

Can PPBM survive long term?

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I am currently doing a study on the newly formed Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM). As background reading, I had to go through various literature on UMNO, to help me understand the dynamics within the party and what happened to parties that broke out from UMNO. Interestingly, the first UMNO splinter party was established by no other than UMNO's founding President himself, Dato' Onn Jaafar.

UMNO traces its history to the anti-colonial movement in the early 1900s, which peaked in the 1940s when British proposed to set up the Malayan Union. In Johor, the effort was led by Onn, a respected Malay aristocrat who was also District Officer in Batu Pahat. He hosted the third national Malay Congress in Johor Bharu on 11 and 12 May 1946, and it was here that UMNO was officially born. Onn was also declared as the founding President.

Under Onn's leadership, UMNO worked hard to oppose the Malayan Union. The British eventually relented, and, following negotiations with UMNO and the Malay Rulers, they announced that Malayan Union will be replaced with the Federation of Malaya. Onn thus scored his first major political victory, and this encouraged him to think about what UMNO should do next.



土著團結黨能夠長存嗎？

我正在研究新成立的土著团结党 (PPBM)。为了了解其背景，我阅读了关于巫统的各类文献，以此帮助自己更加了解党内的动态，再看看那些由巫统分裂出去的政党命运如何。有趣的是，由巫统分裂出去的第一个政党，正是由巫统的创始人兼首任党主席拿督翁惹化一手创立。

追溯巫统的历史，该党崛起于反殖民运动蔓延的1900年代，并于1940年代英政府倡议成立马来亚联盟 (Malayan Union) 的时期攀上最兴盛的颠峰。在柔佛州，这股运动是由一位受尊重、同时在峇株巴辖担任县长的马来贵族——翁惹化所领导。1946年5月11及12日，他在新山主持第三届全国马来人大会，而这里便是巫统正式成立的地方。该党宣布翁惹化为创党主席，在他的领导下，巫统对马来亚联盟的成立力抗到底。英政府最终让步，并与巫统以及马来统治者谈判，他们宣布以马来亚联合邦 (Federation of Malaya) 取代马来亚联盟。如此一来，翁惹化在政治上取得第一次重大突破，这促使他进一步思考巫统的未来走向。

他开始循着两大方面探索：带领马来亚脱离英国独立，以及促使马来亚不同的族群并肩合作。尽管争取独立的速度以及独立的形式一直都存在争议，但巫统毫不犹豫地通过了独立的议程。不过，就在翁惹化提倡接纳非马来人为平起平坐的党员时，却面对巫统的强大反弹。毕竟，马来人不愿意与非马来人有平等的地位。

自由思維



旺賽夫
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的诸多批评，导致他被某些地方的马来社会所唾弃。

最后，正因马来亚独立党无法拓展其基层，所以翁惹化被迫于1953年宣布解散该政党。接下来的数十年里，巫统历经好几次党分裂，而这些分裂出去的政党，主要归于以下两种模式：

第一种模式，一如上述的马来亚独立党那样，它们都是直接由巫统领袖及其追随者在退党后马上成立，并未充分地拓展他们的基层，也未招揽更多巫统传统圈子以外的新血加入。这些例子包括1963年成立的国民大会党 (National Convention Party) 以及1989年成立的四六精神党。

第二种模式，某些政党的成立，是由于退出巫统的领袖获得了多个额外的力量支持。这包括1951年巫统内外的伊斯兰主义者成立的伊斯兰党；1999年安华遭巫统革除党籍后，成功动员各个民间组织支持其议程而成立的人民公正党。

有一点值得关注的就是，在国内，按第二种模式分裂出去的政党，已获证明更为成功地建立他们的支持班底。多年来，

He started exploring two areas: navigating Malaya towards independence from Britain and getting Malaya's various ethnic groups to work together. The independence agenda was adopted by UMNO without much hesitation, although the speed at which independence should be fought for and the actual form of independence continued to be debated. But Onn faced tremendous backlash from UMNO when he pushed for non-Malays to be accepted as equal members. The Malays did not want equality for all citizens.

Onn's failure to persuade UMNO to become a multiracial party led to his resignation from the Presidency as well as from the party in August 1951. Soon after that, on 16 September 1951, Onn launched a new and ambitiously non-communal Independence of Malaya Party (IMP), making it the first splinter party from UMNO.

Despite being founded and led by a towering figure, the IMP failed to make any mark in national politics. Even in Onn's home state of Johor he did not gain traction. Onn expected that UMNO would be shaken following his departure and that UMNO members would join him. That did not happen. Instead, UMNO regrouped under the new leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra.

Additionally, during his tenure as President of UMNO, Onn had several confrontations with the Malay Rulers. He was scathing in some of his attacks, and he was once even quoted as saying "We must find ways and means to end feudal rule" in an obvious reference to the Malay Rulers.

This created the impression that his IMP was an anti-Royal party, which was anathema to the popular sentiment among the Malays at that time. Onn's criticisms against the Royals made him unpopular among some quarters of the Malay society.

Ultimately, the IMP failed to widen its support base and was dissolved by Onn in 1953.

UMNO experienced several more break-ups over the next few decades and there are essentially two models adopted by the splinter parties.

First, just like the IMP described above, are the parties that were formed directly by UMNO leaders and their followers immediately after they left the party, without sufficient widening of their bases to include more people from outside of the traditional UMNO circle. Examples include the National Convention Party (Parti Perhimpunan Kebangsaan) that was formed in 1963 and the Parti Melayu Semangat 46, formed in 1989.

Second, there are parties that were formed as a result of the coming together of multiple additional forces in support of the departing UMNO leaders. This includes PAS which was formed in 1951 by Islamists from inside and outside of UMNO, and PKR in 1999 by Anwar Ibrahim following his sacking from UMNO, after he successfully mobilised various civil society groups to support his agenda.

It is interesting to note that, nationally, the splinter parties that followed the second model have proven more successful in building their own support base. They gradually increased their strength over many years, and they are still strong until today.

On the other hand, none of the parties that followed the first model have created any real damage to UMNO or made marks on our national politics. In fact, just like the IMP, all of them suffered electoral failures and were eventually dissolved.

PPBM falls more into the first model. It was formed by top UMNO leaders almost immediately after they left the party. Yes, they did indeed consult with various groups before officially launching PPBM, but it is still essentially a party formed and led by former UMNO members and leaders, planned to be a replacement of UMNO.

This raises a question about the long-term sustainability of PPBM. If we go by history, the future looks very difficult for PPBM especially if they do not win Putrajaya or at least win control of a state. Without a power-base, they will find it difficult to survive. None of the parties that followed the path PPBM is taking now have survived in the long run.

This makes it extremely important for PPBM to gain significant wins in the upcoming elections. Their whole survival is at risk if they do not succeed this time.

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