

**THE MAY
THIRTEENTH INCIDENT**
and Democracy in Malaysia

GOH CHENG TEIK

KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1971

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY ISADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

Bangunan Loke Yew, Kuala Lumpur

© Oxford University Press 1971

M
320.9595
G04

Printed by Printers & Converters, Singapore

M
1147507

28 JUN 1974
Pustaka Nasional Negeri
Malaysia

PLACED

Acknowledgements

Research for this monograph has been done at several places and I am grateful to the following institutions for allowing me access to their facilities: the National Archives; the Ministry of Information Library; the Straits Times Press Library; the Utusan Melayu Press Library; the Alliance Party Headquarters; the Malaysian Chinese Association Headquarters and the University of Malaya Library. Among those who were extremely kind to me were Dato Alwi Jantan, Mrs. Allington Kennard, Abdul Kadir Shariff, Bernard Lu, Beda Lim, George Ee, Eddy Yeoh, Soon Mun Wai, Mrs. Agnus How and Mrs. Tan.

My thanks go to Mrs. Bessie Lee for her secretarial assistance; Lim Cheng Eng of the Faculty of Economics, University of Malaya for help in computation work; Y.S. Chong, Chief Executive Secretary of MCA and now head of the school of business studies at Tengku Abdul Rahman College, and Wong Kwai Wah of the Elections Commission.

In writing this monograph, I have benefited from a tour of MCA constituencies made during the 1969 campaign and from two visits to Sarawak in 1970 when balloting was taking place. I wish to thank the Lee Foundation for financing a tour of West Malaysian constituencies and a field trip to East Malaysia, and also the University of Malaya for financing the other Sarawak trip.

Finally, a word of thanks to my wife, Yoon-lin, who acted as my interpreter (from Cantonese and Kheh into English) at numerous election rallies and who patiently endured the multiple revisions which this manuscript underwent.

University of Malaya,
December 1970.

GOH CHENG TEK

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	v
<i>Tables</i>	viii
1. MALAYSIA AS A DEMOCRACY	1
2. THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE	9
3. MAY THIRTEENTH	18
4. THE RESTORATION OF CONFIDENCE	27
5. DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL STABILITY-I	39
6. DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL STABILITY-II	42
<i>Glossary</i>	46
<i>Parties</i>	46
<i>Party Personalities</i>	52
<i>Appendixes</i>	64
I <i>MCA's Federal Election Results</i>	64
II <i>State Election Results, Selangor</i>	71

Tables

1. The Alliance in the Malayan Federal Elections (1955-1969)	12
2. The Malayan Federal Election Results by Party (1964 and 1969)	13
3. Trengganu State Election Results (1964 and 1969)	14
4. Penang State Election Results (1964 and 1969)	14
5. Perak State Election Results (1964 and 1969)	15
6. Selangor State Election Results (1964 and 1969)	15
7. Indonesia's Electorate, 1955	44