



今天的马华与2018年的民政党相似，可供他们选择的方案并不多。（档案照：透视大马）



由于行动党拥有来自华社的巨大支持，行动党没有理由接纳另一个华人政党加入。（档案照：透视大马）

第二个选择是加入希盟。与当年的民政党类似，由于行动党拥有来自华社的巨大支持，行动党没有理由接纳另一个华人政党加入。

这一点从2008年到2018年都非常明显。无论马华表现多么糟糕，马华仍然是联邦政府和州政府的一部分。他们从巫统获得的利益比例将远远超过他们在选举中赢得的席位。因此，只要国阵和巫统还在，马华就还能活着。

毫无疑问，以上第三种选择将使马华再次成为小政党，这的确是现实问题。除非马华愿意选择第四种方案，即脱离国阵成为独立政党。要么胜者为王，败者为寇。正如我在很久以前的民政党案例中所说，这并非不可能。

*民政党作为独立政党的时间并不长。（档案照：透视大马）*

马华也许现在没有市场，但这并不意味着不能创造出市场。我举一个我喜欢用的非常简单的例子。在1990年代末期，多元民族政党根本没有政治市场。没有一个多元民族政党可以在不作为单一种族政党的情况下生存。就像行动党、民政党和人民进步党等等。虽然它们声称自己是多民族政党，但结果却更像是以单一种族为基础的政党。

然而，人民公正党和安华却坚持把自己打造成多元民族政党。在1999年大选中，他们没有取得大胜。最糟糕的是，在2004年的国会里，他们只勉强保住了一个席位，而且还是通过旺阿兹莎本人保住的，而且还是在峇东埔保住的。在挣扎了几年后，2008年他们至少看到了一些曙光。而在2018年，他们成功赢得了联邦政权。

我经常用一句谚语来形容这种情况。前人种树，后人乘凉。问题是，马华有没有前人愿意种那一棵树，而种那棵树的前人多数没有机会成为乘凉的人。如果有的话，我敢说马华迟早能重新获得华社的支持。但时间会是什么时候，包括我在内没有人知道。

民政党在脱离国阵，成为独立组织后，也曾尝试过这条路。在此期间，不与任何人走得太近。但不幸的是，民政党作为独立政党的时间并不长。与此相似但又不同的是，诚信党也曾试图为自由伊斯兰创建一个政治市场。同样的情况，在短时间内，他们就放弃了，回到了与伊斯兰党的宗教竞争中，比拼谁更保守。

## 结论

在短时间内要重振马华，我确实没有什么好建议。他们可以选择苟延残存，继续吊盐水，如果要采取激进的行动，那么就on直接离开巫统、国阵和政府，开始自己耕耘。如果成功，马华当然可以重新获得他们有尊严的支持。但风险在于，反之则意味着自我毁灭。

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# [Liu Zhewei Column] Will MCA go it alone or continue to stay in the BN?

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**Liu Zhewei**

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*MCA today is similar to Gerakan in 2018, with few options available to them. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)*

I am not at all surprised by MCA's recent statement that it does not rule out becoming an independent party. Whether it is domestic or international, whether you like it or not, sometimes you need to make harsh statements,

even if you don't mean to or you know that they are too idealistic to be achieved, but they still have to be said.

Putting aside MCA's remarks, let's talk about the future and direction of this political party.

In fact, MCA today is similar to Gerakan in 2018, and there are not many options available to them. First, join PN. Obviously, MCA will not be able to contribute much value to PN because PN has Gerakan. In addition, Bersatu has also actively promoted the development of its affiliates to meet the electoral needs of non-Malays. Therefore, I think this path is not feasible for them.



*Since the DAP has huge support from the Chinese community, there is no reason for the DAP to accept another Chinese political party to join. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)*

The second option is to join Pakatan Harapan. Similar to the Gerakan, since the DAP has huge support from the Chinese community, there is no reason for the DAP to accept another Chinese party to join.

Third, staying in the BN means maintaining the status quo. As I have written before, I believe that for a coalition to survive in Malaysia, it must be diverse. Whether diversity is real or fake, it must be composed of at least Malays and non-Malays.

This is one of the reasons why PN needs Gerakan, at least to borrow their name, even if their contribution to the entire coalition is not significant.

Likewise, if UMNO still wants BN in it, then UMNO also needs MCA, unless UMNO wants to split and survive as a party rather than a coalition party. This option basically returns MCA to the traditional BN, which means that MCA will be seen as a junior partner within BN. That said, as long as UMNO can lead the government, MCA can also have a share of the pie.

This was very evident from 2008 to 2018. No matter how badly MCA performed, MCA was still part of the federal and state governments. The benefits they received from UMNO would far outweigh the seats they won in the election. Therefore, as long as BN and UMNO were still there, MCA would still be alive.

There is no doubt that the third option above will make MCA a small party again, which is indeed a realistic problem. Unless MCA is willing to choose the fourth option, that is, to break away from the Barisan Nasional and become an independent party. Either the winner is the king or the loser is the enemy. As I said in the case of the Gerakan long ago, this is not impossible.

*The MCA did not last long as an independent political party. (File photo: Malaysian Insight)*

MCA may not have a market now, but that doesn't mean a market can't be created. Let me give you a very simple example that I like to use. In the late 1990s, there was no political market for multi-ethnic parties at all. No multi-ethnic party could survive without being a single-race party. Just like DAP, Gerakan, PPBM, etc. Although they claimed to be multi-ethnic parties, they turned out to be more like single-race-based parties.





Yet, PKR and Anwar insisted on presenting themselves as a multiracial party. They did not win a landslide victory in the 1999 general election. Worst of all, they barely managed to retain a single seat in Parliament in 2004, and that was through Wan Azizah herself, and in Permatang Pauh. After struggling for a few years, they at least saw some light at the end of the tunnel in 2008. And in 2018, they succeeded in winning federal power.

I often use a proverb to describe this situation. The previous generation plants trees, and the next generation enjoys the shade. The question is, does MCA have predecessors willing to plant that tree? Most of the predecessors who planted that tree did not have the opportunity to be the one enjoying the shade. If there were, I dare say that MCA will sooner or later regain the support of the Chinese community. But when that time will be, no one, including me, knows.

Gerakan also tried this path after it broke away from Barisan Nasional and became an independent organization. During this period, it did not get too close to anyone. But unfortunately, Gerakan did not last long as an independent party. Similar but different, Amanah also tried to create a political market for liberal Islam. In the same situation, after a short period of time, they gave up and returned to the religious competition with PAS to see who was more conservative.

## Conclusion

I really don't have any good suggestions for revitalizing MCA in a short period of time. They can choose to linger and continue to hang on, or if they want to take radical action, they can just leave UMNO, BN and the government and start their own business. If successful, MCA can certainly regain their dignified support. But the risk is that the opposite means self-destruction.

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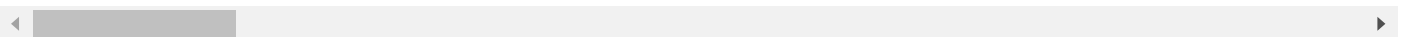
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