

【刘哲伟专栏】提控慕尤丁对国盟与土团的影响



刘哲伟

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作者认为，前首相慕尤丁的案件是否会影响土团党和国盟呢？这取决于两类人，第一类是党员，第二是支持者。（档案照：透视大马）

前首相慕尤丁的案件是否会影响土团党和国盟呢？这是国内外媒体以及民众会问的问题，而我的答案是取决于两类人，第一类是党员，第二是支持者。

党员的支持是重要，因为支持被提控的领袖，可以说成领袖是被政治迫害。这真的是政治迫害吗？说实话，你和我都不知道。依我所见，很多时候都是反对党被提控。其次，那些中立机构，例如反贪会、警察部队、法院和选委会，至今还未获得民众的信任。我之前说过，这一届的政府必须争取恢复这些机构的公信力，我就不重复这一点了。

只要整个政党支持慕尤丁，他就可以少操心一件事。其实，任何被提控的领导人有可能不被党员和基层支持吗？这有可能发生，但情况少见。除非他们决定了想把政党和领导人拉开距离，或者密谋搞垮这个领导人，无疑是最好的时机。

对于慕尤丁和土团党来说，必须相信慕尤丁是被政治迫害，所以党员都会认为他是无辜。

至于第二类人至为关键，谈的就是支持者。撇开希盟和国阵的支持者，无论他是否有罪，几乎都不会把票投给他。所以，这里所说的是土团党和国盟的支持者。

我经常说，政治不需要真相，最需要是基层和支持者的看法。如果他们相信慕尤丁是无辜，就会全力支持，如果觉得他有罪，就不会再支持。

换言之，慕尤丁首要做的是让党员相信他是无辜的，即建立政治营销，让党员无条件支持他。不要忘了，我们现在说的是土团党，慕尤丁就是该党的顶梁柱。一旦他被击垮了，就意味着整个政党也会垮了。

国盟的话，至少还有伊斯兰党在支撑着。土团党和巫统的区别是，土团党打着清廉的招牌，而巫统则被指贪污。如果他们把土团党和巫统相提并论，说成一个以马来人为主的政党同样腐败的话，那么土团党真的陷入和巫统的窘境，还真的很难找到一个空隙来弥补，到时候真的是横竖都是死——不管怎么，结果都一样。

总之，我对慕尤丁是否被定罪或释放没意见，更大的兴趣是他的案件是否会影响着接下来6个州的选举，值得令人期待。

** 刘哲伟目前在国际伊斯兰大学政治学系任职助理教授。在此之前，也曾其他高等学府执教。刘哲伟先后于马来西亚国立大学取得政治学学士及硕士学位，并于英国布里斯托大学取得政治学博士。*

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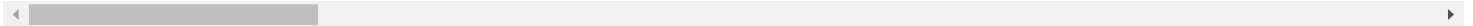
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[Liu Zhewei Column] The impact of prosecuting Muhyiddin on Perikatan Nasional and Bersatu



Liu Zhewei

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Najjua Zulkefli

The author believes that will the case of former Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin affect Bersatu and Perikatan Nasional? This depends on two types of people, the first is party members and the second is supporters. (File photo: The Malaysian Insight)

Will the case of former Prime Minister Muhyiddin Yassin affect Bersatu and Perikatan Nasional? This is a question that domestic and foreign media and people will ask, and my answer depends on two types of people, the first is party members, and the second is supporters.

The support of party members is important because supporting an accused leader can convince him that he is being politically persecuted. Is this really a political persecution? To be honest, neither you nor I know. From what I have seen, many times it is the opposition parties that are prosecuted. Secondly, neutral

institutions such as the Anti-Corruption Commission, the police force, the courts and the Election Commission have yet to gain the trust of the people. I have said before that this government must strive to restore the credibility of these institutions, and I will not repeat it.

As long as the entire party supports Muhyiddin, he has one less thing to worry about. In fact, is it possible that any leader who is accused will not be supported by party members and grassroots? This can happen, but is rare. Unless they decide that they want to distance the party from the leader, or plot to bring down the leader, this is undoubtedly the best time.

For Muhyiddin and Bersatu, they must believe that Muhyiddin is being persecuted politically, so party members will think that he is innocent.

As for the second type of people who are most critical, we are talking about supporters. Pakatan Harapan and Barisan Nasional supporters aside, almost none of them will vote for him regardless of whether he is guilty or not. So, what we are talking about here are supporters of Bersatu and PN.

I often say that politics does not need the truth, but the opinions of the grassroots and supporters. If they believe Muhyiddin is innocent, they will fully support him. If they think he is guilty, they will no longer support him.

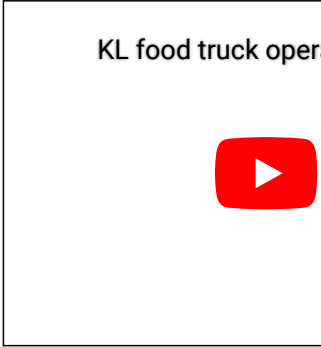
In other words, the first thing Muhyiddin should do is to convince party members that he is innocent, that is, to establish political marketing so that party members will support him unconditionally. Don't forget, we are talking about Bersatu now, and Muhyiddin is the pillar of the party. Once he is defeated, it means that the entire party will also collapse.

As for the PN, at least there is support from the Islamic Party. The difference between Bersatu and Umno is that Bersatu claims to be clean, while Umno is accused of corruption. If they compare PPBM to Umno and say that a Malay-dominated political party is equally corrupt, then PPBM will really be in the same predicament as Umno and it will be really difficult to find a gap to fill it. Sometimes it really means death - no matter what, the outcome is the same.

In short, I have no opinion on whether Muhyiddin will be convicted or released. What I am more interested in is whether his case will affect the elections in the next six states, which is worth looking forward to.

** Liu Zhewei is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the International Islamic University. Before that, he also taught in other institutions of higher learning. Liu Zhewei obtained a bachelor's degree and a master's degree in political science from the National University of Malaysia, and a doctorate in political science from the University of Bristol in the United Kingdom.*

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