

【刘哲伟专栏】签署马来人宣言——哈迪与敦马的虚晃一枪？



刘哲伟

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由于马哈迪和公正党主席安华的关系恶化，如今的他无法再与安华合作。（档案照：透视大马）

如果我们观察一般人，包括马来社区，对于马哈迪和哈迪阿旺的会面并不会感到惊讶，事实上他们的见面不会对政治带来多大的影响。

我之前就说过，政客们都喜欢虚张声势，“敌人的敌人就是我的朋友”这一招屡试不爽。现在的马哈迪不过是需要寻找新的政治伙伴，伊斯兰党肯定是他的选择。就让我们忘记过去，忘记他们从前是如何相互批评，在政治权力游戏里，一切皆有可能。

我本人对于马哈迪走这一步棋并不感到惊讶，我相信任何研究马哈迪政治的人也会这么说。原因很简单，回顾马哈迪的政治史，他经常与之前的政治敌人合作，而这些人的共同点是，他的合作伙伴也是处于弱势的处境。例如当他被巫统开除时，他选择是合作对象是公正党和其合作政党，或伊斯兰党。

按政治局势来做出衡量，马哈迪要考虑的是与右翼政党（伊斯兰党）合作还是和中庸的政党（公正党与其盟党）之间做出选择。

我们不要忘记，虽然巫统在2018年大选前实力强大，但那个时候若要与伊斯兰党合作，推动右翼意识形态可能效果不佳，至于公正党与其盟党的话，按种族比例、首相候选人、宣传和所有一切都具备合作条件。

由于马哈迪和公正党主席安华的关系恶化，如今的他无法再与安华合作，而阿末扎希带领的巫统则支持安华政府，现阶段没有理由要抛弃安华投奔马哈迪，所以他唯一可以合作的政党就是国盟。



作者认为，马哈迪和哈迪阿旺的会面并不令人感到惊讶，事实上他们的见面不会对政治带来多大的影响。（档案照：透视大马）

若我们仔细观察，这一次是马哈迪和哈迪阿旺或伊斯兰党的会面，与土团党没有关系。无论是否同意，自从他离开土团党后，他对土团党的愤怒依然存在。而这一次的会面只是很普通的目的，双方说是讨论马来人议程，所以土团党是否出现，他们还是可以直接签署“马来人宣言”协议，有无土团党参与，土团党也可以沿着相同路线前进。

问题来了，既然马哈迪已经一无所有，为什么伊斯兰党还要与马哈迪签署宣言？依我看，有两个角度来分析。首先，回顾伊斯兰党的历史，基本上对于来者奉行着多多益善的思维。谁想和他们合作都无任欢迎。即使这种合作方式必须让出一些竞选席位，他们也乐意这样做。这就是伊斯兰党的政治。

第二，虽然马哈迪是不能轻易赢得席位，无论如何，他仍然是一个话题人物。他的确可以引起媒体和公众的关注。换言之，与马哈迪合作对伊斯兰党来说没有坏处，唯一最大的坏处将是席位谈判。但这种技术性的问题，肯定还没有详谈，也不会成为目前合作的重点。

总而言之，我对这件事一点也不感到惊讶。马哈迪与哈迪之间的宣言是否会在马来西亚政治掀起一阵热议，目前，还未看到其成效。

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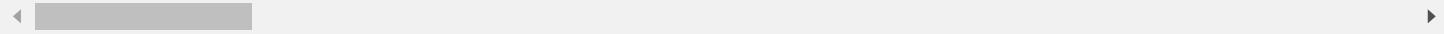
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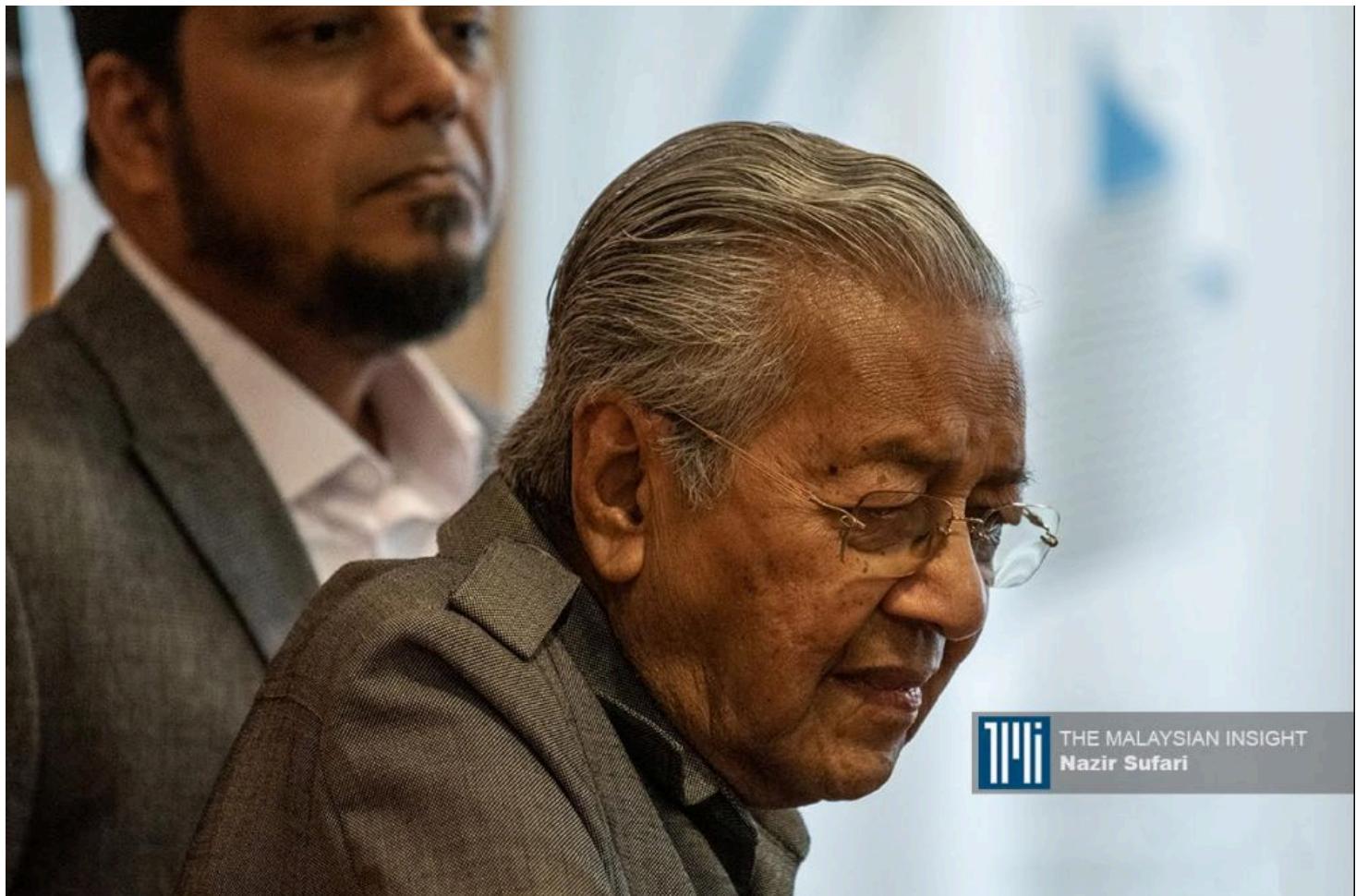


[Liu Zhewei Column] Signing the Malay Declaration - a false shot between Hadi and Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad?



[Liu Zhewei](#)

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 THE MALAYSIAN INSIGHT
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Due to the deterioration of the relationship between Mahathir and PKR Chairman Anwar, he is now unable to cooperate with Anwar. (File photo: The Malaysian Insight)

If we look at the general public, including the Malay community, we will not be surprised by the meeting between Mahathir and Hadi Awang. In fact, their meeting will not have much impact on politics.

I've said it before, politicians love to bluff, and the "enemy of my enemy is my friend" tactic has always worked. Now Mahathir just needs to find a new political partner, and PAS is definitely his choice. Let's forget the past and how they used to criticize each other. In the political power game, anything is possible.

I personally am not surprised that Mahathir made this move, and I believe anyone who studies Mahathir's politics will say the same. The reason is simple. Looking back at Mahathir's political history, he often cooperated with his previous political enemies, and what these people have in common is that his partners are also in a weak position. For example, when he was expelled from Umno, he chose to cooperate with PKR and its partner parties, or PAS.

Judging by the political situation, Mahathir has to consider whether to cooperate with a right-wing party (PAS) or a moderate party (PKR and its allies).

Let us not forget that although Umno was strong before the 2018 general election, if it wanted to cooperate with PAS at that time to promote right-wing ideology, it might not be effective. As for PKR and its allies, based on racial proportions, prime ministerial candidates, Publicity and everything is ready for cooperation.

As the relationship between Mahathir and PKR Chairman Anwar has deteriorated, he can no longer cooperate with Anwar. Umno led by Zahid Zahid supports the Anwar government. There is no reason to abandon Anwar and defect to Mahathir at this stage. Di, so the only party he can cooperate with is the PN.



The author believes that the meeting between Mahathir and Hadi Awang is not surprising. In fact, their meeting will not have much impact on politics. (File photo: The Malaysian Insight)

If we look carefully, this meeting between Mahathir and Hadi Awang or PAS has nothing to do with Bersatu. Agree or not, his anger towards Bersatu remains since he left the party. The purpose of this meeting is just for a very ordinary purpose. The two parties said they were discussing the Malay agenda, so whether

Bersatu appears, they can still directly sign the "Malay Declaration" agreement. With or without the participation of Bersatu, Bersatu It is also possible to proceed along the same route.

The question is, since Mahathir already has nothing, why did PAS still sign a manifesto with Mahathir? In my opinion, there are two angles to analyze it. First of all, looking back at the history of the Islamic Party, it basically pursues the idea that the more the better for those who come. Anyone who wants to cooperate with them is welcome. Even if this cooperation requires giving up some electoral seats, they are willing to do so. This is PAS politics.

Second, although Mahathir cannot easily win the seat, he is still a topical figure anyway. He can certainly attract media and public attention. In other words, there is no downside to PAS in partnering with Mahathir, the only biggest downside will be seat negotiations. However, this technical issue has definitely not been discussed in detail, and it will not become the focus of current cooperation.

All in all, I'm not surprised by this at all. Whether the declaration between Mahathir and Hadi will spark a heated discussion in Malaysian politics is yet to be seen.

* 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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