

【刘哲伟专栏】关注六州选举选前局势



刘哲伟

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作者认为，国盟将赢得吉兰丹、登嘉楼和吉打州，而希盟与国阵将赢得檳城、雪兰莪和森兰。（档案照：透视大马）

如果我们谈论此次选举的结果，可能会觉得相当无聊，结果很明显，国盟将赢得吉兰丹、登嘉楼和吉打州，而希盟与国阵将赢得檳城、雪兰莪和森兰。在一些政党公布候选人名单后，到目前为止，我没有感觉到有任何一个议席可以强烈地引起我的关注，所以我将不同的角度来看待这次州选举。

希盟国阵席位分配不均

在分配议席时，最佳的议席分配公式就是当选政党原区上阵，即无论哪个政党赢得了该议席，他们维持竞选，所以巫统很难在檳城和雪兰莪等希盟的大本营州竞选。

国阵在 245 个议席中只竞选108个议席，这在国阵历史上还是头一次。国阵是一个政党联盟，而希盟则是另一个联盟，此次州选国阵显然处于下风。然而，由于马华公会和国大党没有参与竞选，所以如果我们以巫统竞选，而非联盟来作比较，单独上阵108个议席就是很多，而希盟内的三个政党还得平分其余议席。因此，巫统至少可以挽回面子，在他们的支持者面前表明它们其实并不是那么弱小。

就我个人而言，我更感兴趣的是州选举过后未来的影响。经过这样议席的分配下，如果希盟和国阵一直合作持续到下届大选，那么巫统会在东海岸占据主导地位，而希盟几乎无法立足，反之，希盟将在檳城和雪兰莪占据主导地位，这种趋势健康吗？我们暂且静观其变。



如果希盟和国阵一直合作持续到下届大选，那么巫统会在东海岸占据主导地位，而希盟几乎无法立足，反之，希盟将在檳城和雪兰莪占据主导地位。（档案照：透视大马）

稳定选情

在州选举前就有许多谣言满天飞，有关于槟城首长和雪兰莪州务大臣职位。因哥宾星和沈志强没有竞选州议席，槟城随着曹观友继续出任首长后，谣言已经不攻自破。其实不用过度紧张，每次选举总有这样的猜测。

雪兰莪也是如此情况，即东姑查夫鲁不会在雪兰莪竞选任何议席，雪兰莪州务大臣职位由公正党来当也无悬念。这对我个人来说是好事，至少可以稳定局势。

内部候选人争议

各政党内部在候选人问题上争吵不休。平心而论，这并不需要惊讶，每次选举时，每个政党都会出现这种情况。当胜算越小，内部争吵的可能性就越小。最近，槟城行动党的候选人名单就是一个例子，熟悉行动党政治的人应该知道发生了什么事。

这让我想起了阿兹敏阿里，作为马来西亚政坛的强势领袖，你不仅需要公共领域，如政府机构（如部长）和群众形象（如获得非党员民众的好感）中加强自己的实力，你还需要在党内的等级制度中足够强大。否则，你很难在党内争斗中生存。

另一个最好的例子就是凯里，他是一位有能力领导人，也赢得民众的支持，但在党内却很难获得足够的支持。巫统主席阿末扎希是一个相反，他在党内拥有强大的控制力，凭借巫统主席和国阵主席的身份，他仍然可以被任命为副首相，而且任何首相职的领袖都必须让其联盟的领袖在政府中担任重要职位，除非有关首相希望决心打破政治常规。



对于伊斯兰党基层来说，让出其中一个州议席给民政党的同时，也必须分享一个议席给土团党。（档案照：透视大马）

民政党的情况也一样，党主席刘华才竞选哪一个议席，都不能从行动党手中赢得议席，这是现实的问题。只要该议席的华裔选民结构超过40%，他赢的机会是微乎其微。

我们看看打昔汝莪国会议席下的三个州议席，即双溪赖（Sungai Dua）、日落斗哇（eluk Air Tawar）和 柏玛当柏浪眼（Permatang Berangan）。我对于打昔汝莪有反对刘华才和民政党的声音并不感到意外，因为这个选区不是混合区，而是马来人占多数的议席。倘若让一个议席都没赢的民政党，在此次州选举再吃蛋，这未免不好看。所以国盟让出一个安全议席给民政党主席，也无可厚非，多一个议席不多，少一个不少。但是对于伊斯兰党基层来说，让出其中一个州议席给民政党的同时，也必须分享一个议席给土团党。当然，他们比较不想与民政党分一杯羹。

以职位作为政治报酬

行动党秘书长陆兆福在公布雪州候选人的记者会上提及，欧阳捍华没有上阵，但是将会被委任为巴生港务局主席，而刘永山将被推荐成为雪州议长。关注我文章的人都知道，我非常尊重陆兆福，无论其中的好与坏，他都会直言，然后承担后果，不像其他政党领袖那样拐弯抹角。尽管如此，我还是不赞成由原任州议员让出议席，因为这样的“奖励”就是政治报酬。

结论

这次六州选举可能会如预期般无聊，但我相信，选举过程必定会有一些趣事发生，吸引读者关注。

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[Liu Zhewei Column] Focus on the pre-election situation in six states



Liu Zhewei

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The author believes that PN will win Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah, while PH and BN will win Penang, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan. (File photo: Malaysian Perspective)

If we talk about the results of this election, it may be quite boring. The results are obvious. PN will win Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah, while PH and BN will win Penang, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan. After some political parties announced their candidate lists, so far, I don't feel that there is any seat that can strongly attract my attention, so I will look at this state election from a different perspective.

Uneven distribution of seats between Pakatan Harapan and Barisan Nasional

When allocating seats, the best formula for seat allocation is for the elected party to contest in the original constituency, that is, no matter which party wins the seat, they will continue to campaign, so it is difficult for UMNO to campaign in Pakatan Harapan's stronghold states such as Penang and Selangor.

BN only contested 108 seats out of 245 seats, which is the first time in BN history. BN is a coalition of parties, while Pakatan Harapan is another coalition, and BN is clearly at a disadvantage in this state election. However, since MCA and MIC did not participate in the election, if we compare it with UMNO contesting instead of the coalition, 108 seats alone is a lot, and the three parties in Pakatan Harapan have to share the remaining seats. Therefore, UMNO can at least save face and show to their supporters that they are not so weak after all.

Personally, I am more interested in the future impact after the state election. With this allocation of seats, if PH and BN continue to cooperate until the next general election, UMNO will dominate the east coast and PH will hardly be able to gain a foothold. On the contrary, PH will dominate Penang and Selangor. Is this trend healthy? We will wait and see.



If the PH and BN continue to work together until the next general election, UMNO will dominate the east coast and PH will have little chance of gaining a foothold. On the contrary, PH will dominate Penang and Selangor. (File photo: Malaysian Perspective)

Stabilizing the election

There were many rumors flying around before the state elections regarding the positions of Penang Chief Minister and Selangor Menteri Besar. Since Gobind Singh and Sim Chee Keong did not contest for the state seats, the rumors were dispelled after Chow Kon Yeow continued to serve as Penang Chief Minister. In fact, there is no need to be overly nervous, as there are always such speculations in every election.

The same is true for Selangor, where Tengku Zafrul will not contest any seat in Selangor, and the position of Selangor Menteri Besar will be held by PKR. This is a good thing for me personally, at least it can stabilize the situation.

Internal candidate controversy

Political parties quarrel over candidates. To be fair, this is not surprising, it happens to every political party at every election. When the odds are against you, there is less chance of internal quarrels. Recently, the candidate list of the Penang DAP is an example, and those who are familiar with DAP politics should know what is going on.

This reminds me of Azmin Ali. As a strong leader in Malaysian politics, you not only need to strengthen your strength in the public sphere, such as government institutions (such as ministers) and mass image (such as gaining the favor of non-party members), but you also need to be strong enough in the party hierarchy. Otherwise, it will be difficult for you to survive in the party struggle.

Another good example is Khairy, who is a capable leader and has won the support of the people, but has difficulty in gaining enough support within the party. The opposite is true of UMNO President Ahmad Zahid, who has strong control within the party and can still be appointed as Deputy Prime Minister by virtue of his status as UMNO President and Barisan Nasional Chairman, and any leader of the Prime Minister position must allow the leaders of his coalition to hold important positions in the government unless the Prime Minister is determined to break political conventions.



For the grassroots of the Islamic Party, when giving up one of the state seats to the Malaysian Chinese Association, they must also share one seat with the United Malays National Organization. (File photo: Perspective Malaysia)

The situation is the same for the MCA. No matter which seat the party chairman, Liu Huacai, contests, he cannot win a seat from the PAP. This is a realistic problem. As long as the Chinese voter structure of the seat exceeds 40%, his chances of winning are slim.

Let's look at the three state seats under the Tasek Gelugor parliamentary seat, namely Sungai Dua, Eluk Air Tawar and Permatang Berangan. I am not surprised that there are voices against Low Tik Chai and the MCA in Tasek Gelugor, because this constituency is not a mixed constituency, but a seat with a Malay majority. It would be a shame if the MCA, which did not win a single seat, lost again in this state election. So it is understandable that the PN gave up a safe seat to the MCA chairman. One more seat is not much, and one less seat is not much. But for the PAS grassroots, when giving up one of the state seats to the MCA, they must also share a seat with the Bersatu party. Of course, they are less willing to share a piece of the pie with the MCA.

Political rewards in the form of positions

At the press conference announcing the Selangor candidates, DAP Secretary-General Loke Siew Fook mentioned that Owen Han Hua did not participate in the election, but will be appointed as the chairman of the Port Klang Authority, while Liu Yongshan will be recommended as the Speaker of the Selangor State Assembly. Those who follow my articles know that I respect Loke Siew Fook very much. Regardless of the good or bad, he will speak out and bear the consequences, unlike other party leaders who beat around the bush. Despite this, I still do not agree with the incumbent state assemblyman giving up his seat, because such a "reward" is a political reward.

in conclusion

This six-state election may be as boring as expected, but I believe that there will be some interesting things happening during the election process that will attract readers' attention.

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