

Indeed concerns had been raised as early as the first half of the 19th century, see Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munshi, *HIKAYAT ABDULLAH I & II* (Puastaka Antara, 1968) as cited and discussed in *id.*, Muzaffar, at 41-49.

109. According to one letter published in the *NEW STRAITS TIMES* the instruction to withdraw came from "higher authorities" - see *Crux of the problem lies with the JHA*, *NEW STRAITS TIMES*, Dec. 7, 1992, p. 13. See also, *Tackle the real problem in Johor*, *NEW STRAITS TIMES*, Dec. 8, 1992, at 13.
110. For reports on the Douglas Gomez incident see *Gomez lodges police report, Zaman: We will seek A-G's direction to investigate case*, *NEW STRAITS TIMES*, Dec. 7, 1992, at 1, 4; *Gomez: Sultan beat me*, *NEW STRAITS TIMES*, Dec. 8, 1992, at 1,3. See also *The Limits of Royalty*, *ASIaweek*, Dec. 18, 1992, at 38; *Bending the rulers: sultan's behaviour raises doubts over role of royalty*, *FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW*, Dec. 24-31, 1992, at 16.
111. The Johor Military Force (JMF) was an independently run state police force. Johor was the only state to have such a force of its own. The Gomez incident and the subsequent venting of concerns with respect to the Johor royal family and the JMF led to a review and eventual disbanding of the JMF. See *State withdraws funds for JMF*, *THE STAR*, Dec. 19, 1992, at 2; *Waiting for report on JMF*, *THE STAR*, Feb. 1, 1993, at 2; *End to Johor Military Force, Muhyiddin: Sultan's private army will be disbanded*, *NEW STRAITS TIMES*, Aug. 14, 1993, at 1, 2; *Cabinet approves proposal to disband the JMF*, *NEW STRAITS TIMES*, Aug. 19, 1993, at 1, 5.
112. *Id.*
113. *Gomez lodges police report, Zaman: We will seek A-G's direction to investigate case*, *New Straits Times*, Dec. 7, 1992, at 1, 4. The Sultan's son was later charged and pleaded not guilty - see *Tengku Majid charged, Ruler's son pleads not guilty to causing hurt, allowed bail of \$2,000*, *New Straits Times*, Dec. 16, 1992, at 1, 2.
114. See e.g., *Abdullah: Rakyat ashamed and angry*, *New Straits Times*, Dec. 7, 1992, at 4; *Stem violence, Malay congress to government*, *New Straits Times*, Dec. 7, 1992, at 4; *Study on extent of Rulers' immunity to legal action*, *New Straits Times*, Dec. 8, 1992, at 1, 3 (claiming that several MPs called on the government to take firm measures to protect the people against the wrath of the Johor royalty to ensure that "the weak would not be intimidated by the strong"); *Gafar on hockey coach Gomez's revelation*, *New Straits Times*, Dec. 9, 1992, at 1 (in which Gafar Baba, the Deputy Prime Minister, said that it was "unbelievable that such an incident [could] happen in a country that practises democracy and has a modern administration"). A motion was passed in the Dewan Rakyat (Lower House) on December 10th that read:

That the house which sits today feels extremely sad and views seriously the incident involving a Malaysian citizen, Douglas Gomez, who was injured at the Istana Johor on Nov. 30, 1992 by the Sultan of Johor.

That the House decides that the incident was an abuse of power which goes against the spirit of the Federal Constitution and was contrary to the laws of the country which are based on the system of constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy. ...



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