

THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT OF MAY 13 1969

Mohd Afendi Daud

Fakulti Sains Sosial, Kolej Universiti Islam Melaka

Mohd Sufiean Hassan

Fakulti Komunikasi dan Pengajian Media, Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) Cawangan Melaka

Abd Aziz A'zmi

Pusat Asasi dan Pengajian Umum, Kolej Universiti Islam Melaka

Corresponding Author's Email: afendi.daud@kuim.edu.my

Article History:

Received: 2 March 2021

Accepted: 28 September 2021

Published: 7 October 2021

ABSTRACT

May 13, 1969 was a tragedy for Malaysia and hoping that it does not happen again. This article was viewed from the perspective of the developments that led to the events of May 13 and the effects experienced by Malaysia. Malaysia as a country with a multiracial has responsible for maintaining racial harmony for the sake of national stability and this requires a peaceful and stable environment to attract investors. This study uses a library -based method. Many scholars write with respect to the events of May 13. One of the effects of the May 13 issue was the resignation of Tunku as the Prime Minister of Malaysia a. This led to the appointment of Tun Razak as Malaysia's new prime minister. He has acted more forcefully to address and find solutions so that May 13 will not be repeated. Tunku left a legacy of nostalgia and the onset of the era of Tun Razak in the continuing struggle to help the underprivileged Malays. Tun Razak has played a dominant role in reuniting all races in Malaysia to face a more challenge and secure future. It was found that the cause of the tragedy of May 13 because there is a huge economic gap between the Malays and the Chinese. This significant difference has received attention from Tun Razak and efforts need to be taken immediately to introduce the New Economic Policy (NEP). The purpose of introducing the NEP is to bridge the economic gap.

Keywords: Tunku Abdul Rahman, Tun Abdul Razak, 13 May, Riot, Impact

INTRODUCTION

Incident May 13, 1969, is very important in the history of modern Malaysia politics. The failure Perikatan party to maintain a two-thirds majority in the elections on May 10, 1969, especially the defeat of the Perikatan Party in Selangor became the trigger of racial riots in Kuala Lumpur (Sity Daud, 2000:191). Tun Razak in his speech stated: "May 13, 1969 will be recorded in our history as a national tragedy day. On that day the founding principle of our country has received such a great grief as it has never been experienced by the eruption of racial races." (*Berita Harian*, October 9, 1969: 2).

This riot has grassroots from the British colonizer's policy who brought in many Chinese and Indians into Malaya. The influx of immigrants can threaten the position of the Malays or be known as Bumiputera (son of the soil). The British have given the Chinese the advantage of the economics and they can accumulate wealth and increase their economic standing over other races especially Malays. While the economy of the Malays is still living behind the Chinese and still relying on agriculture and fisheries that are still backward. The Malays are still unable to compete and settle in disadvantaged

rural areas. The British maintained the uneven balance of economic development among the races. This has resulted in the introduction of economic functions according to the sector economy. Even Malays are deeply concerned about their future and feel very behind, especially in economics. The May 13 event has alerted the government at that time they need for direct government intervention in the economy to ensure development benefits could be equitably and enjoyed between racial groups (Ibid.). Leon Comber (1983: 53) states:

Malaysia from the beginning was a plural society, but there was no sign of integration among the various races living in it. In its place, as far as the Malays and Chinese were concerned, there was a rather precarious agreement or understanding between the UMNO and MCA top leaders that Malay special rights should not be questioned and the political predominance of the Malays should not be challenged provided that the Chinese were allowed to pursue unimpeded their traditional (commercial and industrial activities).

THE DEVELOPMENTS LED TO THE MAY 13 EVENT

The Malays backward in economic and the education sector compared with the Chinese. They cannot compete with the Chinese. Instability or inequality in economic and educational fields between the Malays and Chinese have been voiced by Onn Jaafar when he criticized the plan recommended and conducted by the Reid Commission (Ramlah Adam, 1992:336). Onn Jaafar also argued that even though Malays were protected by the "special" rights by the Reid Commission, it could not guarantee the fate of the Malays (Kritik, 28/11/1956). Since the British which has adopted the policy of "divide and rule" has caused a racial imbalance. This policy has succeeded in segregating the Malay race with other races, namely the Chinese and Indians. This facilitated the British colonial rule in Malaya without opposition from various races. The Chinese and Indians have long lived in Malaya but still cannot interact with each other. It is therefore a big problem for the races to understand each other and tolerate each other as well as to bridge the relationship between them. According to Leon Comber, (1983: 224). the break-even policy was still in force until the Japanese occupation of Malaya and the Malayan administration system was split.

Up to the time of Japanese invasion of Malaya in December 1941, Malaya was still divided for administrative purposes into the Straits Settlements, the four Federated Malay States, and the five Unfederated Malay States and although Britain was the paramount power, the system of government was very cumbersome and unwieldy for a territory about the size of England. There was no political unity in Malay nor common citizenship. Not only did the British practice "divide and rules", but Japan also practiced this system when successfully colonizing Malaya. The Japanese army is anti-Chinese because of the war that took place in Manchuria. The difference in how the Japanese treat the Chinese compared with the Malays which were given special treatment. Japanese actions that discriminate against the Chinese have left a deep impression and give different perceptions between the Malays and the Chinese. This has also had a major impact on racial relations in Malaya. The actions of the Japanese who have used the Malays in the Kempetai Japanese police force and were assigned to arrest the Chinese have caused the Chinese to hate the Malays. The deterioration of the relationship between the two races is arguable as a result of the Japanese strategy of appointing Malays into police services whose main function is to eliminate any opposition to them. When viewed from an ethnic point of view, using Malay police officers to hunt and detain suspected Chinese engaged in communist activities and anti-Japanese activities has caused hatred among the Chinese against the Malays (Cheah Boon Kheng, 2002: 18). The Japanese injustice against the Chinese have not only occurred in China but in all areas under the control of Japan. The misery and tyranny of the Japanese government were felt throughout the society in Malaya. But Japan's deep hatred of the Chinese has caused the community to be crueler.

This has led to the basic existence of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) being a coalition of the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Communist Party of Malaya (PKM), the majority of whom are Chinese. MPAJA implements sabotage strategies against Japan and involves district officers and Malay leaders. The anti-Japanese struggle by MPAJA is considered racist because most

of the attacks were on Malay officials. This scenario has shaped the backdrop of tensions between the Malays and the Chinese after the Second World War. Peak tensions between the Malays and the Chinese took place during the transitional period after the Japanese surrendered and before the return of the British to Malaya (February 1945 to August 1945). Within six months, MPAJA has taken the opportunity to launch an attack with the aim of capturing all the towns and villages in Malaya. The Malays who are concerned about the actions of MPAJA act to defend their position by setting up religious-inspired movements such as *Sabilillah* and *Parang Panjang*. Early fights between MPAJA and the Malays were reported to occur in Batu Pahat, Johor in May 1945 before the Japanese surrendered. The fate of the clashes arose as both races accused of being responsible for committing massacres. The fights of the races were also reported in Perak, Kedah, Johor, Kelantan, Perlis, Pahang, and Terengganu, causing both to experience misery and suffering (Cheah Boon Kheng, 2002:18-175). This racist conflict continues until the British announce the Malayan Union's plan and the introduction of the constitution of the Federal Agreement.

According to Oong Hak Ching, (1989:690), the British act held talks with the Malays through UMNO and the Malay Rulers in the constitution and introduced the federal policy to stir up dissatisfaction among Chinese community leaders and the nationalist Malaysians left or better known as radical nationalist groups such as the Malay National Party (MNP). Inter-racial disputes continue and some racial clashes occur because feelings of dissatisfaction with each other are still hidden and no steps are taken to end this racial issue persists (Ramlah Adam, 1976:9-10). May 13 event is a burst of dissatisfaction that has long been hidden and finally struck. It has become a big issue and disrupts security and public order. Although there have been some racial clashes and it is not a recent event. Attitudes that are not concerned and pay careful attention have led to the incident of the May 13 event. It has become an issue that must be addressed by the Malaysian government. The election in 1969 was the general election for the third time after the general elections in 1959 and 1964 (Yusuf Harun, 1991:251).

When it comes to the expiration of the rule of government, it is necessary to get a new mandate from the people to resume governance. Tunku Abdul Rahman, who returned from the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in London, announced that the general election would be held on May 10, 1969 (Aishah Ghani, 1992: 130). He argues that the election of the Perikatan will also achieve outstanding success in the last election in 1964 (G. P. Means, 1976: 391). These expectations have been wrongly targeted as opposition parties, especially DAP (Democratic Action Party), have taken the opportunity to play sensitive issues by using the slogan "Malaysian Malaysia". The issue started by Lee Kuan Yew was continued by Lim Kit Siang although the PAP (People's Action Party) was released from Malaysia. G. P Means states that "Continuing the slogan of building a 'Malaysian Malaysia', the DAP attracted substantial urban support from among the Chinese community by capitalizing on the image dynamic leadership patterned after the accomplishments of Lee Kuan Yew's People's Action Party government Singapore (Ibid.:394). While for the People's Progressive Party (PPP), most of its members are Chinese and Indians have used the 'Malaysian Malaysia' slogan as used by the DAP. They also questioned the rights of the Malays and promised to make the Chinese and Tamil the official language (Ibid.:391) with Malay but to avoid speaking English (Ibid.:394). PAS has been using racial issues claiming that UMNO is a party that conspires with Chinese and pro-Chinese. Even UMNO is willing to sell the country and the Malays to the Chinese. Religious sentiments are also used by PAS not only in Kelantan but in all the areas they contend (Aishah, 1992: 130).

In this regard before independence, Tunku warned the other people that the Malays had tolerated and asked other people not to overreach their demands for the abolition of Chinese and Tamil as the national language because the Malays have tolerated citizenship. According to Tunku:

... the Malays are ready to give the right and proper rights to non-Malays. The Malays have given much of the rights as a *bumiputera* of Malaya to non-Malays. There has never been such a nation of well-educated as the Malays do. Although there is a guarantee of the special privileges of the Malays in the federal agreement this does not necessarily prevent or restrict non-Malays from achieving pleasure and

wealth, and until now the privileges have not yet yielded an equivalent condition between Malays with non-Malays ... (Malaya Merdeka, 26/04/1956).

The Malay language status, the important position of the Malays in politics, and the role of "special position" are still many who do not understand its position in the constitution and most non-Malay elite active in politics do not understand the history of the local glasses. The manifest ignorance of this historical reality is shown in the "Malaysian Malaysia" campaign. The more opportunities for the Chinese education by the United Democratic Party (UDP), the political similarities expressed by the PAP, the official position of the other languages that DAP speaks to, and the elimination of the special position of the Malays posed by PPP is a detrimental basis to ethnic harmony. For Musa Hitam, racial sensitivities should not be exploited as such exploits will only bring bad consequences. Political parties that exploit racial sentiment are playing in a fire called "political fear". On the one hand, DAP's political party has used the tactics of cultivating the fears of the Chinese to the Malays with the theory of oppression, and persecution. On the other hand, PAS uses the tactics of growing fear, fear, and suspicion in the hearts of the Malays against the Chinese. Each responsible political party must oppose "crazed currents towards this racial division." (Bruce Gale, 1982:23-24). It does not happen but has led to the onset of the May 13 tragedy.

The most widely discussed controversial issue is the national language status even in the Federal Constitution, article 152 states Malay is the national language of Malaysia and allows the use of English as the official language for 10 years after independence. The period has expired in 1967 and some Malay politicians led by Syed Nasir have set up a *Barisan Bertindak Bahasa Kebangsaan* to urge the government to carry the Malay language as a national language. This action has been opposed by other races who want to continue the language use of English, Chinese and Indian. (G.P. Means, 1976: 391). This has caused dissatisfaction among Malaysians.

IMPACT OF MAY 13 EVENT

The effect of the May 13 event has made the function of Parliament inactivated. (Muhammad Kamil Awang, 1998: 261). When parliament cannot function anymore, the government has established the National Consultative Council. (Aishah Ghani, 1992: 134). The state is placed in an emergency and all political party activities are temporarily suspended. The situation in the country is not secure and the *Yang di-Pertuan Agong* has declared an emergency nationwide on May 14, 1969, according to Phase 2, Act 150 of the Malaysian Constitution. The May 13 incident has led to a state of insecurity and had to be declared an emergency. The emergency is declared to ensure safety and security can be restored immediately. Ghazali Shafie disagreed with Dr. Ismail statement that "democracy in Malaysia was dead" (Ghazali Shafie, 2000:17). This has tarnished the image of Malaysia. As a newly independent and developing nation, Malaysia needs to advance the economy. This will be able to stabilize domestic politics and provide a safe environment. Tunku has established the National Movement Council or known as MAGERAN. He is responsible to Tunku and he remains the prime minister of Malaysia. It comprises ten members and is headed by Tun Razak. The power of emergency law was entrusted to Tun Razak. The Magistrate's duty is restoring peace and law, determining the smooth administration of the country, and restoring the harmonious and religious atmosphere of the races in the country (*Berita Harian*, October 10, 1969:6). Tun Razak view that it should create a solution that can be a positive formula to meet the needs of the people through racial harmony and goodwill. The government can no longer see only a crack in racial relations and silence without taking action to prevent the incident the destruction of the country (Ibid.).

Before the May 13 incident, Dr. Mahathir had been warned to take measures to prevent the o incident that caused the country to ruin but no drastic action was taken. The fate between the Malays and the Chinese in Bukit Mertajam, Penang in 1964, and the Hartal riot in Penang in 1968 was a sign that unity between the Malays and the Chinese had shown racial tension. (Barry Wain, 2009:25; Mahathir Mohamad, 2008:22). In the event of May 13, 1969 (In-Won Hwang, 2003:99; Barry Wain, 2009:25) has sparked further protests. Mahathir against Tunku Abdul Rahman's leadership and Tunku's inconvenience was unable to control the extreme Malay chauvinist in his party (UMNO) (Khadijah Md. Khalid and Lee Poh Ping, 2003:113). Then led to Dr. Mahathir sacked from UMNO

on September 26, 1969 (Khoo Boo Teik, 2003:23). Dr. Mahathir had written a letter criticizing Tunku's policy on June 17, 1969, in protest against Tunku's leadership. (Barry Wain, 2009:26; Zainuddin Maidin, 2013:50). Dr. Mahathir is considered to violate UMNO party rules (Mahathir Mohamad, 2008:229). The letter was written out of the fact that Dr. Mahathir in a telephone interview. This has attracted Tunku's attention and so Tunku has written to Dr. Mahathir dated June 6, 1969 (Ibid.). In the letter, Tunku stated the establishment of Dr. Mahathir in connection with the May 13 incident did not help the situation but made worse the situation and asked Dr. Mahathir did not to make any statement until he recovered (Ibid.:230;Khoo Boo Teik, 2003:99). "I do not like Dr. Mahathir, bête noire ". But Dr. Mahathir ignored Tunku's advice and responded with the letter. The influence of the letter is said to threaten Tunku's position and national security (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 2007:108).

Therefore, Tun Dr. Ismail as the Minister of Internal Affairs took action on July 14, 1969 to issue an order under the Internal Security Act 1960 prohibiting the publication of the letter to the public and those who hold without permission may be imprisoned for a year or a fine of one thousand ringgit or both (Hajrudin Somun, 2003:56). Whereas those who publish, print, or distribute can be jailed for three years or a fine of two thousand or both; three years jailed and fined two thousand ringgit (Barry Wain, 2009:28). To avoid being sacked there was a persuasive effort. Mahathir to apologize but Dr. Mahathir refused to do so. (Hajrudin Somun, 2003:56; Barry Wain, 2009:27). Hence the action was taken to tackle this problem that had tarnished Tunku's goodwill.

In the early 1970s, Dr. Mahathir had written a book titled "The Malay Dilemma" which covered the problems faced by the country, especially the Malays (Mahathir Mohamad, 2008:261). This book is also banned. (Barry Wain, 2009:28;*The New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1981). Dr. Mahathir disagreed with the Tunku's stance that let the Chinese become traders and the Malays as politicians. The impact of Tunku's attitude has caused the Malays to lag, especially economically. PAS has made allegations that the issue of the economic downturn of the Malays is due to UMNO being the tool for MCA and compromising with MCA (Khoo Boo Teik, 2003:26). The economic divergence between the Malays and Chinese is getting bigger. Dr. Mahathir saw it as oppression against the Malays (Sivamurugan Pandian, 2005:26-27). According to Jamaie Hamil (2004:224), the colonialists formed a discrimination policy against the Malays for the sake of preserving their economic interests. Dr. Mahathir resistance against Tunku's leadership is not alone, but there are UMNO members who agree with Dr. Mahathir but not as good as Dr. Mahathir in voicing criticism and v Zainuddin Maidin views on Tunku. (Shakila Parween Yacob (translation), Nicholas J. White, 2010:79). According to the British in Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian government needed the support of the Malays and hence received support from the moderate Chinese to continue the administration of the country (Telegram number 574 to External and Commonwealth Officers on May 24, 1969).

According to Lim Kit Siang in a press release on August 10, 1969, the Perikatan did not lose the two-thirds majority in the 1969 general election. In the election, the opposition won 37 parliamentary seats, the DAP won 13 seats, PMIP 12 seats, eight seats for Gerakan, and four seats for the People's Progressive Party (PPP) (Ranjit Gill, 1987:76). While the Perikatan won 66 seats (Ooi Kee Beng, 2012:168). However, to deny the two-thirds majority the opposition needed 49 seats out of 144 seats. Therefore, the opposition still has 12 seats (Ibid.). Due to the incident of May 13 and the emergency declaration, the elections in Sabah and Sarawak were postponed in May 1970. The decision, the Perikatan party, cleared all seats in Sabah and Sarawak only 7 seats out of 24 seats contested (FCO24 / 857/0011). Overall, the Perikatan gained 89 seats from 144 seats contested and obtained a simple majority (Ibid.; Khong Kim Hoong, 1991:166). The ruling Perikatan Party has received a major setback in the general election even though it has managed to maintain a simple parliamentary majority. Penang has lost to the Gerakan Party; Kelantan has been held by PMIP (Parti Islam Se-Malaysia), and the Perikatan is fighting to maintain control of Perak and Selangor. three ministers and two parliamentary secretaries have lost their seats; the share of legitimate votes has decreased by 9% since 1964 to 49%; and it faces the prospect of a vociferous and effective opposition (largely based in the Federal Parliament for the first time since Independence.) (Far East Economic Review 'Malaysian Riot Report in 1969, *Far East Economic Studies*, 1969:437)

In-Won Hwang (2003:117) states after May 13, 1969, UMNO internal conflict between Tunku and the younger generation led by Tun Abdul Razak. According to Tunku: "As far as I know,

they want to hold a new order in UMNO and this country." (Tunku Abdul Rahman, 2007:109). Tun Razak continued to support Tunku: "We in the government stand solidly behind the Tunku and I would like to see all Malaysians - whatever their racial origins - do the same." (*Straits Times*, 19 July 1969). Graham K. Brown notes that the administration of Tun Razak believes that the cause of the May 13 event was due to the inequality of the economic division of the colonial relics and the Tunku's attitude which continued to implement *laissez-faire* policy and did not interfere in the economy and little was done to restructure the "economy colonizers". (Graham K. Brown, 2005:4). Chamil Wariya (2006: 11) states Tunku Abdul Rahman is too much to give to the Chinese. Zainuddin Maidin argued that the Chinese felt they could not get the same treatment and for the Malays, it was not satisfied because Tunku had given a lot to the Chinese. (Abdullah Ahmad, 12; Wong Chin Huat and Noraini Othman, 2009:12). Tunku was regarded as a leader who failed to calm down and control the turbulent and slow action. He just blamed the opposition parties, secret societies, and communists but denied it by the British. (FCO24/486/2238). Musa saw that there was a disagreement between Tunku and Tun Razak: "The Tunku camp was clearly and unapologetically right-wing, pro-west and business. The Razak camp was allegedly socialist-communist inclined, a brand enough to scare and scuttle people away from in those days when communist terrorists were the biggest threat to our independence "(Keynote Speech by YABhg Tun Dato 'Musa Hitam Former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia Saturday, 20 February 2016).

The British have foreseen the fall of Tunku by the ultra-Malay nationalists in UMNO itself: "But he may be forced out by the ultra-Malay nationalists in UMNO." (FCO24/ 530/0018). Tunku could not see the real problem of why the May 13 event was threatened his position and the policies he had implemented. He got a fight from inside UMNO himself. Aishah Ghani also criticized the Tunku's policy: "The principles practiced are the basis of compromise, unfortunately more touched, farther backward." (Aishah Ghani, 1992: 148). Tunku not only faced various challenging polemics, especially the threat of communist either from within or outside the country. (Ibid.:157). However, at the insistence (Barry Wain, 2009:31) and the pressure received, Tunku finally relinquished the post of Prime Minister (Foreign Affairs Malaysia, 1971, Vol 4:39) and replaced by Tun Abdul Razak. (Graham K. Brown, 2005:4;William Case, 1996:108-109) on September 22, 1970. (Bruce Gale, 1982:117-118). Earlier, there was an allegation that Tun Razak was keen to bring Tunku down. (Telegram No. 500 from Canberra to the British Foreign and Commonwealth Offices dated May 21, 1969). Despite efforts by Tun Razak (*The Straits Times*, 19 Jul. 1969:1) and Tun Dr. Ismail defended Tunku as Prime Minister but it was nothing to do because many were dissatisfied with Tunku's leadership. (R. K. Vasil, 1980:186). The May 13 event has ended Tunku's service as prime minister of Malaysia. (Ibid. 137). R. K. Vasil argues "All this effort; however, was only a public relations exercise the primary purpose was to allow the Tunku retire gracefully. Tunku had lost his position once and for all and there was little that could be done to salvage his position." (Ibid. 186).

After the May 13 incident, Tunku resigned as prime minister and he was replaced with Tun Razak. According to Bob Reece, the Far Eastern Economic Review reporter: "But the longer he [Tunku] held on, the more difficult it was for Tun Razak to reach the top of the ladder. " (Far Eastern Economic Review) Tun Razak has focused on improving the economy of the Malays by introducing the New Economic Policy on June 21, 1970 (Jomo Kwame Sundaram and Wee Chong Hui, 2014:15) to reduce the economic downturn between the Malays and the Chinese (Ibid.:16). The economic growth of the Malays is targeted from 2.4 percent to 30 percent, the Chinese from 34.3 percent to 40 percent and foreigners from 63.3 percent to 30 percent in 1990 (Mohd Yusof Ahmad, 2008:52-53) There are scholars who argue that the cause of the unbalanced economic disparity is the relics of the British who have practiced the system of "divide and rules". This is to facilitate them to administer and exploit the Malayan economy (Leon Comber, 1983:24). R. S. Milne argues that the British did not practice the "divide and rules" system because existing conditions were split between races. (Abdul Rauf Mohd Napis and Ramlah Muhamad, (translator), R. S. Milne and Diane K. Mauzy, 1992:28).

Tun Razak has formed the Barisan Nasional in 1974 using the equilibrium logo which symbolizes the objective of equality and justice for all. The Malaysian political landscape has changed with the burial of the Perikatan party being replaced by the Barisan Nasional. The emergence of mixed government in Penang and Kelantan in 1971. When Tun Razak took over the governance

feature, he acted with no place for those who had strong influence during Tunku's administration (Chandran Jeshurun, 2008:139). The first figure of the UMNO old-schooler was Senu Abdul Rahman former Minister of Information and Broadcasting and appointed as UMNO Secretary-General. While Khir Johari, who was influential during Tunku's administration and had rival Tun Razak, was appointed Ambassador to the United States. He has also removed many Cabinet Ministers and the Chief Minister. The *Menteri Besar* who was dismissed between 1970 and 1973 were Perak *Menteri Besar*, Perlis, Pahang, Terengganu, and Chief Minister of Malacca (Bruce Gale, 1982:117-118). The Tunku does not agree with the political environment in UMNO which is divided into two groups namely "New Order" and "Old Order" (Tunku: 2005:44). The Old Order slogan was created to separate Tunku's followers from Tun Razak's followers. (Shariff Ahmad, 1991:11).

Political stability and a peaceful country environment can attract many investors to invest. Malaysia as a multi-racial country has to find a way to keep the May 13 event unchanged. Malaysia has formulated a plan to balance the economy (Jomo Kwame Sundaram and Wee Chong Hui, 2014:15) among the races by implementing the New Economic Policy. (Khoo Boo Teik, 1995:103). On behalf of the British, who have long been openly practicing the economy or are known as the *laissez faire*, have not been vigorously supporting the aspirations of the Malaysian government and there is a conflict between the two countries. (Murugesu Pathmanathan and David Lazarus, 1984:17).

The May 13 event has passed but the tactics used to win votes are still being used by political parties. Issues such as racism and religion are still widely used regardless of the impact of the May 13 event. This was stated by Musa Hitam for racial and religious use to achieve "political mileage", which would bring the cause back to "the bloody May 13 race riots in 1969." (<http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/musa-hitam-im-liberal-and-proud-of-it>)

CONCLUSION

After the May 13 incident, the new government was acting to improve the economy of the Malays who had been lagging behind the Chinese. Tunku was the first Malaysian prime minister and his economic planning had neglected the economic position of the Malays. He allowed the control of the Chinese economy. Furthermore, most Malays still live in rural areas. This makes it difficult for the Malays to change. Moreover without the help of the government. Compared to the Chinese, most of them live in urban areas and enjoy better facilities than rural areas. The May 13 event has given UMNO leaders a sense of what to do to help the Malays, especially in the economy. There is a question of whether May 13 was planned by UMNO members who were dissatisfied with Tunku's leadership in addressing issues arising out of the Malays. They want a drastic change to help the Malays. However, pressure did not end after Tunku resigned as prime minister of Malaysia. The Tunku administration was taken over by Tun Razak and the continuity of Tunku's administration was taken up by Tun Razak and had to bear all Tunku's legacies. Tun Razak strives to transform and overcome various issues by finding the best solution, especially the economic improvement of the Malays. In addition to the economy of the Malays, he also sought a solution of racial unity so as not to happen again May 13.

BIODATA

Dr. Mohd Afendi Haji Daud is a senior lecturer, History and Society Cluster, Faculty of Social Sciences, Malacca Islamic University College. He holds a Master's and Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Malaysian History from the University of Malaya (UM).

Dr. Mohd Sufiean Hassan is a lecturer at Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) Melaka Branch. He holds a Bachelor of Arts (Media and Information Studies) from Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) and a Doctor of Philosophy in Communication from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Abd Aziz A'zmi is the Deputy Dean of the Center for Foundation and General Studies, Malacca Islamic University College. He holds a Master of Political Science from Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM).

REFERENCES

- Abdul Rauf Mohd Napis dan Ramlah Muhamad. (penterjemah). R. S. Milne dan Diane K. Mauzy, (1992). *Politik dan kerajaan di Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
- Abdullah Ahmad. (1985). *Tengku Abdul Rahman and Malaysia's foreign policy, 1963-1970*. Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn Bhd
- Aishah Ghani. (1992). *Aishah Ghani: Memoir seorang pejuang*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
- Anon. (2014). Musa Hitam: I'm liberal and proud of it. In *Malaymail Online*. <https://www.malaymail.com/news/malaysia/2014/12/22/musa-hitam-im-liberal-and-proud-of-it/806519>
- Barry Wain. (2009). *Malaysian Maverick: Mahathir Mohamad in Turbulent Times*. United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan
- Berita Harian*, 10 Oktober, 1969
- Berita Harian*, 9 Oktober, 1969
- Bruce Gale. (1982). *Musa Hitam: A political biography*. Petaling Jaya: Eastern Universities Press (M) Sdn Bhd
- Chamil Wariya. (2010). *Malaysia: Asas pembinaan negara bangsa, institusi pemerintahan, lambang kebangsaan*. Kuala Lumpur: Media Global Matrix
- _____. (2006). *Najib Razak: 30 tahun dalam politik*, Kuala Lumpur: Media Global Matrix
- Chandran Jeshurun. (2008). *Malaysia: Fifty years of diplomacy, 1957-2007*, Singapore: Talisman Publishing Pte Ltd
- Cheah Boon Kheng. (2002). *Malaysia: The making of a nation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
- Far East Economic Review* 'Malaysian Riot Report in 1969, *Far East Economic Studies*, Vol. 64, No. 21, 18/24 May 1969, 437
- FCO24/486/2238; Surat dari Information Research Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office kepada Suruhanjaya Tinggi Britain di Kuala Lumpur bertarikh 17 Jun, 1969.
- Foreign Affairs Malaysia*. 1971. Vol. 4.
- G. P. Means. (1976). (2nd Ed.). *Malaysian politics*. London: Hodder and Stoughton
- Ghazali Shafie. (2000). *Malaysia, Asean and the new world order*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
- Graham K. Brown. (2005). *Balancing the risks of corrective surgery: The political economy of horizontal inequalities and the end of the New Economic Policy in Malaysia*. Oxford: CRISE
- Hajrudin Somun. (2003). *Mahathir: The secret of the Malaysian success*. Subang Jaya: Pelanduk Publications
- (<http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/musa-hitam-im-liberal-and-proud-of-it>)
- In-Won Hwang. (2003). Personalised politics: The Malaysian state under Mahathir. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies

- Jomo Kwame Sundaram and Wee Chong Hui. (2014). *Malaysia@50: Economic development, distribution, disparities*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre
- Khadijah Md. Khalid and Lee Poh Ping. (2003). *Whither the Look East policy*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
- Khong Kim Hoong. (1991). 'Malaysia 1990: The election show-down'. in *Southeast Asian Affairs 1991*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
- Khoo Boo Teik. (2003). *Beyond Mahathir: Malaysian politics and its discontents*. United Kingdom: Zed Books Ltd.
- _____. (1995). *Paradoxes of Mahathirism: An intellectual biography of Mahathir Mohamad*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press
- Kritik*. 28 November, 1956.
- Leon Comber. (1983). *13 May 1969: A historical survey of Sino-Malay relations*. Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia
- Mahathir Mohamad. (2008). *Dilema Melayu*. Shah Alam: Marshall Cavendish
- Mohd Yusof Ahmad. (2008). '50 years of Malaysia's 'Economic diplomacy': The continuing struggle for peace, security and developments'. in *The Journal of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*. Vol. 10, No. 1
- Murugesu Pathmanathan and David Lazarus. (1984). *Winds of change: The Mahathir impact on Malaysia's foreign policy*, Kuala Lumpur: Eastview Production Sdn. Bhd.
- Ooi Kee Beng, (2012). *Hak untuk berbeza pendapat: Lim Kit Siang, sebuah lakaran biografi*, Kuala Lumpur: Research for Social Advancement
- Oong Hak Ching. 1998. Gerakan antara kaum dan perkembangan politik di Tanah Melayu. dlm Nik Hassan Shuhaimi Nik Abd Rahman. et al. (peny.). *Sejarah dan proses pemantapan Negara-bangsa*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia
- R. K. Vasil. (1980). *Ethnics politic in Malaysia*. New Delhi: Radiant Publisher
- Ramlah Adam. (1992). *Dato Onn Jaafar: Pengasas kemerdekaan*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
- _____. (1976). *UMNO 1941-195*. Tesis M.A.. Universiti Malaya
- Ranjit Gill. (1987). *Razaleigh: Cita-cita dan perjuangan*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications
- Shakila Parween Yacob (terjemahan). Nicholas J. White. (2010). *Perniagaan British di Malaysia pascapenjajah 1957-70, 'Neokolonialisme' atau 'Pengunduran'*. Kuala Lumpur: Institut Terjemahan Negara Malaysia
- Shariff Ahmad. (1991). *Tunku Abdul Rahman: Memoir politik*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pustaka Antara
- Sity Daud. (2000). Negara, Pemerintah dan Perkembangan Sistem Politik. dlm Abdul Rahman Embong (pnyt.). *Negara, Pasaran dan Pemodenan Malaysia*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
- Sivamurugan Pandian. (2005). *Legasi Mahathir*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn Bhd
- Straits Times*. 19 July. 1969
- Telegram* No. 500.
- Telegram* No. 574.
- The Journal of Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*. Vol. 10, No. 1, 2008
- The New York Times*. 29 Aug. 1981
- Tunku Abdul Rahman. (2007). *13 Mei: Sebelum dan selepas*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn Bhd
- William Case. (1996). *Elites and regimes in Malaysia: Revisiting a consociational democracy*. Australia: Monash Asia Institute
- Wong Chin Huat and Noraini Othman. 'Malaysia at 50 – An "Electoral one party state"'. in Abdul Razak Baginda. (edited). (2009). *Governing Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Strategic Research Centre
- Zainuddin Maidin. (2013). *Di depan api di belakang duri: Kisah sejarah Utusan Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributors Sdn Bhd