

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

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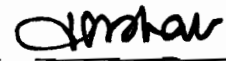
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ABSTRAK

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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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 Caribbean, 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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