

MALAYSIAN POLITICS AND THE 1978 ELECTION

Edited by
HAROLD CROUCH,
LEE KAM HING,
and
MICHAEL ONG

OXFORD

KUALA LUMPUR
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD NEW YORK MELBOURNE

1980

Oxford University Press
OXFORD LONDON GLASGOW
NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO
DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI
NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM CAPE TOWN

©Oxford University Press 1980

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise,
without the prior permission of Oxford University Press*

ISBN 0 19 580464 3 (boards)

ISBN 0 19 580481 3 (limp)

11
320.9595
MAL

152596

*Printed in Singapore by Kyodo-Shing Loong Printing Industries (Pte) Ltd.
Published by Oxford University Press, 3, Jalan 13/3,
Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Malaysia*

15 MAY 1981
Perpustakaan Negara
Malaysia

Preface

THE purpose of this volume is not to provide an overall survey of Malaysian politics and the general election held in 1978. Such a survey has already been provided by Ismail Kassim in *Race, Politics and Moderation: A Study of the Malaysian Electoral Process* (Times Books International, Singapore, 1979). Rather our purpose has been to take up particular topics which we feel to be important and to discuss them in greater depth than is possible in a more general study. The topics that we have selected were not determined on the basis of an overall plan but rather by the availability of writers interested in discussing them. All the contributors to this volume have done considerable research on their chosen topics, including interviewing many of the political figures involved. Those discussing particular aspects of the 1978 campaign all followed the candidates around, discussed with them the problems they faced, and were able to make on-the-spot assessments of public response. Unfortunately several major areas are not covered—most notably the UMNO campaign in 1978. This was not because we felt such topics to be unimportant but was due simply to our failure to find writers who had done the research needed to treat them satisfactorily.

We want also to express our appreciation for financial and other assistance given to Lee Kam Hing, Michael Ong, Mahadzir Mohd. Khir, Mohamed Abu Bakar, and Firdaus Abdullah by the University of Malaya.

Kuala Lumpur
October 1979

THE EDITORS

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	v
<i>Tables</i>	ix
<i>Figures</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
<i>Contributors</i>	xiii
1. HAROLD CROUCH, From Alliance to Barisan Nasional	1
2. HAROLD CROUCH, The UMNO Crisis: 1975-1977 ✓	11
3. MUHAMMAD KAMLIN, The Storm before the Deluge: The Kelantan Prelude to the 1978 General Election	37
4. FIRDAUS HAJI ABDULLAH, PAS and the 1978 Election	69
5. MAHADZIR MOHD. KHIR, The UMNO-PAS Contest in Kedah	97
6. MOHAMED ABU BAKAR, Communal Parties and the Urban Malay Vote: Perspectives from Damansara	113
7. MICHAEL ONG, The Democratic Action Party and the 1978 General Election	137
8. LEE KAM HING, The Peninsular Non-Malay Parties in the Barisan Nasional	176
9. JUDITH STRAUCH, The General Election at the Grassroots: Perspectives from a Chinese New Village	213

10. MICHAEL LEIGH, Sarawak at the Polls	240
11. SOTH RACHAGAN, The Development of the Electoral System	255
12. HAROLD CROUCH, The Results	293
<i>Appendix Tables</i> Lee Kam Hing, Michael Ong, and M. Kamlin	297
<i>Political Cartoons</i>	313
<i>Index</i>	318