



RESEARCH PAPER

Political Parties and Democracy in Malaysia: A Case of United Malay National Organization (UMNO)

Rizwana Kausar¹ Dr. Muhammad Muzaffar² Najam Us Saqib³

1. Ph. D Scholar, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Government College University, Faisalabad Punjab, Pakistan
2. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, GC Women University Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan
3. PhD Scholar, Department of Politics & International Relations, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

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Corresponding Author:

rizwana1905@gmail.com

The political party considers the association of the peoples who have same views about the governance of the state. This study discusses the goals and purposes of its members through the attainment and by the use of political influences. It is constitutional right of citizens to develop a political party with the collaboration of people who have same vision to obtain the goals. Malaysia has Multi Political Party System. The main Malay Party is BN (Barison Nasional) and coalition of fourteen Parties of different ethnicities and in this coalition leading party, UMNO since the freedom of Malaysia analyses through the data. Other political parties are Democratic Action Party (DAP), Parti Islam se Malaysia (PAS) and Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR). The alliance was made in 1952 by the participation of different parties, in which Parties leading party United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) are most important. Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) also became the part of this coalition and BN became the nation's dominant political party and worked for the battement of nation

Introduction

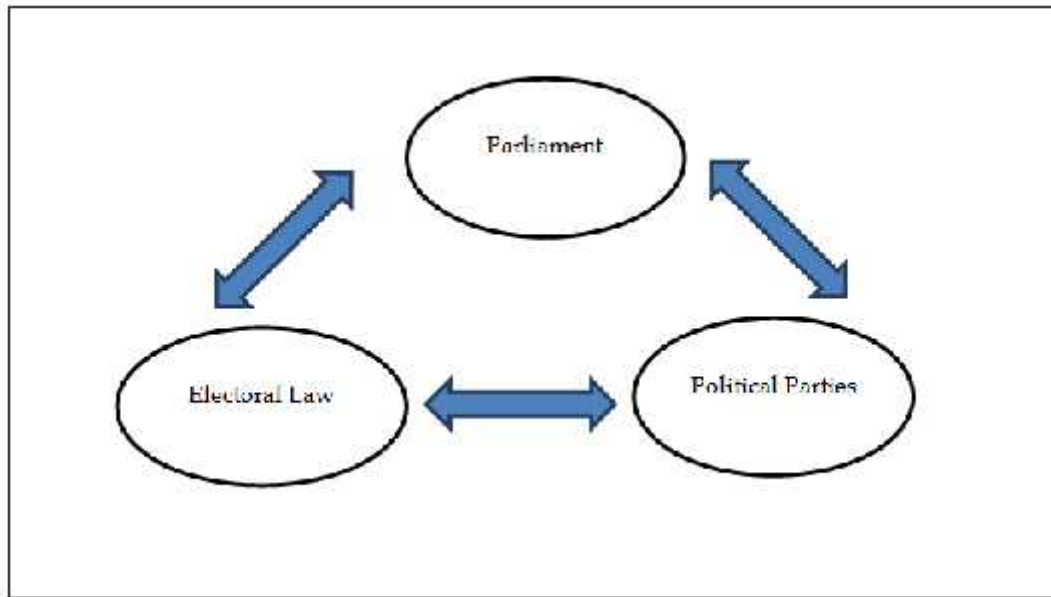
Political parties consider the greatest authoritative part of the political system because it is not possible to obtain aims and objects. In fact, who is controlling, and the distributing of resources will be determined the political system of any country. Political forces control and take care of distributing the resources as well as keep their countries on track towards the political development especially in those countries which are supporting the democratic institution building process.

Political parties also play the role of mediators between the people of the society and the government representatives or parliamentarians who execute the decisions. By doing this, they try to ease their followers and cohorts by representing their concerns to government. Although in democracies parties perform frequent essential parts and accomplish certain utilities but the furthestmost palpable purpose is assortment and performance of entrants in democratic movement.

There is no doubt that it has deeply connection among political system, political parties and public. There is a collaborating connection between people of the society and political parties and parties have a subterranean influence on whole political system. This influence can be seeing through different developments of the country like social, political and economic. According to the other ideas of political science and social sciences, there is bundle of gap of unanimity among scholars about the depiction of political growth. "For instance Huntington (1968) mentioned the level of political stability in a country as an indicator of its degree of political development, but later Huntington and Nelson (1976) pointed out that political participation is an important element of this process. Differences can also be found in terms of studying political development, for instance Almond and Coleman (1960) employed structural functionalism approach, but Moor (1993) utilized class analysis to do so". Binder (1961) thinks, "Country's development lays in its capability to resolve certain crises of development such as penetration, participation, legitimacy, and so on. Some other researchers and scholars have tendency to differentiate between political developments in western and non-western scenarios"(Mushtaq, 2018).

The role of Political Parties is different in different states like in democratic states political Parties can play their part in government institutions by the vote of the people. The political parties' concept developed by the western and these parties before named 'factions', but later it started to call political parties. Modern form of political parties devised by Europe and in 19th century by United States with the concept of parliamentary and electoral systems, whose expansion imitates the progression of parties. The word 'party' has since come to be practical to whole systematized assemblages pursuing political power, whether it is in democratic way like election or by revolution. While in earlier times like in aristocratic, pre-revolutionary and monarchical systems, the political progression spread-out within controlled spheres in which factions and cliques, congregated to around the specific aristocrats or persuasive characters were disparate to one another. Later, these scarcely founded parties were malformed to a more or less level, for in the nineteenth century America and in Europe where these appeared parties reliant on people sustenance. The development of political parties increased in twentieth in all worlds. The political parties' in those countries that are under developing grounded on out-dated way like tribal, ethnic, tribal, or spiritual associations. Moreover, the situation of many political parties in developing nations seems partly military and partly political. In Europe same tendencies were experienced by many communist and socialist parties.

The rule relations between political parties with representatives of the parliament and rules deeply affected the parliaments under which they work as well as the possessions that governments offer to parliamentary assemblies. The parties determined their rules and their representatives and not inescapably by a sovereign realm. The inter-relationships between political parties and electoral systems can be enlightened by the Political theories. Parliaments have essential in these relationships which usually oblige as the key rule-making authority (Law, 2010).



There are many Asian democracies that have characterized by one-party authority. The supremacy of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan is a visible example that ruled since 1955 and ruled continuously until 1993. The Congress Party of India that is also known as the Indian National Congress continuously had won the seven times election of the first eight elections that are held between 1952 and 1984. Political power inclined to be concerted in the control of a single, overpoweringly leading party that was answerable to democratic rout only in theory. However, the scenario was changed and one-party control appears to be in failure throughout KMT and Golkar are a gumshoe of their previous identities. (Case, 1993)

The masses backing for the opposition Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party of Malaysia has amplified significantly, intimidating the domination of UMNO for the first time. Both countries Taiwan and Korea have encouraged increasingly to the entrenchment and postponement of democracy. The Struggle between government institutions and opposition has strengthened and self-determining judiciaries have been moulded in both countries. Undeniably, in China the position of the CCP, PAP in Singapore and Vietnam's Communist Part have all bounded this tendency by strengthening their ascendancy in current ages. These paper

emphases on the performance of those political parties that playing essential role in improving or impeding democracy particularly in Malaysia(Anatoly, 2010).

Value of Party Affiliation			
Countries	How much importance of party affiliation for Candidate	Voters identify with Party or Candidate	Electoral system kinds
1. Herzegovina	Extremely important	Party	(Open-list PR)
2. Bangladesh	Extremely Important	Both	(FPTP)
3. Colombia	Very important	Both	(PR)
4.Hungary	Extremely important	Party	(MMP14)
5. Cambodia	Mandatory	Party	(MMP)
6. Ireland	Extremely important	Party	(PR-STV15)
7. Kosovo	Extremely important	Party	(Open list PR)
8. Nigeria	Candidates	Mandatory	(FPTP)
9. Iraq	Important	Both	(Open-list PR)
10. Serbia	Very important	Both	(PR)
11.U. K	Extremely important	Both	(FPTP)
12. Yemen	Important	Party	(FPTP)
13. Peru	Unimportant	Candidates	(PR)
14. Pakistan	Important	Both	(FPTP)
15. Montenegro	Extremely important	Party	(PR)
16. Mali	Very important	Candidates	(PR - 2 rounds)
17. Morocco	Very important	Candidates	(PR)
18.South Africa	Extremely important	Party	(PR)
19. Nigeria	Essential	Candidates	(FPTP)
20. Malaysia	Extremely important	Both	(FPTP)

Much of the comprehensive work in making the political parties accomplishments, databases and arrangement is not entirely accompanied by the leaders of the party. The elected representatives in contrast also pursue to subsidize to party actions and databases. The significant protagonist frolicked by designated representatives in order to certify their party accomplishes throughout the elections and increase backing from the individuals. That's why the political parties industrialized instantaneously with democratic and parliamentary practices. The political parties in other words are very significant and as a collection of people who emanate together to compete in the elections and grip important situation in the government (Brahim, 2017).

The Political parties of Malaysia perform many tasks in country's political system like selection of the applicants for elections, assemble voters, selection of political leaders, ease governance, consolidate the government institutions and monitor the opposite party in supremacy (Brahim, 2017).

Malaysian political system follows the Westminster model of government. Reid Commission created the Malaysian constitution in 1956. On August 27, 1957 the Constitution was made when the Malaya independent federation came to existence. The establishment of Malaysian Constitution considers a creation of external and internal political influence. The constitution of Malaysia took influence from the traditions of English constitutional. Malaysia has multi-ethnic and multi Political Party System. BN is coalition of fourteen parties and UMNO is foremost Party of this coalition since the freedom of Malaysia (Gomez, 2007).

Role of Political Parties in Democracies

Political parties in democratic countries consider the cornerstone. Political parties perform their role in different ways such as they collect the interests and desires of the public after it these demands are articulated in policy options form and then arrange the structures for political input. More, one of the functions is to train the political leaders and contest elections to pursue a measure of resistor over government organizations. (NDI, 2013). The people of the state have concerns and interests that they want from governments to fulfil them. It is the best opportunity for citizens in democratic societies that political parties aggregate these strains from miscellaneous groups and communicative rational civic strategy possibilities to talk with them. By their energies to rheostat and sway public policy, the political parties perform an intermediary part that links to citizens to their governmental representatives and helping as the prime network for craft administrations answerable for their enactment (Ashiagbor, 2013).

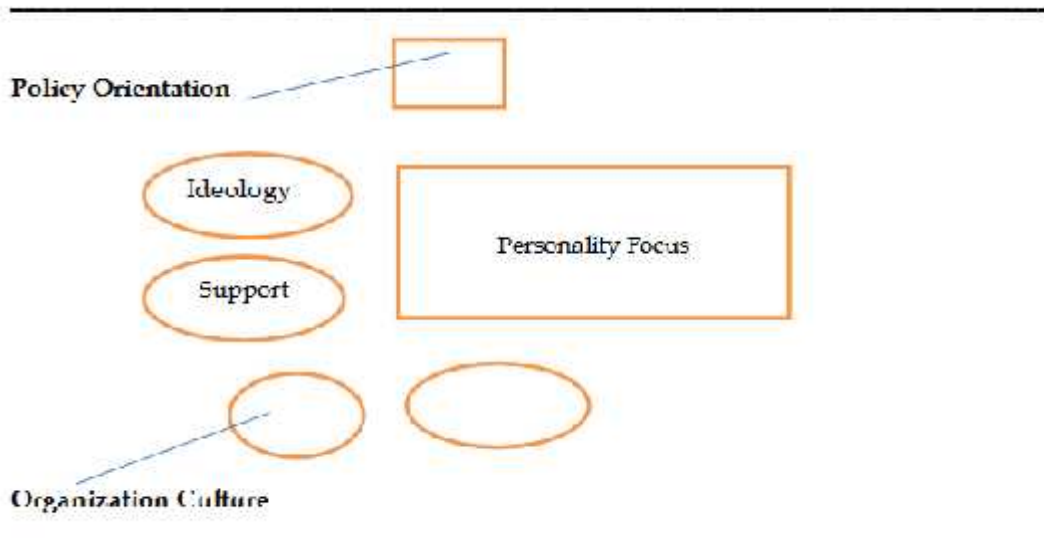
This article describes identity of party as the idiosyncratic structures that are unique in its sense to a specific party and support to discern it to its participants. Providing by the array of conducts in which parties classify themselves and magnet their sustenance, identity as a composite of different party features has been described by this paper. These characteristics depend upon usually seven comprehensive types:

- Party Branding,
- Support Base,
- Personality Focus,
- Patronage,
- Organizational Culture,
- Policy Orientation and Ideology

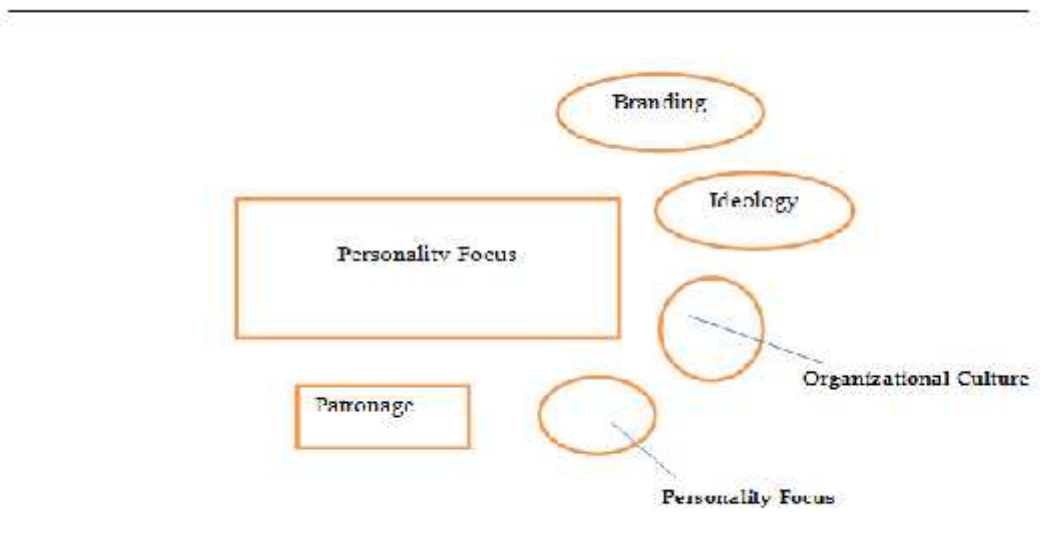
Ideology of a party is probable to be replicated in the orientation of its policy. However, many fundamentals of an identity of political party in some cases can look disengaged or even self-contradictory. For example, a political party can be liberal, conservative or social democrat while reliably supporting policy situations that look to be at probabilities with the convention it prerogatives to belong to (NDI, 2013).

Different Dimensions of Party Identity

Personality Driven Party



Policy Driven Party



The word 'Branding' denotes to the descriptions, mottoes, echoes or signs names, logos, insignia, streamers, melody are usually used to categorize a party officially or unceremoniously. For example, many social democratic parties of the world use different tags such as red rose as the sign of their branding. Similarly in USA the sign of donkey and elephant are considers with the republican and democratic parties and like in same way Patronage to their leader or candidate perform the vital role in world politics because people get many opportunities in response of their patronage to candidates such benefits are :

- Priority contact to decision making representatives
- To get positions in government
- Public resources for their initiatives
- Organizational culture contains the nature of a party's structures
- Institutional rules, and practices in outreach and decision-making
- Rules for influential party policy
- Practical capability or the skill to contact it in evolving policy schemes
- The extent to which members and outside groups is included in these processes

While political parties accept their own conceptual tags, political spectators have also allocated such tickets to diverse political parties, looking for shorthand techniques of consortium parties with parallel viewpoints(Lange, 1995).An uncountable number of antagonism parties have flowed in and out of being on an unvarying foundation since the democratic turn of the state (Baogang, 2010).

The popular party of India secular Indian National Congress known as the main political party of the country in terms of vote share. After getting the freedom from the British, the Congress controlled the Indian politics, ruling the state from the past sixty-one years. The Congress contests against a great number of opposite parties like Hindu nationalist parties (BharatiyaJanata Party, or BJP) (Gledhill, 2013).

Japan as an inexpensive liberal democracy and its constitution of 1946,provide assurance to the privileges and freedoms such as right to property, right of assembly and association, freedom of countenance, right of a fair-trial, the right of assembly and association and the right to form a political party (Baogang, 2010).

It is clear by the earlier political record of Pakistan that the supremacy of state organizations over political parties. Pakistan has to face 3 countersigned three martial law (1977 to 1988 and 1999 to 2007) phases from its independence 1947. Even, martial despots cherished few political parties to increase political backing and worked them to extend their authoritarianisms. But typical political parties like Pakistan People's Party, Awami National Party and Awami League did posture fight to tyrannical governments (Mushtaq,2018).

Background of UMNO

Historically UMNO was established in the same year in which the Malayan communist party was moulded in 1946 and it is considered main party of Malaysia. In 1955 UMNO was strengthened by the amalgamation of MCA in an anti-Communist and anti-colonial procedure. So, the Parties in Malaysia signify the exciting progress of communal associations. Their communal variety is impartially noticeable in the ruling Alliance party which consists of Malay (UMNO), Chinese

(MCA) and Indian (MIC) communities. This alliance was formed in early 1950's though an agreement between Malays and Chinese. This agreement ensures Political supremacy of Malay community and potentials to hold conventionally Malay landscapes of government over junior Political Chinese Community as partners. The First President of UMNO was OnnJaffar when it was established in 1946. After the OnnJaffar, Tunku Abdul Rehman replaced as UMNO President (Yousaf, 2012).UMNO is the known as largest Political Party of Malaysia. When British were trying to lead Malayan union in 1940 and then UMNO launched the movement of freedom against the British. At that time alliance was formed with MIC (Malayan Chinese Association) and MIC (Malayan Indian Congress) originated the Barison Nasional.(Fiona, 2008). PAS (Partai Islam se Malaysia or Pan Malaysian Islamic party) have traditionally always provided intense competition for UMNO" (Fiona, 2008).

UMNO Government since 1957-1969

In 1903, Tunku Abdul Rehman was born in Kedah State Malaya. on 31 August, 19657 Malaya got freedom. Tunku was then selected as first Prime Minister from UMNO leaders. It was first victory of UMNO (Gin, 2010). Tunku Abdul Rehman became the Prime Minister and headed the Alliance to victory in the 1959, 1964 and 1969 general elections. These were the greatest victories of UMNO (Vorys, 2015). While in the election of 1969 Alliance of BN failed to get 2/3 majority, particularly the MCA Party had to face the great loss of contested. But Alliance succeeded to the foremost opposition makes their government on federal level (Taylor, 2003).

The results of the 1959, 1964 elections are:

Parties	1959		1964	
	Won	Contested	Won	Contested
Alliance of BN	74	104	89	104
MCA	19	31	27	33
UMNO	52	70	59	68
MIC	3	3	3	3
Opposition				
DAP			1	11
PAS	13	58	9	52
Gerakan				
Others	17		5	
Total	104		104	

UMNO Government since 1970-1976

The general elections of 1969 were held on 10th May, however the elections of the two states Sabah and Sarawak of Malaysia were held in 1970 and these states elections were the first election after becoming the Malaya into Malaysia federation in 1963.(Khuo, 2002) The results of the election were very astonishing, the Alliance lost its 2/3 majority in Parliament. The MCA Party had to face great loss, in the election of 1964 this Party got twenty-seven seats out of 33 but in 1969 election MCA can got just thirteen seats. UMNO was the leading party who got more votes of all the coalition. Alliance blamed the MCA for their loss. But Alliance succeeded to retain their authority and also succeeded to make their government on federal level (Taylor, 2003).

Results of the 1969 Elections

Parties	Won	Contested
Alliance of BN	66	103
MCA	13	33
UMNO	51	67
MIC	2	3
Opposition		
DAP	13	23
PAS	12	59
Gerakan	8	14
Others	4	-
Total	103	

UMNO Government since 1976-1981

Tun Hussein Onn worked as the third Prime Minister of Malaysia from 1976 to 1981. In 1949, he came to be the first youth Chief of UMNO (United Malays National Organization). He was selected the UMNO general secretary in 1950, but Tun Hussein however left UMNO in 1951 and joined his father in establishing the Independence of Malaya Party (IMP). But after the end of (IMP) he went to London, on after his return he also re-joined the UMNO in 1968. On August 13, 1973 he makes the Deputy Prime Minister but in 15 January 1976 he holds the control of the country as the Prime Minister after the death of Tun Abdul Razak.(Jeshurun, 1975) The Alliance got 87 per cent of the total votes and UMNO got more votes than other coalition parties. Tun Hussein Onn was elected the third Prime Minister of the country and it was the great victory of UMNO. He retired from politics and resigned his Prime Minister ship owing to ill health in 1981(Mathews, 2013).

UMNO Government since 1981-2003

Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamad started his political career in 1945 and he joined the leading Party UMNO in 1946. He was dropped from the party in 1969

by the reason of ethnic problems but he rejoined the Party in 1972. He was selected as member of Higher Education Advisory Council in 1972 and also selected as Minister of education. In 1976, Tun Abdul Razak became Prime Minister and he appointed Dr. Mahathir his deputy Prime Minister. In 1975 he was elected as vice president of the UMNO and in 1978 he was appointed as Deputy President of the UMNO. In 1981 he made president of leading Party UMNO after the retirement of Datuk Hussein and this confirmed his success as the fourth Prime Minister on July 16, 1981. He was longest-serving Prime Minister (Rashid, 2012).

In 1982, Mahathir arranged the elections in country and got the votes on large margin. His party UMNO again got majority votes and was again in power in 1982 elections. Dr. Mahathir had to face many challenges in next election of 1987, but he was again in power and his Party gain strong majority in election. (Lentz, 1945) Dr. Mahathir governed the Malaysia more than two decades; he governed 1982 to 2003 as Prime Minister of Malaysia. After winning the five consecutive elections his government ended in 2003. In 2002, at the general assembly Mahathir declared his resign from the Premier Ship and in 2003 he retired. After him Abdullah Ahmad Badawi who was the successor of Dr. Mahathir, he gained popularity very much. In the elections of 2003-4 Abdullah was in the position to get favour among the different sections of the masses. Badawi was also remained Foreign Affairs Minister in 1991-1999 and this enabled the Badawi to remain more active in Politics (Mueller, 2014).

Five General Elections of Mahathir's Govts.

Elections	Government	% seats (Wining Party)	Opposition	% of seats (Opposition)
1982	Mahathir(UMNO)	85.71	Yusof Rawa	14.29
1986	Mahathir (UMNO)	83.62	Azizan Islam	16.38
1990	Mahathir (UMNO)	70.55	SudinWahab	29.45
1995	Mahathir (UMNO)	84.38	Ahmad Mohd	15.62
1999	Mahathir (UMNO)	76.68	Ahmad Subki	23.32

UMNO Government since 2003-2008

The fifth Prime Minister of Malaysia was Dato' Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. He joined the civil services before entering in politics, he started his political career in 1978 and also remained Ministers of Youth and sports and culture. He joined UMNO which is leading Party of Malaysia; he worked as the education Minister from 1984 to 1986, Minister of Defense department in 1986 to 1987, Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1991 to 1999, and finally he was selected Deputy Prime Minister from 1999 to 2003 in the reign of Dr. Mahathir's.

The period of government from 1981 to 2003 was governed by the Mahathir Mohamed. The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad, after serving 22 years on the position of Prime Minister He handoverhis leadership to his deputy, Abdullah Badawi. Mahathir has put forward his resignation in June 2002. Dr. Mahathir has ruled the Malaysia for almost half of its life since the time of independence in 1957 and it proved the drastic positive change in the country (Wain, 2012).

“General elections of Malaysia were held in March 2004. The ruling alliance, Barisan National (BN) took the 90% seats within the parliament and also 64% of votes of population were in their favour. Success of BN was having many reasons including the ruling of new Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, who took the post of Prime Minister on October 31; 2003. His famous quote “Work with me, not for me” reflects his true and positive thinking about the nation. At that time economy was going in the positive direction and country was heading toward the all kinds of prosperity. Opponent parties like Partai Islam Se-Malaysia and Islamic party only won the six seats and they lose the elections badly” (Wain, 2012). Abdullah Badawi succeeded to keep his parliamentary seat for the seventh time with the majority of 18,122 votes. UMNO is the dominating Party of the Coalition of BN and UMNO got more votes than other coalition Parties. In Parliamentary seats, UMNO got 8 seats and 28 seats from the 30 seats in the elections of 2004. (Mok, 2007)Opposition Party had the strong hold in KelantanState so UMNO could achieved 49 percent of the votes. UMNO in Kedah State got fourteen of the fifteen parliamentary and thirty one out of the thirty-six seats of state assembly. The Abdullah Ahmad Badawi was selected as the fifth Prime Minister of Malaysia and he was also from the UMNO(Moten, 2009).

UMNO Government since 2008-2018

On 8 March 2008, the twelfth Genera Election was conducted, and the results were very astonishing and great surprise for the peoples of Malaysia because opposition party achieved ground-breaking historical victory. While in this election like the election of 1969, the National Front failed to be gained 2/3 majority of the votes and got 140 seats from the 222 parliamentary seats and in Peninsular Malaysia BN got 51.5% of the parliamentary seats. Peoples Alliance achieved eighty-two seats in the election of 2008. This happened first time except the 1969 election that BN failed to get 2/3 majority, but BN succeeded to make his government on federal level (Rajaratnam, 2009).

The states in which opposition succeeded to make their govt. are Penang and Kedah, before the state of Penang was under the control of Gerakan party which is coalition of BN. But in the election of 2008 the Penang state had to suffered great loss because BN and its all Coalition Parties including UMNO could not get any seat in this state. Opposition Coalition Party DAP succeeded and formed the state government and PAS formed govt. in Kedah state. Another

astonishing thing occurred that is fall of Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur to opposition; it has parliament seats that are achieved by the coalition of opposition parties. However, BN still dominated parliament of Malaysia. The victory of Sarawak and Sabah state greatly helped BN's government over Parliament (Mohd, 2013).

Parties	Seats Contested	Seats Won in 2004	Seats Won in 2008
BN	222	199	140
PAS	67	12	23
DAP	47	12	28
SNAP	4	0	0
PKR	97	1	31
Bersekutu	2	0	0
Pasok	3	0	0
Independents	36	1	0
Total	478	219	222

As the sixth Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak took the control of the country on 3 April 2009. The new Cabinet was made and included the seven new persons and total members are twenty-eight. It is declared that the new Deputy Prime Minister will be Muhyiddin Yassin who had won the election of Deputy President of UMNO previous month (Saravanamuttu, 2010).

Prime Minister Najib Abdul Razak was the only leader who completed his full tenure of government. After completing the tenure of his govt., he announced the date of 13th General Elections that are held on 5th May 2013. However, 13th elections were held, and Results of the elections were announced on 6 May 2013. Despite running to grip to power at the federal level and regaining Kedah, the performance of BN had worse than in 2008. On the whole, "BN's tally of 133 or 59.91% of parliamentary seats and 47.38% of popular votes in 2013 compared unfavorably to its 140 or 62.61% of parliamentary seats and 52.2% of popular votes in 2008. By contrast, PR garnered 89 or 40.09% of parliamentary seats and 50.87% of popular votes in 2013 as compared with 82 or 36.93% of parliamentary seats and 47.8% of popular votes in 2008. Not only had PR continued to deny BN its coveted two-thirds majority, but this time PR also beat BN in terms of popular votes. In urban Selangor and Pulau Pinang, PR bolstered its hold on the state government by securing more than two-thirds of state legislative assembly seats" (Hamid, 2014).

The fourteenth general elections was held On 9th May 2018 and Hope Pact broke the 61 years old hegemony of the ruling party. The Mahathir Mohamad was elected Prime Minister in the age of 92. His alliance of 4 parties crushed the BN coalition of Prime Minister Najib Razak, who was formerly protégé of Mr Mahathir's but became his ultimate virulent opponent (Hoontrakul, 2004).

Conclusion

Political parties played their vital role in democracies to achieve the basic goals and aims of political development as well as political parties strengthen the democracy. Political parties give importance to the public opinions because without public participation democracy cannot flourish in any country. Their strength breeds political development and their inefficiency surely promotes political decay.

Malaysia is an Islamic nation, but peoples of different ethnicity are living in Malaysia and Indian and Chinese group are large in other minorities groups. After the study of Malaysian system, it concluded that Malaysia is a successful developing country, even it has different ethnicities peoples are living but the Political system is running strongly. Constitutional monarchy is practiced in Malaysia and real political power is exercise by the Prime Minister. Political parties are the core of every democratic country. All UMNO members are Malay and the party has 17000 branches across the country. Since the first elections the opposition parties always remained weak, sometimes in the election of 1969 and 2008 opposition succeeded to reduce the 2/3 majority of BN but BN with the coalition of UMNO and other thirteen Parties always succeeded to make their governments since the independence of Malaysia. It is record of UMNO that all Prime Ministers are from this leading party UMNO but the 14th election stunned the world by defeating the ruling party. It was considered the 1st democratic transformation since independence that ended the dominancy of one-party system.

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