

An Alternative View of Tun Sir H. S. Lee: The Anti-Japanese Movement and His Dedication to China

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While Tun Sir H. S. Lee (李孝式, c.1901–1988) was a British subject,¹ born in Hong Kong and educated in Cambridge, and throughout his life maintained a close attachment to Britain, he was even more great patriot of both China and Malaya. This article is focused primarily on H. S. Lee's less-known activities as a Chinese patriot, including as an anti-Japanese leader, but in this context the connections between the anti-Japanese movement and formation of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA, later the Malaysian Chinese Association), are also important and are discussed briefly in order to better understand H. S. Lee's commitment to China and Malaya.

1. Anti-Japanese Movement

1.1 The Selangor China Relief Funds Committee (籌賑祖國難民委員會) and the Kwang Tung Chinese Home-Relief Association (粵僑救鄉會)

Soon after the Sino-Japanese War broke out as a result of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on 7 July 1937, in various states of Malaya, patriotic Chinese established support funds to aid China. In Selangor, the Selangor China Relief Funds Committee (SCRFC) was established and H. S. Lee was appointed as its president.² On 26 October in the following year, Selangor Chinese originating from *Guangdong* Province organized the Kwang Tung Chinese Home-Relief Association (KTCHRA). At its inaugural congress, H. S. Lee, one of the sponsors of the movement, gave a speech in which he explained why the association was to be formed. Reflecting a wide range of support, committee members represented 8 districts of the province, *Guangfu* (廣府), *Gaozhou* (高州), *Zhaofu* (肇府), *Huifu* (惠府), *Jiaying* (嘉應), *Chaozhou* (潮州), *Qiongzhou* (瓊州) and *Chayang* (茶陽). A prominent leader of the Chinese community in general and the anti-Japanese movement in particular at that time, Cheong Yoke Choy,³ was appointed as its president, while H. S. Lee of *Gaozhou* and Chong Khoon Lin⁴ of *Jiaying* were appointed as vice-presidents. H. S. Lee's younger brother, Hau Mo Lee (李孝武) was selected as deputy secretary. The Standing Committee consisted of 17 people including the president and two vice-presidents. Among other members were Chan Chin Mooi,⁵ Choe Yew Fai,⁶ Low Kee Boo,⁷ Loong Lek Yue,⁸ Chan Thye Kai⁹ and Chin Chee Meow.¹⁰ The Central Committee consisted of twenty-four people, including Hau Mo Lee, Wong Pak Choy¹¹ and Wong Tet San.¹² Among thirty honorary presidents were Lai Tek Loke¹³ and Choo Kia Peng.¹⁴

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The Congress resolved to send messages to the Chairman of the Chinese Nationalist government, Lin Sen, and the powerful former president, Chiang Kai Shek, to encourage them to fight Japanese without any compromise and to show their full support to the Chinese government.¹⁵ At the same time, a relief fund totaling 7,570 Straits Dollars (S\$) was collected from participants. The largest donation was H. S. Lee's S\$1,000, the next largest being S\$500 each from Chan Chin Mooi, Wong Pak Choy and two other people.

As many Home Relief organizations for various counties and regions in *Guangdong* were set up in addition to the Selangor China Relief Funds Committee, *Guangdong* Chinese held a congress again in 1939 to dissolve the KTCHRA (see below). At this congress it was reported that the relief fund had reached S\$59,491.59. A donation of H. S. Lee totaling S\$1,510 appears again on this list, but it is not clear whether this includes the formerly listed one thousand dollars.¹⁶ Nonetheless it is apparent that he was the most prominent and unshakable leader of anti-Japanese movement at that time. We should note here that H. S. Lee was much younger than most of the other leaders, as he was born between 1900–1902.

When the South Seas Federation of China Relief Funds (南洋各屬華僑籌賑祖國難民總會) held its inaugural congress in Singapore on 10 October 1938, one hundred sixty-eight people representing various Relief Funds Associations from all over Southeast Asia participated. The Selangor CRFC sent thirteen representatives including H. S. Lee, Chan Chin Mooi, Ng Tiong Kiat¹⁷ and Ang Keh Tho.¹⁸ This was the largest delegation followed by Singapore (12), Pahang (11), Johor (11) and Vietnam (9). Chan Chin Mooi was appointed as one of five chairmen of the congress. Among sixteen standing committee members of the Federation, were there three people from Selangor, that is, Chan Chin Mooi, Ng Tiong Kiat, and H. S. Lee.¹⁹

H. S. Lee's inclusion in the standing committee suggests that his firm anti-Japanese stand and great contributions to the movement were widely recognized by the Southeast Asian Chinese community as a whole. If we take into account that this organization was regarded as pro-Chinese Communist Party (CCP), appointment of H. S. Lee, who apparently was pro-Kuomintang (KMT), is worthy of special mention.

Both Fui Chiu (惠州) leaders, Wong Pak Choy and Cheong Yoke Choy, devoted themselves to forming the *Dongjiang* Overseas Chinese Returning Home Service Troop (東江華僑回鄉服務團) in the end of 1938, which joined the *Dongjiang* Column (東江縱隊) of the CCP. The objective of the DOCRHST was to recruit youths originating from Fui Chiu and to dispatch them to their homeland in order to directly participate in the anti-Japanese war. Within the troop, they organized a unit called the Two-Choys Troop (兩才隊) consisting of thirteen youths from Kuala Lumpur. This activity was highly praised as patriotic by the CCP.²⁰

H. S. Lee's respect for Wong Pak Choy developed in the anti-Japanese movement seemed to have continued even after Wong's death on 18 November 1940. Eight years after the end of the Pacific War, that is, in April 1953, H. S. Lee sent a petition to the High Commissioner of the Federation of Malaya

on behalf of Wong's second wife.²¹ According to this petition, she was a Japanese named Yasuno Chi-yoki. She had come to Malaya in 1920 and married Wong in 1926 in Kuala Lumpur, and thus became a Chinese subject. Leaving Malaya for Japan on holiday in March 1941 with her grandchild (sic), she was held up in Japan due to the outbreak of the Pacific War and unable to return to Malaya until January 1953. As one of three lawful widows, she was entitled to one-ninth share in the beneficial interest in Wong's estate under the Federated Malay States Distribution Enactment. However, the Custodian of Enemy Property took into his custody her one-ninth share of the said estate. Lee argued that she was not an enemy or an enemy subject, her share should be restored. H. S. Lee wrote:

She is now very old, and depends upon her widow's share in her late husband's estate to maintain herself. Our client is grateful to your Excellency, knowing fully well that her distress will receive Your Excellency's sympathetic consideration.

This petition was forwarded to the Attorney-General's Office, however it was rejected on the grounds that she was an enemy by definition.²² This petition shows first that H. S. Lee's relationships with left-leaning leaders of the anti-Japanese movement were closer than commonly assumed later. Secondly, his anti-Japanese stand was not merely attacking everything pertaining to Japan.

With the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, H. S. Lee became the Chief of the Civil Defense Force (民防自衛隊) and at one stage was in charge of 6,000 men.²³ Some Chinese sources also state that he was appointed by the British Colonial Government as the general commander of the Kuala Lumpur Air Defense (防空總司令) and was in charge of 3,000 air defense personnel comprised Chinese, Westerners, Malays and Indians.²⁴ It is not clear whether these two defense forces were the same or not.

On the evacuation of Kuala Lumpur, H. S. Lee led a large convoy down to Singapore. From Singapore, Lee accompanied 95 Chinese refugees on a small British steamer. According to documents of the H. S. Lee Files, the voyage was at the request of the Chinese Consul General in Singapore, Kao Ling Pak (高凌百) to the Governor of the Straits Settlements for the evacuation of the Chinese to Rangoon (now Yangon). One hundred eight Chinese, 75% women and children, were on board. H. S. Lee was Chairman of the Evacuees Committee of the vessel. The ship was later diverted to Madras (now Chennai), causing the voyage to take 21 days.²⁵ From Madras, they were transferred to Calcutta (now Kolkata).

In Calcutta, H. S. Lee met Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, and was told to get some military training. After training for six months he was appointed a colonel in the Allied Forces and sent to fight in Burma (now Myanmar).²⁶ Then, in accordance with the instructions of the Chinese Government, H. S. Lee left India for Chungking in October 1942.²⁷ Appreciating Lee's closeness to Britain, Chiang Kai Shek appointed him as Colonel.²⁸ After returning to India, at the Allied Forces Headquarters there, he worked as a military liaison officer connecting China, Britain and Burma. H. S. Lee was under the

American General Stilwell (史迪威) first, and later under the British commander General Slim (史林 or 史林姆). Lee was also reportedly involved in coordinating anti-Japanese operations including the Force 136. A son of Chiang Kai Shek, Jiang Jing Guo (蔣經国) was Lee's assistant at that time.²⁹ The eldest son of H. S. Lee, Dato' Douglas Lee (李劍橋) testified that H. S. Lee had led 3,000 Chinese soldiers as a colonel.³⁰ H. S. Lee returned to Malaya in October 1945.³¹

A few short biographies of H. S. Lee states that the Japanese had put S\$60,000 on his head prior to the occupation.³² However, I have not been able to find any Japanese documents which confirm this.

1.2 The Selangor and Kuala Lumpur Kwang Tung Association

As previously mentioned, *Guangdong* Chinese of Selangor held a conference to dissolve the KTCHRA in 1939. In its place, the Selangor Kwang Tung Association (SKTA) was established on 15 July 1939 in order to unify the community and promote public interests.³³ Among the provisional committee members (who were to become official members in June 1940) were H. S. Lee (Chairman), Choo Kia Peng, Chong Khoon Lin, Wong Pak Choy, Chan Chin Mooi, Choe Yew Fai, Low Kee Boo, Loong Lek Yue and Hau Mo Lee.³⁴ Various county associations were affiliated with the SKTA, specifically those of the *Guangdong*, *Guangzhao* (廣肇), *Jiaying*, Fui Chiu [Huizhou] (惠州), *Chaozhou*, *Qiongzhou* and *Chayang* counties.³⁵ Of these organizations, the Fui Chiu Association, as indicated above, had the best reputation among leftists for its salvation movement. The SKTA itself continued home relief activities, and in February 1941, it donated S\$29,271, which was collected by the affiliated associations, to the Selangor China Relief Funds Committee of which H. S. Lee was president.³⁶

Thus H. S. Lee's leadership in the SKTA and his personal relations with the prominent leaders of *Guangdong* community, the largest group of Chinese in Selangor, enabled and strengthened his socio-political influence among the Chinese.

1.3 Fork of Stands—Community Leaders during the Occupation Period

While H. S. Lee continued to be active in the anti-Japanese movement outside Malaya, and a few others, including Wong Pak Choy, had passed away prior to the Pacific War, other Chinese leaders in Malaya remained in Japanese controlled territory. Chan Chin Moi, who was sickly and put in miserable living conditions under the Japanese rule, died in 1944.³⁷ Most of the community leaders who had participated in the movement, however, did not, or could not evacuate from Malaya. As their Anti-Japanese activities were known to the Japanese Military Administration (JMA), they faced demands to compensate for their former crimes by co-operating with the Japanese. Most often, they were appointed as committee members of various organizations initiated by the JMA. The largest and most influential one was the Oversea Chinese Association (華僑協會) formed in July 1942. This was not, however, the first organization. Prior to this, immediately after the Japanese armies occupied Selangor, a Peace Maintenance Committee (維持会) had been formed, and in April 1942, a Gift Presentation Committee (奉納委員会) was formed to collect money to be offered to the JMA. In December 1943, the Sanjikai

(参事会), an advisory council consisting of 4 members each representing Malay, Chinese and Indian populations, was set up. In February 1944, the Pacification Committee (Syuan Kai, 招安会) was established to suppress anti-Japanese activities, especially those of the anti-Japanese guerrilla army, the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA).

Most of the Chinese community leaders of Selangor who had led the anti-Japanese movement were forced to co-operate with the JMA during the occupation period. Lai Tet Loke was chairman of the Peace Maintenance Committee.³⁸ Wong Tet San was the first president of the OCA, a member of Sanji Kai, as well as the first president of the Pacification Committee. Choo Kia Peng was the second president of the OCA and a member of Sanji Kai. Low Kee Boo was a committee member both of the Peace Maintenance Committee and the Gift Presentation Committee, although he died in 1944. Ng Teong Kiat was vice-chairman of the Gift Presentation Committee and a committee member of the Pacification Committee. Cheong Yoke Choy was treasurer of the OCA and a member of the Pacification Committee. Choe Yew Fai was assistant secretary of the OCA and the third president of the Pacification Committee. Wong Tet San was assassinated on 15 January 1945 because the MPAJA felt that his "anti-people activities" were beyond tolerance. On the other hand, Ng Teong Kiat secretly supported the anti-Japanese guerrillas and as a result was arrested by Japanese Kempeitai (Military Police) just before the Japanese surrender.³⁹ After the end of the War, almost all of these Chinese leaders resumed their socio-political activities. H. S. Lee, who had no record, or more exactly flaw, of co-operation with Japan, did not criticize or condemn them. However, one exception is recorded.

In a "private and personal" letter dated 14 February 1951 and sent to the Chief Secretary of Federation of Malaya, M. V. del Tufo, H. S. Lee wrote:

With reference to the appointment of a leading Chinese unofficial to be the guest of the British Government during the Festival of Britain..... H. E. suggested the name of Yong Shook Lin yesterday. Unfortunately, Yong Shook Lin was a Judge of the Japanese Supreme Court during the Occupation period and when he came back in 1945 there were numerous allegations against him for miscarriage of justice. He was, in fact, locked up by the British Military Administration for six or seven weeks. If he were appointed the representative of the Chinese in the Federation of Malaya it would be most unpopular with a vast number of Chinese in this country..... Certain people went as far as to say that the co-operation with the Japanese would appear to entitle one to rewards instead of punishment.⁴⁰

Yong Shook Lin⁴¹ was at the same time a member of Sanji Kai during the occupation. It is not known whether there is a special reason for H. S. Lee to criticize Yong Shook Lin alone. It can be assumed that as Yong had not been a leader of any Chinese associations referred to above, he was not regarded as a companion. If so, it can also be assumed that H. S. Lee's community activities before the war were invaluable assets to consolidate socio-political positions after the end of the war.

1.4 Japanese Files

Japanese documents do refer to H. S. Lee, and can provide some indication of Japanese official perspectives during this period. Three major documents have been identified.

- a. The most precise report on the anti-Japanese movement states as follows:

The largest organization of the anti-Japanese Relieve Home-Country movement is the Singapore China Relief Funds Committee that was formed on 15 August 1937. The Malayan Chinese Relief Funds Congress (馬來亞各區籌賑祖國難民大會), which was attended by the various regional committees of whole Malaya, was held on 10 October 1937. Chairman (首席) of the Selangor Committee is H. S. Lee as at October 1938.⁴²

- b. A report of the Governor-General's office of Taiwan listed influential Chinese newspapers in Malaya. Among them, *Ma Hua Ri Bao* (馬華日報) was described as "belonging to the Chiang Kai Shek faction of the Kuomintang and full of provocative anti-Japanese articles." H. S. Lee's name is listed as its director.⁴³ In the list of tin mines printed in the same report, H. S. Lee is shown as the manager of the Tai Yau Tin Mine.⁴⁴
- c. In a book published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Ma Hua Ri Bao* is reported as having been established in Kuala Lumpur on 1 November 1937 and noting that its chairman was Leong Sin Nam (梁燦南) and the vice-chairman Hau Mo Lee.⁴⁵ This book also includes the full list both of participants of the inaugural congress of the South Seas Federation of China Relief Funds (held in October 1938) and its Standing Committee members.⁴⁶ These lists, though containing various mistakes, seem to have been based on contemporary Chinese reports.

It is certain that H. S. Lee was identified as one of the leaders of the anti-Japanese movement and a wealthy businessman. It is not certain, however, whether there was really a price of S\$60,000 put on his head.

1.5 Anti-Japanese Movement and Formation of the MCA

When the 5th annual meeting of the General Committee of the Malayan Chinese Association was held in February 1953, ninety-seven members were present.⁴⁷ Among them were there many community leaders who had participated in the anti-Japanese movement before the War. As for Selangor, besides H. S. Lee, Choe Yew Fai, Chin Chee Meow, Ang Keh Tho, Chong Khoon Lin and Chan Thye Kai attended. From other states, several former participants of the 1938 inaugural congress of the South Seas Federation of China Relief Funds also attended. They were Dato Wong Shee Fun (黃樹芬), Dr. M. Birchee (陳峇吉), Ang Teow Siam (洪肇閔) from Johor, Chua Thiam Keong (蔡天恭) from Negeri Sembilan, Lau Pak Khuan (劉伯群) from Perak, and Ong Keng Seng (王景成) from Penang. Additionally, two well-known anti-Japanese leaders of Singapore, Lim Keng Lian (林慶年) and Chuang Hui Tsuan (莊惠泉) were also present. Their common experience might have consolidated their relationship and either directly or indirectly strengthened H. S. Lee's position in the party.

2. Allegiance to Nationalist China after the End of the War

While playing a pivotal role in obtaining the independence of Malaya and designing a development plan for Malaya, H. S. Lee remained closely attached to Nationalist China, as can easily be seen through a few cases:

- (1) The memorial issue of the Selangor Kwang Tung Association published in 1991 showed a chronological table of important events during the previous 50 years. Included were several events pertaining to the Chinese government as well as the Malayan government, specifically referring to the Republic of China as “our country” and Malaya as “this country” (emphasis added):

1946 Together with various organizations held tea party to welcome *our country's* consul in Kuala Lumpur, Mr. *Xu*.⁴⁸

Together with various organizations held tea party to welcome *our country's* consul-general in Singapore, Mr. *Wu*.⁴⁹

1947 Together with various organizations held tea party to welcome *our country's* consul in Kuala Lumpur, Mr. *Kuang*.⁵⁰

1948 Participated in a parade by Selangor Chinese to celebrate implementation of the constitutional government in *our home country*.

Participated in a parade by Selangor Chinese to celebrate inauguration of the first President of *our home country*.

Participated in a tea party held in the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall to welcome *our country's* consul-general in Singapore, Mr. *Li*.⁵¹

1952 In response to Selangor branch of the MCA, helped the government of *this country* (當地政府) to recruit Chinese policemen.

The differences in the ways of describing each country might, to a great extent, reflect the stand of the Kwang Tung Association's supreme leader, H. S. Lee, and at the same time, to some extent, might reflect the standpoint of the *Guangdong* Chinese community or Chinese community in general.

- (2) In November 1950, H. S. Lee was appointed as a liaison officer of the General Association for Mainland China Victim Relief (中國大陸災胞救濟總會) by the Nationalist Chinese government.⁵²

- (3) When the MCA prohibited party members from joining the Double Tenth celebration in October 1952, the *China Press* established and owned by H. S. Lee carried an article criticizing this policy (emphasis added):

Mr. Tan Siew Sin of the Malacca MCA asked all the members of the MCA not to join the Double Ten celebration this year. He said that the purpose of the MCA was to look after the welfare of Malaya, and therefore it was not necessary to celebrate the Double Ten.

When the people of Malacca were notified of this, bad feeling arose against the MCA. This

MCA instruction could not prevent the Chinese from joining the Double Ten celebration, and in spite of it, many Chinese, who had not joined before, enrolled themselves for the celebration. This clearly showed their love towards the *mother-country*.

Tan Kee Gak (陳期岳) said that the *Local Government* had not interfered with this affair..... Most of the MCA members were loyal to their *mother-country*. If the MCA took such a drastic measure, many Chinese would leave the MCA.....

“Whether the Chinese of Malaya favour their *mother-country* or the *Local Government*, the Double Ten celebration is important to them,” said Mr. Tan Kee Gak.⁵³

In this case, the allegiance or close attachment to Nationalist China is clear, and again China is referred to as “the mother-country”, while Malaya is “the Local Government.”

(4) In 1988, a the Chinese paper *Popular* (大衆報) reported:

In early October of 1957, that is barely more than a month after Merdeka (Independence), inviting Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, Chinese associations of Selangor held a grand dinner to celebrate Malaya’s independence. Most of the attendants were Lee’s supporters. After drinking, several members, who had formerly been KMT members, shouted loudly, “Long Live the Republic of China!” They concurrently celebrated the National Day of Republic of China (Double Tenth). This event made the Tunku suspicious about allegiance to Malaya of a section of Chinese as well as about influence of the KMT on the Chinese. On this occasion, a rift emerged between the Tunku and H. S. Lee.⁵⁴

4. Conclusion

H. S. Lee, who was the youngest among the leaders of the Chinese community, played the most important role in the anti-Japanese movement in Selangor before the War. We can assume that he fostered close and reliable relations with these community leaders who consisted not only of Kuomintang but also of the leftists. The fact that, unlike most of the other leaders, he did not co-operate with the JMA seem to have consolidated his position. This network nurtured in the anti-Japanese movement strengthened his position in the MCA in which many former movement leaders also participated.

H. S. Lee was “a steadfast patriot, ...a man who poured his energy and his ideas into the foundation and development of our nation (Malaya and Malaysia).”⁵⁵ However, he was not a simple patriot of Malaya. At the same time he devoted himself to China as well. Though he once strongly opposed the CCP and the People’s Republic of China, we cannot deny his affection towards China itself. This was clearly shown until the early 1950s. We can assume that his identity consciousness also reflected identity-transition of Malayan Chinese in general from China to Malaya. In this sense, he really was a son of Malayan Chinese.

(Mandarin pronunciation is printed in italics)

Notes

- ¹ This legal status is confirmed in prewar documents (H. S. Lee Files, Folio 2, 38–72). In an affidavit (Petition No. 50 of 1940) which was submitted to the Court of the Judge at Kuala Lumpur on 27 December 1940, he writes “I, Hau Sik Lee, of full age, a British Subject, residing at Kuala Lumpur, affirm and say as follows.....”
- ² Selangor Kwang Tung Association (SKTA), *Golden Jubilee Special Memorial Issue* (雪蘭莪廣東會館金禧紀念特刊), Kuala Lumpur, SKTA, 1991, p. 245. Like many Chinese organizations in Malaya, numerous English versions of their names exist. For example, the SCRFC is sometimes referred to as the Chinese Relief Committee, Selangor. Other versions certainly exist.
- ³ Cheong Yoke Choy (張郁才, 1870–1958), a miner and a banker, was a founder of the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall in 1923 and its president from 1935 until 1948. He founded the Selangor Kong Chau (岡州) Association after World War II, in 1949. See Lee Kam Hin, Chow Mun Seong, *Biographical Dictionary of the Chinese in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya, Pelanduk Publications, 1997, pp. 22, 23./Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall (SCAH, 雪蘭莪中華大會堂), *Memorial Issue Celebrating the 54th Anniversary of the SCAH* (雪蘭莪中華大會堂慶祝 54 週年紀念特刊), Kuala Lumpur, SCAH, 1977, pp. 121–222.
- ⁴ Chong Khoon Lin (張崑靈, 1893–1962), a miner, was a founding president of the Selangor Ker Yin [Jiaying] Association from 1915 until 1938. He was one of six vice-presidents of the Selangor Kuang Tung Association when it was founded in 1939, and vice-president of the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall from 1948 until 1958. He was also President of the Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce (SCCC) from 1955 until 1958. See Lee and Chow, *op. cit.*, p. 28./SCAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–213, 666. / Selangor Kwang Tung Association (SKTA), *Memorial Issue* (雪蘭莪廣東會館紀念刊), Kuala Lumpur, SKTA, 1960, p. 39.
- ⁵ Chan Chin Mooi (陳占梅, 1875–1944), a miner, was a founding member of Kuala Lumpur branch of the Tung Meng Hui. Mooi was a committee member of the SCAH from 1935 until 1940. See Lee and Chow, *op. cit.*, p. 3./Selangor and Kuala Lumpur Kuang Tung Association (SKKTA.), *Special Memorial Issue Celebrating the 60th Anniversary 1939–1999*. (雪蘭莪廣東會館甲子慶典紀念特刊), Kuala Lumpur, SKKTA, 2002, p. 236.
- ⁶ Choe Yew Fai (曹堯輝) was a standing committee member of the SCAH from 1935 until 1954 and its vice-president from 1954 until 1958. See SCAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–213.
- ⁷ Low Kee Boo (劉其武, ?–1944) was a standing committee member of the SCAH from 1941 until 1942. See SCAH, *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 205./SKTA, *Golden Jubilee Special Memorial Issue*, p. 80.
- ⁸ Loong Lek Yue (龍歷儒) was a committee member of the Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce from 1946 until 1947. See SCCC, *op. cit.*, p. 666.
- ⁹ Chan Thye Kai (陳泰階) was director general of the Selangor China Relief Funds Committee and chief of the First Division of the Selangor Air Defense. During the occupation, he was in charge of the Malayan Nursing Home for Disabled Elderly. After the War, he assumed treasurer of the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall, director of the Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce and deputy president of the Selangor Kwang Tung Association. SKKTA, *Special Memorial Issue Celebrating the 60th Anniversary*, p. 243.
- ¹⁰ Chin Chee Meow (陳濟謀, 1893–1965) was director both of the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall and of the Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the early post-war years, the president of Selangor Ka Yin Fui Koon (嘉應會館) and chairman cum managing-director of the China Press. Yap Koon See (葉觀仕) ed., *Who's Who in Malaysian Chinese Community (1984–1985)* (馬來西亞名人錄), Kuala Lumpur, Budayamas Sdn., Bhd., 1984, p. 322.
- ¹¹ Wong Pak Choy (黃伯才, 1880–1940) was one of six vice-presidents of the Selangor Kuang Tung Association in 1939, prior to it, was president of the Selangor Fui Chiu Association (SFCA), which had been established in 1849, from 1937 until 1938. SKTA, 1960, *op. cit.*, p.39. / SKKTA, *Special Memorial Issue Celebrating the 60th Anniversary 1939–1999*, pp. 290, 291./Home Page of Persatuan Fui Chiu Wilayah Persekutuan dan Selangor (<http://www.fuichiu.org.my/index.htm>) accessed on 7 November 2005.
- ¹² Wong Tet San (黃鐵珊, c.1890–1945), a miner, was a Hakka. See Hara Fujio, *Malayan Chinese and China* (マラヤ華僑と中国), Tokyo, Ryukei Shosha, 2001, pp. 126–149.
- ¹³ 黎德祿. He is reportedly the same person as Lai Tet Loke (賴德祿, c.1880–c.1950), a Hakka miner, who is referred to later.
- ¹⁴ Choo Kia Peng (朱嘉炳, 1881–1965), a Teochew merchant and miner, was also one of six vice-presidents of the SKTA in 1939. See Lee and Chow, *op. cit.*, p. 31/SKTA, 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- ¹⁵ Lin's official title was “President of the National Government of the Republic of China.” Despite Lin's official position between 1931–1943, Chiang Kai Shek retained most presidential powers.
- ¹⁶ Up to here, information about the two Kwang Tung Chinese congresses is mainly based on SKTA, 1960, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–159.
- ¹⁷ Ng Teong Kiat (黃重吉, 1892–1966), a Hokkien, was a vice-president of the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall from 1935 until 1937 and a director of the Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1946–1949. See SCAH, 1977, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 666.
- ¹⁸ Ang Keh Toh (洪啓讀, 1875–c.1960), a Hokkien, was a vice-president of the SCAH in 1937–1948, president of CHAH in 1948–1958, as well as vice-president of the SCCC in 1946–1957. See SCAH, 1977, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–213, 666./Lee and Chow, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

- ¹⁹ Fu Youmen ed., *Nanyang Yearbook* (南洋年鑑), Singapore, Nanyang Siang Pau, 1939, pp. Chen (辰) 166–172.
- ²⁰ Huang Wei Ran (黃偉然), “Records of Returning Home and Opposing Japan” (歸國抗日紀實), in National Committee of the People’s Political Consultative Conference of China, *Selective Archival Materials* (文史資料選輯), No. 3 (Total serial number 103), 1985, pp. 23–43. Huang was a member of the Two-Choys Troop and remained in China after the end of the Pacific War.
- ²¹ H. S. Lee Files, *Correspondence 1948–1955*. “Letter to HIS Excellency, the High Commissioner, Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur,” dated 21st April 1953.
- ²² H. S. Lee Files, *Correspondence 1948–1955*. “Attorney-General’s Chambers, Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur,” dated 21st May 1953.
- ²³ Ng Poh Tip, “The Amazing Tun Sir Henry H. S. Lee”, in *New Straits Times Annual 1981*, New Straits Times, pp. 89–97.
- ²⁴ For example, Malaysia Kochow Association (MKA), *Special Commemorating Issue of 30th Anniversary* (馬來西亞高州總會 30週年紀念特刊), Kuala Lumpur, MKA, 1981, p. 14.
- ²⁵ Ng Poh Tip, op., cit., p. 91./*Nanyang Siang Pau*, 26 October 1998./H. S. Lee Files, 14.001–14.002. Letter of the Master of the S. S. Haiching, O. H. Farrar, To Whom It May Concern, dated 12 February 1942.
- ²⁶ Ng Poh Tip, op., cit., p. 92.
- ²⁷ H. S. Lee Files, 14.003–14.005. Letter of the Master of the S. S. Haiching, O. H. Farrar, to Whom It May Concern, dated 12 February 1942./Confidential Letter from Thos. Cook & Son Ltd., to the Chinese Consul, New Delhi, dated 14 October 1942. This letter describes H. S. Lee as Chinese Government Official./Letter from the Office of the Commissioner of the Republic of China to Whom it May Concern, dated October 18, 1942./Letter from the Consul General of the Republic of China, Calcutta, to Whom it May Concern, dated 21 October 1942.
- ²⁸ Interview with Dato’ Douglas Lee (Eldest son of H. S. Lee) in his Office in Kuala Lumpur on 26 December, 2003.
- ²⁹ *China Press* (中國報), 30 July 1988, 9 January 2001. Jiang Jing Guo (蔣經國) became President of the Republic of China after Chiang Kai Shek’s demise.
Chinese books commemorating the Chinese Expeditionary Forces noted below refer both to General Stilwell and to General Slim. None, however, refer to H. S. Lee.
Gu Feng (古風) ed., *Chinese Expeditionary Forces* (中國遠征軍), Taipei, Wang Jia Publisher (王家出版社), 1989./Dai Xiao Qing (戴孝慶), Luo Hong Zhang (羅洪彰) eds., *Records of the Anti-Japanese War of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in Burma: 1941–1945* (中國遠征軍入緬抗戰紀實), Chong Qing (重慶), Xinan Normal University (西南師範大學), 1990.
- ³⁰ Interview with Dato’ Douglas Lee.
- ³¹ *Nanyang Siang Pau*, 26, 27 October 1998.
- ³² Ng Poh Tip, op., cit., p. 91./Yap Koon See (葉觀仕) ed., op. cit., p. 54.
- ³³ After Kuala Lumpur was separated from Selangor and became the Federal Territory in 1972, The Selangor Kwang Tung Association was known as the Selangor and Kuala Lumpur Kwang Tung Association.
- ³⁴ *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, 31 March, 1983./SKTA, *Golden Jubilee Special Memorial Issue*, pp. 72, 73.
- ³⁵ SKTA, *Golden Jubilee Special Memorial Issue*, p. 79.
- ³⁶ SKTA, *Memorial Issue*, p. 32.
- ³⁷ SKKTA, *Special Memorial Issue Celebrating the 60th Anniversary 1939–1999*, p. 236.
- ³⁸ Lai Tet Loke might be the same as Lai Tek Loke.
- ³⁹ For more information on these leaders’ positions during the occupation period, see Fujio Hara, “The Japanese Occupation of Malaya and the Chinese Community,” Paul Kratoska, ed., *Malaya and Singapore during the Japanese Occupation*, Singapore University Press, 1995.
- ⁴⁰ H. S. Lee Files, *Correspondence 1948–1955*.
- ⁴¹ Yong Shook Lin (楊旭齡, 1895–1955) was a founding member of the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and one of its two secretaries (in effect secretary-general) between 1949 and 1951.
- ⁴² Fukuta Shōzō (福田省三) ed., *Report of the Third Investigation Committee; Research on the South Seas Chinese Anti-Japanese Home-Country Relief Movement*, (第三委員會報告書—南洋華僑抗日救國運動の研究), Tokyo, Tōa Kenkyūjo, 1945, pp. 293, 294.
- ⁴³ Foreign Affairs Division, Secretary of Governor-General of Taiwan, *South Seas Overseas Chinese Affairs* (南洋華僑事情), (Confidential), Taipei, 1938, p. 67.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60./Another report of the same Division also shows this mining company as well as H. S. Lee’s name. Miyaji Naohiko (宮地直彦), *British Malaya and Overseas Chinese* (英領馬來と華僑), Taipei, Foreign Affairs Division, Secretary of Governor-General of Taiwan, 1938, p. 47.
- ⁴⁵ The Third Department of the Euro-Asian Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, South Seas and Overseas Chinese (南洋華僑), Tokyo, 1939, pp. 249, 250.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 353, 370.

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- ⁴⁷ H. S. Lee Files. MCA 1951–1954. Minutes of the 5th Annual Meeting of the General Committee of the MCA held at Hotel Majestic, Kuala Lumpur on Saturday, January 31, 1953 from 11 am, and on February 1, 1953, from 9.30 am. (Secret).
- ⁴⁸ *Xu Meng-xiong* (許孟雄).
- ⁴⁹ Wu Paak Shing or *Wu Po-Sheng* (吳伯勝).
- ⁵⁰ *Kuang Da* (鄺達).
- ⁵¹ *Li Neng-geng* (李能梗).
- ⁵² H. S. Lee Files. Folio 2. 38–72.
- ⁵³ H. S. Lee Files. MCA 1950–1955. Translation from the *China Press*, Kuala Lumpur, of 10. 10. 1952, page 3.
- ⁵⁴ 大衆報 (Popular), 27 July 1988.
- ⁵⁵ Muzium Negara, Tun Sir Henry H. S. Lee; Pameran Patriot dan Negarawan, 19 Nov., 1988.