



作者认为，如果支持者在补选中撤回对巫统的支持，并且有可能在未来被希盟赶下台的风险，那么巫统在这些补选后真的需要重新思考他们的方向。（档案照：透视大马）

此前，在瓜拉登嘉楼国会议席补选中，伊斯兰党比2022年大选的成绩多获得了约5000张选票，但如果我们将希盟和国阵在2022年大选中的总票数相加起来，可以发现到希盟候选人得票少了约1万2000张。

同样，在埔莱国会议席和新邦二南州议席补选，尽管希盟成功捍卫这两个席位，但如果我们看票数，国盟成功提高了他们在这两个席位上的得票，而国阵-希盟的合作未能获得这两个政治联盟在大选中囊括的总票数。

有一种常见的说法是，部分国阵特别是巫统的支持者拒绝投票给希盟候选人，这并不罕见。回顾一下巫伊合作的开始，巫统的支持者更愿意把票投给伊斯兰党候选人，而不是反过来。在当前的政治局势下，希盟的支持者很高机率会支持国阵候选人，因为他们没有其他选择。这是我自2022年大选以来抱持的观点，今天我仍然坚守这个观点。希盟支持者只能投票给国阵候选人，无论是开心自愿的，还是借用自香港政治的“含泪投票”政治术语。简单来说，希盟的支持者，尤其是华社已无其他选择。当然，这是否健康，会是另一个讨论点。然而，对于巫统的支持者来说，如果他们不想投票给希盟候选人，他们仍然可以投票给国盟候选人。

所以，这两场补选将再次成为国阵-希盟的试金石。对于巫统来说，最关键的问题其实并不是他们能否获得希盟的选票，而是他们能否保住在上一次大选中投给他们的选票。一些巫统领袖指责国阵-希盟合作是导致他们失去选民支持的原因，而现在是时候证明这个前提是否成立了。如果这是真的，这将是巫统重新思考未来的十字路口。不能说服他们的选民投票给希盟对国阵来说并不是好事。

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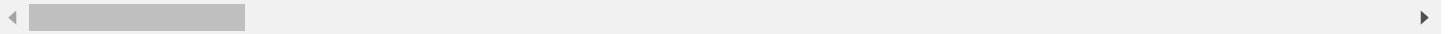
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[Liu Zhewei Column] "Spying" on the cooperation between BN and PH in the by-election



Liu Zhewei

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The author believes that UMNO really needs to rethink their direction after these by-elections if supporters withdraw their support for UMNO and there is a risk of being ousted by PH in the future. (File photo: Malaysian Perspective)

Similar to the previous by-elections or the first 6 state elections, the interesting part is not the final results because those are fairly predictable. The interesting part for me will be the election process. For both by-elections, all the election machinery will be centralized there and there will be no uneven distribution of resources with the election machinery.

I would be interested to see to what extent BN will be able to gain the support of PH supporters in these by-elections as in previous by-elections, PH candidates seemed to have failed to gain the support of the high proportion of voters who voted for BN in the previous general election.

Among previous by-elections, apart from the Bugaya state seat (because it is in Sabah), Padang Serai parliamentary seat and Tioman state seat (because they have no 2022 general election results to compare), the Perak state seat and Kemaman parliamentary seat were by-elections in which the BN contested for the first time.

Previously, in the Kuala Terengganu parliamentary by-election, PAS received about 5,000 more votes than in the 2022 general election, but if we add up the total votes of PH and BN in the 2022 general election, we can find that PH candidates received about 12,000 fewer votes.

Similarly, in the Pulai parliamentary seat and Simpang Ampat state by-election, although Pakatan Harapan successfully defended these two seats, if we look at the vote count, PN managed to increase their vote share in these two seats while the BN-PH collaboration failed to obtain the total votes that these two political alliances garnered in the general election.

There is a common saying that some supporters of BN, especially UMNO, refuse to vote for PH candidates, which is not uncommon. Looking back at the beginning of the UMNO-PAS cooperation, UMNO supporters were more willing to vote for PAS candidates than the other way around. In the current political situation, PH supporters are very likely to support BN candidates because they have no other choice. This is a view I have held since the 2022 general election, and I still stand by it today. PH supporters can only vote for BN candidates, whether happily and voluntarily or to borrow the political term "voting with tears" from Hong Kong politics. Simply put, PH supporters, especially the Chinese community, have no other choice. Of course, whether this is healthy or not, will be another point of discussion. However, for UMNO supporters, if they do not want to vote for PH candidates, they can still vote for PN candidates.

So, these two by-elections will once again be a litmus test for BN-PH. For UMNO, the most critical issue is not whether they can get the votes of PH, but whether they can keep the votes that were cast for them in the last general election. Some UMNO leaders have blamed the BN-PH collaboration for their loss of voter support, and now is the time to prove whether this premise is true. If it is true, this will be a crossroads for UMNO to rethink its future. Not being able to convince their voters to vote for PH is not good for BN.

Let's be realistic, although we run a majority electoral system where political parties can rely on the influence of other member parties in the coalition to get votes, this will not last long, or at least you have to be parasitic on other parties. Just look at MUDA, they are easily threatened by PH. As a strong or once strong party, UMNO has their insistence, and their political ideology is not completely consistent with PH. If there is a conflict or disagreement, they can be driven out by PH at any time.

Umno really needs to rethink their direction after these by-elections if their supporters withdraw their support to Umno (if that is proven true in these by-elections) and there is a risk of being ousted by Pakatan Harapan in the future.

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