



Faculty of Economics and Business

**ELECTIONS AND ITS IMPACT ON
DEMOCRACY AND BUSINESS :
A STUDY OF THE SARAWAK EXPERIENCE
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIDAYUH
MAJORITY CONSTITUENCIES)**

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Kota Samarahan
2002

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CONSTITUENCIES)**

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By

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A Research Paper Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement
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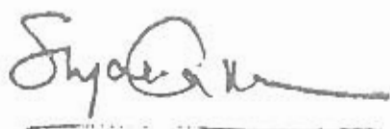
APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a research paper for the degree of Corporate Master in Business Administration



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This research paper was submitted to the Faculty of Economics and Business, UNIMAS and is accepted as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Corporate Master in Business Administration.



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DECLARATION AND COPYRIGHT

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I hereby declare that this research is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references and a bibliography is appended.

Signature


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Date

: 15th April, 2002

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I was initially quite apprehensive about the prospect of having to write a research paper as partial fulfilment for the degree of *Corporate Master in Business Administration* – certainly not after having left school for almost three decades. When finally pressed for a research proposal, I was naturally quite inclined to write on a topic that has occupied much of my time and energy since the early 1980s – politics.

I wish to thank the Post-Graduate Committee therefore for having approved the topic I submitted *albeit* with an amendment to relate the topic I suggested to incorporate the relationship of politics to business. The change, though slight, would have given me insurmountable problems as to how to approach the amended topic had it not been for the guidance and advice of Professor Michael Leigh who have kindly consented to be my Supervisor and to whom I would forever be grateful.

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ABSTRACT

Participation of the citizenry in elections and thereafter collective involvement of the elected officials in the decision-making process are important ingredients for the gradual establishment of democracy. Elections serve as devices for legitimacy, identification, communication, socialization and mobilization. Key (1995)

Indeed it would be simplistic to argue that elections always lead to democratic systems. Elections can lead to either stability or it can have destabilizing effects. In some cases, they can contribute to political development or political decay. Elections can also establish, maintain, and promote democratic systems – elections can thus be nation-oriented and can contribute to nation-building.

Over the last four decades (1963 – 2001), Sarawak has held multiparty elections with the view to establish a viable democratic system. The persistent appeal by political leaders to their ethnic groups during elections has however made Sarawak electoral process somewhat, as is the case in most countries around the globe, to be more ethnic-centered as opposed to issue-centered interest. Control of state power translates into socio-economic and political benefits and voters view political leaders, the apparent “controllers” of the state as their potential sources of income – whether through employment or development.

This paper seeks to identify the factors at play that has shaped the electoral process we now see in Sarawak and how these, in concert with others, have impacted democracy and the ensuing business that democracy sets out to serve.

PART I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Malaysia's political system is largely a legacy of British colonization. From its federal parliamentary democratic system with a constitutional monarchy (the difference with Britain in that the head of state, the Yang Di Pertuan Agung is elected from the nine hereditary Malay Sultans for a four-year term) to a two-chamber parliament consisting of the House of Representatives (Dewan Rakyat) and the Senate (the upper house or Dewan Negara) to Malaysia's practice of the simple plurality system more commonly known as the first-past-the-post-system, Malaysia's political system is very British.

The Malaysian Constitution provides for the establishment of an election commission consisting of a Chairman, a Deputy Chairman and three additional members. The members of the Commission are appointed by the Yang Di Pertuan Agung after consultation with the Conference of Rulers, having regards to the importance of securing an election commission that enjoys public confidence. The three main functions of the Commission are: 1) to conduct the review and delimitation of constituency boundaries; 2) to conduct the registration of electors and the revision of the electoral roll; and, 3) to conduct elections, both general elections as well as by-elections.

This paper will touch on the direct function of the Commission and how the conduct of election as practiced in Malaysia have impacted Malaysian democracy and, strange as it may sound, business, as well. The essential principle of democratic government is government by the people, government that derives its "just powers from the consent of the governed". The basic institution for ensuring truly democratic government is the regular holding of free elections at which the legitimate authority of public officials to govern is renewed or terminated by the sovereign people.

It cannot be over emphasized that political interplay that result from 'governments' is a by-product of business – Adam Smith's enunciation that historical human exchange began with barter of commodities of mutual interest, progressed to the invention of a common exchange

called money, and finally, led to the growth of wealth and power, based on accumulation of especially desired commodities – mediated by supply and demand equity - and, all of that, finally finding organization in bounded units called “governments”.

As is with Malaysia's political system, many of its existing economic and political institutions, and problems are rooted in the colonial experience. Gomez (1999). All three major political parties of United Malays National Organization (UMNO), Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) directly or indirectly are creatures of the British hand. UMNO was born with primary purpose of opposing the Malayan Union, the British proposal of placing all nine Malay states and the Straits Settlement of Penang and Malacca under one government. The awareness amongst the Malays of their economic condition vis-à-vis other immigrant communities who were controlling their economic fate created fear among them that one day, they would be swamped by these immigrant communities. This awareness and fear were amongst reasons for their rejection of the Malayan Union; MCA was born out of the British's need for an alternative Chinese party that was conservative yet pliant to British interest after the Chinese-based Malayan Communist Party, a collaborator of the British against the Japanese during the WWII, was banned in 1948.

The MIC was formed in August 1946 after Indians were encouraged by the visiting Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to in remain Malaya Stenson (1980). The formation of the Tripartite Alliance in the early 1950s comprising the three political parties was linked directly to the British colonial government's development of the Malayan economy, which grew around the international trade in tin and rubber, which was controlled by the British and to a lesser extent the Chinese. see Puthucheary (1960).

When in 1963, Sarawak together with Singapore and Sabah, in unity with Malaya, formed a larger federation, Malaysia, the same legacy the British left the Malay states were transposed onto the Sarawak political system as well.

What needs to be understood as a result of the above is the nature of government and politics in Malaysia, especially in the interconnection of politics and planning and how, to ensure continuity, elections as an

institution of democracy has been structured to ensure the attainment of the desired result.

It must be understood that nationally, the care of the state apparatus is in the hands of the Malaysian Administrative and Diplomatic Service (MADS) and all the most important officials, especially those in critical positions are in MADS and come largely from the Malay community.

The government since independence (Malaya in 1957 and Malaysia in 1963), on the other hand, has been in control of the same coalition of parties, which was called the Alliance in the early years and presently the Barisan Nasional (National Front) with an enlarged membership of parties. The Alliance originated ostensibly as a result of a social bargain. The "deal" was that in return for recognition of special Malay rights, the immigrant communities (Chinese and Indians) were given citizenship status.

However, another real and practical reason was that with the coming of self-government, a coalition of interests was hatched between the traditional Malay elite (which has now embraced within its membership senior government officers and land owning families), a group manifested in UMNO, and the Chinese "Towkays" represented by the MCA, which had the effect of strengthening the political authority and economic position of the former and the business interest of the latter. Gullick (1986).

In this arrangement, ethnicity is kept alive as a convenient "cause celebre" for gathering support among their own groups. Within this upper class, however, there has always been a strong tendency for the members to be integrated inter-ethnically. Hence, the Alliance, and later the Barisan Nasional, was a coalition of class fractional interests, sharing a common stake in the preservation of the capitalist order. It functions like a large power syndicate or a conference of warlords which allocates the political cake and its benefits according to the political strengths and weaknesses of each party or representation. The task of governing as well as the need to maintain political unity so that they can be sufficiently strong to remain in power, seems to hold at least the top-level leadership of the BN together. No one gains if the coalition collapses and racial disorder occurs.

This governing group has used the state apparatus not only to serve the interests of the dominant classes in general, but also to expand its social bases and to consolidate itself economically. In furtherance of this, care was taken to ensure that the decision-making bodies at every level were salted with BN politicians, especially UMNO. There were even arrangements for upward mobility from the administrative service to the political arena and the Cabinet. A classic example is that of the current Deputy Prime Minister, Dato' Abdullah Ahmad Badawi who was a technocrat before his plunge into politics.

Within this political environment, the BN government, especially UMNO, has therefore developed an intricate relationship with the agents of state, whose interests corresponded and were interwoven with the governing group. Hence, UMNO Supreme Council, through its surrogates in the Economic Planning Unit (EPU) and the National Development Planning Committee (NDPC), have had strong influences in national planning. And since NDPC and EPU (which also acts as a secretariat to NDPC) were responsible for formulating and reviewing plans and were in effective control of national planning under the Prime Minister's direction (as head of BN), it is an exaggeration to say that the policies which were arrived at by compromise among the ruling elite groups would not be likely to upset the apple cart. Like a business cartel, presented with outside pull and push, members of the group naturally would be apt to take a course that would in the first instance protect and further their own interests. Hence the basic commitment to vested feudal and capitalist interest as a whole remained unaltered for the last thirty-seven years at least. For this reason, within the BN, the ethnically distinct political parties which it convenes, a return of political patronage in which both politicians and civil servants interact, extends outwards to the population at large and which effectively controls and emasculates the expression of public interests.

Having to deal with a plural society with great diversification, a hallmark of Malaysian planning is that there are too many objectives. Furthermore, the nature of Malaysian politics means that they have to serve a coalition of powerful (and contradictory) elites as well. The need to satisfy everybody meant certain degree of hypocrisy and rhetoric in Malaysia's political setup. But when several objectives are to be achieved, trade-offs and compromises are inevitable.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This paper sets out to:

- i) To provide an overview and understanding of the Malaysian political system in comparison to that of the Western model of liberal democracy;
- ii) To provide an understanding of the relevance of political economy approach to Malaysian development ;
- iii) To study the impact of elections on democracy and business within the confines of the Malaysian political environment with special reference to Bidayuh areas in Sarawak.

This study will therefore examine the correlation between business, which includes government initiated development projects, and democracy (represented for purposes of this study by its important instrument – elections).

1.3 Significance of the Study and Limitations

Elections, despite its impact on democracy has never occupied a place of importance in most people's minds. Election is the key to the voter's freedom of choice and sovereignty. Freedom of choice perceived to be entailed in competitive elections is central for two reasons – 1) the voter has the freedom to elect candidates at all levels in the political system, and 2) the voter is exposed to different platforms of the competing political parties. His or her choice of a particular platform may lead to the establishment of a desired type of government. This in turn can constitute an important factor in determining governmental policies directly or indirectly. The central point to stress is freedom and rights of the individual to determine a government of his or her choice.

This model, competitive multi-party electoral model comprises of various identifiable elements such as the freedom of voters; competition between candidates and political parties without interference; accountability; the effects that elections have on governmental policies; nationally-oriented electoral process, particularly from the top leadership; and freedom of choice by voters

among candidates. The argument here is that competitive multi-party elections consistently carried out as provided for in the constitutional machinery can lead to the establishment of a democratic electoral system.

As elections happen at irregular intervals, and each has its own peculiar features, it is therefore difficult to know whether the evidence for any single election confirms a trend or conceals it. The erratic nature of the evidence thus make it difficult to prove any theories about voting behaviour.

The obvious limitation of this study is its inability to come up with a quantitative analysis of the impact of elections on democracy and business, both of which are immeasurable.

1.4 Sources of Data and Methodology

In this study, qualitative analysis will be adopted in trying to understand the impact of election on democracy and business. This study will, by way of background, rely on previous studies by social scientists on subjects central to this study – that of capitalism and democracy, political economy, etc. This study will rely on archives, results of past elections to analyze the impact of elections on democracy and business using logic and traditional observation to study political phenomena.

1.5 Organization of the Parts of the Study

This study is divided into five parts, the first being the introduction which highlights the nature of the study, objectives of the study, sources of data and methodology and the techniques of analysis.

Part Two discusses the various literatures on topics related to the subject of this study.

Part Three describes the research method with highlights of research approach, outline of how data collection is done, data processing and analysis.

Part Four of this study discusses the political development of the various communities in Sarawak and how their political participation have dove-tailed into the wider federal-state political interrelationship. Inter-ethnic politicking, rampant in the 1960s and 1970s have left their marks in Sarawak politics and the findings show how these, in concert with others, have impacted the political destiny of the various communities.

Part Five concluded that elections, as an instrument for legitimacy, has truly impacted democracy and business in Malaysia. It is concluded that that business has a more discernable relationship on elections and democracy compared to the reverse of the impact of elections on democracy and business.

PART II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

There are a number of theoretical and empirical literature dealing with the themes of the positive and negative interaction between capitalism and democracy.

The relation between capitalism and democracy dominates the political theory of the last two centuries with all logically possible points of view represented in a rich literature. It is this ambivalence and dialectic, this tension between two major problem solving sectors of modern society - the political and economic - that will be covered in the following paragraphs.

2.1 Capitalism Supports Democracy

Various political theorists have argued that capitalism is positively linked with democracy, shares its values and culture, and facilitates its development. This case has been made in historical, logical and statistical terms.

An examination of the values, manners, and morals of capitalism, and their effects on the larger society and culture from the view that the *douceur* of commerce, its "gentling" civilizing effect on behavior and interpersonal relations to the view that the culture of capitalism is crassly materialistic, destructively competitive, corrosive of morality, and hence self-destruction, though a sharp almost 180-degree shift in point of view among political theorists implies, however, an early positive connection and a later negative capitalism-democracy connection. Hirschman (1986).

Capitalism and democracy were mutually casual historically, and are mutually supportive parts of a rising civilization. Schumpeter (1942). It is an historical fact that modern democratic institutions have existed in countries with predominantly privately-owned, market-oriented

economies or capitalism. Dahl, (1990). Peter Berger (1986) presents four propositions on the relations between capitalism and democracy:

- 1) Capitalism is a necessary but not sufficient condition of democracy under modern conditions;
- 2) If a capitalist economy is subjected to increasing degrees of market forces, a point (not precisely specificable at this time) will be reached at which democratic governance becomes impossible.
- 3) If a socialist economy is opened up to increasing degrees of market forces, a point (not precisely specificable at this time) will be reached at which democratic governance becomes a possibility.
- 4) If capitalist development is successful in generating economic growth from which a sizable proportion of the population benefits, pressures towards democracy are likely to appear. (Berger, 1986).

This positive relationship between capitalism and democracy has also been sustained by statistical studies. The "Social Mobilization" theorists of the 1950s and 1960s which included Daniel Lerner (1958), Karl Deutsch (1961), S.M. Lipset (1959) amongst others, demonstrates a strong statistical association between GNP per capita and democratic political institutions. There is a logic in the relation between level of economic development and democratic institutions. Level of economic development has been shown to be associated with education and literacy, exposure to mass media, and democratic psychological propensities such as subjective efficacy, participatory aspirations and skills.

2.2 Democracy Fosters Capitalism

Historically there can be little doubt that as the suffrage was extended in the last century and as mass political parties developed, democratic development impinged significantly on capitalist institutions and practices.

Historical experience of literally all of the advanced capitalist democracies in existence however hold true the opposite argument that these now welfare states with some form and degree of social insurance, health and welfare nets, and regulatory frameworks that mitigate the harmful impacts and shortfalls of capitalism. Instead, the welfare state is accepted all across the political spectrum. It might

even be argued that had capitalism not been modified in this welfare direction, it is doubtful that it would have survived.

It can be concluded that democracy and capitalism are both positively and negatively related, that they both support and subvert each other.

2.3 Political Economy Approach to Malaysian Development

Development is essentially an interactive phenomenon, and, as such, can be best explained by political economy approach which studies interaction, discursion and integration.

Malaysian development has been made possible by cooperation, compensation, and coordination between business and government. Malaysia's philosophy of development is based on marketism and the framework of a market economy has been taken on the basis of Malaysian growth strategy which has been accepted on the basic *terra firma* in the East Asian economies.

The role of state in the dynamics of development is highly significant in Malaysia. The state in Malaysia is highly potent, powerful and effective – the state in Malaysia remains very decisive and strong. The Visible Hands of state can virtually change anything into anything else. Ghosh, (1999).

There are many approaches that can be used to analyze Malaysian political and economic development, which in turn, may give different interpretations of Malaysian politics, economy and society.

To better understand Malaysia's current socio-politico-economic state of affairs, this paper will briefly discuss the consociational model and conflict-regulation scheme .

Conventional democracy is a government by elite cartel designed to turn democracy with fragmented political culture into a stable democracy. Lijphart (1969). This view was however adjusted and consociational democracy is defined in terms of :

- i) "a fraud coalition of the political leaders of all significant segment of the plural society";
- ii) the mutual veto or "concurrent majority" rule;
- iii) "proportionality on the principle standard of political representation, civil service appointments and allocation of public funds"; and

- iv) “a high degree of autonomy for each segment to run its own affairs” Lijphart (1977).

The two primary features of the consociational model are: 1) that of an overarching elite cooperation, and 2) that of a stable non-elite support Lijphart (1977) which necessitates the cooperation and commitment of the elite for the maintenance of the system while, at the same time, retaining support of their followers.

In his analysis of consociational democracy in non-Western plural societies, Lijphart concluded that Malaysia is one of the “reasonably successful” examples of consociational democracy for the period 1955 – 1969. Lijphart views the Alliance as the all-important consociational device of Malaysia in which the principal Malay, Chinese and Indian political parties formed a grand coalition. He views the Alliance :

“to have adhered to the rule of proportionality only of the political and economic spheres are constituted together. The original agreement that created the Alliance regime was a trade-off: political and government superiority for the Malays and continued economic hegemony for the Chinese. Lijphart, (1977).”

Lijphart says that “Malaysia since 1955, in spite of a temporary breakdown in 1969” can be counted as one of the consociational cases that have maintained “peace and democracy for long periods” Lijphart (1985).

Another theory which complements the consociational model is Nordlinger’s conflict-regulation scheme. Like Lijphart, Nordlinger testifies that the success of conflict-regulation scheme depends on the “purposeful behaviour of political elites”. He observes that the Alliance adhered to one of six effective conflict-regulating practices in the stable government coalition. The racial “bargain” arrived at by the Alliance leaders on the eve of Independence is what Nordlinger considers to be the type of compromise most conducive to conflict-regulation. The trade-offs between the Malays and non-Malays on divisive issues has resulted in neither party being “sufficiently unhappy to render the outcome unacceptable” Nordlinger (1972). Nordlinger also points out the importance of economic motives in regulating the Chinese-Malay conflict. The pressing need of the Malays for the achievement of their economic goals and the concern

of the Chinese for the maintenance of their economic predominance have resulted in both to yield to each other's demands and facilitate control adjustment (ibid, p.47).

The review of the foregoing literature suggests that the ethnic problems in Malaysia are largely resolved through a strategy based on accommodation, bargaining and conflict management. Accordingly, it is logical to formulate the hypothesis that:

H1 Notwithstanding that communalism, as a sense of loyalty to ethnic, religious, linguistic or regional group or any combination thereof, rather than the nation as a whole, determines political attitudes, expectations and loyalties of all the ethnic communities, as well as the nature of participation in the political process, in Malaysia, the delicate bargain reached amongst the races needs to be upheld at all costs, including instituting in place statutory and legal safeguards.

2.4 Malaysia: An Historical Perspective

Malaysia possesses many similar characteristics of Third World countries and faces similar challenges in her search for national unity, political stability, and the promotion of social and economic development. Colonial legacy continues to affect the society profoundly, and the multiethnic character of the population influences the pattern of socio-economic development and the accommodation of communal groups in the political system.

Malaya or Peninsular Malaysia first came under British rule in 1785 with the acquisition of Penang. By 1914, the British established control throughout Malaya and the island of Singapore at the tip of the Malay Peninsula. By virtue of its earlier and longer experience under British rule, Peninsular Malaysia is considerably more advanced socially, economically, and politically than the states of Sabah and Sarawak, both of which were invited into the Malaysian federation in 1963 to counterbalance Singapore's Chinese population. Thus it is no surprise that the Peninsular Malaysian political system, autonomous within the larger federation, is far more politically developed than that of the eastern states of Sabah and Sarawak.

Sarawak's political development is strikingly different from those of Peninsular Malaysia which was ruled directly by the British Colonial Office for most of the nineteenth century until independence. Sarawak, on the other hand, was first ruled by the Brunei Sultanate from around the seventeenth century through to the early nineteenth century. On September 24, 1841, Sarawak was ceded, as a reward for his services, to James Brooke, the English adventurer who was instrumental in the suppression of the Chinese miners' rebellion against the Sultan of Brunei.

James Brooke had apparently accepted to rule Sarawak thinking that the arrangement would only be temporary and had expected the British Government to take over control and bring Sarawak under its protection. This was not to be until May 21, 1946 on which date, Charles Vyner Brooke, the third and last Rajah ceded the State to the British Crown. Bujang Mohammed Nor, (1999).

The cession drew mixed response. The Malays opposed cession for fear of losing the political preference accorded them by the Brookes who have always favoured them in the recruitment of indigenous officers into the Brooke's administration. The Dayaks being more submissive supported cession as it was the "Rajah's desire" provided their rights *adat lama* were protected. The Chinese considered cession the "white men's" politics and were generally a disinterested lot but those amongst them that did, generally supported the cession for the opportunities, economic and political, that cession brings. Chin Ung-Ho (1997).

Just as the cession drew mixed response, the proposal of a federation formed out of "political and economic co-operation" first mooted by Tunku Abdul Rahman in a speech given at a Singapore Press luncheon on May 27, 1961, was received with understandable reservations and scepticism. The response was varied, divided according to asymmetric perceptions and racial lines. Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP), ostensibly a Chinese party was opposed to Malaysia preferring instead to an outright Independence. Party Negara (PANAS), essentially a Malay-Muslim party was pro-Malaysia. The Dayaks were unable to understand the significance of the decisions they were to make on the proposed federation. Sutlive Jr (1992). Michael Leigh (1974) aptly characterizes the positions of the major groups in Sarawak as follows:

By and large the Islamic communities were enthusiastic in their support for Malaysia and the Chinese were opposed to it. The Dayaks as a whole were ill-equipped to assess the merits of the scheme; the minority Kenyahs and Kayans were quite hostile to it.

This characterization was appropriately re-phrased by Malaysia's first Prime Minister, when in the foreword to *Sarawak A Gentleman's Victory for Taib Mahmud*, Ritchie (1987) he writes:

Each community is divided not so much on racial background as on their inert interest in their own welfare. The Dayaks are the indigenous people but they lead a simple tribal existence with hardly any political or business interests, but a few are English-educated and aware of their rights and are trying to assert it with the backing of their people who form the racial majority. The Chinese are holding on to their business dominance in the State through politics, while the Malays, on the other hand, are honestly conscious of their political right. They were the first to demonstrate their absolute confidence in the Independence of Sarawak through Malaysia.

It was against this background that communal politics in Sarawak, if left to their own devices, may not have evolved into the major political parties we witness today. It cannot be denied that some European officers, then serving under the Colonial Government and also with Shell, have contributed greatly into bringing the political development in Sarawak to an early maturity. Key figures worthy of mention include Peter Ratcliffe, former British military intelligence officer during the war, then the Government Information Officer, Austin Coates, then Secretary for Chinese Affairs and D.L. Bruen, then Kanowit District Officer, who was instrumental in persuading Temenggong Jugah together with Penghulu Montegrai and Penghulu Umpau to form their own Third Division Dayak Party Pesaka Anak Sarawak (PESAKA) in July 1962. Reece (1993).

The period preceding Sarawak's Independence through Malaysia was thus hectic with six political parties formed between 1959 through 1962. SUPP, Sarawak's first political party, was registered on 12 June 1959; PANAS, led by Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha followed with its registration in April 1960. Sarawak National Party (SNAP), a party formed by a group of Second Division Ibans, all former employees of Shell and led by Kalong Ningkan was registered in March 1961. Barisan Rakyat Jati Sarawak (Barjasa) representing a Sibu Malay group opposed to Datu Bandar and PANAS, was formed in December 1961. A group of Chinese who felt marginalized in the SUPP power structure, formed Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA)

in July 1962. The Ibans, mainly from the Rejang area soon followed with the formation of PESAKA in August 1962.

Following this highly divisive political beginnings, it is reasonable to hypothesize that:

H2.1 The Malays in Sarawak, though divided in their approach, were conscious as to what to expect in the formation of the federation of Malaysia – that of strengthening the political authority and economic position for the Malays.

H2.2 The Chinese were more articulate in their pursuit of their socio-economic and cultural interests – hence their active participation in local affairs, including local politics.

H2.3 The Dayaks were politically inexperienced, less articulate and were essentially driven into forming political groupings by events happening around them that were completely beyond their control.

2.5 The Bidayuhs

Unlike the other communal groupings, the Bidayuhs did not have any political parties to call their own on the eve of Independence, leaving the more politically-conscious amongst them to join the then existing parties PANAS, SUPP, SNAP or BARJASA. This could have been attributed to them (the Bidayuhs) being linguistically divided into four main heterogenous subgroups spread wide across the present day Kuching and Samarahan Divisions as Bukar-Sadong of Serian District, Biatah of Kuching District, Bau-Jagoi of Bau District and Selako-Lara of Lundu District. The lack of educated Bidayuhs then to lead them could have been another factor for their apparent disinterest in the political development in the early days of Independence.

The Bidayuhs have been viewed as not aggressive but possess courage of the quieter and unobjectionable kind Geddes (1954). This trait, sometimes mistaken as docility, in reality conceals a latent side of their nature – an instinctive defense mechanism using the diplomacy of personal relation to diffuse conflicts, and an ability to adjust to situations in order to move ahead, or at least not be swamped. The Bidayuhs believe that everyone has the right to do the

best he can for himself or find the best solution to his choice dilemma Geddes (1954) – a characteristic that find expression in their independence and the desire to break out of the mould when they do not serve their interest. This inclination makes the Bidayuhs receptive to change and development, especially when they know that the course they take will bring them greater benefits. It was the sum total of these characteristics and traits in an environment of continuing political change that have made the Bidayuhs, already plagued by contentious party politics with members of the community arrayed over the whole political spectrum, quite irrelevant in Sarawak's political equations. Following this, it is reasonable to hypothesize that:

H2.4 The Bidayuhs, as a small, economically "marginalised" and historically-neglected community, have no direct say in their own political destiny allowing others from outside their community instead to dictate them as they think fit.

PART III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This paper sets to examine elections and its impact on democracy and business, which, for purposes of the study of the Sarawak experience, includes government-initiated development programs, which, for the predominantly rural Bidayuhs, have been the provision of two forms of assistance: basic amenities and agricultural projects. These amenities have included piped water and electricity, health services, schools, churches, community halls, roads, bridges, and improved telecommunication services.

This paper will examine the extent to which electoral processes since Sarawak's Independence through the formation of Malaysia have created conditions, though inconsistent with democratic electoral system as may be viewed from the Western model, fits in very well with the need to maintain the "bargain" first agreed to prior to independence.

3.1 Research Methodology

While political scientists study politics with three goals in mind: description, prediction and prescription, this paper will deal mainly with the oldest and most fundamental goal of political science – description.

To achieve this stated goal, this paper will rely on logic, traditional observations and where possible, quantitative analysis as well, though the latter is doubtful. This research relies on election results figures of past Sarawak elections and uses these data to adequately describe, predict and where possible, come to normative conclusions. Random interviews with grass-root Bidayuh politicians would have been ideal to establish how communalism, as a factor, has determined the Bidayuhs' political attitudes, expectations, as well as their perception of the nature of the community's participation in the country's political process.

In the absence of readily available data required for statistical analysis (which would have been best procured through random interviews with grass-root politicians), the study has necessarily resorted to descriptive method based on first hand observation.

As indicated in the foregoing paragraph, the socio-economic and political changes during the last four decades which have influenced Bidayuhs' communal concerns, level of education, and exposure to the mass media, as well as their agricultural productivity, income, and social mobility – all these developments having profoundly altered Bidayuhs' political awareness, concerns about politics, opinions and expectations of the government, and participation in the political process – all of these would have been best answered by random interviews with grass-root politicians but for the constraint of time within which to conduct and complete this study. The answers to these pertinent issues have, for purposes of this study been left to the author's own observation and perception instead.

3.2 Data Collection

As stated in 3.1, this research relies heavily on secondary data, in this case data of past elections results collected from the Malaysian Election Commission.

Various Malaysian laws pertaining to the conduct of elections will also be perused to ascertain whether the Visible Hands of the state have left any marks to perpetuate certain protective practices in the name of

maintaining the “bargain” first made amongst the major political parties on the eve of independence.

PART IV

FINDINGS (ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION)

4.0 OVERVIEW

While there are parallels in Sarawak’s political history to that of Peninsular Malaysia, Sarawak politics is no reflection of the ethnic-based politics of Peninsular Malaysia. Even though Sarawak politics, encompassing those of the major communities of Dayaks, Chinese and Malays has had a momentum of its own in the initial years prior to and immediately following the formation of Malaysia, it (Sarawak politics) has now evolved into one that take cognizance of the policies of the wider federation of Malaysia and the intricate federal-state political interrelationship.

Increasingly the grip that the federal “Visible Hand” has on Sarawak political landscape determines who rules the state. From federal initial suggestion that Rahman Yakub, a then defeated BARJASA leader in the election in his local ward, be made the Chief Minister in 1963 to its orchestrated crisis culminating in Kalong Ningkan’s dismissal as Chief Minister in 1966 and the use of threat of continued emergency rule after the 1970 election to coerce SUPP to agreeing to a coalition government with Rahman Yakub as Chief Minister, federal leaders have, from day one, put Sarawak leaders on notice as to who are the real political masters.

4.1 Findings

This paper will examine only the results of state rather than parliamentary elections as state elections results are better barometers to gauge changing political perceptions and attitudes amongst the communities in Sarawak. Table 4.1 shows the summary of state elections results and seats won by various parties from 1969 through 2001. The most glaring revelation of this summary is that of the highly fluid mobility of the Dayak-majority parties from the government to the opposition, and only to return to the government sometime later. Table 4.2 clearly illustrates this phenomena.

Level 1 covers essentially the period of the first post-Independence government with Kalong Ningkan as Chief Minister. This period from 1963 through 1966 was a period that was to decide the make-up of the politics of Sarawak as seen today. It must be remembered that Kuala Lumpur had all along wanted a Malay to be Chief Minister and the crisis they initiated in 1966 gave them that chance. However political expediency of not being sure of Pesaka's support made Kuala Lumpur postpone their plans until after Sarawak's first direct elections in 1970.

Level 2 covers the period 1966 through 1970, the period of a lame Chief Minister who was agreed to by Kuala Lumpur because he was what he was – ineffective, and thus having to rely on his “kitchen cabinet” made up of Pesaka's Thomas Kana and Barjasa's Abdul Taib Mahmud and Rahman Yakub to govern. This was a period where Taib Mahmud was the de facto Chief Minister.

In Levels 1 and 2, covering the period 1963 through 1969, it is obvious that ethnicity rules political parties. All the parties then formed prior to Independence were ethnic or communal-based parties – SCA and SUPP, Chinese; Pesaka, Third Division Ibans; Barjasa and Panas,

TABLE 4.1
Sarawak: Results of the State Elections 1970 – 2001

Party	1969	1974	1979	1983	1987	1991	1996	2001
SNAP	11	18	16	8	3	6	7	6
SUPP	12	12	11	11	11	16	13(14)¶	16
SCA	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PESAKA*	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BUMIPUTERA*	12	18	18	19	14	27	29	30
PBDS	-	-	-	6	15	7	8	8
INDEPENDENT	1	0	3	4	0	0	2	1
PERMAS	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
DAP	-	-	-	-	-	0	3(2)¶	1
Total	48	48	48	48	48	56	62	62

Sources: Malaysia, Election Commission

Notes: *PESAKA and BUMIPUTERA merged into PBB

¶ The Election Court ruled the election for N53 Kidurong null & void and in the ensuing by-election, the BN/SUPP candidate defeated the earlier winner from DAP

Malays with the former largely anti-cession Sibu Malays and the latter, Kuching Malays; and SNAP, Second Division Ibans.

TABLE 4.2

Summary of Groupings and Divisions amongst Sarawak Political Parties, 1963 – 2001 (adapted from Ahmad Nidzammuddin Sulaiman *et al* 1994 p. 61)

Type of Government	Ruling Parties	Opposition Parties	Year/Level
Alliance Government	SCA2 Pesaka1 Barjasa3 SNAP1	SUPP2 Panas3	1963 Level 1
Alliance Government	SCA2 Bumiputera3 (Panas3 + Barjasa3) Pesaka1	SNAP1 SUPP2	1966 Level 2
Coalition Government	SUPP2 Bumiputera3 Pesaka1 SCA2	SNAP1	1970 Level 3
National Front	SUPP2 SNAP1 PBB3 (Pesaka1 + Bumiputera3)	No Opposition	1974 Level 4
National Front	PBB3> SNAP1> SUPP2>Pajar3Sapo1DAP2	1979 Level 5
National Front Plus	PBB3> SUPP2 SNAP1 ▼PBDS1USNA3 DAP2	1983 Level 6
National Front	SNAP1 SUPP2 PBB3>	PBDS1 DAP2Permas3	1987 Level 7
National Front	SNAP1 SUPP2 PBB3	PBDS1 DAP2	1991 Level 8
National Front	SNAP1> SUPP2 PBB3 PBDS1STAR1 DAP2	1996 Level 9
National Front	SNAP1 SUPP2 PBB3 PBDS1	DAP2	2001 Level 10

Notes: 1 – Dayak-majority party

2 – Chinese-majority party

3 – Muslim Bumiputera-majority party

↔ - Movement of party from the government to opposition and vice versa

.....> - Formation of new party as a result of split amongst party members

It can also be assumed that there was a serious split in the three main communal groupings – the result of intra-communal bickering arising from issues that were not settled before Independence. The Malays were divided into two main groups of pro-cession, represented by Panas and the anti-cession group of Sibu Malays represented by Barjasa. The Ibans were similarly split, if only by along regional lines with SNAP representing the Second Division Ibans and Pesaka the Batang Rejang Ibans. The Chinese were split into the pro-Malaysia group represented by SCA and the anti-Malaysia group represented by SUPP.

Level 3, 1970 through 1974 covers the period immediately after Sarawak's first direct election, the period that saw Sarawak's first coalition government. As earlier indicated, federal Visible Hands was seen as largely responsible for the eventual formation of the then Coalition Government with Rahman Yakub as Chief Minister. Kuala Lumpur has finally succeeded where it once failed – its plan for Rahman Yakub to be Chief Minister in 1963 had to be shelved when Rahman Yakub failed to secure a seat in the election in his local ward.

Rahman Yakub, however, made for lost time and consolidated his position in the period 1970 through 1980, the period referred to as Levels 4 and 5 in Table 4.2. With Pesaka's Dayaks marginalized, presumably as penalty for attempting to form the government with SNAP and SUPP after the 1970 election, Rahman Yakub took on the Chinese. SCA was encouraged to disband ensuring Rahman Yakub having to only deal with one Chinese party instead of two. Pesaka was convinced into merger with Bumiputera to form the present day PBB in January 1973. The reasons for this merger, as articulated by Linggi Jugah, PBB's current Secretary-General, was that the Iban's main problem of poverty could be best solved through the Ibans being at the center-making process and that the merger would achieve this by bringing the Ibans into the mainstream of development (Jawan 1994).

Though Linggi's assertion have been sincere, he paid heavily for being a man before his times – he lost in the 1974 state election.

The period under Rahman Yakub's tenure as Chief Minister saw the further proliferation of parties with Parti Anak Jati Sarawak (PAJAR) formed by disgruntled PBB members, Sarawak People's Organization (SAPO), initiated by former SNAP members who were

opposed to SNAP's entry into the National Front, and DAP brought in by former Sibu SUPP members.

The period covering the years 1981 to date, referred to in Table 4.2 as Levels 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, is the period of Taib Mahmud's stewardship as Sarawak's fourth Chief Minister. This period saw further break-ups of political parties. SNAP's split saw the emergence of PBDS whereas PBB's split saw, for a brief period, the emergence of Permas. State Reform Party (STAR) which was formed by Patau Rubis, the sacked SNAP's Senior Vice-President proved to be a nonentity.

What has emerged from the political development in post-Independence Sarawak could be summarized as follows:

- 1) The strong influence of federal Visible Hands in Sarawak's political affairs – Ningkan's expulsion through an artificially-engineered emergency; Tawi Sli, Sarawak's second Chief Minister was ostensibly Kuala Lumpur's choice to replace Ningkan in 1966; SUPP was coerced to partner Bumiputera to form the first Coalition Government in 1970 by Kuala Lumpur's threat of continued emergency rule if SUPP had chosen to partner SNAP and Pesaka instead of Bumiputera and SCA (Chin Ung-Ho 1974:124); Mauzy (1983:107) noted that SNAP's entry into the National Front was at the insistence of the federal leaders. It was no surprise that the group opposed to Taib Mahmud tried to woo Kuala Lumpur during the infamous Ming Court affair in 1987.
- 2) Both the Malays and the Chinese in Sarawak have stayed focused in their pursuit of their respective socio-political and economic interests. The Chinese, through SUPP, started off opposing Malaysia as they preferred outright Independence for Sarawak for they see themselves, being the more educated amongst the races in Sarawak then, playing greater roles in governing Independent Sarawak. Reality forced SUPP to accept to playing second fiddle. The greater economic prospects that they see as a result of co-operation with Kuala Lumpur made SUPP change its stance – hence its switch to the government in 1970. For the Chinese, through SUPP, there is no looking back as

the political arrangement has enabled them to continue to control major economic and business activities in the state.

The Malays has, to borrow the words of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first Prime Minister, always been "honestly conscious of their political rights". The splits amongst the Malays – Barjasa and Panas in the 1960s, the emergence of Pajar in 1978, United Sarawak Natives Association (USNA) in 1986 and Persatuan Rakyat Malaysia Sarawak (PERMAS) in 1987 were only short-term. They were the result of differences in approaches amongst the Malay leaders but they (the Malays) were fast to close ranks when the losing faction realized the folly of continued opposition against the wishes of the majority.

- 3) The Dayaks were more mobile politically. They were in a process of continued political experiment - more by trial and error than anything else. The switch from government to opposition only to return to the government sometime later can be clearly seen in SNAP's switch from the government to the opposition in 1966 only to return in 1976 and in PBDS's exit from the government in 1987 only to return in 1995. This phenomenon of being quite fickle-minded could be attributed to the Dayaks being not well prepared politically – the proposal for the incorporation of Sarawak into the Federation of Malaysia was forced upon them. The Dayaks generally but more specifically the Ibans, who have been brought up as war-leaders in an environment where there can only be one winner in any battle and where victory was measured by total submission and humiliation of the opponents Jawan (1994:121) can thus only see politics in the experience of war.

4.2 The Bidayuh's Political Experience

As indicated in 2.5, the Biadyuhs together with the Orang Ulu were the only two communities in Sarawak who did not form any communal political parties prior to Independence. It was for this reason that SUPP had laid strong claims on the Bidayuh and Orang

Ulu-majority constituencies, winning three out of five Bidayuh-majority seats in 1969 and holding to two of them to this date(see Table 4.3).

A closer examination of Table 4.3 reveals that the Serian Bidayuhs are the more politically-matured returning in all elections since 1969 Bidayuhs as their elected representatives in the State Legislative Assembly, even though they were initially members of two different political parties. SUPP which represented Tanjong Datu since 1969 has put up a Chinese to represent the constituency for three terms (1969, 1974, 1979), an Iban for four terms (1983, 1987, 1991, 1996) before finally agreeing to put as its candidate a local Bidayuh in the 2001 elections.

TABLE 4.3
Representatives of Bidayuh-Majority Constituencies by Parties and
Race 1969 – 2001

	1969	1974	1979	1983	1987	1991	1996	2001
Tanjung Datu	SUPP/ Chinese	SUPP/ Chinese	SUPP/ Chinese	SUPP/ Iban	SUPP/ Iban	SUPP/ Iban	SUPP/ Iban	SUPP/ Bidayuh
Tasik Biru	SUPP/ Chinese	SNAP/ Chinese	Ind. Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh
Bengoh	SUPP/ Bidayuh	SUPP/ Bidayuh	SUPP/ Chinese	Ind. Bidayuh	PBDS/ Bidayuh	SUPP/ Bidayuh	SUPP/ Bidayuh	SUPP/ Bidayuh
Tarat	SNAP/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh
Tebedu	SNAP/ Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh	SNAP/ Bidayuh	PBDS/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh
Kedup	-	-	-	-	-	-	PBB/ Bidayuh	PBB/ Bidayuh

Notes: N.1 Tanjong Datu was formerly named N. 1 Lundu
 N. 2 Tasik Biru was formerly called N. 2 Bau
 N. 14 Bengoh was formerly N. 10, and N.11 Bengoh
 N. 15 Tarat was formerly N. 11, and N. 14 Tarat
 N. 16 Tebedu was formerly N.12 Tebakang and N. 15 Tebedu
 N. 17 Kedup is a new Constituency formed after the delineation exercise in 1995

4.3 The Malaysian Electoral System


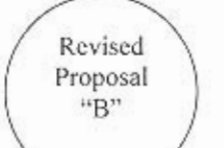
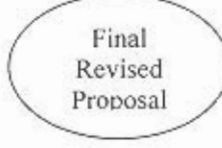
As indicated in 1.2, the Malaysian elections are conducted under the simple plurality or more commonly know as the “first-past-the-post” system. Universal suffrage is extended to all citizens over the age of 21 who shall be required to register himself as a voter during the period fixed for that purpose by the Election Commission.

The Election Commission is also responsible for the review of constituencies as set out in Article 113(2) of the Malaysian Constitution which reads as:

(2)(i) Subject to paragraph (ii), the Election Commission shall, from time to time, as they deem necessary, review the division of the Federation and the States into constituencies and recommend such changes therein as they may think necessary in order to comply with the provisions contained in the Thirteenth Schedule; and the reviews of constituencies for the purpose of elections to the Legislative Assemblies shall be undertaken at the same time as the reviews of constituencies for purposes of elections to the House of Representatives.

The provisions relating to delimitation of constituencies as contained in the Twelfth Schedule of the Malaysian Constitution has, in effect given the Election Commission or whoever has influence over them, a free hand in the review of any constituencies. Consider the following:

Diagram 4.1
Procedure for Delimitation of Constituencies (as spelt out in the
Twelfth Schedule, Malaysian Constitution)

Proposal "A" as presented by the Election Commission	Adjustment after objection by State or local authority or a body of not less than 100 registered voters Proposal "B"	Proposal "B" adjusted after second and last inquiry Revised and Final Proposal "C"
 Proposal "A"	 Revised Proposal "B"	 Final Revised Proposal
<u>Stage 1</u>	<u>Stage 2</u>	<u>Final Stage</u>

Notes: Election Commission proposes alteration of constituency (S. 5 of Twelfth Schedule) – Proposal "A"
 Upon objection received from State Government or body of not less than 100 registered voters, revise the proposal as Proposal "B"
 Conduct a second inquiry as to suitability of Proposal "B" and upon objection received, draw up a final revised Proposal "C", which for all intents and purposes may be similar to the original Proposal "A".

It is obvious from the above illustration that the powers that be has full control over the delimitation exercise of constituencies. It is noted that the Election Commission, upon completion of the procedure set out in the Twelfth Schedule of the Malaysian Constitution, shall submit their report to the Prime Minister. Revisions undertaken by the Election Commission, as provided by the Malaysian Constitution, have traditionally been used to strengthen Malay hold on the political system. Chin Ung-Ho (1997:8). In Sarawak, the delineation exercise in 1984-6 brought the number of state seats from 48 to 56, an increase of eight state seats. The distribution of the eight new constituencies was: five Malay/Melanau majority and two Chinese-majority with one mixed with no particular ethnic group constituting a clear majority. Further delineation in 1995 created an additional six new state seats with three Malay-majority seats, and one each for the Chinese, Bidayuh and the Orang Ulu. The Ibans were not granted any new seats, presumably as punitive action for their misadventure in the 1987 Ming Court affair.

The election process in Malaysia is governed by election laws encompassing the Election Act 1958, Election Offences Act 1954, Election Commission Act 1957, Election (Registration of Electors) Regulations (Sarawak) 1971, Elections (Conduct of Elections) Regulations 1981. Though the laws governing election procedures have not substantially changed since Independence, one major change was in the counting of votes. Vote counting now takes place at the polling station itself and the result is then communicated to a central counting center where the votes cast for the particular constituency are totaled and released. This drastic change has an immense impact on the way voters cast their votes as villages can now be easily identified as either pro or anti government by the votes cast in the particular village.

PART V CONCLUSION

The changes over the last four decades of accelerated socioeconomic change, growing dependence on government programs and the politicization of government development have made voters increasingly vulnerable to pressures by politicians. This brief study traces the path that Sarawak took to reach its present state of political stability which rests in part upon the government's continued ability to mobilize electoral support to legitimize its authority.

It cannot be denied that elections as regulated by the election laws in Sarawak have ensured the attainment of desired results so as not to upset the "bargain" first reached by the political masters in Kuala Lumpur on the eve of Independence. Sarawak's political past shows clearly how elections as an instrument for legitimacy has been applied to return pre-ordained political elites to power at every state election to protect set vested interests. Those political leaders who were unprepared politically, as seen in the period 1963 through 1970, were made pawns in a greater political design. Unwittingly, these traditional leaders fall prey to and accede to the interests of those who advise them. This assertion holds true to the times of Kalong Ningkan who relied on the advice of the expatriate officers and his Chinese Political Secretary on almost anything making his "kitchen cabinet" the real power behind Independent Sarawak's first government. The same could also be said of Tawi Sli's Chief Minister-ship – he was advised in all matters by his own "kitchen cabinet" making him merely a ceremonial Chief Minister.

It must however be noted that the strong influence Kuala Lumpur exerted was essentially to maintain the delicate balance amongst the various communal groups so as not to upset the "bargain" of strengthening the political authority and economic position of the Malays (and by application of Article 153 of the Malaysian Constitution, that of the indigenous natives of Sabah and Sarawak as well) and the business interests of the Chinese.

The formation of Alliance, which has now evolved into the present day National Front or Barisan Nasional (BN) is the result of a social "bargain" that has dove-tailed nicely with the interests of the agents of state, more so because they were actually politicians placed in strategic decision-making bodies to serve the interests of the ruling

elite. Malaysian development thus has been made possible by cooperation, compensation and coordination between business and government. Malaysia's consociational democracy model, as practiced by the grand coalition, Alliance and its successor, BN, has allowed for facilitating control adjustments amongst the Malaysian races ensuring the attainment of political stability which is a major pre-requisite for economic growth.

While Sarawak's political past has differed from those of Peninsular Malaysia, their six-year head-start in self-government coupled with a political system more politically developed than those of Sabah and Sarawak has put them in the "big brother" role in the political affairs of both Sabah and Sarawak. Kuala Lumpur must have realized early that the Dayaks, as represented by SNAP and Pesaka, if left entirely to their own devices, may actually upset the political "apple-cart" and destroy themselves in the process. The Dayaks were erratic in their political maneuvers in the early stages of Independence – a result of being forced into politics before they are ready unlike the Chinese and Malays who were fully conscious of their socio-political and economic aspirations. The Bidayus, quite like their other Dayak brothers have been left to the political periphery, more the result of their almost docile characteristic and the lack of educated and experienced leaders to prepare them for active participation in self-government.

The various stages of Sarawak's political development – the formation of various political parties, their subsequent mergers, break-ups, and, for some, dissolution, is reflective of the maturing process of Sarawak's political system. Where communalism once ruled now stands cooperation and trusts amongst the various communal groupings.

The Chinese who were initially apprehensive of Independence through Malaysia have made a total turnabout and, to their credit, have stood by the government ever since.

The Malays have always been conscious of their socio-political and economic aspirations and were quick to remove any signs of splits within their ranks to concentrate on the bigger picture of ensuring the continued political authority and economic position of the Malays. The simultaneous dissolution of Panas and Barjasa to form Bumiputera in 1974 is just one example.

Dayak political parties underwent a longer process of maturing. There was, for them, a series of political experiments – thus the switch from government to opposition only to subsequently return to the government later. The Dayaks, pushed somewhat to the political periphery have been allowed to experiment when it became apparent that the serious split amongst them, with members of the community arrayed over the wide political spectrum, have rendered them quite harmless and thus not likely to upset the political “apple-cart”. PBDS, for instance, returned to BN in 1995 only after realizing that nothing could be achieved without being part of the center-making process – something that Linggi had already known 22 years earlier when he moved for the merger of Pesaka with Bumiputera to form PBB.

Erratic political maneuvers by some politicians necessitates the institution of statutory safeguards to ensure the continued rule of the selected elite. Delineation of constituencies have been used to strengthen the Malay hold on the political system. Vote counting which is now done at the polling station itself have effectively discouraged dissent. An increase of maximum election deposit to RM20,000 from the present RM5,000 will definitely limit the ability of the opposition to put up candidates in an election. It would be no surprise that, with preponderant resources and support on the side of BN, future elections will be for the BN, mere rituals to help institutionalize its existing regime.

Elections as instruments for legitimacy have always been regarded as an all-important exercise in the name of protecting set vested interests by those well-versed in political processes. It has, for instance, even been theorized that the infamous Ming Court affair was nothing but a political drama staged brilliantly by the uncle (Rahman Yakub) and nephew (Taib Mahmud) team, essentially to identify and weed out Taib Mahmud's opponents within PBB in order to preserve the Melanau dynasty through PBB, which was increasingly resented by the Malays in PBB Jawan (1994: 140) and, through Rahman Yakub, to stem the menacing flow of Dayakism. The two principal actors in this staged political drama, being leaders of opposite teams in 1987 guaranteed continued Melanau power whatever the outcome of the election which, as an extension, seeks to protect their business interests. Lists of economic rents being held by politicians as rewards for political patronage were widely circulated in the 1987 election

and for the contesting sides, all these economic interests have to be protected at all costs.

Even though democracy in Malaysia may not totally conform to the dominant paradigm of "democracy" as fashioned by Western societies, it must be noted that in Malaysia the curtailment of certain political freedoms are justified in the interest of national security and economic development. Hence it has been shown that certain principles of democracy are adapted to accommodate in the name of common good. The Internal Security Act (ISA), for instance, have been used as an instrument to ensure national security. While arrests without trial under ISA have been heavily criticized as being an impingement of basic human rights, it must be accepted that such arrests have brought about political stability as seen today.

The basic linkages proposed in this brief study between elections and democracy and by extension, business are certainly not new. The author, however, believes that certain pertinent issues of the Sarawak's political experience raised in this study needs further investigation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX TABLE 1.1
Sarawak: Results of the 1970 State Election

<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Parties</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
S1 Lundu	Chong Kim Mook (SUPP)	1,496	221
	Sidi Munan (Pesaka)	1,275	
	TK Su'ud b Udin (Bumiputera)	1,198	
	Charles Robertson Linang (SNAP)	1,105	
	Jimmy Sim Moh Huat (Independent)	82	
	Peter Chin Nam Fuh (Independent)	67	
S2 Bau	Ong Ah Khin (SUPP)	2,902	667
	Michael Sadin (SNAP)	2,225	
	Guing Ak Nyangu@ Aloysius Dom		
	Nagok (Bumiputera)	1,257	
	Gabriel Dan Nyanjau (Pesaka)	818	
	Ong Guan Cheng (Independent)	579	
S3 Kuching Barat	Cheng Yew Kew (Alliance)	5,410	1,307
	Ong Kee Hui (SUPP)	4,103	
	Hj Mohd Alli b Ahmad (SNAP)	1,076	
	King Shih Fan (Independent)	192	
S4 Kuching Timor	Stephen Yong Kuet Tze (SUPP)	7,560	6,571
	Lok Yik Fong (SCA)	989	
	Lim Thian Huat (SNAP)	641	
	James Teo Sing Chiu (Independent)	124	
	Kenneth Lau Ah Lah (Independent)	81	
S5 Semariang	Ajibah Bt Abol (Bumiputera)	3,233	2,262
	Abdul Kadir Merican (SUPP)	971	
	T K Shukri b T K Mahidi (Independent)	954	
	Abg Bueng b Abg Amin (SNAP)	526	
	Hj Ben b Jomel (Independent)	250	
S6 Sekama	Sim Kheng Hong (SUPP)	4,435	2,199
	Clarence Tan (SCA)	2,236	
	Paul Kuch Jee It (SNAP)	738	
	Chai Kuet Sung (Independent)	180	
S7 Sebandi	Ikhwan b Abg Hj Zainie (Bumiputera)	3,765	2,245
	Saudi b Hj Arshad (SUPP)	1,530	
	Abg Hj Adenan b Abg Hj Azahari (Pesaka)	1,069	

S8 Muara Tuang	Mohamad b Musa (Bumiputera) Chong Kok Chiong (SUPP) Dato Abg Othman b Hj Moasili (SNAP) Arthur Ernest Muda (Independent)	1,934 1,232 717 294	702
S9 Batu Kawah	Chong Kiun Kong (SUPP) Lim Soo Leong (SNAP) Shii Dai Seng (SCA)	3,748 1,650 1,534	2,098
S10 Bengoh	Sigus Ak Ginyai (SUPP) Asu Akui (SNAP) George Si Ricord (Pesaka) Mohamed b Hj Bakeri (Bumiputera) William Nais (Independent)	1,796 1,532 498 231 230	264
S11 Tarat	Nelson Kundai Ngareng (SNAP) Teo Kui Seng (SCA) Nyadang Ak Nador (SUPP)	3,160 2,091 2,062	1,069
S12 Tebakang	Michael Ben Ak Panggi (SNAP) Richard Dampeng Ak Laki (SUPP) Ahan Ak Engkoyong (Bumiputera)	2,869 1,920 1,606	949
S13 Semera	Lee Thian Kee (Bumiputera) Wan Alkap Tuanku Esim (SNAP) Salleh b Zen (SUPP)	3,092 1,240 497	1,852
S14 Gedong	Hj Abg Abdulrahim b Hj Moasili (Bumiputera) Liew Ming Chung (SNAP) Andrew Jika Landau (Pesaka) Entri ak Tusan (SUPP)	 1,757 1,647 600 522	110
S15 Lingga- Sebuyau	Penghulu Tawi Sli (Pesaka) Augustine Mercer ak Jangga (SNAP) Barbara Bay (SUPP) Awg Morni b Awg Jaya (Bumiputera) Sydney Sentu ak Larok	2,135 1,915 1,160 698 98	219
S16 Simanggang	Liap ak Kudu @ Nelson (SNAP) Hollis ak Tini (SUPP) Rabaie b Ahmad (Bumiputera) Jimbai ak Maja (Pesaka) Awg Johari b Pengiran Azid (Independent)	2,515 1,879 1,048 718 279	634

	Joshua Janggan Enpen (Independent)	192	
	Goh Tiau Choon (Independent)	143	
	Anthony Jiram Sabu (Independent)	73	
S17 Enfkilili- Skrang	Simon Dembab Maja (Pesaka)	1,101	125
	Chang Shui Foh (SUPP)	976	
	Pengerah ak Bilang (SNAP)	946	
	Legan ak Narok (Independent)	225	
S18 Ulu Ai	David ak Jemut (SNAP)	934	45
	Tutong ak Ningkan (Pesaka)	889	
	Rabit ak Nanang (SUPP)	531	
	Penghulu Manau ak Bagi (Independent)	351	
	Ebai ak Inyang (Independent)	86	
	Ahmad b Ibrahim @ Leek (Bumiputera)	80	
S19 Saribas	Kihok b Amit (Bumiputera)	1,849	528
	Jocelyn Beduru ak Makap (SNAP)	1,312	
	Hj Hamzawi b Hj Omar (Pesaka)	747	
	Denis Luat (Independent)	252	
	Cr Laili (Independent)	181	
S20 Layar	Dato' Stephen Kalong Ningkan (SNAP)	2,546	1,389
	Charles Ingka (Independent)	1,157	
	Edmond Derom (Pesaka)	713	
	Juing Insoll (Independent)	209	
S21 Kalaka	Wab Alwi b Tuanku Ibrahim (Pesaka)	1,963	556
	Al-Ustaz Hj Kadir Hassan (Bumiputera)	1,407	
	William ak Lampas (SNAP)	1,164	
	Hj Jais b Sejin (Independent)	83	
S22 Krian	Dunstan Endawie ak Enchana (SNAP)	2,933	2,061
	Albans Meling ak Jan (Pesaka)	872	
	Jelimin ak Telajan (SUPP)	824	
S23 Kuala Rajang	Abdul Rahman Yakub (Bumiputera)	2,161	1,330
	Drahman b Karia (SUPP)	831	
	Anie b Dhoby (SNAP)	743	
	Then Kwan Long (Independent)	656	
	Biliang ak Tinggi (Pesaka)	371	
	Majidi b Suhaili (Independent)	103	

S24 Repok	Khoo Peng Loong (SUPP)	2,399	612
	Chen Ko Ming (SCA)	1,787	
	Ngo King Huong (SNAP)	844	
	Ching Ting Chiok (Independent)	58	
S25 Matu Daro	Awang Hipni b Pengiran Anu (Bumiputera)	3,360	2,795
	Hamid Awg Mansor b Awg Laga (Pesaka)	565	
	George b Hj Drahan (SUPP)	506	
	Waini b Hj Sahari (Independent)	429	
	Sia Siong Yung (Independent)	136	
	Abg Hj Abdul razak b Abg Abdul (SNAP)	124	
	Hj Rosli b Kiok (Independent)	46	
S26 Binatang	Anthony Teo Tiao Gin (SUPP)	3,048	918
	Luk Tai Lik (SCA)	2,130	
	Sandom ak Nyuak (Pesaka)	1,077	
	Teng Tun Hsin (SNAP)	849	
S27 Sibutengah	Chew Kim Poon (SUPP)	4,470	2,372
	Chieng Hie Kwong (SCA)	2,098	
	Yap Siew Hoe (SNAP)	493	
	Lim Ung Chiew (Independent)	380	
S28 Sibuluar	Wong Kah Sing (SUPP)	2,969	708
	Tai Sing Chii (SCA)	2,261	
	Joseph Tang Chock Chung (SNAP)	562	
	Peter Hwang Tiong Siung (Independent)	135	
	Ngu Teck Sing (Independent)	92	
	Jamal b Hj Dris (Independent)	75	
S29 Igan	Ling Beng Siong (SCA)	3,264	769
	Wong Tuong Kwang (SUPP)	2,495	
	Gekanggang ak Mujan (SNAP)	213	
	T R Ampu ak Matari (Independent)	75	
	Jawi ak Sureng (Independent)	46	
	Penghulu Pengabang ak Impak (Independent)	35	
S30 Dudong	Kong Chung Siew (SUPP)	1,675	241
	Jonathan Bangau ak Renang (Pesaka)	1,434	
	Sandah ak Penghulu Jarrow (SNAP)	1,138	
	Galau ak Kumbong (Independent)	195	
	Langai ak Abol (Independent)	119	

S31	Mohd Pauzi b Hamdani		
Balingian	(Bumiputera)	1,555	699
	Ho Thian Ting (SUPP)	856	
	Jang ak Kendawang (SNAP)	827	
	Noh b Hamdan (Independent)	606	
	Sipuk b Ani (Pesaka)	523	
	Tampang ak Basik (Pesaka)	267	
	Tang Yong Dee (Independent)	231	
S32 Oya	Vincent Ferrer Suyong (Bumiputera)	1,510	171
	Sim Boon Liang (SNAP)	1,339	
	Aleh ak Jueng (Pesaka)	702	
	Augustine Druce (Pesaka)	618	
	Ting Ung Pang (SUPP)	468	
	Ibrahim b Takong (Independent)	396	
	Song Ing Huo (Independent)	200	
S33 Pakan	Mandi ak Sanar (Pesaka)	748	71
	Lau Mee Ee (Independent)	677	
	Dundang ak Ibi (SNAP)	667	
	Laiyau ak Boleng (Independent)	305	
S34 Meluan	Gramong ak Jelian (SNAP)	880	70
	Philip Nyadang ak Janting (Pesaka)	810	
	Empaling (Independent)	381	
	Tedong ak Entali (Independent)	234	
S35 Machan	Thomas Kana (Pesaka)	2,459	870
	Kong Foh Kim (SUPP)	1,589	
	Stephen Mapang ak Sanggau (SNAP)	327	
S36 Ngemah	Lias ak Kana (Independent)	796	136
	Umpau @ Francis ak Empam (Pesaka)	660	
	Jarau ak Serit (SNAP)	603	
	Guntok ak Bana (Independent)	539	
	Ansi ak Anyau (SUPP)	428	
	Ungai ak Sempon (Independent)	47	
	Ujok ak Andeng (Independent)	33	
S37 Song	Ngelambong ak Bangau (SNAP)	1,614	320
	Mangai ak Lajang (Pesaka)	1,294	
	Tingai ak Unjom (SUPP)	1,204	
S38 Pelagus	Leonard Linggi Jugah (Pesaka)	1,389	320
	Jugah ak asah (SUPP)	1,069	
	Francis ak Nyuak (SNAP)	716	
S39 Baleh	Kenneth Kanyan ak Temenggong Koh (Pesaka)	1,953	425

	Ajan ak Nabau (SNAP)	1,528	
	Kulleh ak Semba (SUPP)	806	
	Pengarah Sibat ak Semada (Ind.)	492	
S40 Belaga	Nyipa Kilah @ Nyipa Batok (SUPP)	772	84
	Tajang Laing (Pesaka)	688	
	Penghulu Matu Puso (Independent)	606	
	Lisut Tinggang Uma Langat @ Anyie (SNAP)	67	
S41 Tatau	Awg Ismail b Pg Zainuddin (Bumiputera)	1,340	149
	Nanang ak Entigai (SNAP)	1,191	
	Goh Ngiap Joon (SUPP)	827	
	M Julaihi Hanafie (Independent)	571	
	Peng Angkalom ak Latib (Pesaka)	415	
	Lim Chung Yen (Independent)	125	
S42 Kemena	Penghulu Abok ak Jalin (Pesaka)	1,366	211
	Asghar Khan (Bumiputera)	1,185	
	Ting Ling Thung (SNAP)	884	
	Png Tai Yok (SUPP)	733	
	Medan ak Suhang (Independent)	212	
S43 Subis	Francis Loke (SNAP)	1,728	308
	Lee Fong Chew (SUPP)	1,420	
	Hashim b Hj Ladis (Independent)	1,387	
	Jackie Yong @ Joseph Leo (Pesaka)	832	
S44 Miri	Chia Chin Shin (SCA)	2,876	365
	Yang Siew Siang (SUPP)	2,511	
	John Leong Chee Yun (SNAP)	1,256	
	Kepol Samat (Independent)	166	
	Lau Siu Wai (Independent)	142	
S45 Marudi	Edward Jeli ak Belayong (SNAP)	3,134	2,176
	Tamaweng Tinggung Wan (SUPP)	958	
	Bayak Malang (Pesaka)	910	
	Penghulu Arin ak Jampi (Independent)	110	
S46 Telang Usan	Balan Seling (SNAP)	1,718	850
	Lee Kee Bian (Independent)	868	
	Abeng Nawan Lawai (Pesaka)	750	
	Penghulu Balan Lejau	226	

S47	Dato' James Wong Kim Min (SNAP)	2,935	867
Limbang	Hj Abu Bakar b Abdullah (Bumiputera)	1,068	
	Pugi ak Yabai (Independent)	385	
	Tahir b Hassan (Independent)	220	
S48 Lawas	Awang Daud b Awang Metusin (Bumiputera)	1,698	226
	Chegu Pudun Rangat (SNAP)	1,472	
	Racha Umong (Pesaka)	1,053	
	Ling Tung Kiet (Independent)	82	
	Mah Chuan Sin (Independent)	48	

Note: Parti Bumiputera and Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA) contested ~~under~~ the 1970 election under the Alliance symbol.

APPENDIX TABLE 1.2
Sarawak: Results of 1974 State Election

<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Parties</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
N1 Lundu	Chong Kim Mook (BN-SUPP)	3,150	991
	Michael Bong Thiam Joon (SNAP)	2,159	
N2 Bau	Lee Nyan Choi (SNAP)	4,301	909
	Ong Ah Khin (BN-SUPP)	3,392	
N3 Kuching Barat	Abang Abu Bakar b Datu Bandar		2,603
	Abg Hj Mustapha (BN-PBB)	6,637	
	Hj Dawi b Abdul Rahman (SNAP)	4,034	
N4 Kuching Timur	Lo Foot Kee (SNAP)	5,663	1,435
	Stephen Yong (BN-SUPP)	4,228	
N5 Semariang	Ajibah Abol (BN-PBB)	4,921	3,774
	Abg Abd Rahim b Tun Abg Hj		
	Openg (SNAP)	1,147	
	Awang Wal b Awang Abu (Independent)	175	
N6 Sekama	Sim Kheng Hong (BN-SUPP)	4,728	1,153
	Shim Oan Chi (SNAP)	3,575	
N7 Sebandi	Abdul Rahman Hamzah (BN-PBB)	4,778	3,423
	Bujang b Pulo (SNAP)	1,355	
N8 Muara Tuang	Mohamad Musa (BN-PBB)	2,468	1,321
	Mohd Tahir b Sham (SNAP)	1,147	
	Frank Dustine Sirau (Independent)	71	
N9 Batu Kawah	Chong Kiun Kong (BN-SUPP)	4,287	1,503
	Paul Chin Poh Luke (SNAP)	2,784	
	Augustine Sirau (Independent)	147	
N10 Bengoh	Segus ak Ginyai (BN-SUPP)	2,286	417
	Barnabas Kulor ak Kaos (SNAP)	1,869	
	William Nais (Independent)	203	
N11, Tarat	Arthur Mading (BN-PBB)	3,421	670
	Robert Kandong (SNAP)	2,751	
	Lawrence Pohan (Independent)	716	
N12 Tebakang	Michael Ben (SNAP)	3,256	231
	Datuk Dominic Dago Randan (BN-PBB)	3,025	
	Bong Kim Yuh @ Ah Yak (Independent)	288	
	Banggeh ak Jenta (Independent)	257	

N13 Semera	Mohd Puteh @Lee Thian Kee (BN-PBB) Wan Alkap b Tku Esim (SNAP)	3,337 1,563	1,774
N14 Gedong	Hillary Tawan ak Masan (BN-PBB) Liew Ming Chung (SNAP)	2,450 2,422	28
N15 Lingga-Sebuyau	Daniel Tajem ak Miri (SNAP) Datuk Penghulu Tawi Sli (BN-PBB)	3,389 2,663	726
N16 Simanggang	Hollis Tini (BN-PBB) Nelson Lipa Kudu (SNAP)	3,726 3,184	542
N17 Engkilili-Skrang	Nading ak Lingeh (SNAP) Simon Dembab ak Maja (BN-PBB)	1,851 1,359	492
N18 Ulu Ai	David ak Jemut (SNAP) Benedict Bujang ak Penghulu Tembak (BN-PBB)	1,479 1,280	199
N19 Saribas	Abang Ahmad datu Hakim (BN-PBB) Stephen Chong Kai Hong (SNAP)	3,224 2,161	1,063
N20 Layar	Alfred Jabu ak Numpang (BN-PBB) Dato' Stephen Kalong Ningkan (SNAP)	2,851 2,161	504
N21 Kalaka	Ahmad Zaidi (BN-PBB) Senawi b Sulaiman (SNAP)	3,163 1,878	1,285
N22 Krian	Dato' Dunstan Endawi ak Enchana (SNAP) Luke ak Tungku (BN-PBB)	3,339 1,612	1,727
N23 Kuala Rajang	Datuk Patinggi Hj Abdul Rahman Yakup (BN-PBB) Sylvester Meling ak Kuin (SNAP)	3,667 1,029	2,638
N24 Repok	Chong Siew Chiang (BN-SUPP) Ngo King Huong (SNAP)	2,667 1,849	818
N25 Matu-Daro	Awang Hipni b Pengeran Anu (BN-PBB) Abang Hj Amin (SNAP)	4,447 539	3,908

N26 Binatang	Anthony Teo Tiao Gin (BN-SUPP) Salang ak Gadum (SNAP)	4,494 2,642	1,852
N27 Sibu Tengah	Chew Kim Poon (BN-SUPP) Aloysius Tan Pingkai (SNAP)	4,038 3,220	666
N28 Sibu Luar	Dr Wong Soon Kai (BN-SUPP) Tan Aik Leong (SNAP)	3,220 1,801	1,419
N29 Igan	Ling Beng Siong (BN-SUPP) Pao Liew Khing (SNAP)	3,583 1,853	1,730
N30 Dudong	Sandah ak Pg. Jarrow (SNAP) Ting Ing Mieng (BN-SUPP) Kong Siew Yong (Independent)	2,164 2,017 115	147
N31 Balingian	Salleh Jafaruddin (BN-PBB) Kassim ak Tindin (SNAP)	4,008 1,251	2,757
N32 Oya	Edward Esnen b Unang (BN-PBB) Sim Boon Liang (SNAP)	3,558 2,230	1,328
N33 Pakan	Dr Jawie Masing (SNAP) Jagok Mandi (BN-PBB)	1,896 1,129	767
N34 Meluan	Gramong ak Jelian (SNAP) Janggu ak Pengarah Banyang (BN-PBB)	1,891 928	963
N35 Machan	Leo Moggie @ Munggie ak Irok (SNAP) Thomas Kana (BN-PBB)	2,110 1,846	264
N36 Ngemah	Francis Umpau ak Empam (SNAP) Lias ak Kana (BN-PBB) John Gaweng Migi (Independent)	1,382 977 613	405
N37 Song	Ngelambong ak Bangau (BN-PBB) Anthony Kuin ak Kedal (SNAP)	1,823 1,610	213
N38 Pelagus	Jonathan Sabai ak Ajing (SNAP) Leonard Linggi ak Jugah (BN-PBB)	1,974 1,877	97
N39 Baleh	Peter Gani ak Kiai (SNAP) Kenneth Kanyan Koh (BN-PBB)	2,344 1,842	502
N40 Belaga	Nyipa Bato (BN-SUPP) Tajang Laing (Independent)	1,419 1,382	37

N41 Tatau	Joseph Samuel (SNAP)	2,751	267
	Ting Ming Kiong (BN-SUPP)	2,484	
N42 Kemena	Ujang ak Jilan (BN-PBB)	2,429	289
	Baran ak Nalo (SNAP)	2,140	
	Mohd Julaini b Mohd Hanafie		
	(Independent)	676	
N43 Subis	Mumin b Kadir (BN-PBB)	3,783	948
	Francis Ioke (SNAP)	2,835	
N44 Miri	Chia Chin Shin (BN-SUPP)	5,495	1,821
	Chiew Choon Lim (SNAP)	3,674	
N45 Marudi	Edwards Jeli ak Blayong (SNAP)	3,438	1,210
	Babu (BN-PBB)	2,228	
N46 Telang Usan	Balan Seling (SNAP)	2,315	453
	Stephen Timothy Wan Ullok (BN-PBB)	1,862	
N47 Limbang	Datuk James Wong Kim Min (SNAP)	3,224	1,000
	Mustapha Awang Besar (BN-PBB)	2,224	
	Lim Chui Seng (Independent)	157	
N48 Lawas	Awang Daud b Metusin (BN-PBB)	3,461	1,991
	Balang Itai (SNAP)	1,470	

Note: Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu (PBB) was formed as result of merger between Parti Pesaka Anak Sarawak (Pesaka) and Parti Bumiputera in 1973.

APPENDIX TABLE 1.3
Sarawak: Results of the 1979 State Election

<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Party</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
N1 Lundu	Mohamed Shamsuddin b Mokhtar (Independent)	2,854	7
	Chong Kim Mook (BN-SUPP)	2,861	
	Jonathan Saban (Independent)	290	
	Andrew Jipem ak Nayok (Independent)	920	
N2 Tasik Biru	Ku Fut Nam (Independent)	2,675	2,452
	Patrick Anek Uren (Independent)	5,127	
	Aloysius Dom Nagok (Independent)	543	
	Lee Nyan Choi (BN-SNAP)	1,518	
N3 Padungan	Cheng Yew Kiew (BN-SNAP)	1,861	2,164
	Tan Meng Chong (Independent)	8,041	
	Sim Kwang Yang (DAP)	5,877	
	Sieh Tzu Tsing (Independent)	59	
	Tan Tak Seng (Independent)	174	
N4 Stampin	Chan Kay Heng (DAP)	3,809	7,115
	Junaidi b Samail (Independent)	293	
	Peter Ng Eng Lim @ Bujang Singka (Independent)	164	
	Datuk Amar Sim Kheng Hong (BN- SUPP)	10,924	
N5 Petra Jaya	Lona Osman (PAJAR)	1,643	4,540
	Hafsah b Harun (BN-PBB)	6,183	
N6 Satok	Wab Ahmadul Badwi Wan Ibrahim (PAJAR)	2,293	3,263
	Abang Abu Bakar b Datu Bandar		
	Abang Hj Mustapha (BN-PBB)	10,506	
	Kho King Hing (Independent)	740	
N7 Sebandi	Sharifah Mordiah b Tengku Fauzi (BN-PBB)	3,966	3,263
	Mohd Nasir b Hj Daing Hosen (PAJAR)	703	
N8 Muara Tuang	Adenan b Hj Satem (BN-PBB)	4,227	3,422
	Bujang Ali Nor (PAJAR)	805	
N9 Batu Kawah	Anga ak Soret @ John Lawrence (Independent)	2,046	5,162
	Chong Kiun Kong (BN-SUPP)	7,208	

N10 Bengoh	Wilfred Nissom(Independent)	3,894	
	Shyu Li Hua (DAP)	159	
	Datuk Stephen Yong (BN-SUPP)	4,115	221
N11 Tarat	Johnny Rueh (PAJAR)	2,410	
	Robert Jacob Ridu (BN-PBB)	4,913	2,503
N12 Tebakang	Joseph Khoo (PAJAR)	1,035	
	Choo Joon Fatt (Independent)	2,434	
	Michael Ben (BN-SNAP)	4,224	1,790
N13 Semera	Ambi b Nen (PAJAR)	1,635	
	Abang Hj Ahmad Urai (BN-PBB)	4,173	2,538
N14 Gedong	James Jenta (Independent)	924	
	Bong Janting (Independent)	137	
	Hilary Tawan ak Masan (BN-PBB)	3,067	2,143
	Hj Mohamed Bujang b Hj Amin (PAJAR)	738	
N15 Lingga	Daniel Tajem ak Miri (BN-SNAP)	3,602	441
	Syeed Idrus b Syeed Mahmud (Independent)	436	
	Kho Su Ming (Independent)	3,161	
N16 Sri Aman	Bruce ak Matong (DAP)	641	
	Hollis Tini (BN-SUPP)	4,502	1,282
	Thomas ak Kawan (Independent)	3,220	
N17 Engkilili	Nadeng ak Lingoh (BN-SNAP)	2,583	909
	Luta ak Majeng (Independent)	1,674	
N19 Saribas	Alli Kawi (PAJAR)	1,987	
	Andrew Mara ak Walter Unjah (Independent)	82	
	Abang Hipni b Abang Turkey (Independent)	161	
	Hj Zainuddin Satem (BN-PBB)	3,613	1,635
N21 Kalaka	Suib Samik (PAJAR)	1,243	
	Wab Yusof b Tun Tuanku Hj Bujang (BN-PBB)	4,489	3,246
N22 Krian	Jemni Sangkan (Independent)	1,097	
	Dunstan Endawic (BN-SNAP)	4,496	3,399

N23 Kuala Rajang	Joseph Allen ak Entai (Independent)	552	
	Abdullah b Galau (PAJAR)	532	
	Hj Bohari b Ujang (Independent)	71	
	Mohamed Asfia b Awang Naser (BN-PBB)	3,716	3,164
N24 Matu-Daro	Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Abdul Rahman b Yakub (BN-PBB)	6,827	6,285
	Eden b Abdullah (PAJAR)	542	
N25 Repok	David Teng Lung Chi (BN-SUPP)	4,601	339
	Chong Siew Chiang (DAP)	4,262	
N26 Meradong	Tang Ling Tung (DAP)	2,187	
	Robinson nyanggau ak Nanang (Independent)	449	
	Anthony Teo Tiao Gin (BN-SUPP)	3,126	939
	Mohd Zain b Suip (Independent)	194	
	Teo Siang Hai (Independent)	1,831	
N27 Maling	Ling Sie Ming (DAP)	8,109	
	Dr Wong Soon Kai (BN-SUPP)	9,839	1,730
N28 Seduan	Ting Ing Mieng (BN-SUPP)	4,873	1,638
	Sia Chiew King (DAP)	3,235	
	Abang Latip b Abdul Haron (Independent)	191	
N29 Igan	David Tiong Chiong Chu (BN-SUPP)	2,455	272
	Harry Kiroh Rayon (PAJAR)	399	
	Huang Teck Nai (DAP)	2,183	
N30 Dudong	Alexander Temaga Seli (Independent)	239	
	Liaw Yew Ming (Independent)	1,898	
	Chan Hiu Fei (Independent)	883	
	Yun ak Janang (Independent)	454	
	Datuk Sandah ak Penghulu Jarrow (BN-SNAP)	4,125	2,227
N32 Oya	Imilda b John Arun (Independent)	557	
	Gerald Bujal b Gayau (PAJAR)	113	
	Edward Atit (Independent)	463	
	Edward Esnen (BN-PBB)	3,241	2,684
	Ignatius Klumai b Mawan (Independent)	229	
N33 Pakan	Jagok Mandi (Independent)	1,049	
	Jawie masing (BN-SNAP)	2,281	1,232

N35 Machan	Chua Poh Huo (Independent)	1,753	
	Gramong Juna (BN-SNAP)	2,919	1,166
N36 Ngemah	Joseph ak kudi (BN-SNAP)	2,194	1,412
	Tajan ak Seli (Independent)	782	
	Inok ak Kudor (Independent)	422	
	Lias ak Kana (Independent)	550	
N37 Katibas	Ambrose Blikau ak Enturan (BN-PBB)	2,115	996
	Gera ak Jugah Bullek (Independent)	1,119	
N38 Pelagus	Jonathan sabai ak Ajing (BN-SNAP)	2,863	1,315
	Kumbong ak p. Gerinang (DAP)	1,548	
N39 Baleh	Tuan ak Antau (UMAT)	238	
	Nyewak ak Sibat (Independent)	864	
	Peter Gani ak Kiai (BN-SNAP)	3,723	2,859
N40 Belaga	Nyipa Bato (BN-SUPP)	1,206	
	Tajang Laing (Independent)	1,966	760
N41 Tatau	Lim Chen Huat (SAPO)	725	
	Joseph Mamat Samuel (BN-SNAP)	3,218	2,493
N42 Kemena	Celestine Ujang ak Jilan (BN-PBB)	6,001	5,147
	Mohamad b Nawi (PAJAR)	854	
N43 Subis	Antalai ak Sawing (SAPO)	2,273	
	Hj Salam b Gapor (Independent)	52	
	Simat b Dollah (PAJAR)	196	
	Anthony Sia (Independent)	1,313	
	Mumin b Kader (BN-PBB)	5,760	3,487
N44 Miri	Szetu Mei Thong (SAPO)	7,500	
	Datuk Chia Chin Shin (BN-SUPP)	9,036	1,536
N45 Marudi	Limau ak Dali (SAPO)	1,609	
	Edward Jeli ak Blayong (BN-SNAP)	4,834	3,225
N46 Telan Usan	Joseph Balan seling (BN-SNAP)	3,667	2,673
	Paul Kalang (SAPO)	994	
	Kho Thien Seng (Independent)	231	

N47 Limbang	Datuk James Wong Kim Min (BN-SNAP)	5,021	4,278
	Lim Cheong Heng (Independent)	743	
	Hasbollah b Majid (Independent)	623	
	Francis Mabong ak Jeruka (Independent)	442	
N48 Lawas	Datuk Hj Noor b Hj Tahir (BN-PBB)	3,246	2,159
	Loh Teng Kong (Independent)	537	
	Mansor b Osman (PAJAR)	93	
	Panai Sigar (Independent)	1,087	
	Yusup ak Buaya (Independent)	137	

APPENDIX TABLE 1.4
Sarawak: Results of the 1983 State Election

<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Parties</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
N1 Lundu	Winston Tujang ak pata (Independent)	44	
	Jehim ak Milos (Independent)	891	
	Ahmad b Som (Independent)	208	
	Ramsay Noel Jitam (BN-SUPP)	4,146	2,054
	Mohamad Shamsuddin b Mokhtar (Independent)	2,092	
	Hasan @ Hassan b Mawi (Independent)	127	
N2 Tasik Biru	Patau ak Rubis (SNAP)	7,064	2,675
	Peter ak minos (BN-PBB)	4,389	
	Guing ak Nyangu @ Aloysius Dom Nagok (Independent)	114	
N3 Padungan	Alexander John Shek Kwok Bun (SNAP)	1,058	
	Song Swee Guan (BN-SUPP)	11,665	3,544
	Sim Keng Soon @ Sim Kwang Yang (DAP)	8,121	
N4 Stampin	Yong Sen Chan (DAP)	6,719	
	Sim Kheng Hong (BN-SUPP)	15,429	8,710
N5 Petra Jaya	Eden b Abdullah (BERSATU)	544	
	Mohd Fauzi b Bol Hassan (Independent)	1,265	
	Hafsah b Harun (BN-PBB)	6,107	4,842

N6 Satok	Abg Abd Rahman Zohari b Tun Abg Hj Openg (BN-PBB)	10,234	8,596
	Abg ariffin b Abg Sebli @ Abg Bunsu (BERSATU)	1,638	
N7 Sebandi	Bujang b Bakar (Independent)	1,406	
	Abg saufi Adenan @ Abg Supi Abg Adenan (BERSATU)	66	
	Datuk Patinggi Hj Taib Mahmud (BN-PBB)	3,720	2,314
N8 Muara Tuang	Abg Hj Mohd Kassim b Abg Mohd Taha (BERSATU)	292	
	Abg Ibrahim b Abg Othman (Independent)	822	
	Adenan Hj Satem (BN-PBB)	4,518	3,696
N9 Batu Kawah	Chong Kiun Kong (BN-SUPP)	7,517	6,076
	Anga ak Soret @John Lawrence (Independent)	984	
	Peter ak Nuab (Independent)	1,441	
N10 Bengoh	Wilfred Rata Nissom (Independent)	5,720	1,126
	William Tanyuh ak Nub (BN-SUPP)	4,594	
	George Si Ricord (Independent)	96	
N11 Tarat	Robert Jacob Ridu (BN-PBB)	3,950	448
	Rahun ak Dabak (Independent)	3,502	
	Bangik ak Kandong (Independent)	105	
	Chai Mok Shin (Independent)	633	
	Narayanan Sachidanandan (Independent)	574	
N12 Tebakang	Frederick Bayoi Mangi (Independent)	2,507	
	Nelson Kundai Nyareng (Independent)	359	
	Michael Ben ak Panggi (SNAP)	4,046	1,097
	Lainus ak Andrew Luwak (Independent)	2,949	
N13 Semera	Tan Guek Liang (Independent)	1,198	
	Wan Alkap b Tuanku Esim (Independent)	1,666	
	Wan Wahab b Wan Senusi (BN-PBB)	2,461	760
	Salleh b Zen (Independent)	43	

N14 Gedong	Mohammed Hilary Tawan b Abdullah @ Hilary Tawan ak Masan (BN-PBB)	2,675	1,464
	Ahmad derhman @ Jaraic b Drahman (Independent)	1,211	
	Mathew Ain ak Nuwan (Independent)	205	
	Junaidi b Bolhassan (Independent)	203	
	Bujang b Brahim @ Bujang b Hj Brahim (Independent)	297	
N15 Lingga	Wan Akil b Tuanku Mahmud (Independent)	116	
	Donald Lawan (Independent)	122	
	Daniel Tajem ak Miri (PBDS)	4,562	1,395
	Mursidi @ Mohd Morshidi b Hj Umi (Independent)	122	
	Jacob Imang (SNAP)	3,167	
N16 Sri Aman	Ngu Piew Seng (Independent)	2,661	
	Abg Hj Taha b Abg Hj Zain (Independent)	1,527	
	Hollis ak Tini (BN-SUPP)	4,101	1,440
	Shamsuddin b Abdullah (Independent)	136	
N17 Engkilili	Jonathan Nawin ak Jinggong (PBDS)	984	
	Sing Cho Nam (Independent)	1,461	418
	Simon Dembab Maja (Independent)	495	
	Richard Tawan ak Sedu (Independent)	921	
	Kua Siang How (Independent)	29	
	Wilson Allie ak Banyie (SNAP)	1,043	
N18 Batang Air	Sylvester Langit ak Uming (SNAP)	1,421	8
	David ak Jemut (PBDS)	1,413	
	Benedict Bujang ak Tembak (Independent)	1,009	
N19 Saribas	Mohd Pathi b Hj Bujang (Independent)	1,893	
	Hj Zainuddin Hj Satem (BN-PBB)	3,119	1,226
	Abg Madzhi b Abg Hj Dahlan (Independent)	1,467	

N20 Laya	Alfred Jabu ak Numpang (BN-PBB) Razali b Sabang @ Mohamad Razali (Independent)	5,053 1,326	3,727
N21 Kalaka	Jong Nam Hin (Independent) Mohd ramli b Hj Omar (Independent) Wan Yusof b Tun Datuk Patinggi Tuanku Hj Bujang (BN-PBB) Jong Tahi Bee (Independent) Othman b Kawi	690 1,055 3,828 528 120	2,773
N22 Krian	Datuk Peter Tinggom ak Kamarau (SNAP) Andau ak Japar (Independent) John Antau ak Linggang (Independent) Langgu ak Saga @ Edmund (PBDS) Solomon Buyong (Independent)	2,307 162 853 2,752 65	445
N23 Kuala Rajang	Sa'adi b Olia (BN-PBB) Lamasudin b Salleh @ Dr Udic b Salleh (Independent)	3,305 1,850	1,455
N24 Matu- Daro	Wahab Hj Dollah (uncontested)		
N25 Repok	Teng Lung Chi (BN-SUPP) Chong Siew Chiang (DAP)	5,791 5,065	726
N26 Meradong	Wan Zainalabidin b Wanb Kassim (Independent) Hii King Hiong (BN-SUPP) Joseph Salang ak Gandum (Independent) Teo Siang Hai (Independent) Ting Yii Hiep (DAP)	101 3,857 2,960 33 2,095	897
N27 Maling	Ling Sie Ming (DAP) Wong Soon Kai (BN-SUPP)	5,583 21,803	16,220
N28 Seduan	Mohd Syaifuddin Suyong b Abdullah @ Vero Wells Suyong (Independent) Wong Sie Lee (Independent) Ting Ing Mieng (BN-SUPP)	176 1,887 7,445	5,558

N29 Igan	Boniface Jubilee b Genam (Independent)	365	1,886
	Tiong Chiong Chu (BN-SUPP)	2,813	
	Linus ak Lembang (Independent)	927	
	Neo ak Senen (Independent)	399	
N30 Dudong	Joseph Tan Chok Tiong @ Joseph Chock Chung Tang (SNAP)	2,695	175
	Wilfred Kiroh ak Jeram (Independent)	2,870	
	Sabang a Lembong @Raymond (PBDS)	2,387	
N31 Balingian	Awang Morshidi b Awang Buyu (Independent)	640	2,666
	Wong Sing Hong @ Janggau (DAP)	737	
	Enggai ak Antasin (Independent)	1,111	
	Wan habib b Syed Mahmud (BN- PBB)	3,777	
N32 Oya	Haji Salleh Jafaruddin (BN-PBB) uncontested		
N33 Pakan	Jawie Wilson Masing (PBDS)	2,040	261
	William Ikom (SNAP)	1,779	
	Kasa ak Jingga (Independent)	202	
N34 Meluan	Brayan ak Jalang (Independent)	105	11
	Engtingi ak Manggoi (Independent)	97	
	Geman ak Itam (SNAP)	1,977	
	Ambrose Gramong (PBDS)	1,966	
N35 Machan	Gramong Juna (PBDS)	3,017	883
	Stephen Jinggut ak Ajub (SNAP)	2,134	
	Batholomew Aji ak Lanyau (Independent)	82	
N36 Ngemah	Thomas Babai ak Lias (SNAP)	1,468	480
	Joseph Unting ak Umang (Independent)	860	
	Joseph ak Kudi (PBDS)	1,948	
N37 Katibas	Toh Tze Bin @ Toh Tze Hua (Independent)	460	519
	Tawai ak Lalang (Independent)	216	
	Ambrose Blikau ak Enturan (BN- PBB)	2,155	
	Baleng ak Jingin (Independent)	1,636	

N38 Pelagus	Lawrence ak Baling (Independent)	453	569
	Nueng ak Kudi (SNAP)	2,567	
	Jonathan Sabai ak Ajing (PBDS)	1,998	
N39 Baleh	Peter Gani ak Kiai (SNAP)	1,646	1,071
	Joseph ak Jinggut (Independent)	1,300	
	James Jemut ak Masing (PBDS)	2,717	
N40 Belaga	Stanley Ajang Batok (Independent)	575	639
	Nyipa Kilah @ Nyipa Batok (Independent)	1,261	
	Tajang Laing (BN-PBB)	1,900	
N41 Tatau	Mohd Julaihi b Hj Mohamad Hanafie (Independent)	375	354
	Ting Ling Kiew (SNAP)	1,988	
	Bolhassan b Kambar (Independent)	2,342	
N42 Kemena	Datuk Celestine Ujang ak Jilan (BN-PBB)	6,703	3,777
	Philip Chan Hwa Tat (DAP)	2,926	
	Mohamad b Nawi (Independent)	536	
N43 Subis	Danson Milai ak Unting (Independent)	3,937	1,668
	Usop b Wahab (BN-PBB)	5,605	
	Jonathan Saong ak Mamat (Independent)	236	
N44 Miri	Dr George Chan (BN-SUPP) Uncontested		
N45 Marudi	Edward Jeli ak Blayong (SNAP)	3,963	849
	Patrick Sibai ak Sujang (PBDS)	3,114	
N46 Telang Usan	Balan Seling (SNAP)	3,019	581
	Kebing Wan (Independent)	2,438	
N47 Limbang	Dato James Wong Kim Min (SNAP)	3,399	454
	Mohamed b Hj Abu Bakar (Independent)	2,945	
	Christopher Sawan ak Jiram (PBDS)	1,865	
	Ang Eng Meng (Independent)	102	
N48 Lawas	L Pagag ak Agong (Independent)	1,984	2,210
	Datuk Hj Noor b Hj Tahir (BN-PBB)	4,194	

APPENDIX TABLE 1.5
Sarawak: Results of the 1987 State Election

<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Parties</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
N1 Lundu	Ramsay Noel Jitam (BN-SUPP)	4,890	1,329
	Datuk Hj Noor b Hj Tahir (PERMAS)	3,561	
N2 Tasik Biru	Wilfred Rata Nissom (PBDS)	6,152	417
	Patau ak Rubis (BN-SNAP)	6,569	
N3 Padungan	Song Swee Guan (BN-SUPP)	14,499	5,961
	Tay Cheo Hong @Cheng Hui Hong (DAP)	8,538	
N4 Stampin	Sim Kheng Hong (BN-SUPP)	16,790	7,066
	Sim Keng Soon @ Sim Kwang Yang (DAP)	9,724	
N5 Petra Jaya	Sharifah Mordiah b Tku Fauzi (BN-PBB)	6,006	3,310
	Hafsah b Harun (PERMAS)	2,696	
N6 Satok	Abg Abd Rahman Zohari b Tun Abg Hj Openg (BN-PBB)	9,760	5,585
	Wan Ali b Tku Hj Madhi (PERMAS)	4,175	
	Abg Ariffin b Abg Sebli @ Abg Bungsu (BERSATU)	84	
N7 Sebandi	Datuk Patinggi Hj Abd Taib Mahmud (BN-PBB)	4,397	2,194
	Wan Yusof Tun Datuk Patinggi Tuanku Hj Bujang (PERMAS)	2,203	
N8 Muara Tuang	Abdul Rahman Hamzah (PERMAS)	1,755	3,441
	Adenan Hj Satem (BN-PBB)	5,196	
N9 Batu Kawah	Lim Guan Sin (DAP)	2,041	5,821
	Japat ak Simoi (PERMAS)	2,407	
	Chong Kiun Kong (BN-SUPP)	8,228	
N10 Bengoh	Louis Nigel Gines (BN-SUPP)	5,429	219
	Sura ak Sah @ Sora ak Rusah (PBDS)	5,648	
	Chong Kuet Bui @ Robert Abui (Independent)	230	

N11 Tarat	Richard Riot ak Jaem (PBDS)	3,994	1,113
	Frederick Bayoi Manggi (BN-PBB)	5,107	
	Lai Boon Luan (Independent)	405	
N12 Tebakang	Michael Ben ak Panggi (PBDS)	7,723	4,357
	Andrew Bujang Bareng (BN-SNAP)	3,366	
N13 Semera	Wan Zainal Abidin b Wan Senusi (PERMAS)	2,779	835
	Wan Wahab b Wan Senusi (BN-PBB)	3,614	
N14 Gedong	Khaider b Hj Ahmad Zaidel (BN-PBB)	2,342	1,140
	Mohammed Rawan b Abdullah @ Hilary Tawan ak Masan (PERMAS)	3,614	
N15 Lingga	Donald Lawan (BN-SNAP)	4,468	59
	Daniel tajem ak Miri (PBDS)	4,409	
N16 Sri Aman	Michael Pilo ak Gangga (BN-SUPP)	5,578	816
	Hollis ak Tini (PBDS)	4,762	
N17 Engkilili	Intal ak Rentap (BN-SUPP)	2,061	1,778
	Sing Cho Nang @ Sim Choy Nam @ Sim Choo Nam (PBDS)	3,839	
N18 Batang Air	Mikai ak Mandau (PBDS)	2,761	741
	Nicholas Bawin ak Anggat (BN-SNAP)	2,020	
N19 Saribas	Hj Zainuddin b Hj Satem (PERMAS)	3,184	1,436
	Bolhassan b Di (BN-PBB)	4,620	
	Ahmad b Johan (Independent)	108	
N20 Layar	Alfred Jabu ak Numpang (BN-PBB)	4,416	1,725
	David ak Impi (PBDS)	2,691	
N21 Kalaka	Abd Wahab b Aziz (BN-PBB)	3,608	77
	Datuk Yusuf Puteh (PERMAS)	3,685	
N22. Krian	Langgu ak Saga (PBDS)	3,751	414
	Peter Nyarok ak Entrie (BN-SNAP)	3,337	

N23 Kuala Rajang	Sa'adi b Olia (PERMAS) Hamden b Ahmad (BN-PBB)	2,110 3,251	1,141
N24 Matu Daro	Wahab b Hj Dolah (BN-PBB) Tun Abd Rahman Yakub (PERMAS)	5,302 3,677	1,625
N25 Repok	Teng Lung Chi (BN-SUPP) Wong Sing Nang(DAP)	6,479 5,564	915
N26 Meradong	Chong Siew Chiang (DAP) Hii King Hiong @ Thomas Hii King Hong (BN-SUPP)	4,134 5,371	1,237
N27 Maling	Ling Siew Ming (DAP) Wong Soon Kai (BN-SUPP)	9,858 19,239	9,381
N28 Seduan	Ling Sii Kiong (DAP) Loh Ngie Hock (Independent) Ting Ing Mieng (BN-SUPP) Lee Hie Kin @ Eric Lee (PERMAS)	2,331 81 7,023 684	4,692
N29 Igan	Wong Sook Koh (BN-SUPP) Nait ak Mani (Independent) David Tiong Chiong Chu (PERMAS)	2,402 81 2,425	23
N30 Dudong	Jawan Empaling (BN-SUPP) Suffian Abdullah @ Siew Chee Kiong (Independent) Wilfred Kiroh (PBDS)	4,717 232 4,406	311
N31 Balingian	Abdul Ajis b Abd Majeed (BN-PBB) Wan habib b Syed mahmud (PERMAS)	5,104 3,473	1,631
N32 Oya	Mohd Ghazali b Kipli (BN-PBB) Wan Madzihi b Wan Mahdzar (PERMAS)	2,705 4,679	1,974
N33 Pakan	William Ikom (BN-SNAP) Jawie Wilson Masing @ Jawie Masing @ Jawie ak Masing (PBDS)	2,195 2,453	258
N34 Meluan	Geman ak Itam (PBDS) Janggu ak Pengarah Banyang (BN-PBB)	3,135 2,091	1,044

N.35	Gramong Juna (PBDS)	3,426	988
Machan	Martin ak Charlie (BN-PBB)	2,438	
N36	Joseph Kudi (PBDS)	2,427	359
Ngemah	Tan ak Seliong (BN-SNAP)	2,068	
N37 Katibas	Ambrose Blikau ak Enturan (BN-PBB)	2,080	
	Kuin ak Kedal (Independent)	139	
	Bantin ak Jibom (PBDS)	2,624	544
N38 Pelagus	Philimon Nuing (PBDS)	2,242	16
	Sng Chee Hua (Independent)	1,289	
	Jangi ak Peng. Jemut (Independent)	433	
	Kenneth Kanyan ak Temenggong Koh (BN-PBB)	2,226	
N39 Baleh	Joseph ak Jinggut (BN-SNAP)	2,425	
	James Jemut ak Masing (PBDS)	3,516	1,091
N40 Belaga	Nyipa Kilah@ Nyipa Batok (BN-PBB)	2,934	1,433
	Tajang Laing (PERMAS)	1,501	
N41 Tatau	Jatan ak Linting (DAP)	356	
	Bolhassan b Kambar (PBDS)	2,555	245
	Daniel Sigah (BN-SNAP)	2,310	
N42 Kemena	Victor Temenggong Angang (PERMAS)	4,623	
	Chiew Chiu Sing(DAP)	2,462	
	Datuk Celestine Ujang ak Jilan (BN-PBB)	6,581	1,958
N43 Subis	Ali b Mana (Independent)	95	
	Salleh b Jafaruddin (PERMAS)	6,290	718
	Chong Kon Fatt (DAP)	254	
	Usop b Wahab (BN-PBB)	5,672	
	Linggie ak Balong (Independent)	81	
	David ak La(Independent)	42	
N44 Miri	Wong Ho Leng (DAP)	6,079	
	Dr George Chan Hong Nam (BN-SUPP)	14,352	8,273

N45 Marudi	Abu Bakar Abdullah @Tom		
	Belarek (Independent)	278	
	Atong ak Chuwat (BN-SNAP)	3,102	
	Edward Jeli ak Blayong (PBDS)	4,156	1,054
N46 Telang Usan	Kebing Wan (BN-PBB)	2,644	
	Datuk balan Seling (PBDS)	2,878	234
N47 Limbang	Thianeng ak Chuantek		
	(Independent)	271	
	Datuk Amar James Wong Kim		
	Min (BN-SNAP)	4,555	387
	Munir b Karim (Independent)	4,168	
	Ali b Abdullah (Independent)	89	
N48 Lawas	Labo Buaye @ Michael Labo		
	Buaye (Independent)	2,912	
	Awangku Yusof b Peng. Bongsu		
	(PERMAS)	495	
	Tengah b Ali @ Tengah b Ali		
	Hasan (BN-PBB)	3,722	810

APPENDIX TABLE 1.6
Sarawak: Result of the 1991 State Election

N.1 TANJUNG DATU (13,167)

1. Datuk Ramsey Noel Jitam	BN	5,088
2. Aton ak. Kajit	Parti Negara	133
3. Ahmad b. Abg. Ali	BEBAS	268
4. Sidi Munan	PBDS	4,294
	Kelebihan Undi	794
	Jumlah Mengundi	10,233
	Peratus Mengundi	77.71%
	Undi Rosak	97

N.2 TASIK BIRU (16,943)

1. Abdul Karim Hj. Ayub	BEBAS	673
2. Aloysius Dom Nagok	Parti Negara	215
3. Dr. Patau Rubis	BN	7,759
4. Patrick Anek Uren	PBDS	3,592
	Kelebihan Undi	4,167
	Jumlah Mengundi	12,634
	Peratus Mengundi	74.57%
	Undi Rosak	153

N.3 PANTAI DAMAI (11,011)

1. Hajah Sharifah Mordiah Tuanku Hj. Fauzi BN
(Menang Tanpa Bertanding)

N.4 SEJINGKAT (7,748)

1. Saidan @ Massudin bin Sahini	Parti Negara	48
2. Dr. Abg. Hj. Draup Zamahari @ Abdul Rauf b. Abg. Hj. Zen	BN	4,381
3. Suhaili bin Hamid	BEBAS	1,035
4. Jemi bin Aleh	BEBAS	192
	Kelebihan Undi	3,346
	Jumlah Mengundi	5,741
	Peratus Mengundi	74.09%
	Undi Rosak	85

N.5 TUPONG (14,730)

1. Haji Daud b. Abdul Rahman	BN	7,806
2. Suhaili bin Mumin	Parti Negara	131
3. Baharuddin Haji Mokhsen	PERMAS	2,045
	Kelebihan Undi	5,761
	Jumlah Mengundi	10,275
	Peratus Mengundi	69.76%
	Undi Rosak	156

N.6 SATOK (10,922)

1. Faisal bin Hj. Othman
2. Abang Johari Tun Abg Hj. Openg

PERMAS	1,028
BN	5,550
Kelebihan Undi	4,522
Jumlah Mengundi	6,870
Peratus Mengundi	62.50%
Undi Rosak	96

N.7 PADUNGAN (19,101)

1. Song Swee Guan
2. Ng Kim Ho

BN	8,836
DAP	4,646
Kelebihan Undi	4,190
Jumlah Mengundi	13,574
Peratus Mengundi	71.06%
Undi Rosak	67

N.8 PENDING (23,873)

1. Sim Kheng Hui
2. Cheng Hui Hong

BN	11,170
DAP	5,633
Kelebihan Undi	5,537
Jumlah Mengundi	16,930
Peratus Mengundi	70.95%
Undi Rosak	90

N.9 BATU LINTANG (21,291)

1. Chan Seng Khai
2. Sim Kwang Yang

BN	8,206
DAP	5,772
Kelebihan Undi	2,434
Jumlah Mengundi	14,179
Peratus Mengundi	66.60%
Undi Rosak	94

N.10 BATU KAWAH (20,682)

1. Yong Sen Chan
2. Chong Ju Siaw
3. Chong Kiun Kong

DAP	3,505
BEBAS	100
BN	10,201
Kelebihan Undi	6,616
Jumlah Mengundi	14,280
Peratus Mengundi	69.04%
Undi Rosak	235

N.11 BENGHO (18,578)

1. William Tanyuh ak. Nub	BN	6,477
2. Wilfred Nissom	PBDS	6,265
3. George Si Ricord	Parti Negara	236
4. Johnnine Chai @ Sasim	BEBAS	275
	Kelebihan Undi	212
	Jumlah Mengundi	13,503
	Peratus Mengundi	72.68%
	Undi Rosak	204

N.12 ASAJAYA (8,666)

1. Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Hj. Abdul Taib bin Mahmud	BN	4,601
2. Wan Zainal Senusi	PERMAS	1,465
3. Mohd. Adam Shah b. Hj. Anuar	Parti Negara	41
4. Bujang b. Bakar	DAP	617
	Kelebihan Undi	3,136
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,801
	Peratus Mengundi	78.47%
	Undi Rosak	61

N.13 MUARA TUANG (14,933)

1. Datuk Adenan bin Hj. Satem	BN	9,566
2. Mohd. Tahir Sham	Parti Negara	1,294
	Kelebihan Undi	8,272
	Jumlah Mengundi	11,850
	Peratus Mengundi	79.35%
	Undi Rosak	205

N.14 TARAT (12,864)

1. Peter ak. Runin	PBDS	3,969
2. Frederick Bayoi ak. Manggie	BN	4,615
3. Kapt. (B) Bujang ak. Ngadan	Parti Negara	532
	Kelebihan Undi	646
	Jumlah Mengundi	9,285
	Peratus Mengundi	72.18%
	Undi Rosak	178

N.15 TEBEDU (14,799)

1. Michael Ben	BN	5,463
2. Richard Riot ak. Jaem	PBDS	5,065
3. Nelson Kundai Ngareng	Parti Negara	353
	Kelebihan Undi	398

	Jumlah Mengundi	11,080
	Peratus Mengundi	74.87%
	Undi Rosak	199
N.16. SEMERA (7,884)		
1. Wan Abdul Wahab	BN	4,050
2. Zamhari bin Zaini	PERMAS	1,710
3. Ibrahim b. Hj. Jeman	Parti Negara	44
	Kelebihan Undi	2,340
	Jumlah Mengundi	5,872
	Peratus Mengundi	74.48%
	Undi Rosak	64
N.17. SIMUNJAN (10,843)		
1. Mohd. Naroden b. Majais	BN	4,948
2. Eimun Durong ak Inting	Parti Negara	75
3. Shamsuddin b. Abdullah @ Pok ak Ungut	PERMAS	97
4. Hj. Sahari bin Pet	BEBAS	262
5. Jack ak Bujang	PBDS	2,466
	Kelebihan Undi	2,482
	Jumlah Mengundi	8,463
	Peratus Mengundi	78.05%
	Undi Rosak	95
N.18 SEBUYAU (8,009)		
1. Wan Fauzi Tku Ayubi	PERMAS	748
2. Julaihi b Narawi	BN	3,584
3. Mazwell ak Rojis	PBDS	1,337
4. Awg. Azmi b Awg. Mat	Parti Negara	27
5. Jonathan Sumping Bayang	BEBAS	57
	Kelebihan Undi	2,247
	Jumlah Mengundi	5,862
	Peratus Mengundi	73.19%
	Undi Rosak	98
N.19 BELADIN (8,136)		
1. Bolhassan b. Di	BN	5,062
2. Mohd. Parthi b. Hj. Bujang	PERMAS	69
3. Abg. Mentaril b. Unus	Parti Negara	24
4. Abg. Mail	BEBAS	1,093
	Kelebihan Undi	3,969
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,324
	Peratus Mengundi	77.73%
	Undi Rosak	70

N.20 BUKIT BEGUNAN (10,254)

1. Donald Lawan	BN	3,470
2. Daniel Tajem ak Miri	PBDS	4,004
	Kelebihan Undi	534
	Jumlah Mengundi	7,589
	Peratus Mengundi	74.01%
	Undi Rosak	92

N.21 SIMANGGANG (13,553)

1. Banie ak Laba	Parti Negara	39
2. Simong ak Naga	BEBAS	62
3. Ngu Piew Seng	PBDS	4,621
4. Michael Pilo ak Gangga	BN	4,818
5. Hj. Azmi b Hj. Lamat	BEBAS	165
	Kelebihan Undi	197
	Jumlah Mengundi	9,825
	Peratus Mengundi	72.46%
	Undi Rosak	99

N.22 ENKILILI (8,209)

1. Sim Choo Nam	PBDS	2,822
2. Toh Heng San	BN	3,227
3. Engkamat ak Nanang	Parti Negara	143
	Kelebihan Undi	405
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,255
	Peratus Mengundi	76.19%
	Undi Rosak	57

N.23 BATANG AI (6,636)

1. Unting ak Ingkot	PBDS	2,558
2. Mikai ak Mandau	BN	2,475
	Kelebihan Undi	83
	Jumlah Mengundi	5,123
	Peratus Mengundi	77.20%
	Undi Rosak	85

N.24 SARIBAS (8,067)

1. Wahbi bin Junaidi (Menang Tanpa Bertanding)	BN	
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N.25 LAYAR (9,633)

1. Datuk Amar Alfred Jabu ak Numpang	BN	4,847
2. Frank Apau	PBDS	2,361
	Kelebihan Undi	2,486
	Jumlah Mengundi	7,296
	Peratus Mengundi	75.73%
	Undi Rosak	73

N.26 KELAKA (12,435)

1. Haji Senawi	Parti Negara	163
2. Abdul Wahab bin Aziz	BN	8,067
3. Mohd. Nasar b Badron @ Mohd. Nasir b Badron	PERMAS	1,389
	Kelebihan Undi	6,678
	Jumlah Mengundi	9,863
	Peratus Mengundi	79.31%
	Undi Rosak	147

N.27 KRIAN (8,854)

1. Datuk Edmund Langgu ak Saga	PBDS	2,866
2. Jonathan Mawar Endek	Parti Negara	159
3. Peter Nyarok ak Entrie	BN	3,898
	Kelebihan Undi	1,032
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,993
	Peratus Mengundi	78.98%
	Undi Rosak	57

N.28 BELAWAI (7,778)

1. Hamden bin Ahmad	BN	3,151
2. Dato' Salleh Jafaruddin	PERMAS	2,802
	Kelebihan Undi	349
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,024
	Peratus Mengundi	77.45%
	Undi Rosak	66

N.29 SERDENG (7,324)

1. Mohd. Asfia Awg. Nasar	BN	3,079
2. Awg. Hj. Ahmad	PERMAS	1,569
3. Abu Seman Mat	PERMAS	690
4. Ali Hassan Jajol	Parti Negara	37
5. Yusof b Basri	DAP	58
	Kelebihan Undi	1,510
	Jumlah Mengundi	5,527
	Peratus Mengundi	75.46%
	Undi Rosak	91

N.30 MATU DARO (8,396)

1. Yusuf Abdul Rahman	PERMAS	1,077
2. Cikgu Isnawi b Sirat	Parti Negara	85
3. Wahab Hj. Dolah	BN	4,572
4. Bujang b Bakar	DAP	437
	Kelebihan Undi	3,495
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,305
	Peratus Mengundi	75.10%
	Undi Rosak	133

N.31 MERADONG (12,773)

1. Sim Lai Ann	PBDS	3,463
2. Wailem b Mohd Sidek Kumung	Parti Negara	211
3. Thomas Hii King Hiong	BN	5,368
	Kelebihan Undi	1,905
	Jumlah Mengundi	9,136
	Peratus Mengundi	71.53%
	Undi Rosak	84

N.32 REPOK (15,543)

1. Chong Siew Chiang	DAP	5,088
2. Mawan ak Wass	Parti Negara	87
3. David Teng Lung Chi	BN	6,491
	Kelebihan Undi	1,403
	Jumlah Mengundi	11,818
	Peratus Mengundi	76.03%
	Undi Rosak	106

N.33 PAKAN (6,400)

1. William Mawan ak Ikom	BN	2,787
2. Dr. Jawie Masing	PBDS	2,192
	Kelebihan Undi	595
	Jumlah Mengundi	5,054
	Peratus Mengundi	78.96%
	Undi Rosak	69

N.34 MELUAN (8,222)

1. Geman ak Itam	BN	3,144
2. David ak Gramong	Parti Negara	224
3. Edward Empira ak Kadom	PBDS	2,197
	Kelebihan Undi	227
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,435
	Peratus Mengundi	78.27%
	Undi Rosak	146

N.35 NGEMAH (7,418)

1. Robert Menua Saleh
2. Gabriel Adit ak Demong

BN	2,431
PBDS	2,913

Kelebihan Undi	482
Jumlah Mengundi	5,436
Peratus Mengundi	73.28%
Undi Rosak	77

N.36 MACHAN (8,736)

1. Alau b Tayan
2. Gramong Juna

PBDS	3,089
BN	3,700

Kelebihan Undi	611
Jumlah Mengundi	6,847
Peratus Mengundi	78.37%
Undi Rosak	49

N.37 DUDONG (18,619)

1. Joseph Tang
2. Kong Pak Nam
3. Dr. Soon Choon Teck

DAP	2,549
PBDS	1,874
BN	8,580

Kelebihan Undi	6,031
Jumlah Mengundi	13,304
Peratus Mengundi	71.45%
Undi Rosak	206

N.38 BUKIT ASSEK (20,459)

1. Wong Sing Nang
2. Dr. Wong Soon Kai

DAP	4,216
BN	10,569

Kelebihan Undi	6,353
Jumlah Mengundi	14,858
Peratus Mengundi	72.62%
Undi Rosak	59

N.39 BAWANG ASSAN (13,734)

1. Wong Soon Koh
2. Ling Sic Ming

BN	6,112
DAP	3,220

Kelebihan Undi	2,892
Jumlah Mengundi	9,401
Peratus Mengundi	68.43%
Undi Rosak	61

N.40 SEDUAN (18,637)

1. Ting Ing Mieng	BN	8,677
2. Junit b Yunus	Parti Negara	410
3. Ma Teck Kiong	DAP	2,765
	Kelebihan Undi	5,912
	Jumlah Mengundi	12,766
	Peratus Mengundi	68.50%
	Undi Rosak	264

N.41 DALAT (14,494)

1. Peter Nari Dina	PBDS	2,104
2. Edmund Dingun ak Tandok	BEBAS	98
3. Datuk Effendi Norwawi	BN	7,719
	Kelebihan Undi	5,615
	Jumlah Mengundi	
	Peratus Mengundi	69.44%
	Undi Rosak	117

N.42 BALINGIAN (10,661)

1. Kadir @ Abdul Kadir b Yahya	BEBAS	418
2. Abdul Ajis b Abdul Majeed	BN	5,742
3. Wong Sing Hong @ Janggau	DAP	169
4. Hambali b Hj. Annuar	PBDS	1,088
	Kelebihan Undi	4,654
	Jumlah Mengundi	7,598
	Peratus Mengundi	71.27%
	Undi Rosak	115

N.43 TAMIN (9,053)

1. Emat ak Lidy	BEBAS	124
2. Jawan Empaling	BN	2,943
3. Joseph Entulu Belaun	PBDS	3,455
	Kelebihan Undi	512
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,589
	Peratus Mengundi	72.79%
	Undi Rosak	66

N.44 KAKUS (7,919)

1. Joshua ak Jabing @ Joshua Jabeng	Parti Negara	296
2. Musa ak Giri	BN	2,274
3. John Sikie ak Tayai	PBDS	2,996
4. Ungun ak Bayang	BEBAS	72
	Kelebihan Undi	722
	Jumlah Mengundi	5,719
	Peratus Mengundi	72.22%
	Undi Rosak	73

N.45 PELAGUS (10,138)

1. Alexander Nanta Linggi	BN	3,700
2. Dato' Sng Chee Hua	PBDS	4,342
	Kelebihan Undi	642
	Jumlah Mengundi	8,165
	Peratus Mengundi	80.54%
	Undi Rosak	116

N.46 KATIBAS (7,716)

1. Ambrose Blikau ak Enturan	BN	3,638
2. James Minggu ak Serang @ Jembu	Parti Negara	125
3. Felix Bantin ak Jibom	PBDS	1,972
	Kelebihan Undi	1,666
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,306
	Peratus Mengundi	75.52%
	Undi Rosak	75

N.47 BALEH (8,769)

1. Simon ak Temenggong Sibat	BN	1,858
2. Dr. James Jemut Masing	PBDS	4,183
3. Ngalambong ak Limbing	BEBAS	188
	Kelebihan Undi	2,325
	Jumlah Mengundi	6,306
	Peratus Mengundi	71.90%
	Undi Rosak	77

N.48 BELAGA (5,235)

1. Nyipa Bato	BN	2,884
2. Abin Bira Laing	PBDS	825
3. Helen Long Sten	DAP	91
	Kelebihan Undi	2,059
	Jumlah Mengundi	3,883
	Peratus Mengundi	74.17%
	Undi Rosak	73

N.49 KEMENA (11,310)

1. Stephen Randi ak Sekalai	PBDS	2,101
2. Datuk Celestine Ujang ak Jilan	BN	5,050
3. Hussien b Abd Razak	DAP	277
4. Anthony Nait ak Mani	Parti Negara	109
	Kelebihan Undi	2,949
	Jumlah Mengundi	7,633
	Peratus Mengundi	67.49%
	Undi Rosak	96

N.50 KIDURONG (18,363)

1. Ting Ling Kiew
2. Michael Sim
3. Menjang ak Mawar
4. Chiew Chiu Sing

PBDS	4,360
BN	5,710
Parti Negara	94
DAP	2,676
Kelebihan Undi	1,350
Jumlah Mengundi	12,961
Peratus Mengundi	70.58%
Undi Rosak	107

N.51 LAMBIR (22,554)

1. Usop b Wahab
2. Lawrence Tan Chok Sing

BN	9,745
PBDS	4,110
Kelebihan Undi	5,635
Jumlah Mengundi	14,346
Peratus Mengundi	63.60%
Undi Rosak	289

N.52 PIASAU (30,557)

1. Chong Kon Fatt
2. Datuk Dr. George Chan Hong Nam

DAP	4,571
BN	13,634
Kelebihan Undi	9,063
Jumlah Mengundi	18,477
Peratus Mengundi	60.47%
Undi Rosak	198

N.53 MARUDI (12,651)

1. Datuk Edward Jeli
2. China ak Juang @ Marcos
3. Patrick Sibat ak Sujang

BN	4,203
Parti Negara	316
PBDS	3,461
Kelebihan Undi	742
Jumlah Mengundi	8,133
Peratus Mengundi	64.28%
Undi Rosak	133

N.54 TELANG USAN (10,071)

1. Datuk Balan Seling
2. John Kalang Usang
3. Harrison Ngau Laing
4. Steward Ngau Ding

BN	3,252
BEBAS	95
PBDS	2,019
BEBAS	342
Kelebihan Undi	1,232
Jumlah Mengundi	5,774
Peratus Mengundi	57.33%
Undi Rosak	57

N.55 LIMBANG (16,009)

1. Datuk Amar James Wong Kim Min	BN	5,813
2. Munir Hj. Karim	PERMAS	2,160
3. Kong Sieng Kee	DAP	179
4. Edward Guatee ak Sundai	PBDS	2,819
	Kelebihan Undi	2,994
	Jumlah Mengundi	11,138
	Peratus Mengundi	69.57%
	Undi Rosak	114

N.56 LAWAS (11,632)

1. Awang Tengah Ali Hasan	BN	6,076
2. Baru Bian	PBDS	2,433
	Kelebihan Undi	3,643
	Jumlah Mengundi	8,619
	Peratus Mengundi	74.09%
	Undi Rosak	92

APPENDIX 1.7
Sarawak Results of the 1996 State Election

<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Parties</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
N1 Tanjong Datu	Datuk Ramsay Noel Jitam (BN/SUPP)	5,268	3,417
	Chen Yiew Zean (Independent)	1,851	
	Jehim ak Milos (Independent)	568	
N2 Tasik Biru	Peter Nansian ak Ngusie (BN/SNAP)	6,049	1,575
	Dr Patau Rubis (STAR)	4,474	
N3 Pantai Damai	Datin Paduka Sharifah Mordiah (BN/PBB) UNCONTESETED		
N4 Demak Laut	Abg Abd Raug Abg Hj Zen (BN/PBB)	5,365	4,829
	Junaidi Putit (Independent)	536	
N5 Tupong	Hj Daud Abd Rahman (BN/PBB)	6,264	5,603
	Abg Ariffin b Abg Sebli (Independent)	661	

N6 Satok	Datuk Abg Johari Tun Abg Hj Openg (BN/PBB) Sharkawi Faisal b Othman (Independent)	6,628 808	5,820
N7 Samariang	Dona Babel (BN/PBB) Mariam b Musa (Independent)	4,170 1,709	2,461
N8 Padungan	Datuk Song Swee Guan (BN/SUPP) Ng Kim Ho (DAP) Eric Lee (Independent)	8,319 6,187 282	2,123
N9 Pending	Sim Kheng Hui (BN/SUPP) Ting Kee Kai (Independent)	11,494 4,858	6,636
N10 Batu Lintang	Chan Seng Khai (BN/SUPP) Francis Siah (Independent) Chua Chio Kuia (Independent)	9,400 2,420 1,469	6,980
N11 Batu Kawah	Alfred Yap Chin Loi (BN/SUPP) Dripin Sakoi (Independent)	10,883 2,058	8,825
N12 Asajaya	Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Hj Abd Taib Mahmud (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N13 Muara Tuang	Datuk Adenan Hj Satem (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N14 Bengoh	William Tanyuh ak Nub (BN/SUPP) Dr Akaw Nonjep (Independent) Wilfred Ahmin Gumung (Independent) Dr Jerip ak Susil (Independent)	6,312 181 348 4,865	1,447
N15 Tarat	Roland Sagah Wee Inn (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N16 Tebedu	Micahel Manyin ak Jawong (BN/PBB) Yusuf Abdullah (Independent)	4,585 2,025	2,560
N17 Kedup	Frederick Bayoi ak Manggie (BN/PBB) Lainus ak Andrew Luwak (Independent)	6,978 3,120	3,858

N18 Sadong Jaya	Wan Abd Wahab Wan Sanusi (BN/PBB) Hj Wan Zainal Abidin Wan Sanusi (Independent)	3,429 1,620	1,809
N19 Simunjan	Hj Mohd Naroden Hj Majais (BN/PBB) Samsuddin Abdullah @ Pok Ai (Independent)	7,332 803	6,529
N20 Sebuyau	Julaihi Narawi (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N21 Beting Maro	Bolhassan Di (BN/PBB) Hj Ali Husain b Hj Sain (Independent)	3,736 1,506	2,230
N22 Bukit Begunan	Mong Dagang (BN/PBDS) Donald Lawan (Independent)	4,891 2,726	2,165
N23 Simanggang	Francis Harden ak Hollis Tini (BN/SUPP) Othman b Abdullah (Independent)	8,215 1,277	6,938
N24 Engkilili	Toh Heng San (BN/SUPP) Sanggong ak Bungu (Independent) Serit ak Kunchau (Independent) Sim Choo Nam (Independent)	3,152 106 187 2,778	374
N25 Batang Ai	Dublin Unting ak Ingkot (BN/PBDS) Klinsing ak Manau (Independent)	3,882 1,327	2,555
N26 Saribas	Wahbi b Junaidi (BN/PBB) Hj Zain b Hj Sitam (Independent) Albert Dass (Independent) Jemat Panjang (Independent)	3,161 1,165 802 446	1,996
N27 Layar	Tan Sri Datuk Amar Alfred jabu (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N28 Kalaka	Abdul Wahab Aziz (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N29 Krian	Oeter Nyarok ak Entrie (BN/SNAP) Musa ak Dinggat (Independent)	3,818 3,341	477

N30 Belawai	Hamden b Ahmad (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N31 Serdeng	Dato' Mohd Asfia Awang Nassar (BN/PBB)	4,075	2,747
	Ibrahim Taha (Independent)	145	
	Zaiton Nor Mohamed (Independent)	1,328	
N32 Matu Daro	Wahab b Hj Dolah (BN/PBB)	5,769	4,578
	Mostapa b Kusairi (Independent)	1,191	
N33 Meradong	Thomas Hii King Hong (BN/SUPP)	4,262	
	William Ngui (Independent)	133	
	Ting Ng Chai (Independent)	32	
	Yii Chu Ik (Independent)	5,520	1,258
N34 Repok	David Teng Lung Chi (BN/SUPP) UNCONTESTED		
N35 Pakan	William Mawan ak Ikom (BN/SNAP)	2,903	330
	Samuel Edward Chun (Independent)	2,573	
N36 Meluan	Geman ak Itam (BN/SNAP)	2,869	131
	David ak Gramong (Independent)	172	
	Jeffery Geraman Nyambang (Independent)	979	
	Thomas Salang ak Siden (Independent)	2,738	
N37 Ngemah	Gabriel Adit ak Demong (BN/PBDS)	3,178	1,707
	Peter Talajan ak Sabal (Independent)	1,471	
N38 Machan	Datuk Gramong Juna (BN/PBB)	4,619	2,230
	Angki Kaboy (Independent)	2,389	
	Douglas Limbai ak Guran (Independent)	121	
N39 Bukit Assek	Tan Sri Datuk Amar Dr Wong Soon Kai (BN/SUPP)	5,630	
	Wong HoLeng (DAP)	5,856	226
N40 Dudong	Dr Soon Choon Teck (BN/SUPP) UNCONTESTED		

N41 Bawang Assan	Datuk Wong Soon Koh (BN/SUPP) Chian Pao Koh (DAP)	6,953 4,244	2,709
N42 Pelawan	Goh Chung Siong (BN/SUPP) Wong Sing Nang (DAP)	6,486 7,460	974
N43 Nangka	Awang Bemee b Awang Basah (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N44 Dalat	Datuk Mohd Effendi Norwawi (BN/PBB) Sim Eng Hua (Independent)	6,339 2,432	3,907
N45 Balingian	Abdul Ajis Abd Majeed (BN/PBB) Yusuf Abdul Rahman (Independent)	4,622 2,591	2,031
N46 Tamin	Joseph Entulu ak Beluan (BN/PBDS) Munan ak John Andrew (Independent) Munan Aj (Independent)	4,612 1,589 84	3,023
N47 Kakus	John Sikie ak Tayai (BN/PBDS) UNCONTESTED		
N48 Pelagus	Datuk Sng Chee Hua (BN/PBDS) UNCONTESTED		
N49 Katibas	Ambrose Blikau ak Enturan (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N50 Baleh	Dr James Jemut Masing (BN/PBDS) John ak Punga (Independent)	5,411 762	4,649
N51 Belaga	Stanley Ajang Batok (BN/PBDS) Raymond Abin Bira (Independent) Deniel Levon Imang (Independent) Wesley Ngo (Independent) Stem Liao (Independent) Mai Lagi (Independent)	1,646 613 613 214 233 878	768
N52 Kemena	Datuk Celestine Ujang ak Jilan (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		

N53 Kidurong	Michael Sim Kiam Hui (BN/SUPP) Wong Sing Ai (DAP)	5,106 5,128	22
N54 Jepak	Talib b Zulpilip (BN/PBB) Awg Abdillah b Awg Nasar (Independent) Dick b Winic (Independent)	5,892 605 179	5,287
N55 Lambir	Aidan Wing (BN/PBB) Mohdar Ismail (Independent) Janting ak T R Jawa (Independent)	7,794 2,528 326	5,266
N56 Piasau	Datuk Dr George Chan Hong Nam (BN/SUPP) Law Ching Sing (DAP)	8,737 3,546	5,191
N57 Senadin	Lee Kim Shin(BN/SUPP) Hadin ak Mulau (Independent) Yong Hong Fuh (Independent)	9,568 1,173 1,811	7,757
N58 Marudi	Sylvester Entri ak Muran (BN/SNAP) UNCONTESTED		
N59 Telang Usan	Robert laing Anyie (BN/PBB) Kebing Wan (Independent)	3,037 3,554	517
N60 Limbang	Datuk Amar James Wong Kim Min (BN/SNAP) UNCONTESTED		
N61 Lawas	Awang Tengah Ali Hasan (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N62 Ba'Kelalan	Judson Sakai Tagal (BN/SNAP) UNCONTESTED		

APPENDIX TABLE 1.8
Sarawak: Results of the 2001 State Election

<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Parties</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
N1 Tanjung Datu	Ranum ak Mina (BN/SUPP)	5,605	5,337
	Awang Asmadi Awang Ahmad (KeAdilan)	268	
	Teo Chung Chai (DAP)	394	
	Sulaiman Aban (Independent)	508	
	Chin Yu Ngin (Independent)	552	
N2 Tasik Biru	Peter Nansian ak Ngusie (BN/SNAP)	7,238	2,744
	Joseph Jindy Peter Rosen (STAR)	4,494	
N3 Pantai Damai	Dr Abdul Raluman Junaidi (BN/PBB)	6,072	3,315
	Ustaz Husaini Hamdan (KeAdilan)	2,757	
	Norita Azmi (Independent)	280	
N4 Demak Laut	Dr Abg Rauf Abg Hj Zen (BN/PBB)	4,974	3,845
	Hj Ahmad Lukman Aba Ibrahim (KeAdilan)	1,129	
	Dr Abg Yusof Abg Hj Razak (Independent)	886	
N5 Tupong	Hj Daud Abdul Rahman (BN/PBB)	7,037	4,834
	Ismadi Abdul Wahed (KeAdilan)	2,203	
	Hj Mustapha Jinal Abidin		
	Mohammad (Independent)	237	
N6 Satok	Dato Abg Johari Tun Openg (BN/PBB)	4,830	2,859
	Zulrusdi Mohd Hol (KeAdilan)	1,971	
N7 Samariang	Datin Paduka Hj Sharifah Mordiah		3,297
	Tuanku Hj Fauzi (BN/PBB)	5,460	
	Wan Zainal Abidin Wan Sanusi (KeAdilan)	2,163	
	Mohamad Shokri Ahmad Fauzi (PAS)	468	
	Abg Ariffin Abg Annuar (Independent)	347	
N8 Padungan	Lily Yong Lee Lee (BN/SUPP)	8,402	1,033
	Chong Chien Jen (DAP)	7,369	
N9 Pending	Datuk Sim Kheng Hui (BN/SUPP)	11,918	7,981
	Ng Kim Ho (KeAdilan)	3,150	
	Voon Lee Shan (DAP)	3,937	

N10 Batu Lintang	Chan Seng Khai Chen Hui Hong (KeAdilan) Francis Siah Khui Sang (Independent)	11,625 4,237 756	7,388
N11 Batu Kawa	Alfred Yap Chin Loi (BN/SUPP) UNCONTESTED		
N12 Asajaya	Abdul Karim Abd Rahman Hamzah (BN/PBB) Dato Abg Abu Bakar Mustapha (Independent) Abdullah Daraup (KeAdilan)	5,068 1,403 707	3,665
N13 Muara Tuang	Dato Hj Adenan Hj Satem (BN/PBB) Suhaili Hamid (Independent)	11,017 1,309	9,708
N14 Bengoh	Dr Jerip ak Susil (BN/SUPP) Dr Patau Rubis (STAR)	8,027 4,608	3,419
N15 Tarat	Roland Sagah Wee Inn (BN/PBB) Tusa Lo Tai Chai (STAR) Jeffrey Gugui Jiwan (Independent)	7,555 1,258 665	6,297
N16 Tebedu	Datuk Michael Manyin ak Jawong (BN/PBB) Yusuf @ Bangau Ukak (Independent)	6,096 1,331	4,765
N17 Kedup	Frederick Bayoi Manggie (BN/PBB) Dr Akaw Nonjep (KeAdilan) CorboldLuso (Independent) Augustine bagat Sikut (Independent)	8,254 745 1,238 988	7,016
N18 Sadong Jaya	Hj Wan Abd Wahab Wan Sanusi (BN/PBB) Adam Ahid (PAS) Shapee Hj Lahati (Independent)	3,888 987 388	2,901
N19 Simunjan	Hj Mohd Naroden Majais (BN/PBB) Hj Bujang Ulis (KeAdilan) Muhammad Husain Mustapha (Independent)	4,088 2,448 90	1,640
N20 Sebuyau	Julaihi Hj Narawi (BN/PBB) Mohamad Akek (KeAdilan) Hjh Dayang Saadiah Hj Mat (Independent)	5,200 1,074 431	4,126

N21 Beting Maro	Hj Bolhassan Hj Di (BN/PBB) Abang Was (PAS) Mohtada Dol (Independent)	4,433 1,399 53	3,034
N22 Bukit Begunan	Mong ak Dagang (BN/PBDS) Marcus Kanyong (STAR) Lawrence Lendang Ambu (Independent) Wel @ Maxwell Rojis (Independent)	4,669 1,793 117 474	2,876
N23 Simanggang	Francis Harden ak Hollis (BN/SUPP) Asem Mansor (Independent)	8,404 1,440	6,968
N24 Engkilili	Toh Heng San (BN/SUPP) Nor Azman Abdullah @ Baginda (KeAdilan) Johnicol Rayong Ngipa (Independent)	3,485 173 2,777	708
N25 Batang Ai	Dublin Untingak Ingkot (BN/PBDS) UNCONTESTED		
N26 Saribas	Dr Wahbi Hj Junaidi (BN/PBB) Abg Othman Abg Hj Gom (KeAdilan) James Entika Gubar (Independent) Abg Ahmad Arabi Abg Bolhassan (Independent) Chin Ma Tak @Raphael Mada (Independent)	3,710 151 207 384 56	2,197
N27 Layar	Tan Si Datuk Amar Alfred jabu ak Numpang (BN/PBB) Danson Bulli Jelian (Independent) Florence Walter Samuel (Independent)	5,704 198 1,171	4,533
N28 Kalaka	Abdul Wahab Aziz (BN/PBB) Hj Basmawi Mahali (KeAdilan) Idris Bohari (Independent)	7,692 1,194 232	6,498
N29 Krian	Peter Nyarok ak Entrie (BN/SNAP) Julin ak Betamin (KeAdilan) Bayang Sungkey (STAR) Musa Dinggat (Independent) John Molls @ Watt Kudit (Independent)	5,010 211 58 2,120 152	2,890

N30 Belawai	Hj Hamden Hj Ahmad (BN/PBB) Osman Ossen (Independent) Sharipah Hajjah Syed Jamil (Independent)	3,509 351 2,135	1,373
N31 Serdeng	Dato Awg Adfia Awg Nassar (BN/PBB) Abd Kadir Madahan @ Bakong (Independent)	4,255 1,336	2,919
N32 Matu Daro	Datuk Hj Wahab Hj Dolah (BN/PBB) Dr Noh Saabi (Independent)	5,893 1,463	4,430
N33 Meradong	Datuk Ting Check Sii (BN/SUPP) Yek Sie Ping (DAP)	7,391 3,770	3,621
N34 Repok	Datuk David Teng Lung Chi (BN/SUPP) Dr Wong Hua She (KeAdilan) Wong Sing Ai (DAP)	8,421 1,940 1,515	5,769
N35 Pakan	Datuk William Mawan Ikom (BN/SNAP) Megong Grek (Independent) Samuel Edwatd Chun (Independent)	4,242 1,940 195	2,302
N36 Meluan	Geman ak Itam (BN/SNAP) Wong Judat (Independent)	2,584 4,742	2,158
N37 Ngemah	Gabriel Adit ak Demong (BN/PBDS) Michael Lias (Independent)	3,037 2,073	964
N38 Machan	Datuk Gramong Juna (BN/PBB) Alphonsus Spung Antas (Independent) Douglas Alau Tayan (Independent)	4,231 504 1,798	2,433
N39 Bukit Assek	Daniel Ngieng Kiong Ann (BN/SUPP) Wong Ho Leng (DAP)	6,289 5,414	875
N40 Dudong	Dr Soon Choon Teck (BN/SUPP) Wong Kee Woan (DAP) Yek Tiew Leong (Independent) Lubau Genam (Independent)	9,679 3,364 140 1,001	6,315

N41 Bawang Assan	Datuk Wong Soon Koh (BN/SUPP) Michael Tiang Ming Tee (DAP)	9,465 2,369	6,315
N42 Palawan	Vincent Goh (BN/SUPP) Dr Ting Chek Ming (DAP)	14,129 5,684	8,445
N43 Nangka	Awang Bemee Awang Ali Basah (BN/PBB) Abdul Raisian Putit (KeAdilan) Abg Abd Halil Abg Naili (Independent)	7,559 539 554	7,005
N44 Dalat	Fatimah Abdullah (BN/PBB) Peter Nari Dina (Independent)	7,497 973	6,524
N45 Balingian	Datuk Patinggi Tan Sri Hj Abd taib Mahmud (BN/PBB) Yeo Eng Choo (Independent) Kadri Jili (Independent) Alan Dunggat (Independent)	7,532 225 141 61	7,307
N46 Tamin	Joseph Entulu ak Belaun (BN/PBDS) Ricky Bernard Betty (Independent)	6,310 866	5,444
N47 Kakus	John Sikie Tayai (BN/PBDS) Joshua Renang Manai (KeAdilan) Charles @ Chali Luntong (Independent)	4,252 265 1,131	3,121
N48 Pelagus	Larry Sng Wei Shien (BN/PBDS) Chua Bee Hun (Independent) Lee Hun Tak (Independent) Ling Kok Hong (Independent) Jeffrey Nuing Ebom (Independent)	7,418 40 39 1,155 1,011	6,263
N49 Katibas	Datuk Ambrose Blikau ak Enturan (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
N50 Baleh	Dato Dr James Jemut Masing (BN/PBDS) Stephen Nyamok Medan (Independent)	6,378 386	5,992
N51 Belaga	Stanley Ajang Bato (BN/PBDS) Abin Bira (KeAdilan) Mai Lagiwi (Independent)	2,452 512 1,128	1,324

N52 Kemena	Dr Stephen Rundi ak Utom (BN/PBB)	6,830	5,832
	David Kimay (DAP)	998	
	John Brian Anthony Jeremy Guang (Independent)	718	
	Edward Galau Sigi (Independent)	88	
N53 Kidurong	Michael Sim Kiam Hui (BN/SUPP)	7,408	
	Chiew Chiu Sing (DAP)	7,551	143
N54 Jepak	Hj Talip Zulpilip (BN/PBB)	6,002	4,547
	Wan Saimi Wan Dahlan (Independent)	397	
	Julaihi Zainuddin (Independent)	223	
	Bolhassan Kambat (Independent)	1,455	
N55 Lambir	Aidan Wing (BN/PBB)	10,115	8,800
	Mihdar Ismail (KeAdilan)	1,315	
	Roslie Sili (Independent)	430	
N56 Piasau	Tan Sri Datuk Amar Dr George Chan		
	Hong Nam (BN/SUPP)	10,237	7,673
	John Lau Ching Sing (DAP)	2,564	
N57 Senadin	Lee Kim Shin (BN/SUPP)	13,237	9,199
	Dr Michael teo Yu Kheng (KeAdilan)	3,905	
N58 Marudi	Sylvester Entrie Muran (BN/SNAP)	4,587	2,954
	Harrison Ngau Laing (KeAdilan)	1,633	
	Mering Imang (Independent)	463	
	Nordus Maling Mohd Said (Independent)	53	
N59 Telang Usan	Lihan Jok (BN/PBB)	3,621	1,029
	Kebing Wan (Independent)	2,592	
N60 Limbang	Ricahrd Wong Shoon Fook (BN/SNAP)	5,668	559
	Amran @ Hamdan Maidin (KeAdilan)	118	
	Said Mohidin (Independent)	5,109	
N61 Lawas	Datuk Awang Tengah Ali Hasan (BN/PBB)	6,299	6,010
	Japar Suyut (KeAdilan)	289	
N62 Ba'Kelalan	Dr Judson Sakai Tagal (BN/SNAP)		
	UNCONTESTED		

Appendix Table 1.9
Sarawak: Results of By-Elections 1973 –1986

<i>Date/Constituency</i>	<i>Candidates/Parties</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Majority</i>
17/07/1971 S.38 Pelagus	Leonard Linggi Jugah (Pesaka)	1,676	231
	Wesley Ajan (Sarawak Coalition Government)	1,445	
	Pengarah Sibak ak Buyong (SNAP)	159	
	Manca ak Empalang (Independent)	171	
28/01/1973 S.7 Sebandi	Dr Sulaiman Daud (Alliance/PBB)	4,324	3,383
	Bujang Bakar (SNAP)	661	
	Wazir Mohamed Khan (Independent)	941	
15/12/1973 S.3 Kuching Barat	Abang Abu Bakar Datuk Bandar Mustapha (Alliance/PBB)	5,651	3,082
	Jerry Simon Oswald Martin (SNAP)	2,569	
19/01/1974 S.17 Engkilili- Skrang	Alfred Jabu anak Numpang (Sarawak Coalition Government) UNCONTESTED		
09/08/1976 N.5 Semariang	Hafsah Harun (BN/PBB)	4,558	2,883
	Bujang Pulo(SNAP)	1,675	
11/06/1977 S. 31 Balingian	Wan Habib Syed Mahmud (BN/PBB)	3,053	1,089
	Lawrence Linggi ak Balong (Independent)	1,964	
16/09/1978 N.35 Machan	Gramong Juna (BN/SNAP)	2,142	63
	Thomas Kana (Independent)	2,079	

20/01/1979 N.8 Muara Tuang	Adenan Hj Satem (BN/PBB) Razali Sabang (PAJAR)	3,643 846	2,797
17/03/1979 N.4 Kuching Timor	Chai Chong Fea (BN/SNAP) Dr Chua Kock Meng (Independent)	2,385 8,122	5,737
28/01/1980 N.32 Oya	Salleh Jafaruddin (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
11/03/1981 N.7 Sebandi	DatukPatinggi Abdul Taib Mahmud (BN/PBB) UNCONTESTED		
23/05/1981 N. 6 Satok	Abg Johari Tun Abg Hj Openg (BN/PBB) Wan Ahmadul Badwi (PAJAR)	7,857 1,974	5,883
23/05/1981 N.24 Matu Daro	Abang Ali Abang Rani (BN/PBB) Eden Abdullah (PAJAR)	5,227 968	4,259
05/09/1981 N.17 Engkilili	Jonathan Nawin ak Jinggong (BN/SNAP) Entau Mengga (Independent)	2,536 1,216	1,320
14/08/1982 Bengoh	William Tanyuh ak Nub (BN/SUPP) Chong Kuet Bui @ Robert Abui (Independent)	4,195 3,719	476
02/07/1986 N.32 Oya	Wan Madzihi Wan Mahdzar (BN/PBB) Datuk Salleh Jafaruddin (Independent)	4,215 2,460	1,755

30/08/1986

N.18 Batang Ai	Albert Klingsing ak Manau (BN/SNAP)	1,939	
	Mikai ak Mandau (Independent)	2,342	403
	Ronaldson Ranggau ak Bassan (Independent)	46	
	Pok ak Ungkut (Independent)	59	
	Dakan ak Sutik (Independent)	59	
	Lim Ah San (Independent)	30	

- Note:
1. The by-election for S.38 Pelagus was held due to the demise of Pelagus incumbent Bennet Jarrow on 13/08/1970
 2. The S.7 Sebandi by-election was held following the death of former Minister of Culture, Datuk Abg Ikhwan Zainie on 01/12/1972
 3. The S.3 Kuching Barat by-election was held following the resignation of Chen Yew Kew on 01/12/1973
 4. The S.17 Engkilili-Skrang by-election was held following the resignation of former Deputy Chief Minister Simon Dcmbab Maja on 02/11/1973
 5. The S.5 Semariang by-election was called to elect a replacement for the incumbent Ajibal Abol who passed away on 14/06/1976
 6. The S.31 Balingian by-election was held to fill a vacuum left by Salleh Jafaruddin who resigned upon his appointment as Senator and Deputy Minister of Education.
 7. The N.35 Machan by-election was held to choose a new representative following the resignation of Leo Moggie who was appointed a Federal Minister
 8. The N.8 Muara Tuang by-election on 20/01/1979 was held following the death of the incumbent Mohamad Musa on 17/11/1978
 9. The N.4 Kuching Timor by-election was held to elect a replacement for Assistant Minister for Local Government Lo Foot Kee who died of a heart attack on 20/01/1979
 10. The N.32 Oya by-election was held following the resignation of the incumbent Edward Esnen on 18/12/1979
 11. The N.7 Sebandi by-election was held after incumbent Sharifah Mordiah vacated the seat on 18/02/1981 to pave the way for Taib Mahmud to return to state politics.

12. The N. 6 Satok by-election on 23/05/1981 was held after Abang Abu Bakar resigned to take up appointment as a Federal Deputy Minister

13. The N.24 Matu Daro on 23/05/1981 was called following the resignation of Abdul Rahman Yakub on 26/03/1981 who was to be sworn Sarawak's Head of State on 01/04/1981.

14. The N. 17 Engkilili by-election on 05/09/1981 was held following the demise of Nadeng ak Lingoh on 22/07/1981.

15. The N.10Bengoh by-election was called after the incumbent Stephen Yong vacated the seat following his appointment as the Federal Minister for Science, Technology and Environment.

16. The famous N.32 Oya by-election on 02/07/1986 was called after Salleh Jafaruddin vacated his seat following his resignation as Deputy Secretary-General of PBB on 19/04/1986. Salleh Jafaruddin forced the by-election to test his strength at the polls to mirror Sabah's Tambunan.

17. The N.18 Batang Ai by-election on 30/08/1986 was held following the death of the incumbent Sylvester Langit on 02/06/1986.

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