

**STRATEGI PENGURUSAN KONFLIK
BERDASARKAN DEMOKRASI PERMUAFAKATAN
DI MALAYSIA : KAJIAN KES BARISAN NASIONAL**

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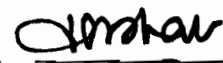
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ABSTRAK

Malaysia dikenali sebagai sebuah negara yang berjaya mengurus masyarakat berbilang kaum sehingga mencapai kestabilan politik. Kekuatan BN, pakatan tiga belas parti-parti politik perkauman dan bukan perkauman, yang mengungguli pemerintahan kerajaan Malaysia sejak lebih 50 tahun yang lampau menarik perhatian ramai pengkaji. Berasaskan fakta itu, kajian ini bertujuan untuk melihat dan mengenal pasti gaya pengurusan konflik yang diamalkan BN dalam pengagihan kerusi dan pemilihan calon pilihan raya dengan tumpuan khusus di negeri Perlis, Perak dan Selangor. Amat menarik perhatian untuk menyelidiki bagaimana BN memenangi setiap pilihan raya yang disertainya hingga dapat membentuk dan menerajui kerajaan Malaysia hingga ke hari ini. Kajian ini juga bertujuan melihat dan mengenal pasti unsur-unsur permintaan dan proses tawar-menawar politik, bukan sahaja dari sudut pengagihan kerusi dan pemilihan calon di kalangan parti-parti komponen BN malah kepada proses permintaan dan tawar-menawar antara kaum di negara ini. Selain itu, penelitian kepada faktor medan perbincangan yang menghasilkan pembuatan keputusan dalam proses pengagihan kerusi dan pemilihan calon serta terhadap hubungan dan konflik antara kaum turut menjadi matlamat kajian. Sementara, dalam menghadapi pilihan raya dan mengurus kepelbagaian etnik di negara ini, BN menempuh pelbagai cabaran yang kadang kala menggugat kestabilan parti dan negara. Faktor ini turut menjadi inti pati pada kajian ini. Akhirnya kajian ini bertujuan melihat dan mengenal pasti amalan Demokrasi Permuafakatan di Malaysia serta amalan akomodasi elit dalam BN. Melalui kajian kualitatif dengan metod utama temu bual elit, kajian ini memilih dan mengenal pasti 44 responden dari kalangan kepimpinan BN untuk ditemu bual bagi mencapai objektif kajian. Kajian mendapati BN mengamalkan kesemua lima gaya pengurusan konflik iaitu Kompromi, Akomodasi, Kolaborasi, Persaingan dan Pengelakan. Namun yang popular ialah gaya Kompromi, Akomodasi dan Kolaborasi. Kajian ini juga mendapati wujud amalan permintaan dan proses tawar-menawar politik antara kaum di negara ini dan amalan ini cenderung mengakibatkan BN sentiasa dirundung keluh-kesah politik dan konflik. Hasil kajian juga mendapati BN menempuh pelbagai cabaran termasuk cabaran terhadap kepimpinan Perdana Menteri ataupun juga Pengerusi BN serta permasalahan intra-parti dan inter-parti dalam komponen BN. Dapatan kajian akhirnya menemui bahawa Malaysia mengamalkan Demokrasi Permuafakatan namun kian longgar. Dari sudut empat sifat Demokrasi Permuafakatan, Autonomi Segmen berada di tahap sederhana, amalan Pakatan Besar dan Perwakilan Berkadar berada di tahap rendah, manakala amalan Persefahaman Veto tidak wujud. Penemuan kajian mendapati berlaku akomodasi politik di kalangan elit-elit BN dalam menghadapi pilihan raya, mengurus hubungan kaum serta dalam pentadbiran parti dan negara, namun ia berada di tahap sederhana.

ABSTRACT

Malaysia is known for its success in keeping her multiracial society well and this has impinged upon its political stability. The ultimate strength of BN, 13 race and non-race political parties which have been the unrivalled components of Malaysian government ruling for more than 50 years caught the attention of many researchers. Based on the facts, this study aims to see and identify conflict management style practised by BN with regard to distribution of seats and candidate selection for general election with a special focus in Perlis, Perak and Selangor. It is interesting to note how complete the BN won every general election that could come to form and lead the Malaysian Government to this day. This study also seeks to see and identify elements of demand and political bargaining process, not only from the point of distribution and selection of candidates for seats among BN component parties but also to process requests and bargaining among races. This study also aims to look at the factors which lead to decision making process as to distribution of seats and selection of candidates and the relationship between racial conflicts. Meanwhile, in the face of elections and managing ethnic diversity, BN encounters multiple challenges which risk both the party's and even worse, the country's stability. This factor also becomes the essence of this study. Finally, this study aims to look into and identify the ritual of Consociational Democracy in Malaysia in common with the elite accommodation in BN. By employing qualitative instrument as the main method for elite interviews, this study identified and selected 44 respondents in the BN leadership in order to achieve the objectives of the study. Findings of this study have shown that BN practises all five styles of conflict management namely, Compromise, Accommodation, Collaboration, Competition and Avoidance. However, the most popular styles practised are Compromise, Accommodation and Collaboration. This study also found the existence of political demanding and bargaining among races which resulted political conflict left BN in lameness. Results of this study also have indicated that BN has stumbled over various challenges which include the ones faced by the Prime Minister or the Chairperson of the party apart from the intra and inter-party conflicts. Moreover, the findings of the study discovered that Malaysia practises Consociational Democracy but under par. As to the four core elements of Consociational Democracy, Autonomous Segments is in its medium level, the practice of the Grand Coalition and Proportional Representation in its lower level while the practice of Mutual Veto does not exist. Research findings have found that political accommodation occurs among BN elites with regard to election, racial relations and also in terms of administering the party and country, but it is in the middle level though.

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ISI KANDUNGAN

Tajuk	Halaman
PERAKUAN KERJA TESIS	i
KEBENARAN MENGGUNA	ii
ABSTRAK	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
PENGHARGAAN	v
ISI KANDUNGAN	vi
SENARAI JADUAL	xi
SENARAI RAJAH	xvii
SENARAI SINGKATAN	xviii
SENARAI LAMPIRAN	xx
 BAB 1 PENDAHULUAN	
1.1 Pengenalan	1
1.2 Kerjasama dan Akomodasi Elit dalam Politik Malaysia	5
1.3 Pernyataan Permasalahan Kajian	13
1.4 Objektif Kajian	17
1.5 Persoalan Kajian	18
1.6 Kepentingan Kajian	18
1.7 Andaian Kajian	21
1.8 Definisi Operasi	22
1.8.1 Etnik dan Kumpulan Etnik	22
1.8.2 Masyarakat Berbilang Kaum	23
1.8.3 Demokrasi Permuafakatan (consociational democracy)	24
1.8.4 Konflik dan Pengurusan Konflik	24
1.8.5 Perundingan dan Proses Tawar-Menawar (Bargaining)	26
1.8.6 Pakatan (Coalition)	27
1.9 Metodologi Kajian	28
1.9.1 Reka Bentuk Kajian	29
1.9.2 Tatacara Pegumpulan Maklumat	29
1.9.2.1 Maklumat Primer	29
1.9.2.1.1 Temu Bual Elit	30
1.9.2.1.2 Pemilihan Responden	30
1.9.2.1.3 Tatacara Analisis Maklumat	33
1.9.2.2 Maklumat Sekunder	33
1.9.3 Fokus, Skop dan Struktur Kajian	35

1.9.4	Kekangan Kajian	38
1.10	Rumusan	40
BAB 2 SOROTAN KARYA		
2.1	Pengenalan	41
2.2	Teori Konsosianalisma	41
2.2.1	Latar Belakang Teori Konsosianalisma	43
2.2.2	Faktor Latar Belakang Teori Konsosianalisma	44
2.2.3	Empat sifat Demokrasi Permuafakatan	49
2.2.3.1	Pakatan Besar	49
2.2.3.2	Berkadar Perwakilan	50
2.2.3.3	Autonomi Segmen	52
2.2.3.4	Persefahaman Veto	53
2.2.4	Hujahan dan Kritikan Terhadap Demokrasi Permuafakatan	55
2.3	Amalan Demokrasi Permuafakatan di Malaysia	58
2.3.1	Pakatan Besar	59
2.3.2	Perwakilan Berkadar	61
2.3.3	Autonomi Segmen	66
2.3.4	Perefahaman Veto	68
2.4	Gaya Pengurusan Konflik	69
2.5	Kerangka Konseptual	75
2.6	Rumusan	76
BAB 3 LATAR BELAKANG POLITIK MALAYSIA		
3.1	Pengenalan	77
3.2	Kemunculan Masyarakat Berbilang Kaum Di Malaysia	77
3.3	Kemunculan Parti- Parti Politik Dan Penubuhan Perikatan	85
3.4	Pilihan Raya Di Malaysia	89
3.5	Rusuhan Kaum 13 Mei 1969	94
3.6	Penubuhan Barisan Nasional	98
3.7	Objektif Dan Misi Barisan Nasional	101
3.8	Barisan Nasional Dan Pilihan Raya	103
3.9	Rumusan	111
BAB 4 PENGAGIHAN KERUSI DAN PEMILIHAN CALON SERTA KONFLIK DALAM BARISAN NASIONAL		
4.1	Pengenalan	112
4.2	Prosedur dan Tatacara Pembahagian Kerusi Dalam BN	113
4.2.1	Prosedur Nilai/Taksiran oleh BN Pusat	117

4.2.2	Faktor-Faktor Penyebab Konflik Pengagihan Kerusi	149
4.3	Latar belakang dan Sejarah Konflik Pengagihan Kerusi Pilihan Raya (1955-1990)	152
4.4	Konflik Pengagihan Kerusi Pada Pilihanraya 1995-2008	161
4.4.1	Perlis	172
4.4.2	Perak	174
4.4.3	Selangor	182
4.5	Prosedur Pemilihan Calon	186
4.6	Kategori Calon	192
4.6.1	Calon Tempatan	192
4.6.2	Calon Payung Terjun	193
4.7	Faktor-Faktor Penyebab Konflik Pemilihan Calon	194
4.8	Sejarah dan Latar Belakang Konflik Pemilihan Calon Pilihan Raya (1955-1990)	199
4.9	Konflik Pemilihan Calon Pada Pilihan Raya 1995-2008 di;	204
4.9.1	Perlis	207
4.9.2	Perak	213
4.9.3	Selangor	222
4.10	Rumusan	231

BAB 5 STRATEGI PENGURUSAN KONFLIK BARISAN NASIONAL

5.1	Pengenalan	232
5.2	Amalan Pengurusan Konflik Dalam Kerangka Demokrasi Permuafakatan Barisan Nasional	233
5.2.1	Forum Pengurusan Konflik BN	234
5.2.1.1	Dewan Tertinggi BN	234
5.2.1.2	Kabinet	237
5.2.1.3	Jawatankuasa Koordinasi BN Negeri	238
5.2.1.4	Majlis Mesyuarat Kerajaan Negeri(EXCO)	239
5.2.2	Pembuatan Keputusan dalam Pengurusan Konflik	240
5.2.3	Kaedah Pengurusan Konflik	242
5.2.4	Gaya Pengurusan Konflik	246
5.2.4.1	Kompromi	247
5.2.4.2	Akomodasi	256
5.2.4.3	Kolaborasi	264
5.2.4.4	Persaingan	265
5.2.4.5	Pengelakan	268
5.3	Permintaan(<i>demand</i>) dan Tawar-Menawar (<i>bargaining</i>) dalam BN	270
5.3.1	Permintaan dan Tawar-Menawar di era Perikatan	270
5.3.1.1	Kontrak Perlembagaan 1957	272

5.3.1.2	Pelajaran dan Bahasa	274
5.3.2	Permintaan dan Tawar-Menawar di era BN(1974-1990)	
5.3.2.1	Pelajaran	278
5.3.2.1.1	Sekolah Rendah Jenis Kebangsaan China dan Tamil	278
5.3.2.1.2	Universiti Merdeka	279
5.3.2.1.3	Kemasukan ke Universiti Awam	281
5.3.2.2	Perjawatan Pentadbiran dan Politik	283
5.3.2.2.1	Jawatan di Sektor Awam	283
5.3.2.2.2	Jawatan Timbalan Perdana Menteri dan Timbalan Pengerusi BN	285
5.3.2.3	Penghapusan Sistem Kuota dalam DEB	286
5.3.2.4	Persempadanan Semula Kawasan Pilihan Raya	287
5.3.3	Permintaan dan Tawar-Menawar Pada 1995-2008	288
5.3.3.1	Desakan Huatuan	291
5.3.3.2	Desakan Hindraf	296
5.3.4	Permintaan dan Tawar-Menawar di pasca 2008	299
5.3.5	Pengurusan Permintaan dan Tawar-Menawar	303
5.4	Sumber dan Cabaran Pengurusan Konflik	308
5.4.1	Stail Kepimpinan	308
5.4.1.1	Mahathir Mohammad	309
5.4.1.2	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi	312
5.4.2	Konflik antara Parti-Parti dalam Barisan Nasional	317
5.4.2.1	Konflik Dalaman UMNO	319
5.4.2.2	Konflik Dalaman MCA	323
5.4.2.3	Konflik Dalaman MIC	325
5.4.2.4	Konflik Dalaman Gerakan	326
5.5	Perbincangan dan rumusan	327
5.5.1	Mengenalpasti tatacara atau kaedah dalam pengagihan dan pemilihan calon	327
5.5.2	Mengenalpasti medan perbincangan dan pihak yang terlibat dalam pengagihan kerusi dan pemilihan calon	336
5.5.3	Mengenalpasti gaya pengurusan konflik BN dalam pengagihan kerusi dan pemilihan calon	337
5.5.4	Mengenalpasti cabaran dihadapi BN dalam pengurusan konflik etnik	340
5.6	Rumusan	342
BAB 6 PERBINCANGAN DAN KESIMPULAN		
6.1	Pengenalan	343
6.2	Amalan konsep Demokrasi Permuafakatan di Malaysia	343

6.2.1 Amalan Pakatan Besar	344
6.2.2 Amalan Perwakilan Berkadar	348
6.2.3 Amalan Autonomi Segmen	352
6.2.4 Amalan Persefahaman Veto	355
6.3 Amalan akomodasi elit	358
6.4 Mengenal pasti Permintaan dan Tawar-Menawar politik dalam pengurusan konflik etnik.	369
6.5 Rumusan	382
BIBLIOGRAFI	383
LAMPIRAN	397

SENARAI JADUAL

JADUAL	TAJUK	HALAMAN
Jadual 1.1	Imbangan Pengundi Melayu dan Bukan Melayu 2008 di Perlis, Perak dan Selangor 2008	35
Jadual 2.1	Pilihan Raya Umum Persekutuan, 1955-1969 : Kedudukan Kerusi-Kerusi Yang Dimenangi, Ditandingi dan Dimenangi Oleh Parti-Parti Perikatan dan Peratusan kemenangan	60
Jadual 2.2	Prestasi Parti- Parti Komponen BN Pada pilihan Pilihan Raya Di Semenanjung Malaysia (Parlimen) 1974-2008	60
Jadual 2.3	Keanggotaan Dalam Badan Tertinggi Perikatan	62
Jadual 2.4	Komposisi Kabinet dalam Perikatan 1955-1968	63
Jadual 2.5	Kedudukan Perwakilan UMNO, MCA, MIC dan Gerakan dalam Kabinet Malaysia 1994-2008	64
Jadual 2.6	Komposisi Exco berdasarkan Parti Politik Di Perlis	64
Jadual 2.7	Komposisi Exco berdasarkan Parti Politik Di Perak	65
Jadual 2.8	Komposisi Exco berdasarkan Parti Politik Di Selangor	65
Jadual 3.1	Taburan Penduduk Tanah Melayu Berdasarkan Etnik (%)(1911 -1957)	81
Jadual 3.2	Konsentrasi Bandar * Berdasarkan kumpulan etnik, Malaysia Barat	82
Jadual 3.3	Masyarakat Majmuk di Malaysia- Pemisahan berdasarkan kumpulan etnik	83
Jadual 3.4	Bilangan Penduduk Semenanjung Malaysia Berdasarkan Kaum 2000	84
Jadual 3.5	Semenanjung Malaysia : Parti- parti politik yang bertanding pada pilihan raya (Parlimen & Negeri) 1959 -2008	89
Jadual 3.6	Tempoh Berkempen dan Tarikh Pilihan Raya di Malaysia	91
Jadual 3.7	Jumlah dan Peratusan Pengundi di Malaysia 1955- 2008	91
Jadual 3.8	Taburan Kerusi Pilihan Raya Parlimen (Malaysia) mengikut Negeri 1959-2008	93

Jadual 3.9	Taburan Kerusi Dewan Undangan Negeri (Malaysia) 1959-2008	93
Jadual 3.10	Kedudukan Kerusi- kerusi yang ditandingi Pilihan Raya Parlimen dan Negeri dan dimenangi Perikatan 1964 -1969	95
Jadual 3.11	Kedudukan Kerusi - Kerusi Yang Dimenangi Parti-Parti Politik Pada Pilihanraya 1964 Dan 1969 (Parlimen)	96
Jadual 3.12	Kekuatan kerajaan (BN) dan pembangkang dalam Dewan Rakyat	103
Jadual 3.13	Taburan Kerusi - Kerusi Parlimen Malaysia 1974 - 2008	105
Jadual 3.14	Taburan Kerusi - Kerusi DUN 1974 -2008	106
Jadual 3.15	Negeri-negeri dimenangi pembangkang 1985-2008	107
Jadual 3.16	Keputusan Pilihan Raya Umum Malaysia,Parlimen 2008	108
Jadual 3.17	Keputusan Pilihan Raya Umum Negeri 2008 (Kerusi-Kerusi Dimenangi Parti - Parti Politik, Malaysi)	109
Jadual 3.18	Taburan Kerusi -Kerusi DUN Bagi Negeri- Negeri Dikuasai Pembangkang 2008	110
Jadual 4.1	Taburan Pengundi Berdasarkan Kawasan Majoriti (Parlimen) di Zon A	118
Jadual 4.2	Taburan Pengundi Berdasarkan Kawasan Majoriti (DUN) di Zon A	118
Jadual 4.3	Taburan Pengundi Berdasar Kawasan Majoriti (Parlimen) di Zon B	120
Jadual 4.4	Taburan Pengundi Berdasarkan Kawasan Majoriti (DUN) di Zon B	120
Jadual 4.5	Taburan Pengundi Berdasarkan Kawasan Majoriti (Parlimen) di Zon C	122
Jadual 4.6	Taburan pengundi berdasarkan Kawasan Majoriti (DUN) di Zon C	122
Jadual 4.7	Kerusi Parlimen dan Negeri Berdasarkan Majoriti Kaum di Semenanjung Malaysia 1974-2008	125
Jadual 4.8	Peruntukan Kerusi Parlimen dan Negari Berdasarkan Kaum di Semenanjung Malaysia 1974 - 2008 (Setelah Tafsiran Semula)	127
Jadual 4.9	Peruntukan Kerusi Parlimen kepada Parti-Parti Melayu, China dan India	128

Berdasarkan Kawasan Majoriti Pengundi 1974 - 2008

Jadual 4.10	Peruntukan Kerusi Negeri Kepada Parti -Parti Melayu, China dan India Berdasarkan Kawasan Majoriti Pengundi 1974 - 2008	129
Jadual 4.11	Kedudukan Kawasan Majoriti (Parlimen & Negeri) Berdasarkan Kaum Di Negeri Perlis, 1974 - 2008	132
Jadual 4.12	Agihan Kerusi Parlimen dan Negeri Di Perlis 1974 - 2008	133
Jadual 4.13	Kedudukan Kawasan Majoriti (Parlimen & Negeri) Berdasarkan Kaum Di Negeri Perak, 1974 - 2008	134
Jadual 4.14	Agihan Kerusi Parlimen dan Negeri Di Perak 1974 - 2008	135
Jadual 4.15	Pembahagian Kerusi Parti-Parti Komponen BN (Parlimen) di Perak 1974 -2008	136
Jadual 4.16	Pembahagian Kerusi Parti- Parti Komponen BN (Negeri) di Perak, 1974 - 2008	136
Jadual 4.17	Kedudukan Kawasan Majoriti (Parlimen & Negeri) Berdasarkan Kaum Di Negeri Selangor, 1974 - 2008	137
Jadual 4.18	Agihan Kerusi Parlimen dan Negeri di Selangor 1974 - 2008	138
Jadual 4.19	Agihan Kerusi Parlimen dan Negeri, Selangor Berdasarkan Parti Komponen BN 1974 - 2008	139
Jadual 4.20	Prestasi PPP, Berjasa dan Hamim di Semenanjung Malaysia 1959 - 2008	142
Jadual 4.21	Prestasi Parti- Parti Komponen BN di Perlis (Negeri) 1974 - 2008	144
Jadual 4.22	Prestasi Parti- Parti Komponen BN di Perak (Parlimen) 1974 - 2008	145
Jadual 4.23	Prestasi Parti- Parti Komponen BN di Perak (Negeri) 1974 - 2008	146
Jadual 4.24	Prestasi Parti- Parti Komponen BN di Selangor (Parlimen) 1974 - 2008	147
Jadual 4.25	Prestasi Parti- Parti Komponen BN di Selangor (Negeri) 1974 - 2008	148
Jadual 4.26	Perubahan Kerusi (Parlimen dan Negeri) di Semenanjung Malaysia, 1974 - 2003	152

Jadual 4.27	Kedudukan Calon Perikat dalam Pilihan Raya 1955	153
Jadual 4.28	Perbandingan Prestasi MCA dan Gerakan pada Pilihan Raya 1986 dan 1990	163
Jadual 4.29	Prestasi Parti -Parti Komponen BN pada Pilihan Raya 1995 di Semenanjung Malaysia	164
Jadual 4.30	Kedudukan Kerusi Parti - Parti Komponen BN pada Pilihan Raya 1999 Berbanding Pilihan Raya 1995 Semenanjung Malaysia	167
Jadual 4.31	Kedudukan Kerusi Parti - Parti Komponen BN pada Pilihan Raya 2004 Berbanding Pilihan Raya 1999 Semenanjung Malaysia	169
Jadual 4.32	Perbandingan Prestasi Parti - Parti Komponen BN di Peringkat Parlimen dan Negeri, pilihan raya 2004 dan 2008 Semenanjung Malaysia	171
Jadual 4.33	Agihan Kerusi Parlimen dan Negeri Di Perlis, Pilihan Raya 1974-2008	173
Jadual 4.34	Pertambahan kerusi Parlimen dan DUN di Negeri Perak Pada Pilihan Raya 2004	174
Jadual 4.35	Pembahagian Kerusi Kepada Parti -Parti Komponen BN (Parlimen) Di Perak	176
Jadual 4.36	Pembahagian Kerusi Kepada Parti -Parti Komponen BN (Negeri) Di Perak	176
Jadual 4.37	Pertambahan Kerusi Parlimen dan DUN di Negari Perak pada Pilihan Raya 2004	177
Jadual 4.38	Pertambahan Kerusi Parlimen dan DUN di Negari Selangor pada Pilihan Raya 2004	182
Jadual 4.39	Agihan Kerusi Parlimen dan Negeri, Selangor Berdasarkan Parti Komponen BN 1995-2008	183
Jadual 4.40	Kawasan - Kawasan Baru Parlimen dan DUN di Selangor 2004	184
Jadual 4.41	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Bertanding di DUN Perlis,Pilihan Raya 1999	210
Jadual 4.42	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Bertanding di DUN Perlis,Pilihan Raya 2004	211
Jadual 4.43	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Bertanding di DUN Perlis,Pilihan Raya 2008	213

Jadual 4.44	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Parlimen Perak, Pilihan Raya 1995	214
Jadual 4.45	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN Perak, Pilihan Raya 1995	214
Jadual 4.46	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN Perak, Pilihan Raya 1999	215
Jadual 4.47	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN Perak, Pilihan Raya 2004	217
Jadual 4.48	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Parlimen Perak, Pilihan Raya 2004	218
Jadual 4.49	Calon - Calon Yang Digugurkan Parlimen dan DUN, Perak Pilihan Raya 2008	218
Jadual 4.50	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Parlimen, Perak Pilihan Raya 2008	221
Jadual 4.51	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN, Perak Pilihan Raya 2008	222
Jadual 4.52	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Parlimen Selangor, Pilihan Raya 1995	224
Jadual 4.53	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN Selangor, Pilihan Raya 1995	224
Jadual 4.54	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Parlimen Selangor, Pilihan Raya 1999	225
Jadual 4.55	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN Selangor, Pilihan Raya 1999	225
Jadual 4.56	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Parlimen Selangor, Pilihan Raya 2004	227
Jadual 4.57	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN Selangor, Pilihan Raya 2004	227
Jadual 4.58	Calon - Calon Muka Baru Parlimen Selangor, Pilihan Raya 2008	230
Jadual 4.59	Calon - Calon Muka Baru DUN Selangor, Pilihan Raya 2008	230
Jadual 4.60	Calon - Calon Yang Digugurkan atau Menarik Diri Parlimen dan DUN, Selangor Pilihan Raya 2008	231
Jadual 5.1	Gaya Pengurusan Konflik dalam Pengagihan Calon Di Perlis, Perak Dan Selangor 1995- 2008	269
Jadual 5.2	Gaya Pengurusan Konflik dalam Pemilihan Calon Di Perlis, Perak Dan Selangor 1995- 2008	269
Jadual 5.3	Keputusan kerajaan terhadap Permintaan -Permintaan Kaum	304

Jadual 5.4	Kepimpinan Dan Gaya Pengurusan Konflik Mahathir Mohamad Dan Abdullah Badawi	317
Jadual 5.5	Pecahan Peruntukan Kerusi Pilihan Raya Parlimen Berdasarkan Kaum Semenanjung Malaysia 1974-2008	329
Jadual 5.6	Pecahan Peruntukan Kerusi Pilihan Raya Negeri Berdasarkan Kaum Semenanjung Malaysia 1974-2008	330
Jadual 5.7	Purata Peratusan Peruntukan Kerusi Mengikut Kaum, Parlimen dan Negeri Di Negeri Perlis, Perak dan Selangor, 1974-2008	331
Jadual 6.1	Perbandingan Jumlah Penduduk (Berdasarkan Banci 2000) dengan Bilangan Exco Di Perlis, Perak dan Selangor 2004	350
Jadual 6.2	Amalan Demokrasi Permuafakatan di Malaysia	365
Jadual 6.3	Gaya Pengurusan Konflik dalam Isu Permintaan dan Tawar Menawar Antara Kaum	372

SENARAI RAJAH

	Hlm
Kerangka Konseptual	75

SENARAI SINGKATAN

ABIM	Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia
ADIL	Pergerakan Keadilan Sosial
AKAR	Angkatan Keadilan Rakyat
AKIM	Angkatan Keadilan Insan Malaysia
AMIPF	All Malaysian Indian Progressive Front
APU	Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah
BA	Barisan Alternatif
Berjasa	Barisan Jemaah Islam Se Malaysia
BN	Barisan Nasional
CLC	Communities Liaison Committee
DAP	Democratic Action Party
DEB	Dasar Ekonomi Baru
DUN	Dewan Undangan Negeri
EXCO	Executive Member
GERAKAN	Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia
HAMIM	Hizbul Muslimin Malaysia
IMP	Independence of Malaya Party
ISA	Internal Security Act
KITA	Kesatuan Insaf Tanahair
KeAdilan	Parti Keadilan Nasional
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
NGO	Non Government Organization
MCA	Malaysian Chinese Association
MCS	Malaysian Civil Service
MIC	Malaysian Indian Congress
MU	Malayan Union
PAS	Parti Islam SeMalaysia
PBB	Parti Pusaka Bumiputera Sarawak
PBDS	Parti Bangsa Dayak Sarawak
PBRs	Parti Bersatu Rakyat Sabah
PEKEMAS	Parti Keadilan Masyarakat Malaysia
Perikatan	Parti Perikatan
PMIP	The Pan Malaysian Islamic Party
PPP	People Progressive Party
PRM	Parti Rakyat Malaysia
PSRM	Parti Sosialis Rakyat Malaysia
SAPO	Sarawak People's Organisation
SAPP	Sabah Progressive Party
SDP	Socialist Democratic Party
Semangat 46	Parti Semangat 46
SF	Socialis Front
SNAP	Sarawak National Party
SPR	Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya
STAR	Sarawak Reform Party

SUPP	Sarawak United People's Party
UDP	United Democratic Party
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
UPKO	United Pasok Momugun Kadazandusun Organisation
USNO	The United Sabah National Organization

SENARAI LAMPIRAN

Lampiran A	Profil responden
Lampiran B	Soalan-soalan temu bual
Lampiran C	Surat kebenaran mendapat maklumat/data dari UUM
Lampiran D	Surat jawapan keizinan temu bual dari Tun Mahathir

BAB 1

PENDAHULUAN

1.1 Pengenalan

Malaysia sering dirujuk sebagai negara yang berjaya mencapai dan mengekalkan kestabilan politik hasil kecekapan pengurusan konflik etnik. Di sebalik kekalutan banyak negara lain di dunia berdepan dengan masalah perkauman, keagamaan, perebutan wilayah dan sebagainya, Malaysia, sejak 50 tahun yang lampau, melalui konsep perkongsian kuasa antara pelbagai kaum, berjaya mengekalkan kemantapan politiknya.

Sejak berakhirnya era Perang Dingin (*Cold War*), konflik antara etnik menjadi punca utama konflik hingga menyebabkan ketidakstabilan. Konflik etnik menyeberang sempadan dan wilayah, merebak ke serata pelusuk dunia hingga mengancam keselamatan domestik dan antarabangsa. Perselisihan etnik menyaksikan ketidakstabilan negara-negara di Asia seperti Filipina, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India dan Myanmar, di negara-negara Afrika seperti Sudan, Nigeria, Ghana dan Burundi. Konflik etnik juga melanda negara-negara Carribean, Amerika Selatan, negara-negara di Eropah Timur termasuk juga Yugoslavia dan negara-negara bekas Kesatuan Soviet (USSR). Gurr (1994) menyatakan, pada tahun 1980, sebanyak 233 kumpulan di dunia (melibatkan 900 juta orang atau 1/6 dari penduduk dunia) menjadi sasaran diskriminasi (politik dan ekonomi) serta menjadi mangsa 'paksaan politik' (*political assertiveness*). Menurut Gurr lagi, sejak akhir dekad ke-20 konflik etnik cenderung menurun namun ia masih menjadi faktor dominan terhadap kekacauan (*violence*) di dunia, lebih kurang tiga kali ganda berbanding

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