

Inclusive Ethnocracy and Electoral One-Party State

**– a reflection on the dual nature of
UMNO's authoritarianism**

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For the international conference on

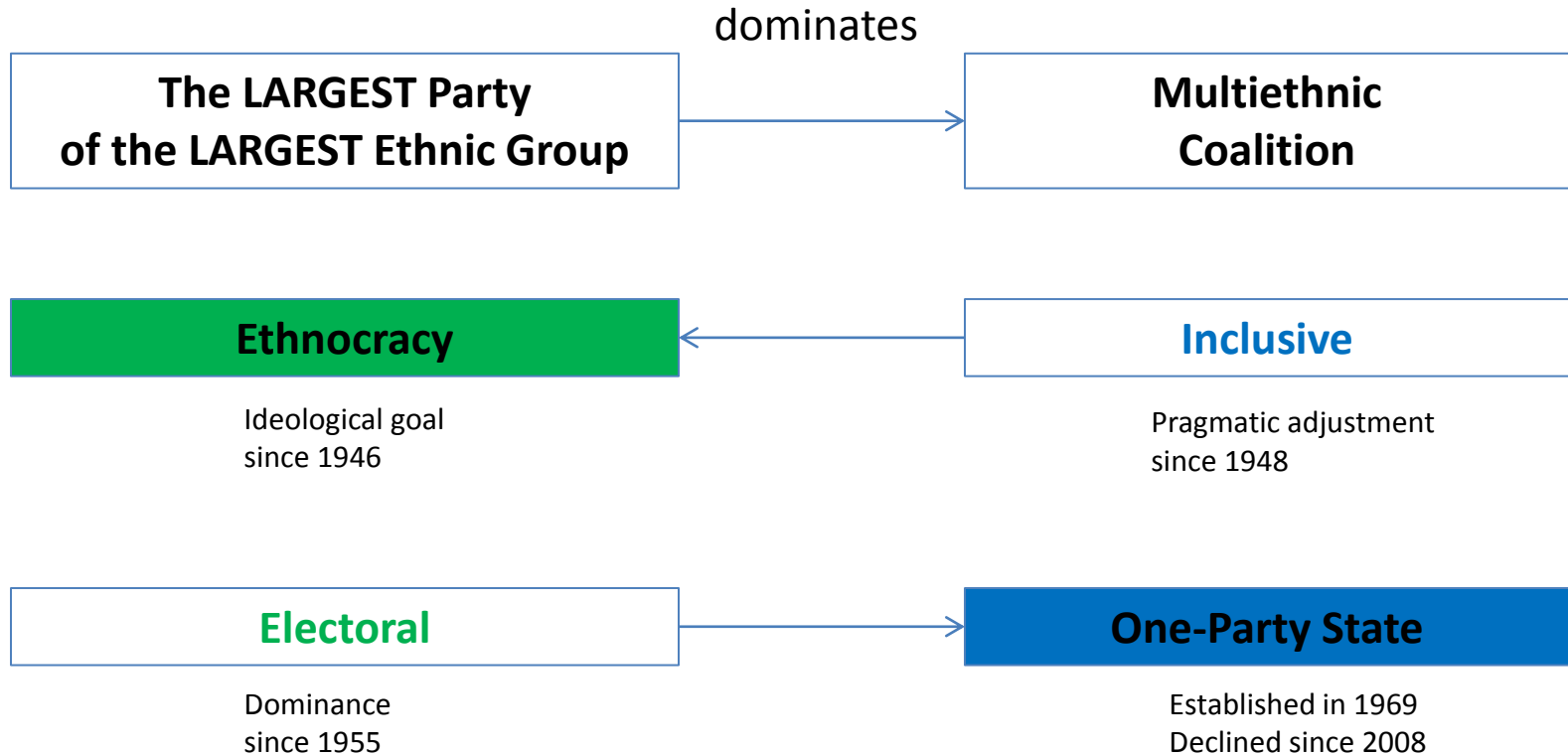
“Democratic Governance and Civil Society”

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(This is the English translation of the Chinese presentation)

The Nature of the UMNO Dominance Model



The Duality of UMNO's Authoritarianism

**Electoral
One-Party
State**

**Aiming at
Entire
Nation**

Covering up authoritarianism via controlled/manipulated elections

Maintaining/reinforcing the citizenry's fear of violence through impunity on threat of violence

Maintaining/reinforcing the fear of dominance by "the ethnic others" through the winner-takes-all political system

**Aiming at
Ethnic
Minorities**

Weakening inter-ethnic check and balance within coalition by encouraging proliferation of minority parties

**Inclusive
Ethnocracy**

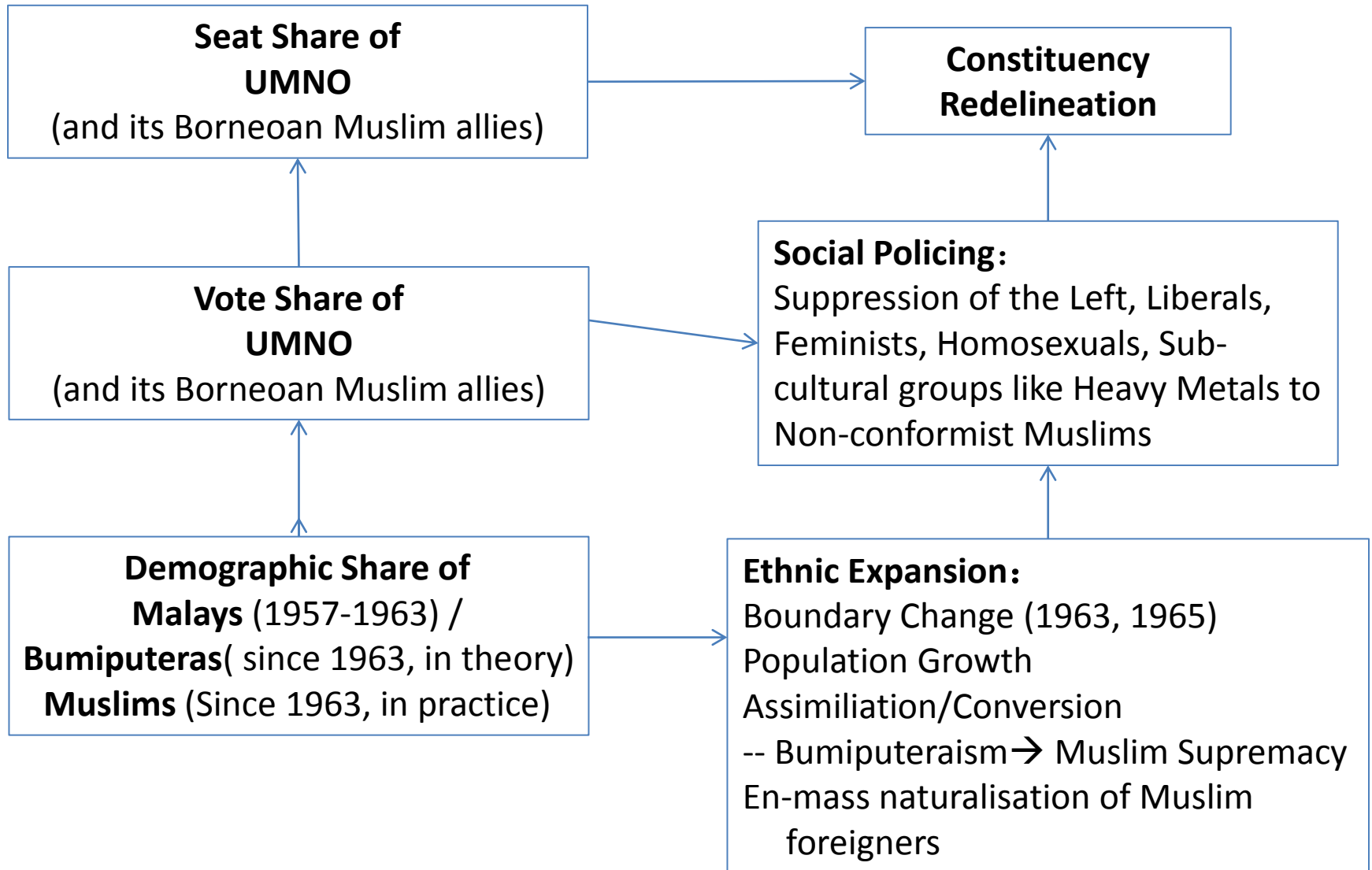
**Aiming at
Ethnic
Majority**

Maintaining/Reinforcing demographic strength of the ethnic majority via boundary change, assimilation/conversion and en-mass naturalisation of foreigners

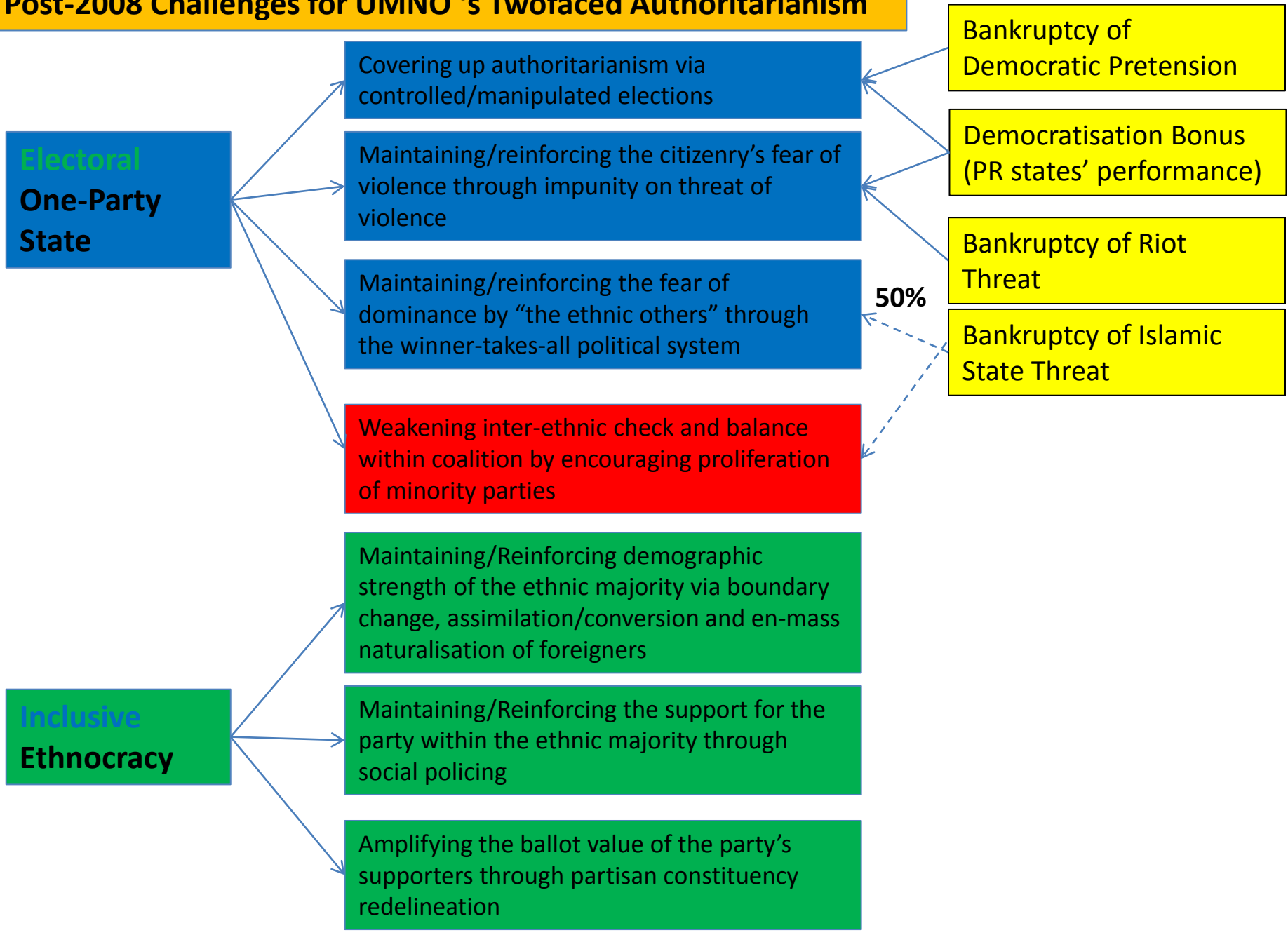
Maintaining/Reinforcing the support for the party within the ethnic majority through social policing

Amplifying the ballot value of the party's supporters through partisan constituency redelineation

Regime Maintenance Mechanisms of UMNO's Ethnocracy



Post-2008 Challenges for UMNO 's Twofaced Authoritarianism



The Counter-Intuitive Terminator



King of Beggars, last scene

- Emperor:
How many beggars do you lead?
- King of Beggars:
Your Majesty, you decide!

Only PAS can terminate MCA by
alleviating the Chinese' fear

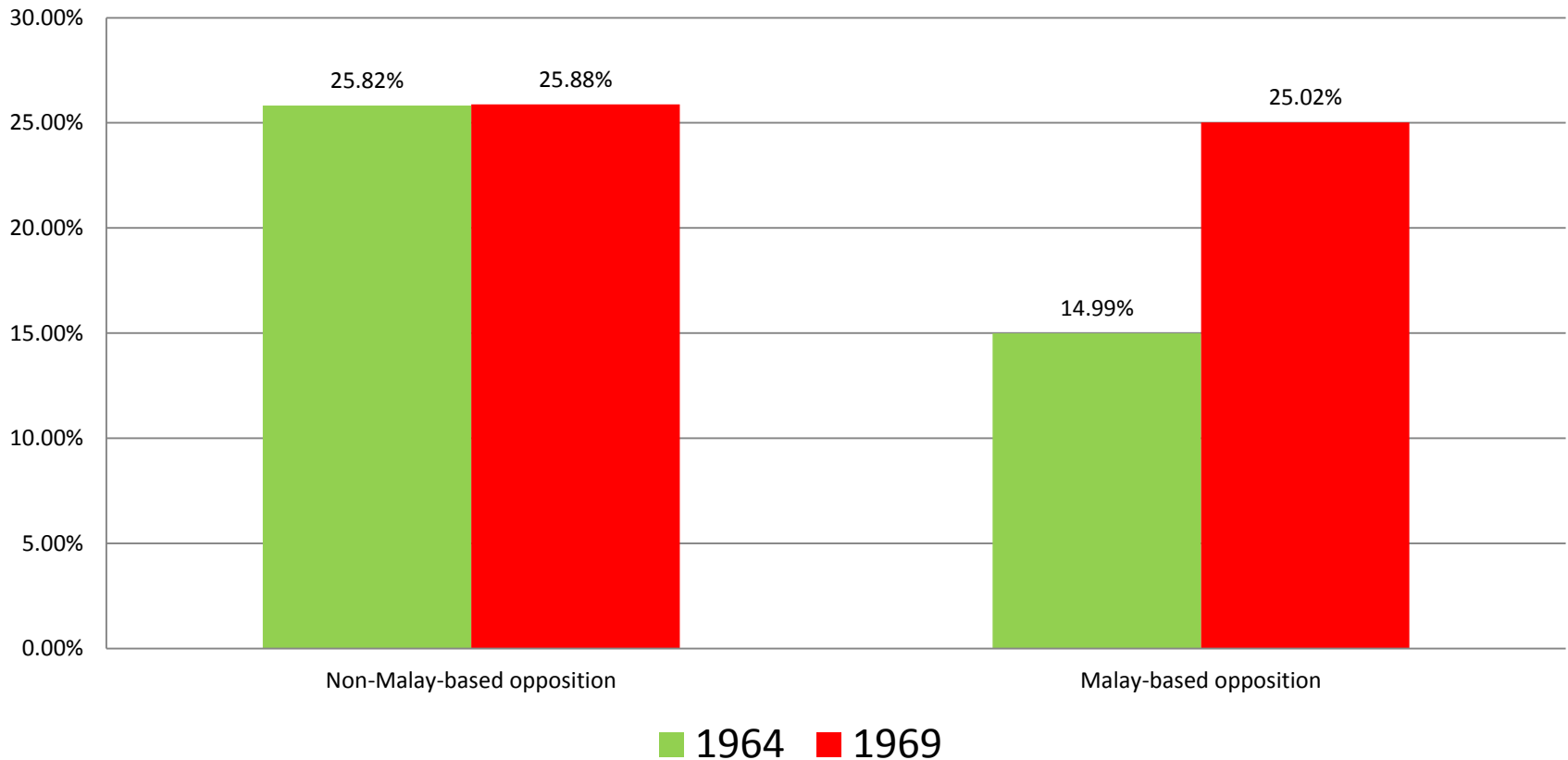
Only Chinese can terminate UMNO by
alleviating the Malays' fear

But do the Chinese really want to
eliminate UMNO?

EXTRA

The 1969 Election Revisited

Vote % of Opposition Parties in Malaya, 1964-1969

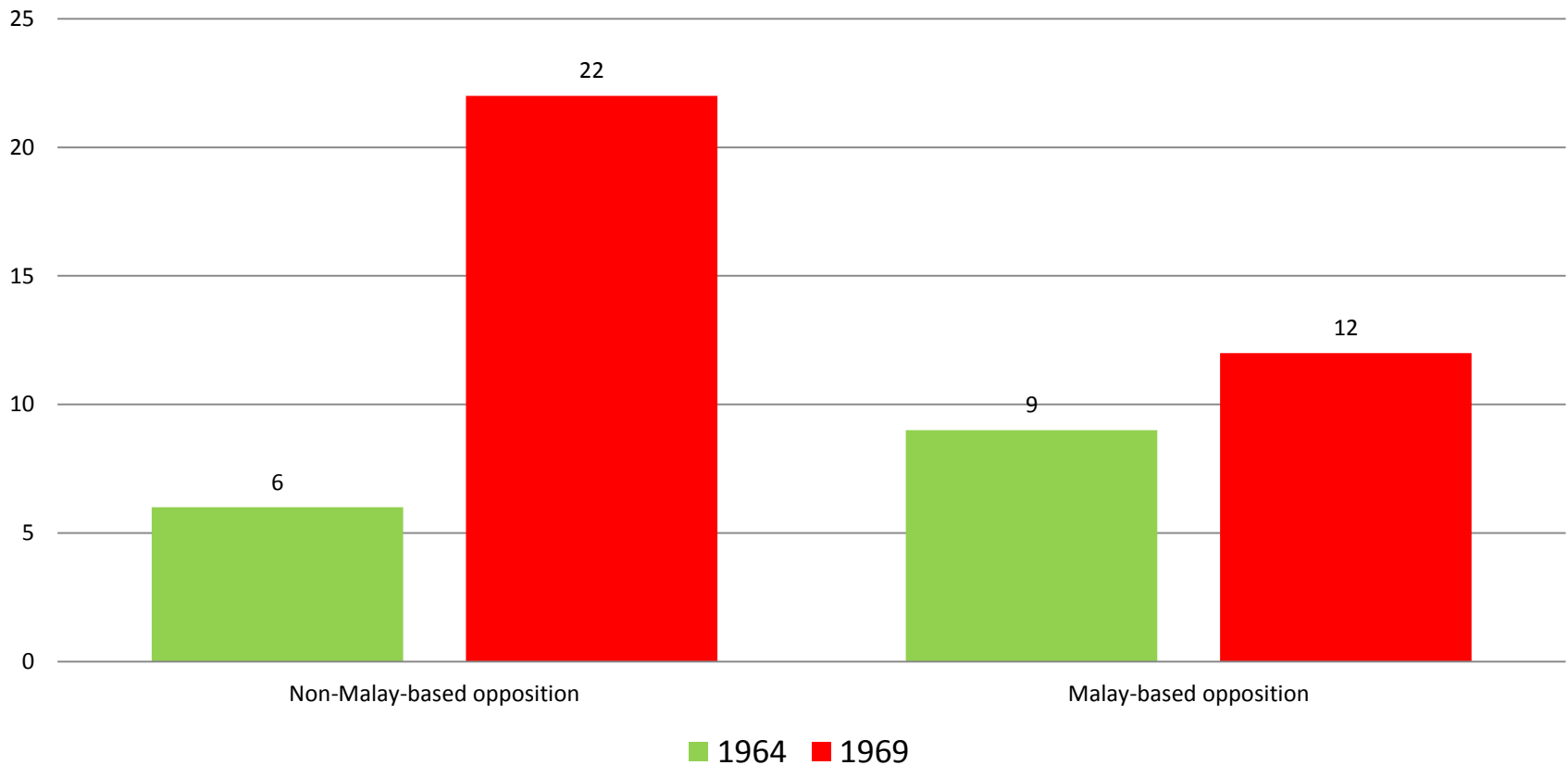


Malay-based Opposition: PAS, PN (1964), PRM (1969)

Non-Malay-based Opposition: SF (1964), PAP(1964)/DAP(1969); UDP(1964)/Gerakan (1969); PPP

The 1969 Election Revisited

Parliamentary Seats of Opposition Parties in Malaya, 1964-1969



Malay-based Opposition: PAS, PN (1964), PRM (1969)

Non-Malay-based Opposition: SF (1964), PAP(1964)/DAP(1969); UDP(1964)/Gerakan (1969); PPP

Tun Abdul Razak and UMNO's Electoral One-Party State (1969-2008)

The electoral one-party state was founded in the ruin of the Alliance-dominated "Consociational Democracy" in the May 13 post-election riot in 1969 by DPM Tun Abdul Razak Hussein.

"The view we take is that democratic government is the best and most acceptable form of government. So long as the form is preserved, the substance can be changed to suit conditions of a particular country."

Report of the Proceedings of the 17th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in Kuala Lumpur, London, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, September 1971. p.xx.; cited in Michael Ong, (1987) "Government and Opposition in Parliament: The Rules of the Game," in Zakaria Haji Ahmad, ed., Government and Politics of Malaysia, USA: Oxford University Press..

"... in our Malaysian society of today, where racial manifestations are very much in exercise, any form of politicking is bound to follow along racial lines and will only enhance the divisive tendencies among our people."

Malaysian Digest 5, no 1 (January 1973): p5, cited in Zakaria Haji Ahmad (1989) "Malaysia: Quasi Democracy in a Divided Society" in Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour martin Lipset (eds.) Democracy in Developing Countries, Boulder Colorado: Lynne Rienner, p 366.



***--- Tun Abdul Razak Hussein,
Prime Minister (1970-1976)***