

The Thoughts And Struggles Of Dr Burhanuddin Al Helmy

Ishak Saat

*Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris
Email:ishakhj@fsk.upsi.edu.my*

Mohd Kasri Saidon

Universiti Utara Malaysia

Ahmad Zainudin Husin

Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris

Khairi Ariffin

Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris

Abstract

This article discusses on the thoughts and struggle pioneered by Dr Burhanuddin Al-Helmy. An Islamic nationalist and a fighter who loved his country and who struggled for the independence of Malaya. Dr Burhanuddin Al-Helmy had chosen the rule of law in his political approach. This is proven during the time he led the Malay Nationalist Party (MNP), Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (PUTERA) and Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS). This article is about a biographical study. With reference to the primary and secondary sources to analyse the thoughts and struggle led by Dr Burhanuddin Al-Helmy. In fact, this study also aims to clarify his thoughts and translate them through his political struggle. As such, he often faced various challenges in the political struggle. The study concludes that his thinking and struggle were accepted by the young Malay generation who loved their country, Malaya and who worked together for the independence of Malaya.

Keywords: *Dr Burhanuddin Al-Helmy, Nationalist, Islam, Politics and Malay Nationalist Party (MNP)*

Introduction

Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy was born in Kampung Changkat Tualang, Kota Bahru, Gopeng, Perak. He is the descendant of Minangkabau-Arab. He received his religious education in Madrasah Al Mahsyur, Penang and later further his study in Aligarh University, New Delhi, India. He was a prominent Islamic Nationalist fighter of his time. He had been involved in political struggle since 1930s. He led the Malay political organizations among supporters of the Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM), leader of the Union of Peninsula's Indonesian People (KRIS), Chief General I and Counsel General of Malay Nationalist Party (MNP), Chairman of the Pusat Tenaga Rakyat-All Malayan Council of Joint Action (PUTERA-AMCJA), Founder of People's Party of Malaya (PRM) and Hizbul Muslimin (HM) and at the end of his political career he was the President of Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PMIP) from 1956 to 1969.

Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy is among the Muslim scholar who taught Arabic at the Al- Junid Arab School in Singapore. His anti-colonial attitude and anti-British occupation movements led to his arrest for the first time and was imprisoned for six months in 1937. The arrest was a British early move in the next series of incarcerations that Dr. Burhanuddin gone through along his struggle. Upon his release, he started a homeopathy clinic in Singapore to earn a living (Abdul Rahman Abdullah, 1994). Even though the practice of homeopathic medicine was not favoured by the community at that time but that was his field of expertise to continue his life as well as his unfinished battle.

Dr. Burhanuddin was a very humble person. This statement was also supported by Jais Anuar in 1967, a former PMIP Youth chief in 1967 (Jais Anuar, 31/10/2003). The same view was shared by his friend Abdul Majid Salleh as suffering from lack of professional skills, in an accidental encounter at a bus stop in Geylang, Singapore. This event occurred in 1955, the year of liberation that drove radical Malays. Dr. Burhanuddin whom fully understood the fate of his comrades, without any question,

continuously provided financial support to them as he was able to feel the misery of the lives of his comrades (Abdul Majid Salleh, 1991).

Political struggle

In the beginning of his political involvement, Burhanuddin had never become a founder of any political party. Due to their outstanding leadership, he was often invited to lead the political organization in Malaya. This showed his leadership was recognized and appreciated by political activists in Malaya. He was respected by friends and foes both before the war and after the Second World War. His name was not only well-known in Malayan political arena, but also in the Asian region. He could be honour as “a politician of all ages” for being involved in politics since the pre-Second World War, the era of Japanese occupation, post-war and post-independence. He spent most of his life fighting for national Islamic politics in order to defend and enhance the Malays achievement in politic, economy and social. His political name and career became more prominent after joining PMIP. Under his leadership, the Party won Kelantan and Terengganu’s General Elections in 1959. He was also a Member of Parliament for Besut, South Terengganu area from 1959 to 1964. However, he also received a thorough trial as his best friend struggled in the radical stream, which was jailed for about five years. Later on, he continued his fight along with Ibrahim Haji Yaacob, Isaac Haji Muhammad, Ahmad Boestamam, Khadijah Sidek, Rashid Maidin, Abdul Majid Salleh, and many other radical figures of the day.

Leading the Political Organization

Short after KMM's was banned by the British and by the Japanese for being radical, their supporters came up with a new strategy to continue the battle. The strategy led to the establishment of new political movements such as CRIS in July 1945 led by Ibrahim Haji Yaakub, Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy and Onan Siraj. Then, Malay Nationalist Party (MNP) (rename from Hizbul Muslimin 1945) was established on March 14, 1948.

Cooperation strategy was started with KMM's cooperation with Japan. However, the cooperation was halted in the middle of the road. Then, they established KRIS in a collaborative approach with the Japanese government. This approach was taken to ensure that KRIS's political struggle did not face the same problem as KMM before. KRIS was also working with the Indonesian National Party (PNI) led by Soekarno to realize their goal to achieve “independence through the concept of a united nation.” KRIS leaders’ meeting was held in Tokyo, Japan, on August 22, 1945 to discuss the independence of Malaya with Indonesia under the concept of *Melayu Raya* (Ahmad Boestamam, 1972). Among The Malay political leaders who attended the secret meeting were Ibrahim Haji Yaacob, Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy and Onan Siraj which represented CRR, Sukarno and Hatta represented Indonesia (Hambali Abd. Latif, 1995). This bold move was made as KRIS struggled to gain Japan's favour according to "Asian For the Asian" spirit. The end of 1944 and early 1945 saw the weakened of Japanese power due to the American Atomic Bombs expedition which destroyed the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki led to the end of Second world War in Asia. Due to the uncertainty, the negotiations held between the radical Malays leader in Malaya and Indonesian political leaders in effort to liberated their country before the British return to Malaya after the fall of Japan in Asia. It was a “courageous act” of the Malay radical groups in order to liberate Malaya. But these efforts were deadlocked when Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's independence in 1945 without the Malay Peninsula. This was because the political situation in Indonesia was also uncertain.

The failure of this join strategy led to the formation of a Malay Nationalist Party (MNP) lead by Moktaruddin Lasso, Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy, Ishak Haji Muhammad and Ahmad Boestamam. This Political party was founded in Ipoh, Perak, on October 17, 1945. The struggle for independence was a courageous effort of the MNP in the political struggle of the Malays. Political movements that joint by the graduates of SITC such as KMM, KRIS, MNP, who are supporting the spirit of Malay nationalism mostly served as teachers and journalist in various parts of Malaya. While on duty, they strive to instil the spirit of the Malays to unite and rise against the British.

The Concept of *Melayu Raya*

Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy was a political figure and his idealistic philosophy of Malay nationalist struggle was high. His anti-colonial attitude was very prominent. He believed the Malays should be given awareness and understanding of the meaning of a struggle. With this effort, the Malays nationalist spirit would rise along with the concept of the independence of a united of Malay Kingdom. The National concept of Malay struggle greatly influenced the principles of his struggle. He wanted to see the Malays re-united as before and made *Nusantara* as a supreme idea of the Malay Archipelago in line with the struggle of "*Melayu Raya*". His insistence was expressed in his books, *Perjuangan Kita* and *Falsafah Kebangsaan Melayu*. Through these books, he tried to uphold the idea of Malay Nationalism with the facts of history, geography and culture of the region. According to this book, Malay nationalism was not developed solely because of his races is Malay or because of his father or grandfather is Malay. Malay Nationalism was grow and built by the nature, the position of the earth, the heritage, culture breeds and the natives (Ramlah Adam,1993). The important element to strengthen the national struggle is the Islamic Political Philosophy. These factors will strengthened the national position of the people in Malay Archipelago. According to Dr. Burhanuddin, Islam requires its followers to love their motherland and its nation. It has become a responsibility that must be supported by the entire nation of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. (Ramlah Adam, 1993).

The philosophy and principles of the United Malays that hold by Dr. Burhanuddin also become a political stance of his followers in MNP. He reiterated its stance to fight the *Melayu Raya* which claimed that the Malay Archipelago geographically was a cluster of the Malay Kingdom. This understanding had been successfully influenced all PKMM members and their supporters. Thus, the concept of *Melayu Raya* became the stance in the effort to liberate Malaya. Researchers agreed and stressed that the views of Burhanuddin Al-Helmy were appropriate and positioned the Malays as the indigenous origin (son of the soil) in the Malay Archipelago (Ishak Saat, 2016). Malaya would only become stronger through the unity of the Malays in the Malay Archipelago according to the doctrine that was popularised by Dr. Burhanuddin which was better known as the *Melayu Raya*. He claimed that the disunity of the Malays is a main caused by the advent of the Western imperialists. The arrival of the Western imperialists gives the significant impact to the lost of power among the Malay Sultan and disunite the traditional Malay political power in the Malay world. He stressed:

"Within decades and hundreds of years, colony restricts the relationship between the Melayu causing the to grow apart, be forgotten and abandoned. The sense of place and country became more and more strained and the relationship with the brothers on the other hand gradually increased the gap with some urgency" (Burhanuddin Al Helmy, 1946).

In Malaya, the British felt more comfortable in dealing with the moderate group which were comprised of Malay aristocrats British educated. It was clear that most of this group joined UMNO which was led by the elite ruling class. This group was labelled as a moderate (medium) group and categorized as "the right hand party" in the struggle of the independence of Malaya. The long history of their close relations between UMNO and British imperialist ensured that close cooperation between them was maintained and protected. Any elements that cause damaged to the relations between them should be considered as disturbance of peace and security. These right-wingers were set against by the left wings group, which support the idea of forming political orders according to the republic of Indonesia. The different principles of struggle between these two parties (left and right) became a significant barrier to unite the party led by Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy with the party led by the western oriented Malays elite that have strong relations with the British (Ishak Saat, 2015).

The struggle of Islamic National Philosophy

The Islamic National Political Struggle was a new concept introduced by Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy into the Malay community at that time. Although his efforts were unpopular at the early stage but he had never giving up. Siddiq Fadzil insisted that the absorption of Islamic inspiration in the Malay struggle was obvious with Dr. Burhanuddin al-Helmy's involvement—in the struggle of Malay

nationalism. He was the French political thinker who successfully integrated the Malay struggle with Islam. For his fight on Malay nationalism, he established the principle of the rule according to Islamic religion, due to the context of Malaya, Malay forces who were committed to Islam would lead to the political power and vice versa (Siddiq Fadzil, 2000).

Dr. Burhanuddin was a well-known figure to their political friends and opponents. He often received an invitations to attend local and overseas conferences. These invitations were never refused. His presence was not only as an observer but it was more than that, he always used this opportunity to take part in discussion and also contributed to the success of the conference. He would provide insights and ideas if requested. His performance could be seen in the many conferences that he participated, such as the MATA Conference and the PEPERMAS Conference in Gunong Semanggol 1945, (Nabir Hj. Abdullah, 1976) Malay Congress held at the Sultan Sulaiman Club in Kuala Lumpur in 1946 (Ramlah Adam, 1993) and the Afro-Asian Conference held in New Delhi, India in 1947 (A.J. Stockwell, 1979). In these conferences, he gave thoughtful ideas.

His colleagues described him as a politician who had a very strong philosophy of struggle and a dynamic leadership style. That was proven when he was often invited to lead a political party such as the Malay Nationalist Party (MNP) in 1945, Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (PUTERA) in 1947 and Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PIMP) in 1952. This proven that he was a politician who had the poise and features - a beloved and respected leadership character. It was such an important event in the history of the appointment of the President of the Central PMIP in 1956 when Haji Hassan Adli once advised his counterparts in PMIP to not defaming Dr. Burhanuddin when he was nominated for the PMIP Central Presidential post. He stressed that the integrity and leadership of Dr. Burhanuddin was not comparable between them (A.J. Stockwell, 1979). Later in the post-independence era, Haji Hassan Adli also acknowledged and described Dr. Burhanuddin as his political teacher, in the following words:

“To me, late Dr. Burhanuddin is a teacher in my political life. Even though I had never been to school or studied with books or anything, but many of the views and opinions of Dr. Burhanuddin has really influenced my soul as well as my political life in the past and the present” (Sidek Jamil, 1978).

Almost all of the radical movements' leaders respected his political views and his embracement of the welfare of all races. He could be categorized as the “Father of the Radical Movement” or the “Father of the Independence Fighters of the day.”

Multi-racial Political Cooperation

He was recognised for his cooperation with the PUTERA-AMCJA, working on the People's Constitution which comprised of 10 principles. Among the recommendations of the Constitution was that all people should be accepted as Malay or as citizens of Malaya. This constitution was recognized by all walks of life because it was in line with the political aspiration of that time. It was a far-sighted and appropriate proposal to create harmony for the citizen in Malaya (Ramlah Adam, 2000). Unfortunately, this constitution was rejected by the British colonialists and UMNO parties because it was voiced by the radicals group.

The leadership of Burhanuddin Al-Helmy in MNP had been a catalyst for the development of other Malay political movements. Through MNP, Hizbul Muslimin (HM), Angkatan Pemuda Insaf (API) and Angkatan Wanita Sedar (AWAS) were formed. API was established in Ipoh in February 1946 under the leadership of Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's colleague, Ahmad Boestamam. API was the most extreme political body of a vibrant youth lineage. This political movement ignited and burned the spirit of the young Malay men and women. It took the form of API names that meant *Angkatan Pemuda Insaf* with the motto of Freedom with Blood (*Merdeka Dengan Darah*). Some API members interpreted the API as a British Assassin Force (*Angkatan Pembunuh Inggeris*) or British Pursuer Force (*Angkatan Penghalau Inggeris*) (Abdul Majid Salleh, 1988). The API alliance did not receive any objection from Burhanuddin Al Helmy. But the disparity of political strategy had made API separated from the MNP. Although API was originally the wing of the MNP youth and AWAS as the women's wing of the MNP,

but due to its apparent prominence in the second 1946 congressional party in Malacca, API and AWAS were separated and became two different political movements. However, the freedom granted to API did not mean absolute freedom but rather a conditional freedom which cannot precede MNP as its parent body (Rashid Karim, 1991). This strategy was to ensure that MNP's journey was not threatened and disrupted. API, under the leadership of Ahmad Boestamam highlighted as the most radical Malay political movement, armed with the spirit of anti-colonialism as recorded in the book authored by Ahmad Boestamam, *API Political Testament (Testament Politik API)* (Ahmad Boestamam, 1946). This book or manifesto was a work that capable of arousing the spirit of its members. It was even interpreted as an agitating political book. The British thus acted against Ahmad Boestamam.

At the same time, MNP and API made a close contact with the movement based in Maahad II Ihya AsSyarif, Gunung Semanggol. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy played a major role in establishing the first Islamic party in Malaya. At the MATA conference on March 14, 1948, the Hizbul Muslimin (HM) was founded under the leadership of Ustaz Abu Bakar Al Baqir, together with the rise of other leaders such as Ahmad Tarmimi, Abdul Rauf Noor, Baharuddin Latif, Othman Hamzah and Asri Haji Muda. The presence of HM though short of only four months, managed to spread its influence around the Malay Peninsula. The establishment of the HM received an encouraging response and left the colonists and their supporters concerned. Those who fought in HM were labelled and denounced as dangerous and accused of being influenced by communism (*Utusan Melayu*, 26/4/1948). Dato Onn often advised the Malays to be wary of a movement that was influenced by communist elements (*Cermin Malaya*, Ogos. 1948). He strongly recommended at the Federal Government Meeting that strict action should be taken against those organizing or engaging in communist movements. In fact:

“The communist movement must be abolished. Its organizers must be exiled. In order to maintain for our peace, strict action must be taken” (*Cermin Malaya*, Jun 1947).

Islamic political party was also labelled as radical group. Thus many leaders of HM faced the same fate with other Malay radical figures, which were arrested and imprisoned. They were arrested under the Emergency Act 1948. This portrayed the attitude and sense of responsibility of a leader toward his loyal supporters in times of emergency. Dr. Burhanuddin also felt the misery of married life, when his wife Mrs. Aminah filed for a divorce when he was detained under the Emergency Act 1948. The reason was that she could not withstand marrying a Malay radical politician. His wife's decision was devastating and frustrating. Moreover, the duration of the detention could not be expected (Ramlah Adam, 2000). This divorce deeply hurt Dr. Burhanuddin. This action was taken by his wife because it was not in line with the policy of the struggle she lived in and believed in. The struggle of a left-wing fighter must be applauded by his wife and family because any misunderstanding will eventually threaten the happiness of the household. The policy of the struggle that he believed made him continue to fight despite his wife and family.

Leading Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PIMP)

The stance that Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PMIP) wanted to make Islam as a platform for their political struggle has been acknowledged by many political figures and historians in the country. The development of the Islamic image in Malaya political arena is one of the significant contribution made by Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy. This could be seen in his Inaugural Speech Text, upon accepting the post of PMIP President in 1956, which was when he answered the question of why he chose PMIP as the cornerstone of his struggle. He explained that between 1948 and 1956, he did not choose any political organization to continue his struggle. However, in 1956 he finally chose PMIP after looking at the will of the people, especially the Malays who had shown an interest to return to Islam as the basis for the struggle and practiced the Islamic way of life. That was why he decided to join and accepted the post of President of PMIP in 1956. His inaugural address in the 1956 PMIP dissertation explained:

“I want genuinely thanked my friends, whom has trusted me with the Pan Islamic Party's leadership. This moment might be a sign for me to return actively in politics. Ones will be interested in asking why I choose to introduce myself to PMIP and not

others? As for everyone else who fight for freedom, my decision to join PMIP is solely on political objectives consideration, which we faced today” (Burhanuddin Al Helmy, 1956).

His inaugural speech reflected that he chose PMIP because of the principle of the party that Islam as the basis of their struggle, where Islam is a principle that is so close to the Malays. Scholar Ramlah Adam, argued that Dr. Burhanuddin AL Helmy leadership in PMIP was in line with the leadership of the Islamic struggle supported by PMIP. She explained:

“... His leadership in PMIP which trying to uphold the concept of *Darul Islam* amid Malay nationalist struggle in 1956-1969, was also one of the activities that reflected the ideology of Islam” (Ramlah Adam, 2000).

She also confirmed that Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy accepted PMIP because he recognized that PMIP was an Islamic party and that the Malays would be taken care of and safe (Ramlah Adam, 2000). Similarly, the views of scholar Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah indicated that PMIP leadership under Professor Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy and Professor Zulkifi Muhammad has finally spawned PMIP's name in national politics (Abdul Rahman Hj Abdullah, 1998). This submission by Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah acknowledged the leadership of the two PMIP leaders as a coalition of intellectuals, further confirming that the PMIP leadership has inherited the leadership of the ulama, Haji Ahmad Fuad bin Hassan. Under their leadership, PMIP succeeded in seizing the states of Kelantan and Terengganu in the 1959 and 1964 elections. This was how great the two Islamic political leaders at that time led to the establishment of Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PMIP).

In a parliamentary session on December 1963, as a leader of PMIP, Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy raised a questions related to 'The Supply Bill 1963'. Among those he also addressed questions related to the official position of the Federal religion. Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy stressed on the need for serious efforts to strengthen Islam in order to be truly becoming the official religion of the Federation of Malaya. He did not want it to be merely written on paper, but it should be practiced like practicing Islamic law based on the Quran and Sunnah, as the spirit and soul of the state administration. Through the recommendations and proposals put forward by parliamentarians, PMIP had proven that they had the strength and determination to suggest questions related to the position of the Malay rulers and the importance of Islam in the Dewan Rakyat. But because these suggestions and proposals came from the opposition, they were rejected without considering the importance of the proposals. The attitude and style of the Alliance Government did not differ much from the attitude of the British colonialists. Any suggestion from the opposition would be ignored. That was what the colonial rule approach.

Every role and recommendation from the opposition would threat the Alliance Government. Therefore the Perikatan Government tried to frame the opposition figures by accusing them of being directly involved in the Brunei uprising organized by the Brunei People's Party (PRB) lead by A.M. Azahari. PMIP and PRM were accused of being involved in the rebellion. But the allegations were widely opposed by opposition members of Parliaments. Realising that these opposition leaders were able to jeopardize the Alliance Government position, so measures were taken to ensure that they could no longer attend the House of Assembly and interfere with the comfort of the UMNO-Perikatan Party. Dr. Burhanuddin was later found guilty of embezzlement of funds and was fined more than \$2000. Dr. Burhanuddin was then forced to resign as a Member of Parliament in late 1962.

The Alliance Government did not stop there, Dr. Burhanuddin was later accused of being involved in the formation of an exiled government in Indonesia. He was then arrested under the Internal Security Act (ISA) law of 1964 and sentenced to five years in prison. The same fate happened to Ahmad Boestamam, who was also convicted under the Internal Security Act 1960 (ISA) and was arrested on February 14, 1963. He was also arrested along with Dr. Burhanuddin. The Alliance Government detained them without any apparent demonstration of a planned effort to control the volume of the

figures. Their detention was fiercely opposed by other opposition lawmakers. Under Malaysian law, detention under ISA law cannot be questioned and they will be detained in special detention centre.

Islamic Political Thought and Philosophy

Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy clarified his political principles in a political assembly organized by the Pontian UMNO Youth Committee, Johor in 1955. He was optimistic about the Islamic political struggle and invited participants to return to the Islamic struggle. He explained:

“Islam is very different from other religions that cannot govern the country completely and can be separated from ruling the country. Even other religions can be used alone, but Islam is very different. The life of a Muslim cannot be separated from the Quran and the Sunnah of the Messenger” (Burhanuddin Al Helmy, 1955).

The principles of the Islamic struggle and his belief in this position were repeated about twelve years later. While delivering a public lecture at the University of Malaya in 1967 organized by the Islamic Union of the University of Malaya, he stressed that Islam was indeed hidden (Burhanuddin Al Helmy, 1967). The question about Islam and Malay nationalism could not be separated from Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy's political philosophy. Malay struggle was inseparable from the national struggle and Islam as both aspects were interrelated. For him the national struggle was just one of the tools to achieve well-being in the world and the hereafter. He stressed:

“Islam views the nation as a tool, not a destination. Nationalism should take the place of modesty and unity as a symbol that can attract and unite a part of the energy to achieve great and eternal ambitions, as Islam sees the world not as a destination but as a tool to go to the hereafter” (Burhanuddin Al Helmy, 1955).

The researcher believes that Burhanuddin Al-Helmy was a Malay nationalist politician who position Islam as the core principle in his political struggle. In fact, when Burhanuddin Al-Helmy lead a political movement, he would strive to spread the Islamic principle which is perfectly (*syumul*). He disregarded the struggle that aimed at Malay chauvinist which are racist (*assobiyyah*) and are against to the Islamic principle. Therefore, he rejected the UMNO's political principle.

When Burhanuddin Al-Helmy led the party, he again stressed that to strengthen the position of the Malays, they must be united regardless any school of thought they preferred, whether it was Islamic, nationalist or socialist (Burhanuddin Al Helmy, 1956). He believed that with the development of Malay political unity, They would produce a strong force that could undermine British colonialism. In fact, he expressly stated that the Malays were a large family who must work together and unite. He was optimistic about Malay race and Islam would be stronger with the unification of all Malay in the Malay Archipelago (Nusantara.) He clearly stated that cooperation between Malaya and Indonesia should be made possible for that reason (Ishak Saat, 2018). He further clarified that it was a responsibility for Muslims to fight for independence as it is an obligatory Islamic necessitate. In the context of Malaya, it was the responsibility of all Malays to reject all forms of colonialism and they must fight for independence from British colonialism. Obviously, the basic idea of Burhanuddin Al-Helmy was to fight Malays National nation based on Islamic principles. The effort to form a United Malays nations (Melayu Raya) which included entire Malay region should be taken seriously to ensure they would develop their golden era as well as their historical sovereign and glorious before the coming of Western imperialism. Malay nationalis and political parties were the means of struggle should be maximized to achieve the goals of obtain the independence of Malaya. The Malaysian Idea proposed by Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj which is the combination of Peninsular of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak (A. Rahman Tang, 2017) was the ideas of the united ex- British colonial states in Malay archipelago. There are critics on this effort by the opposition party because of the idea does not reflect the unity of

the Malays according to the history and glory. Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy believes that, the plan will more advantageous, if there is an involvement of Indonesian Archipelago. Once the idea of the formation of Malaysia become united as Malay Archipelago then Islam will return to its position as a fundamental of states of greater Malay (Melayu Raya) and the glory of Malay Kingdom will be realized.

Conclusion

Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmy was an independence fighter who adhered to the principle of not cooperating with the British Colonial. His struggle ended in prison. He was arrested by the government of Malaya on January 28, 1965 (Ramlah Adam, 2000). He was imprisoned without trial for nearly five years. He was accused of being a traitor to the country and trying to set up a government of Malaya in Indonesia. However, there was no evidence to substantiate his involvement in the establishment of Malaysian government organized by Indonesians. He was arrested under the provisions of the Internal Security Act (ISA) which allows authorities to arrest suspect without any trial. Although he was released from prison in 1969, it did not allow him to continue the struggle meaningfully because the situation of extreme infirmity. After all, on October 10, 1969, he passed away and was laid to rest in the cemetery of Masjid Lama (Old Mosque), in the heart of Taiping, Perak. His death was a great loss to the Malay political world, especially for the PMIP. His greatness was acknowledged by friends and foes. He was a leader who is irreplaceable, a leader with high spirits and full of philosophy. He struggled with the concept of establishment of *Melayu Raya* throughout his life.

His disappearance in the world of politics was a loss to the nation. Dr Burhanuddin was acknowledged for his greatness. Ahmad Boestamam embodied the power of Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy through his book; *Dr. Burhanuddin: Putera Setia Melayu Raya* (Ahmad Boestamam, 1972). Upon hearing his death, all comrades who had gone through life with him like Ahmad Boestamam and Abdul Majid Salleh, shed their tears. Scholar Ramlah Adam also acknowledged the greatness of Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy:

“Dr. Burhanuddin was a constitutional fighter: he moved and acted in accordance with the laws of the country. He did not choose the path of violence or military to express his opinions and influence people. As a well-educated Malay Muslim, his respect towards the national parliamentary institutions was almost indescribable, even he was considered as the opposition by the Alliance. Though the Alliance accused him of trying to establish an exiled government, he did not make a rebel to his country” (Ramlah Adam, 2000)

Because they supported the struggle that was not sanctioned by the authorities, they were charged with various counts charges such as communists, radicals, extremists and traitors to the nation. They were arrested and imprisoned. But everything changed after they were gone, they were all honoured.

Reference

1. Abdul Majid Salleh. 1991. *UntukMu Anak Merdeka*. Ipoh. Haji Abdul Majid Salleh.
2. Abdul Majid Salleh. 1988. Catatan Tulisan Tangan. Peristiwa penangkapan beliau pada 17 April 1947 di bawah Seksyen 506. dlm. Abdul Majid Salleh. *Kemanakah Akhirnya Perjuangan 1948-1988?* Manuskrip Asal.[Koleksi Peribadi]
3. Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah. 1998. *Pemikiran Islam Di Malaysia aliran dan sejarah*. Kuala Lumpur & Universiti Sains Malaya. Pulau Pinang. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
4. Abdul Rahman Haji Abdullah. 1994. *Gerakan Anti Penjajah di Malaysia: Pengaruh Agama dan Tarikat 1511-1950*. Kuala Lumpur. Penerbitan Kintan.

5. A Rahman Tang Abdullah dan Saidah Alih, "Proses Kemerdekaan Sabah Dan Sarawak (1961-1963): Tinjauan Kembali Aplikasi Perundangan Dalam Penubuhan Malaysia", *Jurnal Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategic Studies*, Vol. 44 (1) (July 2017): 24-57 @ History, Politics & Securities Research Centre, UKM; ISSN 2180-0251
6. (electronic), 0126-5644 (paper). Page.27.
10. Ahmad Boestamam. 1946. *Testament Politik API*. Kuala Lumpur Arkib Negara Malaysia.
11. Ahmad Boestamam. 1972. *Dr. Burhanuddin: Putera Setia Melayu Raya*. Kuala Lumpur. Pustaka Kejora.
12. Burhanuddin Al Helmy. 1955. *Agama dan Politik*. Kuala Lumpur. Pejabat PAS Pusat.
13. Burhanuddin Al Helmy. 1954. *Falsafah Kebangsaan Melayu, Tak Kan Melayu Hilang Di Dunia*. Bukit Mertajam. Pustaka Semenanjung.
14. Burhanuddin Al Helmy. 1946. *Perjuangan Kita*. Singapore. Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya.
15. Burhanuddin Al Helmy. 1967. *Ideologi Politik Islam*. Kuala Lumpur. Pejabat PAS Pusat.
16. *Cermin Malaya*. Jun 1948.
17. *Cermin Malaya*. Ogos 1948.
18. Hambali Abdul Latif. 1995. *Putera Mahkota UMNO*. Kuala Lumpur. Penerbitan Satria.
19. Ishak Saat. 2015. *Radikalisme Melayu Perak 1945-1970*. Pulau Pinang. Universiti Sains Malaysia.
20. Ishak Saat. 2016. *Warisan Kepimpinan dan Ketuanan Melayu 1945-2013*. Batu Pahat. Universiti Tun Hussien Onn Malaysia.
21. Ishak Saat et al. *The Great Malay Movement* in International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences (HRMAS) 2018, Vol. 8, No. 4. ISSN: 2222-6990.
22. Nabir Haji Abdullah. 1976. *Maahad Ilya Assyarif Gunung Semanggol, 1934-1959*. Bangi. Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
23. Ramlah Adam. 1998. *Kemelut Politik Tanah Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur. Universiti Malaya.
24. Ramlah Adam. 2000. *Burhanuddin Al-Helmy Suatu Kemelut Politik*. Kuala Lumpur. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
25. Ramlah Adam. 1993. *Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy: Kajian Mengenai Kegiatannya Dalam PKMM 1946-1948*. Titian. Akademik Pengajian Melayu. Kuala Lumpur. Universiti Malaya.
26. Rashid Karim. 1991. *Tujuh Tahun Gerhana*. Padang Rengas. Badan Kebajikan Guru-guru Wilayah Padang Rengas.
27. Sidek Jamil, 1978, *Transkripsi Wawancara Dengan Y.B. Dato Haji Hassan Adli bin Mohammad Arshad*. Kuala Lumpur. Arkib Negara Malaysia.
28. Siqqid Fadzil. 2000. *Minda Melayu Baru*. Kuala Lumpur. Institut Kajian Dasar.

29. Stockwell A.J., 1979. "British Policy and Malay Politics During The Malayan Union Experiment 1942 – 1948". Kuala Lumpur. *MBRAS*.
30. Speech Text. 1956. Dr. Burhanuddin Al Helmy Muktamar PAS Pusat. Kuala Lumpur. Pejabat PAS Pusat.
31. Interview with Abdul Majid Salleh di Ipoh, Perak pada 6 Ogos 2002.
32. Interview Transcript with YB Dato Haji Hassan Adli by Sidek Jamil. Kuala Lumpur. Arkib Negara Malaysia. 15/8/1978.
33. *Utusan Melayu*. 26 April 1948.
34. Interview with Ustaz Jais Anuar, ex.PAS Youth Leader in 1967 at Bangi, Selangor on October 31, 2003.