinese as well as others involved in anti-Japanese movements and subversive activities were to be strictly dealt with, including the use of corporal punishment.

Law and order

Before the establishment of a police force and judicial structures the responsibility for maintaining law and order was entrusted to the local military commander and his troops. In the case of Minami Boruneo it was the 22nd Tokubetsu Kon Kyochi Tai (22nd Special Naval Base Force) headquartered at Balikpapan. The 4th Independent Mixed Regiment assumed law and order duties in Kita Boruneo.

In Minami Boruneo and similarly in all IJN-controlled territories the Minseibu Police were responsible for general policing work. This police force was under the responsibility of the 'Political Affairs Department, Section III – Police and Judiciary'. As the Minseibu was centered in Banjarmasin its police force was also based there, with branch offices in other major urban areas, such as Tarakan, Balikpapan and Pontianak. The Minseibu Police headed by Japanese officers drew its rank and file from indigenous peoples, particularly those who formerly served in the pre-war Dutch colonial police.

Working hand-in-glove with the Minseibu Police was the *Tokkei Tai*, the special naval police, the equivalent to the IJA's *Kempei Tai* (military police). Drawing its personnel from the 22nd Special Naval Base Force, the Special Naval Police Kaigun Tokubetsu Keisatsu (shortened to Tokkei Tai or simply *Tokkei* [lit. 'the blade of a sword']) was given the prime responsibility of neutralizing and eliminating anti-Japanese and other subversive elements and their (mainly) underground activities. Officered by Japanese, the Tokkei Tai engaged a network of agents and informers, both native and Chinese, who, for monetary returns, reported on their neighbours and others. Members of the *Hojin Hokokukai* (Service for the Fatherland), a liaison group between the Minseibu and the Japanese business community, also supplied information to the Tokkei Tai, not for monetary returns but as a patriotic duty and responsibility.[26] Often high-handed methods were employed in the process of uncovering, investigating, apprehending, interrogating, and subsequently even eliminating suspects involved or alleged to be involved in subversive activities amongst the local inhabitants. The 'torture preceding interrogation' modus operandi of the Tokkei Tai brought fear to the man-in-the-street.

During postwar interrogation, members of the Tokkei Tai admitted 'that suspects were forced to plead guilty by serious tortures . . . suspects [were forced] to put their signatures or thumb-prints on blank forms, on which afterwards the "accusations" was filled in.'[27]

The Tokkei Tai's notoriety was clearly demonstrated in the spate of an alleged anti-Japanese conspiracy culminating in what became to be referred to as the

'Pontianak Incident' (October 1943–January 1944).[28] The Tokkei Tai also worked closely with the *Keibi Tai* (garrison); in Minami Boruneo, the same officer headed both the Tokkei Tai and Keibi Tai.

Theoretically results of investigation as well as interrogation reports were sent to the Naval Court Martial for deliberation and the meting out of appropriate punishment of suspects. In the case of the Borneo Minseibu, the Naval Court Martial based in Surabaya was the rightful judicial authority. However, the Naval Court Martial proceedings were very disturbing as it based its decisions on affidavits and statements produced by the Tokkei Tai, which often extracted them through brutal torture. During postwar interrogation Lieutenant Yamamoto Soichi, the second in command of the Tokkei Tai of Minami Boruneo, offered this scenario of the Naval Court Martial.

> The accused had no defence. The accused entered, 12 at one time, and were placed in a row. After they were asked their names, etc, they were asked if they pleaded guilty. Here upon the accused pleaded guilty. T[h]ereafter they were conducted from the Court and the Court withdrew for consideration of the sentence. After the Court reappeared, sentence was pronounced and the accused were condemned to death. In these trials none of the accused [was] found not-guilty. Of the sentences of this special Court, no appeal was possible.[29]

Furthermore, in practice many suspects, especially those alleged to be involved in subversive activities, were executed by the Tokkei Tai assisted by the Keibi Tai on orders or sanctioned by the commander of the Special Naval Base Force.

Unlike the Kempei Tai, who equally possessed a notorious record and reputation, the Tokkei Tai could be said to be worse in executing their duties owing to the fact that its personnel did not undergo any training in police work, neither did they adhere to a strict disciplinary code that their counterpart proudly upheld. Typically a member of a Tokkei Tai unit came from a peasant background with minimal schooling and intelligence. Heads of Tokkei Tai units were professional subaltern officers who attained war promotion in the field.

In the shadows behind both the Minseibu Police and the Tokkei Tai stalked the *Hana Kikan*, IJN's secret intelligence service, which undertook espionage activities. Its agents, mainly Japanese, infiltrated every level of society, functioning as 'listening posts'.

Little different from their navy counterparts in terms of duties, responsibilities and modus operandi, the Kempei Tai in Kita Boruneo possessed the highest police powers in IJA-administered territories and was directly responsible to the local military commander-in-chief and the War Ministry in Tokyo. Based in an eclectic two-storey bungalow in Kuching's Jawa Road (Jalan Jawa), the Kempei Tai watched over the population; any signs of anti-Japanese behavior were promptly investigated and eliminated. Assisting the Kempei Tai was a network of informers and agents; 'These were the times when anyone could be arrested and tortured if information was given against him by someone else prompted by jealousy, grudge or revenge.'[30] These were indeed trying times for everyone, regardless of their

pre-war standing or influence. For instance, in Kuching and Sibu, several Chinese *towkay* (entrepreneur; proprietor) involved in the pre-war China Relief Fund were brought in for questioning by the Kempei Tai. The following tells of the punishment of suspects at the Sports Club building, Jesselton, which the Kempei Tai commandeered as its headquarters from April 1944.

> One Japanese officer . . . said that when time was limited the water torture was applied, because it was the most effective in the shortest time, to get rid of the victims. Four Japanese wardens held the victim standing up. A dripper filled with water from the bucket was held up to the victim's mouth and the water was poured in while the wardens pressed his throat to make him swallow. Two full buckets of water would be poured down this way. The victim would suddenly faint due to the excessive weight of water inside his stomach, and then collapse to the ground. Here, the wardens stood and trod upon the victim's back and belly until the water was forced out of his eyes, nose, mouth and other cavities of the body.[31]

The following offers a sampling of typical practices carried out behind and within the confines of the barbed wired perimeters of the prisoner of war (POWs) and civilian internment facilities.

> Many other forms of cruel and illegal punishment were in common use. Exposing the prisoner to the tropical sun for long hours without any protection, suspending him by his arms in such a manner as at times to force the arms from their sockets, tying him up and leaving him where he would be attacked by insects, confining him in a cramped cage for days without food, shutting him up for weeks at a time in an underground cell without light, fresh air and with scarcely any food, forcing him to kneel on sharp objects in a cramped position for long period[s] of time. . . . Whenever the Japanese were unable to find the perpetrator of individual acts, mass punishment was employed.[32]

Such happenings were found in the Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp outside Kuching, the largest in Borneo, and other similar facilities in occupied Borneo.

The Japanese notion of justice was that a person is presumed guilty when reported upon, and following his confession of guilt, either willingly offered or forcibly extracted, was summarily punished. Death by decapitation was a common punishment while long-term incarceration was not generally encouraged.

The inhabitants of occupied Borneo witnessed Japanese sense and methods of justice and pronounced that such meting of justice was highly heavy-handed, humiliating, or unnecessarily cruel. Anyone who had the temerity of not bowing to a Japanese sentry would endure a battery of slapping, and would occasionally be kicked in the chest or abdomen as punishment for this infraction. Petty crimes like theft saw the thieves being publicly humiliated; a common practice was to force an apprehended thief to walk around the bazaar with a prominent placard hung from

his neck detailing his crime. Native people, such as the Ibans of Sarawak, were generally appalled at Japanese justice.

> Iban attitudes towards Japanese justice were characterised by the expressions *adat jipun salah* (the Japanese way of doing things is wrong) and *adat jipun endah manah* (the Japanese custom is rotten). *Ukum jipun* (Japanese justice) became a term for punishment out of all proportion to the offence.[33]

In Kita Boruneo the military authorities revived the pre-war civil court system from November 1942, with local magistrates applying the Sarawak Penal Code.

In the judiciary system in IJN-controlled territories, including Minami Boruneo, there were two phases of development. During the first year of occupation two pre-war courts, the Raad van Justitie (district court) and the criminal court were retained. There were two district courts, one established at Makassar to overlook territories east of Sulawesi, and another at Surabaya with jurisdiction over Minami Boruneo. By late April 1942, the judicial system was operational. It abided by the following principles: the single trial system; non-rehabilitation of the civil court; the reopening of the criminal court; revival of the old, pre-war judicial system; the abolishment of racial discrimination in the court; and respect of the native court system in the self-governing territories.[34] In line with the principle 'the reopening of the criminal court', a criminal court was established in Makassar; its Section I dealt with 'comparatively light crimes which called for less than three months imprisonment or fine of less than 500 rupiahs,' while Section II handled the remainder of criminal cases.[35] Section I of the criminal court had sessions in every county of a direct rule territory; Section II was established only in the major centres, notably Banjarmasin, Makassar and Ambon. In the self-governing territories, pre-war courts as well as their religious courts were retained.

Then on 1 November 1942 there was an overall restructuring of the judicial system.

> On that day, the Ordinance of the Temporary Civil Administration Courts was promulgated, and the civil administration court was established. By this the basic law governing criminal trials, except those under the jurisdiction of the courts martial and military courts, was formulated. Thus . . . the Raad van Justitie at Makassar was turned into a higher court, and a new judicial system was formed with this at the center. Under this higher court, nine district courts were established in sub-prefectures, and country [rural] courts were opened at Menado and South Borneo.[36]

Only in Minami Boruneo were to be found the Higher Islamic Court and the Islamic Court that gave due recognition to the needs of the Muslim community.[37]

6 Kita Boruneo

By the end of 1942, about a year into the occupation of the former British territories of Sarawak, Brunei, and British North Borneo – collectively referred to as Kita Boruneo or Northern Borneo – the Japanese had created several organizations and institutions as well as implemented policies. Daily life in Kita Boruneo was to a large extent far different from the pre-war period. The dire wartime situation of general deprivation and shortages of daily necessities brought forth the ingenuity of human creativity and resourcefulness. There were some quarters of society that came through the Japanese period or *masa Jipun* unscathed but shaken, while others underwent adversities and calamities. And no words could ever console those who had lost loved ones during these traumatic and trying times.

An atmosphere of fear

In line with Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) policy, a military government or *Gunseibu* was established to administer Kita Boruneo's five provinces (*shu*), which spanned over 210,100 square kilometers and were home to a diverse, multiethnic population of about 1 million. The headquarters of the Gunseibu was initially at Miri, the centre of the oil-producing area; later in mid-1942 it was shifted to Kuching, and in April 1944 it was moved to Api (Jesselton, present-day Kota Kinabalu).

An administration under military personnel and during a wartime period undoubtedly produced a tense, fearful and harsh situation to both ruler and ruled. The military authorities governed with an iron fist. The easy-going, laid-back, lackadaisical lifestyle of pre-war days swiftly disappeared and people became more alert, suspicious, and generally apprehensive and on tenterhooks. The *Kempei Tai* was literally 'everywhere'; its network of informers could be one's neighbour or a casual acquaintance or simply anyone who might report on your intransigencies. Notoriously violent, cruel and sadistic, the Kempei Tai sent shudders throughout the local community. Their modus operandi of 'torture preceding interrogation' was legendary and largely contributed to the general atmosphere of fear amongst the population.

Bowing to Japanese military personnel or to any Japanese was a commonplace socio-cultural practice from the Japanese perspective but it was a novelty amongst the local peoples.

> During the day any Japanese officer or soldiers who visited were greeted by the local people with a deep ninety degree bow and were called 'Tuan' [Sir]. Failure to follow these rules of respect would result in a sharp slap from the Japanese present.[1]

On recollection the following episode on bowing may appear comical but for those who lived then it must have seemed almost a life and death situation, and certainly not thought of as a cruel joke.

> Sometimes a [Japanese] sentry would walk around nearby for a breather and to stretch his tired feet and left the sentry box unattended. Members of the public who had got wiser would dutifully bow before the sentry box even if it seemed empty to be on the safe side![2]

The slap was a rude awakening to the careless; to the local people the bowing ritual ushered in a new era under a new regime.

But not everyone took a passive attitude in regards to slapping. Stephen Yong Kuet Tze (1921–2001), the first Sarawak-born lawyer, politician and Malaysian cabinet minister, bravely slapped a Japanese supervisor who was acting unreasonably towards a subordinate. When informed of a cancellation of a boat trip, the supervisor 'who was noted for his temper and propensity for using violence against his workers' became terribly angry.

> He burst into the office shouting 'Sabotage! Sabotage!'. The only proficient Japanese-speaking staff member was the diminutive and pale looking Wong Foo Siang who started to mumble a few words in Japanese, in a vain attempt to explain the cause of the problem. But before Foo Siang had a chance to complete his sentence, the Japanese supervisor slapped him. I [Yong] was standing nearby and became enraged at the sight of what happened. So I stepped over and without a word, gave an equally strong slap on the Japanese man's face. He was stunned for a moment. Then he raised his hand to strike me back. I was no match for him and so I stepped backwards to be out of his reach.[3]

Fortunately the Japanese general manager intervened and ordered the supervisor to leave the premises. However, Yong's action was certainly the exception.

Apart from slapping and the beastly antics of the Kempei Tai, the Japanese authorities, including the foot soldiers, would commit acts of violence towards civilians. The rough and harsh manner that Japanese soldiers treated civilians might be attributed to the former's peasant background and perhaps even to their own lowly status and a sense of inferiority complex; hence utilizing force on others compensated and gave them a boost of superiority.[4]

Economic policy

The Miri and Seria oil fields and refinery facilities at Lutong (11 kilometers north of Miri) were prime prizes that the Japanese sought to take over. Therefore, with the establishment of Kita Boruneo, the main preoccupation was oil exploitation for the war effort. Official guidelines to this end adhered to the following principles:

(a) The emphasis of resource development shall be on petroleum, and all matters necessary for this purpose shall be provided, including the priority allocation of funds, equipment, and the like.
(b) Petroleum enterprises shall initially be under direct military control but will be transferred to private management as soon as circumstances permit.
(c) The ease or difficulty of extraction and transportation shall be considered in selecting a suitable area for development; and special efforts shall be made for the extraction of aviation gasoline.
(d) The necessary installations for local oil production shall be restored, with due regard for both the condition of available facilities and the production situation in Japan and Manchuria.[5]

Notwithstanding the destruction of the oil installations several days prior to the Japanese landings, Allied aerial reconnaissance reported the functioning of the facilities at Miri, Seria and Lutong. Production was 1,200 barrels per day for the entire year of 1944. Moreover the revival of the Lutong refinery, based on Allied photographs in October 1944, was astounding.

> [aerial photographs] revealed the Japanese facilities as fourteen tanks with a total capacity of 600 000 barrels . . . approximately equal to the pre-war capacity of 650 000 barrels. . . . there was sufficient pipe available for three completely new lines three miles [about five kilometres] long . . . quite evident . . . that the lines had been repaired by the Japanese for almost 11 000 000 barrels of crude and fuel oil as well as approximately 4 600 000 barrels of finished refinery products were shipped from the area in the period July 1, 1943, to June 30, 1944.[6]

It seemed that the Japanese were able to recover and ship back to Miri-Lutong numerous vital equipment (including steam-driven pumping machines) and parts that were earlier brought to Singapore for safe-keeping. In fact postwar estimates stated that Miri and Seria produced 11 498 000 barrels during the entire occupation period of three and half years, an impressive achievement under wartime conditions.[7] Furthermore,

> The Japanese managed to build a third and more advanced distilling unit [at Lutong] which processed only 2,500 barrels a day but produced strategically vital lubricating oils. They were also able to repair the sabotaged [owing to denial operations] sea-loading lines more quickly than was thought possible

> in order to facilitate exports to Japan. In addition, by the end of the war they had almost completed a new 120 mile [192 kilometres] long pipeline from Seria to Muara where tankers could anchor with more safety than at Lutong. Five deep water pipeline jetties had also been constructed at Muara for the purpose. Hundreds of Javanese *romusha* (forced workers) were brought in to do the heavy work under the supervision of Japanese engineers.[8]

In fact, a Japanese report of September 1944 revealed how vital and important Kita Boruneo was in terms of oil supply to Japan's war effort: 'At present, almost the whole quantity of crude oil shipped to Japan proper is produced at this depot [Miri-Seria-Lutong]. The most abundant supply is ship oil fuel . . .'[9]

The Gunseibu permitted a Chinese company to continue exploiting gold in the auriferous area of Bau in Upper Sarawak with the proviso that all produce shall be delivered to the military administration. Mercury and antimony that had long been assumed to be exhausted (initial exploitation commenced in the 1820s until 1880s) were revived by a Japanese company. Some 20 tons of mercury, a strategic mineral in the armaments industry, was produced in 1943, together with 500 tons of antimony ore; both were sent back to Japan.[10] Production of coal was undertaken at Simunjan in the Middle Sadong, and at Brooketon (Muara Damit). Coal and coke from these two mines were sent to Java and Singapore.[11]

In the context of agriculture, the emphasis was on self-sufficiency in food crops (*padi* [rice], tapioca, sweet potatoes, maize, vegetables, etc.); it was in line with the statement that 'Efforts shall be made to attain virtual self-sufficiency in foodstuffs in every area.'[12] For instance, in Kuching-shu and also in other provinces, the Gunseibu managed agricultural stations as well as set up subsidized agricultural settlement schemes. The Agricultural Training Centre at Tarat on the 34th Mile Kuching-Simanggang Road was established in March 1942. This 40-hectare centre was a demonstration farm where a wide range of food crops were cultivated; the intention was to experiment with various crops to identify suitable varieties for large-scale production.[13] The Tarat Centre also ran a three-month agricultural course including Japanese language (*Nihon-go*) instruction. Complementing this agricultural centre was the establishment of vegetable farms on the outskirts of urban areas. For example, at Sekama, on the periphery of Kuching, a vegetable farm was started in April 1944 to supply the town's population with fresh greens. This government-supported vegetable farm concept was replicated in other areas, notably 'one just above [upstream] Lawas town, another a little above Trusan bazaar and a third on the Merapok River.'[14]

The Gunseibu organized several agricultural settlement schemes (also termed 'agricultural concentration') where farmer-settlers produced food crops that were purchased by the military government at pre-agreed fixed prices. Some 1,000 hectares on the Kuching-Simanggang Road was designated as agricultural settlements.[15] A wet-padi settlement scheme at Bijat in the Iban heartland attained unqualified success under the supervision of Eliab Bay, the Japanese-appointed Iban liaison officer at Simanggang.[16] In fact it was remarked that rice cultivation at Bijat had sustained Kuching during the lean years of occupation, when

there was acute shortages.[17] A 'grow-your-own-food' or 'Green Campaign' was greatly encouraged by the Japanese authorities, particularly amongst townspeople. Meanwhile farmers throughout the territory were instructed to increase food crop production; any recalcitrant tendency was met with force.[18]

Timber resources were another preoccupation of the Gunseibu, initially for building purposes (mainly at the oil installations) but from the later part of 1943 as the tide of war turned adversely for the Japanese, boat-building begun in earnest. Launches and small crafts were needed to ferry goods to ships anchoring off the coasts, hence large amounts of timber were sourced. Relying on local indigenous people, namely the Ibans and romusha, several logging operations were undertaken. Kaijee Kayoko, a Japanese company, operated a timber camp at Lundu to supply logs for a boat-building operation located at Sungai Priok, at the mouth of the Sarawak River.[19] Another Japanese concern, Nada Shiudan, ran a timber operation on the Sebuyau River, northeast of Kuching. Nomura Shoji Kaisha had timber camps in the lower Rejang at Sungai Lasat, some 48 kilometres upstream from Sibu, and another camp in the Upper Rejang at Seputin, upriver from Kapit.[20] Near Bawang Assan on the Lassa River there was a Japanese logging camp. Chinese sawmill owners at Sibu and Bintulu were instructed by the Japanese authorities to supply sawn timber for repairs at the oil fields as well as for boat-building.[21] Sawmills at Bintulu apparently produced some 4,000 tons of sawn timber during the occupation.[22]

Owing to the sparse and widely dispersed local population throughout Northern Borneo, the Gunseibu had little choice but to rely on romusha from abroad, namely China and Java, undertaken by Kita Boruneo Romukyokai (North Borneo Labour Business Society), established in May 1943. The nature, terms of contract, and well-being of Chinese and Javanese romusha were poles apart. For instance, while Chinese skilled workers (mainly carpenters) brought in from Shanghai and southern China (primarily from Guangzhou and Shantou) had wages that were ten-fold the amount paid to local workers, 'initially $10.80 per day with free board and lodging', Javanese labourers were given a daily wage of '50 cents for an 8 hour working day and 20 cents for every additional hour worked.'[23] Although the Javanese too were provided with board and lodging, they did not receive as good a treatment as the Chinese because the latter 'were skilled workers and the value of their labour in a strategically vital industry [namely boat-building in Kuching and Sandakan] meant that they were well treated and provided with good living conditions.'[24]

> Altogether, 12,000 Javanese ramusha were brought in . . . 2,700 of them being allocated to the oilfield at Miri, 4,800 to military works in [former British] North Borneo, 800 to earthworks in North Borneo, 400 to plantations in Sarawak and North Borneo, 1,500 in road-building in North Borneo and 1,150 to miscellaneous tasks elsewhere.[25]

Runaway inflation was pervasive during the Japanese occupation in various parts of occupied Southeast Asia and Kita Boruneo was equally adversely impacted.[26] Shortages in daily necessities and other goods and materials inflated prices and

that prompted the Japanese authorities to issue currency notes without adequate backing. The Gunseibu issued some $300,000 worth of new Sarawak currency.[27] In addition there was an influx of military scrip.

> Adding to the deflationary spiral was the further issue of military scrip to pay for goods and services and finance major development projects such as wooden boat and airfield construction. Thus at the end of 1943, the total currency in circulation in Sarawak had a face value of more than $28,000,000, about $13,000,000 more than had been in circulation in December 1941. More than $15,000,000 of it was military scrip, which suggests that much of the old [Sarawak and Straits] currency had already gone underground.[28]

The issuing of military scrip was in line with Japanese policy for the Southern Areas.[29]

In mid-1942 the Yokohama Shokin Ginko (Yokohama Specie Bank) assumed the premises of the Chartered Bank in Kuching, the sole Western banking establishment in pre-war Sarawak. Also present was the Japanese Southern Development Treasury, which opened an office to oversee investments throughout Kita Boruneo. At the same time two Japanese insurance companies, Tokyo Kaijo Kasai and Mitsubishi Kaijo Kasai, also started operations.

In regards to commerce and trade, the Gunseibu adopted the principle of assuming control over existing Chinese commercial organizations and distribution network.[30] Pragmatic Chinese *towkay* who readily cooperated were utilized to serve the needs of the Japanese military; others who were less willing were forcibly 'encouraged.' Accordingly, Japanese *zaibatsu* (large-scale business organizations) were brought in to undertake all commercial and trading activities. Through Mitsui Morin and Mitsui Bussan, the well-established zaibatsu Mitsui monopolized essential foodstuffs (rice, maize, tapioca, sweet potatoes and coconut oil) including purchase (at controlled prices) and distribution. Sago came under the purview of Mitsubishi's Tawao Sangyo. The zaibatsu often worked with Chinese bazaar shopkeepers as its agents. For instance, in Lawas, Soon-Teck Kongsi was the Japanese agent covering the entire district on Sarawak's northeast neighbouring Brunei.[31] Requisitioning of goods, particularly foodstuffs such as rice, from the indigenous peoples from their *kampung* (village) and longhouses was greatly resented; resistance, however, was fruitless and even foolhardy, as Japanese soldiers often accompanied the Chinese agent during visits. Hoarding of rice and other foodstuffs were not uncommon. However, harsh treatment, including brutal beatings, were meted to longhouses or kampung on suspicion of hiding foodstuffs. Undoubtedly the Chinese agent and the Japanese earned the hatred of the native population.

Scarcity of goods inevitably led to smuggling activities, which became rife owing to lucrative returns, despite the high risk involved, including death if apprehended or betrayed to the Japanese.[32] The black market flourished underground at a rate inversely proportionate to the monopolistic hold of the zaibatsu; the tighter the grip of the zaibatsu on goods, the higher the price they fetched on the black market.

Shortages in various daily necessities prompted adaptation and improvisation to produce substitutes.[33] Both sugar and salt were extracted from nipah palms

(*Nipa fruiticans*), which were found abundantly along the inland waterways. A mixture of mangrove ash and coconut oil produced soap. A surplus of sweet potatoes was converted into wine. The bark of the entenong tree, after soaking in water, was made into gunny sacks and ropes. In light of shortages the natives reverted to their traditional ways. For instance, instead of kerosene for lighting they fall back on dammar, the resin of trees (*Dipterocarp* and/or *Hopea* species) collected from the rainforest. In the absence of shotguns and cartridges[34] native hunters returned to lay *bubong* (traps) and *sumpit* (blowpipes). Old-style cures for ailments, where the spirits were invoked for assistance and guidance, were readily sought. Consequently the traditional 'medicine man' (*manang*) enjoyed a revival.

Despite wartime conditions and the Allied blockade the IJA succeeded to some extent in exploiting the natural resources, notably oil, to contribute to the imperial war effort. Shortages in foodstuffs and daily necessities in general were more acutely felt in urban areas than in the rural districts, where the indigenous inhabitants had long survived on subsistence farming, hunting and gathering of forest products and sea produce. On balance masa Jipun was not unduly harsh to the native inhabitants that comprised the majority of the overall population.

Socio-cultural policy

IJA policy on socio-cultural issues focused on the inculcation of Japanese values, world-views, and the inherent acceptance of Japan and the Japanese as the leading nation and the leaders of all Asia. The process of Japanization was adopted in all occupied territories to ensure that 'all things Japanese' replaced the hitherto 'glorification' and 'subservience' to the West. Hence pro-Japanese sentiments and loyalty were imbued amongst the multiethnic and diverse population in Kita Boruneo. The teaching and learning of the Japanese language (Nihon-go), the practice and rituals of emperor worship (*Tennō Heika*),[35] the inculcation of the Japanese spirit (*seishin*), promoting the benefits of the concepts 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' and 'Asia for Asians' were the notable socio-cultural activities that were propagated and impressed on the local population.

Denouncing the West, in particular the US and the UK, the backbone of the Allied powers was the norm and communal leaders and local personalities who condemned the pre-war colonial regimes – the Brookes of Sarawak, the British colonial advisers in Brunei, and the Chartered Company administrators of former British North Borneo – were considered patriotic individuals by the Gunseibu. Datu Pahlawan Abang Haji Mustapha (1906–1964), one of the prominent Sarawak Malay leaders in Kuching, delivered a fiery, anti-Western speech on the occasion of the first anniversary (5 September 1943) of the death of General Marquis Maeda Toshinari,[36] the first military commandant of the Borneo Garrison Army (Borneo Defense Force).

> Our ancestors were discontented under the British rule for the past century. The British received exorbitantly high salaries, their lowest being higher than

> the highest of the native inhabitants. All commercial enterprises, yielding high returns were monopolized by the British and the profits derived were remitted to England, thus leaving no funds for the development of North Borneo. The Anglo-American acted in a similar manner everywhere throughout East Asia. Although we were dissatisfied we obeyed them because we possessed no power to overthrow them. Japan, clearly understanding this situation, valiantly fought and expelled the Anglo-American powers from East Asia and is now constructing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Fortunately, North Borneo has been spared from protracted fighting and its people are at present supplied with sufficient food and work. Therefore they are extremely grateful to the Japanese Forces. The Japanese Forces are safe-guarding the whole of East Asia and will never fail to win victories. We must not be misguided by any propaganda from the enemy. We must not forget that the Japanese Forces, while fighting on the one hand, are constantly thinking of our welfare. We are praying for the prosperity of Japan and the brave fighting forces of Japan and fervently hope for the successful accomplishment of the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-[P]rosperity Sphere.[37]

Others, on the other hand, were more circumspect and did not readily bow to their new Japanese masters. Penghulu Jugah anak Barieng (*c.* 1903–1981), the Iban leader of the Upper Rejang, for instance, was astutely clever not to commit himself to either side in an on-going conflict where no one appeared to be the victors or the vanquished. Hence, as a contemporary observer recalled, 'He [Jugah] was forced to speak on behalf of the [Japanese] occupying forces, but his remarks were laced with subtleties and sarcasm about how much better the people were faring under the wartime conditions.'[38] Other leaders such Tun Datu Mustapha (1918–1995) of Kudat in former British North Borneo, instead of serving the Japanese, took flight. Almost 80 years of age, Kapitan China General Ong Tiang Swee (1864–1950), excused himself from public office and appearances citing his advanced age.[39]

It was with the promotion of Nihon-go, the Japanese language, that attempts at acculturation of the local inhabitants were concreted. Nihon-go classes were organized and instructed children as well as adults, utilizing the premises of the pre-war government Malay schools and rural mission schools throughout Kita Boruneo. 'In Lawas town', for instance, 'everyone went to school for two hours a day to learn the Japanese language' under instruction from 'Three teachers, one local Chinese, a local Malay and one Brunei Malay, [who] were trained in Brunei to teach all of the local people this new tongue.'[40]

In addition to acquiring a new language, the Japanese authorities also sought to inculcate Japanese values. Hence instruction in Japanese moral values, discipline, emperor-worship, physical exercise (*taisō*), history and geography of Imperial Japan comprised the main components in the school curricula. Seishin was promoted amongst the local youths. Rituals such as bowing (*saikeirei*) before a portrait of the Showa Emperor Hirohito (1901–1989) was mandatory for everybody. Each morning under the direction of their teacher school children sang the Japanese national anthem ('Kimi-ga Yo')[41] as they observed the raising of the Hinomaru, the

Rising Sun flag of Imperial Japan. Such ceremonies were replicated in all school compounds throughout occupied Northern Borneo.

The Gunseibu's policy towards religion was one of respect, tolerance and non-interference. Basically the non-interference stance avoided controversy and alienation by the local inhabitants to the new regime as the lack of knowledgeable personnel on Christianity, Islam and *adat* (custom or customary law) greatly handicapped the mainly Buddhist Japanese. Churches and mosques were allowed to function unmolested, and no action was taken to curtail native customary practices and beliefs.

Whatever the Japanese motive that prompted the distribution of rice to Muslim families in Sibu, the Muslim community as a whole 'did not subscribe to Japanese propaganda and did not publicly exhibit pro-Japanese sentiments' and generally 'were oblivious to Japanese rhetoric.'[42]

Socio-political policy

A Japanese intelligence document outlined a three-prong strategy for Kita Boruneo.

> For the present [1942] our policy in the development of [North Borneo] will be as follows: (a) . . . to use native princes as the instruments of military government, according to their former status and ability. (b) We must maintain the use of a part of the local vital resources, particularly oil, as reserve stocks. (c) The political power of the Chinese must be restricted as soon as possible.[43]

The second clause, on the exploitation of oil resources, has already been dealt with. The Japanese military sought to utilize the indigenous elite in the administration, a strategy to win over the support of the native population through their leaders. At the same time measures were taken to ensure that the Chinese be adequately suppressed. It was apparent that the Gunseibu differentiated its relationship with indigenous peoples and with the Chinese. The on-going conflict on the Chinese mainland where the IJA faced a tenacious opposition meant that the overseas Chinese, including those in Kita Boruneo, needed to be contained as they posed a threat to the new military regime.

The *datu* or non-royal chiefs in Sarawak and former British North Borneo retained their position at the apex of the social hierarchy of the Muslim community. Likewise, the ruler of Brunei, Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin (1924–1950) was allowed to remain on his throne as well as all the court officials and titled aristocracy. While some datu reluctantly cooperated with the Japanese military authorities, others were more than willing collaborators, as has been illustrated in the example of Datu Pahlawan Abang Haji Mustapha of Kuching. On the other hand, other native leaders, such as Tun Datu Mustapha of Kudat, sought various ways to avoid assisting the Japanese. While pressured by the Gunseibu to assume the *datu*-ship following the passing of his father, Datu Haji Harun, in mid-1942, he cited ignorance of settlements where he could recruit labour, and of transgressing his Islamic faith if he procured young girls for Japanese 'comfort stations' (military brothels).[44]

However, when his options became narrower and his position became untenable, he and his family fled to the Philippines, where he joined a guerrilla unit of the US Forces in the Philippines (USFP).

Malays of the *perabangan* class were retained as Native Officers, who hitherto were the indispensable assistants to European residents, assistant residents or district officers in dealing with indigenous communities.[45] But now the Malay Native Officer served the Japanese resident, assistant resident or district officer. Malays were also retained as police personnel. Likewise Malay civil servants continued in their bureaucratic duties serving Japanese 'Tuan' (Sir) and in return received their salaries as well as a weekly ration of rice.

The incorporation and elevation of educated Ibans in the military government was another example of translating the strategy of utilizing the native elite in practice. In January 1942, shortly after the cessation of hostilities, the Japanese appointed Eliab Bay, a mission-educated Iban, as native liaison officer for the territory in that in pre-war times was designated as the 'Second Division,' the heartland of the Ibans. As mentioned, Bay was instrumental in making a success of the Bijat rice cultivation scheme. Through his enviable position, he recommended other educated Ibans to appointments of authority as *guncho* or district officer. It was indeed an unprecedented development for the non-Muslim indigenous peoples. As pointed out, the pre-war regimes reserved the appointments of resident, assistant resident and district officer for Europeans, and Native Officer to Malays drawn mainly from the aristocratic class. Therefore, the elevation of Bay to a position almost equivalent to the status of a pre-war resident, and other Ibans as district officers, were unbelievable opportunities for non-Malay natives to gain invaluable hands-on experience in administration.[46]

There was no similar promotion of indigenous peoples, educated or otherwise, in former British North Borneo. Instead both the native chiefs (*Datu*, *Orang Kaya Kaya*) and village headmen (*Orang Tua*) had little choice but to cooperate with the Gunseibu. They were given the most unenviable 'responsibility of adjusting the requisition of the Japanese to the resources of the inhabitants of the villages.'[47] The Japanese authorities presented each native chief and village headman with a tin badge and a *surat kuasa* or letter of authority, and an allowance of ¥1 for expenses incurred when summoned to a meeting.[48]

In the case of the police, Subaltern Juing Insol was a prominent example. Juing, was a Saribas Iban, who, in an attempt to impress the Japanese, marched a party of Europeans in handcuffs along the main bazaar in Kuching to the Central Police Station. Similarly he rounded up Europeans in Betong and Simanggang in the early days of the war.[49] For his pro-Japanese behavior, 'Sub' Juing was promoted to a senior position in the police force, even allowed to fly a blue pennant from his car, and appeared in IJA uniform complete with sword.[50] He was instrumental in recruiting Balau Ibans for the Kyodotai (North Borneo Volunteer Corps).

When the tide of war shifted against Imperial Japan, several measures were implemented to gain support from the local population. In early June 1943 the *jikeidan* (literally 'vigilance corps') was organized to function as a band of vigilantes to supplement the police.[51] In urban areas the jikeidan operated in this manner.

> A leader is appointed for every group of ten households and a superior for every group of 30 households, 100 households, and so on. Householders are detailed to patrol the streets at night, to enforce blackout and other forms of A.R.P. [Air Raid Precaution] and to question strangers or suspects.[52]

In the coastal districts and in the interior the longhouse and the kampung were regarded as the jikeidan unit where the *tuai rumah* (head of longhouse) and the *ketua kampung* or orang tua (village head) were designated leaders respectively. The majority of native communities participated in the jikeidan for want of choice. Furthermore there was also the recruitment of natives to serve as naval ratings who wore an 'anchor insignia surrounded by a laurel wreath in red on the left arm and on their cloth caps.'[53]

On 10 October 1943 the Gunseibu constituted the North Borneo Volunteer Corps (*Kyodotai*), which formalized the recruitment of native youth for military training. Specifically aimed at indigenes – Dusuns, Malays, Bajaus, Sea Dyaks (Ibans), Land Dyaks (Bidayuhs) and Muruts – it was a strategy to utilize native manpower for the defence of Kita Boruneo in the event of the inevitable Allied assault (Table 6.1). The training offered to native youth was also aimed at making them agents to garner support for Japan's cause amongst their brethren. The kyodotai attempts

> . . . to train future village chiefs to accept the JAPANESE occupation, absorb JAPANESE ideals and ideas and work in harmony with the JAPANESE. After a two year course, trainees were to be returned to their kampongs as headmen, when they would be in a position to inculcate what they themselves had learned on [to] their villagers.[54]

The first part of the two-year course, which stretched across approximately six months was focused on military matters, mainly basic military training, that included 'drill, use of arms, aircraft recognition, infantry tactics and defence position training' as well as the 'three Rs.'[55] The second phase, which ran for 18 months, offered trainees 'specialist training in farming, building, sanitation, hygiene, field works and engineering and . . . understanding of communication.'[56]

The Gunseibu allowed the setting up of the Perimpun Dayak (Dayak Cooperative) in the early part of 1944. This youth organization was utilized by the Japanese as a

Table 6.1 North Borneo Volunteer Corps (Kyodotai)

Unit	*Number of Trainees*
Kuching Company	350
Sibu Company	300
Miri Company	180
Keningau Company	300
Sandakan Company	150
Total	1280

Source: 'North Borneo Volunteer Corps' (KYODOTAI), PRO WO 203/6317.

means to garner Iban and Bidayuh support as well as to inculcate loyalty and obedience among native youths to Imperial Japan. At the same time the pre-war Dayaks Co-operative that sought to assist native traders to bypass Chinese middlemen was resurrected and renamed Gerempong Dayak to function as a welfare organization. This community welfare organization collected money to assist native kyodotai recruits, and native teachers brought to towns for language (Nihon-go) training.[57]

A military decree dated 1 October 1943 demanded that prefectural advisory councils (*ken-sanji-kai*) were to be established by 8 December.[58] The background of this decree was Prime Minister Tojo Hideki's address of 16 June 1943 to the Imperial Diet, where he espoused the intention of encouraging natives in occupied territories to participate in politics hitherto discouraged.

> It is the purpose of the Empire at this time to move forward again and successively *adopt measures concerning the political participation of natives* during this year in conformity with the desire of the natives and in accordance with their various cultural levels.[59]

From its biannual meetings and 'advisory' role, it was apparent from the outset that the ken-sanji-kai that was set up in each prefecture of Kita Boruneo was a propaganda showcase to garner support from the indigenous people. In effect the decree of 1 October 1943 emphasized the fact that the 'right of participation' was a privilege for indigenes of Sarawak, Brunei and former British North Borneo; this 'right' was not given to 'the people from third countries', referring to Chinese and Indians. Henceforth indigenous people were expected to be grateful to Imperial Japan for considering them as 'superior' in status to the immigrant Chinese and Indians.

Each prefectural (*ken*) head appointed members drawn from the local indigenous elite such as *datu*, *temenggung*, *penghulu*, *pemanca*, *orang kaya*, and others as councilors (*sanji*).[60] Non-indigenes like Chinese were appointed as *rinkji sanji* or special councilors. Each appointment was accompanied by the presentation of a medal of honour at an installation ceremony. All these formalities were aimed at elevating the status of the native elite and providing them with a sense of importance in line with the directive of 5 December 1942 issued by the vice-minister of the Army to ensure that 'their [local elites] prestige should be enhanced above their colonial experience.'[61] In order to preserve the dignity of Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin of Brunei, he held the position of an honorary *sanji*, which was symbolically and protocol-wise higher than the sanji. During its meetings the ken-sanji-kai discussed a host of issues that included increasing production of food crops (especially padi), the problems of escalating food prices, education and other local concerns.[62]

The Japanese were aware of the general political inertness of the Chinese communities in former British Borneo especially those in Sarawak where there was a sizeable number of local-born as against China-born Chinese. Although overall a dwindling number of the Chinese continued to maintain familial ties with the mainland, their relations were at best weak. Nonetheless with few exceptions the Chinese communities throughout Northern Borneo contributed to the pre-war

China Relief Fund and the British Spitfire Fund, monetary contributions to support the war effort of the Nationalist Chinese and the British respectively. Since the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War in mid-1937, there was a stirring of political consciousness within the Chinese communities. The setting up of the China Relief Fund awakened in many their ties with the ancestral motherland. Activists for the fund invoked patriotism and argued that despite not being on the mainland all overseas Chinese, including those in remote Borneo, were duty-bound and morally obligated to support China's struggle against Japan. In other words it became every Chinese individual's patriotic responsibility. In some quarters, for instance, even prior to the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, the Chinese members of the Sandakan Recreation Club began celebrating the birthday of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.[63] The local Chinese media – newspapers and radio – also took on the responsibility of garnering support for China, and in turn fanned the flames of anti-Japanese feelings amongst the Chinese that hitherto did not harbour any pronounced feeling towards Japan and/or the Japanese.

Understandably the Chinese were the only ethnic group in Northern Borneo that was consciously aware and at the same time highly weary of an imminent war that would engulf Borneo in which Japan was the enemy. In the event of a Japanese invasion and occupation of Borneo, the Chinese were convinced that they alone would be the main focus of any Japanese suppression. The 'Rape of Nanjing' remained fresh in the minds of the community.

Therefore when the Japanese occupied Borneo the Chinese who comprised the bulk of the urban population fled their homes to rural areas as a means of avoiding the Japanese enemy. Chinese males sought to avoid being forced into labour gangs while the women shuddered at the thought of being raped and/or recruited as comfort women to service the Japanese forces. Consequently two trends developed. Girls of marriageable age were hurriedly married off, which led to a 10 percent increase in population for the Kuching area during this period.[64] The second occurrence was the 'fright-and-flight' response, which witnessed an exodus of a third to as high as half of the Chinese population of Kuching leaving for the interior and the coastal districts, such as Santubong, where they lived off the land.[65]

Partly owing to the fact that overall there was no opposition to the Japanese invasion and occupation throughout Northern Borneo, particularly from the Chinese, coupled with the background of the political inertness of the Chinese community in the three territories, there were no massive campaigns of flushing out suspected anti-Japanese elements amongst the population. Unlike in Malaya, where shortly after establishing military authority the IJA went on a mass 'purification through elimination' (the infamous *sook ching* process) of practically the entire Chinese community, focusing in particular on Singapore and Penang, Kita Boruneo was spared this horrific mass murder in cold-blood scenario.[66] But the Chinese in Northern Borneo did not escape the imposition of *shu-jin*, meaning 'life-redeeming money,' or simply, 'blood money', which amounted to Straits $50 million in the case of their Malayan brethren.[67] As a means to atone their pre-war 'sins' against Japan, namely lending support to the Chongqing regime, the Chinese of Kita Boruneo were forced to contribute Straits $2 million allocated as per Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Shu-jin contribution of the Chinese community of Kita Boruneo

Community	*Amount of Forced Contribution (Straits $)*
Kuching	900,000
Sibu	700,000
Miri	300,000
Jesselton (West Coast)	600,000
Sandakan (East Coast)	500,000
Total	*2,000,000*

Sources: Reece, *The Name of Brooke*, pp. 144-5; Ooi, *Rising Sun Over Borneo*, p. 58; and, Wong, *The Chinese of Sabah*, pp. 146–7.

The shu-jin monetary demand was in line with a policy directive issued in April 1942 by Military Administration Headquarters that specifically cited the amount ($50 million) for the entire Chinese community of Malaya.[68] Although no specific amount was stated for Kita Boruneo, the aforesaid $2 million and its distribution was undoubtedly realistically decided by the local commander relative to the economic background of the local Chinese communities.

The task of collecting the demanded shu-jin funds fell ironically to the pre-war members of the China Relief Fund, who, had to go among their brethren to secure the extortionate amount of money in pre-war currency. It was an onerous responsibility where failure or reluctance to deliver meant further incarceration, torture, or even death. The Gunseibu created the Kakeo Kokokai (United Overseas Chinese Association) by forcibly combining all Chinese associations (dialect, district, clan, surname, etc.) under this single umbrella organization. Although operating under various names, counterparts of the Kakeo Kokokai were established in major urban centres, where most of the Chinese resided.[69] This association to some extent lent assistance to the shu-jin collection.

The small Indian community of Kuching, mainly from a mercantile background, was courted by the Gunseibu to join and support the Indian Independence League (IIL), and enlist in its military arm, the Indian National Army (INA). Notwithstanding the visit of Subhas Chandra Bose (1897–1945), the 'Netaji' to Kuching on 13 December 1943, few Indians lent their support. Similarly Indians who once served the pre-war Chartered Company's administration in former British North Borneo rejected involvement in both IIL and/or INA. Despite repeated harsh treatment of members of the 2nd/15th Punjab incarcerated as prisoners of war (POWs) at the Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp, Kuching the majority were unwavering in their loyalty to the British.[70]

'Comfort women'

In Kita Boruneo there was little doubt that the IJA-established military brothels (*ianjo*) euphemistically referred to as 'comfort stations' where inmates styled 'comfort women' (*ianfu*) catered to the sexual needs of both officers and other ranks. Women were brought over for prostitution from various parts of the

Imperial Japanese Empire, notably Korea, Taiwan, China and Java. Local native and Chinese women also served in the military brothels; like the foreign women, the majority of local 'comfort women' were forcibly recruited. Lena Ricketts, a Eurasian nurse in Kuching, spoke of four local women who acted as procurers of local girls for the Japanese: 'They were seventeen- and eighteen-year old girls from good homes. After the women [procurers] forced their parents to hand them over, they were put straight into the brothels . . . under the charge of a Japanese woman and not allowed to go out.'[71]

Japanese soldiery, including Korean and Taiwanese camp guards of the Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp, were given their periodic ration of 'Yoshiwara,'[72] visitations to the local military brothel. As inmates of official brothels received regular health-screening by military medical personnel, any soldier found with venereal disease must have sought non-brothel women, hence would be severely punished. The better-known military brothels are shown in Table 6.3.

The constant fear of young women being forced to serve as prostitutes was the main reason behind the many hurriedly arranged wartime marriages common amongst Chinese families. On the other hand there were cases of native women who willingly cohabited with Japanese, usually those from the higher ranks in the Gunseibu, mainly for material gains.

Life behind the wire

The Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp, sited about five kilometres to the southwest of Kuching, became 'home' to all Europeans, with the notable exception of Axis Power nationals (Germans and Italians) and citizens of neutral nations (Swiss), throughout the duration of the war. Colonial administrators, employees of private firms, missionaries, schoolteachers, medical staff and their families who were forcibly rounded up or voluntarily surrendered subsequently ended up at Batu Lintang.

Batu Lintang was the biggest POW and civilian internment facility in Borneo. It was opened in August 1942 and closed in September 1945. Smaller incarceration centres, in fact branches of Batu Lintang, were established at Labuan, Sandakan (later shifted to Ranau), Berhala Island and Banjarmasin.

As a result of a meeting between Chartered Company officials and the Japanese military at Beaufort in mid-January 1942, the resident at Api (Jesselton; present-day Kota Kinabalu) was requested to continue the civil administration on the west coast and the commandant of the Constabulary to maintain law and order.[73] The status quo continued until 16 May 1942, when the Japanese assumed control and the European officials were rounded up and interned. Officials on the east coast at Sandakan, the then administrative centre of the Chartered Company government, were immediately apprehended when the IJA seized the town on 19 January, and interned on Berhala Island, the former leprosy camp. Later the internees were moved to Batu Lintang. Meanwhile in Sarawak instruction to remain at their post was generally abided by all European Brooke officers except those in the Third

Table 6.3 Military brothels (Ianjo) of Kita Boruneo

Premises	*Inmates*[*]	*Clientele*
Brunei		
Chung Wah School, Kuala Belait	Korean & Taiwanese	All ranks
Sarawak		
Miri	Korean & Taiwanese[†]	All ranks
Recreation Club, Seria	Korean & Taiwanese	All ranks
BCL manager's bungalow, Kuching	Korean & Japanese	Japanese other ranks[†]
Chung Wah School, Pig Lane, Kuching	Korean & Japanese	All ranks
St Mary's School hostel, Kuching	Korean & Japanese	All ranks
Chan family mansion, Tabuan Rd, Kuching	Korean, Japanese, Javanese	Japanese officers
Happy Garden, Sibu	Korean, Taiwanese, locals	All ranks
Former British North Borneo[§]		
Wu Kui Chan, Jesselton	Japanese, Chinese, Javanese	All ranks
All-Saints Church, Jesselton	Japanese, Chinese, Javanese	All ranks
Carmelite Convent, Jesselton	Japanese, Chinese, Javanese	All ranks
Basel Mission Church, Jesselton	Japanese, Chinese, Javanese	All ranks
School building, Ridge Rd, Jesselton	Japanese, Chinese, Javanese	All ranks
Harrington Road, Jesselton	Japanese, Chinese, Javanese	All ranks
Smith Road, Jesselton	Japanese, Chinese, Javanese	All ranks
Sai Siung Lou, Sandakan	Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese All ranks	
Sin Sheng Hwa, Sandakan	Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese All ranks	

Notes:
* All brothels had some local native and Chinese women as prostitutes
† Other smaller towns such as Lawas also had Korean & Taiwanese prostitutes
‡ 'Japanese other ranks' excluded Taiwanese (Formosan) and Korean personnel, mainly functioning as guards at the Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp, Kuching
§ Japanese-established brothels were also found in Beaufort, Keningau, and Ranau, where there were Japanese garrisons
BCL = Borneo Company Ltd

Sources: Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 93–5; Wong, *The Chinese of Sabah*, pp. 152–3; p. 48. Porritt, 'More Bitter than Sweet', p. 48; and, Howes, *In A Fair Ground*, p. 148.

Division, where the resident and his officers fled inland but were subsequently captured or surrendered and brought to Kuching as internees.[74]

In a twist of events, the Batu Lintang barracks of the 2nd/15th Punjab became the prison of surrendered members of the regiment brought back to Kuching from Pontianak. Dutch military personnel and civilians from former Dutch Borneo were rounded up and held at Banjarmasin and other smaller prison camps; subsequently they too were transferred to Batu Lintang.

The number of POWs and civilian internees fluctuated. In its early period, from August 1942 to about April 1943, there were close to 4,000 POWs: 1,500

Australian and 2,250 British, mainly transported from Singapore's Changi, and 300 Dutch and Indonesian transferred from Pontianak, West Borneo. In January 1943 Batu Lintang had 94 males and 266 female internees of which 179 were Catholic nuns. Shortly more civilian internees arrived from former British North Borneo. At the time of liberation by Australian forces in September 1945, there were 2,024 inmates comprising POWs and civilian internees (men, women and children).[75] However, the September 1945 issue of *Table Tops*, the newspaper of the Australian Military Forces, offered the following statistical data, as quoted by an ex-POW of Batu Lintang.

> The fate of the Allied P.O.W.'s in the Kuching area [Batu Lintang] alone is believed to be – dead 2,808; missing (probably dead) 382; alive 1,387. (This [last mentioned] figure included all internees and military personnel.)[76]

Another internee offered the following 'official figures'.

Prisoners & Internees in Borneo during the war	4,660
Known to have died	2,896
Missing and presumed dead	382
Alive in Kuching area [Batu Lintang]	1,387[77]

An eight-kilometer perimeter of barbed wire surrounded the entire Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp, within which different categories of inmates were segregated into wired-in compounds. Reverend Peter Howes, Anglican priest of St James's Church, Quop, a former inmate, offers this description of Batu Lintang.

> Groups of huts were separated into 'Compounds' by barbed-wire aproned fencing, and the whole 'Compound' area was encircled by double fencing between which ran a path. Along this path, at strategic intervals, were watch towers with a guard in each, and the whole path was patrolled. An outer perimeter fence enclosed the whole Camp area, the land between the outer and inner perimeter fences being, at a later stage, cleared and cultivated.[78]

The various compounds were allocated to: Australian officers and NCOs; British officers; British other ranks; Indian Army (members of the 2nd/15th Punjab); Dutch and Indonesia civilians; Dutch Roman Catholic clergy; civilian male internees; women and children internees.

Altogether there were no more than 120 military personnel serving at Batu Lintang. The camp commandant was Major (later lieutenant colonel) Suga Tatsuji, assisted by Lieutenant (later captain) Nagata, who assumed control in the absence of Suga, Lieutenant Ojema, the camp administrator, 'Doctor' Yamamoto as the camp's medical practitioner, quartermaster Lieutenant Takino and Lieutenant Watanabe, who was in charge of administrative and bureaucratic matters. The camp guards were mostly Koreans and Formosans (Taiwanese).[79]

Like all Japanese internment camps during the Pacific War, Batu Lintang had its stories of the struggle for survival against adversities and death that came in various forms and disguises: food shortages, malnutrition, diseases and sickness, unsanitary living conditions, being overworked as 'white coolies' on military installations (notably repairing airfields and as stevedores at the Kuching port), and ill treatment from sadistic and psychopathic guards.[80] Nonetheless human ingenuity and resourcefulness under trying conditions was demonstrated.

News of the development of the war in Asia and Europe were camouflaged by propaganda and blatant black-out, heresies and rumours. Having a radio meant access to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) or its Australian and American counterparts, which offered the Allied version of events, which in turn inevitably offered hope of salvation. The Japanese were steadfast in ensuring that the local population and those at Batu Lintang did not have access to Allied news sources through newspapers and/or radio.

Against all odds a small group of British POWs under instruction from their commanding officer, clandestinely built a short-wave radio together with a generator to power its operation from scraps sourced from various quarters including from the Japanese stores.[81] The camp-built wireless set was codenamed 'The Old Lady' (and also 'Mrs Harris') and its companion, the generator, was called 'Ginnie'. Over a period of several months, under the very noses of the Japanese commandant and the camp guards, and while unannounced inspection that involved the ransacking of the inmates' sleeping quarters were commonplace, the small group of radio operators ('Board of Directors') successfully concealed their activities. News of Allied successes from 'The Old Lady' was conveyed through coded speech; the camp padre utilized analogies drawn from the Christian Bible to deliver 'news' at services during burial for the departed at 'Boot Hill', the camp cemetery. Other means include the following ingenious strategy of disseminating news.

> One of them gave a summary of the news through the wire to [R.G.] Aikman, who stored it in his photographic memory. He then, once a week, relayed this, visiting each hut in turn. The relay was carefully organized so that members walking up and down on the parade ground remained constant, trickles of the informed replacing those who strolled off to be informed.[82]

The accomplishment of these POWs defied imagination and bravery. The climax of the whole episode was played out on 5 September 1945, when Australian troops liberated Batu Lintang.

> Now the peak performance of the day was about to be witnessed. The Australian Commander, Major General [Thomas] Eastick, a huge man by any standards, mounted the rostrum and after accepting the sword of surrender from Suga was about to dismiss him when a shout, rising simultaneously from the throats of the Board of Directors of the 'Old Lady' and 'Ginnie' stopped the proceedings.
>
> 'Hold on, we have something to show you.'

Carrying the radio and the generator Len [Corporal Leonard Alexander Thomas Beckett] proudly showed them to the General and turning to Suga, asked, 'Well, what do you think about it Suga?'

Now I know the full meaning of the saying 'If looks could kill,' Len would have died a horrible death.[83]

7 Minami Boruneo

Former Dutch Borneo, namely the southern and western parts of the island, and what is present-day Indonesia's Kalimantan, came under the control of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) in the early months of 1942. This territory was collectively referred to as Minami Boruneo (Southern Borneo). Assuming control from the IJA, the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) then put in place a civilian administration, Borneo Minseibu, with its headquarters at Banjarmasin. Establishing a civilian instead of a military administrative set-up was in line with the policy of 'permanent retention', which incorporated Minami Boruneo as an integral part of the Imperial Japanese Empire. The Pontianak area of western Borneo, however, only came under IJN authority in mid-1942 after the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of IJA units. Generally IJN administration was characteristically harsh, repressive and paranoid of any political activity. Overall 'The Japanese employed scarcity, enforced ignorance, and terror to control the population.'[1] Although referring to occupied western Borneo it typified the overall pattern throughout Minami Boruneo.

'Welcoming the Japanese'

In contrast to the large numbers of troops that landed at Miri and later entered Kuching in Sarawak, the IJA invasion force of Southern Borneo was a trickle. For instance, only three Japanese soldiers entered Amuntai, where they shot the Dutch *adspirant controleur* (junior inspector) and two native policemen at the Paliwara bridge and threw their bodies into the river. Later five other soldiers came and the early arrivals headed south towards Banjarmasin.[2]

Unlike the benign rule of the Brooke regime and the Chartered Company administration, colonial Dutch rule was less acceptable to the indigenous people, notably the Banjar Malays and the Dayaks, and to a lesser extent the Chinese. To the indigenes of Southern Borneo, the Japanese were seen as liberators from Dutch colonial rule. Bolstered by Japanese propaganda, radio play of 'Indonesia Raya', the nationalist anthem that was proscribed by the Dutch, and amplifying slogans such as 'Asia for the Asians,' and 'Japan the Light of Asia', the natives were favourable and supportive of a Japanese occupation. In fact locals acted as guides to the IJA through some areas.[3] For example, M. Yus'a, a native of Banjarmasin,

acted as a guide to the IJA that came from Balikpapan, leading them through Muara Uya, Tanjung, Kelua, Pasar Arba, Haur Gading, Palimbangan, Amuntai, Kandangan, Rantau and onwards to Banjarmasin.[4] Most of the towns – Barabai, Kandangan, Rantau, Martapura – literally opened their 'doors' to welcome the invasion force. There were even welcoming ceremonies staged by members of the pre-war political party, Partai Indonesia Raya (Parindra) under the direction of Rusbandi, Hadhariyah M. and Anang Acil.[5]

Nonetheless the various pockets of Chinese communities, mainly in western Borneo, were well aware of the Japanese and of the exploits of the IJA on mainland China since the onset of the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945). The Chinese were conscious of their community's vulnerability, and the high probability of them being targeted by the Japanese. Fear reigned among the Chinese.

The interim period between the collapse of Dutch colonial authority and the establishment of a Japanese administration was chaotic and an opportune time for looters. Amidst the smoke emitting from scorched-earth activities undertaken by the Dutch colonial authorities just prior to the arrival of the Japanese invasion force, there were incidences of looting that mainly targeted Chinese shophouses, stores and godowns, and abandoned residences of Dutch colonial officials and businessmen. Chinese businesses suffered the most from such wanton behavior and lawlessness. Some of the towkay fled to the outskirts with their families to get away from the violence during the interregnum.

The interregnum also witnessed the setting up of transitional governmental bodies. *Kiai* or *Districthoofd* (District Officers) were ordered by the Japanese to remain in their positions and carry on administration in their districts. But not all office holders remained at their posts. As a result the Japanese established transitional governmental bodies. In Banjarmasin local leaders constituted the Central Pimpinan Pemerintah Cipil (PPC) (Central Leaders of Civil Government) headed by Dr Sosodoro Djatikusumo, who assumed the pre-war position of Resident (shucho).[6] Counterparts of PPC under various names with diverse membership sprouted in other districts. These newly convened PPC bodies rejected the pre-war instruments of governance and consciously demonstrated the beginning of a new era.[7] Once a Japanese form of administration was in place, however, these transitional governmental bodies were dissolved.

'Permanent retention'

> The occupation areas where the Navy shall act as principal administrative authority shall be directed toward their *permanent retention* under Japanese control. To this end, administrative and other policies shall [be] so devised as to facilitate the organic integration of the entire region into the Japanese Empire. [14 March 1942][8]

> When considered suitable as Imperial territory, *areas of strategic importance* which must be secured by the Empire for the defense of Greater East Asia, as

> well as *sparsely populated areas* and regions lacking the capacity for independence, shall be incorporated into the Empire. Administrative systems for each area shall be determined with due consideration for traditions, cultural levels, and other factors. [14 January 1943][9]

The policy of *eikyū senryū*, or permanent occupation, was clearly laid out in the early part of 1942 and reiterated in the beginning of 1943. In accordance to this policy, a system of civil administration was established, staffed with professional Japanese civil servants. 'The actual execution of this policy,' however, according to Admiral Shibata Yaichiro, commander-in-chief of the Second Southern Expeditionary Fleet at Surabaya, 'differed remarkably in each region according to the mood of the Indonesians [local populace] in the area and the personalities of the military [IJN] leaders.'[10] Minami Boruneo fit perfectly the requirements of 'areas of strategic importance', namely the oil-producing areas of Tarakan and Balikpapan, and 'sparsely populated areas,' a population of roughly 2 million spread over a vast area of 543,900 square kilometers.

As the territory was incorporated as part of the Japanese empire it was therefore imperative that 'care shall be exercised *not to encourage nationalist movement*.'[11] Consequently the Borneo Minseibu became highly distrustful and suspicious of any political activities, subversive or otherwise, among the local populace.

Economic policy

According to a document titled 'Outline of Economic Policies for the Southern Areas (*Nampō keizai taisaku yōkō*)', dated 16 December 1941 and revised on 29 May 1943, there were two stages, primary and secondary, in the implementation of economic policies.

> (1) Primary policies
>
> a. Emphasis shall be placed on the acquisition of resources, particularly those essential to the prosecution of the war.
> b. Every effort shall be made to prevent the outflow of indigenous resources from the Southern areas [Southeast Asia] to enemy nations.
> c. In acquiring resources, strenuous efforts shall be made to secure the full cooperation of existing enterprises in order to reduce the burden on the economy of the Empire to the absolute minimum.
>
> (2) Secondary policies
>
> To hold to the objective of completing the economic self-sufficiency of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and to work for its permanent consolidation.[12]

In the context of Minami Boruneo the development of the oil and petroleum industry was the main priority. Focus was on the resuscitation of the oil fields and refinery installations at Tarakan and Balikpapan, which were damaged

owing to scorched-earth denial schemes carried out by the Bataafsche Petroleum-Maatschappij (BPM) under direction from the colonial Dutch authorities prior to the Japanese invasion and occupation. The 101st Naval Fuel Depot set out to revive the oil resources of East Borneo.[13] As the IJN lacked petrochemical specialists and engineers, experts were conscripted from private petroleum companies in Japan. The main task undertaken during the wartime period was rehabilitation; no new oil fields were struck.

Despite massive destruction of the oil fields and refineries shortly before the seizure of Balikpapan on 24 January 1942, IJN sources were claiming within a year that all oil wells had been rehabilitated. Towards the end of 1944 Allied reconnaissance aerial photographs confirmed the Japanese claims. Allied intelligence reports showed that by August 1943 Balikpapan refineries were operating at 30–50 per cent capacity; the main refinery at Pandansari was clearing 150,000 barrels of crude oil each month, and by November 1944, the collective storage capacity at Balikpapan had exceeded slightly over 1 million barrels, an increase of 20 per cent from 1943.[14] Thanks to Japanese engineers docking berths at Balikpapan were repaired, therefore facilitating the export of oil to Japan and also Java. The importance of Borneo oil was revealed in a Japanese report of September 1944 that placed in perspective the Miri-Seria source in comparison to Balikpapan's.

> In view of the favourable geographical position and the quantity of the crude oil [produced by Kita Boruneo], Japan is inclined to rely on this depot [Miri-Seria-Lutong] . . . [that] would be the main crude oil supply and storage base when oils of other areas, particularly Balikpapan, cannot be obtained.[15]

The vulnerability of Balikpapan and Tarakan owed to the anticipated Allied assault on the east coast of Borneo that gained momentum from the latter half of 1944, hence the reliance on the Miri-Seria output.

Unlike the commendable achievements in the oil and petroleum sector, attempts at steel production from iron ore sourced from Minami Boruneo were not successful. The areas where there were chrome-red iron ore deposits included Sungei Dua, Sebuku Island and Swangi Island, which had a estimated collective deposit of slightly more than 70 million tons. Peleihari alone possessed hematite iron, with an estimated reserve of one million tons as well as 10 million tons of red iron ore.[16] Two Japanese companies, Nihon Seitetsu (Japan Steel) and Ishihara Sangyo (Ishihara Industry), were in 1942 tasked to manufacture steel utilizing charcoal in lieu of coking coal, which was unavailable. Despite the completion of one furnace in March 1943, no steel was actually produced from this charcoal furnace. In Balikpapan, a small amount of rolling and thin steel plate was manufactured utilizing scrap iron left behind by the denial schemes from the oil refinery.[17]

But whether it was iron or oil, priority was for the war effort and the military took possession of these resources that were 'essential to the prosecution of the war.' The civilian population were even denied kerosene for cooking purposes.

The flow of daily necessities such as salt, cigarettes, soap, matches and the likes that hitherto were imported from Java and Sulawesi and other neighbouring

areas trickled into Southern Borneo owing to Allied assault on shipping in the Java Sea.[18] In line with its self-sufficiency policy in terms of food supply and materials for the war by local military units, a campaign was undertaken to ensure that local food crop cultivation was adequate for IJN personnel, civilian administrators and the general population in this order of priority. At the same time IJN enforced a monopoly over all production and local farmers were subjected to forced deliveries of all their agricultural produce. Severe punishment awaited those who refused or dragged their feet in terms of subjecting to Japanese demands.

Japanese companies entered and subsequently dominated the local wartime economy, where they were given monopoly over specific goods and its trade. By 1943 several Japanese firms were actively involved, as shown in Table 7.1.

Meanwhile, several industries were established to supply the wartime economy and meet local demand; manganese plant and steel mills (Tarini near Pelaihari), paper mills (Sungai Bilu, Banjarmasin), textile factories (Muara Kelayan, Banjarmasin), ceramics factories (Rantau), and rubber oil plants (Kandangan).[19] Owing to shortages rubber was used as fuel (rubber oil as a substitute for benzene and diesel fuel for vehicles), as tyres (Kayu Bawang in Barabai), as rubber shoes (Amuntai), and condoms (Teluk Tiram in Banjarmasin). The latter was undertaken by Nomura, where its factory produced 3,000 condoms per day; the bulk was reserved for the military.[20] As mentioned in Chapter 6, soap was made from mangrove ash mixed with coconut oil. Apparently the soap produced by Antara Sukei, owned by H.M. Yakub Amin, was of a higher grade than the soap from Chinese manufacture. Sugar and salt were extracted from the versatile nipah (*Nipa fruiticans*) palm. Koonan Kaiyoon constructed ships and boats for sea and river travel at its plant at Telaga Biru, Banjarmasin, whereas Toyota focused on land vehicles.

There were also other Japanese companies, such as Eigasha, that dealt with film and filming whilst Borneo Shimbunsha published *Borneo Simboen*,[21] a daily newspaper that carried news broadcast in romanized *Bahasa Indonesia*[22] and Japanese characters. *Kumiai*, commercial associations or consortiums, were created for the dual function of monopolizing the trade and distribution of essential goods, and enforcing forced deliveries from local producers, especially of rice.

The movement of people and goods were highly restricted. Rice, in particular, the staple of the local population, was forbidden for trade or to be transported from one district to another; in the event of discovery, the entire rice contraband would be seized and capital punishment served on the smugglers. Shortage in rice was aggravated further by the failure of the 1943–1944 harvest, a fact concealed by the Borneo Minseibu. Instead farmers were instructed to grow legumes, potatoes, cassava, sago and other food crops as rice substitutes.[23] Any vacant land was converted for food crop production, including the cultivation of vegetables and the rearing of chickens, ducks, and pigs.

The financial and capital backers of the aforesaid enterprises were Japanese banks such as Taiwan Ginko and Shoomin Ginko, which replaced the Javasche Bank and Bank Rakyat (Peoples' Bank) respectively. Pre-war Dutch guilders were

Table 7.1 Participation of Japanese Kaisha in Minami Boruneo, *c*. 1943

Kaisha (Company/Firm)	*Product/Material/Trade Goods*
Mitsui Bussan Kaisha	sugar
Mitsubishi Kabushiki Kaisha	timber
Toyo Menka Kaisha	textile
Nomura Teindo Kabushiki Kaisha	rubber; timber
Borneo Suisan Kabushiki Kaisha	fisheries
Oji Seizi Kabushiki Kaisha	paper manufacture
Borneo Shosensho Kabushiki Kaisha	boat-building
Toyota Kabushiki Kaisha	motorized vehicles
Kasen Ongkookai	river transport
Koonan Kaiyoon	shipping

Source: Ramli Nawawi, *Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 18.

withdrawn; the paper currency of the Javasche Bank disappeared from the market place and went underground only to re-surface in the flourishing black market. The Japanese-issued paper currency featuring texts in Bahasa Indonesia flooded the market in the thousands, resulting in their depreciated value. The occupation currency was used for the locally sponsored lottery as well as for Asuransi Jiwa Bumiputera (Native Life Insurance) schemes, which were both actively promoted among the indigenous population.[24]

Labour for the various enterprises was dependent on convicts and conscripted labourers (*romusha*) from the local population (Banjar Malays and Dayaks) as well as from imported Javanese workers. For instance, Nomura Teindo Kabushiki Kaisha controlled a 10-kilometre stretch along the Barito River where hundreds of romusha labored to produce timber logs. In the Tapin district near Rantau a man-made 'river,' named Sungai Jepang ('Japanese River') facilitated the expansion of the area of rice cultivation that was accomplished through the sweat of romusha.[25] In other parts, for instance at Barabai, the local villagers were instructed to divert river flow through *gotong rojong* or *kinrohosi*, a traditional form of collective self-help, for irrigating the rice fields.

Socio-cultural programmes

The socio-cultural programme that was formulated for Minami Boruneo and in all IJN-controlled territories focused on the process of Japanization (*Nipponization*). The crux of this acculturation and assimilation process was through imposing the learning of the Japanese language (*Nihon-go*) among the peoples of occupied territories and the introduction and implementation of a wholly Japanese system of education. The following extract appeared in a confidential paper of the Ministry of the Navy dated 14 March 1942 under the heading 'Education', at a time when Japan's Imperial Empire was at its zenith.

> The major emphasis in education shall be placed on technical education for the present. By taking advantage of the prestige resulting from our military

> victories and the native hostility toward former [Western] colonial powers, the European-type education previously provided the inhabitants shall be revised, and the dissemination of Japanese language and culture shall be undertaken.[26]

In line with the fundamental policy of permanent possession in the IJN-occupied areas both the civil and military authorities were committed to the Japanization process and steadfast in its implementation. In mid-1944 Yamazaki Iwao, the second Minseifu Sokan after Okada Fumihide's return to Japan, reiterated this commitment and belief.

> The object of education, based upon the fundamental policy of the Navy controlled areas, is to gradually Japanized the natives . . . The diffusion of the Japanese language in towns and villages will result in the unwitting Japanization of their lives . . .[27]

A further emphasis on this point came from a report of September 1944 by Suzuki Seihei, head of the education section of the Lesser Sundas Minseibu at Bali and a staunch believer of the 'ultimate righteousness of Imperial Japan.' Although referring to the situation in the Lesser Sundas, Suzuki's comments were applicable throughout IJN-occupied territories, including Minami Boruneo.

> Education should be concentrated upon Japanization [through] . . . the teaching of the Japanese language, Japanese traditions, Japanese gymnastics, Japanese singing, discipline, ceremonies and celebrations. [The aim of education was to] tame [the natives to] think, feel and act like Japanese East Asians.[28]

Education had as its core objective control and domination. Okada spelt this out in plain, undisguised language.

> From the outset we have placed a ban on professional teachers who simply inject knowledge from the rostrum. We have emphasized over and again that *education means control* and that educators are administrative officials.[29]

On planning and organizing an education system that incorporated the process of Japanization the newspaper the *Celebes Shinbun* from 19 December 1942 offered as guidelines these 'Basic Principles for Temporary Education System.'

1. To train the qualities necessary to be Imperial subjects.
2. To teach the inhabitants of the significance of the construction of Greater East Asia with the Japanese Empire at the core and to induce them to realize their responsibility.
3. To refute the sense of respect for Europe and America.
4. To acknowledge the unique culture and traditions of the native inhabitants and to take caution against any hasty policy of uniformity.

5. To unify as much as possible the hitherto complicated and diverse education system.
6. To emphasize the thoroughgoing enforcement of the common education and the adjustment and expansion of the vocational education.[30]

An overhaul of the pre-war colonial Dutch education system was carried out. Two categories of primary education co-existed in parallel under the Dutch system, namely, native primary education (*Inheemsch Lager Onderwijs*) for indigenes, and Western primary education (*Westersch Lager Onderwijs*) reserved for European children. There was clear segregation between European and non-European children. The Japanese in a single stroke abolished all the *Westersch Lager Onderwijs*, and all primary schools was re-designated village schools, infused with Japanese-style curriculum, and reopened immediately from the onset of the occupation. The pre-war supplementary (vocational) schools were reorganized to become senior primary schools and reopened in July 1942. Then in April 1943 all primary/village schools were reclassified as common public schools, and the senior primary schools became senior public schools.[31] Schools managed by the Borneo Minseifu by September 1943 are shown in Table 7.2.

The implementation of the Japanese school system brought about several favourable developments. The most apparent outcome was the unification of the schools at the primary level following the abolition of Western primary education that exclusively catered to European children. Consistent with the objective of emphasizing vocational education, there was a three-fold increase in the number of such schools in Minami Boruneo, totalling 30, compared to the pre-war figure of 13 institutions.[32]

The pre-war curriculum that placed emphasis on the teaching and learning of the 3Rs (**r**eading, w**r**iting and a**r**ithmetic) was discarded; instead the singing of Japanese songs, physical exercise (*taisō*), the practice of kinrohosi, and the learning of Nihon-go were prioritized. Propaganda songs that denounced the Anglo-American powers were taught to schoolchildren. The use of Japanese characters (*katakana*, *hiragana* and *kanji*) replaced the pre-war Arabic script. Every morning all school children and teachers practiced *saikeirei* (bowing ritual) in the direction of Tokyo, where resided the Imperial Japanese Emperor (*Tennō Heika*)

An important development in the education sector was witnessing the phenomenal increase in the numbers of student enrolment. It seemed that learning Nihon-go was enthusiastically supported by the native population in the IJN territories; perhaps believing that a knowledge of the new regime's language might prove profitable. But a more plausible reason was the unfavourable pre-war situation, which had imposed monthly school fees that proved to be a financial yoke on the native peasantry and subsequently stopped them from sending their children to schools. The charges ranged from 3 to 50 cents per month for the three-year village school, rising to 5 to 125 cents for attendance at the five-year higher grade public schools (upper primary schools).[33] It was indeed a great privilege to be able to be a student of the Dutch schools, elite institutions where Dutch was taught and the monthly charges ranged from between 2 and 18 guilders. Although there

Table 7.2 Schools under the Borneo Minseifu September 1943

Type of School	*Number of Schools*
Primary/Elementary	
Common public school	733
Senior public school	99
Common senior public school	30
Special public school	–
Total	*862*
High Schools/vocational and technical	
Teacher-training centres	9
Agricultural vocational schools	6
Technical vocational schools	7
Commercial vocational schools	2
Fishery vocational schools	2
Housekeeping schools	1
Common high schools	3
Special high schools	–
Normal schools	–
Total	*30*

Source: After *Minseifu Bunkyoka kanka gakko tokei* (School Statistics under the Jurisdiction of the Education Section of the Civil Administration Office), September 1943, quoted in *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, pp. 223–4.

was no statistical data for Minami Boruneo, the phenomenal increase in student enrolment in the Lesser Sundas offered a clear indication of the positive impact of the abolition of school fees from March 1943. Both Bali and Lombok recorded an increase of 114 per cent in public school enrolment; for middle school the figures were 316 per cent for Bali and 170 per cent for Lombok.[34] In addition, Japanese language textbooks were provided to school children free of charge, unlike the hitherto practice that pupils had to pay for books used in the school.[35] In all probability Minami Boruneo was similarly affected.

The arts, in particular the performing arts such as theatre and cinema, were primarily utilized as instruments of propaganda, a means to invoke sympathy among the local inhabitants to the Japanese war effort, and a source of entertainment for both military forces and the local populace.[36] In Banjarmasin there was the Osaka Gekijo or Osaka Cinema Hall, and two theatres, Sinar Surya and Pancar Surya, under the direction of M. Arifin.[37] The Eldorado Cinema at Pasar Lama in Banjarmasin was resurrected with a new name, Minami Borneo Gekijo. The theatre in Pleihari was named Sakura. Branches of Osaka Gekijo were set up in Amuntai, Kandangan, Barabai, Tanjung and in other towns.

Local artists including Gusti Sholihin, Noor Brand and Lamberi Bustani were recruited to produce art works that became major Japanese propaganda mediums to win over the local population.[38] Likewise, traditional art forms such as *madihin*, *mamanda* and *lamut* were utilized to exalt the superiority of Japanese military forces, and to promote confidence that the final victory laid with Imperial Japan

and its allies Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.[39] *Purnama Raya* was an entertainment magazine published in Kandangan, helmed by Haspan Adna and A. Jabar and used by the Japanese as a means to spread Nihon-go. Another propaganda media was *kamisibai*, a Japanese version of a slide show accompanied by running commentary. Lamberi Bustani's *Amat Heiho*, which told of the bravery of Amat, a member of the *heiho* ('subsoldier') and highly trusted by his superiors, was a celebrated and popular piece.

The Information Department or Keimin Syidobo was entrusted with the heavy responsibility of overseeing the process of Japanization through the cultural media of fine art, performing arts (drama, dance and theatre) and literature. It came as no surprise that the process of assimilation and acculturation through the arts failed to take root among the local populace partly because the occupation period was brief, Japanese culture and language were entirely alien and the overall emphasis on coercion undermined any hint of reception and acceptance.

A.A. Hamidhan, editor and publisher of the pre-war daily *Suara Kalimantan* and the weekly *Suara Hulu Sungai*, was instructed by the IJA, the then Japanese authorities, to publish *Kalimantan Raya*, a daily newspaper with its first issue appearing in early March 1942. Owing to the destruction of the equipment of *Suara Kalimantan'*s Banjarmasin office and plant as part of the scorched-earth plan of the Dutch to deny to the enemy, Hamidhan utilized the machinery of the defunct Bandjarmasinse Drukkerij, a German-owned printer. *Kalimantan Raya* received much of its news content from radio broadcasts from Tokyo; in this Hamidhan was assisted by Syamsul Arifin, and later by Thalib Abadi.[40] A fortnight following the appearance of *Kalimantan Raya*, another daily, *Borneo Baru*, was published, helmed by Andin Boer'ie, the former editor of the pre-war *Bintang Borneo*. But the acute paper shortage ended *Borneo Baru*'s short-lived existence.

Kalimantan Raya enjoyed a brief period of 'freedom' under the IJA. But this laxity ended when the IJN assumed paramount control with the establishment of its civil administration, which kept a close watch over the press. The gist of the wartime newspaper was emphasizing the fact that the entry of Imperial Japanese forces to the Netherlands East Indies was aimed at freeing the native population from the shackles of Dutch colonial rule. Imperial Japan was portrayed as the champion and liberator of the Indonesian peoples from Dutch colonialism. Nonetheless any semblance or hint of the promotion of Indonesian nationalism was eliminated; *Kalimantan Raya* was barred from featuring or even mentioning nationalist leaders such as Sukarno (1901–1970) or Muhammad Hatta (1902–1980).

From early May 1942 staff of the Japanese daily *Asahi Simboen* descended on Banjarmasin to assume control of *Kalimantan Raya*, which was renamed *Borneo Simboen*. This tabloid-size, four-page daily had two pages in romanized Bahasa Indonesia and the remainder in Japanese characters. A.A. Hamidhan acted as both manager and editor of *Borneo Simboen*, which was then subjected to strict censorship and control. Headquartered in Banjarmasin, *Borneo Simboen* also had offices in Pontianak (western branch) and Balikpapan (eastern branch) (Table 7.3).

In terms of approach towards the local peoples' faiths and religious adherents, IJN policy was spelt out as follows:

> The existing customs, relics, and such which are based on religion or creed should be respected in order to reassure and win the hearts of the local inhabitants . . . Special consideration shall be given in applying this policy toward Moslems. Premature action with regard to religious innovations shall be avoided.[41]

The indigenous communities that had embraced Christianity were in a predicament: their Christian affiliations labelled them as supporters and sympathizers of the Dutch colonialists, a pro-Western outlook, or even saw them suspected as agents of the Dutch and Allies.[42] This last label could have fatal consequences, for instance, a session with the *Tokkei Tai*, the special naval police that notoriously tortured suspects to near-death conditions. Protestant ministers, Catholic bishops and priests from Japan attended to the religious needs of the local population. Hidemasa Miyahira, a Protestant priest, took charge of co-religionists in Minami Boruneo. Another priest, Hachiro Shirato, also left Japan to serve the Protestant community in IJN territories. Bishop Yamaguchi and other Catholic clergy filled the vacuum of interned Dutch Catholic priests to service their parishes.[43] The Catholic Fathers were highly respected and enjoyed unqualified success among local Catholics.

Despite the cautionary stance towards the Muslims, the Japanese faced serious problems in handling the sizeable Muslim community. Unlike the advantage of being able to send Japanese Christian clergy to the occupied territories, there were too few Japanese Muslims; 'consequently those who were dispatched to the [South] were several [Japanese] Islamic scholars, and several young men who had been trained at the Aikoku Gakuin (Patriotic School) and wanted to advance to the South.'[44] At the Borneo Minseibu in Banjarmasin, an Islamic Association was set up with a branch at Kandangan.

> At the Islamic Association at Bandjarmasin the young 'overnight Moslems' of the former Aikoku Gakuin (Patriotic School) were the leaders, and at the Kandangan branch the 'overnight Moslems' – Islamic researchers – were permanently stationed. However, because of their small knowledge and because

Table 7.3 Various editions of *Borneo Simboen*

Frequency	*Place of Publication/ Coverage*	*Editor/Personnel*	*Language*
Daily	Banjarmasin/South Borneo Kandangan Edisi Hulu Sungai Martapura	A.A. Hamidhan	Bahasa Indonesia; Japanese
Daily	Balikpapan/Eastern Borneo	Andin Boer'ie	Bahasa Indonesia; Japanese
Thrice Weekly	Pontianak/Western Borneo	Ahmad Kasim	Bahasa Indonesia; Japanese; Chinese

Source: 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', pp. 46–7; *Katalog Terbitan Indonesia*; *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, p. 259.

> of their lack of decorum they were not well liked by [local] Islamic leaders; *rather they were hated*.[45]

Instead of winning over the support of the Muslim community for the Japanese war effort, the arrogance and ethnocentrism of Japanese 'overnight Moslems' earned the disgust and antagonism of local Islamic leaders. The dire lack of respectable and able Japanese Muslim leaders nullified all attempts at wooing the local Muslim population. It must be pointed out that in IJN-controlled areas, religions, particularly relating to Islamic policy, 'had nothing but secondary existence.'[46] Nonetheless the Jami'yah Islamiyah Borneo (Borneo Kaikyo Kyokai) was set up, which brought together all Muslim organizations under H. Abdurrahman Siddik who, in turn, was closely supervised by Japanese 'overnight Moslems'.[47]

The bowing ritual or saikeirei, the homage paid to the Imperial Japanese Emperor, and the brutal behavior of the Japanese alienated the local Muslims. The closure of *madrasah* (schools) and *pesantren* (boarding schools) further aggravated Japanese-Muslim relations. On a positive note, the Friday sermon was conducted in Bahasa Indonesia. Moreover, in several districts, for example in Barabai, Muslims were commanded by the Japanese authorities to participate in the weekly Friday prayers, resulting in full capacity at the mosques.[48]

Socio-political organizations

A shadowy body called Resei Seimo Tyosa In acted as adviser to the Borneo Minseibu. Through consultations with Resei Seimo Tyosa In, and looking towards developments in Java where there was the Triple 'A' Movement, PUTERA (Centre for People's Strength) and Java Hokokai, the Borneo Minseibu decided on the creation in stages of a youth movement.[49]

Youths between the ages of 12 and 25 joined the locally based South Borneo Youth Corps. They were drawn from high schools, and also contained young adults. The members 'mainly engaged in labor services, management of common farms, and [received] training in handicraft technical education.'[50] The Konan Hokokudan (Patriotic Corps for the Development of the South), which came into being in November 1943, recruited 300-odd 20–35 year-olds. They underwent six months of military drills as well as Japanese-style training such as learning Nihon-go and inculcating *seishin* (Japanese spirit). Based in Banjarmasin, the director of the Political Affairs Section in the Borneo Minseibu acted as overall commandant of the corps.[51]

From May 1945 Boei Teisin Tai replaced Konan Hokokudan. The youths were given military training, including handling light arms. During the two-month training stint under IJN instructors, emphasis was placed on possessing seishin, loyalty to Tennō Heika, mastering Nihon-go, and physical exercises. Moreover, recruits were expected to adopt an anti-Western stance.

Unlike members of the Konan Hokokudan and later of Boei Teisin Tai, who were mainly engaged in labour assignments, the three companies of Kaigun Heiho in IJN-controlled Borneo received military training and were expected to serve

alongside the regular naval forces against the enemy if the need arose. Some 200 members of the Kaigun Heiho and an IJN company comprised the Tokubetsu Toku Tai, which was constituted in early 1945 in anticipation of an imminent Allied landing. Some members of the Boei Teisin Tai formed part of Giyugun (Pembela Tanah Air [PETA]); Defenders of the Motherland) that came into existence in June 1945. Within a week members of PETA boarded a ship that was later sunk without survivors.[52]

In early August 1945, the closing days of the war, women were inducted into Fujin-Kai to contribute to the Japanese war effort. Fujin-Kai was in fact a locally based social mobilizing tool rather than a social organization. Members of Fujin-Kai sought funds for the war effort, organized 'night markets', or lent a helping hand in hospitals. Numerous Fujin-Kai were set up throughout Minami Boruneo.[53]

Local political participation

Owing to the expressed policy of 'permanent retention,' neither the Minseifu at Makassar nor the Borneo Minseibu at Banjarmasin had any forward plans aimed at encouraging native political participation. At the same time the low literacy level as well as inert political consciousness among the local inhabitants in IJN-controlled territories, including Minami Boruneo, precluded any nationalist tendency. As mentioned earlier, it was pointed out that 'care shall be exercised not to encourage nationalist movements.'[54] Notwithstanding the announcement by Prime Minister Tojo Hideki (1941–1944) in June 1943 that sanctioned the political participation of Indonesians, IJN military and civil officials remained unmoved. The sheer inertia on the part of the IJN was apparent.

> In the Navy-controlled areas the naval authorities did not take positive steps for the enforcement of the political participation on the ground that the standard [in terms of socio-economic, education, and political consciousness] of the people in Borneo, Celebes, the Lesser Sundas, and the Moluccas was far lower than that in Java. [Moreover] [t]here were conflicting opinions among the military authorities on the enforcement of political participation as an occupation policy. Because their attitude was one of status quo, their evaluation of the national unification was low, and they decided not to realize rapid political participation; *they ignored the Tojo statement*.[55]

Admiral Shibata Yaichiro, commander-in-chief of the Second Southern Expeditionary Fleet (since January 1945) and the most senior IJN officer in Indonesia, expressed in an unquestionable tone that 'the Second Southern Expeditionary Fleet did not permit political movements in the light of the low living standards of the people of the Outer Areas [outside Java] and the lack of people with ability.'[56] Consequently all political organizations or those that exhibited some semblance of nationalistic tendencies were proscribed.

However, partly due to the adverse turning of the tide of war against Japan and partly also as a delayed response towards Tojo's public broadcast, the Minseifu

Sokan extended invitations in the later part of 1943 to two nationalist leaders, Dr G.S.C. Ratu Langie of Minahasa, Sulawesi and Tadjudin Noor of South Borneo, to his headquarters in Makassar.[57] Although designated as 'advisers' to the civil administration, it remained unclear as to the specific function or purpose of their presence at Makassar apart from the propaganda mileage that was gained by the Japanese authorities.

Then six months following Tojo's statement two legislations both dated 1 December 1943 were issued: 'Regulations Concerning the Establishment of Municipal Offices (*Sjitjo settji kitei*)' and 'Provisional Municipal Ordinance (*Zantei sji rei*)'.[58] The setting up of municipal offices and municipalities were undoubtedly aimed at winning over the support of the local inhabitants in light of Japan's deteriorating military situation. In Minami Boruneo's context, municipal offices were established at Banjarmasin and Pontianak. Within a week (8 December 1943) two provisional orders were simultaneously issued: 'Provisional Order Concerning Municipal Councils (*Zantei sjikai rei*)' and 'Provisional Order Concerning Residency Assemblies (*Zantei sjoekai rei*)'.[59] The former dealt with the establishment of municipal councils as a follow-up to the creation of municipalities, and the latter regulated the creation of a residency assembly in each residency.

Even after Prime Minister Koiso Kuniaki's (1944–1945) speech 'Independence of the East Indies' to the 85th Imperial Diet, 6 September 1944, IJN circles remained unenthusiastic at laying concrete plans towards self-determination for the Indonesians. Notwithstanding the creation of representative municipal councils, residency assemblies, and others, the reality on the ground as Admiral Shibata recalled on hindsight, was that 'in fact they were nothing more than advisory bodies.'[60] The result was local dissatisfaction.

> The political participation in the Navy-controlled areas, which was developed with an extremely negative attitude compared with that in Java, did not satisfy the inhabitants. The reasons for this were that there were few influential nationalist leaders as in Java, and the Naval Military Administration had the characteristic of stressing the respect more for indigenous officials and the chiefs of self-governing territories than for nationalist leaders.[61]

Negativity notwithstanding, within navy circles Shibata took the initiative in facilitating concrete steps towards the Indonesian nationalist cause. Shortly after the Koiso announcement a conference of senior IJN officials was convened in Surabaya. The conference put forth three resolutions, which Shibata reported to Imperial Headquarters, Tokyo.

1. The national flag and national anthem should be permitted in the Navy area immediately.
2. The big names of the Nationalist Movement in Java should be sent to the Navy area to promote the Nationalist Movement there.
3. Independence similar to that in the Philippines [14 October 1943] and Burma [1 August 1943] should be granted to Indonesia swiftly.[62]

Owing to Shibata's proactive stance Mohammad Hatta visited Banjarmasin in May 1945.[63]

Although Hamidhan was in Jakarta to witness Sukarno's proclamation of Indonesia's independence on 17 August 1945, two days after Imperial Japan's unconditional surrender, he was forbidden to make any announcement upon his return to Banjarmasin on 20 August by the Minseibu Chokan.[64] Nonetheless the momentous news of *merdeka* (independence) came from *Borneo Simboen*, which was published at Kandangan, and Radio Banjarmasin Hosokyoku.[65]

8 Atrocities, opposition and response

In terms of atrocities committed by Japanese Imperial Forces, such as the 'Rape of Nanjing,' *sook ching* in Singapore, or the torturous Thai-Burma Death Railway, wartime Borneo had the infamous 'Sandakan Death March' and a series of clandestine killings in the southern and western parts of the island. While Allied soldiers, mainly Australians, were the victims of the former episode, local inhabitants (native and Chinese) including the Pontianak sultans and former colonial Dutch officials were killed in the latter. During the invasion and early occupation period there were reported incidences of massacres and 'murders' committed by the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA). The 'Kinabalu Uprising' of October 1943 in IJA-controlled Northern Borneo was the only serious challenge to the occupation forces, it was however ruthlessly suppressed.

'Murders' and atrocities

The Long Nawang killings, 1942

> This appears to be one of the worst atrocities so far disclosed in BORNEO and it is considered that no effort should be spared to trace the perpetrators.
>
> Brigadier W.J.V. Windeyer
> 9th Australian Division[1]

About 41 people, including women and children, were killed in cold-blood at Long Nawang,[2] an outpost in former Dutch Borneo. All who died were Europeans. This massacre, perpetrated by the Japanese in August and September 1942, was regarded as one of the most atrocious acts that occurred in wartime Borneo. The massacre came to light following investigations undertaken after the war by Lieutenant F.R. Oldham, Services Reconnaissance Department (SRD), whose report of 18 September 1945 was submitted to the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF).[3] An account penned by W. McKerracher, sawmill manager at the Borneo Company Limited (BCL) logging operation at Salim, Rejang, dated 2 May 1942 recounted how a party of Europeans from Sarawak, comprising Brooke officials including Andrew McPherson, resident of the Third Division, BCL personnel and

others fled from the advancing Japanese to the interior, making their way upstream of the Rejang and finally to Long Nawang on the Kayan River, across the border on then Dutch Borneo territory.[4]

Despite the order that instructed all Brooke officers to remain in their post in the event of an invasion by enemy forces, the situation at Sibu became so untenable that MacPherson decided on plans to evacuate. McKerracher recounted the chaos at Sibu.

> . . . the Japs [Japanese] bombed and machine-gunned from the [a]ir Sibu on Christmas Day [1941] . . . and damage was pretty severe; no deaths or casualties of Europeans, all being confined to Asiatics. They paid us another call on Boxing Day, and with the reports of their boats entering the river the native population panicked, and took charge, breaking into and raiding all [government and BCL] Stores. The Police were under orders 'not to shoot,' and eventually themselves joined the raid on the Rice Stores etc. The Resident [MacPherson] proposed to evacuate all Europeans in an endeavour to follow out our [BCL] scheme – up the [Rejang] river and through Dutch Borneo etc., and as our own [Sarawak Brooke] Government had ceased to exist,[5] radioed Sir Shenton Thomas [British agent for Borneo and governor of the Straits Settlements] in Singapore, who replied 'Do whatever you think best,' and who must have (as events proved) contacted the Dutch Government asking them to expect and assist us. This they most splendidly did, and we have reason to be very grateful to them for their help at a later date.[6]

Therefore the evacuation begun and on 28 December 1941, all Europeans involved in the upstream, overland journey to Dutch Borneo were assembled at Kapit. The party travelled by motorized boat until Belaga, the last settlement on the Upper Rejang. Overnight stays were at the hospitality of native longhouses. Native paddling boats were used from Belaga, travelling upstream to the Rejang headwaters, where they had to negotiate a series of notorious rapids. Following the end of river travel, the party hiked through thick tropical jungle. Before crossing the border into Dutch Borneo, an advance scouting party comprising H.P.K. Jacks, who was familiar with several local dialects, and J. Schotling, a Dutchman, was sent forward to contact the Dutch authorities.[7] As a result 40 Kayan porters were sent to meet the main party; along the way they cleared a track through the jungle.

> However, after an arduous crossing (on one morning between 7 a.m. and 12.00 we crossed one river 36 times, a raging mountain torrent sometimes knee deep, sometimes armpit deep, and particularly powerful) we eventually arrived at Long Noyan [Nawang], a Dutch military outpost, this 28 days after leaving Sibu.[8]

It was 22 January 1942. Long Nawang appeared to be a promising refuge and a remote haven. This military outpost had a fort, barracks, and several Kenyah longhouses in the vicinity. At an altitude of approximately 750 metres, a salubrious

climate not unlike a hill station, Long Nawang 'had ample food for 12 months, Rice, fruit and tobacco in abundance (being produced all around there).'[9]

MacPherson, who was then suffering from malaria, and his wife in her second trimester of pregnancy, informed the party that he wished to remain in Long Nawang but gave permission to others who intended to proceed further to carry on their plans. As a result Jacks, Schotling, McKerracher and T. E. Walter[10] decided to head towards Long Iram and thence Samarinda. They embarked on their quest on 30 January. They reached Samarinda and managed to board a plane to Bandung. Jacks and McKerracher escaped from Tjilatjap and subsequently reached Perth. Walter and Schotling, however, were captured and imprisoned by the Japanese.[11] Another group of five or six Brooke officers who were unfit to travel further decided to return to Belaga. They were eventually taken into custody and interned at Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp on the outskirts of Kuching. On hindsight they were the fortunate few.

The chronology of events at Long Nawang that culminated in the massacre is shown in Table 8.1.[12]

The summary of events that was recorded by Oldham was based mainly on the eyewitness accounts of Corporal Tamburiang and Private Markus, two former native police personnel who were living in Long Nawang when the aforesaid tragic events unfolded. Lieutenant D.J.A. Westerhuis ordered both of them and another, Private Lumentut, to join his force. On the wall of one of the houses Oldham saw two scribbled names: 'Lieutenant Okino' and 'Private Higasi Kumobun' as well as 'Raroun', referring to their military division. The writings also revealed that the Japanese were marines, and had left Samarinda on foot on 25 July and reached Long Nawang on 20 August.

Excerpts from the Oldham's report described the massacres, first of the men, and then of the women and children.

> On 26 Aug[ust] [19]42 all the men were massacred, including the native KAILOLA. Previous to this, everyone [local inhabitants] had been ordered away from the area on that day. TAMBURIANG was told of the shooting by one of the coolies who accompanied the Japanese from SAMARINDA. The Japanese buried all the bodies in two graves.
>
> On 23 Sep[tember] [19]42 all the women and children were massacred. Mrs. MACPHERSON and her bably [sic.] were brought across the river on a stretcher and shared the same fate. Earlier in the day four coolies had been ordered to dig a hole, near the other graves . . . The Japanese announced that they would dynamite some fish up river, and ordered everyone to attend. During this period it is surmised that the killing took place. No shots were heard from across the river, indicating that they were probably bayoneted. They were all buried together. The next day TAMBURIANG inspected the area, and found four graves, one newly filled in.[13]

The individual referred to as Kailola was an Indonesian who had been captured and later released at Tarakan, together with other 'Asiatics.' Following his release,

Table 8.1 Long Nawang killings: chronology of events

28 December 1941	European party from Sarawak assembled at Kapit.
22 January 1942	European party from Sarawak reached Long Nawang.
30 January 1942	Jacks, Schotling, McKerracher and Walter proceeded to Long Iram and Samarinda. Five or six Brooke officers returned to Belaga to surrender.
2 February 1942	Hudden, Parry and four Dutch pilots arrived at Long Nawang.
17 February 1942	Hudden went to Long Berang, Upper Baram. He was later beheaded by a party of Ibans.
April 1942	Arrival of Lieutenant D.J.A. Westerhuis and 40 Dutch and Indonesian KNIL soldiers, a part of the garrison at Tarakan.
Early August 1942	Arrival of American missionaries Reverend Jackson and Reverend Sandy and Mrs Sandy and baby, who came from Pitjuman, a nearby settlement some four days paddle distant.
19 August 1942	Two Kenyahs from Bakon brought news that more than 70 Japanese soldiers were heading towards Long Nawang. Westerhuis dismissed such intelligence as 'probably some more Dutch troops arriving' hence 'no patrols were sent out to verify this.'
20 August 1942	Captain Mora Shima and 72 heavily armed Japanese marines arrived at Long Nawang. The attack was launched at 8:30 am from the east bank of the Kayan River. MacPherson and Westerhuis were killed. Mrs MacPherson was wounded in both thighs. The men were imprisoned in the fort; the women remained in a house near Kampong Kenyah. Indonesian soldiers were allowed to return home to Tarakan.
26 August 1942	Execution of all male prisoners at 5:00 pm on the hillside at the rear of the barracks; the dead were immediately buried in two mass graves.
27 August 1942	Captain Mora and 45 Japanese marines left for Samarinda. The remainder of the marines under the charge of Lieutenant Okino stayed on at Long Nawang. Six women and four children were unmolested and remained in a house near Kampong Kenyah.
10 September 1942	The women and children were carried in gunny sacks and brought to the fort, where they were imprisoned in two cells.
23 September 1942	The women and children were killed and buried next to the burial ground of the men on the hillside behind the barracks.

Sources: McKerracher, 'Report on Proceedings', 2 May 1942; Oldham, '[Report of Long Nawang]', [18 September 1945], AWM A1066/4 IC45/95/8; Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 46–9.

he headed towards Long Nawang to join Westerhuis and his colleagues. There were altogether four graves, one for MacPherson and Westerhuis, who were killed on 20 August, two mass graves for the men, and one for the women and children.

Apparently Tamburiang and Markus were not the only witnesses. According to Tusau Padan, then an 11-year old Kenyah boy, he and his father saw the killing of the men on 26 August when they 'concealed themselves behind bushes and saw the survivors of the first volleys being shot, bayoneted and pushed into the graves.'[14] Tusau claimed to have also witnessed the second massacre: 'the children suffered

the most cruel deaths: forced to climb arecanut palms, they were impaled on the upraised bayonets when they slipped down in exhaustion.'[15]

The nagging question of this unfortunate episode was why the massacre happened at all. The most rational action would have been to escort the entire European party to Samarinda for internment as prisoners of war (POW) and as civilian internees. As was with the fate of other Europeans who were being rounded up across Borneo all subsequently ended up at Kuching's Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp. But the escort of more than 40 prisoners, including women and children, across some of the most inhospitable jungle that took some four weeks for Japanese marines to traverse might have appeared an insurmountable task. Furthermore, the Japanese might not have had enough manpower for this 'non-essential' duty. The fact that the refugees at Long Nawang did not voluntarily surrender themselves as was the expectation of the Japanese military authorities following the establishment of a new regime in Borneo made them, legally speaking, enemy fugitives. Therefore from this perspective their execution was in line with wartime military requirements. Captain Mora Shima's orders were likely to have been 'seek and destroy' rather than 'round up European stragglers', as the grace period, if any, for surrender had long expired.

Despite the directive that 'no effort should be spared to trace the perpetrators,' the AIF failed to bring to trial for war crimes any of the Japanese military personnel cited in Oldham's report: 'Captain Mora Shima,' 'Lieutenant Okino', or 'Private Higasi Kumobun.' Table 8.2 lists the victims of Long Nawang.

Sandakan Death March, 1945

> . . . some thousands of Australian soldiers of the 2nd A.I.F. who thought, early 1942, that by going 'To the Land Below the Wind', it would be a better period of internment than remaining in the grossly overcrowded Changi prison in Singapore, to the horrors of the Burma-Siam railway.
>
> B.C. Ruxton[16]

> You go now. Go jungle. If you stay you will be mati [die]. All men very short time mati mati.
>
> Takahara, a Japanese private at Ranau POW Camp[17]

Unlike the killings at Long Nawang, where little has been written, much has been discussed and published on the infamous Sandakan Death March.[18] Altogether there were three 'Death Marches' from the Sandakan POW Prison inland, heading towards Ranau, in 1945: January, May and June. By late August, a fortnight following Japan's unconditional surrender, the last of the POWs were killed on the Ranau-Tambunan trail. The death toll totalled some 2,400 British and Australian prisoners of war. Two men escaped en route on the initial march; another four escaped from the Ranau camp.

From Singapore's Changi Prison, where all Allied servicemen were incarcerated following the British surrender (15 February 1942), 2,000 Australians and

Table 8.2 Long Nawang killings: list of victims

Name	*Designation & Base*	*Affiliation*
MacPherson, A.	resident of Third Division, Sibu	Sarawak Government
MacPherson, A., Mrs	wife	
MacPherson, A.	baby	
Lee, N.A.	manager, Sarawak Steamship Co.	Sarawak Steamship Co.
Lee, N.A., Mrs	wife	
Lee, N.A., Son	5 years	
Lee, N.A., Son	9 months	
Reid, T.A.	engineer, Sibu	Sarawak Government
Bache, T.E.	Public Works Department, Binatang	Sarawak Government
Mansel, F.L.	postmaster, Sibu	Sarawak Government
Hansom, S.G.	district officer, Sibu	Sarawak Government
Sinclair, R.F.	customs officer, Sibu	Sarawak Government
Murphy, D.V.	asst commissioner of police, Sibu	Sarawak Government
Cox, S.H.K.	food controller, Sibu	Sarawak Government
Spencer, H.J.	Office of Information, Sibu	Sarawak Government
Anderson, A.W.	engineer, Sibu	Sarawak Electricity Supply
Cobbold, P.C.V.	BCL, Sibu	Borneo Company Ltd.
Miles, C.L.	Rejang Timber Concession, Salim	Borneo Company Ltd.
Bomphrey, E., Mrs	wife of E. Bomphrey, Selalang	Island Trading Company
Bomphrey, E.	baby	
Parry, B.B.	general manager, Miri	Sarawak Oilfields Ltd.
Jackson, Revd.	American missionary	Pitjuman
Sandy, Revd.	American missionary	Pitjuman
Sandy, Mrs.	wife	
Sandy	child	
Westerhuis, D.J.A.	lieutenant	KNIL*
Westerhuis, D.J.A., Mrs	wife	
Gueskens, M.	2nd lieutenant	KNIL
Italiaander, J.	sergeant major	KNIL
Den Have, D.C.	sergeant major	KNIL
Bolio, A.F.	sergeant major	KNIL
Lok, J.	sergeant	KNIL
Huel, T.	sergeant	KNIL
De Wilde, J.	sergeant	KNIL
Van der Woude, K.	sergeant	KNIL
Burchardt, J.	corporal	KNIL
Dries, H.	brig [sic.?]	KNIL
Dauphin, F.	Gnr [?]	KNIL
Van der Elst, N.C.	signalman	KNIL
Tuenissen, B.J.H.	carp [corporal?]	KNIL
Ledeboer, E.W.C.	private	KNIL
Geeve, A.J.	private	KNIL
Donk, T.	private	KNIL
Joseph, J.	private	KNIL
Th. Valk, J.	private	KNIL

(*continued on the next page*)

Table 8.2 (continued)

Name	*Designation & Base*	*Affiliation*
Barnstyn, L.	private	KNIL
Van der Wulp	private	KNIL
Van Amersfoort, G.A.A.	private	KNIL
Koullen, H.J.	private	KNIL
Westerbeek, C.W.	private	KNIL
Hauber, W.E.G.	private	KNIL
Scipio, T.L.	private	KNIL
Hornborstel, A.	private	KNIL
Sarton, A.H.	private	KNIL
Scheers, T.	private	KNIL
Feldbrugge	chaplain	KNIL
Kailola	private, Indonesian	KNIL
Groenveld, J.H.	lieutenant	Royal Dutch Air Force
Van Haim, J.	sergeant	Royal Dutch Air Force
Reen, K.A.	A/C [?]	Royal Dutch Air Force
Baarschers, A.	A/C [?]	Royal Dutch Air Force

Note:
* Garrison at Tarakan

Sources: Oldham, '[Report of Long Nawang]', [18 September 1945], AWM A1066/4 IC45/95/8; McKerracher, 'Report on Proceedings', 2 May 1942.

750 British were transferred to the Sandakan POW Prison on the east coast of former British North Borneo. Situated 13 kilometres to the northeast of Sandakan, the pre-war administrative centre (1884–1941) of the Chartered Company administration, the Sandakan POW Prison occupied a former agriculture experimental farm. The POWs were brought over primarily to provide labour for the construction of two airstrips located less than 5 kilometres to the southeast of the prison.

POWs from Singapore arrived at Sandakan in batches. The initial batch, referred to as the 'B' force, was made up of 1,500 Australians, including 145 officers, under Lieutenant Colonel A.W. Walsh, and reached Sandakan in mid-1942 with a brief stopover at Miri en route.[19] April 1943 saw the arrival of 750 British POWs from Singapore via Jesselton. The 'E' force of 500 Australian POWs left Singapore in March 1943 and reached Berhala Island POW camp in Sandakan Bay on 15 April. This group was finally moved to Sandakan camp on 5 June.[20]

The Allied soldiers themselves decided on the composition of the group setting out of Changi. A myriad of reasons spurred some individuals to leave, including the wounded who hoped to be able to convalesce, older servicemen who wanted 'to see the war out in comfort,' and some who believed anywhere would be 'less boring' than Singapore; the more resourceful 'thought Borneo, being closer to home [Australia], would offer a better chance of escape.'[21]

The commandant of Sandakan POW Prison was Lieutenant Hoshijima Susumi, who, at 1.8 metres and athletically built, was an impressive figure 'with a dominating personality'.[22] In his welcome address to the POWs that arrived in April 1943, Hoshijima revealed his ruthless character.

> You will work until your bones rot under the tropical sun of Borneo. You will work for the Emperor. If any of you escapes, I will pick out three or four [of POWs] and shoot them. The war will last 100 years.[23]

Japanese POW and civilian internment camp commandants were given directives, regulations and other instructions that in some instances allowed much latitude of action as well as discretion. Prime Minister Tojo Hideki offered the following instruction.

> Prisoners of war must be placed under strict discipline, so far as it does not contravene the law of humanity. It is necessary to take care not to be obsessed with the mistaken idea of humanitarianism or swayed by personal feelings toward those prisoners of war, which may grow in the long time of their imprisonment.[24]

The guiding principles were strict discipline and non-compassion. The following regulation, which came from the War Ministry in 1943, gave a 'free hand' to commandants to act on recalcitrant inmates.

> In case a prisoner of war is guilty of an act of insubordination, he shall be subject to imprisonment or arrest, and *any other measures deemed necessary* for the purpose of discipline may be added.[25]

The phrase 'any other measures deemed necessary' was a carte blanche directive that may have included the killing of prisoners. Apparently as early as the second half of 1944 'the first discretionary hints to kill prisoners rather than let them fall into the propaganda-making hands of the enemy had been issued in stages by Imperial General Headquarters.'[26] Then on 17 March 1945 the War Ministry sent a secret telegram signed by Vice War Minister Shibayama Kanehiro to all camp commandants.

> Prisoners of war must be prevented *by all means available* from falling into enemy hands.
>
> They should either be relocated away from the front or collected at suitable points and times with an eye to enemy air raids, shore bombardments, etc.
>
> They should be kept alive to the last whenever their labor is needed.
>
> In desperate circumstances, when there is no time to move them, they may, as a last resort, be set free. Then *emergency measures* should be carried out against those with an *antagonistic attitude* and *utmost precautions* should be taken so that no harm is done to the public.
>
> In executing emergency measures, care should be had not to provoke enemy propaganda or retaliation.
>
> Prisoners should be fed at the end.[27]

This aforesaid directive, when read between the lines, could be interpreted as follows. The first paragraph sanctioned forced 'marches' ('by all means available')

and the fourth paragraph inserted 'death' ('emergency measures') in the marches for those possessing 'anti-Japanese' tendencies ('antagonistic attitude'), and they should be eliminated (killed) clandestinely ('utmost precautions'; 'not to provoke enemy propaganda or retaliation').

In the context of Sandakan, the 'antagonistic attitude' was brought about in the discovery of an underground intelligence network that was set up sometime towards the later part of 1942 by Sandakan POWs under the direction of Captain Lionel Matthews and Dr J.P. Taylor, an Australian physician working in the hospital in Sandakan and in collaboration with local Chinese, Malays, Indians and other natives.[28] By late October 1942, a wireless set was operational within the camp compound; this radio was assembled from an assortment of parts sourced from the outside.[29] News of the war, especially reports of reversals against the Axis powers, boosted the morale of the POWs and gave hope to many that an Allied victory was imminent. Dr Taylor not only passed the news to others outside the wire but also supplied much needed medicines to those within the wire. But a civilian who knew of the clandestine activities reported to the Japanese authorities. Several people in Sandkan town were arrested. Under torture by the *Kempei Tai*, Matthews was implicated, and also Lieutenant R.G. Wells, for keeping a diary, a punishable offence. Despite the horrific treatment, both Matthews and Wells did not implicate others. Following a trial in Kuching in February 1944, Matthews and eight civilians were executed by firing squad at Setapok near Batu Kawa on 2 March 1944.[30] Other suspects were sentenced to long imprisonment in Singapore, including Dr Taylor and Wells, who were each given 12 years imprisonment; six died apparently from ill-treatment prior to the Japanese capitulation.[31] This whole episode was referred to as the 'Sandakan Incident'.

While Matthews' clandestine organization was operational, it assisted seven POWs who managed to escape from Berhala Island,[32] and one from the Sandakan POW Prison.[33] The discovery of this underground organization, although it led to tortures and deaths of those implicated, was a blessing in disguise. As a precautionary measure, the Japanese had as many as 200 officers and NCOs removed to Kuching's Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp sometime in September 1943. For fear of the possibility of officers organizing the men in the Sandakan POW Prison, the bulk of the officer corps was removed; by October 1943 only Captain G. Cook and two other officers remained to take charge of the POWs. Likewise the medical staff was reduced to Captains J. Oakshott, D. Piconi, and another medical officer, and several chaplains.[34]

> From October 1943, the conditions of those who remained at Sandakan [POW Camp] deteriorated badly. The Japanese were on the defensive and the need for the airstrips increased. This demand was soon to become even greater as US sea and air domination was established. With the work incomplete and delayed, the Japanese took out their frustrations on the prisoners and brutalities increased. Much of what occurred will never be known, because only six out of the 2390 survived.[35]

After 10 January 1945 work on the airstrips ceased. The POWs were put to cultivating vegetables. By then quite a number were bedridden. They were appearing to be a great liability to the Japanese. Since October 1944 Sandakan had been under constant US aerial bombardment. It was under such circumstances that marches began, according to official dictates for two main reasons: first, the labour of the POWs at the airstrip was no longer needed, and second, the Japanese wanted to make sure that they do not fall into enemy hands.

The first march occurred sometime in mid-January 1945. Although Lieutenant General Baba Masao, commanding officer of the 37th Army, which was based in Jesselton,[36] demanded 500 of the fittest POWs to be transferred inland to Ranau where a new POW camp was under construction, Hoshijima was only able to offer 470, including some who suffered from beriberi or had serious ulcers. Whether it was prearranged or coincidental, the first march coincided with the movement of the IJA's 2nd Battalion 25th Independent Mixed Regiment, which was transferred to Jesselton on the west coast across the Crocker Range from Ranau. The POWs under Hoshijima were to act as porters carrying ammunition and stores. The journey to Ranau on the eastern slope of the Crocker Range stretched over 263 kilometres through swamps, thick jungle, and over rugged mountainous terrain.

Owing to the adverse conditions only half of the POWs finally reached Ranau. They were immediately assigned the heavy task of backtracking some 32 kilometres to Paginatan and there ordered to transport rice to Ranau across the difficult mountainous trail. How many died, succumbing to exhaustion or diseases or were killed by the Japanese task masters was unclear. But the shocking revelation was that when the POWs of the second march reached Ranau in June 1945, only five Australians and one British from the first march greeted them.[37]

The 'no work no food' policy, in line with the stipulation that the POWs 'should be kept alive to the last whenever their labour is needed', was implemented sometime towards the end of 1944, since the work on the airstrip tailed off and completely stopped by 10 January 1945. The consequences were horrific, as starvation coupled with diseases consumed the POWs: 'By March [1945] the prisoners were dying at the rate of ten a night – 300 in one month.'[38]

In May 1945 instructions for the abandonment of Sandakan POW Prison and for the second march to Ranau were implemented. At the same time, on 17 May Captain Takakuwa Takuo assumed control of Sandakan POWs, replacing Hoshijima. On 29 May Takakuwa commenced the second march inland, taking along 536 POWs and leaving behind 288 stretcher cases. The entire Sandakan POW Prison was torched, including the hospital and all records and equipment. Rumours were rife among the POWs that the destruction of the camp and their embarkation on a march was to liberation – to Sandakan town where the POWs were to be handed to the Allies. Two days prior to the march the camp received heavy naval and aerial bombardment; it appeared as if the Allies had landed at Sandakan.

However, when the party turned towards the road for Ranau, instead of the anticipated journey to Sandakan town, the morale of the POWs collapsed. At the end of the 28-day torturous march, 183 (142 Australians and 41 British) reached

Ranau. En route gunner Owen Campbell and Bombardier R. Dick Braithwaite managed to escape.[39] Despite the tight security there were four escapists from Ranau itself on 4 July, namely Privates Nelson Short, A. Anderson,[40] Keith Botterill and Bombardier William (Bill) Moxham.[41] Anderson, however, subsequently died and his three comrades buried him in a shallow grave in the jungle.[42] Three weeks later, on 28 July, Warrant Officer William (Bill) H. Sticpewich and Private Herman Reither, the latter extremely weak from dysentery, made their escape. Reither, however, died two days before Flight Lieutenant G.C. Ripley of Z Force (AGAS III) arrived on 10 August.[43]

It seemed that those at Ranau, including Captain Cook, the commandant of the POWs, and the medical officers were shot shortly after the escape of Sticpewich and Reither. There was no handover of POWs following the Japanese surrender. The AIF searched the jungle along the Sandakan-Ranau trail, and found only six survivors; those that had escaped.

Apparently there was a third march of POWs left behind in the burnt-out ruins of the Sandakan POW Prison. It appeared that from native sources given to Z Force personnel as well as evidence collected from a postwar Australian investigation team, about 75 POWs, presumably the survivors of the 288 stretcher cases, 'were marched into the jungle where they perished or were shot.'[44] Based on statements of Japanese guards, this was what happened to those that remained at Sandakan.

> According to these accounts there were then 292 prisoners in the area [the burnt premises of Sandakan POW Prison]. By 10th June [1945] 30 had died 'from natural causes'; that day 75 were taken under escort to the 8-Mile Post and were not seen again. There were then 185 alive. On 13th July only 53 were still living; that day 23 of the fittest were taken to the airfield and shot; the remainder were now desperately ill that the Japanese considered they could not last more than a few days 'so they were left to die'. All were dead by 15th August.[45]

The death toll was as follows. Out of a total of 2,400 POWs at Sandakan POW Prison, some 1,294 perished on three 'death' marches, while 1,100 died in prison. There were six survivors, namely those that managed to escape; two escaped on the second march, and four from Ranau POW Camp. Athol Moffitt, the public prosecutor at the Labuan War Crimes Trials, spelt out the entire tragedy in these terms.

> The deaths were knowingly and deliberately caused, first by starvation and then by other means, because their [POWs] labour was no longer required. In 1945, they became an encumbrance in an inconvenient location [that is Sandakan POW Prison], thought by the Japanese to be a likely Allied landing spot. They [POWs] were considered to be a threat to the Japanese at Sandakan [town] by reason of the 'Sandakan Incident' and independently because, with Allied air and sea superiority, their presence made Sandakan itself, including the [prison] compound, a target for their rescue. The earlier inhumanity and death of prisoners dating back to 1943 and escalating up to and into 1945 made

it imperative that no prisoner should escape, who could provide evidence of these atrocities.[46]

Starvation was brought about by the withholding of rice rations in line with the 'no work no food' policy. Unlike the Long Nawang killings the perpetrators of the Sandakan tragedy – Captains Hoshijima, Takakuwa, Watanabe Genzo, and Lieutenant General Baba Masao – were brought to trial, found guilty, sentenced to death, and duly executed.[47]

Underlying the whole episode of the Sandakan Death March tragedy was the question of why there were no attempts made to rescue the POWs. There was in fact a plan, 'a well advanced plan for a major rescue operation,' but it 'was not pursued.'[48] Towards the later part of 1944 an Australian paratroop battalion led by Lieutenant Colonel John Overall underwent training at the Atherton tablelands in Queensland for a special assignment: the rescue of POWs at Sandakan prior to the Australian landings on Borneo, which was scheduled for 1 May 1945. This daring rescue mission hitherto unknown to members of the paratroop battalion was codenamed 'Project KINGFISHER.' It formed part of the Australian Services Reconnaissance Department's (SRD) Z Force covert operation named AGAS I.[49] Project KINGFISHER was in fact part of AGAS II,[50] but it was not activated. Project KINGFISHER (AGAS II) was not implemented, primarily because General Douglas MacArthur's (1880–1964) South-West Pacific Area (SWPA) General Headquarters (GHQ) did not furnish the air transport for the operation. The proposed number of drop planes was 100 C47s to convey the 800 paratroops, their equipment and stores; Australia then had only 20 C47s that were available, the balance of 80 had to be provided by the US but apparently they were not forthcoming.

The stark reality of the non-cooperation of the US relating to the provision of air transport was consistent with MacArthur's obsession of ensuring that all counter-offensive successes came from US forces under his direct command.[51] Without the vital air transport Project KINGFISHER literally did not get off the ground. The conceited attitude of MacArthur sealed the fate of the Australian and British POWs at Sandakan, who faced the wrath of their Japanese captors.

Anti-Japanese revolts

The Kinabalu Uprising of October 1943

Having sacked the police stations at Tuaran and Menggatal, a group of 100 Chinese headed south towards Api (present-day Kota Kinabalu), a town on the west coast of former British North Borneo, where they attacked the administration offices of the *Gunseibu*, police stations, and other facilities of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA). Meanwhile a group of 200 natives from the offshore islands landed at the Api wharf and torched the warehouses. Several Dusuns and Indian policemen who hitherto served the military regime switched their loyalty to the rebels. The rebels 'ruled' Api and its surroundings for about a day (10 October) before regrouping at their base in Mansiang, near Menggatal. Thereafter the rebels dispersed into

hideouts in the mountainous interior. Altogether between 50 and 90 Japanese and Formosans (Taiwanese), mainly civilians, were killed.

This anti-Japanese uprising broke out on the night of 9 October 1943.[52] A fifth of the rebels were ethnic Chinese, including rebel leader Guo Heng Nan (Albert Kwok)[53] and the remainder comprised Suluk, Binadans and Bajau Laut (Sea Bajau) and indigenous peoples from the nearby islands. Native chiefs involved were Panglima Ali (Pulau Suluk), Jemalul (Pulau Mantanani), Arshad (Pulau Udar), and Saruddin (Pulau Dinawan). There were also others: Jules Peter Stephens and Charles Peter (North Borneo Volunteer Force, NBVF), Musah (a Dusun), Duallis (a Murut) and Subedar Dewa Singh (an Indian police constable).[54]

The IJA backlash was swift and ruthless. Military reinforcements of two IJA companies from Kuching, together with the *Kempei Tai* and native police, descended on Api and its surroundings, which, stretched northwards to Tuaran and Kota Belud, to hunt for the rebels and their supporters. Native inhabitants of islands such as Suluk, Udar, Dinawan, Mantanani and Mengalum, which were known to number among the rebels and sympathizers, suffered island-wide extermination. Altogether an estimated 4,000 people died in the reprisals.[55]

By mid-December 1943 it was the end for the rebels. Guo, in order to save other lives, surrendered to the Japanese on 19 December. Together with 175 others, Guo was executed by beheading at Petagas on 21 January 1944.[56] Another 131 rebels were sent to prison at Labuan where only seven survived after the Japanese surrender. At the Batu Tiga (3rd Mile) prison 96 people were tortured and subsequently mass execution was carried out on 5 May.

Why did Guo lead the Kinabalu Guerrilla Force (Shenshan Youji Dui) into a revolt against the Japanese and occupied Api for a day and thereafter withdrew? He was fully aware that his force lacked firearms; those that he had purchased had yet to arrive. For such a brief 'victory' Guo and his comrades paid a high price with their lives as well as the lives of their supporters and many other lives as entire *kampung* (villages) along the west coast were exterminated.

The deteriorating economic situation of acute shortages in essential foodstuffs, repressive measures of the Gunseibu specifically towards the Chinese community, and the recruitment of *romusha* were cited as contributory causes that led to the uprising of October 1943.

Drawing from various sources a Japanese scholar has shown how disruptive the establishment of Kita Boruneo was on former British North Borneo's economy.[57] The territory's pre-war export commodities, namely rubber, timber and Manila hemp appeared secondary to the Gunseibu administration, which primarily focused on resuscitating the oil installations in Sarawak (Miri and Lutong) and Brunei (Seria). Consequently, unemployment skyrocketed among workers engaged in the pre-war export sector where production tumbled: 'Exports of rubber and Manila hemp were respectively just one-tenth and one-quarter of the pre-war level in 1942, and negligible from 1943 to 1945.'[58] Furthermore, all the pre-war traditional foreign markets, notably Europe and North America, were closed to the territory's exports; access to Japan begun to deteriorate as the Allied naval blockade steadily closed all shipping routes. Despite logging activities for timber

in the construction of small crafts, the difficulty in transporting the logs to the shipyards made the felling effort superfluous. The situation was so damaging that even by 1947, two years after the end of the war, production had yet to attain pre-war levels.[59]

The worst hit commodity was the staple rice. Owing to cheap rice imports in the pre-war period, more than half of the territory's annual rice consumption (15,000 tons) was served by imported rice and the remainder from local producers. Overall pre-war Kita Boruneo produced 50,000 tons of rice yearly and another 60,000 tons came from abroad. But since the occupation the imported portion fell from 23,000 tons in 1942 to a mere 10,000 tons in 1943.[60] Efforts by the Japanese military authorities to increase domestic rice production fell short despite the expanded acreage.[61]

Overall the shortage in essential commodities, especially rice, coupled with large-scale unemployment created widespread dissatisfaction and acrimony among the local inhabitants. Runaway inflation as a result of the unrestrained issuing of Japanese military paper currency further prompted increases in prices of daily necessities. In countering these developments the Japanese military administration imposed a monopoly for the sale of: rice, sugar, salt, dried fish, opium, matches and petroleum. In July 1942 the military authorities unwisely announced the collection of a poll tax of an annual rate of $6 per head from native and Chinese inhabitants.[62] It was an unprecedented move that sparked widespread anger and alienation. Traditionally the poll tax of $1 per individual native 'was accepted with equanimity, as demonstrating those villages which were under the protection of the [colonial] administration.'[63] To the native population the $6 poll tax was astronomical and certainly beyond their capability; for the Chinese, it was an additional burden to the *shu-jin* ('blood money') demands. Within seven months, the poll tax was abolished.[64]

As has been pointed out, the policy of the Gunseibu towards the Chinese community in Kita Boruneo was overall hostile and repressive on all fronts. Flushing out anti-Japanese elements among the community was actively pursued by the Kempei-tai, with the assistance of local informers and collaborators. Those connected to pre-war organizations such as the China Relief Fund, Spitfire Fund, and others as activists or even as donors were singled out for a 'session' with the Kempei-tai, where physical torture preceded interrogation; quite a number did not survive the inhumane treatment. All connections with Nationalist China irrespective of whatever nature (familial, economic, political, etc.) were severed. In order to 'purify' their pre-war anti-Japanese activities the Chinese of *Seikai-shu* and *Tokai-shu* had to deliver $600,000 and $400,000 respectively, totalling $ 1million, as a 'gift of atonement.'[65]

Meanwhile Chinese economic enterprises and their strategic networks were hijacked by Japanese *zaibatsu* brought in by the military authorities; Chinese businesses had no choice but to acquiesce to 'cooperation.' The teaching of *Nihon-go* dominated instruction in Chinese schools; the use of the Chinese language (*kuo-yu*) was discouraged. Chinese who held any position of administrative and/or political significance were replaced by a native.

Apparently spurred by intelligence that large numbers of young Chinese men and women were to be rounded up by the Japanese – males into the militia and females as 'comfort women' – Guo brought forward the date for his planned uprising. The information was received on 1 October 1943.[66] In fact the only reference to any recruitment drive was for the formation of the North Borneo Volunteer Corps (Kyodotai), which formalized the recruitment of native, not Chinese, youth for military training. It was to form a sort of 'homeland defence corps' and the date ordered for its establishment was 10 October 1943.[67] There was no documentary evidence that showed the Gunseibu was intending to recruit Chinese women for the military brothels. Undoubtedly during the wartime period there were rumours aplenty as well as misinformation and it was no surprise that some quarters and individuals including Guo were inadvertently drawn to them.

Likewise on the issue of the recruitment of *romusha* as one of the push factors for the October 1943 revolt, it was unclear if this forced conscription of labour from the local Chinese community directly contributed to the uprising. What was evident, as has already been mentioned, was the establishment in May 1943 of the Kita Boruneo Romukyokai, which was tasked to acquire romusha from mainland China and Java, the former for skilled artisans and the latter unskilled workers.[68] No doubt there might be word on the grapevine of local inhabitants including Chinese being impressed into labour gangs, but no documents revealed that local Chinese in the hundreds or thousands became romusha.

It appeared that Guo was driven more by his patriotic zeal for China, meaning Chinese nationalism rather than a local-born nationalistic passion to eject the Japanese despite the multiethnic composition of the rebel force. When Api was in rebel hands, shouts of '*Chung hwa man man sui* [Long live China]' reverberated through the town.[69] The choice of launching an uprising on the evening of 9 October with the optimistic aim of securing victory the next day, which Guo and his comrades succeeded albeit briefly, was resurrecting China's unshackling from the foreign (Manchu) Qing dynasty on 10 October 1911, since then celebrated as China's National Day (the Double Tenth). Despite Chinese nationalism underpinning the rebel movement's leadership and motivation, the 'Epitaph of the Kinabalu Guerrilla Movement Martyrs' at Petagas rightly acknowledged the participation of the various communities.

It was mentioned that prior to the uprising Guo had established contact with Lieutenant Colonel Alejandro Suarez, commander of the US Forces in the Philippines (USFP) based at Tawi Tawi, through intermediaries Lim Keng Fatt and Imam Marajukin.[70] Guo sought arms from USFP but was only able to purchase a small quantity owing to shortages. From late June to late August 1943, Guo stayed at Suarez's base in Tawi Tawi, where he received military training. Guo was elevated to the rank of 'Third Lieutenant' in the Reserve Force of USFP, and assigned duties as 'Military Intelligence Officer.'[71] A consignment of weapons was also booked and paid for; it arrived on 29 December 1943, ten days following the surrender of Guo and his men.

Although the USFP sold weapons to Guo and appointed him intelligence officer, the uprising in all aspects of initiative, planning and subsequent execution was

Guo's and his band of participants.[72] No evidence pointed to Guo taking instructions or being given guidance in planning or carrying out a revolt from Suarez or directed by the USFP.[73] In fact Suarez cautioned Guo to focus on gathering intelligence on the west coast of former British North Borneo. Neither did any direction come from Services Reconnaissance Department Services (SRD), the Allied Special Forces Executive (SOE) that was already in the territory in early October 1943. In fact, like Suarez, Major F.G.L. Chester, who led PYTHON I,[74] warned Guo through Lim 'not to do anything in the nature of a rising, that his [Guo] task lay in collecting and dispatching information,'[75] and 'that the time for the insurrection which they [Guo and his comrades] were planning was not yet ripe.'[76]

Native participation and support for Guo's cause undoubtedly stemmed from the deteriorating economic situation of acute shortages particularly of rice, the staple diet of all the inhabitants and other necessities that pervaded throughout the territory and all levels of society. In other words the spark of the Kinabalu Uprising of October 1943 was ignited by Chinese nationalism and was fanned by sufferings of the indigenous communities.

Anti-Japanese conspiracies in Minami Boruneo

From mid-1943 the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), which administered Minami Boruneo (former Dutch Borneo), embarked on a series of mass arrests of civilians in southern and western parts of the territory. Termed 'general investigation,' numerous waves of arrest continued through to early 1945. No one it seemed, not even close relatives, had access to the detainees (referred to as 'political prisoners') who were taken away by the *Tokkei Tai* (special naval police) assisted by the Indonesian-staffed Minseibu Police. Apparently those arrested were ignorant of the reason for their sudden detention. Subsequently headlined on the front page of the Japanese-managed Malay language *Borneo Simboen*[77] was the timely uncovering of numerous anti-Japanese plots aimed at overthrowing the Borneo Minseibu administration. Photographs of the leaders of the various plots were featured, including ex-Dutch governor Dr B.J. Haga, the 12 sultan/*dokoh*[78] of Pontianak and other prominent individuals from the multiethnic community. The *Borneo Simboen* informed of the trial, sentence and execution of these alleged leaders of anti-Japanese plots and conspiracies.

Postwar investigations revealed shallow graves and scattered bones in the vicinity of Mandor, about 60 kilometres northeast of Pontianak and Soengei Doerian. Numerous investigation reports concurred that at least 1,500 civilians in southern and western Borneo had been killed by the Japanese authorities during the occupation. Nonetheless the lacuna of evidence and testimony of independent witnesses denied the postwar Pontianak War Crimes Tribunal[79] of what actually took place.[80]

Altogether there were three stages in the development of events that subsequently led to the mass executions. Adhering to the terminology in the source materials, the events unfolded as follows: the 'Haga Plot', Banjarmasin, mid-May to December 1943, then the 'Pontianak Incident', Pontianak, October 1943 to January 1944, and the 'Chinese Conspiracy', Pontianak and Singkawang, August 1944 to January

1945. The running theme from the perspective of the Japanese naval authorities was anti-Japanese subversion that, if executed, would lead to the overthrow of the Borneo Minseibu at Banjarmasin (and branches in Pontianak, Balikpapan, and Tarakan) and the 22nd Tokubetsu Kon Kyochi Tai (22nd Naval Base Force) at Balikpapan. Hence the mass arrests undertaken by the Kaigun Tokubetsu Keisatsu (Tokkei Tai), Special Naval Police, followed by Naval Court Martial proceedings that handed out death sentences to the head conspirators, and clandestine beheadings of detainees as preemptive actions to stamp out a potential threat.

Alleged participants, later victims of the killings, of the so-called 'plots' and 'conspiracies' were from various ethnic groups and professions. Dutch, Eurasians, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, Minangkabaus, Bataks, Menadonese, Madurese, Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Dayaks apparently formed a multiethnic group of subversives. Interestingly quite a number of the accused at the time of their arrest were serving the Minseibu in senior positions. The alleged conspirators also included all the 12 native rulers (Dokoh or Sultan) of Pontianak, Sambas, Ketapang, Soekadana, Simbang, Koeboe, Ngabang, Sanggau, Sekadau, Tajan, Singtan and Mempawa.[81] All the key Dutch colonial officers from the governor to district officers then under internment were also implicated. From the tough stance of the Japanese naval authorities and the profile of the victims, it appeared to all intents and purpose that the Japanese was determined to exterminate South Borneo's local elite in a single stroke.

The 'Haga Plot', Banjarmasin, mid-May to December 1943

According to a contemporary Japanese official account that was published in the *Borneo Simboen*, 25 December 1943, ex-Dutch governor Dr Bebeie Juris Haga, the alleged leader of an anti-Japanese plot working from an internment camp in Banjarmasin, through his network of accomplices and contacts from within and from without planned the overthrow of the Japanese occupying forces in the event of an Allied re-conquest of Borneo leading to the restoration of the Netherlands East Indies.[82] It stated that Haga had propagandized the notion amongst the multiethnic inhabitants that the defeat of the Dutch forces was a tactical retreat, a strategy that was developed long before the Japanese invasion, and that the Dutch awaited the auspicious time of an Anglo-American return. When an Allied assault commenced, Haga would lead the male civilian internees, Captain van Walsum, the POWs, and Haga's wife, N.G. Haga-Witsenburg, and the female internees to the front compound of the Chinese school building to join the Allied army. Utilizing a hidden cache of arms, Haga and his party would defeat the Japanese forces. It seemed that in January 1943 the Haga-led conspirators were ready for an Allied reoccupation that was expected either in March or May. The Japanese authorities, it was claimed, knew of these developments and swung into action on the morning of 10 May, when subversive elements outside the internment camp were detained. Haga and his co-conspirators inside the camp were arrested in August. It was reported that there were four waves of arrest totalling 200 persons.

Borneo Simboen in its Banjarmasin edition of 21 December 1943 featured on its front page the photographs of five key conspirators, Haga, Dr C. Matheus Vischer,

Raden Soesilo, L.G. Brandon, Antonio Santeago (Santi) Pereira, and a cache of mostly rifles and several boxes of ammunition.[83] It also listed the names, age, ethnicity and occupation of 25 alleged leading conspirators, including five women.[84] The main text carried the title:

> *Seloeroeh Kepala Komplotoan Dihoekoem tembak Mati. Karena berdosa sebagai komplotan pendjahat melawan Nippon. Haga sebagai kepala komplot beserta kawan2nja jang tertipoe oleh Inggeris dan Amerika* [All Leaders of the Conspiracy Sentenced to Death by Shooting. Because they were found guilty of conspiracy against Japan. Haga, the head conspirator and his friends, were deceived by England and America]

A write-up under the heading '*Keterengan Ringkas Kaoem Penghianat Jang Megimpikan Perlawanan Terhadap Dai Nippon* [Brief Summary of the Traitors who Dreamed of Opposition to Japan]' gave a narrative of the intentions, activities, and plans of the conspiracy. The 25 alleged leaders of the conspiracy, following a hearing before a naval military court, were given the death sentence and executed by firing squad on 20 December 1943.

An official report titled 'Anti-Japanese Rebellion Conspiracy in South Borneo', sent to the Navy Ministry in Tokyo, detailed the plans and activities of those involved, specifying names and places.[85] Attached as an appendix was 'Military Disciplinary Code of the Fleet in South-Western Areas', which listed violations and their penalties.[86] Apart from the intense public interest in the case the report declared that 'there was less agitation in the public's feeling than expected' owing to the fact that 'the arrested persons being for the most part Dutch, third country nationals, Eurasians etc., who had held higher positions than the natives and had held them [the natives] in contempt'.[87] Although undeniably the majority of the alleged leading conspirators were Dutch, there were also Swiss ('third country nationals', namely Dr and Mrs Vischer), Chinese and indigenes like Javanese, Menadonese, Dayak and Malay. As earlier mentioned, several of them were serving senior officials in various departments of the Minseibu.[88]

The 'Pontianak Incident', Pontianak, October 1943 to January 1944

From the later part of October 1943, apparently based on the interrogation of detainees in Banjarmasin, the Tokkei made the first arrest in Pontianak of persons alleged to be involved in a clandestine conspiracy to overthrow the Japanese military regime in West Borneo. The 'whole story' first appeared in the Pontianak edition of the *Borneo Simboen* of 1 July 1944; subsequently there were similar accounts published in Banjarmasin (2 July 1944) and Balikpapan (4 July 1944).[89] The headlines of the Pontianak edition read:

> *Komploton Besar jang mendoeharka oentok melawan Dai Nippon soedah dibongkar sampai ke-akar-akarnja. Kepala-kepala Komplotan serta lain-lainnja ditembak mati. Keamanan di Borneo-Barat tenang kembali dengan*

> *sepoerna. (Penoemoeman Pasoekan didaerah ini pada tanggal 1 Sitigatu tahoen 19 Syowa)* [An Extensive Traitorous Conspiracy to Attack Japan has been exposed to its Very Roots. The Leaders of the Plot and Others have been shot dead. Complete Peace and Order returned to West Borneo. (Announcement of Troops in this Province on 1 July 19th (Year) Showa [1944].)]

All three editions carried photographs of the twelve leaders of the conspiracy and weapons seized.[90]

As in the Haga Plot, all alleged 48 leading conspirators in this Pontianak Incident were cited with name, age, ethnicity and occupation in *Borneo Simboen*. Heading the list was J.E. Pattiasina, an Ambonese who was then the head of the general affairs department of the branch office of the Minseibu (Resident's Office) in Pontianak (suspended from his duty), and Sjarif Mohamed Alkadri, the 74-year-old reigning Dokoh (Sultan) Pontianak, and 11 other native rulers.

According to the *Borneo Simboen'*s write-up titled 'Keringkasan Perkara [Brief Overview of the Affair],' the alleged conspiracy begun as early as January 1942, when the IJA occupied Pontianak.[91] There were at that time 13 parties or groups whose leaders were under the influence of a leftist movement drawn from some members of Parindra, a pre-war nationalist organization, which harboured communist ideology.[92] It was alleged that this movement sought to exploit the confusion in the wake of the Japanese invasion to declare the independence of West Borneo. However, for reasons undisclosed, the intended seizure did not materialize. Interestingly, owing to the extremist views to overthrow the Japanese administration as well as to eliminate all the independent native rulers when the 'People's Republic of West Borneo' was inaugurated, in March 1942 Alkadri agreed to participate with the 13 parties in opposing the Japanese. Moreover in mid-April, Alkadri succeeded in persuading his fellow rulers to join the plot.

Earlier in February 1942, Pattiasina and Richard, the ex-chief inspector of police in the former Dutch colonial government imprisoned by the IJA for being anti-Japanese, were released and sworn an oath of loyalty. They assumed the leadership of the 13 parties to oppose the Japanese and were said to be very influential.

Then on 1 April the IJA announced that all political organizations including Parindra were proscribed. Consequently in mid-May at a conference Pattiasina, Dr Roebini,[93] Pangeran Agoeng,[94] Ng Njiap Soen[95] and other colleagues – altogether 22 men – succeeded in transcending differences between parties and ethnic groups and united in the common objective to overthrow the Japanese regime, and established Nissinkai, under the leadership of Noto Soedjono, the former chairman of the provincial committee of Parindra of West Borneo. Nissinkai pretended to be pro-Japanese but secretly was preparing plans against the Japanese. It seemed to be influential amongst the common people. Then in July 1942 Noto Soedjono, general chairman of Nissinkai, forwarded a request to the commander of the IJA that Nissinkai be given official recognition, thereby strengthening the resistance movement. Instead in October 1942 the Minseibu Pontianak Sibutyo (head of the Minseibu branch office in Pontianak) banned Nissinkai. Thereafter the conspirators utilized the Pemoeda Moehamadijah, the youth wing of the Mohammadijah,

an Islamic semi-political movement founded in 1912 in Java, as a front to conduct their meetings under the guise of religious gatherings. Mohammadijah cooperated with the Japanese military administration.[96] Pattiasina, identified as the mastermind of the traitorous plot, allegedly wielded great authority in the Minseibu in Pontianak, where he decided on the appointment and dismissal of Indonesian civil servants.

Through wireless broadcasts the conspirators anticipated an Anglo-American invasion in December 1942. It was asserted that the Pontianak plotters were aware of the Haga-led subversive group in Banjarmasin, which gave them confidence to plan their revolt. Owing to the Chinese who withheld their wholehearted support, preferring to observe the war situation, the plan to revolt was not possible. Pattiasina then met up with the twelve native rulers in Pontianak and secured their full support and cooperation. Having known of Japanese reverses in the war front, from mid-1943 the Chinese supported the planned rebellion. Meanwhile Makaliwi and Dr Raden Soesilo, who conspired with Haga, came from Banjarmasin to Pontianak and got into contact with the conspirators and wholly supported and encouraged their activities.

News of the mass arrest of those involved in the Haga Plot at Banjarmasin in mid-May 1943 alarmed the Pontianak conspirators. They then decided in June 1943 to rouse the common people of western Borneo to revolt through the establishment of a secret organization, Soeka Rela (Pasoekan Penjerboean Bersendjata or Voluntary Armed Corps). As a result of numerous meetings it was finally decided that early December 1943 would be scheduled for the uprising and details relating to combat units, accumulation and transport of weapons, ammunition, and expenses with regards to food, etc. were discussed. Then on the evening of 16 October 1943, 69 key conspirators gathered for a secret conference at the Medan Sepakat premises in Pontianak, and planned the revolt for 8 December 1943.[97]

The *Borneo Simboen* of 1 July 1944 furnished an outline of the foundation of the proposed 'State'.

> The name of the State was decided to be 'NEGERI RA'JAT BORNEO BARAT' (People's [C]ountry of Western Borneo) as agreement was reached with regard to the constitution, the outline of the Government, the design for the flag, people were appointed who would occupy important places like the Prime Minister, PANGERAN ADIPATI, the Vice-President, PATTIASINA and 18 Ministers, the Head of the Secretary [sic, Chief Secretary], the Mayor of Pontianak, measures with regard to religion, the Court of Justice, the Criminal Judge [sic], the circulation of money, and a special message to America and England after the new country had been established were taken and a meeting after the establishment of the new State, to celebrate victory in war, would be held.[98]

Thus on 23 October 1943 mass arrests were carried out, including that of Pattiasina. The other leaders who managed to evade arrest hurriedly met at the palace of the Sultan of Pontianak and at the house of Roebini where 'they drew up a plan to kill

the members of the Keibitai [garrison] . . . by means of poison and thus reach their goal speedily, before their collaborators in the plot who were in prison would have betrayed all their secrets.'[99]

Another wave of mass arrests was made on 24 January 1944, where more than 100 individuals including the 12 native rulers, were taken into custody, along with the seizure of a hoard of weapons. The Naval Court Martial sentenced the leading conspirators to death; on 28 June 1944 the 48 accused leading conspirators were shot to death. Besides the publicized death sentence of the 48 alleged leaders of the conspiracy, many more, apparently without trial, were clandestinely killed by the Tokkei in the vicinity of Mandor.

Sergeant Major Miyajima Junkichi of the Tokei Tai at Pontianak, who was present at Mandor during the execution of detainees and himself responsible for two beheadings, gave this account of proceedings where 100 people were executed within an hour.

> At leaving the prison the prisoners were blindfolded and their hands were tied on their backs. After they had arrived at Mandor by lorry they were lead [sic.] along a small path, one lorry-load after the other, to the place of execution. This was done by Tokeitai personnel and soldiers of the garrison (Keibitai).
>
> Next the victims were called forward in groups of five or ten at the time. They were not called by their names but by their number which had been sewn on their clothes before they left the prison. Next they had to kneel or sit down near a hole which had been dug before-hand, after which they were beheaded and their bodies used to drop into the hole. . . . I always thought that they [the victims] even did not know that they were going to be executed. There have never been attempts to escape because the people were blindfolded and their hands were tied on their back so that they could not walk by themselves and had to be [led] by our soldiers.[100]

The 'Chinese Conspiracy,' Pontianak and Singkawang, August 1944 to January 1945

The so-called 'Chinese Conspiracy', also referred to as the 'Second Pontianak Incident', witnessed the rounding up of prominent Chinese traders and merchants, communal leaders, youths, and schoolteachers in and around Pontianak and Singkawang, culminating in the clandestine massacre of some 350 individuals at Soengai Doerian. The published, official account appeared in *Borneo Simboen*, 1 March 1945. According to the written statement of Captain Okajima Riki,[101] the then head of both the Keibi Tai and Tokkei Tai, the conspirators planned for the establishment of a Chinese-dominated autonomous state of West Borneo under the Nationalist Guomindang (KMT) government at Chongqing (Chungking) 'in which no interference of any other nation should be tolerated.'[102] Okajima asserted that the leader and chief architect of the conspiracy was an individual named Tjhen Tjong Hin (Tjia Kong Siong) who sought to replicate an eighteenth century Chinese leader named Lo Fong Pak (Luo Fangbo), who established the

Lanfang Kongsi at Mandor that was described as an *imperium in imperio*, an entity wholly independent of the local Malay rulers in West Borneo.[103] Tjhen was the honorary chairman of the *Kakyo Toseikai* (Chinese Control Association), later renamed *Kyoa Sokei* (Organization of Asiatic Cooperation).

Tjhen and his fellow conspirators put together an elaborate organization with various sections – economic sabotage, finance, intelligence, guerilla units, foreign intelligence and others – with the nerve centre in Pontianak and branches in Mengpatu, Ketapang, Sinawang, and Singkawang. Apparently there was also a foreign delegation based in Singapore.[104] A battalion-strong combat unit divided into two or three companies would execute the armed revolt. A cunning plan was in place prior to the uprising.

> In order to facilitate the fight, attempts were to be made beforehand to kill as many [Japanese] as possible by means of poison. To this purpose all [Japanese] would be invited at the Nippon Gekijo (theatre), where poisoned coffee would be offered to them. If this plan would fail, a second attempt would be made on Sept. 29th, while the armed fight was to begin on the 1st of October.[105]

What foiled the revolt was the chance arrest of a Chinese named Yo Bak Fie (Yong Bak Fie, or Ah Fie), who had a shortwave wireless strapped on his bicycle. Yo was head of the espionage activities in Singkawang; at the time of his detention he was in the process of bringing a radio for safekeeping to the interior, thereby allowing members to have access to foreign broadcasts.[106]

Despite allegations made in his statement of the conspirators having formed armed guerilla units and numerous wireless apparatus being secretly hidden, in his interrogation, Okajima 'admitted that at the house-searching weapons were not found . . . neither were radio transmitters found.'[107] In Tjhen's confession, according to Okajima's statement, 'it was [Tjhen's] intention to call in the help of the CHUNGKING Govt. for the transport of arms to the island of TAMBELAN and further to TJAPKALA, where they could be used in case of a revolt . . . even intended to have arms dropped from planes.'[108]

Okajima maintained that 170 persons were arrested in connection with this so-called conspiracy and all were executed.[109] Only 17 of the accused were sentenced to death by default by the Naval Court Martial at Surabaya,[110] and were executed at Pontianak. Apparently the rest were killed at Soengai Doerian on orders of Vice-Admiral Kamada Michiaki, Shireikan (Commander) of the 22nd Naval Base Force at Balikpapan.[111]

The death toll

From various quarters the scenario that emerged was that the Japanese carried out a gory series of mass beheadings in the vicinity of Mandor, northeast of Pontianak, and at the unfinished Oelin aerodrome at Soengai Doerian, about 24 kilometres from Banjarmasin, where postwar investigation revealed the existence of many shallow graves and innumerable skeletons scattered in the undergrowth.

Two immediate postwar investigations into Japanese war crimes conducted by officers of the Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS), namely Captain L.D.G. Krol (1 March 1946) and Captain J.N. Heijbroek (20 May 1946), concurred that 1,100 persons were beheaded in connection with the Haga Plot and the Pontianak Incident.[112] The breakdown and the venue of executions according to Heijbroek was 1,000 in Mandor and 100 in Ketapang. Krol's figure for those sentenced to death under court martial was 46 individuals (Haga Plot and the Pontianak Incident) and 17 (Chinese Conspiracy). Heijbroek on the other hand reported 36 were court martialled (Haga Plot and the Pontianak Incident) but did not mention the numbers for the Chinese Conspiracy, merely stating that 170 Chinese were beheaded at Soengai Doerian, against Krol's figure of 200 Chinese executed without the venue cited. In summary the total number of victims killed was between 1,270 (Heijbroek) and 1,300 (Krol). During the dedication of a memorial at Mandor in March 1947 to those who had died, the number of victims stated was 1,500; the ethnic breakdown and the places where they were killed to a large extent coincided with Krol's and Heijbroek's reckoning.[113]

An Indonesian source of 1970 focusing on the Haga Plot and the Pontianak Incident claimed 1,534 deaths: Indonesian – 577; Chinese – 903; European – 36; and Asian Foreigner – 18.[114] According to Izeki Tsuneo (1987) a civilian interpreter who was present in the early part of the Pontianak Incident in 1943 and who was present at about 800 executions in Mandor recollected that his commanding officer told him that the total number killed was 1,486.[115]

Calculated strategy or cold-blooded murders

Because of the discovery of a 'plot' to overthrow the Japanese, first uncovered in Banjarmasin, there, were mass arrests, and from interrogations further arrests were made, as conspirators were also apparently found in Pontianak. The Tokkei Tai carried out the investigations of these alleged 'plots' and 'conspiracies', followed by the arrest of hundreds of suspects. Applying various forms of torture the Tokkei Tai extracted signed confessions from the detainees. On the basis of these affidavits and statements, the alleged chief conspirators were sentenced to death by the Navy Court Martial, whilst others were executed on orders of the commander of the 22nd Naval Base Force at Balikpapan. The Naval Court Martial proceedings were very disturbing. Firstly those accused were brought before the court without any legal representation present or given the opportunity to defend themselves. With the signed confessions, the accused had little choice but to plead guilty. It was not surprising that the guilty verdict was the norm. Then following some semblance of deliberation, the court pronounced sentence, often the death penalty was invoked. The court did not entertain any appeal, and usually the pronounced sentence was carried out shortly thereafter.[116]

Together with members of the Keibi Tai, the Tokkei Tai undertook the gory task of decapitating alleged conspirators at a remote location (Mandor and Oelin Airfield at Soengai Doerian) and the corpses were buried in shallow graves.

Okajima and his second in command, Lieutenant Yamamoto Soichi, admitted responsibility for conducting the investigations.[117] Furthermore and interestingly,

> They maintain the existence of a conspiracy but they also admit that *not one single act of resistance* was ever committed and that the conspirators of the first plot [Haga Plot and Pontianak Incident] had *hardly any weapons*, those of the second [Chinese Conspiracy] *none at all*.[118]

Moreover Okajima and Yamamoto admitted 'that suspects were forced to plead guilty by serious tortures . . . [Tokkei Tai] forced suspects to put their signatures or thumb-prints on blank forms, on which afterwards the "accusations" was filled in.'[119] Forcing suspects to sign on blank paper appeared to be the normal *modus operandi* of the Tokkei Tai and apparently 'was a usual occurrence in Japan.'[120] 'Serious tortures', as many testimonies from the Japanese and others revealed, were common practices at Tokkei Tai interrogations. Hayashi Shuichi, chief intelligence officer in West Borneo, who was often present during such proceedings, admitted that 'suspects were beaten, placed under "water-torture" and electric current, and suspended by arms and legs and then beaten.'[121]

Regarding the reasons for the clamp-down on alleged dissidents of the Chinese Conspiracy, Okajima said the intention was to avert an economic crisis owing to the Chinese hoarding goods (such as copra) and withholding raw materials for the factories. The former action it was alleged was to create friction between the Japanese and native inhabitants.[122] Furthermore, it was apparent that Okajima's actions were also motivated by the small number of men under his command vis-à-vis the large local population.

> Considering the situation of war at that time [late 1944] and the fact that we could only dispose of 200 men in case of attack by the enemy, whilst underground activities to this purpose had been discovered, we had to exert our utmost strength to prevent the war spreading amongst the one million inhabitants of WEST BORNEO.[123]

Moreover when the Chinese Conspiracy was uncovered by the Tokkei Tai and Okajima dutifully reported to Vice-Admiral Kamada, the latter instructed, 'Act at once, in order to prevent spreading.'[124] In accordance with such orders from his superior and considering that he was the commanding officer of the Keibi Tai responsible for the defence and maintenance of order in West Borneo, Okajima claimed that he had acted according to 'The Articles of War.'[125] In short Okajima's actions were motivated by the possibility of economic trouble leading to possible social unrest, the limited number of troops at his disposal in the event of a revolt in West Borneo, and obediently following his superior's instructions.

Apparently members of the Tokkei Tai believed in the existence of anti-Japanese plots and energetically sought to root out and eliminate these subversive elements. Other Japanese, on the other hand, were less convinced and seriously questioned the very existence of a united front of the local, multiethnic population coming

together to eject the Japanese wartime regime. Moreover they were also critical of the high-handed actions of the Tokkei Tai.

Although not doubting the existence of the conspiracies, Mitsui Usao, a senior Minseibu official at Pontianak, said that 'a feeling of doubt arose at the resident's office; was the number of persons involved really as large as alleged by the Tokkeitai or did the Tokkeitai exaggerate' the real situation.[126] On the other hand those in intelligence like Hayashi Shuichi, the then chief intelligence officer in West Borneo, thought that 'there was no armed plot' as alleged.[127] Besides, Hayashi's colleague, Matsura Yoichi, confessed that 'The Intelligence Service never noticed any activity, which might point to the existence of a plot.'[128]

While some officials had their reservations, those in the private sector, namely the representatives of Japanese commercial concerns, held a collective view that all was mere fiction; 'the plot was made up (by the authorities)', and that the Tokkei Tai 'had blown up the affair considerably.'[129] It was a fabrication because many viewed the Tokkei Tai's methods of extricating admittance of guilt through inhumane torture negated all creditability to such confessions. An eyewitness described a typical interrogation session as follows.

> Informant declares to have been present when suspects who at first denied the charges, brought against them, confessed after torture. Informant admits that such a confession was made to escape further torture and does not mean that the suspect was indeed guilty and ther[e]for[e], that practically all confessions made to Tokei Tai and police, which, as stated, were forcibly obtained by torture, *had no value*.[130]

Corroborating the aforesaid account was the confession of two victims of Japanese interrogation to a missionary doctor who treated their wounds that they fabricated stories of anti-Japanese plots and contact with the Allies to avoid further torture.[131]

Many Japanese civilians received with complete disbelief the news of the plot published in the newspaper 'as none of them had noticed anything regarding this during their intercourse with Indonesians and Chinese after office-hours'.[132]

Why then did the Tokkei Tai made up such an incredible story and consequently have so many people killed? The answer according to many Japanese could be attributed to the background of the members of the Tokkei Tai. The Tokkei Tai recruited men from plebian backgrounds, possessing elementary or basic education.[133] Owing to their background, members of the Tokkei Tai were described as 'extremely distrustful of their surroundings, they lived in a kind [of] fear-complex and saw ghosts in the sunlight.'[134]

Several insightful hypotheses of the reasons behind the plots and killings were put forth by Japanese detainees during postwar interrogation sessions. Yoshio Jun of Nanyo Kohatsu believed that 'the conspiracy was an invention of the Japanese [authorities], conceived to make a lot of rich men disappear and to seize their possessions. . . . The whole affair was an economical plan of the Japanese Government.'[135] Hayashi Shuichi claimed that he 'received orders from

Uesugi [Keimei] and Okajima [Riki] to look for rich people' and that he himself together with his network of spies undertook to supply the Tokkei Tai with a name list of wealthy people.[136] For instance, he requested an individual 'WATANABE for the names of rich coprah-dealers. These names [he] passed on to the Tokkei Tai. The dealers were arrested and executed and the coprah taken by Nanyo Kohatsu.'[137]

Besides concurring with the view of an economic reason for the arrest and execution of individuals, Hayashi expressed the belief that

> . . . persons who were against Japan, had to be killed, because the Japanese desired to stay in the Netherlands East Indies for a long time and wished no difficulties. Among those persons, who had to disappear were those, who spoke Dutch, older persons, who remembered the Dutch Administration too well, teachers, etc., so that after this clearance the youth could be educated entirely according to the Japanese idea. . . . thinks, that this was the policy of the Japanese Government, but also that this policy was not fixed by Uesugi [Keimei] or Okajima [Riki], but upon general orders from Balikpapan [22nd Naval Base Force] or Sourabaya [Naval Attaché Office].[138]

This 'clean slate' theory appeared to be plausible when the profile of those arrested as alleged conspirators, and as 'political prisoners',[139] were subsequently executed, fit comfortably to what Hayashi had believed. Starting with former Dutch governor Haga and key officials in his administration together with missionaries, professionals (doctors, journalists, etc.), wives of Europeans and members of pre-war nationalist organizations, the list extended to all the Malay independent rulers, native officials in the Minseibu, religious Muslim teachers, prominent Chinese and Indian communal leaders, schoolteachers, Guomindang members, wealthy merchants, Eurasians and practically all those who possessed European legal status.[140] In a proverbial single sweep, the cream, the elite of the various communities of southern and western Borneo, was wiped out.

The postwar investigations of NEFIS officers Krol and Heijbroek put forth some interesting revelations. Initially Krol relied on information gleaned from the local inhabitants but was rewarded when in January–February 1946 the Australian military authorities in Kuching, Sarawak, transferred back more than 100 Japanese to Pontianak to stand trial.[141] Heijbroek based his assertions on 'confessions from 10 of the 18 Tokkei-Tai members present in the prison' in immediate postwar Pontianak.[142]

Although the head of the Tokkei Tai and Keibi Tai admitted responsibility 'as a result of which the others go free', Krol asserted that this further 'makes the case even more involved'.[143] Therefore he constructed a network of responsibility that involved various branches of the Japanese wartime regime (Figure 8.1).

Members of the Minkyo were actually the personnel of the Hana Kikan, the Japanese secret intelligence service (Navy); Hana Kikan was renamed Tokumu Kikan (Tokumu Han) or Special Services Organization.[144] Hojin Hokokukai (Service for the Fatherland) was a liaison group between the Minseibu and Japanese

businessmen and representatives of Japanese commercial firms. As the name implies, members of the Hokokukai were duty-bound to serve Japanese officials, including providing information.[145] Mitsui Usao, who was head of the Minseibu Section I, stated that, 'It was the custom of Japanese businessmen to report everything of importance to [him], which they had noticed on their trips.'[146]

There must be caution in reference to the interrelationship between the Minseibu and the Tokkei Tai. Mitusi pointed out that his superior, Kato Sumizo, the resident or head of the Minseibu in Pontianak, was wholly responsible for political administration, and he (Mitsui) was his political advisor. However, the head of the Minseibu 'could request the Tokkeitai to follow a definite plan, but could not give orders to the Tokeitai'. Apparently Minseibu-Tokkei Tai relations were not always smooth.[147] But as Mitsui coldly declared, 'The Japanese in Borneo were under military law therefore *the Tokkei Tai was all powerful*.'[148] On the other hand, Okajima admitted that although 'In military matters he was superior to the Minseibu authorities but in "secret matters" the men of the Minseibu were

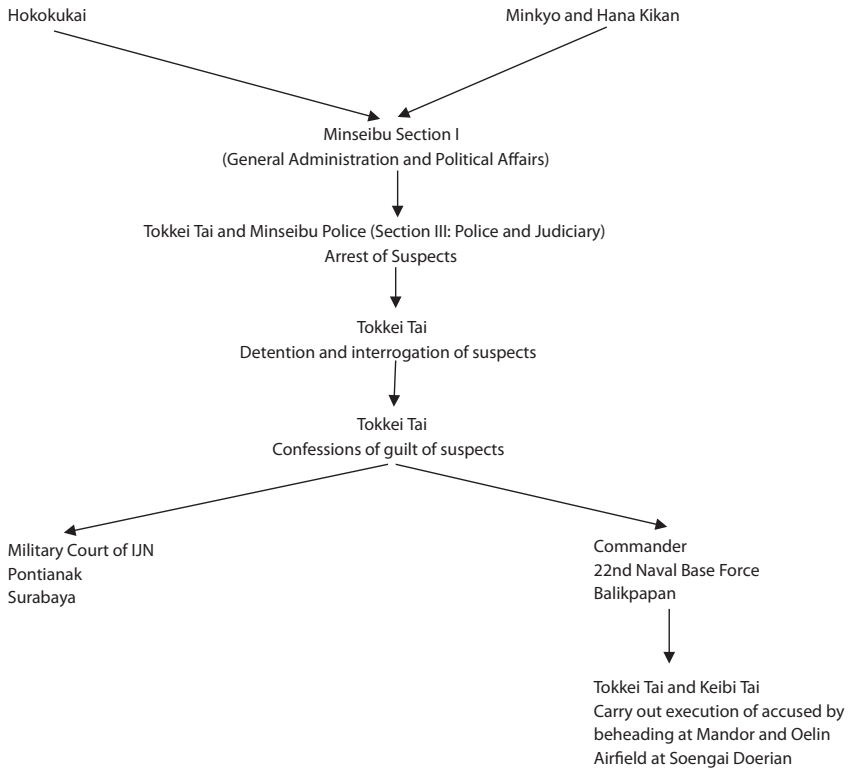


Figure 8.1 Network of responsibility for Japanese atrocities in southern and western Borneo, 1943–1945

Source: 'Investigation of War Crime, Pontianak', 1 March 1946, NEFIS, Capt. Art[illery] KNIL L. D. G. Krol, MFAA INV. NR 01955, p. 3.

superior, [p]olitical matters were dealt with by "Kato" [Sumizo] and "Mitsui" [Usao], respectively: Chief of the Minseibu, and Chief of Branch [Section] 1, of the Minseibu.'[149]

Based on his analysis of the available evidences, Krol drew this probable scenario.

> . . . we are inclined to believe now that the so-called 'plot' *was nothing but fiction*. In order to obtain the largest possible amount of money from this area [Pontianak] on behalf of the Japanese war-effort, certain groups of the population had to disappear. Youth was educated in the Japanese fashion, and should be won over for the co-prosperity idea. Older people, too much clinging to the past, had to disappear. In the first place[,] prominent people such as princes, teachers and intellectuals (doctors and officials). Secondly the wealthy dealers, the[ir] possessions . . . and their industries were to be made available for the Japanese war-effort. This is the reason why the plot came to light at PONTIANAK by a message from Minseibu BORNEO H.Q. at BANDJERMASIN; the [Japanese] in WEST BORNEO had not perceived anything of a 'plot'.[150]

According to Krol it appeared that the mastermind behind the 'make-believe plot' was not the Tokkei Tai but the Hana Kikan. The college-educated personnel of Hana Kikan, IJN's secret intelligence service, 'undoubtedly played a most important part in this affair.'[151] The Tokkei Tai was made use of to carry out the entire scheme, including the horrific task of beheading hundreds of detainees. Considering their background and modest schooling 'it is not impossible that the Tokkeitai-personnel themselves believe in this plot.'[152] If the 'plot' had been 'real', why then did 'the [Japanese] burnt all documents regarding these affairs, with which they could have proved to have acted correctly and according to war-justice'?[153]

Heijbroek doubted that there were conspiracies, as their existence 'was only admitted on the authority of the Tokkei Tai, of whose members no-one had ever been here [Borneo] before or spoke Malay [the *lingua franca*].'[154] That the Tokkei Tai targeted 'the cream of the people' accused of being so-called conspirators gave the impression that 'the Japanese had the intention to exterminate in West-Borneo all the people who still had some authority, prominence or education, politically as well as economically.'[155]

Kanahele also argued that the so-called conspiracy was a Japanese invention as it was 'inconceivable that such disparate elements [the multiethnic inhabitants of West Borneo] could overcome their mutual animosities to conspire together to revolt – without leadership, without an organization and without arms – against the Japanese.'[156]

Similarly, Maekawa alleged that the killings were the result of a fabrication of an anti-Japanese plot by Tokkei Tai members. Apparently, having been successful in resolving the Haga Plot in Banjarmasin, they wanted to replicate it in Pontianak, hence inventing a 'plot' whereby conspirators would stage a mass poisoning of the coffee and other drinks served to the Japanese at a banquet to commemorate

the second anniversary of the commencement of the Great East Asian War.[157] The memoirs of Izeki Tsuneo cited testimony of Tabata Shun'ichi, a Tokkei Tai member in Pontianak, who pointed to the exploits of two Tokkei Tai personnel, Noma and Nakatani.[158] Tabata 'claimed that Noma drew up the scenario, and a Tokkei officer named Nakatani, said to be the most right-wing member of the circle, collected "evidence"', whilst he (Tabata) photographed arms that were collected in Singkawang.[159]

Furthermore, Tsunesuke Masuka, who worked at the Nanyo Warehouse in Pontianak before and during the war, rejected Okajima's contention of the existence of a Chinese-led anti-Japanese plot. According to Tsunesuke the various meetings that the Chinese had were aimed at resuscitating the community in the aftermath of the death of several community and business leaders following the Pontianak Incident.[160]

Therefore, in Maekawa's opinion it was the personal ambition of a few individuals within the Tokkei Tai that led to the tragedy.

If what had been alleged about Haga and his fellow conspirators were taken at face value, it was highly uncharacteristic of the Dutch. Elsewhere the Dutch either waited for assistance from the Allies or fled to the jungle to wage a guerrilla war. Furthermore, there was no indication that Haga and his comrades had made any contact, directly or indirectly through third parties, with the Allies. For instance, a Dutch intelligence report of 16 March 1945 stated that, 'It was not known whether any underground movement has developed in Bandjermasin or vicinity', and clearly acknowledged that 'armed co-operation in case of an Allied invasion is hardly to be expected.'[161]

Turning to the 'Pontianak Incident', the scenario as portrayed in the *Borneo Simboen* was too far-fetched. First, the timing of the conspiracy that allegedly begun in January 1942 was far too early to be plausible. The various ethnic communities at the time of the Japanese invasion were in general caught unawares; many were surprised and had yet to grasp the significance of the swift collapse of the Dutch colonial regime and replacement by a Japanese administration. Second, it was unknown that members of Parindra were active in West Borneo. Some Parindra members might be amongst the inhabitants in West Borneo but to implicate them in involvement in the preparation for a republican state was highly improbable. Third, with the Japanese security apparatus of penetrative tentacles and a network host of local collaborators, spies and informers reaching into every sphere of daily life it was difficult, if not impossible, for a conspiracy involving such a large number of participants not to be detected. Furthermore, it is very unlikely and contrary to the workings of the Kempei Tai (during the tenure of IJA administration) and the Tokkei Tai (from mid-July–August 1942), apparently aware of the underground activities of Pattiasina since the early part of 1942, not to clamp down on him and his fellow conspirators but only to launch mass arrests from the last quarter of 1943. Fourth, it was admitted under interrogation that the so-called seized cache of arms belonged to the Indonesian members of the Minseibu Police. Fifth, it appeared illogical, bordering on the absurd, that all the 12 independent native sultans would agree to support a dissident movement whose avowed aim when they succeeded in

inaugurating a new republican state was to eliminate the aforesaid rulers. Finally, the number of those arrested and subsequently killed ran into hundreds involving practically every ethnic group in Borneo. The existence of a multiethnic anti-Japanese united front was highly improbable against the background of animosity between many communities.

The Tokkei Tai, apparently not satisfied with exterminating several leading Chinese in the Haga Plot and Pontianak Incident, decided to make a bigger sweep of the Chinese business and educated elite that now in the later part of 1944 was accused of involvement in the so-called Chinese Conspiracy. The Chinese amongst all ethnic communities in Borneo could be said to be the most anti-Japanese, and undoubtedly the Japanese were well aware of such sentiments. Therefore the alleged Chinese Conspiracy would not be totally out of context. The aspired Chongqing connection of Tjhen's autonomous state of West Borneo appeared to be not mere wishful thinking but a real possibility in the mindset of the Chinese inhabitants of West Borneo, as postwar developments revealed. Despite the geographical distance from the Chinese mainland, Chinese nationalism was alive and well amongst the local Chinese. When the tide of war turned against the Japanese, the local Chinese community was visibly elated at the imminent end of the war but more importantly, proud to witness that China appeared to be one of the victors alongside the US, the UK and the Soviet Union. Such an attitude was demonstrated openly, with the Chinese national flag welcoming Australian forces on 17 October 1945 in Pontianak.[162]

Nonetheless, for anti-Japanese and pro-Nationalist aspirations to be translated into reality the physical means of possessing arms for an uprising need to be realized. But the Tokkei Tai failed to uncover weapons or radio transmitters during their house search. Therefore Okajima's contention of a Chinese Conspiracy remained a remote possibility, and even if possible, the scale of participation was unlikely to have been as extensive as was claimed.

The plan for doing away with the cream of society appeared plausible, as contended by Hayashi Shuichi. It was probable, as Krol, suggested, that Hana Kikan, not Tokkei Tai, were behind such a plan. Hana Kikan, working with Minseibu Section I, which dealt with 'political affairs,' possibly with instructions from the upper hierarchy of IJN at Surabaya, conceived an extermination scheme to rid Minami Boruneo of all vestiges of the pre-war regime in order to attain the expressed policy of permanent possession; at the same time confiscating the wealth from those who were disposed was an excellent means in contributing to the Japanese war effort.

The Tokkei Tai and the Keibi Tai, headed by Uesugi Keimei and Okajima Riki together with Yamamoto Soichi, were mere tools to execute the entire plan. It was not inconceivable that members of the Tokkei Tai, with their background, wholly believed in the various anti-Japanese 'plots' and 'conspiracies.' Furthermore, prior to their posting to Minami Boruneo many Tokkei Tai personnel had served in Shanghai, where they were involved in rounding up communist sympathizers; they therefore easily believed that the Chinese in Pontianak might also be connected to subversive activities.[163] Consequently it was also not surprising that the Tokkei

Tai assumed full responsibility for all the investigations, arrests and killings. They were fully convinced of the existence of the plots and their actions, although harsh and merciless, were a duty-bound obligation of their responsibility to ensure the maintenance of peace and order, which included arrest and investigation of anti-Japanese plots.

9 Between generals and admirals

Kita Boruneo (Northern Borneo) under the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), and Minami Boruneo (Southern Borneo) administered by the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), shared similarities in some aspects of governance but at the same time there were apparent differences in other areas. While the former had a military government (*Gunseibu*) the latter possessed a civilian administration (*Minseibu*). Although IJN-controlled Southern Borneo was regarded as a permanent possession, an integral part of the Imperial Japanese Empire, there was no similar agenda for Northern Borneo under the IJA. Therefore the extent to which this long-term retention plan impacted on governance could be observed in a comparative evaluation between the two territories, with their respective administrative machinery. Although the wartime occupation was brief, slightly more than three and a half years, there were long-term effects on the various ethnic communities, particularly on their consciousness, identity, worldviews and self-interests.

Exploitation of resources

The prime reason for the conquest and occupation of the island of Borneo by Imperial Japanese Forces was accessibility to the rich natural resources available, notably oil and petroleum, as the main strategic commodity, and other essential materials such as rubber, timber, coal and iron ore. The exploitation of the aforesaid commodities that directly contributed to the Japanese war effort and to the Empire's success and, from mid-1943, survival, was prioritized from the onset of the occupation.

All available manpower and resources were focused at resuscitating the oil and petroleum sector in both territories as a result of the scorched-earth tactics of the retreating British and Dutch colonialists. Against the odds of burning oil wells, damaged equipment, broken pipelines and various other acts of denial and sabotage, IJA and IJN engineers were able to restore the essential oil installations to pre-war working conditions.

Allied aerial reconnaissance photographs and intelligence reports gathered pointed to Japanese successes at rehabilitation. Not only was production on par with pre-war levels, as in the case of the Miri-Seria-Lutong installations of Kita Boruneo and at about 30–50 per cent capacity of the Balikpapn refineries, but

also shipment to Japan and Java were undertaken during the early phase (before mid-1943) of the occupation when the Allied blockade was still tenuous. Even as late as September 1944, Australian intelligence intercepted Japanese communication that revealed Borneo crude oil from Kita Boruneo continued being shipped to Japan.[1]

The importance of the oil installations was demonstrated by the fact that the initial administrative centre of the IJA in Kita Boruneo was the oil-producing town of Miri. In fact the IJA Tokyo Headquarters took direct and full responsibility for the control and administration of the Miri-Seria-Lutong vicinity. Likewise naval units were positioned at Balikpapan and Tarakan, namely the 22nd Special Naval Base Force and the 2nd Naval Garrison Unit respectively, emphasizing the priority of the IJN with regards to oil installations. The Borneo Minseibu, IJN's Civil Administration Department that handled day-to-day administration of Minami Boruneo, was stationed far to the southeast at Banjarmasin.

Therefore, there was little difference in priorities between IJA and IJN relating to the all-important oil installations in their respective territories in Borneo. Both their efforts at rehabilitation paid handsome dividends.

In the domestic economy both the Gunseibu and Minseifu brought in the *zaibatsu* that subsequently hijacked all sectors of economic activities. In Kita Boruneo as well as in Minami Boruneo the hitherto Chinese distributive trade networks were taken over by Japanese zaibatsu; the modus operandi was to appoint existing Chinese bazaar shopkeepers as agents for the zaibatsu in the requisitioning and sale and distribution of goods including the all-important rice, the staple food of the population; coercion was often applied if the *towkay* was not willing to cooperate. A score of zaibatsu monopolized essential goods, including rice and other foodstuffs. While the Yokohama Specie Bank operated in Kita Boruneo, investments in Minami Boruneo were undertaken by the Taiwan Ginko and Shoomin Ginko.

Both the IJA and IJN earnestly enforced the policy of food self-sufficiency in their respective territories in Borneo. The farming communities were forced to increase their rice and other food crop production to ensure that the Japanese military was adequately supplied, and the remainder was left for the civilian population. In fact the urgency for increased rice production was met with unqualified success in the case of wartime Sarawak; not only did 'the area under paddy cultivation increase yearly from 1941 to 1945', there was even a 'minor boom' for native cultivators when prices of rice escalated, 'over $400 per picul by mid-1945.'[2] It is interesting to note that 'Sarawak was more or less self-sufficient in food for the first time in over 70 years (as well as meeting the food requirements of the [Japanese] occupying forces).'[3]

In contrast, largely owing to unfavourable climactic conditions of 1943–4, the rice harvest was a failure in Minami Boruneo. Consequently the Japanese authorities applied immense pressure on the local farmers to produce rice substitutes such as potatoes, cassava, sago, legumes and other food crops to meet the shortfall.

The sparsely populated and dispersed population in both Kita Boruneo and Minami Boruneo offered little choice but for the introduction of imported Javanese and Chinese *romusha*. These labourers were employed to repair and restore

damaged infrastructure facilities such as in the oil installations, airfields, road construction, in the logging sector, and for other needful tasks. While the majority of imported romusha were unskilled workers, those from southern China were skilled artisans (shipbuilders, carpenters, etc.).

Neither IJA-controlled nor IJN-administered territories escaped from runaway inflation. Neither the IJA military government nor the IJN civilian administration exercised restraint in the issuing of currency notes that had no legitimate backing, rendering these wartime paper notes worthless. Both territories undoubtedly possessed a flourishing black market where opportunists reaped untold fortunes but at the same time at high risks, including forfeiting their lives for involvement in such underground activities. The *Kempei Tai* and their counterpart, the *Tokkei Tai*, were vigilant of such clandestine activities.

The policy of Japanization

Imperial Japan sought its glorification in the eyes of the multitude of conquered native peoples throughout its vast empire, which at its zenith (mid-1942) stretched from Sakhalin in the north, New Guinea to the south and Burma to the west. It was Imperial Japan, not the Anglo-American Western powers, that should be emulated, subservient to, and acknowledged as the leading nation. Slogans such as 'Asia for Asians,' 'Japan, the Light of Asia', and the concept of the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' were continuously churned out by the Japanese propaganda machinery to usher in a new era for the people of the occupied territories.

The inculcation of Japanese values, culture, world-views, language, spirit, emperor-worship and the superiority of the Japanese race was undertaken with fervor by the IJA and IJN in their respective territories in Borneo. Education was the major channel utilized to transform the local population into subservient Japanese citizens of the Imperial Japanese Empire. Schools focused on *Nihon-go* instruction to both the young and old. Besides instruction in the Japanese language, children and adults were expected to know of Japanese traditions and culture, to experience Japanese-style physical exercise and gymnastics, and to be imbued with Japanese-style discipline. The ultimate goal of the Japanization process was to have the native peoples 'think, feel and act like Japanese East Asians.'[4]

All school attendees, staff in the Gunseibu and Minseibu, and members of Japanese-sponsored organizations practiced *saikeirei*, the bowing ritual facing the direction of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo where the Imperial Japanese Emperor resided as part of emperor-worship. Bowing to the portrait of Emperor Hirohito (1901–1989) proved to be an uncomfortable ritual for Muslims; the act of paying homage to a human being contravened the tenets of Islam. Likewise the concept of the Japanese emperor's semi-divinity was unpalatable to adherents of monotheistic religions such as Christianity and Islam. Nonetheless there was no particular religious-based opposition from either Bornean territories.

Notwithstanding the greater number of school enrolments in Minami Boruneo during the wartime period, as mentioned,[5] it was unclear whether the Japanization process had been more successful than in IJA-controlled Kita Boruneo. Besides the

brief occupation period, the fact that coercion was widely applied by the Japanese authorities undoubtedly worked against the acculturation process of Japanization. The harsh and repressive regime alienated the majority of the local population from the Japanese. Meanwhile, the vast majority of the population was more worried about surviving the war as best as they could.

Attitude towards opposition, subversion and POWs

Once anti-Japanese elements, real or suspect, were identified, the clamp-down by both IJA and IJN was swift, harsh and merciless. But before reflecting on oppositions, subversions and POWs, we will look at the tragic happening at Long Nawang, which offered a dreadful hint of worse scenarios to follow.

The Long Nawang episode, which occurred in the early days of the occupation (August and September 1942), where Japanese marines killed in cold-blood 41 European civilians, including women and children, was a harbinger of worse tragedies to follow. Although it had been pointed out that the actions of the Japanese commander in killing enemy fugitives (the European refugees) was in accordance to his military duty, the fact remains that the cold-blooded killings were utterly inhumane.

The IJA backlash to the Kinabalu Uprising of October 1943 was fast and ruthless. Settlements along the coast from Kota Belud to the north of Api and as far south as Membakut suffered mercilessly; villagers were rounded up and massacred for lending support to the rebel guerrillas. Entire communities on the home islands of those who participated in the uprising were decimated; this was the fate of the native inhabitants of Suluk, Udar, Dinawan, Mantanani and Mengalum. In their vengeful reprisal the IJA killed between 3,000 and 4,000 local inhabitants for the lives of 60 to 90 Japanese taken by the rebels.[6]

It was a heavy price that Guo Heng Nan (Albert Kwok) brought on to the local population, who suffered tremendously at the hands of the Kempei Tai and IJA troops sent from Kuching.

Harsh treatment of those who openly rebelled against the Japanese was justified as a military response by a military government; the Gunseibu was by intents and purposes a military administration set up by the IJA. But the outright killing of POWs, as in the infamous example of the Sandakan Death Marches, was insanely cruel. The Sandakan episode already had a predecessor in the notorious Bataan Death March in the Philippines, where 78,000 Filipino and American POWs who had surrendered in the Bataan Peninsula in early April 1942 were forced to march the 105 kilometres from Mariveles, Bataan to San Fernando in Pampanga. The death toll was about 10,000 Filipinos and no less than 650 Americans, who died over the nine-day episode from malnutrition and disease as well as ill-treatment and/or murder.[7] There were several other instances of death marches: Dutch POWs in Timor (1942), and Indian POWs in British New Guinea (1943 and 1944).[8]

Thankfully the inmates at the Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp outside Kuching did not suffer the same fate as their Sandakan compatriots. No death marches were organized or undertaken. There were, however, ‘official

plans' for the disposal of all inmates of Batu Lintang, according to an ex-POW inmate.

> On October 10th 1945 I wrote in my diary, 'It has now been established beyond all doubt that [Camp Commandant Major Tatsugi] Suga intended to "dispose" of all prisoners on September 15th.' In a detailed order for the day, all people in captivity were placed in one of four categories and were to be 'liquidated' in the following manner:-
>
> Group 1. Women internees, children and nuns – to be given poisoned rice – arrangements under Doctor Yamamoto.
>
> Group 2. Internee men and Catholic Fathers to be shot and burnt under the direction of Lieutenant Ogema.
>
> Group 3. 500 British-American-Dutch and Australian P.O.W.'s to be marched by Lieutenant Nekata to the mountains on Sarawak-Dutch border carrying all Japanese kit and stores twenty-one miles. On concluding the march all were to be shot and burnt deep in the jungle. (Work had already begun on the pit designed to hide the bodies).
>
> Group 4. The sick and weak left at [L]intang Main Camp to be bayoneted and the entire camp destroyed by fire.[9]

It seemed that 'The "Death" directive found in the Administration Office at Batu Lintang confirmed that higher authorities had condoned the plan as a matter of policy.'[10] Why then was the 'official plan' not carried out? All of their lives were literally in Suga's hands.

Suga, as overall commander of POW and internment facilities in Borneo, was without any doubt fully aware, and directly gave his approval to the 'death marches' of Sandakan. If he had abided by the 'official plan' for Batu Lintang, it would come as no great surprise. Moreover such a massacre could even be an act of vengeance on a personal level for Suga, as he 'believed his wife and family had all been killed in the explosions' of the 6 August 1945 atomic bomb.[11]

However, Captain H.D.A. Yates, who spent his last stretch of internment as a POW at Batu Lintang (August 1943 to September 1945) and after liberation spoke to 'our late Jap[anese] guards, discussions with war crimes investigators, who have attempted to get every story corroborated, and most important of all, conversations with civilian Chinese and Malays to whom Suga constantly appealed for help in his endeavours to obtain better treatment for' the prisoners offered the following evaluation of Suga.

> I was most interested in Suga, and the light in which he was regarded by his own guards [at Batu Lintang]. The result of my questions revealed that they all liked him immensely, although they admitted that ex officio he must be held responsible for ill-treatment and brutality. They all firmly believed that he was a 'good' man, that he was undoubtedly on the side of the prisoners, and that he could have made things unbelievably worse for us [the prisoners] than he did, especially if had carried out orders. Independent investigation has

> substantiated beyond a doubt that when things were getting tough from May [1945] onwards, on no less than three occasions he received direct orders to send us [the prisoners] all on the much discussed 'death march,' and that in each case he flatly refused to do so, saying that none would survive. . . . When I left Labuan in September I had finally made-up my mind that Suga had a 'Jekyll and Hyde' personality, and that he could be, if he wished, the Devil Incarnate. Now, for what it is worth . . . I am quite convinced that but for Suga, not one of us [the prisoners] would now be alive.[12]

Suga's 'Jekyll and Hyde' personality was clearly apparent when he allowed children of the internment camp to not only have chauffeured rides in his official car but also to visit his residence in Kuching, where they had 'a feast: biscuits, cakes, rambutan [a tropical fruit], cups of milk with sugar, and cups of cocoa with a great deal of sugar.'[13]

Suga, undoubtedly, was a man of contradictions. The truth of his defying orders to carry out the 'official plans' would never be known. Suga committed suicide on 14 September 1945 at Labuan; he would certainly have been served the death sentence on account of Sandakan. Even if Suga or Lieutenant General Baba Masao, commanding officer of the 37th Army did not give the direct order 'to kill POWs by starvation or shooting' they were 'legally and morally responsible' for the thousands of deaths of POWs.[14]

The IJN that controlled Southern Borneo was equal, if not, more brutal than their IJA counterpart in dealing with real or perceived subversive elements. The series of suspected anti-Japanese 'plots' and 'conspiracies' saw the IJN embarking on a witch-hunt that subsequently led to the elimination of about 1,500 so-called 'political prisoners' drawn from practically every known ethnic group in the territory – Dutch, Eurasians, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, Minangkabaus, Bataks, Menadonese, Madurese, Chinese, Indians, Arabs and Dayaks.

Described as 'the worst Japanese war crimes on Indonesian territory',[15] this tragedy remained clouded in mystery particularly of the motives behind such a horrific deed. However, as has been demonstrated, the actions of the IJN leaned more towards a calculated strategy rather than a spate of senseless killings. Owing to IJN's professed policy of 'permanent retention' of Minami Boruneo, it appeared logical and pragmatic to begin with a 'clean slate' therefore those individuals who were influential and/or retained strong ties to the previous regime were eliminated. What better excuse than to utilize the pretext of accusing such people of 'plotting' and 'conspiring' to overthrow the Borneo Minseibu. The rather simple-minded members of the Tokkei Tai were unwittingly utilized by higher authority – Hana Kikan, Borneo Minseibu Section I, and senior naval officers at the headquarters of the Second Southern Expeditionary Fleet at Surabaya – to carry out the investigation and thereafter the extermination. Mandor and Soengai Doerian were the 'killing fields' where postwar investigations uncovered numerous shallow graves and human bones dispersed in the undergrowth.

In retrospect both IJA and IJN in their respective Bornean territories of control acted ruthlessly, inhumanely, and mercilessly towards civilians, rebel guerrillas,

POWs and suspected anti-Japanese elements. The horrific behaviour of the Japanese was totally unbecoming and incongruent for a civilized nation of the twentieth century that professed aspiration to be the leader of all Asia.

From observing Japanese perpetrators of war crimes in his capacity as public prosecutor at the Labuan War Crimes Trials, Athol Moffitt put forth this explanation.

> In the end, an examination of the facts forces the conclusion that the cruelties, brutalities and war crimes of the Japanese were the crimes of a partnership in which both the leaders and the Japanese officers, and soldiers and sailors were each personally responsible and guilty morally as well as legally. The wide spread of atrocities could not have occurred except for the conduct and attitudes of individuals in the ways explained, nor without the deliberate encouragement of the leaders. They had come to power by terrorism and terrorism is a powerful weapon in the hands of an army in an aggressive war of expansion and conquest. Then when the conquest turned to defence and retreat, the Japanese leaders and many prison commandants and officers in the field acted as gangsters do, who having murdered, have to murder again to conceal earlier killings and misdeeds.[16]

The issue of political participation

It was apparent that in Kita Boruneo, the IJA had a separate policy towards the Chinese community vis-à-vis the indigenous peoples. It was an extension of the IJA's Chinese policy in occupied Malaya that was also being implemented in Northern Borneo but not as harsh as in the former. The Chinese community of Sarawak, Brunei and former British North Borneo was spared the mass 'investigation' exercises and the horrific *sook ching* campaign that claimed many Chinese lives. But for their pre-war 'sins' the Chinese had to pay Straits $2 million as *shu-jin* contribution.

Interestingly, the Chinese community in Minami Boruneo, particularly the majority residing in Western Borneo, neither suffered from sook ching nor were imposed with shu-jin. In this aspect the IJN differed from their counterpart, the IJA, relating to the treatment of the Chinese community. Although it may be argued that owing to IJN's policy of 'permanent retention' it was not to their interest to practice ethnic cleansing of the Chinese or to demand extortionate amounts of money as such actions might cripple the small community and less their capacity to support the Japanese war effort. However, on the other hand, the Chinese of Western Borneo faced the Tokkei Tai's witch-hunt of so-called Chinese conspirators (late 1944 to early 1945) that subsequently led to the killing of 350 Chinese at Soengai Doerian, and the Minseibu seized the victims' properties. The end result for the Chinese of Western Borneo appeared to be no different from the wrath of sook ching and the demands of shu-jin, albeit in different forms.

The Gunseibu appeared to be more sympathetic towards native elites, as demonstrated in their recognition and membership into establishments such as

the *ken-sanji-kai*. Although the Malay *datu* and Iban *temenggung* possessed no executive powers as *sanji*, in the eyes of their respective community they enjoyed respect and high prestige. Even more dramatic was the elevation of the educated Iban elite in Sarawak to the level of a pre-war resident, a position exclusively held by Europeans. No Malay Native Officer would ever dare dream of such high office. Some of the literate Ibans were made *guncho* while others enjoyed rapid promotion in the police force. The elevation of natives to such high office was partly a result of the strategy of winning over the native Iban community, then the largest indigenous group in Sarawak, to the Japanese cause, and partly due to the lack of administrative staff among the military ranks. Such wartime experiences in administration undoubtedly impacted favourably on the Iban elite.

There appeared no similar approach to the indigenous elite of Southern Borneo or of their incorporation into the Borneo Minseibu administrative machinery. On the contrary following the 'Pontianak Incident' (between October 1943 and January 1944) numerous waves of mass arrest were made on 24 January 1944; more than 100 persons drawn from the elite of the community including the 12 native rulers of Western Borneo were apprehended and about half of them were served the death sentence by the Naval Court Martial.

As pointed out, despite Tojo's June 1943 speech that sanctioned the political participation of Indonesians, no steps were taken either by the IJN or the Borneo Minseibu. It took another six months to witness the establishment of municipal offices and municipalities, and the creation of a residency assembly in each residency. By then, as the war was turning against Japan, such measures appeared to be desperate attempts at winning over the support of the local population. There was similar inertness on the part of the IJN following Koiso's 'Independence of the East Indies' speech of 6 September 1944, where little action was taken thereafter.

The slow response and pervasive reluctance within IJN circles as well as the civilian administration were undoubtedly a consequence of the *eikyū senryū* policy of 'permanent retention.' Since Minami Boruneo was an integral part of the Imperial Japanese Empire, it was emphasized that no encouragement be made towards nationalist tendencies.[17] Therefore even when circumstances changed in light of the steadily deteriorating war situation for Imperial Japan, the conservative IJN clung to the earlier policy that has since Koiso's declaration had in fact been superseded. Despite Shibata's efforts the pace towards independence did not hasten as events evolved. In fact even by 20 August 1945, three days after Soekarno's proclamation of Indonesia's independence, the Minseibu Chokan at Banjarmasin still forbade *Borneo Simboen*'s Hamidhan to publish any news of *merdeka*. It was Hamidhan's colleagues in Kandangan as well as Radio Banjarmasin Hosokyoku that bravely issued the historic news to the peoples of Southern Borneo.

Consequences and implications

Northern Borneo and Southern Borneo with their respective Japanese systems of governance produced different consequences. The policies pursued by IJA and IJN brought different responses from the various segments of the local inhabitants.

IJA's differential policy towards the Chinese and indigenous peoples promoted heightened tension between the various ethnic communities. IJN's series of apprehending and eliminating anti-Japanese elements (the so-called 'plotters' and 'conspirators') deprived Southern Borneo of capable personalities and created a leadership vacuum during the critical immediate postwar period.

The Chinese community in Sarawak felt that they had been particularly discriminated against and victimized by the Gunseibu. Not only were they burdened with the shu-jin monetary demand but also the Chinese saw their businesses being hijacked by the zaibatsu and they had to cooperate and act as agents for the Japanese in the requisitioning of foodstuffs from the native farmers. While some of the Chinese fled their homes in the towns to avoid the Japanese enemy, the Malay datu, Native Officers, civil servants and police personnel 'happily' served the new regime. Malays, whether town dwellers or those in the rural districts, appeared to be 'living well' despite the deprivation and shortages that were impacting on the Chinese community. Moreover there were the turncoat datu and other Malays who openly displayed their support for Imperial Japan and publicly condemned the Anglo-American Allies and the pre-war regime.

Therefore, in the immediate postwar period the Chinese sought 'to teach a lesson' to the Malays for their wartime disloyalty. In Kuching the situation worsened to a stage where the Australian Kuching Force had to intervene

> . . . when a thousand-strong Chinese mob gathered outside the Brooke Dockyard in preparation for a march on the Mosque and Malay villagers in the vicinity. Australian troops rushed to the scene and managed to disarm the rioters; and a 24-hour curfew was imposed. It is uncertain how great [were] the number of casualties during the clash with the soldiers; the figures of Chinese killed ranged from ten to a hundred.[18]

Interestingly, the non-Muslim indigenous peoples in the interior areas regarded the Chinese as the 'running dogs' of the Japanese. In the bazaar the natives saw Chinese shopkeepers 'cooperating' with Japanese zaibatsu officials. What was more telling was the fact that the Chinese towkay, often accompanied by Japanese soldiers, went to native longhouses to demand 'forced deliveries' of rice and other foodstuffs. Furthermore the fact that the once well-furnished shelves of goods in Chinese shops appeared depleted and even empty was perceived in native eyes as a Chinese design to deprive them of daily necessities such as kerosene, matches, cooking oil, etc. Ignorant of the impact of Allied blockade and the demands of the IJA soldiery to take precedence over the local inhabitants, the natives blamed the local towkay for all the shortages and consequent hardships. The overall perspective of indigenous peoples was that the Chinese were collaborators of the Japanese regime hence they (Chinese) were traitors to the Chartered Company administration (in former British North Borneo) and the Brooke regime (in Sarawak). In retaliation, natives who joined the SRD advance parties seized the opportunity not only to take Japanese heads but also those of Chinese, who were considered 'traitors.' During the brief interregnum between the Japanese surrender and the

arrival of Australian troops (between mid-August and early September 1945), there were several incidences of natives killing Chinese. The taking of 23 Chinese heads by Ibans in the Kanowit area in central Sarawak was the worst incident, and it soured Sino-Iban relations for decades in the Lower Rejang.[19] The Kanowit killings spawned rumours that Ibans, traditional headhunters from across the border in former Dutch Borneo were planning to march on Kuching and massacre the town's Chinese inhabitants. Although such a horrendous scenario did not materialize it nonetheless created panic among the townspeople.[20] Natives killing Chinese in the Upper Rejang and Baram were reported during the interregnum as the uncertainty and government-less situation presented an opportune time for retribution, vengeance, or simply outright murder.[21]

But this heightening tension between ethnic groups was not unduly pronounced in former British North Borneo, despite the administration of the Gunseibu. This conspicuous absence could be due to the IJA backlash in response to the uprising of early October 1943. All along the western coast and the offshore islands both native and Chinese settlements were sacked and burnt, and all those involved or suspected to be involved with Guo's rebellion were eliminated. This brutal reprisal, which claimed no less than 4,000 lives, produced a 'levelling effect' on all communities, a clear indication that everybody without exception suffered at the hands of the Japanese. In effect Japanese ruthlessness galvanized the indigenous peoples with the Chinese against the common enemy – the Japanese.

IJN-controlled Minami Boruneo, owing to the mass arrest and killing of hundreds of individuals allegedly accused as anti-Japanese elements, singularly took away the elite members of society. The deprivation of prominent people, including communal leaders, native rulers, traders and businessmen, and a host of other capable and educated individuals, created a leadership vacuum. With regards to West Borneo, which witnessed the 'Pontianak Incident' and the 'Chinese Conspiracy' being played out, the following sums up the situation during the wartime occupation as well as in the immediate postwar period.

> The elimination of the leadership of the entire province [of West Borneo] left a vacuum in local administration. At the beginning of 1944, the Japanese occupiers had imported some sixty Banjarese [from South Borneo] to fill the gaps in the lower levels of the Occupation administration.
>
> The absence of local leadership made the task of the returning Dutch – who were trying to organize a local representative council as NICA's [Netherlands Indies Civil Administration] administrative personnel began to arrive – nearly impossible.[22]

But from another perspective the high death toll amongst the elite opened opportunities to one particular ethnic group, namely the Dayak, where only a handful of their leaders were victims.[23]

> This massacre [in wartime West Borneo] crippled the region's future political development. While allowing external state authorities to predominate locally,

> the elimination of an entire local elite also created favorable conditions for a particular marginalized group to gain an unanticipated share in regional politics . . .[24]

The Dayak's non-prominence in the pre-war and occupation periods was to their advantage during the immediate postwar and critical early independence days. The Daya in Action (DIA) was established in Putussibau (Kapuas Hulu) on 30 October 1945, headed by F.C. Palaunsoeka and members drawn from Dayak schoolteachers. On its first anniversary DIA underwent a name change to become Daya Unity, commonly referred as PD, and at the same time transferred its centre of operations downriver to Pontianak, the administrative and political capital of West Borneo.[25]

Benefits were apparent for the Dayak community. NICA sought the cooperation of PD to ensure law and order in Pontianak during those tumultuous days. For instance, NICA, with the assistance of PD as a go-between, succeeded in securing the support and loyalty of the Majang Desa militia, which during the occupation had clashed with the Japanese.[26] NICA courted the nascent Dayak elite by offering its members appointments in the civil service, police and army. Furthermore, a Dayak Affairs Office (Kantor Urusan Dayak) was established, headed by Oeray, a pro-Dutch Dayak.[27] As many as eight Dayaks became appointed members of the 40-member West Kalimantan Council. Two Dayaks, A.F. Korak and Oeray, were elevated to the six-member Daerah Istimewa Kalimantan Barat (DIKB) (Special Region of West Kalimantan) Regional Executive Board (BPD) in 1948.[28] The close association between PD and NICA paved the emergence of Dayak political consciousness and ethnic identity in the years thereafter.

10 End of an era

Following defeat at Coral Sea (May 1942), failure in the assault on Midway (June 1942), the loss of Guadalcanal (August 1942) and the unsuccessful campaign to wrest it back (November 1942), the pendulum of the Pacific War had begun to swing against Imperial Japan. But it was another six months (June 1943) until the American commanders – General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964) and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz (1885–1956) – could launch their long-planned offensives in the Pacific.[1] MacArthur, Admiral William ('Bull') Halsey (1882–1959), South Pacific Area commander, and Vice Admiral Raymond A. Spruance (1886–1969), Central Pacific Force commander,[2] succeeded in seizing island by island from the Japanese: the Solomons, Bougainville, neutralized Rabaul, Tarawa (Gilbert Islands), the Marshalls, Hollandia (Dutch New Guinea), New Guinea and the Marianas.[3] The American capture of Saipan and the Marianas in June 1944 brought them almost to the 'front gate' of Imperial Japan. The Japanese home islands were now within range of US B29 bombers.[4] Consequently Prime Minister Tojo Hideki's government took responsibility for the military setbacks and resigned.[5] The Japanese tensely awaited the next move: the Ryūkyūs, the Kuriles, or the Philippines.

Meanwhile, there were debates on strategy. Admiral Ernest J. King (1878–1956), commander-in-chief of the US Fleet, suggested bypassing Luzon and proceeding directly to strike Formosa or even daringly at Japan itself. But having made a (political) promise that 'I shall return' to the Philippines, MacArthur was greatly angered at such a proposal.

Then on 3 October 1944 the decision was made to invade the Philippines, much to MacArthur's delight. The plan was that after providing naval support to MacArthur's Luzon landings (December 1944), Nimitz's fleet would proceed to capture Iwo Jima and Okinawa. In October MacArthur and Halsey's forces stormed Leyte. The Battle of Leyte Gulf (24–25 October 1944), the biggest naval battle in the Pacific theatre, crippled the Japanese hold on the Philippines. Borneo appeared to be next on the re-conquest agenda.

Facing MacArthur

As early as the later part of 1943 Lieutenant General Yamawaki Masataka, in witnessing the deteriorating military situation of the Japanese, had made representation

to Imperial General Headquarters that the Borneo Garrison Army should be transformed into an operational unit. Saipan's fall increased the strategic importance of Borneo as the Japanese rightfully anticipated that MacArthur's next move was aimed at the Philippines and Formosa. Consequently Yamawaki's concerns were acknowledged.

The first move was the transfer of the BGA headquarters from Kuching to Api (Jesselton) in April 1944. BGA then came under the Seventh Area Army. Plans were underway to strengthen the BGA in the defence of Northern Borneo (*Kita Boruneo*). In viewing MacArthur's island-hopping strategy, Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) circles anticipated 'an enemy counteroffensive against the Sulu Archipelago and northern Borneo could be expected about January 1945.'[6] In this context the BGA lined up its forces as follows: 56th Independent Mixed Brigade to defend the Tarakan-Tawau-Tawi-Tawi Island sector; 41st Independent Garrison Infantry Battalion to defend Sandakan and its vicinity; and, 40th Independent Garrison Infantry Battalion shall maintain order and security in Northern Borneo south of Jesselton.[7] Furthermore, 11 air bases were required and their completion was imperative. The bases were sited throughout Northern Borneo: Tawau, Sandakan, Kudat, Jesselton, Labuan, Miri, Bintulu, Sibu, Sebuyau, Subi Kecil Island and Kuching. Allied POWs were converted into 'white coolies' on such military installations. Imported Javanese *romusha* were assigned the heavy task of construction and repair of military airfields. Despite the forced and conscripted labour, it remained inadequate; the procurement of materials such as stone, sand, cement, etc., proved difficult.[8] Hence the preparations of air bases achieved unsatisfactory progress.

Concrete measures were taking shape during the last quarter of 1944, as the war situation worsened for Imperial Japan. On 10 September BGA came under the direct command of the Southern Army then headquartered at Manila. BGA became the 37th Army on 22 September. At the same time the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) Southwest Area Fleet was given the following responsibility.

> To assist in strengthening the defenses of Borneo it is desired that the Navy tighten its blockades of the sea routes in the vicinity of Tawitawi Island of the Sulu Archipelago, the sea routes near Banggi and Balabac Islands of the Palawan Artchipelago as well as the sea around Sandakan Bay and the entrance to Brunei Bay.[9]

In August 1944 the Southwest Area Fleet requested that a naval base be established at Brunei Bay to host the IJN Combined Fleet en route to the Philippine area, where it was anticipated that a decisive naval battle shall take place. Mines were laid at Brunei Bay to deter enemy landings. By mid-September all requests from the Southwest Area Fleet were accomplished, and in early October the Combined Fleet anchored at Brunei Bay.

In early December 1944 the 37th Army's operational zone included Southern Borneo (*Minami Boruneo*), hence the IJN 22nd Special Base Force at Balikpapan came under IJA control. The 37th Army's preparations and strength build-up

were almost in total readiness towards the close of 1944. IJA's estimate of the war situation and anticipation of enemy plans and tendencies were outlined.

> About 20 October [1944], when the United States forces landed on Leyte in the Philippines, Imperial General Headquarters ordered 'Sho Ichi Go' Operation put into action with the intention of fighting a decisive battle on the island. The situation developed unfavorably and, in mid-December, Japanese forces were withdrawn from Leyte. The South China Sea was then controlled by the enemy's fleet and the main strategic areas of Borneo were exposed to enemy landings.
>
> It is highly probable that the United States forces will attack Luzon. After completing a mopping-up operation in the Philippines, the enemy will then prepare to attack Japan. It is believed that the Australian forces will be charged with the occupation of the Borneo area. It is further estimated that the British and Australian forces will attempt to recover Malaya by launching a concerted attack against both coast of the peninsula. Judging from their operational preparations, especially the build-up of their air and naval forces, the Australian forces should start their attack on Borneo about March 1945.
>
> Our estimate of the Australian plans for the capture of Borneo is: Assisted by elements of the United States Air Force and elements of the British fleet, the Australian forces will seize certain air bases in strategic areas on the east coast. Simultaneously, they will execute landings at strategic points on the west coast, especially in the vicinity of Brunei. They will then establish a firm footing in western Borneo as part of the over-all establishment of a strategic pattern for the invasion of Malaya from the east.
>
> In view of the fact that the main body of the 37th Army is now disposed in northeastern Borneo, it is extremely urgent that the Army promptly strengthen its disposition in the strategic area along the west coast. It is imperative that troops now deployed in the eastern sector be diverted to the western sector as quickly as possible.[10]

In response to the concluding sentence, forced marches overland across thick rainforest and inhospitable, steep mountainous terrain were undertaken in a hastened manner. Sickness, particularly malaria and malnutrition, and the oppressive tropical climate and difficult terrain exerted a heavy toll on the Japanese troops. The result was deplorable. Despite having 'approximately half the planned concentration of forces on the west coast . . . when the enemy landed in the Brunei Bay area in June', the troops were too exhausted to fight and coupled with inadequate weapons and supplies (forced to leave behind in the previous posts) 'their effective fighting strength was practically worthless.'[11]

Nonetheless the disposition of forces of the 37th Army (Table 10.1) was ready under the aforesaid circumstances to face the landings of the Australian Imperial Forces (AIF).

Table 10.1 Disposition of IJA 37th Army in Borneo

Place/Area	*Military Forces*	
	c. *late Dec 1944*	c. *Feb/Mar 1945*
Jesselton	Army Headquarters	Army Headquarters 25th Ind Mix Regt
Tawitawi Is.	25th Ind Mix Regt (less 2nd Bn)	
Tarakan	454th Ind Inf Bn 455th Ind Inf Bn 2nd Naval Garrison Unit	455th Ind Inf Bn 2nd Naval Garrison Unit
Tawau	56th Ind Mix Bde (less 371st Ind Inf Bn)	Five Infantry Battalions
Sandakan	371st Ind Inf Bn 554th Ind Inf Bn 2nd Bn of the 25th Ind Mix Regt	
Kudat	432nd Ind Inf Bn	
Miri	553rd Ind Inf Bn	
Kuching Natuna Is.	71st Ind Mix Bde*	71st Ind Mix Bde

Note:
* Not fully organized, about one and one-half battalions strength

Source: 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, pp. 38–9, 41.

Covert operations prior to amphibious landings[12]

The idea of sending a small group of hand-picked officers deep into the interior of Borneo, behind Japanese lines, with the aim of organizing the local people to launch a guerrilla war against vital enemy targets, particularly the oil installations, was discussed within Allied intelligence circle. These early proposals, referred to as 'The Borneo Project', sowed the seeds of what came to be covert operations undertaken by the Australian Services Reconnaissance Department (SRD)[13] in occupied North Borneo and Sarawak several months prior to the launching of OBOE VI[14] in early June 1945.

The SRD implemented 'The Borneo Project' in a series of long-term operations code-named AGAS and SEMUT in North Borneo and Sarawak respectively.[15] AGAS and SEMUT contributed to the groundwork for the Australian landings at the Brunei Bay-Labuan Island area (OBOE VI). Basically SRD operations focused on two main objectives: the gathering of intelligence; and organizing, including training and arming, local inhabitants into resistance groups to wage guerrilla warfare.

AGAS I and II were carried out prior to OBOE VI. In early March 1945, Major F.G.L. Chester commanded AGAS I to land near Labuk Bay. In less than a week of their landings, AGAS I had established radio contact with the Dutch station at Batchelor and the SRD's at Leanyer. A field headquarters was established at Sungei Sungei on the Upper Sugut in occupied North Borneo. Furthermore, drop zones

(DZs) for stores were located at Jambongan Island, which reported accurate drops in late April and early May. A central signal station was established at Lokopas, and a hospital for the native inhabitants on Jambongan Island. Two months later AGAS II, led by Major R.G.P.N. Combe, the pre-war district officer of Kudat, landed at Paitan Bay.[16] Combe organized guerrilla activity in the Pitas area, and at the same time, established an intelligence network. AGAS III, under Chester, focussed on the Jesselton-Keningau-Beaufort sector.

Meanwhile, in Sarawak, plans were underway for SRD groups to be parachuted into the mountainous hinterland of Brunei Bay. The initial designated target areas were the headwaters of the Baram, Limbang and Trusan; later the areas of operation expanded into the Padas valley of occupied North Borneo, southwards into territories of former Dutch Borneo, and southeastwards to cover the Upper Rejang. These reconnaissance missions, code-named SEMUT, were headed by Major G.S. 'Toby' Carter. However, as the situation developed, the SEMUT operations were divided into three distinct parties under individual commanders: SEMUT I under Major Tom Harrisson; SEMUT II led by Carter; and SEMUT III headed by Captain W.L.P. 'Bill' Sochon. The areas of operation were: SEMUT I – the Trusan Valley and its hinterland; SEMUT II – the Baram Valley and its hinterland; and SEMUT III – the entire Rejang Valley.

Harrisson and members of SEMUT I parachuted into Bario in the Kelabit Highlands during the later part of March 1945.[17] Initially Harrisson established his base at Bario; then in late May shifted to Belawit in the Bawang valley (inside former Dutch Borneo) upon the completion of an airstrip for light aircraft built entirely with native labour. In mid-April Carter and his team (SEMUT II) parachuted into Bario, by then securely an SRD base with full support of the Kelabit people. Shortly upon their arrival, members of SEMUT II moved to the Baram valley and established themselves at Long Akah, the heartland of the Kenyahs. Carter also received assistance from the Kayans. Moving out from Carter's party in late May, Sochon led SEMUT III to Belaga in the Upper Rejang, where he set up his base of operation. Kayans and Ibans supported and participated in SEMUT III operations. The nomadic Punans also extended a helping hand to Sochon and his comrades.

Prior to 10 June, D-Day of OBOE VI, SRD operatives in North Borneo (AGAS) and northern Sarawak (SEMUT) were relaying intelligence to General Sir Thomas Albert Blamey's Advanced Land Headquarters at Morotai in the Halmaheras.[18] Furthermore, SRD parties, particularly SEMUT, in their respective areas of operations were organizing, training, and arming native guerrilla bands. Four days to OBOE VI, SEMUT II captured the Japanese wireless station at Long Lama in the Baram; on the eve of D-Day, SEMUT II attacked small Japanese garrisons in the vicinity of the Brunei Bay area.

Besides intelligence gathered from AGAS and SEMUT field parties, an operation, code-named STALLION, was planned for reconnaissance missions to extract specific information on terrain and enemy dispositions in the immediate hinterland areas of Brunei Bay.[19] An outline plan was designed on 29 April 1945 and involved several phases, summarized as follows.[20]

I	Collection of required information from parties already in the field, that is, by AGAS and SEMUT.
II	Extraction of natives from the Brunei Bay-Kimanis Bay area for interrogation.
III	Creating deception by focussing enemy attention on the Kota Belud-Langkon area through the extraction of natives from the Usukan Bay area.
IV	Close reconnaissance of the Kimanis Bay area from Tanjong Nosong to Tanjong Papar.
V-VIII	Provision of Special Force (SF) Detachment and Special Task (ST) Detachment as follows: 1 SF Detachment and 1 ST Detachment with 9th Australian Division; 1 SF Sub-Detachment with 20th Aust Inf Bde; and 1 SF Sub-Detachment with 24th Aust Inf Brigade. These detachments were to receive intelligence supplied from the field by wireless transmission (WT). A WT network between field parties (AGAS, SEMUT, STALLION), 9th Australian Division Headquarters, 20th Aust Inf Bde, 24th Aust Infantry Bde, and Advanced Land Headquarters at Morotai (also the base for Advanced SRD Headquarters).

Generally both AGAS and SEMUT achieved their basic objectives, notably in gathering intelligence (enemy dispositions and movements, and of geographical/topographical data) and organizing native guerilla units that were trained, armed, and officered by Europeans. Moreover the rapport established between field parties and native chieftains eased the re-establishment of some semblance of pre-war administration.

The direct contribution of AGAS and SEMUT to OBOE VI was provision to the 9th Australian Division of fairly reliable and continuous intelligence concerning enemy movements, concentration, and disposition. Specific intelligence supplied by the STALLION Project was particularly useful. 'A great deal of valuable intelligence,' commended a report on SRD activities in support of OBOE VI, 'was made available to the invading forces through operatives of SRD working often under difficult and very dangerous conditions in operation, STALLION.'[21]

The re-conquest of Borneo – OBOE operations

> MacArthur also got his own selfish way in July 1944 [Pacific strategy conference at Pearl Harbor] with the Australians. . . . [He] issued his orders on the future deployment of Australian troops. They were to clear the Japanese out of the remaining pockets in the Solomons, New Britain and Australian New Guinea and to provide one division to reinforce the Americans after they have invaded the Philippines, with a second to follow on somewhat later.[22]

For all intents and purposes MacArthur forbade Australian participation in his Philippine campaign. 'As far as MacArthur (and most American leaders) were concerned,' as it was succinctly expressed, 'this was a private fight [the re-capture

of the Philippines], and nobody else was going to join in.'[23] The Australians, therefore, gradually took over from American forces in campaigns that were underway in Bougainville (AIF 3rd Division) and New Britain (AIF 5th Division) as well as in New Guinea (AIF 6th Division) to allow the redeployment of US forces for the Philippines campaign.

Blamey was instructed by MacArthur to take personal charge of the New Guinea campaign. His slow progress did not endear him to MacArthur; therefore after the capture of Buna in early 1943, Blamey returned to his Allied Land Headquarters in Melbourne. His position as Allied land commander in SWPA appeared to be an ineffective appointment as all decisions and important responsibilities were undertaken by MacArthur or his SWPA General Headquarters (GHQ) at Brisbane.

Australian-American relations as allies were at times strained. MacArthur's ambitions, especially his push for the re-taking of the Philippines, and his haughty personality, were no match for Blamey's unobtrusive and even pedestrian ways. MacArthur wanted the SWPA to be wholly an American theatre of operation and all victories to his personal credit, despite having an ally in Australia.

> The superb, battle-hardened Australian Army was sidelined, often in futile mopping-up operations in highly unpleasant places, for the rest of the war, to the chagrin of many of its officers and men, and to the shame of a feeble government which allowed MacArthur to walk all over it.[24]

Australian Prime Minister John Curtin (1941–1945) had to persistently insist that Australian forces be given a major role in the Pacific theatre. Finally the re-conquest of Borneo was assigned to the Australian 7th and 9th Divisions, with US naval support.

OBOE was the codename for the Borneo campaign. Planning was undertaken by MacArthur's staff at SWPA GHQ although Australian troops were the main forces in executing the operations. OBOE was the second phase of the MONTCLAIR plan that sought the re-occupation of Japanese-occupied territories in SWPA. By mid-April 1945 the initial VICTOR phase had been completed that saw the American re-occupation of the western parts of the Philippines. The OBOE phase when launched was expected to witness the re-conquest of Borneo, and the destruction of Japanese forces in the occupied Netherlands East Indies (NEI), including the seizure of Java and the reinstallation of the NEI government. Altogether there were six OBOE operations that were conceived in February 1945, but only three were subsequently executed: OBOE I (1 May 1945) – Tarakan, then OBOE VI (10 June 1945) – Brunei Bay and Labuan, and finally OBOE II (1 July 1945) – Balikpapan (Map 10.1).[25]

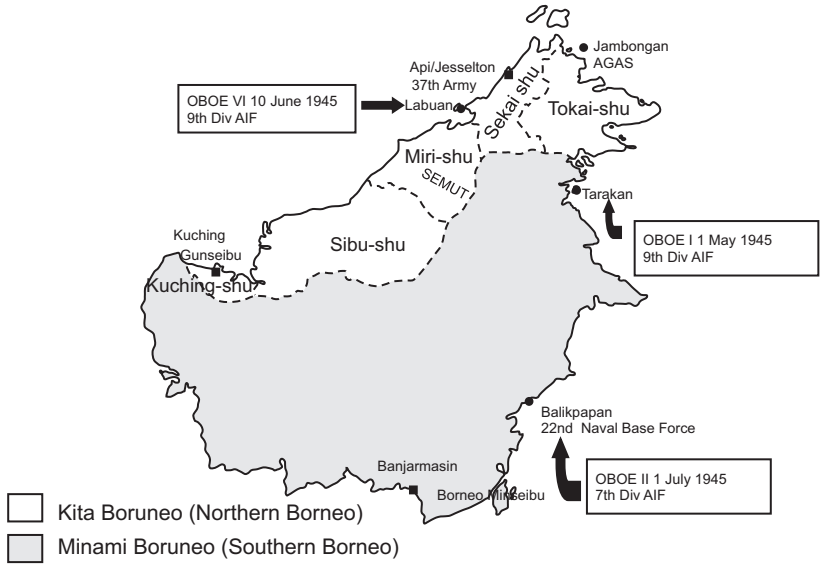
In principle the re-taking of Borneo scheduled for mid-1945 was agreed at the second Quebec conference of 12–16 September 1944. The Bornean oil fields were to be secured for the British Pacific fleet that would join the Americans in the push for the Japanese home islands. Despite the Quebec decision and also Borneo's strategic position for the re-conquest of Malaya and Java, the Allied Pacific strategy dictated by MacArthur appeared to be the Philippines and leapfrogging from

island-to-island all the way to the Japanese home islands. In this scenario Borneo appeared inconsequential; logistically its oil was too far away to aid the forces heading straight to Imperial Japan.

Hence in the early part of 1945 British and Australian military circles were having reservations as to the necessity of the re-conquest of Borneo. But when Blamey voiced Australian concerns and suggested that the Borneo operations be shelved, MacArthur swiftly rejected such a proposal. He played on the fact that the entire chain of command had already agreed in the re-conquest of Borneo.

> The Borneo campaign . . . has been ordered by the Joint Chiefs of Staff who are charged by the Combined Chiefs of Staff with the responsibility for strategy in the Pacific . . . Withdrawal would disorganize completely not only the immediate plan but also the strategic plan of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.[26]

OBOE I, the re-conquest of Tarakan, an island off the northeast coast of Southern Borneo where the Djoeata oil fields and an airfield were located, commenced in late April 1945 with amphibious landings on 1 May.[27] Units of the Australian 9th Division of the 1st Australian Corps AIF were involved: 2/23rd Aust Inf Bn, 2/24th Aust Inf Bn, 2/48th Aust Inf Bn, 2/3rd Aust Pnr Bn, 2/4th Aust Cav (Cdo) Sqn, and Dutch NEI Coy. The naval bombardment prior to troop landings and the fact that the bulk of the Japanese forces were inland at their headquarters area known as Fukukaku resulted in unopposed landing at the beaches. By the first day the Australians managed to advance two kilometres inland without heavy resistance. Nonetheless it was not until 15 June that Tarakan was secured after Fukukaku was overrun. Besides its oil fields Tarakan was targeted for the use of its airfield



Map 10.1 Australian re-conquest of Borneo, 1945

against other operations in Borneo. However, repairs to the airfield for use as an air base proved too insurmountable; by the time OBOE VI got underway in June, the airfield was not yet fully serviceable.

Initially scheduled for 23 May 1945, the OBOE VI landings had to be postponed to 10 June owing to the delayed arrival of men and equipment.[28] This postponement brought the operation to less than a month of OBOE II, namely the invasion of Balikpapan, the oil-rich centre in south Borneo. It was therefore imperative that OBOE VI achieved its objectives within the planned schedule because certain numbers of assault vessels and equipment were required for the landings at Balikapapn.[29]

Aerial bombardment by B24 and B25 aircrafts commenced between 5 and 9 June. Brunei Bay, the target for the landings by the Aust 20th Inf Bde of the Australian 9th Division of the 1st Australian Corps AIF, was swept and cleared of mines. The Aust 20th Inf Bde Group (2/13th Aust Inf Bn, 2/15th Aust Inf Bn and, 2/17th Aust Inf Bn) was tasked to capture the Lawas area, south of Brunei Bay, and southwest to the Brunei-Limbang and Seria areas to Miri. Meanwhile the Aust 24th Inf Bde Group (2/28th Aust Inf Bn, 2/32nd Aust Inf Bn, 2/43rd Aust Inf Bn, 2/11th Aust Cav (Cdo) Sqn, 2/3rd Aust Tk A Regt, and 2/2nd Aust MG Bn) aimed at securing Labuan Island, the Klias Peninsula and the Beaufort-Papar areas.

Phrases such as 'meager opposition', 'slight resistance', or 'no serious opposition' peppered the report of field operations. A notable exception was the experiences of the 2/28th Aust Inf Bn on Labuan, which 'encountered strong enemy positions in the rough country between the airfield and swamp to the west.'[30] It was after 11 days' of hard fighting that this stretch of territory was finally secured.[31] Again in the battle for Beaufort that begun on 27 June the 2/32nd Aust Inf Bn and the 2/3rd Aust Tk A Regt faced 'strong opposition . . . encountered on high ground east of the town . . . [where] the enemy launched a strong counter attack . . . Bitter fighting ensued throughout the remainder of the day and the following night, forcing the enemy to withdraw eastward.'[32]

By mid-July all the significant areas between Papar in the north to Miri in the south had been secured by the Australians. An incident of atrocity appeared to have been committed during the OBOE VI phase.

> But more horrifying was the discovery of six emaciated Australians in a village: they were the only survivors of the Sandakan death marches in which more than 2000 Australian and British prisoners of war had died or been murdered by their guards. The indigenous head-hunters were turned loose on the Japanese – even on those 6000 who surrendered, few of whom survived their own death march. Whereas most Diggers [Australian servicemen] regarded the Japanese who surrendered in their thousands with a mixture of distaste, puzzlement and pity, and seldom exacted revenge for the horrors they and their mates had suffered, the 'Beaufort Episode' proved an exception.[33]

It was unclear if this so-called 'Beaufort Episode' occurred. Could the Japanese casualties of 1,155 killed by SRD guerrillas (Table 10.2) be a part of this massacre

by 'indigenous head-hunters'? No documentary evidence has yet to surface relating to such an atrocity.[34]

Meanwhile Victory in Europe (8 May 1945) was being celebrated with the surrender of the Wehrmacht and Germany. But in the Pacific victory did not appear imminent. In a radio broadcast to the British public Churchill reminded them of the Pacific War: 'We must not forget that beyond all lurks Japan, harassed and failing but still a nation of a hundred millions, for whose warriors[,] death has no terrors . . .'[35]

Therefore according to plan, OBOE II, the invasion of Balikpapan where the oil installations of Southern Borneo were located, was launched on 1 July 1945. The targets were Balikpapan's refinery and port and its two airfields. OBOE II was undertaken by the Australian 7th Division of the 1st Australian Corps AIF utilizing two brigades, namely 21st Aust Inf Bde and 25th Aust Inf Bde. The participating units were: 2/27th Aust Inf Bn, 2/12th Aust Inf Bn, 2/10th Aust Inf Bn, 2/9th Aust Inf Bn, and 2/1st Aust Pnr Bn. Owing to enemy shore fire only approaches to the designated landing beaches (mainly Klandasan) were cleared of mines. Minesweeping and underwater demolition operations were carried out under cover of naval bombardment of enemy shore positions. Apart from enemy fire on landing crafts, which inflicted little damage, there was little opposition of the landing troops on the beaches. By 9 July, Balikpapan town, port and its two airfields were secured; the last objective, the Milford Highway-Batochampar area, was attained on 22 July following heavy fighting.

OBOE II was the Pacific War's last large-scale operation, and the AIF's largest amphibious operation. Overall, despite their inexperience in amphibious operations, the Australian efficiently and successfully executed the re-conquest of Borneo. Australian casualties were 568 against Japanese 4,576 dead (Table 10.2).

Then as agreed at Potsdam in July 1945 between the US, the UK and the Soviet Union, atomic weapons would be utilized to hasten Imperial Japan's surrender and end the Pacific War. On 6 August the world's first atomic bomb devastated Hiroshima, incinerating no less than 120,000 inhabitants and obliterating

Table 10.2 Casualties during the OBOE operations, May–August 1945

	Dead by head count	*Additional estimated killed*	*Killed by SRD guerrillas*	*POWs*
OBOE I (1 May)				
Japanese	1,542	235	39	353
Australian	225			
OBOE VI (10 June)				
Japanese	1,234	141	1,155	130
Australian	114			
OBOE II (1 July)				
Japanese	1,800			
Australian	229			

Sources: 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, pp. 62, 90; Macdougall, *Victory*, pp. 312–3; Long, *The Six Years War*, p. 461.

all buildings within a two kilometre radius of the bomb's hypocenter (the point above which it exploded). The second atomic bomb on Nagasaki on 9 August killed some 74,000 people.[36] On 14 August the Emperor signed the instrument of unconditional surrender, and thereafter issued orders calling on all Imperial Japanese Forces to end hostilities and surrender their weapons. The following day, 15 August, the Emperor's voice, heard for the first time, in a pre-recorded broadcast announced that the Japanese nation must 'endure the unendurable' and accept defeat.

The aftermath

When the Japanese surrendered on 15 August 1945, it was another month before the Australian 9th Division that had landed at Brunei Bay in June was able to effectively assume control of Sarawak and former British North Borneo. Apart from a few remaining isolated units of the Japanese army in the interior that required mopping-up operations to disarm them, the military operational phase had ended. The last Japanese unit, the Fujino Force that had retreated inland to the Upper Trusan in Sarawak's northeast, finally surrendered on 8 November.

In September, military administration was established under the British Borneo Civil Affairs Unit (BBCAU).[37] From January 1946 authority was transferred to 50 Civil Affairs Unit (50 CAU), which later became the 'British Military Administration (British Borneo) (BMA [BB]).' BBCAU was an Australian outfit, while 50 CAU was British. Both BBCAU and BMA (BB) attended to the immediate postwar needs of the civilian population. Civilian government was restored to the pre-war Brooke government upon the return of Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke on 12 April 1946. With the passing of the Cession Bill of 17 May 1946, Sarawak was ceded to Britain and became a British Crown Colony on 1 July 1946. Likewise on 15 July the Chartered Company relinquished sovereignty of British North Borneo to the British monarch and the territory, including Labuan, became another British Crown Colony.

Meanwhile, across the island in pre-war Dutch Borneo territories, Ir. Pangeran Mohammad Noor was appointed governor of Kalimantan[38] by the Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat (KNIP; National Central Committee of Indonesia), a 135-member body that had representatives from all the ethnic groups throughout the Indonesian archipelago.[39] The resolution of KNIP, passed at its inaugural session on 29 August 1945, declared that 'the Indonesian people [were] determined to defend its independence by every means and that each Indonesian was obliged to co-operate for this purpose in his or her own sphere.'[40] Mohammad Noor's appointment by President Sukarno and similarly in the other seven provinces was for each governor to set up their own republican governments in their respective provinces.[41] Each provincial governor was assisted by a delegate from KNIP.

Despite the aforesaid developments and unlike the turbulent situation on Java, where British forces were faced with hostile and armed Indonesian Republicans, the overall environment in Kalimantan was calm, with no serious incidents facing the Australian forces that received the Japanese surrender.

> But it is to the islands [Borneo and present-day Eastern Indonesia], which until the Japanese surrender fell within the South-West Pacific Area and thereafter came under direct Australian command, that we have to turn for the fullest and smoothest implementation of the plans drawn up between the interim Netherlands Indies Government at Brisbane on the one hand, and the commanders of the South-West Pacific Area and South-East Asia theatres on the other. There was little or no nationalist opposition expected or found in these islands, so that Australian forces could be employed in smaller numbers and consequently landed earlier than the forces of South-East Asia Command in Java and Sumatra. . . . In these territories the complete NICA [Netherlands Indies Civil Administration] plan was realized without serious opposition . . .[42]

The aforesaid NICA plan was the full restoration of pre-war Netherlands East Indies government. Interestingly, in Banjarmasin and Balikpapan Australian occupying forces appeared to be sympathetic towards the Indonesian revolution and local republican elements. In fact 'Two Australian military leaders brought with them pamphlets about Indonesia's independence struggle and met with prominent leaders of the *pergerakan* (nationalist movements) in Banjarmasin.'[43] The *pemuda pejuang* (young revolutionary fighters) also received some light arms from the Australians, which they utilized against the KNIL in guerrila warfare. 'Among the pejuang,' it was apparent, 'there was a strong *semangat* (spirit) or conviction that the prewar status quo could not be allowed to be put back into place again by the Dutch.'[44]

But by March 1946, despite the commendable display of resistance by the Balikpapan pejuang and Samarinda *lasykar* (militias), they were unable to match Dutch superior firepower and the NICA assumed control and paved the way for the creation of a Dutch-controlled federation-type state in Borneo. Nonetheless sporadic armed opposition continued from the interior areas to harrass the Dutch until the Round Table Conference convened in The Hague in August 1949.

While the ongoing talks between Sutan Sjarir, representing the Republic, and J.H. van Mook, the Dutch governor general-designate, came to a pause in mid-1946, the latter seized the opportunity to propose a confederation amongst the Outer Islands,[45] notably Kalimantan, Sulawesi, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sundas. Earlier, the Dutch government had come to terms with the fact that the Republic 'might form part of an Indonesian Union under the [Dutch] Crown.'[46] The Malino Conference, held in July 1946 near Makassar, issued a resolution that proposed a federation of the United States of Indonesia (USI) between Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the eastern part of the archipelago (East Indonesia) all with equal status and sharing equal rights.

Meanwhile, in furthering his federalist agenda, Van Mook sought to replicate his State of East Indonesia (Negara Indonesia Timur [NIT]) in Borneo by establishing the Dewan Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan Council) in October 1946, comprising 48 members drawn from representatives of the various ethnic communities, Dutch officials and a single member from each newly re-constituted *swapraja* (self-governing territory). The Dewan in Van Mook's political agenda was to be the precursor for a West Kalimantan entity (see below) as he had later also created

the Federasi Kalimantan Tenggara (Southeast Kalimantan Federation). His ultimate objective was for a single Kalimantan state not unlike NIT with a pro-Dutch *Walinegara* (Head of State).

A single political entity of Kalimantan was elusive, as two aristocrats, namely Sultan Hamid II of Pontianak (Syarif Hamid Alkadri, son of slain Sultan Sjarif Mohamed Alkadri) and Sultan Parikesit of Kutai, were both uncomprising.

> They [Samarinda Republicans] had also succeeded in putting forward the candidacy of Sultan Parikesit as a potential first president or *Walinegara* (State Head) of Negara Borneo. Parikesit was nominated as *Walinegara* of Borneo partly because his half-brother Aji Pangeran Pranoto was pro-Republican and partly in order to counter the candidacy of pro-Dutch Sultan Hamid Algadrie II of Pontianak.[47]

But opposition from the various Dewan to the possibility of the pro-Dutch Sultan Hamid II as Walinegara 'killed' Van Mook's single Kalimantan state. Republican elements in Kalimantan used the NICA-created Dewan to frustrate the federalist agenda of the Dutch.

Nonetheless, the concept of USI was incorporated in the Linggajati Agreement (1946–1947), which was negotiated on 12 November 1946 but only officially signed in March 1947. The Dutch argument for a federation was premised on the diversity (ethnic, cultural, religious, economic) of the archipelago, and the great imbalance in population and resources between Java and the Outer Islands. But the apparent underlying reason was that the Dutch wanted to continue to play a prominent role and at the same time deny the Java-centred Republic from dominating the political stage.

Inevitably the Linggajati Agreement faltered. From February 1947 the Dutch created the East Borneo Federation (Federasi Kalimantan Timur).[48] On 21 July 1947 the Dutch launched its so-called 'police action' against the Republic. The Renville Agreement of January 1948 ended Dutch hostilities towards the Republic. Shortly thereafter NICA succeeded in establishing an autonomous area for West Borneo, designated as Daerah Istimewa Kalimantan Barat (DIKB) (Special Region of West Kalimantan).

Meanwhile in Kalimantan, the Dutch, with KNIL backing, managed to crush Republican elements through mass arrests and imprisonment of the rank and file while nationalist leaders were banished to lessen their influence and activities. For instance, in the context of Balikpapan, the implications were far-reaching.

> The effect of this mass arrest was to leave Balikpapan's Republicans without any leadership. The *pejuang* had lost their armed struggle because of Dutch military superiority while the political organization, forced to continue without armed support, disintegrated due to the lack of leadership.[49]

But in less than a year after Renville the Dutch initiated the second 'police action' on 19 December 1948. Earlier in September the Republic succeeded in defeating a

communist takeover referred to as the Madiun Affair. Before the Republican leaders could take the proverbial breather, the Dutch in the launching of their second police action swiftly apprehended Sukarno, Hatta, H.A. Salim (foreign minister), M. Natsir (minister for information), A. Sastroamidjojo (minister for education) and Sjahrir. Sukarno, Salim and Sjahrir were exiled to Prapat in north Sumatra, while the others languished in Bangka, off the east coast of Sumatra.

By then world opinion had turned against the Netherlands. Finally the protracted struggle between the Dutch and the Republicans with its various twists and turns was brought to a Round Table Conference at The Hague from 23 August to 2 November 1949. The Netherlands agreed to hand over sovereignty of all territories hitherto under its control except western New Guinea (present-day Irian Jaya) to an independent Republik Indonesia Serikat (RIS) (Republic of the United States of Indonesia [RUSI]) on 27 December. The various *negara* (states) created by the Dutch in Kalimantan were: Kalimantan Barat (West Kalimantan), Kalimantan Timur (East Kalimantan), Kalimantan Tenggara (Southeast Kalimantan) and Dayak Besar (Greater Dayak).[50]

But federation was antithetical to the constitutional debates of 1945 that were based on the concept of a unitary state. Several of the independent states, including on Borneo, declared their acceptance of a unitary Indonesian state. Therefore on 17 August 1950, on the fifth anniversary of *merdeka*, the unitary state of Indonesia was proclaimed.

Concluding remarks

'. . . much of humanity is still hoping for a world without war.'

Martin Gilbert

Borneo's tranquil environment was rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the Pacific War, where imperialist titans struggled for supremacy and hegemony. Like in the Malay proverb of this book's epigraph, Imperial Japan and the Anglo-American Allied powers were the warring elephants, while the various ethnic communities scattered sparsely over the island resembled the innocent mouse-deer that got trampled in the titanic struggle.

Within living memory none of Borneo's inhabitants ever encountered such a large-scale conflict, where fast flying airplanes dropped devastating bombs, cannons from offshore ships bombarded the coast, and well-armed soldiers stormed the beaches. It was an unimaginable scenario unheard and unseen by anyone there before. While Indonesians seemed to welcome the arrival of Imperial Japanese Forces the inhabitants of British Borneo were ambivalent of what to expect from the Japanese soldiery that apparently appeared from all directions. Indonesians were jubilant at watching the Dutch taking flight from the Japanese but there was an admixture of emotions – surprise, sadness, anger and regret – among the peoples of Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo in seeing their 'White Tuans and Mems' being manhandled by Japanese soldiers and rounded up and herded into internment camps.

The Japanese military occupation of Borneo, from late December 1941 to mid-August 1945, a period of about three years and eight months, were unsettling times. Daily life in occupied Borneo became increasingly stressful. As the occupation entered its second year, the situation worsened. Acute shortages affected practically all items, from soap to rice to cloth; everything seemed to disappear from the shelves of once abundantly stocked Chinese shophouses in the bazaar. Prices of goods, especially rice and other foodstuffs, begun to increase, and more and more of the Japanese–issued paper currency had to be transacted for a bowl of *beehoon* (rice vermicelli) or a small bottle of cooking oil. Indigenous peoples reverted to their traditional ways, of, for example, lighting a fire, for want of matches. Malay Muslim women settled for less layers of clothing and did away with the traditional veil as the cloth shortage became acute.

Having less food on the table was tolerable but being slapped for failing to bow to the Japanese sentry was humiliating. But worse still was the fear that one's loved ones or neighbours might be taken away by the *Kempei Tai*. The *Tokkei Tai*, it was rumoured, had been arresting prominent people, who were taken into custody and never heard of again. There was a climate of uncertainty, that others, including the man-in-the-street, might be the next victim. Stories of horrific, inhumane treatment at the hands of the Kempei Tai were revealed as unbelievably true when those who survived told of the tortures.

While being forced to learn *Nihon-go* was not objectionable to many, having to pay homage to the Showa Emperor proved disconcerting and uncomfortable to many, especially Muslims and Christians. Youths benefited from physical exercises, the inculcation of *seishin* (spirit, inner strength), and strict discipline that were cornerstones of the Japanese school curricula and in the training in most organizations such as Kyodotai, Konan Hokokudan, Kaigun Heiho, and others. Nonetheless the harsh treatment meted out to native recruits in these organizations and the emphasis on coercion alienated many, resulting in sluggish progress of the Japanization efforts and programmes. For instance, 'The dislike of the natives for the JAPANESE' and the 'Unpleasant character of some of the JAPANESE soldiers in charge of training' were two out of six reasons attributed to the failure of the kyodotai, which was subsequently disbanded in August 1945.[1]

The Japanese occupation not only had a dramatic impact but also brought about serious and radical developments in its aftermath. Although the occupation was only a brief interregnum it was a significant catalyst for change that manifested in the postwar period. By the late 1940s all territories across Borneo with the notable exception of Brunei had undergone changes in political status and governance. It can be argued that Imperial Japan's military occupation had to some extent played a significant contributory role in determining the postwar changes particularly apparent in Kalimantan.

In less than a year of Anglo-Australian military administration following the re-conquest by Australian forces, Sarawak and North Borneo became British Crown Colonies, on 1 and 15 July 1946 respectively. Unlike the quiet acceptance of the Chartered Company's decision to hand over a vastly devastated (especially the west coast) North Borneo to the Crown, controversy and public opposition surrounded Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke's decision to cede Sarawak to Britain.[2] Brunei, which had a benign colonial experience as a British protectorate, decided to maintain its status quo.

Dutch attempts at creating a separate *negara* for the various territories of its colonial possession on Borneo and to dissuade them from falling into Republican hands proved unsuccessful. The pre-war elite of native rulers and the aristocracy, which the Dutch sought to reconvene their cooperation and support for the restoration of colonial control (for instance, the Malino Conference), had either been eliminated during the wartime occupation or were less politically influential with their communities. Militarily the *pejuang* and *lasykar* was no match against Dutch superiority. But politically it was apparent that there would be no return to the pre-war colonial situation. The second Dutch 'police action' galvanized the diverse

Indonesian peoples (including those in Kalimantan) behind Sukarno's Republican cause. Subsequently at the Round Table Conference the Dutch-created Kalimantan Barat, Kalimantan Timur, Kalimantan Tenggara and Dayak Besar joined Republik Indonesia Serikat (RIS) in December 1949. Shortly thereafter, the Indonesians rejected the federalist-based RIS and proclaimed the unitary state of Indonesia on 17 August 1950.

The experiences garnered during the Japanese occupation period contributed to a changed world-view, mindset, and mentality among the various communities. At the same time Imperial Japan's harsh, iron-fisted imperialism and forceful colonialism convinced many local leaders and the common people that all forms of imperialism, oriental or occidental, was simply unacceptable. Witnessing and perceiving that certain communities were cooperating and benefitting from the Japanese while others were discriminated against heightened ethnic consciousness. Each ethnic group begun to be consciously aware of other ethnic communities, 'the other'; consequently each group became more concerned with their parochial interests, rights and identity vis-à-vis other groups. The rise of ethnic assertiveness contributed towards inter-ethnic tension.

The arrival of soldiers and officers of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) at Kuching and Banjarmasin, the fluttering of the *Hinomaru* on public buildings, ships and crafts of the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) anchoring at Balikpapan, the rounding up of Europeans, including colonial officers, and their internment in camps on Berhala Island, likewise the procession of Allied (British, Australian, Indian) prisoners of war into POW facilities like Sandakan and Batu Lintang, every one without exception having to bow to a Japanese foot soldier, were indelible images encased in memory. Japanese anti-Allied propaganda notwithstanding, having witnessed the collapse of the Dutch colonial administration from Tarakan to Pontianak, the reality of a regime change when the *Gunseibu* was set up in Kuching and the Borneo *Minseibu* in Banjarmasin, and the shattering of a widely held perception of the 'superiority of the White Man' was indeed a sobering awakening. The fact that Imperial Japan, an Asian nation, could not only defeat but could humiliate the Western colonial powers impressed upon the local peoples of Borneo that they too, as Asians, were also capable. The demonstration effect of Japanese successes contributed in raising confidence among the various ethnic peoples, including boosting the self-confidence and determination of local leaders.

Natives who served the Japanese wartime administration such as the Iban-educated elite in Sarawak's Second Division who were entrusted with considerable power and latitude had gained invaluable experiences; more importantly it bolstered native confidence and demolished their sense of inferiority vis-à-vis the European. An Iban like Edward Brandah Saban, the sole pre-war police inspector who refused to serve the Gunseibu and instead joined one of the Australian Services Reconnaissance Department (SRD) advance party guerrilla units that were active behind Japanese lines, also felt the positive effect of the wartime period on the natives. In a letter to the rajah's nephew, Anthony Brooke, shortly after the war, Brandah Saban made the following observation.

> If ever I am given the opportunity of administering the welfare of the people of Sarawak I would say that the future prosperity and social status of the people should not all be governed and guided by all the 100 per cent of the western brains. . . . Native administration . . . only requires 30 per cent . . . and the rest should be native. The idea came to me as far back as when I was in the interior of Sarawak during the Jap[anese] occupation.[3]

While this increased confidence in Sarawak and to some extent paved the way for some sections of the Malay community to express their opposition to the cession issue (1946–1949), in Kalimantan the Banjar Malays (Banjarese), Malays and Dayaks bravely sided with the Java-based Republicans against the Dutch. After having witnessed the harsh brand of imperialism and colonialism by the Japanese as well as the tough manner the KNIL meted to the pejuang, the peoples of Kalimantan threw their weight behind the Republican cause and determined not to return to the pre-war situation under colonial shackles.

Even among the pre-war elite, such as the aristocracy of Kalimantan, there were changes in the mindset of its members, especially the younger generation. Owing to the pro-Republican sentiments expressed by members of some of the aristocrats, for instance the middle-level aristocrats of Kutai, the Samarinda Republicans decided to cooperate and work together with them.[4]

As has been demonstrated, IJA-controlled Kita Boruneo witnessed a harsher treatment meted out to the Chinese community, the most significant being the imposition of the *shu-jin* demand, which crippled hitherto prosperous businesses. Moreover the majority of the Chinese, being urban dwellers who were highly dependent on imported necessities including rice and other foodstuffs, suffered from acute shortages. In order to avoid the Japanese enemy, they fled to the rural districts and struggled to live off the land. Overall the Chinese felt that they have been discriminated against while the native inhabitants appeared to be comfortable during the occupation. The Chinese were especially envious of Malay civil servants and police personnel who served the Gunseibu and were given rice rations. The Malay *datu*, Native Officers, civil servants and policemen were labelled by the Chinese as 'traitors' to the pre-war Brooke and Chartered Company regimes. Discounting Malays who worked for the Gunseibu, the majority of Malays were generally living at subsistence level, a fact overlooked by Chinese critics, hence there were little changes from their pre-war situation.

But from the viewpoint of the indigenous non-Muslim inhabitants, the fact that the Chinese 'worked' with Japanese companies that imposed forced deliveries of rice on native farmers made them the 'traitors.' Real or imagined, these perceptions fuelled animosity and threatened inter-ethnic relations; such racial tensions were translated into Ibans resurrecting their headhunting practice and they took more than 20 Chinese heads as trophies in the Kanowit area of central Sarawak.

But apart from such gruesome consequences the emergence of ethnic consciousness among the various communities was apparent. As pointed out, there was a greater awareness of 'the other' that in turn spurred concern about ethnic identity, socioeconomic interests, and political rights – all became bones of contention

in the postwar period. The Sarawak Malay protest against cession was a clear manifestation of this ethnic awareness.

Likewise, in West Kalimantan Dayaks asserted their presence through Daya Unity (or PD), which took advantage of the political vacuum consequent of the wartime massacre of the local elite. Although PD worked alongside NICA (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration), it bravely lashed out at Dutch colonialism, which it said was 'responsible for the suffering experienced [by the Dayaks] under the oppressive weight of the Malay principalities', and 'Dutch and Malay elites were accused of working together like "husband and wife" to suppress Dayak rights and freedoms.'[5] Such criticisms would be unthinkable in the pre-war colonial period. Partly owing to their assertiveness and partly to postwar circumstances where NICA courted PD's support and cooperation against Republican elements, the Dayaks were able to nurture their political consciousness and develop their ethnic identity.

Overall among the peoples of Borneo there was heightened and accentuated ethnic consciousness, communal identity and concern over parochial interests and rights vis-à-vis one another. Armed with this awareness there were different courses of action between the inhabitants of the various territories. The multiethnic population of Sarawak and North Borneo together with those in Brunei decided on continuity with their pre-war British protector. Brunei continued as a British protectorate while Sarawak and North Borneo converted into British Crown Colonies. It was true that the option and the decision for 'change or continuity' did not lie in the hands of the people or their communal leaders but was deliberated by Rajah Brooke and the board of directors of the Chartered Company. Besides the opposition from a section of the Malay community in Sarawak against cession, there was general acquiesce from the diverse inhabitants of Sarawak and North Borneo to accept the benign colonial rule of the British.

The equally diverse peoples of Kalimantan on the other hand decided on change rather than continuity. Although some groups, for instance the Dayaks (through PD) worked with the Dutch in a federalist framework, the majority embraced the Republican cause and rejected their former less than benign colonial masters (the Dutch). For better or worse the peoples of Kalimantan opted for change. It was an expression of the people's self-determination as they opened a new chapter and ventured into an era of fresh beginnings with new elites from within and a bipolar world order from without.

Glossary

adat custom or customary law; natural order
adspirant controleur junior/assistant inspector
Afdeeling regency, an administrative division in the Netherlands East Indies, status and area equivalent to a province
Bahasa lit. Indonesian language; a version of the Malay language
beehoon rice vermicelli
bilian ironwood
bubong (animal) traps
bun regency
bun-cho regent
Bunken Kanrikan Inspector
Bunken Kanrikan Dairi Assistant Inspector
chokan department chief
comfort stations *ianjo*; military brothels
comfort women *ianfu*; (forced) female prostitutes
controleur inspector
datu non-royal chiefs
Districthoofd District Officer (Dutch)
Dokoh local independent rulers of Pontianak
eikyu senryu policy of permanent retention
fuku bun subregency
fuku bun-cho assistant regent
gaharu aloeswood
guncho District Officer
gotong rojong collective self-help
gun district
Gunseibu military government
heiho 'subsoldier' or auxiliary non-combatant soldiers
Hinomaru Japanese flag
Hojin Hokokukai Service for the Fatherland
jikeidan auxiliary police force
Kacamatan subdistrict
kaisha company/firm

kamisibai a slide show with a running commentary
kampung village
karayuki-san Japanese female prostitutes living and working outside Japan; often in China or in Southeast Asia
keibi tai garrison
Kempei Tai military police
-ken prefecture
ken-sanji-kai prefectural advisory council
Kepala/Ketua Kampung village headman
ketua kampung village head
Kiai an Islamic teacher, often well respected, who assumed the responsibility of a District Officer (*Districthoofd*)
kimin individuals who were kidnapped and smuggled out of Japan without travel papers; many ended up in Southeast Asia
kinrohosi communal cooperation; collective work
Kita Boruneo Northern Borneo (formerly British Borneo)
koku'eki national interests or importance
kokujoku national dishonour, an embarrassment
kongsi Chinese gold-mining community
kuo-yu vernacular Chinese language (mandarin)
lamanta raw sago
lamat oral literature of the Banjar Malays
landas wet season
lasykar militias
madihin traditional genre of poetry of the Banjar tribe
mamanda traditional performing art of the Banjar tribe
manang medicine man; traditional healer
masa Jipun Japanese period
merdeka (political) independence; freedom
Minami Boruneo Southern Borneo (formerly Dutch Borneo)
Minseibu regional administrative department
Minseifu Naval Civil Administration Office
Musim/masa jipun Iban term for the period of the Japanese occupation
Nampo 'Southern Area' referring to Southeast Asia
nanshin Japanese concept meaning southward advance or expansion
negara state, a political entity
Nihon-go Japanese language
Onderafdeeling subregency, an administrative division in the Netherlands East Indies, status and area below a regency
Onderdistrict subdistrict
Orang Kaya Malay title denoting a native person of wealth; also *Orang Kaya Kaya*
padi rice
pemuda pejuang (Indonesian) young revolutionary fighters
Pemanca Malay title conferred on an outstanding Iban leader; higher than *penghulu*

Penghulu Malay title used by the Brooke regime for an Iban leader whose power and influence transcended beyond several rivers; leader of a region
perabangan Sarawak Malay aristocratic class; sons of **datu**
pergerakan (Indonesian) nationalist movements
romusha conscripted labourers
rinkji sanji special councilor
saikeirei ritual of bowing, paying homage to the Imperial Japanese Emperor
sanji councilor
seishin Japanese, spirit; inner strength
semangat Malay, spirit
shu administrative provinces
shu-cho resident
shu-jin 'life-redeeming money,' or 'blood money'
sokan superintendent-general of Naval Civil Administration Office
son village
son-cho village headman
sook ching (Mandarin: *xiao qing*) 'cleansing' or 'purification' referring to the campaigns of mass massacres of Chinese civilians in Malaya by IJA
sumpit blowpipes used for hunting
surat kuasa letter of authority
swapraja self-governing territories
taisō physical exercise
Temenggung Malay title utilized by the Brooke regime for the paramount or supreme chief of the Ibans
Tennō Heika Imperial Japanese Emperor
Tokkei Tai special naval police
towkay entrepreneur; proprietor; an honorific of respect
trepang sea cucumber, sea slugs
tsin-sieh physician in Chinese medicine
tuai rumah head of longhouse
Tuan Malay, meaning Mister or Sir; an honorific of respect
ukum Jipun Japanese justice
Walinegara Head of State
Westerafdeeling van Borneo West Borneo
zaibatsu large-scale business organization or combine
zegen pimps
zelfbesturen native states under indirect rule in the Netherlands East Indies
Zuider-en Oosterafdeeling van Borneo South and East Borneo

Notes

1 Introduction

1 The term 'Borneo' is generally acknowledged to refer to the entire island and is derived from the Malay Muslim Sultanate of Brunei. The ancient name of 'Kalimantan' is currently applicable to the larger southern two-thirds of the island under Indonesia. But being highly anti-imperialistic and anti-colonial, the Indonesians considered Kalimantan to denote the entire island, in a move to reject 'Borneo', which was a European corruption of Brunei. There was, however, European usage of the term 'Kalimantan,' for instance, J. Hunt, *Sketch of Borneo or Pulo Kalamantan* (Bencoolen, 1812). It seemed that 'Kalamantan'was a reference to *lamanta*, the term for raw sago, an important trade commodity in the Melanau coastal districts in west-central Sarawak. The Javanese on the other hand preferred the term 'Kalimanten' meaning 'river of precious stones,' certainly an appropriate reference to the diamond, gold, and precious and semi-precious stones that could be found in many of the island's river beds and valleys. Another variation is 'Kali Intann,' 'River of Diamonds', referring to the Barito in the southeast of the island. See Victor T. King, *The Peoples of Borneo* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 18–19; and, Robert Cribb, *Historical Dictionary of Indonesia* (Metuchen, NJ; London: Scarecrow Press, 1992), p. 231.

2 Mark Cleary and Peter Eaton, *Borneo: Change and Development* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 11–12.

3 Ibid., pp. 15–21.

4 For Sarawak, see Ooi Keat Gin, *Of Free Trade and Native Interests: The Brookes and the Economic Development of Sarawak, 1841–1941* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997), Appendices 1, 2 and 3. For Sabah, see D. S. Ranjit Singh, *The Making of Sabah, 1865–1941: The Dynamics of Indigenous Society*, 2nd ed. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2003), pp. 6–17, 27–8.

5 See Victor T. King, 'Brunei Ethnic Minorities', and, 'Brunei Malay', in *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia from Angkor Wat to East Timor*, edited by Ooi Keat Gin (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2004), I, pp. 272–4.

6 King, *The Peoples of Borneo*, pp. 39–40.

7 For a detailed classification, see ibid., pp. 40–58.

8 See Zuraina Majid, *The West Mouth, Niah in the Prehistory of Southeast Asia* (Kuching: Sarawak Museum, 1982); and, Peter Bellwood, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, rev. ed (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

9 See Jan W. Christie, 'On Poni: The Santubong Sites of Sarawak' *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 34, 55 (1985), pp. 77–89.

10 See King, *The Peoples of Borneo*, pp. 54, 107; and, Jerome Rousseau, *Central Borneo: Ethnic Identity and Social Life in a Stratified Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 283.

11 See Robert Nicholl, 'Brunei Rediscovered: A Survey of Early Times', *Brunei Museum Journal*, 4, 4 (1980), pp. 221–2.
12 See J. Thomas Lindblad, *Between Dayak and Dutch: The Economic History of Southeast Kalimantan, 1880–1942* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands, and Providence, RI: Foris Publications, 1988).
13 See Mary Somers Heidhues, *Golddiggers, Farmers, and Traders in Pontianak and the 'Chinese Districts' of West Kalimantan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 2003); and, Wang Tai Peng, *The Origins of Chinese Kongsi* (Petaling Jaya, Selangor: Pelanduk Publications, 1994).
14 The term 'Malay Archipelago' denotes present-day South Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines.
15 The term 'East Indies' refers to the collection of islands that today comprise the Republic of Indonesia.
16 The unmarried James Brooke passed the rajahship to his nephew, who became Rajah Sir Charles Anthoni Johnson Brooke (1829–1917). Following Rajah Charles' long reign (1868–1917), his eldest son Charles Vyner (1874–1963) became the third and last White Rajah. Vyner's reign (1917–1941, 1946) was shared with his brother Bertram (1876–1965) in accordance with his father's political will.
17 Ooi Keat Gin, *Rising Sun Over Borneo: The Japanese Occupation of Sarawak 1941–1945* (Houndmills and London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), p. 14.

2 Pre-war Borneo

1 Saya Shiraishi and Takashi Shiraishi, 'The Japanese in Colonial Southeast Asia: An Overview', in *The Japanese in Colonial Southeast Asia*, edited by Saya Shiraishi and Takashi Shiraishi (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 7.
2 'British Malaya' came into being in the early 1910s. It comprised a collection of territories on the Malay Peninsula (present-day West/Peninsular Malaysia) that were either British Crown Colonies (the Straits Settlements of Penang, Melaka and Singapore) or British protectorates (Federated Malay States [FMS] of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang; and Unfederated Malay States [UMS] of Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, Terengganu and Johor).
3 'Dutch East Indies' refers to contemporary Republic of Indonesia.
4 *Karayuki* means 'go to China' and *–san* is an honorific address. Generally refers to Japanese female prostitutes living and working outside the country mainly in China or in Southeast Asia.
5 See James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore 1870–1940* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1993).
6 Bob Reece, *Masa Jepun: Sarawak under the Japanese 1941–1945* (Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1998), p. 12.
7 Shiraishi and Shiraishi, 'The Japanese in Colonial Southeast Asia', p. 8.
8 Ibid., p. 10.
9 Ibid., pp. 14–15.
10 *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 October 1928, p. 211.
11 K. G. Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah (North Borneo 1881–1963)*, 2nd ed. (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1965), p. 185.
12 See Eric Robertson, *The Japanese File: Pre-War Japanese Penetration in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1986), p. 55.
13 See Thomas J. Lindblad, *Between Dayak and Dutch: The Economic History of Southeast Kalimantan, 1880–1942* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands, and Providence, RI: Foris Publications, 1988), pp. 58–9.
14 Ibid., p. 73.

15 See Ooi Keat Gin, *Of Free Trade and Native Interests: The Brookes and the Economic Development of Sarawak, 1841–1941* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 304–5.
16 See Shimomoto Yutaka, 'Japanese Immigrants in Sarawak before the Pacific War', *Brunei Museum Journal*, 6, 2 (1986), pp. 148–63.
17 See Peter H.H. Howes, *In A Fair Ground: Or Cibus Cassowarii* (London: Excalibur Press, 1994), pp. 124–5.
18 Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 15; Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah*, p. 93.
19 In 1939 the Kuhara Mining Company became Nihon Sangyo Kabuishiki Kaisha and assumed management of the predecessor's operations including the rubber holdings. Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 15.
20 See Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah*, pp. 83–4; and, A. Cook, 'Notes on the Recent Development, Explorartions and Commercial Geography of British North Borneo', *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, 6 (1890), pp. 63–75.
21 Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah*, p. 83. The following year an American forester, D.M. Mathews, who had worked in the Philippines, was appointed to the department.
22 For Brooke economic policy, see Ooi, *Of Free Trade and Native Interests*, pp. 27–30, 42–3, 54–6, 58; on BCL and logging, see ibid., pp. 298–9.
23 See Lindblad, *Between Dayak and Dutch*, p. 104.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid. pp. 104–6.
26 Ibid., p. 105.
27 Ibid., p. 107.
28 See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p, 13. In March 1937, Nissa Shokai was instrumental in conducting Ranee Sylvia's visit to Tokyo and Kyoto. See *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 May 1937.
29 Comment from Wing Commander S.G. Startford quoted in Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 14.
30 Simultaneously, similar efforts were being undertaken in Burma, Queen Charlotte Island, off Vancouver, south Siam, and near Paknam, as well as large purchases of iron ore from Tasmania and the Philippines. Robertson, *The Japanese File*, p. 72.
31 Lindblad, *Between Dayak and Dutch*, p. 88.
32 Robertson, *The Japanese File*, pp. 128–9.
33 Ibid., p. 65.
34 See Shimomoto, 'Japanese Immigrants in Sarawak', p. 148.
35 See CO 531/31/2; K. H. Digby, *Lawyer in the Wilderness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Data Paper no. 114, Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 33.
36 See J. L. Noakes, 'Report on Defence Measures Adopted in Sarawak from June 1941 to the Occupation in December 1941 by Imperial Japanese Forces; also an account of the movement of British and Sarawak Military Forces during the Japanese invasion of Sarawak', 15 February 1946, RHL MSS Pac. S. 62, p. 20.
37 Intelligence Report by 'Alsnob', 1 August 1941, Box 15, North Borneo, Sarawak & Brunei, Record Group 38: Records of the Chief of Naval Operations, Office of Naval Intelligence Monograph Files, NAUSA.
38 Robertson, *The Japanese File*, p. 126.
39 See North Borneo Company, London to Colonial Office, 23 October 1940, CO 874/1102.
40 See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 56.
41 Robertson, *The Japanese File*, p. 69.
42 See Fujiwara Iwaichi, *F. Kikan: Japanese Army Intelligence Operations in Southeast Asia during World War II*. Trans. by Akashi Yoji. (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1983; originally in Japanese, 1966).
43 John Belville Archer, *Glimpses of Sarawak between 1912 & 1946: Autobiographical Extracts & Articles of an Officer of the Rajahs*, compiled, edited and introduced by

Vernon L. Porritt (Hull: Special Issue of the Department of South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1997), p. 32.

44 'British Territories in North Borneo'. Extract from Australian Landing Force South-East Asia (A.L.F.S.E.A.), Wartime Intelligence Report (W.I.R.), No. 52, 28 September 1945, PRO WO 208/105.

45 The May 4th Movement 1919 was initiated by student demonstrations against Japan's acquiring German possessions in Shandong province under the terms of the Versailles Peace Conference, which ended the Great War (1914–1918). It was a catalyst for China to embark on modernization, practically in all fields including language and literature.

46 For instance the situation in Sandakan, British North Borneo, see 'Officer Administering the Government Fred Frasers to President of the Court of Directors, London' 29 August 1919, CO 874/478.

47 Shiraishi and Shiraishi, 'The Japanese in Colonial Southeast Asia', p. 20.

48 Hiroshi Shimizu, 'Evolution of the Japanese Commercial Community in the Netherlands Indies in the Pre-War Period (From Karayuki-san to Sōgō Shōsha', *Japan Forum*, 3, 1 (1991), p. 55.

3 On the road to war

1 Initially referred to in scholarly circles as the Second Sino-Japanese War considering that the First Sino-Japanese War was the conflict of 1894–1895, the 1937–1945 Sino-Japanese clash was also termed the Anti-Japanese War or the War of Resistance against Japan. The latter was popular among contemporary Chinese academics.

2 Yanaihara Tadao, 'Japan's Advance Southward: A Necessity', *Contemporary Japan*, 5, 2 (September 1936): 278–81 reproduced in *Japan and South East Asia*, Vol. I: *From the Meiji Restoration to 1945*, edited by Wolf Mendl (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 248.

3 See Eric Robertson, *The Japanese File: Pre-War Japanese Penetration in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann Asia, 1986), pp. 1–22.

4 *Osaka Mainichi*, 29 May 1936, quoted in ibid., p. 9.

5 For Ishihara's ideas and that of others, see Joyce C. Lebra, *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II: Selected Readings and Documents* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 44–5, 64–7, 99–103, 116–17.

6 Quoted in Robertson, *The Japanese File*, p. 5.

7 Established in 1932 by Ishihara, Tanaka, and Okawa Shumei of the East Asiatic Investigation Bureau, Merinkai (Society of Enlightened Ethics) with a following of five million members mainly reservists advocated the 'Showa Restoration'. See ibid., p. 4.

8 Ibid., p. 5.

9 'Orders Relating to the Occupation of the Vital Southern Area', Special Intelligence Bulletin: Japanese Plans and Operation in S. E. Asia; Translation of Japanese Documents, 21 December 1945, Document 2 (WO 2036310).

10 Ibid.

11 Ian Nish, 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere', in *The Oxford Companion to the Second World War*, general editor I.C.B. Dear (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 501.

12 See Hara Fujio, "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere", in *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia from Angkor Wat to East Timor*, edited by Ooi Keat Gin (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio, 2004), I, p. 554.

13 Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (London: Hutchinson, 1990), p. 390.

14 Ibid., p. 391.

15 Richard Storry, *Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia 1894–1943* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1979), p. 141.

16 See Yoshihashi Takehiko, *Conspiracy at Mukden* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963); and, Mark Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1975).
17 Westerners referred to this railway bridge situated about 16 kilometres west of Beijing as the Marco Polo Bridge since the Venetian traveller once commented on the beauty of its surroundings. Qing Emperor Qianlong (Ch'ien-lung) (1736–99) honoured its beauty with a poem. Luguoqiao is the Chinese name of the bridge.
18 Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, p. 445.
19 Storry, *Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia*, p. 148.
20 Ibid., p. 149.
21 Also known as Prince Konoye.
22 For the Anti-Japanese War, see Lincoln Li, *The Japanese Army in North China 1937–1941: Problems of Political and Economic Control* (Tokyo: Oxford University Press, 1975).
23 On 13 December 1937 the Japanese Central China Expeditionary Forces entered Nanjing, once the capital of Chiang's Nationalist regime. (The Nationalists had by then withdrawn to Hankow.) Over the weeks until early January 1938, Japanese soldiers conducted an orgy of killing, rapine, looting and wanton destruction. The atrocities that claimed an estimated quarter of a million civilian lives came to be known as the 'Rape of Nanjing'.
24 Storry, *Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia*, p. 154.
25 'Japan's Dependence on Imports', Special Study No. 28, Mitsubishi Keizai Kenkyu [in Japanese], (Tokyo, 1938), p. 11, in *Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction*, edited by J. Cohen (Minneapolis, 1949; reprinted Westport, Conn., 1973).
26 S. Woodburn Kirby et al., *The War Against Japan. Vol. I: The Loss of Singapore* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957), p. 481.
27 Ibid.
28 For Japan's trade with the Netherlands East Indies, see Anne Booth, 'Japanese Import Penetration and Dutch Response: Some Aspects of Economic Policy Making in Colonial Indonesia', in *International Commercial Rivalry in Southeast Asia in the Inter-War Period*, edited by Shinya Sugiyama and Milagros C. Guerrero (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 133–64.
29 Ibid., pp. 156–7.
30 'Outline of Policy Toward the South (Army-Navy Draft Policy, 17 April 1941)', Japan, Foreign Ministry, *Nihon gaikō nempyō narabi ni shuyō bunsho* (Chronology and Major Documents of Japanese Foreign Relations), 2: 495–6, reproduced in *Japan and South East Asia*, Vol. I: *From the Meiji Restoration to 1945*, edited by Wolf Mendl (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 246.
31 Ibid. Emphasis added.
32 Quoted in Alvin D. Coox, 'The Pacific War', in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 6: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 336.
33 Joseph C. Grew, *Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years, 1904–1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), II, p. 1338.

4 The Japanese invasion and occupation of Borneo

1 See Netherlands (Possession) Intelligence Report, January 1945, PRO WO 208/1693, C.B. 1819A (X2) (1/45).
2 It seemed that the Dutch constructed this airfield in secrecy and the Japanese only knew of its existence after they had captured Tarakan. See C. van Heekeren, *Moord en brand, Oost-Borneo* [*Murder and Fire, East Borneo*] 'S-Gravenhage [The Hague]: Bakker, 1969), pp. 108–10.

3 'British Territories in North Borneo.' Extract from Australian Landing Force South-East Asia (A.L.F.S.E.A.), Wartime Intelligence Report (W.I.R.), No. 52, 28 September 1945, PRO WO 208/105.
4 'Army-Navy Central Agreement for Establishing Military Administration in Occupied Territories'. Special Intelligence Bulletin: Japanese Plans and Operation in S.E. Asia – Translation of Japanese Documents, 21 December 1945. PRO WO 203/6310.
5 Cdr. Mikami Sakuo, 'Naval Operations in the Invasion of Netherlands East Indies Dec. 1941-Mar. 1942', Japanese Monograph no. 10, n.d., Library of Congress, Washington D.C., US, NAUSA.
6 See *Sarawak Administration Report 1935* (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 21; *Sarawak Administration Report 1938* (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 23.
7 See J.L. Noakes, 'Report on Defence Measures Adopted in Sarawak from June 1941 to the Occupation in December 1941 by Imperial Japanese Forces; also an account of the movement of British and Sarawak Military Forces during the Japanese invasion of Sarawak', 15 February 1946, RHL MSS Pac. S. 62, p. 9. The cost of construction of £50,000 was equally shared between Britain's Air Ministry and the Brooke Sarawak government.
8 See C.M. Lane, 'The Second World War Memoirs [of] Lieutenant-Colonel C.M. Lane', [December 1941–28 December 1942], typescript, 36pp., IWM P.445.
9 The Sarawak Constabulary constituted in 1932 owed its formation to the Sarawak Rangers. The latter, established sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, and comprised of Ibans traditionally from the Undup River, was the only trained military force in Brooke Sarawak. A European officer headed this company-sized force of no more than 400 men. When the Rangers were disbanded in the early 1930s, it was later resurrected as the field force of the Constabulary. See Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841–1941* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 167n. Also see *Sarawak Gazette*, 7 October 1949.
10 K.D. Shargava and K.N.V. Sastri, *Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War, 1939–45: Campaigns in South-East Asia, 1941–42* (Combined Inter-Services Historical Section India and Pakistan, City Orient Longmans, 1960), p. 370.
11 Noakes, 'Report on Defence Measures', pp. 7–8.
12 See ibid., pp. 9–10. On this issue of Britain's commitment to Sarawak, see Ooi Keat Gin, 'A Broken Promise? Great Britain's Failure to Honour Treaty Obligations to Brooke Sarawak, A British Protectorate', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 27, 77 (1999), pp. 46–63.
13 See 'British Staff conversation with Netherlands East Indies officers on co-operation in event of Japanese attack on Malaya, Borneo or Netherlands East Indies, 26–29 October 1940', AWM 54 243/5/35; and, '[British] Staff discussions with Netherlands East Indies [NEI] at Singapore in 1940; Staff conversations with officers from NEI, Memorandum drawn up by Conference on operation between British and Dutch Forces in event of Japanese attack on Malaya, Borneo or Netherlands East Indies, 1941', AWM 54 213/1/3.
14 For the aforesaid proposals, see Shargava and Sastri, *Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War, 1939–45*, pp. 365–6.
15 Noakes, 'Report on Defence Measures', p. 20. See Chapter 2.
16 Ibid.
17 See Ramli Nawawi *et al*., *Sejarah Revolusi Kemerdekaan (1945–1949) Daerah Kalimantan Selatan* (Proyek Inventarisasi dan Pembinaan Nilai-Nilai Budaya, Banjarmasin, 1991), p. 11.
18 John Belville Archer, *Glimpses of Sarawak between 1912 & 1946: Autobiographical Extracts & Articles of an Officer of the Rajahs*, compiled, edited and introduced by Vernon L. Porritt (Hull: Special Issue of the Department of South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1997), p. 31.

19 A.E. Percival, *The War in Malaya* (London: Fyre & Spottiswoode, 1949), p. 94.
20 Ibid.
21 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', Manuscript copy, 57p., [2006?], NIOD, pp. 9–11.
22 Following studies of the Chinese language in Xiamen (Amoy), and suggested by Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke, Le Gros Clarke took up the appointment as secretary for Chinese Affairs in 1929. Then in May 1941 he became chief secretary. He was interned at Batu Lintang until allegations of anti-Japanese activities had him transferred to former British North Borneo, where he along with others, was subsequently executed by the Japanese at Keningau shortly before the surrender.
23 After the centenary celebrations of Brooke rule in Sarawak in late September 1941, both Rajah Sir Charles Vyner Brooke and Ranee Sylvia left the country. In the absence of the rajah, the most senior officer, namely Chief Secretary Le Gros Clark, assumed the post of Officer Administering the Government, who acts on behalf of the rajah.
24 Noakes, 'Report on Defence Measures', p. 15.
25 Statement by C.D. Le Gros Clarke, Officer Administering the Government and Chief Secretary, 24 January 1942, Papers of C.D. Le Gros Clark: Sarawak and North Borneo, 1941–59, RHL MSS Pac.s.84.
26 See Danny Wong Tze-Ken, *The Transformation of An Immigrant Society: A Study of the Chinese of Sabah* (London: Asean Academic Press, 1998), p. 143.
27 R. G. Tyler, Typescript diary (8–18 December 1941), IWM 88/8/1.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 For execution of denial schemes in Tarakan and Balikpapan, see Jacob Zwaan, *Nederlands-Indie 1940–1946. I. Gouvernmenteel intermezzo 1940–1942* [*Netherlands Indies 1940–1946. I. Government Interlude 1940–1942*]. (Den Haag: Uitgeverij Omniboek, [1980]), pp. 160, 166–7.
31 For more on denial operations, see 'Plans for destruction of oil plants, British and Dutch territory, May 1941', PRO HS 1/345. Also see, 'Oil fields project: destruction of Seria and Miri fields, July 1942–45', PRO HS 1/185, HS 1/247.
32 S. Woodburn Kirby, *et al*., *The War Against Japan, Volume I: The Loss of Singapore* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office), p. 222.
33 Noakes, 'Report on Defence Measures', p. 24.
34 Cited in Shargava and Sastri, *Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War, 1939–45*, p. 373.
35 Kirby, *The War Against Japan*, p. 222.
36 For a detailed military account of the Japanese invasion and occupation, see 'Borneo Operations, 1941–1945', Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army Headquarters, United States Army, [Tokyo] Japan, Japanese monograph no. 26, [1957], Typescript, IWM 45495.
37 Ibid., p. 9; Kirby, *The War Against Japan*, p. 223.
38 Kirby, *The War Against Japan*, p. 224. But according to Japanese accounts, three ships in the convoy were 'attacked and torpedoed by enemy submarines. Heavy damage was inflicted on all three ships' but no mention was made of any of them being sunk. See 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, p. 12.
39 A.J.N. Richards, a senior Brooke officer cited in R.H.W. Reece, *The Name of Brooke: The End of White Rajah Rule in Sarawak* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 143, 161n. 34.
40 Winston Churchill, *The Hinge of Fate* (London: Cassell, 1951), p. 81.
41 For the fate of the 2nd/15th Punjab, see Lane, 'Memoirs', IWM P.445; A.V.M. Horton, 'A Note on the British Retreat from Kuching', *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 36, 57 (December 1986): 241–9; Percival, *The War in Malaya*, pp. 165–75; and, Shargava and Sastri, *Official History of the Indian Armed Forces in the Second World War, 1939–45*, pp. 374–80.

5 The partition of Borneo

1 'Borneo Operations, 1941–1945', Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army Headquarters, United States Army, [Tokyo] Japan, Japanese monograph no. 26, [1957], IWM 45495, pp. 19–20.
2 Ibid., p. 20.
3 The BGA was also referred to as the Borneo Defense Force (Nada 9801 Unit or Nada Group).
4 Maeda visited British North Borneo in September 1940. See Chapter 2.
5 In December 1942 the 41st Independent Garrison Infantry Battalion was transferred to Thailand; a year later it returned to serve Borneo. See ibid., pp. 22–3.
6 'Army-Navy Central Agreement for Establishing Military Administration in Occupied Territories', [26 November 1941]. Special Intelligence Bulletin: Japanese Plans and Operation in S.E. Asia – Translation of Japanese Documents, 21 December 1945, PRO WO 203/6310. Also see 'Central Agreement between the Army and the Navy on the Military Administration of Occupied Areas (*Senryōchi gunsei jisshi ni kansuru riku-kaigun chūō kyōtei*)', November 26, 1941, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 4–5.
7 See *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, edited by the Okuma Memorial Social Sciences Research Institute (Washington, D.C.: Joint Publications Research Service 21, 1963; Translation of *Indonesia ni okeru Nihon gunsei no kenkyu*, first published by Kinokuniya Shoten, Tokyo, 1959), p. 132.
8 'Central Agreement between the Army and the Navy', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 7.
9 Okada Fumihide, 'Civil Administration in Celebes', in *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942–1945*, edited by Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 72, 1986), p. 142.
10 Ibid.
11 'Outline on the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas (*Senryōchi gunsei shori yōkō*)', Confidential Secretariat Paper No. 3167, [Ministry of the Navy], March 14, 1942, Document No. 6, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 27, 29. Emphasis added.
12 From April 1944 Api (Jesselton, present-day Kota Kinabalu) replaced Kuching as the IJA 37th Army headquarters.
13 See 'Navy Civil Government [October 1942]', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 208.
14 Ibid., p. 207.
15 'Outline on the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 29.
16 Ibid.
17 Okada, 'Civil Administration in Celebes', p. 142.
18 'Principles Governing the Administration of Occupied Southern Areas (*Nampō senryōchi gyōsei jisshi yōryō*)', adopted at the Liaison Conference between Imperial [General] Headquarters and the Government, November 20, 1941, Document No. 1, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 1.
19 Ibid.
20 'Telegram on the Administration of Occupied Southern Areas (*Nampō senryōchi no tōchi ni kansuru dempō*) from Vice-Minister of the Army to Superintendent of the Singapore Military Administration Headquarters, Army, Asia, Secret Telegram no. 1482', 5 December 1942, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 47.
21 'Principles Governing the Administration of Occupied Southern Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 2.
22 'Outline on the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 29.

23 Ibid., pp. 29–30.
24 Ibid., p. 30. Also, see 'Principles Governing the Implementation of Measures relative to the Chinese (*Kakyō kōsaku jishi yōryō*), Military Administration Headquarters, [April 1942]', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 180–1.
25 'Outline on the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 30.
26 See Ooi Keat Gin, 'Calculated Strategy or Senseless Murder', in *Indonesia in the Pacific War*, edited by Peter Post (Amsterdam: Brill, 2010), p. 215.
27 'Investigation of War Crime, Pontianak', 1 March 1946, NEFIS, Capt. Art[illery] KNIL L. D. G. Krol, MFAA INV. NR 01955, p. 3.
28 See Chapter 8.
29 Yamamoto Soichi: Extract from Interrogation report No. 3/W.B. Jap, Pontianak, 2 February 1946, NIOD 009799–009803.
30 *Sarawak Tribune*, 10 January 1946.
31 Stephen R. Evans, *Sabah (North Borneo) under the Rising Sun Government* (Singapore: author, printed by Tropical Press, 1991), p. 39.
32 Edward F.L. Russell (Lord of Liverpool), *The Knights of Bushido: A Short History of Japanese War Crimes* (London: Cassell; New York: Dutton, 1958; Corgi ed. reissued 1976), p. 57.
33 Bob Reece, *Masa Jepun: Sarawak under the Japanese 1941–1945* (Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1998), p. 91.
34 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, edited by the Okuma Memorial Social Sciences Research Institute (Washington, D.C.: Joint Publications Research Service 21, 1963; Translation of *Indonesia ni okeru Nihon gunsei no kenkyu*, first published by Kinokuniya Shoten, Tokyo, 1959), p. 181.
35 Ibid., pp. 181–2.
36 Ibid., p. 182.
37 See ibid., p. 183.

6 Kita Boruneo

1 Leonard Edwards and Peter W. Stevens, *Short Histories of the Lawas and Kanowit Districts* (Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1971), p. 53.
2 Gabriel Tan, *Japanese Occupation Sarawak: A Passing Glimpse* (Kuching: Jacamar Sdn Bhd, 1997), p. 84.
3 Stephen Yong Kuet Tze, *A Life Twice Lived: A Memoir* (Kuching: author, 1998), p. 75.
4 For incidences of acts of violence, see Bob Reece, *Masa Jepun: Sarawak under the Japanese 1941–1945* (Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1998), pp. 91–2; and, Stephen R. Evans, *Sabah (North Borneo) under the Rising Sun Government* (Singapore: author, printed by Tropical Press, 1991), pp. 30–1.
5 'Outline of Economic Policies for the Southern Areas (*Nampō keizai taisaku yōkō*)', December 16, 1941, rev. May 29, 1943, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 19.
6 "Borneo: Oilfields", 19 September 1945, PRO WO 208/104, pp. 6–7.
7 See G.C. Harper, *The Discovery and Development of the Seria Oilfields*, 2nd ed. (Bandar Seri Begawan: Brunei Museum, 1990), p. 23. For pre-war production at Miri, see Ooi Keat Gin, *Of Free Trade and Native Interests: The Brookes and the Economic Development of Sarawak, 1841–1941* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 136–43.
8 Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 148.
9 "Australian Military Forces, Weekly Intelligence Review, no. 131, week ending 21 April [19]45", PRO WO 208/104.
10 See *Sarawak Gazette*, 2 September 1946.
11 See ibid.
12 'Outline of Economic Policies for the Southern Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 20.

13 See R.A. Cramb, 'Agriculture and Food Supplies in Sarawak during the Japanese Occupation', in *Food Supplies and the Japanese Occupation in South-East Asia*, edited by Paul H. Kratoska (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), p. 147.
14 Edwards and Stevens, *Short Histories*, p. 54.
15 See Ong Kee Hui, 'Report on the Department of Agriculture, Sarawak, June 1941–June 1945', (Typescript) SMSA; and, Cramb, 'Agriculture and Food Supplies in Sarawak', p. 148.
16 See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 147, 154.
17 See *Sarawak Gazette*, 2 September 1946.
18 For instance, see Edwards and Stevens, *Short Histories*, pp. 51–2.
19 See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 144.
20 See Vinson H. Sutlive Jr., *Tun Jugah of Sarawak: Colonialism and Iban Response* (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti for Sarawak Literary Society, 1992), pp. 105–6, 167. Also, see Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 145–6.
21 Edwards and Stevens, *Short Histories*, p. 51.
22 See Sutlive, *Tun Jugah of Sarawak*, p. 106.
23 Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 150.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 For instance, in occupied Malaya. See Paul H. Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya: A Social and Economic History* (St Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1998), pp. 197–203, 207–13.
27 See *Sarawak Tribune*, 11 April 1946.
28 Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 141. Information was based on Seki Yoshihiko, 'Japanese Economic Policy', typescript report, February 1946, prepared for the British Military Administration during his internment at Labuan. Ibid., p. 151, n.2.
29 See 'Outline of Economic Policies for the Southern Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 21–2.
30 See 'Principles Governing the Administration of Occupied Southern Areas (*Nampō senryōchi gyōsei jisshi yōryō*)', adopted at the Liaison Conference between Imperial [General] Headquarters and the Government, November 20, 1941, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 30.
31 Soon Teck Kongsi was in fact a combination of Guan Soon and Hoon Teck, who were forcibly instructed to work together to service the Japanese. See Edwards and Stevens, *Short Histories*, p. 52.
32 For instance, see Yong, *A Life Twice Lived*, pp. 92–3.
33 For resourcefulness in creating substitutes, see Ong Kee Hui, *Footprints in Sarawak: Memoirs of Tan Sri Datuk (Dr) On Kee Hui, 1914 to 1963* (Kuching, Malaysia: Research & Resource Centre, SUPP Headquarters, 1998), pp. 237–42; and, Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 153–9.
34 Following the October 1943 uprising in Jesselton, the Gunseibu ordered all native firearms to be confiscated, which resulted in enmity between the Ibans and other indigenous peoples and the Japanese.
35 Tennō Heika, literally means 'His Imperial Majesty the [Reigning] Emperor', which became the term to denote paying obeisance to the Japanese emperor. As the emperor is believed to be semi-divine, hence the ritual of paying one's respect was translated to paying homage or worship in the Shinto context.
36 Posthumously promoted to full army General, Maeda died in an air crash offshore from Bintulu in June 1942. See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 61–2.
37 *Nippon Times*, 11 September 1943.
38 Sutlive, *Tun Jugah of Sarawak*, p. 114.
39 See Ong, *Footprints in Sarawak*, p. 221.
40 For instance, see Edwards and Stevens, *Short Histories*, p. 53.

41 Kimi-ga Yo literally means 'May your reign last foreover' hence the association of this long de facto national anthem with emperor worship, imperialism and militarism. It was as recent as 1999 that Kimi-ga Yo officially and legally acknowledged it as Japan's national anthem.
42 Ooi Keat Gin, *Rising Sun Over Borneo: The Japanese Occupation of Sarawak 1941–1945* (Houndmills and London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), p. 71.
43 Special Intelligence Bulletin: Japanese Plans and Operations in S.E. Asia; Translation of Japanese Documents, 21 Dec. 1945. Document 11: 'Summary of the government of occupied territory in the Southern Area, 12 Oct. [19]42.' PRO WO 203/6310.
44 Abdullah Hussain, *Tun Datu Mustapha, Bapa Kemerdekaan Sabah: Satu Biografi* [*Tun Datu Mustapha, Father of Sabah Independence: A Biography*] (Kuala Lumpur: M.F.I. Press, 1976), pp. 24, 28–9. See also Ooi Keat Gin, '"The Slapping Monster" and Other Stories: Recollections of the Japanese Occupation (1941–1945) of Borneo through Autobiographies, Biographies, Memoirs, and Other Ego-Documents', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Special Issue: Asia, War and Memory, edited by Ann Heylen, 7, 3 (Winter 2007), pp. 15–16.
45 For details of the pre-war administrative structure in Sarawak, Brunei, and British North Borneo, see Naimah S. Talib, *Administrators and their Service: The Sarawak Administrative Service under the Brooke Rajahs and British Colonial Rule* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1999); Graham Saunders, *A History of Modern Brunei* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994); and, D. S. Ranjit Singh, *The Making of Sabah, 1865–1941: The Dynamics of Indigenous Society*, 2nd ed. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2003).
46 Other natives included Ibans such as Patrick Empenit Adam, Benedict Sandin, Samuel Jonathan Tinker, and a Bidayuh, Awan Rekan. See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 128.
47 Stephen R. Evans, *Sabah (North Borneo) under the Rising Sun Government* (Singapore: author, printed by Tropical Press, 1991), p. 31.
48 Ibid.
49 See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 35, 44, 128. Also, see R.H.W. Reece, *The Name of Brooke: The End of White Rajah Rule in Sarawak* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 147, 153.
50 Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 128.
51 A similar organization was set up in Malaya as adjuncts to the state police and the Kempei Tai. See Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya*, pp. 80–1.
52 'British Territories in North Borneo', extract from Allied Land Forces South-East Asia, no. 52, 28 September 1945. PRO WO 208/105.
53 Ibid.
54 Intelligence Bulletin no. 237, Item 2182: Interrogation of Lieutenants Yoshihiko WAKAMATSU and Kenzo MORIKAWA, and Captains Ryuji IKENO, Minoru TASUMA and Yoshio WATANABE, all officers attached to the North Borneo Volunteer Corps (KYODOTAI). Subject: North Borneo Volunteer Corps; mid-1946. PRO WO 203/6317.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid.
57 See Reece, *The Name of Brooke*, p. 145.
58 Extract of Tokyo broadcast, 1 October 1943, Sarawak Government Agency, Sydney, Circular no. 5/43, 12 October 1943, cited in Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 63.
59 Abstract of Premier Tojo's Address before the 82nd Extraordinary Session of the Imperial Diet, 16 June 1943, as published in the *Asahi Shimbun*, 17 June 1943, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 51. Emphasis added.
60 The titles *temenggung*, *penghulu*, *pemanca*, and *orang kaya* were conferred mainly on Ibans and, to a lesser extent, on other natives by Brunei Malay rulers during the pre-colonial period. Orang Kaya, literally 'wealthy individual', was conferred on prominent persons of standing, both martial and material. Outstanding leaders were

accorded the honorific pemanca, a status above the penghulu. The title of penghulu, borrowed from the Malay, was utilized by Rajah Charles Brooke to give legitimacy to an acknowledged regional leader of the Ibans whose stature transcended beyond several rivers and numerous longhouses. Temenggung was the title for the paramount or supreme chief of the Ibans. In British North Borneo, the title *Orang Kaya Kaya* or OKK was used. See Vinson Sutlive and Joanne Sutlive, gen. ed., *The Encyclopedia of Iban Studies* (Kuching: Tun Jugah Foundation in cooperation with Borneo Research Council, 2001), III, pp. 1309–10, 1389, 1405–6, 1843.

61 "Telegram on the Administration of Occupied Southern Areas (*Nampō senryōchi no tōchi ni kansuru dempō*) from Vice-Minister of the Army to Superintendent of the Singapore Military Administration Headquarters, Army, Asia, Secret Telegram no. 1482", 5 December 1942, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 47.

62 For a sample of a ken-sanji-kai meeting, see Reece, *Masa Jepun*, pp. 65–74.

63 See *British North Borneo Herald*, 16 November 1936.

64 See *Annual Report on Sarawak for the Year 1947* (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 21; and, N.L. Noakes, *Sarawak and Brunei: A Report on the 1947 Population Census* (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 82–3.

65 Craig Alan Lockard, *From Kampung to City: A Social history of Kuching, Malaysia, 1820–1970* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, no. 75, 1987), pp. 155–6.

66 For sook ching in Malaya, see Kratoska, *The Japanese Occupation of Malaya*, pp. 95–100; and, Ian Ward, *The Killer they Called a God* (Singapore: Media Masters, 1992).

67 See Tan Y[eok] S[ing], 'History of the Formation of the Overseas Chinese Association and the Extortion by J[apanese] M[ilitary] A[dministration] of $50,000,000 Military Contribution from the Chinese in Malaya', *Journal of the South Seas Society*, 3, 1 (1947), pp. 7–8.

68 See 'Principles Governing the Implementation of Measures Relative to the Chinese (*Kakyō kōsaku jisshi yōryō*)', Military Administration Headquarters, [April 1942] in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 179, 181.

69 In Sibu the Dochokai or Harmony Society was the umbrella Chinese organization. See Reece, *Masa Jepun*, p. 120.

70 For the harsh treatment of Indian POWs in Borneo, see 'Report to the O.C. 2/15 Punjab Regt. by Kalyan Singh Gupta', 11 September 1945, PRO WO 325/39.

71 V.L. Porritt, 'More Bitter than Sweet: Lena Ricketts' Experiences during the Japanese Occupation of Sarawak 1941–1945', *Sarawak Gazette*, March 1995, p. 48.

72 Yoshiwara was the renowned brothel quarters of Edo, old Tokyo, established in 1617. Together with Shimabara in Kyoto, Yoshiwara was synonymous with commercial sex. See Cecelia Segawa Seigle, *Yoshiwara: The Glittering World of the Japanese Courtesan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993).

73 See Danny Wong Tze-Ken, *The Transformation of An Immigrant Society: A Study of the Chinese of Sabah* (London: Asean Academic Press, 1998), pp. 143–4.

74 For the situation in the outstations of Sarawak particularly of the behavior of Brooke officers and other Europeans, see Ooi Keat Gin, *Traumas and Heroism: The European Community in Sarawak during the Pacific War and Japanese Occupation 1941–1945* (Kota Kinabalu, Malaysia: Opus Publications, 2007), pp. 11–57.

75 Part Four: Investigations in the Kuching Area, Report on investigation into fate of Allied POWs and internees in British Borneo, December 1945, PRO WO 325/52, pp. 109–16.

76 Papers of L.E. Morris, IWM 91/18/1.

77 Papers of Miss H.E. Bates, IWM 91/35/1.

78 Peter H.H. Howes, 'The Lintang Camp: Reminiscences of an Internee during the Japanese Occupation', *Journal of the Malaysian Historical Society Sarawak Branch*, 2 (March 1976), p. 33.

79 See Ooi Keat Gin, ed. and introd., *Japanese Empire in the Tropics: Selected Documents and Reports of the Japanese Period in Sarawak, Northwest Borneo, 1941–1945* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 101, 1998), II, pp. 286, 667.
80 For life as POWs and internees in Batu Lintang, see Ooi, *Traumas and Heroism*, Chapters 6, 7 and 8, and, Ooi, *Japanese Empire in the Tropics*, II, Chapter 6.
81 See Ooi, *Traumas and Heroism*, Chapter 7.
82 Peter H.H. Howes, *In A Fair Ground: Or Cibus Cassowarii* (London: Excalibur Press, 1994), p. 156.
83 Papers of G.W. Pringle, IWM.

7 Minami Boruneo

1 Mary Somers Heidhues, *Golddiggers, Farmers, and Traders in the 'Chinese Districts' of West Kalimantan, Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2003), p.200.
2 See 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', Mss copy, [2006?], NIOD, p. 14.
3 See ibid., pp. 13, 14.
4 See M. Idwar Saleh et al., *Sejarah Daerah Kalimantan Selatan* (Banjarmasin: Proyek Penelitian Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah Kantor Wilayah Depdikbud Propinsi Kalimantan Selatan, 1978/1979), p. 142.
5 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', p. 27.
6 Other key players included Pangeran Musa Ardikesuma and Roesbandi. An information and propaganda body was led by S. Hardjosoemartojo and Hadharijah M. Ibid., pp. 20–1.
7 For instance, see *Kalimantan Raya*, 14 March 1942; 16 March 1942; 20 March 1942; and, 3 April 1942.
8 'Outline on the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas (*Senryōchi gunsei shori yōkō*)', Confidential Secretariat Paper No. 3167, [Ministry of the Navy], March 14, 1942, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 27, 29. Emphasis added.
9 'Draft Plan of the Future Status of Occupied Territories (*Senryōchi kizoku fukuan*)', Proposed by the Liaison Conference between Imperial General Headquarters and the Government, 14 January 1943, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 48. Emphasis added.
10 Shibata Yaichiro, 'Nationalist Propaganda in the Navy Area, 1945', in *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942–1945*, edited by Anthony Reid and Oki Akira (Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 72, 1986), p. 278.
11 'Outline on the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 30.
12 'Outline of Economic Policies for the Southern Areas (*Nampō keizai taisaku yōkō*)', December 16, 1941, rev. May 29, 1943, Document No. 5, in Benda, Irikura and,Kishi, pp. 17–18.
13 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, edited by the Okuma Memorial Social Sciences Research Institute (Washington, D.C.: Joint Publications Research Service 21, 1963; Translation of *Indonesia ni okeru Nihon gunsei no kenkyu*, first published by Kinokuniya Shoten, Tokyo, 1959), p. 297.
14 See 'Netherlands (Possession) Intelligence Report', January 1945, PRO WO 208/1693, C.B. 1819A (X2) (1/45).
15 'Australian Military Forces, Weekly Intelligence Review, no. 131, week ending 21 April [19]45', PRO WO 208/104.
16 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, p. 298.
17 Ibid., p. 299.

18 M. Idwar Saleh, *Sejarah Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 150.
19 Ibid., p. 152.
20 Ramli Nawawi, *Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 20.
21 Occasionally '*Simboen*' is rendered as '*Sinbun*'.
22 Bahasa Indonesia (lit. 'Indonesian Language') is basically a version of the Malay language not unlike the language of the peninsular Malays of the Malay Peninsula (present-day West Malaysia). The latter is referred to officially as *Bahasa Malaysia*. In 1972 a major step was taken in the process of standardization in the adoption of a common spelling system for Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia.
23 Ramli Nawawi, *Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 21.
24 See 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', p. 31.
25 Ramli Nawawi, *Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 19.
26 'Outline of the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 33.
27 Quoted in Reid and Akira, p. 160.
28 Quoted in ibid.
29 Okada Fumihide, 'Civil Administration in Celebes', in Reid and Akira, p. 156. Emphasis added.
30 Quoted in *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, pp. 222–3.
31 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, pp. 223–4.
32 See ibid., p. 223.
33 See Suzuki Seihei, 'Education in Bali, 1943–1944', in Reid and Akira, pp. 169–70. In the Dutch colonial period households were graded into several categories based on monthly income; hence those with higher incomes were expected to pay a higher school fee.
34 Ibid., p. 169.
35 Ibid., p. 166.
36 M. Idwar Saleh, *Sejarah Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 156.
37 See 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', p. 40.
38 M. Idwar Saleh, *Sejarah Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 157.
39 Ibid. Madihin (Arabic, 'advice,' also 'praise') is a unique genre of traditional verses specifically unique to Banjar Malays of South Borneo and their folklore. Mamanda is a Banjarese folk theatre based on classical verses and folktales (*hikayat*). Similarly lamut is the oral literature of the Banjar Malays.
40 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', p. 43.
41 'Outline of the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 32.
42 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, p. 247.
43 Ibid., p. 246.
44 Ibid., p. 243.
45 Ibid. Emphasis added.
46 Ibid., p. 44.
47 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', p. 54.
48 Ramli Nawawi, *Daerah Kalimantan Selatan*, p. 27.
49 *Borneo Simboen*, 3 December 1943. Triple 'A' Movement was a pan-Asian organization that placed Imperial Japan at the centre as the light of Asia. Putera, on the other hand, acted as a centrifugal movement drawing all nationalists of various shades under its leadership. Java Hokokai sought to combine the political power and influence of Indonesian nationalists with Japanese government officials. For the Japanese occupation in Java, see Sato Shigeru, *War, Nationalism and Peasants: Java under the Japanese Occupation 1942–1945* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).
50 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, p. 202.
51 *Borneo Simboen*, 9 November 1943.
52 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', p. 50.
53 Ibid., pp. 51–2.

54 'Outline of the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas', in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, p. 30.
55 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, p. 172. Emphasis added.
56 Shibata, 'Nationalist Propaganda in the Navy Area, 1945', pp. 278–9.
57 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, p. 172.
58 'Regulations Concerning the Establishment of Municipal Offices (*Sjitjo settji kitei*)', [Navy] Civil Government Order No. 30, December 1, 1943, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 219–20; and, 'Provisional Municipal Ordinance (*Zantei sji rei*)', [Navy] Civil Government Order No. 30, December 1, 1943, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 173–4.
59 'Provisional Order Concerning Municipal Councils (*Zantei sjikai rei*)', [Navy] Civil Government Order No. 35, December 8, 1943, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 226–9; and 'Provisional Order Concerning Residency Assemblies (*Zantei sjoekai rei*)', [Navy] Civil Government Order No. 34, December 8, 1943, in Benda, Irikura and Kishi, pp. 174–6.
60 Shibata, 'Nationalist Propaganda in the Navy Area, 1945', p. 279.
61 *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia*, p. 176.
62 Shibata, 'Nationalist Propaganda in the Navy Area, 1945', p. 280.
63 Ibid., pp. 283–4.
64 See 'Buku Urang Banjar & Kebudayaannya', p. 56.
65 Ibid., p. 57.

8 Atrocities, opposition and response

1 Brigadier W.J.V. Windeyer, Administration Command 9th Australian Division to 7th Australian Division, Headquarters Australian Military Force, Subject: War Crimes – Longnawan Massacre, 23 October 1945; Internees – Allied Abroad Massacre of Allied Nationals at Longnawan, Borneo, AWM A1066/4 IC45/95/8.
2 In some maps Long Nawan is used.
3 See Lieutenant F.R. Oldham, '[Report of Long Nawang] Summary of Events prior to 20 August 1942; Summary of Events from 20 August to 20 September', [18 September 1945]; Internees – Allied Abroad Massacre of Allied Nationals at Longnawan, Borneo, AWM A1066/4 IC45/95/8. Oldham was attached to SRD's SEMUT III, an Allied, mainly Anglo-Australian, guerilla force operating behind enemy lines in the early months of 1945. See Chapter 9. A copy of Oldham's report was submitted to the Australian War Crimes Commission in Brisbane, the governments of the Netherlands, the United States, and the United Kingdom.
4 See W. McKerracher, 'Report on Proceedings before, landing up to and covering the evacuation of the Borneo Co.'s Staff from Sibu and the Rejang Timber Concession', 2 May 1942. Papers of Alan Griffin, RHL Mss. Pac. S.109. In McKerracher's account, Long Nawang is mistakenly rendered as 'Long Noyan', and A.F.R. Griffin as 'Griffen'.
5 Kuching, the administrative seat of the Brooke government fell to the Japanese on 24 December 1941.
6 McKerracher, 'Report on Proceedings', 2 May 1942.
7 H.P.K. Jacks, district officer (DO) of Kanowit; and, J Schotling, assistant food controller at Sibu.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 T.E. Walter, forestry department at Sibu.
11 Oldham, '[Report of Long Nawang]', [18 September 1945], Appendix: Escaped to Australia, AWM A1066/4 IC45/95/8.
12 The Long Nawang tragedy was dramatized in a novel by Hugh Hickling initially titled *Lieutenant Akino* and later republished as *Crimson Sun Over Borneo* (Kuala Lumpur:

Pelanduk Publications, 1997). Hickling once served as a judge in former British North Borneo.

13 Oldham, '[Report of Long Nawang]', [18 September 1945], AWM A1066/4 IC45/95/8.

14 Bob Reece, *Masa Jepun: Sarawak under the Japanese 1941–1945* (Kuching: Sarawak Literary Society, 1998), p. 48.

15 Ibid., p. 49.

16 Don Wall, *Sandakan under Nippon: The Last March*, rev. 5th ed. (Mona Vale, NSW: D. Wall Publications, 1997), blurp on backcover. Ruxton, the State President, R.S.L. Victoria initiated the erection of a memorial to honour and remember the 1,800 Australians and 600 British servicemen who died as POWs in Sandakan.

17 The advice given to Australian POW Warrant Officer William (Bill) H. Sticpewich to escape from Takahara, a Japanese private at Ranau. Athol Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1989), p. 1.

18 See Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, and Tanaka Yuki, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), pp. 45–78. Also, see Wall, *Sandakan under Nippon*; and, Lynette Ramsay Silver, *Sandakan: A Conspiracy of Silence* (Binda, NSW: Sally Milner Publishing, 1998; rev. ed. 2000; reprint 2003). Moffitt acted as public prosecutor at the Labuan War Crimes Trials in early 1946 that brought those responsible for the Sandakan tragedy to justice. *Project Kingfisher* was based principally on materials from the Labuan trials, and on official documents that had long been kept top secret of the aborted rescue plan ('Project Kingfisher'). Wall, an ex-POW of the infamous Thai-Burma Death Railway, since1982 embarked on a seemingly life crusade to put on record the experiences of fellow ex-POW. *Sandakan under Nippon* based on recollections and other secondary sources was first published in August 1988 and had since been revised and republished five times. Silver's *Sandakan* dwells on the nagging question of the absence of a rescue attempt. Her usage of exhumation documentation may assist in the identification of remains at the Labuan War Cemetery.

19 Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, p. 53. Meanwhile, the 'A' force, comprising 3,000 Australians, was sent to Burma as labour for the construction of airfields in the southern part of the country, for the use of the IJN, and later, served in the Thai-Burma Death Railway.

20 Ibid.

21 Wall, *Sandakan under Nippon*, p.4; Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, p. 54.

22 Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, p. 73. At the Labuan War Crimes Trials in early 1946 Hoshijima was referred to by his new rank of 'captain'. 'The corners of his mouth were slightly turned down,' Moffitt recalled of Hoshijima, 'to reveal the face of a determined and cruel man, characteristics to become apparent from the evidence presented to the court and from his demeanour before it in the many days of the trial.' Ibid., p. 73.

23 This 'welcome' address was recollected by Private Nelson Short, who was with the 'E' force, quoted in ibid., p. 55.

24 Quoted in Edward F.L. Russell (Lord of Liverpool), *The Knights of Bushido: A Short History of Japanese War Crimes* (London: Cassell; New York: Dutton, 1958; Corgi ed. reissued 1976), p. 56.

25 Ibid., p. 57. Emphasis added.

26 David Bergamini, *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* (New York: Morrow, 1971), p. 1033.

27 Quoted in ibid., p. 1035.

28 Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, pp. 57, 61–3.

29 See the story of 'Mrs Harris' in Chapter 6.

30 The civilians executed were Jemadur Ojager Singh, Alexander Clarence Leonard Funk, Sergeant Abin, Ernesto Lagan, Heng Joo Ming, Wong Moo Sing, Felix Aycona, and Matusip bin Gungau. Five others died while imprisoned in Kuching: Soh Kim

Seng, Amigo bin Bassan, Kassim bin Jamadi, Police Constable Kasia, and Sidik bin Simoen. They were all buried at the Heroes Grave in Kuching. Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, p. 63.

31 Mrs Taylor was sent as a civilian internee at Batu Lintang Prisoners of War and Internment Camp.

32 Berhala Island, situated at the mouth of the Sandakan River, was formerly a quarantine facility; the Japanese used it for European civilian internees prior to their transfer to Kuching's Batu Lintang. In late 1943 the island was the transit camp for 500 Australian POWs ('E' force) from Singapore; they were later moved to the Sandakan POW Prison on the mainland. In June 1943 seven from the 'E' force escaped with the clandestine organization's assistance and successfully made their way to Tawi Tawi where they joined with Filipino and American guerillas. The escapees were Captain Ray Steele, Lieutenants Rex Blow, Miles Gillon and Charles Wagner, Sapper James Kennedy, and Privates Rex Butler and Jock McLaren. See ibid., p. 59.

33 Warrant Officer Walter Wallace, who received help from the local Chinese, was the only survivor who escaped from the mainland Sandakan POW Prison in April 1943; his two colleagues were betrayed by Malays and recaptured by the Japanese. Wallace joined the seven for Tawi Tawi. See ibid., pp. 59–60.

34 See ibid., pp. 63–4.

35 Ibid., p. 64.

36 In September 1944 the Borneo Garrison Army (also referred to as Borneo Defence Force) was placed on an operational footing as the 37th Army where its order of battle was directly under the command of the Southern Expeditionary Army then headquartered at Dalat, northeast of Saigon.

37 Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, pp. 66–7.

38 Ibid., p. 67.

39 For escapes en route to Ranau during the second march, see Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, pp. 4, 5, 68, 117, 251.

40 Private Anderson was actually 16 years old when he enlisted in 1941 with his real name James Michael Bowe. When his father heard of him joining the Army, he was promptly discharged. However, he again enlisted using 'A. Anderson,' aged 21, and was sent to Singapore, and subsequently Sandakan. See Wall, *Sandakan under Nippon*, p. 6.

41 For escapes from Ranau, see Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, pp. 1–9, 117, 251.

42 Ibid., p. 8.

43 See Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, pp. 1–4.

44 Ibid., p. 68.

45 Lionel Wigmore, *The Japanese Thrust* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1957), p. 604. The numbers did not tally but this was the overall scenario of the fate of those who did not join the second march.

46 Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher*, p. 68.

47 Hoshijima was found guilty by the Labuan War Crimes Trials and sentenced to death by hanging. He was hanged on 6 April 1946 at Rabaul. Similarly Takakuwa and Watanabe were each found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging and shooting respectively. Watanabe met his fate at Morotai on 16 March 1946 while Takakuwa was hanged on the same day and place as Hoshijima. Baba was also guilty as charged and sentenced to death by hanging at Rabaul on 7 August 1947. Ibid., pp. 92, 122, 130.

48 Ibid., p. 226.

49 See Memorandum on S.R.D. Operations in British Borneo, February – June, 1945, Appendix 'A': Preliminary Operational Report of Party AGAS covering period from 24 Feb to 31 May [19]45, 29 May 1945, NAA A3269/12 – A28/B.

50 See Chapter 10.

51 It was only as a result of Australian Prime Minister John Curtin's (1941–45) protest did MacArthur assign the re-conquest of Borneo to the Australian 7th and 9th Divisions

together with US air and naval support. Still all planning of Borneo's OBOE operations remained with MacArthur's SWPA GHQ.

52 There is a host of writings on this anti-Japanese uprising. The earliest work was undoubtedly that of [John] Maxwell Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas: An Account of the Double Tenth 1943* ([Kuching]: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1962; 2nd rev. ed., 1965, 3rd ed., 1968). For a journalistic write-up, see 'Jesselton Uprising in 1943', *Sarawak Tribune*, 3rd, 8th and 16th April 1946. A more recent work is Hara Fujio, 'The 1943 Kinabalu Uprising in Sabah', in *Southeast Asian Minorities in the Wartime Japanese Empire*, edited by Paul H. Kratoska (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), pp. 111–32. Accounts in Chinese include Yu Shu Kun, ed., *Nanyang Nianjin* [*South Sea Yearbook*] (Singapore: Nanyang Siang Pao, 1951), p. 10; Chia Yik Teck, *Shenshan Youji Dui Kangdi Shi* [*History of the Anti-Enemy Movement of the Kinabalu Guerrilla Force*] (Tawau: Tawau Daily News, 1978); S.C. Lee, *Shenshan Yingliezhi* [*The Heroes of Kinabalu*] [author, 1993]. For Japanese-language materials, see Yamazaki Aen, *Minami Jujisei wa Itsuwarazu* [*The Southern Cross Never Deceives*] (Tokyo: Hokushindo, 1952); Mochizuki Masahiko, 'Api Jiken no Shinso – Ko Oho Masuo shi no Shuki [Truth of the Api Incident: Memoir of the Late Mr Oho Masuo]', *Gunji Shigaku* [*Military Historiography*], no. 123 (December 1995).

53 Born in Kuching in 1921 of a dentist father, Guo of Teochew descent went to China for his education at the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission School in Guangzhou. The Anti-Japanese War (1937–45) disrupted his studies but gave him an opportunity to journey extensively in strife-torn China. He studied Chinese medicine with particular interests in the treatment of haemorrhoid (piles) in Penang and apparently had a successful practice attending to the elite in China and Malaya. He returned to Borneo with a stopover in Malaya. He was then a bachelor and resided with his married sister in Api and practiced as a *tsin-sieh* (physician) until his medical supplies depleted. See Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, pp. 47–8; and, Chia, *Shenshan Youji Dui Kanddi Shi*, p. 2.

54 Stephens was an Australian with a Kadazan wife, while Charles Peter, a Eurasian. The aged Musah, once a rebel hunted by the pre-war Chartered Company colonial police for defying a district officer, was to lead a Dusun force from Membakut to the south of Api. Duallis was a former chief inspector of the North Borneo Constabulary. Subedar Dewa Singh and 30 other Indian policemen were sent to Kuching to join the Indian National Army (INA). See Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, pp. 15, 69–70; and, Hara, 'The 1943 Kinabalu Uprising in Sabah', p. 125.

55 See Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, p. 152. A Japanese source placed the total deaths at 3,000 including Japanese. See Mochizuki, 'Api Jiken no Shinso', p. 60.

56 As a commemoration to those who fell a monument engraved with the words 'Epitaph of the Kinabalu Guerrilla Movement Martyrs' was erected in 1979 set in the Petagas Memorial Garden, located south of Kota Kinabalu opposite the airport.

57 See Hara, 'The 1943 Kinabalu Uprising in Sabah', p. 113, Table 8.1.

58 Ibid., p. 115.

59 Ibid.

60 See ibid., p. 113, Table 8.1; p. 116, Table 8.2 .

61 See Ibid., p. 117.

62 See Nada No. 9801 Corps (Northern Borneo Garrison Army), *Kita Borneo Gunsei Gaiyo* [*General Outline of Northern Borneo Military Administration*], Taipei, 1943, pp. 43, 47.

63 K. G. Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah (North Borneo 1881–1963)*, 2nd ed. (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1965), p. 119. In the case of Sarawak, see Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841–1941* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 164, n. 3.

64 Nada No. 9801 Corps, *Kita Borneo Gunsei Gaiyo*, 1944, p. 3.

65 See Chapter 6, Table 6.2.

66 Although several writers alluded to the conscription of Chinese youths, there was no corroborative materials available in Japanese sources. For instance, see Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, pp. 74–5, 162; Yu, *Nanyang Nianjin*, p. 109; Chia, *Shenshan Youji Dui Kanddi Shi*, p. 37; and, Stephen R. Evans, *Sabah (North Borneo) under the Rising Sun Government* (Singapore: author, printed by Tropical Press, 1991), p. 52.
67 See Chapter 6.
68 Ibid.
69 See Chia, *Shenshan Youji Dui Kanddi Shi*, p. 45; Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, p. 93.
70 See Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, pp. 52–66. Lim was a leading trader in Api, a partner of Ban Guan & Company and leading figure in the clandestine Overseas Chinese Defence Association. Imam Marajukin of Sulu descent was an agent of the USFP.
71 Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, p. 63.
72 Overall Guo paid $13,000 for the arms besides supplying medical supplies and clothing for Suarez's unit at Tawi Tawi. See Chia, *Shenshan Youji Dui Kanddi Shi*, pp. 26–7, 30.
73 Hall's contention that Guo's October 1943 uprising 'was associated with a similar movement in the Philippines' has no basis despite the various documents that he set forth that merely indicated that Guo was 'Military Intelligence Officer' who 'must submit his Intelligence Reports to [Suarez's] Headquarters at least once a month.' See ibid., pp. 63–4, 65.
74 PYTHON I was a SRD covert mission reporting on Japanese sea-traffic in the Sibutu Passage and the Balabac Strait of the Sulu Sea. Chester at the same time provided support for an USFP unit of Filipino guerrillas commanded by an American officer. See Chapter 10.
75 Tregonning, *A History of Modern Sabah*, p. 218.
76 Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas*, p. 74.
77 *Borneo Simboen* also sometimes rendered as *Borneo Sinbun*. Citation made as it appears in the original.
78 *Dokoh* were the local independent rulers of Pontianak.
79 For the Pontianak War Tribunal (January–February 1946), see Asuka Otohisa, 'Pontianak Jiken no Haikei wo Kataru [Talk on the Background of Pontianak Incidents]', Japan Indonesia Occupation Forum, *Shogenshu* (Tokyo: Ryukei Shosha, 1991), p. 570.
80 In the last decade, however, there appeared new research and published recollections, memoirs, and statements from Japanese participants and contemporary observers. Recent works such as by Maekawa Kaori (2002) add to the studies by Goto Ken'ichi (1988) and George Sanford Kanahele (1967). See George Sanford Kanahele, 'The Japanese Occupation of Indonesia: Prelude to Independence', Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1967; Goto Ken'ichi, 'Pontianak Jiken Oboegaki [Note on the Pontianak Incidents]', in *Nihon Senryoki Indonesia Kenkyu* (Tokyo: Ryukei Shosha, 1988), pp. 149–79; N. A. van Balgooy, *Mandor: de Genocide der Intellectuelen in West Borneo Tijdens de Japanse Bezetting 1942–1945* [*Mandor: The Genocide of Intellectuals in West Borneo during the Japanese Occupation 1942–1945*] (Netherlands: privately published, 1998); and, Maekawa Kaori, 'The Pontianak Incidents and the Ethnic Chinese in Wartime Western Borneo', in *Southeast Asian Minorities in the Wartime Japanese Empire*, edited by Paul H. Kratoska (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), pp. 153–69.

Published recollections and statements from Japanese participants and contemporary observers include Izeki Tsuneo (1987), Takashi Iwakawa (1995), and Tsunesuke Masuko (1999) that throw further light on the tragedies. Izeki Tsuneo, *Nishi Boruneo Jumin Gyakusatsu Jiken: Kensho Pontiana Jiken* [*Massacre in Western Borneo: An Examination of the Pontianak Incident*] (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1987); Takashi Iwakawa, *Koto no Tsuchi to Narutomo: BC Kyu Senpan Saiban* [*Death in a Foreign Land: BC Class War Tribunal*] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1995); and, Tsunesuke Masuka,

Zoku Mandoru no Higeki; Sambungan Tragedi Mandor di Pontianak [*Sequel to the Tragedy of Mandor in Pontianak*] (author, 1999).

Works by Indonesian authors are M. Yanis, *Kapal Terbang Sembilan: Kisah Pendudukan Jepang di Kalimantan Barat* [*Nine Aircrafts: The Tale of the Japanese Occupation of West Kalimantan*]. (Pontianak: Yayasan Perguruan Panca Bhakti, 1983); and, M.H.D. Syafaruddin Usman, *Peristiwa Mandor: Sebuah Tragedi dan Misteri Sejarah* [*The Mandor Episode: A Tragedy and A Mystery of History*]. (Pontianak: Koperasi Mahasiswa Universitas Tanjungpura, 2000).

Also see Mary Somers Heidhuis, 'The Makam Juang Mandor Monument: Remembering and Distorting the History of the Chinese of West Kalimantan', in *Chinese Indonesians: Remembering, Distorting, Forgetting*, edited by Tim Lindsey and Helen Pausacker. (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies [ISEAS]; Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 2005), pp. 105–29; and, D.C. Horton, *Ring of Fire: Australian Guerilla Operations against the Japanese in World War Two* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 47–72.

81 It was unclear whether the aged Sultan of Pontianak died of old age under Tokkei Tai detention or was murdered by his captors. See Yamamoto Soichi: Interrogation, Pontianak, 1 February 1946, NIOD, 016932–933. Maekawa, however, listed all 12 sultans including Sultan Sjarif Mohamed Alkadri of Pontianak as being executed. See Maekawa, 'The Pontianak Incidents', p. 167, n. 30.

82 See *Borneo Simboen*, Banjarmasin, 21 Desember 2603 [21 December 1943]; and, *Borneo Simboen*: Balikpapan, 25 Desember 2603 [25 December 1943]. Also see *Kung Yung Pao*, 24 December 1943.

83 The Balikpapan edition of the *Borneo Simboen* did not feature the photographs of the conspirators and weapons but all headings and text were similar.

84 The females named were N. G. Haga-Witsenburg (wife of Haga), Betsy Vischer-Mylius (wife of Dr Vischer), Nelina Verpalen (wife of Jan Wellem Adrian Verpalen), Zeni Braches-Jansz (wife of Gotfried Daniel Ernst Braches), and Cornelia Johanna Maria Reichert (a nurse).

85 'Report relative to anti-Japanese Rebellion Conspiracy in South Borneo (including execution of Verdict on Swiss Nationals Mr & Mrs Fischer [Vischer]). Judgement delivered in December, 1943. Military Disciplinary Court of the Second Southern Expeditionary Fleet. (Translation)', in *Dl. 6: Zuider-en Oosterafdeling van Borneo, oorlogsmisdaden Hagaproces en overage zaken 1941–1945*. Compiled by Ernst Braches (Amsterdam: E. Braches, 2001), Vol. 6, pp. 13–25.

86 Ibid., pp. 23–5.

87 Ibid., p. 23. It was asserted that 'newspaper of that day [21 December 1943] . . . was entirely sold out 30 minutes from commencement of the sale' implying the public interest. Ibid.

88 Pereira (chief inspector, taxation office), Soesilo (inspector, health department), Braches (school inspector), A.G. P.A. Makaliwi (chief of agriculture and forestry section), Oe Ley Koey (chief of information section in political department). Ibid, pp. 14–15.

89 See *Borneo Sinbun*, Pontianak, 1 Sitigatu 2604 [1 July 1944]; *Borneo Simboen*, Banjarmasin, 2 Djoeli 2604 [2 July 1944]; and, *Borneo Simboen*, Balikpapan, 4 Sitji-Gatsoe 2604 [4 July 1944].

90 Surprisingly the initial Pontianak edition of the newspaper did not feature a photograph of the confiscated weapons that included what looked like a heavy mounted machine gun.

91 IJA administered Minami Boruneo until mid-July 1942 when IJN assumed control officially from August 1942.

92 Parindra, the abbreviation of Partai Indonesia Raya or Party of Greater Indonesia was established in 1934. Its membership was about 17,000 including a youth wing (Surya Wirawan) of 10,000. During the war it was reported that some Parindra

members 'have taken part in underground activities.' Counter Intelligence Information Concerning the Netherlands Indies, NEFIS, 10 September 1945, MFAA INV. NR 01917, p. 2.

93 Dr Roebini of Sundanese heritage was the head of the general hospital of Pontianak but at the time of his arrest was suspended from duties. He was formerly a medical doctor with the *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indisch Leger* (KNIL, Royal Netherlands Indies Army).

94 Pangeran Agoeng, the fourth son of the Sultan of Pontianak acted as his father's secretary.

95 Ng Njiap Soen (Wong Ngiap Soen) was the head of the Ng family business group, and also president of the Chinese Control Association for Pontianak.

96 Mohammadijah had a membership of 110,000 in 1937. Japanese propaganda 'made mention of the enthusiastic co-operation of the Mohammadijah with the Japanese administration,' obviously aimed at winning over the Muslim community. Counter Intelligence Information, 10 September 1945, MFAA INV. NR 01917, p. 7.

97 English Translation of the Malay text in the *Borneo Sinbun* of Saturday, 1 July, 1944, Nr. 135, 2nd File, P. W. Johan, 7 June 1946. 'An Extensive Traitorous Plot to Attack Nippon has been Rooted Out.' MFAA INV. NR 01955, p. 5. The 'Keibitai' refers to the Japanese garrison and not the military police (MP) as indicated.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Miyajima Junkichi: Interrogation Report, 13 April 1946, NIOD 017.027–029.

101 Okajima assumed both appointments from July 1944. His predecessor Captain Uesugi Keimei was present during the Haga Plot and Pontianak Incident.

102 'The so-called conspiracy amongst the Chinese', compiled at Kuching by the Japanese, by order of the Captain of Marines OKAJIMA RIKI, 13 May 1946., First Lt. K. A. Weerd, Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service, NIOD 009821–009832.

103 Ibid., p. 1.For the Lanfang Kongsi, see Lo Hsing Lin, *A Historical Survey of the Lan-Fang Presidential System in Western Borneo, Established by Lo Fang Pai and Other Overseas Chinese* (Hong Kong: Institute of Chinese Culture, 1961).

104 Okajima, 'Conspiracy amongst the Chinese', Chart: 'Independent Overseas-Chinese State of West Borneo: Planning for Underground Activities, Chungking Government', NIOD 009821–009832.

105 Okajima, 'Conspiracy amongst the Chinese', p. 7.

106 Ibid., p. 1, 4.

107 Okajima Riki: Interrogation Report No. 4/W. B. Jap, Pontianak 15 February 1946, NIOD 019.783–784.

108 Okajima, 'Conspiracy amongst the Chinese', p. 3.

109 Okajima: Interrogation Report No. 4, 15 February 1946, NIOD 019.783–784.

110 Headquarters of the 2nd South Expeditionary Fleet.

111 Ibid.

112 'Investigation of War Crime, Pontianak', 1 March 1946, NEFIS, Capt. Art[illery] KNIL L. D. G. Krol, MFAA INV. NR 01955; and, 'War Criminals West-Borneo, Pontianak', 20 May 1946, Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (NEFIS), Capt. Reserve Infantry J. N. Heijbroek, MFAA INV. NR 2144, pp. 138–139.

113 Algemene Secretarie (Archives of the Secretary-General), 15 March 1947 ANRI AS 1309.

114 *Tandjungpura Berdjuang: Sedjarah KODAM XII/Tandjungpura Berdjuang Kalimantan-Barat* (Tandjungpura Semidam XII, 1970), p. 94.

115 Izeki, *Nishi Boruneo*, cited in Mary Somers Heidhuis, 'The Makam Juang Mandor Monument: Remembering and Distorting the History of the Chinese of West Kalimantan', in *Chinese Indonesians: Remembering, Distorting, Forgetting*, edited by Tim Lindsey and Helen Pausacker (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies [ISEAS]; Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 2005), pp. 106, 111.

116 Yamamoto Soichi: Extract from Interrogation Report No. 3/W.B. Jap, Pontianak, 2 February 1946, NIOD 009799–009803.
117 Krol, 'Investigation of War Crime', p. 3.
118 Ibid. Emphasis added.
119 Ibid.
120 Mitsui Usao: Supplemental Report to NEFIS Interrogation Report No. 13, Pontianak, 9 March 1946, NIOD 0097985–0097991. Mitsui headed the Minseibu's Section I (General Administration and Political Affairs) and acted as the political advisor to the Resident of Pontianak, Kato Sumizo, making him second only to Kato in the Minseibu hierarchy. Mitsui stated that 'It also occurred that the Tokkeitai attempted to force Japanese who committed small transgressions, while being intoxicated, to sign blank forms.' For further details of tortures inflicted by the Japanese and the instruments used, see Hsu Hsing, 'A True Account of Japanese Atrocity in West Borneo; Kapoes Basin Atrocity Story', 15 October 1945, MFAA INV. NR 01955, pp. 5–6.
121 Hayashi Shuichi: Extract from 2nd additional report to Interr. Rep. No. 6/W. B. Jap. Pontianak, 8 March 1946, NIOD 009.800–801. Hayashi, a civilian attached to IJN, also headed the Hana Kikan (later Tokumu Han), the IJN's secret intelligence service.
122 Okajima, 'Conspiracy amongst the Chinese', Additional Report, 1 March 1946.
123 Okajima, 'Conspiracy amongst the Chinese', p. 6.
124 Okajima: Interrogation Report No. 4, 15 February 1946, NIOD 019.783–784.
125 Okajima, 'Conspiracy amongst the Chinese', p. 6. 'The Articles of War' that Okajima quoted in his statement was drawn from 'Martial Law for the South Pacific Area Army', 15 January 1943, Algemene Secretarie van de Nederlands-indische regering en de daarbij gedeponneerde archieven, 1942–1950, ARA ii, alg. Secret. 5344.
126 Mitsui: Supplemental Report to NEFIS Interrogation Report No. 13, 9 March 1946, NIOD 0097985–0097991.
127 Hayashi: Extract from 2nd additional report to Interr. Rep. No. 6, 8 March 1946, NIOD 009.800–801.
128 Matsura Yoichi: Extract from 1st additional report to Interr. Rep. No. 21/W.B. Jap. 22 March 1946, NIOD 009799–09803.
129 Yoshio Jun: Extract from 1st additional report to Interr. Rep. No. 5/W.B. Jap, 19 February 1946, NIOD 009799–09803; Hosaka Masaji: Extract from Interrogation Report No. 29/W.B. Jap, 25 March 1946, NIOD 009799–09803. Yoshio worked for Nanyo Kohatsu while Hosaka represented Nichinan Kogyo; both companies have commercial interest in West Borneo.
130 Hirayama Seiichi: Extract from Interrogation Report No. 35/W.B. Jap. 5 April 1946, NIOD 009799–09803. Emphasis added. Hirayama was an interpreter attached to the Keibi Tai of Pontianak.
131 When confronted by the Japanese that he was a member of 'Group 2' that he knew nothing of, Lieutenant Zylmans said 'I was so badly tortured during the trial [sic; interrogation] that I thought it would be better to confess to this lie [of his involvement] for the torture was unbearable and more than I could stand. . . . Having confessed . . . I was then ordered by the Japanese to write down the plan.' Makaliwi, whom had apparently advised Zylmans to make-up stories, himself 'fabricated six sheets of supposed "messages" and "signals"' that was relayed to the Allies 'simply to convince the Japanese,' and stop the torture. Th.A.H. Howeler: Statement. ARA-ii, alg. Secret: 5281. According to Oesman Daeng Koelle, head jailor of Banjarmasin, Zylmans died in prison of beriberi and dysentery in November 1944, while serving his ten-year sentence. Oesman Daeng Koelle: Statement. ARA-ii, alg. Secret: 5281 (ARA). Makaliwi was implicated in the 'Haga Plot' and executed by the Tokkei Tai at Oelin Airfield in December 1943.
132 Kitada Kagetaka: Extract from Interrogation Report No. 16/W.B. Jap. 23 February 1946, NIOD 009799–09803. Kitada was an employee of Nanyo Kohatsu. Hashimoto Masaji, in the employ of Nichinan Mokuzai Zosen shared the same sentiment was

surprised. He 'had never before in his contact with Indonesians and Chinese noticed any tension or anti-Japanese feeling'. Hashimoto Masaji: Extract from Interrogation Report No. 33/W.B. Jap. 28 March 1946, NIOD 009799–09803.

133 Okajima and his second in command, Yamamoto, were subaltern officers with the IJN with no previous training in police work. See Okajima: Interrogation Report No. 4, 15 February 1946, NIOD 019.783–784; and, Yamamoto Soichi: Interrogation, Pontianak, 1 February 1946, NIOD 009799–009803.

134 Hosaka: Extract from Interrogation Report No. 29, 25 March 1946, NIOD 009799–09803.

135 Yoshio Jun: Supplementary Report to the Interrogation Report No. 5/W.B. Jap. Pontianak, 21 February 1946, NIOD 019.821–823.

136 Hayashi: Extract from 2nd additional report to Interr. Rep. No. 6, 8 March 1946, NIOD 009.800–801.Okajima vehemently denied 'after confrontation with "Hayashi" [Shuichi], that he had instructed the latter to search for rich Chinese.' Okajima Riki: 2nd Supplement to Interr. Report No. 4/W.B. Jap. Pontianak, 13 March 1946, NIOD 019.492–493.

137 Hayashi. 'Watanabe' is probably Watanabe Hatsusaburo of Nanyo Kohatsu, who was familiar with copra dealers.

138 Ibid. Surabaya was the base headquarters of the Second Southern Expeditionary Fleet.

139 According to a Chinese prisoner named Fook Hin, who served time for alleged theft and was instructed to dig pits on numerous occasions, recalled that 'if we were made to dig pits one day, the next day a batch of "political" prisoners would be transported out and they never returned again.' Hsu Hsing, 'Japanese Atrocity in West Borneo', p. 4.

140 Two examples of those with European legal status were Pattiasina and Ong Tjoe Kie. The former was described as 'orang Ambon disamakan hak dengan orang Belanda' and the latter as 'Peranakan Belanda Tiong Hoa, disamakan hak dengan orang Belanda' meaning Pattiasina of Ambonese descent and Ong of *peranakan* (Sino-Dutch) heritage, both enjoying similar legal status as Europeans in the Netherlands East Indies. *Borneo Sinbun*, Pontianak, 1 Sitigatu 2604 [1 July 1944].

141 Krol, 'Investigation of War Crime, Pontianak', pp. 1, 2.

142 Heijbroek, 'War Criminals West-Borneo, Pontianak'.

143 Krol, 'Investigation of War Crime, Pontianak', p. 5. Krol questioned 'whether this acceptance of responsibility has been prearranged at KUCHING [prior to transfer to Pontianak], or whether it was done because they [Okajima, head of the Tokkei Tai and his colleagues] are actually convinced that there *was* a plot after all.' Ibid. See Okajima Riki: Additional Report to Report No. 4/W.B. Jap. Pontianak, 5 March 1946, NIOD 009.832; 019.510; and, Hayashi Shuichi: Additional Report to Report [No.] 6/W.B. Jap. Pontianak, 5 March 1946, NIOD 019.793.

144 See Japansche Organisaties Pontianak, NEFIS MFAA 1955, 030–031; Mitsui Masao [Usao?]: Organisatie Minseibu, NEFIS MFAA 1955, 032–033. Tokumu Kikan is abbreviated from Tokubetsu-Nimmu Kikan with its literal translation as 'Special Secret Organization,' an espionage agency. See Counter Intelligence Information Concerning the Netherlands Indies, 10 September 1945, MFAA INV. NR 01917, p. 41.

145 Inagaki Genichiro who worked for Mitsubishi in wartime Pontianak stated that 'Even before he arrived at Pontianak [he] understood that he was obliged to obey the orders of the Minseibu, Dai [Section] V Ka (Economical Dept.)', and 'when abroad, was obliged to inform official Japanese instances of all available information, irrespective of his rank or social position'. At Pontianak Inagaki passed on information to Nakatani of the Tokkei Tai. Inagaki Genichiro: Addition to Interrogation Report No. 11/W.B. Jap. Pontianak, 20 February 1946, NIOD 009.874–876.

146 Mitsui Usao: Extract from 1st additional report to Interr. Rep. No. 13/W.B. Jap. Pontianak, 9 March 1946, NIOD 009.798.

147 Mitsui Usao: Supplemental Report to NEFIS Interrogation Report No. 13, 9 March 1946, NIOD 0097985–0097991. Apparently there was some friction.
148 Mitsui Usao: Extract from 1st additional report. Emphasis added.
149 Okajima Riki: Interrogation Report No. 4, 15 February 1946, NIOD 019.783–784.
150 Krol, 'Investigation of War Crime, Pontianak', p. 4.
151 Ibid, p. 5.
152 Ibid, p. 4.
153 Krol, 'Investigation of War Crime, Pontianak', p. 4. For the destruction of documents, see Yamamoto Soichi: Interrogation [Report], Pontianak, 4 February 1946, NIOD 016.934–936.
154 Heijbroek, 'War Criminals West-Borneo, Pontianak'.
155 Ibid.
156 Kanahele, 'The Japanese Occupation of Indonesia', p. 159.
157 Maekawa, 'The Pontianak Incidents', pp. 160–1.
158 Izeki, *Nishi Boruneo*, pp. 170–81 cited in Maekawa, 'The Pontianak Incidents', p. 161, 168 n. 36.
159 Maekawa, 'The Pontianak Incidents', p. 161.
160 Tsunesuke, Zoku Mandoru no Higeki, pp. 11–13 cited in Maekawa, 'The Pontianak Incidents', pp. 164, 168 n. 47.
161 Netherlands Forces Intelligence Service (N.E.F.I.S.): Military Study of Bandjermasin and surroundings, Camp Columbia, 16 March 1945, MFAA INV. NR 191, p. 34.
162 For the pro-Chongqing attitude of the Chinese of West Borneo, see Report on Situation in West and South Borneo, November 1945, ARA 2.10.14.02 AS 3168, Appendices 2 and 4.
163 See Asuka, 'Pontianak Jiken', pp. 570, 589 cited in Maekawa, 'The Pontianak Incidents', pp. 160–1.

9 Between generals and admirals

1 'Australian Military Forces, Weekly Intelligence Review, no. 131, week ending 21 April [19]45', PRO WO 208/104.
2 Robert Cramb, 'Agriculture and Food Supplies in Sarawak during the Japanese Occupation', in *Food Supplies and the Japanese Occupation in South-East Asia*, edited by Paul H. Kratoska (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), p. 150. One picul approximates 60 kilograms.
3 Ibid., p. 159. For pre-war attempts at self-sufficiency, see Ooi Keat Gin, 'For Want of Rice: Sarawak's Attempts at Rice Self-Sufficiency During the Period of Brooke Rule, 1841–1941', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 29, 1 (March 1998), pp. 8–23.
4 Suzuki Seihei, head of the education section of the Lesser Sundas Minseibu, quoted in Anthony Reid and Oki Akira, eds., *The Japanese Experience in Indonesia: Selected Memoirs of 1942–1945* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Monographs in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series No. 72, 1986), p. 160.
5 See Chapter 7.
6 See [John] Maxwell Hall, *Kinabalu Guerrillas: An Account of the Double Tenth 1943* ([Kuching]: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1962; 2nd rev. ed., 1965, 3rd ed., 1968), p. 152; and, Hara Fujio, 'The 1943 Kinabalu Uprising in Sabah', in *Southeast Asian Minorities in the Wartime Japanese Empire*, edited by Paul H. Kratoska (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), pp. 111, 113.
7 For instance, see Donald Knox, *Death March: The Survivors of Bataan* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981).
8 See Edward F.L. Russell (Lord of Liverpool), *The Knights of Bushido: A Short History of Japanese War Crimes* (London: Cassell; New York: Dutton, 1958; Corgi ed. reissued 1976), p. 120.

9 Papers of L.E. Morris, IWM 91/18/1. Miss Hillary E. Bates, an ex-internee of Batu Lintang, in her wartime diary cited 'August 17th' as the date for the massacre. See Papers of Miss H.E. Bates, IWM 91/35/1. Searches in the Australian and British archives had yet to uncover this aforesaid 'official plan.'
10 Papers of L.E. Morris, IWM 91/18/1.
11 Papers of E.R. Pepler, IWM 88/33/1. On 28 August 1945 Suga addressed the inmates of Batu Lintang, where he explained to them about the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and of himself as a victim of this 'terror bombing.' Ibid.
12 Papers of Captain H.D.A. Yates, IWM, Con Shelf.
13 Agnes Newton Keith, *Three Came Home* (London: Michael Joseph, 1950; first published February 1948), p. 178. The author, an American, her son George, and her husband H.G. Keith, the conservator of forests in pre-war British North Borneo, survived as civilian internees of Batu Lintang.
14 Athol Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1989), p. 143.
15 Mary Somers Heidhuis, 'The Makam Juang Mandor Monument: Remembering and Distorting the History of the Chinese of West Kalimantan', in *Chinese Indonesians: Remembering, Distorting, Forgetting*, edited by Tim Lindsey and Helen Pausacker (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies [ISEAS]; Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1005), p. 106.
16 Athol Moffitt, *Project Kingfisher* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1989), p. 165.
17 See 'Outline of the Conduct of Military Administration in Occupied Areas (*Senryōchi gunsei shori yōkō*)', Confidential Secretariat Paper No. 3167, [Ministry of the Navy], March 14, 1942, in *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia: Selected Documents*, edited by Harry J. Benda, James K. Irikura, and Kōichi Kishi (New Haven: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale University, Translation Series No. 6, 1965), p. 30.
18 Ooi Keat Gin, *Rising Sun Over Borneo: The Japanese Occupation of Sarawak 1941–1945* (Houndmills and London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), p. 97. Also, see R.H.W. Reece, *The Name of Brooke: The End of White Rajah Rule in Sarawak* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 159.
19 'Annual Report of the District Officer, Kanowit, for the year 1946', typescript, SMSA. Also, see Leonard Edwards and Peter W. Stevens, *Short Histories of the Lawas and Kanowit Districts* (Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1971, p. 164.
20 See Ooi, *Rising Sun Over Borneo*, p. 97.
21 For the killings in the interior, see Tom Harrisson, 'The Chinese in Borneo, 1942–1946', *International Affairs*, 26, 3 (July 1950), p. 360.
22 Mary Somers Heidhues, *Golddiggers, Farmers, and Traders in the 'Chinese District' of West Kalimantan, Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2003), pp. 210, 211.
23 Hausmann Baboe, a Dayak district chief (*districtshoofd*) in Kuala Kapuas was executed by the Japanese on 20 December 1943, together with others, including B.J. Haga, ex-Dutch governor. Baboe championed Dayak ethnic consciousness in the 1920s and 1930s. See Gerry van Klinken, 'Dayak Ethnogenesis and Conservative Politics in Indonesia's Outer Islands', in *Indonesia in Transition: Rethinking Civil Society, Region and Crisis*, edited by Henk Schulte Nordholt and Samuel Hanneman (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004).
24 Jamie S. Davidson, '"Primitive" Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Dayak Unity Party in West Kalimantan, Indonesia', Working Paper Series no. 9, Asia Research Institute (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2003), p. 9.
25 Ibid., p. 11.
26 An incident involving a Japanese slapping someone over a misdemeanor that occurred on a logging camp triggered an all-out armed raid by Dayaks on the Japanese in the Sanggau district, which became known as the Majang Desa War (mid-1944). See Marchus Effendi, *Sejarah Perjuangan Kalimantan Barat* [*History of the Struggle of West Kalimantan*] (Pontianak, 1982), pp. 72–95. Also, see *Japanese Military*

Administration in Indonesia, edited by the Okuma Memorial Social Sciences Research Institute (Washington, D.C.: Joint Publications Research Service 21, 1963; Translation of *Indonesia ni okeru Nihon gunsei no kenkyu*, first published by Kinokuniya Shoten, Tokyo, 1959), p. 211.

27 See Yong Mun Cheong, *H.J. van Mook and Indonesian Independence: A Study of His Role in Dutch-Indonesian Relations, 1945–48* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), p. 88.

28 Davidson, *'Primitive' Politics*, p. 12, n.50.

10 End of an era

1 The Pacific was divided into two theatres of operations: Southwest Pacific Area (SWPA), comprising Australia, New Guinea, the Solomons, the Philippines, Borneo, the Bismarck archipelago and the Netherlands East Indies (less Sumatra), and the South Pacific Area, namely the remainder of the Pacific that lay south of the equator. MacArthur commanded SWPA while the rest of the Pacific was entrusted to Nimitz, who was commander of the US Pacific Fleet. For the Pacific War, see Ronald H. Spector, *Eagle Against the Sun: The American War with Japan* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1984; 2nd rev. ed. 2001); and, D. MacIntyre, *The Battle of the Pacific* (London: Batsford, 1966).

2 Both Halsey and Spruance were under Fleet Admiral Nimitz's authority although they both worked closely with MacArthur.

3 It was referred to as MacArthur's 'island hopping' or 'leapfrogging' strategy in seizing one island after another in the Pacific.

4 The Boeing B29A Superfortress has a maximum speed of 550 kilometres/hour and a range of 6,598 kilometres with a total bomb load of 9,000 kilograms.

5 Lieutenant General Koiso Kuniaki (1880–1950) succeeded as prime minister (July 1944-April 1945).

6 'Borneo Operations, 1941–1945', Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army Headquarters, United States Army, [Tokyo] Japan, Japanese monograph no. 26, [1957], Typescript, 98pp., IWM 45495, p. 23.

7 Ibid., p. 25.

8 For instance in Sarawak during the 1930s as well as in the early 1960s the shortage of good quality roading stone retarded the expansion of the road network. A postwar study described the acute shortage of stones: 'Good stones occurs [sic.] only in west Sarawak, and then there is nearly 100 miles [160 kilometres] of coast before further occurrences of good quality rock are reached in the south-east of North Borneo.' Lee Yong Leng, 'The Development of Resources in British Borneo and Its Impact on Settlement', *Sarawak Museum Journal*, 11, 19–20 (July-December 1962), pp. 563–89.

9 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, p. 29.

10 Ibid., pp. 37–8.

11 Ibid., pp. 41–2.

12 For details of pre-invasion covert operations in Borneo particularly of OBOE VI, see Ooi Keat Gin, 'Prelude to Invasion: Covert Activities of SRD Prior to the Australian Re-Occupation of Northwest Borneo 1944–45', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 37 (October 2002). (www: awm.gov.au)

13 The Australian Services Reconnaissance Department (SRD) was an Australian outfit directly responsible to General Sir Thomas Albert Blamey, commander-in-chief of the Australian Military Forces, based at Allied Land Headquarters in Melbourne. SRD, in fact, represented Special Operations Australia (SOA) that had moved out of the Allied Intelligence Bureau (AIB). The SRD was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel P.J.F. Chapman-Walker. The beginnings of SRD could be traced to the Inter-Allied Services Department (ISD), established in April 1942, under the command of Colonel

G.E. Mott, British Special Operations Executive (SOE). ISD was actually a cover-name for SOA. In February 1943, ISD changed to SOA and became Section 'A' of AIB. AIF personnel in SOA constituted 'Z' Special Unit. Following a re-organization in AIB, SOA assumed its new cover-name – SRD – and, together with 'Z' Special Unit, moved out of the newly restructured AIB. See Charles Greig Cruickshank, *Special Operations Executive: SOE in the Far East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

14 See below.

15 'AGAS' is the Malay word for sand-fly and 'SEMUT' is ants.

16 Plans for gathering intelligence in and around Sandakan where Allied POWs were known to be held were excluded in the final execution of AGAS II. See Chapter 8.

17 See Tom Harrisson, *World Within: A Borneo Story* (London: Cresset Press, 1959).

18 Before the decision of the Philippines-Formosa question was made, MacArthur headed towards the Moluccas to seize Morotai hence bypassing Halmehera where there was a large Japanese garrison and several airfields. Morotai became advanced headquarters for SWPA. See Dan van der Vat, *The Pacific Campaign: The Second World War, The US-Japanese Naval War (1941–1945)* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2001; first published in 1992 by Hodder and Stoughton, London), p. 420–1.

19 See Major-General G. F. Wootten, General Officer Commanding 9th Australian Division, to 1st Australian Corps, 25 April 1945, 'Subject: SRD Requirements – OBOE Six', AWM 54/627/4/13.

20 See Colonel Chapman-Walker, Director SRD, to AIB for 1st Australian Corps, 29 April 1945, 'Operation: STALLION (SRD Commitments OBOE VI) Outline Plan', AWM 54/627/4/13.

21 Wootten, Major-General G. F. 'Subject: SRD Requirements – OBOE Six', AWM 54/627/4/13.

22 Vat, *The Pacific Campaign*, p. 414.

23 Ibid., p. 420. MacArthur's argument was 'on the grounds that the US public would not understand a foreign army [meaning the Australian forces] helping to liberate "American" soil.' Ibid., 414.

24 Ibid., p. 415.

25 OBOE I – Tarakan Island; II – Balikpapan; III – Banjarmasin; IV – Java; V – rest of NEI; and VI – rest of Borneo. See G. Hermon Gill, *Royal Australian Navy 1942–1945* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1968), p. 636.

26 William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur 1880–1964* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1978), pp. 430–1. On the Borneo issue MacArthur played the role of the obedient soldier of deferring to higher authority. But in the context of his undertaking close to a dozen amphibious landings in the central and southern Philippines, altogether seven islands, he proceeded without formal authority from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Furthermore none of the islands that were invaded had any direct strategic importance in the overall Allied plan. See ibid., pp. 428–9.

27 For the Tarakan campaign, see Peter Stanley, *Tarakan: An Australian Tragedy* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1997). For details of the military operations of OBOE I, see 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, pp. 49–68, Map 3.

28 See Gavin Long, *The Final Campaigns* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1963), pp. 457–8. For details of the military operations of OBOE VI, see 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, pp. 71–90, Map 2. Also, see Ooi Keat Gin, 'Operation OBOE VI: The Australian Amphibious Landings in Northwest Borneo, 1945', Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, School of Humanities, King's College, University of London, London, U.K., 16 May 2007.

29 See Gary Waters, 'The Labuan Island & Brunei Bay Operation', in *Australian Army Amphibious Operations in the South-West Pacific: 1942–1945*. Edited by Glenn Wahlert. Papers of the Australian Army History Conference held at the Australian War Memorial, 15 November 1994. Army Doctrine Centre, 1995, p. 73; and, Long, *Final Campaigns*, p. 457.

30 'Borneo Operations', IWM 45495, p. 78.
31 See ibid., pp. 79–80.
32 Ibid., p. 85.
33 A.K. Macdougall, *Victory: The Epic of World War II, 1939–1945* (Rowville, Vic: The Five Mile Press, 2005), p. 313.
34 There was no mention of such a blood-bath at the postwar Labuan War Crimes Trials.
35 Quoted in ibid., p. 307.
36 For Hiroshima the recorded figure of civilian deaths at 10 August 1946 was 118,661 with an additional estimated 20,000 fatalities of military personnel; the figure was no less than 140,000. At Nagasaki the death toll was 73,884 and another 74,909 reported as injured in the aftermath of the explosion. For details of the effects of the atomic bombs, see Committee on Damage by Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings* (London, 1981).
37 For the postwar military administration in British Borneo especially in Sarawak, see Ooi Keat Gin, 'Military Administration in Sarawak and Inter-Ethnic Relations, 1945–1946', Centre for South-East Asian Studies & Institute for Pacific Asia Studies Seminar, University of Hull, Hull, U.K., 26 April 2001.
38 Kalimantan was widely used to denote Southern Borneo (pre-war Dutch Borneo) in the postwar period.
39 Throughout his tenure as governor of Kalimantan (1945–50) Mohammad Noor (1901–1979), a Banjarese, remained in Yogjarkarta as he was unable to take up office and residence in Banjarmasin that was in Dutch control.
40 For the full text of the resolution, see Dimyati, *Sedjarah Perdjuangan Indonesia* [*History of the Indonesian Struggle*] (Djarkarta, 1951), pp. 95–7.
41 The eight provinces were: West, Central and East Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), the Moluccas, and the Lesser Sunda Islands.
42 F.S.V. Donnison, *British Military Administration in the Far East 1943–46* (London: Her Majestry's Stationery Office, 1956), pp. 433–4.
43 Burhan Magenda, *East Kalimantan: The Decline of a Commercial Aristocracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Monograph Series [Publication no. 70], 1991), citing interview with Husein Jusuf, 30 August 1978, p. 37. Also, see Dhany Yustian, 'Gerakan Rakyat Banjarmasin Dalam Menghadapi Pendudukan Belanda di Banjarmasin, 1945–1949 [Banjarmasin Peoples' Movement Against the Dutch (Re-) Occupation of Banjarmasin, 1945–1949]', MA thesis, Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (Teacher Training and Education Institute), Malang, 1976, pp. 64–8.
44 Magenda, *East Kalimantan*, p. 38.
45 'Outer Islands' denote the islands outside Java.
46 Bernhard Dahm, *History of Indonesia in the Twentieth Century* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1971), p. 125.
47 Magenda, *East Kalimantan*, pp. 42–3.
48 See A. Arthur Schiller, *The Formation of Federal Indonesia, 1945–1949* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1955), pp. 185–6.
49 Magenda, *East Kalimantan*, p. 40.
50 Kalimantan Tenggara is contemporary Kalimantan Selatan (South Kalimantan), and Dayak Besar is Kalimantan Tengah (Central Kalimantan).

Concluding remarks

1 'Intelligence Bulletin no. 237, Item 2182: Interrogation of Lieutenants Yoshihiko WAKAMATSU and Kenzo MORIKAWA, and Captains Ryuji IKENO, Minoru TASUMA and Yoshio WATANABE, all officers attached to the North Borneo

Volunteer Corps (KYODOTAI). Subject: North Borneo Volunteer Corps; mid-1946. PRO WO 203/6317.

2 For the cession controversy in Sarawak, see R.H.W. Reece, *The Name of Brooke: The End of White Rajah Rule in Sarawak* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Sanib Said, *Malay Politics in Sarawak 1946–1966: The Search for Unity and Political Ascendancy* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985).

3 [Edward] Brandah to Anthony Brooke, 26 October 1946, RHL Brooke Papers, Box 13/1.

4 See Burhan Magenda, *East Kalimantan: The Decline of a Commercial Aristocracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Monograph Series [Publication no. 70], 1991), p. 43.

5 Jamie S. Davidson, '"Primitive" Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Dayak Unity Party in West Kalimantan, Indonesia', Working Paper Series no. 9, Asia Research Institute (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2003), p. 12

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