



# Umno and the Crisis; Analysis on Internal Crisis — Selected Cases

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## Abstract

Democracy (Elections and Party Elections) and based on customary practices. However, in certain circumstances, the process of leadership replacement often leads to conflict and polemics when there is a desire to know the leadership properly even if done in the name of Democracy (freedom to contest and choose leaders). Although Democracy's demands allow competition (an element of openness), the foundation of an open system of government will be the agenda to defend the interests of small groups while the majority of other groups fall victim to the policy of liberalization and openness. Then there will be impact and consequences. UMNO as the largest party to the Malays, has gone through no less than fifteen (15) major crises since the party was established in 1946. In the series of crises that occurred these 4 criteria are taken into account and are always valued and analyzed i.e. Who or the main character is involved, What are the issues involved and involved, The causal cause of the initiator to the crisis and what is the end to the crisis as well as its implications. Based on the research of this article, it is concluded that the DNA of UMNO is a crisis where the crisis and the conflict create, build, strengthen, empower and also give weakness to the political party.

**Key Words:** Politics, Crisis, Leaders, Conflict, Democracy.

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## Introduction

The writing of this article focuses on the question of the crisis occurring among the political elites of political party leadership. Not to be outdone and studied is the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) party.1 UMNO, established in 1946, is the largest Malay party and is the backbone of the Barisan Nasional (BN) government.2 UMNO is also a place. Sheltered the majority of Malay leaders who now largely hold administrative and political positions either at the federal or state levels. Thus, the UMNO party together with the party leaders are often the subject of political discussions. Coincidentally, the UMNO party, which is now over 60 years old, has never dried up from various controversies and conflicts which have caused

attention to always be given to the party compared to its contemporaries.

In the development of the political elite crisis series in Malaysia, four things will be involved in it, namely the Personality of the Leader or the individual involved, the Politics of Inter-Ethnic Relations (Inter-Ethnic), the Politics of Internal Ethnic Relations (Intra Ethnic), General topics such as Religious issues, Education, Welfare, Environment, Patriotism, gender, seniors, budgets and issues as well as international affairs. In the series of crises that occur, these 4 criteria are taken into account and always evaluated and analyzed, namely who or the main character is involved, What are the issues involved and involved.

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The cause of the beginning of the crisis and what is the end to the crisis and its implications. In fact, UMNO's DNA is a crisis where the crisis is said to create, build, strengthen, empower and also give weakness to the political party.

Although these upheavals helped UMNO's maturation process, in some places this phenomenon almost ended the age of the party itself. Leadership, on the other hand, is a process of translating the will of society for good. This concept is also often referred to as a joint action led by certain individuals to achieve a previously formed goal. Leadership is also a process aimed at coordinating the needs of the diverse society into one so that it is easy to handle. Based on the dominant definition and common understanding, elite refers to a small group or class in society that has certain advantages, privileges in the form of advantages of economic strength, inheritance and natural talents. As a result of this advantage, this small group is given high respect in society, whether appointed as a leader or as a reference point to solve current problems that occur in certain communities.

The leadership elite in a broader sense refers to a small group of society that controls almost all political functions and roles. This includes the dominance over political power itself, control over government instruments and machinery and the benefits or advantages that it can enjoy as a result of the dominance held over the political aspect through that power. The concept of the elite is also highlighted by Pareto who suggested the leadership elite as a small group in society where the power to determine the social control of society belongs to this small group. Plato, for example, made a simple interpretation of the concept of the elite where he saw that the elite can be identified through political domination and the distribution of power in society. This includes the power to establish social control, make the rule of law, control of economic resources and wealth as well as control over aspects of government.

This writing tries to see:-

1. Did the Elite Crisis and the sectarianism that took place bring change to the UMNO Political Party?
2. Does the Elite Crisis in the leadership that took place in the UMNO political party weaken, strengthen or empower the Party?

## Overview

Political development in Malaysia is a very interesting phenomenon to study and discuss. The discussion in this section focuses on the development of Malay nationalist activities and non-Malay political activities whether recognized or not by the British colonialists in the quest for independence. At an early stage, the arrival of British in controlling and colonizing the country was hindered by anti-colonial movements in every state (Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, 1982). Clearly, despite the arrival of the British with intrigue but it did not in the least shake the political power to oppose them. This is where the heroes in the country's politics appear such as Dato` Dol Said, Dato` Maharaja Lela, Dato` Sagor, Dato` Bahaman, Mat Kilau, Tok Janggut, Dato` Abd Rahman Andak, Mat Salleh, Rentap, Rosli Dhoby, Dato` Kelana and Haji Abdul Rahman Limbong. Indeed the struggles of previous figures illustrate that the independence of this country was not obtained easily, but rather by sacrificing life, blood, sweat and aor eyes (Buyong Adil, 1980).

Political developments in Malaya were fueled by an awareness of race -based nationalism driven by the British own policy of 'division and order'. The grouping of communities in different areas has planted the seeds of nationalism consciousness. In the early stages, their activities were more inclined to fight for welfare among the people, but eventually turned into a mass movement to develop society and fight for nationalism among the people of Malaya. All of them began to take effect at the beginning of the 20th century. The awareness of Malay nationalism was also supported by the open-mindedness of the Malays who received education from within and outside the country. He explained that the ulama had triggered political awareness among the Malay community. They are called and known as 'Kaum Muda' have used various instruments and mechanisms to channel the idealism of struggle with the slogan "Islah Islamiyyah movement" (Mohd Sarim Haji Mustajab, 1982). Akhbar Al-Iman has become the main media channel to spread religious, political, economic, social and cultural awareness among the Malays (Abd Aziz Mat Ton, 2000).

External factors also influenced their attitudes and thoughts towards Malayan politics. The independence achieved by India in 1947 and the domination of the Communist Party in China in 1949, has caused the Chinese and Indians to place serious emphasis on Malaya. The British



government recognized the contribution of the Chinese and Indians in establishing the Department of Chinese and Indian Affairs before the Second World War. Leaders of the Chinese and Indian communities began to be appointed in Government Meetings. This reflects their voice and involvement in government policy making is already beginning to appear. However, the overall political consciousness and nationalism among the people of Malaya is divided according to race based on the struggle of race (Cheah Boon Kheng, 1984).

### Tracking the Story of Conflict in UMNO

In any country, the discussion of power and politics never ends. Various political issues are raised and debated both locally and internationally. Discussions at the local level often involve the ruling and opposition parties. While at the international level, the discussion touched on the issue of relations between countries. One of the things that is interesting and always gets attention is about the crisis going on among the political elites.

UMNO as the largest party to the Malays, has gone through no less than fifteen (15) major crises since the party was established in 1946. Among the forms of crisis experienced are the dismissal of the party's top leadership, internal divisions, opposition to the top leadership and pressures from allies in BN. As a result of the crises that UMNO went through, the party is said to have matured and continued to survive as the largest party of the Malays. UMNO's turmoil often gets In the development of the political elite crisis series in Malaysia, four things will be involved in it, namely the Personality of the Leader or the individual involved, the Politics of Inter-Ethnic Relations (Inter-Ethnic), the Politics of Internal Ethnic Relations (Intra Ethnic), General topics such as Religious issues, Education, Welfare, Environment, Patriotism, gender, seniors, budgets and issues as well as international affairs. And in the series of crises that occurred these 4 criteria are taken into account namely Who or the main character is involved, What are the issues involved and involved, The cause of the origin of the crisis and what is the end to the crisis and its implications. Upheavals or the crisis has been experienced by the UMNO Political Party. In fact, UMNO's DNA is a crisis where the crisis is said to create, build, strengthen, empower and also give weakness to the political party. Although these upheavals helped UMNO's maturation process, in

attention not only from party members but also from scholars, researchers, journalists, poets and so on, whether from within or outside the country. They try to describe and explain each UMNO turmoil according to their respective areas of expertise. At the same time, they are also making assumptions about the future of UMNO.

Competition for power between various parties whether among leaders, followers, individuals and the country is a natural occurrence. Without exception, competition for power also occurred among political parties and political elites. Various reasons and factors are tried to be explained by those involved to justify their respective actions. Apart from the explanation by those involved, there are other parties also help to make an explanation to the phenomenon of power struggle based on their respective mechanisms.

Efforts to form an alliance or team are done as a strategy to ensure the victory of the team of their choice in a power struggle competition in an election, whether at the branch, division or highest council level. The formation of this alliance is not necessarily based on the popularity or credibility of the candidate or group contesting but is based on group sentiment. Apart from forming alliances, sectarian practices are also a scenario that occurs in any political party, including UMNO. The existence of a faction or group within a political party occurs when politicians are loosely tied to leadership or without clear leadership by highlighting their respective groups to representation in party elections.

some places this phenomenon almost ended the age of the party itself.

### Internal Crisis Conflict Series

This section discusses the upheavals that UMNO has gone through. Although these upheavals helped UMNO's maturation process, in some places this phenomenon almost ended the age of the party itself. The initial UMNO crisis occurred as early as 1946 the first year the party was formed. After that there was unrest in 1951, 1953, 1964, 1969, 1976, 1978, 1982, 1987, 1998, 2013 and 2016.

#### *PKMM leaves UMNO 1946*

On 29 June 1946, the Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (PKMM) withdrew from joining UMNO. This historic event in the development of Malay politics took place when UMNO held its delegates' conference for two days on 29-30 June 1946, at the



Town Hall, Ipoh. The UMNO delegates' conference was chaired by Datuk Onn bin Jaafar and was specially held to discuss the law of organization, the form and pattern of the UMNO emblem and on effective measures to oppose the establishment of the Malayan Union.

### *Onn Jaafar Keluar UMNO 1951*

The political rivalry between Tunku Abdul Rahman and Dato 'Onn Jaafar in the 1940s and 1950s was due to two different political orientations. Tunku is seen to be more inclined towards traditional nationalism, while Dato 'Onn Jaafar is more anti-feudal (Saharuddin Maaruf 1988: 125). This can be observed in the issue of the appointment of the British Deputy High Commissioner in Malaya. Sultan Badlishah had played a role in mobilizing other Malay Rulers to jointly oppose Dato'Onn's proposal. He is believed to have received advice from Tunku Abdul Rahman as he was Tunku's brother. Dato 'Onn's conflict with the Kedah palace can be seen in the speech delivered during his farewell ceremony with UMNO. Dato 'Onn's anti-feudal attitude is not new as he had previously had a crisis with the Johor palace. Dato 'Onn's actions in criticizing the British and the Sultan of Johor invited' dismissal 'on 31 June 1920. Dato' Onn criticized Sultan Ibrahim for his actions in auctioning off his father's property, Dato 'Jaafar, who was said to be indebted to the Johor state government. Only in 1922, Dato 'Onn was taken back to work after Tunku Ismail succeeded in persuading Sultan Ibrahim. The resignation of Dato 'Onn Jaafar as UMNO president was an early crisis involving the party. The series of events has led to divisions or divisions in the UMNO party. The party was roughly divided into those who supported Dato 'Onn Jaafar and those who did not agree with Dato' Onn Jaafar's ideas. Subsequently, the establishment of the IMP as a party that supports the beliefs of multi-racial parties has increased the division among the Malays.

### *Establishment of the Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) 1951*

Technically, the establishment of PAS was from the UMNO Religious Bureau following a series of meetings between Muslim scholars that took place in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The establishment of PAS has indirectly provided an alternative for the Malays to channel support to a party that is thought to be able to fight for their

political tastes. On 22 March 1947, a conference known as the Se Malaya Religious Economic Conference was held at Madrasah II-Ihya Assyariff, Gunung Semanggol, Perak. Through this conference an organization known as the Supreme Council of Religion (MATA) 3 was established. MATA aims to organize and take over the religious administration system from the hands of the Malay Rulers as well as establishment scholars who work in the Religious Council and the State Religious Office (Mohd. Sarim 1982: 168). On 6 November 1977, Tun Hussein Onn, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, introduced a bill in parliament to declare a state of emergency in Kelantan. The PAS Working Committee rejected the act and decided that all PAS ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries should resign. In the debate on the act in parliament, Dato 'Asri Muda rejected the act, however the act was still accepted as the Emergency Act in Kelantan. Dato 'Asri Muda's action in protesting the act caused him to be disciplined by the BN Central Committee. On December 8, 1977, UMNO proposed that PAS be fired from BN for its failure to fire Dato 'Asri Muda. On 13 December 1977, BN sacked PAS. With that, PAS's cooperation with the Federal government in Kelantan ended. In the 1978 General Election, PAS returned to the opposition to the BN government. However, in the 1978 General Election, PAS received a severe defeat until Kelantan escaped from the hands of PAS. In 1982, Dato 'Asri Muda's leadership began to be questioned by PAS supporters until he had to resign as PAS President. Furthermore, Dato 'Asri Muda announced his withdrawal from being a member of PAS and he acted to establish a new party known as HAMIM.

### *Dismissal of Datuk Panglima Bukit Gantang 1953*

The first time UMNO faced a crisis as a result of the dismissal of its leader was in 1953. The person who was fired was one of the most influential UMNO founders in Perak. He is Dato 'Panglima Bukit Gantang, Datuk Abdul Wahab Datuk Abdul Aziz, who used his law office to support and administer UMNO between 1946-1949. Datuk Abdul Wahab Datuk Abdul Aziz is the first UMNO Secretary General and has several times been the Deputy and Vice President of UMNO and a member of the UMNO Supreme Working Council (MKT). He was also the Orang Besar Lapan Perak who was very close to the Sultan of Perak, Sultan Abdul Aziz Shah. Ramlah Adam (1998) stated that Datuk Abdul Wahab's action of leading 6 Malay Menteris Besar



to establish the National Convention, offended Tunku Abdul Rahman as UMNO President. In terms of the party, Datuk Abdul Wahab is the Perak UMNO chief, he seems to have turned his back on Tunku Abdul Rahman as an UMNO central chief. Tunku should have been told or asked for his permission. Secondly, in terms of Tunku's leadership, he is worried that Datuk Abdul Wahab will overcome his influence, because he is an UMNO veteran who has been well -versed in UMNO's struggle.

In the blood of his flesh. UMNO Perak is indeed under his influence because he was the leader of UMNO Perak since 1946 through the Perak Malay Alliance (PMP), an association that supported UMNO and later became the Perak UMNO Division. Tunku, on the other hand, only led UMNO Malaya at the end of 1951, he was not only new to the central leadership. Tunku saw Datuk Abdul Wahab as a remnant of Dato 'Onn's influence, who would continue to threaten his leadership in UMNO. Tunku also faced the same thing in Kuala Lumpur when the Kuala Lumpur UMNO Division Head, Datin Puteh Mariah, was also a friend of Dato 'Onn. Thirdly, Datuk Abdul Wahab was wiser and more experienced in politics and administration which was an important asset to win the hearts of the British and the Malay Rulers. Tunku had also personally quarreled and envied Datuk Abdul Wahab's excellence as a law student at the Temple Inn, where they were studying. Datuk Abdul Wahab's success in graduating with distinction has enabled him to become the President of the Malay Students Association of Great Britain, replacing Tunku Abdul Rahman himself. Tunku had to spend more than 10 years to graduate while Datuk Abdul Wahab only took as short a time as he should have and continued to be accepted to the Bar next year. So political, procedural and personal reasons became the reason for dismissing Datuk Abdul Wahab from UMNO on April 2, 1953 and declared in the UMNO general meeting in Melaka, without Datuk Abdul Wahab being called to defend himself. Perak delegates left the meeting in protest, except for Ghazali Jawi (Tan Sri) who was later appointed to replace Datuk Abdul Wahab. It is not easy to remove Datuk Abdul Wahab's influence from UMNO supporters. The contribution and role of Datuk Abdul Wahab as the unifier of the Perak Malays against the Malayan Union, removing the influence of PKMM and API and AWAS which were strong in Padang Rengas and Madrasah Gunung Semanggol and his close relationship with the

Sultan, as well as his influence among the Perak aristocracy and elite especially among Malay Civil Service (MCS) officers, teachers, penghulu, tokilon and the Malay community who are still closed are not easy to erase.

### *Ultra Malay Dismissal 1969*

The incident on 13 May 1969, shook the rule of Tunku Abdul Rahman as the Prime Minister of Malaysia. In Kuala Lumpur, relations between the Malays and the Chinese have become strained. Datuk Harun Idris has mobilized a group of youths known as "Pemuda-pemuda Tahan Lasak" to march around Kampung Baru to show the strength of the Malays to the Chinese. On 11 and 12 May 1969, opposition party supporters also marched around Kuala Lumpur as if celebrating victory in the 1969 general election. A few days before that, on 10 May 1969, general elections were held and saw the Alliance Party lose in several important chair pieces. In Kuala Lumpur, inter -racial riots have taken place. Houses were set on fire, members of political parties filled the streets, security forces struggled to control the situation but chaos continued. Eventually military forces were called in to help maintain peace and a curfew was declared (Hng 2004). Prior to the events of 13 May 1969, several political developments had taken place in Malaya. Since the conclusion of the 1964 General Election, the country's political situation has not been very calm. The racist issues once raised by the PAP have been continued by the DAP. Among the issues that are debated between the races are the proposed establishment of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, the establishment of Universiti Merdeka, the issue of the national language, the economic position of the bumiputera, and poverty among the rural Malay population. The above issues have been openly discussed and the accusations between the races are running without any restrictions. Among those who became the champions of the voice of the Malays were Syed Jaafar Albar, Syed Nasir, Harun Idris, Musa Hitam, Abdullah Ahmad and Dr. Mahathir | PAP party leader Lee Kuan Yew described them as "Ultra Malays."

These so-called "Ultra" leaders not only defended the fate of the Malays, criticized the Chinese leaders but Tunku Abdul Rahman was also a victim of criticism. Dr. Mahathir accused Tunku Abdul Rahman of being too lenient with the demands of the Chinese until the May 13, 1969 incident. On 17 June 1969, Dr. Mahathir wrote a letter to Tunku Abdul Rahman expressing his dissatisfaction with



Tunku's style of governing. Among them is the way Tunku dealt with the problems of the Malays until there was tension between the Malays and the Chinese. Dr. Letter Mahathir has been "leaked" and copied and widely disseminated. As a result, Tunku thinks that Dr. Mahathir should leave the UMNO Supreme Council and be fired from being a member of the party (Milne, 1982). On 12 July 1969, Dr. Mahathir was fired from being a member of UMNO. Accompanying him was Musa Hitam who was also sacked on 28 July 1969. Musa Hitam at the time of his dismissal had left for London to continue his studies. The conflict between Tunku Abdul Rahman and Dr. Mahathir is generally known to many. However, this became open after Dr. Mahathir's letter to Tunku was widely circulated and Dr. Mahathir's dismissal was taken by Tunku. During his dismissal, Dr. Mahathir wrote a book entitled *The Malay Dilemma* which was published in Singapore. This book was banned in Malaysia until it was withdrawn when Dr. Mahathir became the Prime Minister. Dr. Mahathir only returned to the arms of UMNO after Tun Abd Razak became the Prime Minister to replace Tunku Abdul Rahman.

#### *Sulaiman's Resistance to Palestine 1978*

The 1978 UMNO election made history when the UMNO tradition was broken due to the actions taken by Sulaiman Palestine. Sulaiman Palestine has announced that he will run with Hussein Onn for the post of UMNO President. Utusan Malaysia reported that for the second time in UMNO's 32 - year history, the post of President will be contested when acting President Datuk Hussein Onn is opposed by a veteran figure, Haji Sulaiman Palestine. The first time was in 1952 when Tunku Abdul Rahman defeated C.M. Yusoff with a majority vote (Utusan Malaysia, 14 September 1978). People are interested in this fight because it will answer two questions. First, how popular Sulaiman Palestine is and second, about his stance which has been emphasized several times through the newspapers that if he wins he will not be the Prime Minister but will leave it to the party to decide who will be the Prime Minister. Political observers at the time regarded Sulaiman Palestine along with Khir Johari and Senu Abdul Rahman, as old men who still had great ambitions to achieve something that was still hidden in their hearts. These are the people who are said to be trying to bring Tunku Abdul Rahman back into the party, at least to be appointed as an advisor (Utusan Malaysia, 13 September 1978). The UMNO election this time was

also overshadowed by several events in the past. Among others is the party's bitterness in dealing with the issue of Harun Idris and the recent completion of the general election that year. As a result, there was also an issue of dissatisfaction among the UMNO Youth leadership regarding the appointment some Youth Exco into the government. These issues have affected the mood of the election that year. The election result set Hussein Onn to win with 898 votes compared to his challenger's 250 votes and this indirectly confirmed the post he held since January 1976. Meanwhile Sulaiman insisted the 250 votes he got was not a protest vote but he thought it was a healthy path for giving birth to a healthy opposition to control the course of the party. In addition, he contested was to create an awareness that a healthy opposition should be created in the party (Utusan Malaysia, 16 September 1978).

#### *Resistance of Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah 1987*

The UMNO General Assembly in April 1987, made history when the election of the Supreme Council saw the presidency being severely challenged. At the same time, several other top positions such as deputy president, vice-president and members of the Supreme Council are also up for grabs among UMNO leaders. In this case, Dr. Mahathir's position as party president has been challenged by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah. The history of UMNO shows that since the party's general election in 1978, the position of UMNO president at that time held by Hussein Onn for the first time in history has been challenged by Sulaiman Palestine (Shamsul A.B 1988). Solomon's Palestinian actions at the time had violated party tradition and were considered nothing more than a protest to the party president. Whatever the reasons given, the action of opposing the party president through the election process in the UMNO General Assembly is nothing new. When Dr. Mahathir was appointed Prime Minister in July 1981, his position was not very strong. He is also said to be facing problems in electing his deputies in the government and the party. Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, who is more "senior" in his position in the UMNO leadership, was not automatically elected as the Deputy Prime Minister. Instead Dr. Mahathir preferred the post to be contested through the 1981 UMNO General Assembly. In this regard, at the 1981 UMNO General Assembly, the UMNO party saw a fight for the post of Deputy President. The two candidates contesting were Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah and Musa Hitam as the Education Minister



at the time. Both of these candidates had the strong support of the delegates. Musa Hitam is seen as more likely because of the image he has as a figure who fights for the 'Malay voice' compared to his opponents. Meanwhile, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah is less popular because he is said to be too close to the Chinese businessmen. Although at one point Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah got greater support but Hussein Onn's speech as President at that time had indirectly blessed the election of Musa Hitam and as a result Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah lost by a lack of 205 votes compared to his challenger (Means 1991). These two figures were repeated in the next election in 1984. Once again in the rally Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah was defeated by only obtaining 501 votes compared to Musa Hitam's 774 votes.

### *Pakatan Musa Hitam and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (Perang Bangsawan)*

At the end of 1986, it was rumored that Musa Hitam and Tengku Razaleigh would unite against Dr. Mahathir at the 1987 UMNO rally. In fact, since the mid-1980s, Musa Hitam and Tengku Razaleigh had shown displeasure with Dr. Mahathir's leadership style. In early December 1986, the two sides held a series of meetings discussing any possibility for them to form an alliance against Dr. Mahathir (In-Won 2003). The two began to appear to be holding party functions together in Johor Bahru and in Gua Musang. All their ceremonies were attended by thousands of people, including non-Malays. The winds of change are indeed beginning to be felt

### *Dismissal of Anwar Ibrahim 1998*

On 2 September 1998, Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim was sacked from his post as Deputy Prime Minister. The next day he was also removed from the post of Deputy President and a member of UMNO. Anwar's dismissal brought UMNO into a major crisis in the 1990s. This action also became the second biggest crisis in Dr. Mahathir's career as party president since the split of UMNO in 1987. Anwar's dismissal has changed the country's political landscape and its impact is not only accepted by UMNO but spread to all political parties in Malaysia. Anwar's relationship with Dr. Mahathir is believed to have started in 1969 when the two played a role in opposing the leadership of Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman. Anwar at that time as a student leader at the University of Malaya had invited Dr. Mahathir to speak at a ceremony with students organized by him. Anwar's advancement in UMNO

(Rais 2004). On April 11, 1987, Tengku Razaleigh announced that he would contest against Dr. Mahathir for the post of UMNO President in the Supreme Council election on April 24, 1987. At the same time Musa Hitam would contest to defend his position as Deputy President and was challenged by Ghaffar Baba (Fan Yew Teng, 1989). The mass media described the competition between Tengku Razaleigh's group and Dr. Mahathir as a "Team A and Team B." Team A is Dr. Mahathir's alliance with Ghaffar Baba while Team B is the alliance of Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah and Musa Hitam. Rais' (2004) opinion about Anwar Ibrahim is true. Shamsul A.B (1988: 184) in his analysis stated that the clash between the two UMNO giants had actually benefited Anwar Ibrahim's politics. Anwar Ibrahim joined UMNO in March 1982, to some extent as a result of an initiative taken by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah. In April 1982, he won the Permatang Pauh parliamentary seat by a large vote. He was subsequently appointed Deputy Prime Minister and later succeeded in seizing the post of UMNO Youth Chief after defeating Suhaimi Kamaruddin. This indirectly places him as one of the "ex-officio" Vice Presidents of UMNO. Shortly afterwards he was appointed full minister in the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. After the 1986 general election, Anwar Ibrahim was appointed Minister of Education. In the 1987 UMNO election, Anwar Ibrahim contested for the post of UMNO Vice President.

politics has aroused envy among some UMNO leaders. They think that Anwar was treated so specially by Dr. Mahathir. For them, Anwar managed to use the "special" position on the side of Dr. Mahathir by bringing in some elements that are said to be contrary to the sentiments of the "establishment" in UMNO. The culmination of the Anwar and Dr. Mahathir crisis occurred on September 2, 1998.

However, before that date, the conflict between the two had already occurred. For example, at the 1995 UMNO General Assembly and during Dr. Mahathir's visit abroad in July to August 1997. There were rumors that it was time for Dr. Mahathir's position as Prime Minister to be replaced by Anwar. In July 1997, the economic crisis hit among the countries of Southeast Asia. Starting in Thailand, the crisis spread to several countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. In Malaysia, this crisis not only affected the economy but also affected the country's internal politics. Dr. Mahathir as prime



minister has denounced the currency speculators who caused this crisis (Syed Husin 2001). However, Dr. Mahathir's opinion was contradicted by Anwar Ibrahim as the Malaysian Minister of Finance at that time. He stated that the economic crisis in Malaysia was due to internal factors such as widespread corruption, cronyism and nepotism.

### *UMNO's Internal Disunity*

The crisis of Anwar Ibrahim's dismissal from party and government posts has caused UMNO members to split. Those who have been strong supporters of Anwar Ibrahim have left the UMNO party to join the PAS party or the Keadilan party. While others are those who sympathize with Anwar Ibrahim but choose to remain in the party. Anwar Ibrahim's dismissal also led to the arrest of several UMNO members close to him under the ISA. Among those detained were Ahmad Zahid Hamidi, Malaysian UMNO Youth Chief, Ruslan Kassim, Negeri Sembilan UMNO Youth Chief, Kamaruddin Jaafar, Chairman of the Institute of Policy Studies, Ahmad Azam Abdul Rahman, ABIM President, Mukhtar Redhuan, ABIM Deputy President, Abdul Halim Ismail, Vice ABIM President, Shaharuddin Badarudin, ABIM Secretary General, Dr. Sidek Baba, International Islamic University Deputy Rector for Student Affairs, Tamunif Mokhtar, Bandar Tun Razak UMNO Division Head, Kamaruddin Mohd. Noor, Pasir Puteh UMNO Division Head, Amidi Abdul Manan, President the National Association of Malaysian Muslim Students and Dr. Zamri Abdul Kadir, Head of the Lumut UMNO Youth Movement, Perak. In addition, a few weeks after the sacking of Anwar Ibrahim, two of his close friends were ordered to resign from holding the post of editor-in-chief of the country's main newspaper, Utusan Malaysia and Daily News. They are Johan Jaaffar and Ahmad Nazri Abdullah. This was followed by the resignation of the Managing Director of the Malaysian Television System (TV3) and these vacancies were filled by those known to be supporters of Dr. Mahathir (In-Wong 2003).

### **Conclusion**

Diverse differences, which have the potential to lead to unrest, crisis and division and are sometimes forgotten for a while if sharing the same mission goals and vision of the struggle agenda. However, life is still going on, despite a series of conflicts and crises, changes, divisions and factions, but the history of UMNO is able to remain and last

longer than the history of political parties of the same age and contemporaries. Apparently, UMNO can be said to be born from a crisis, with the crisis this party lives and grows and survives, with the crisis is also said to weaken, leading to internal and external divisions and divisions and sometimes with the crisis and turmoil UMNO is able to rebuild, strengthen and empower at the same time survive until this muktahir. The initial UMNO crisis occurred as early as 1946 the first year the party was formed. After that, there was unrest in 1951, 1953, 1964, 1969, 1976, 1978, 1982, 1987, and 1998, 2008 and 2015. But the crisis did not end the history of the UMNO party instead its history continues to this day with Malaysian political ebb and flow and UMNO is still able to lead the Malaysian Government despite being loaded with crisis after crisis within the political leadership elite.

In general, the source of unrest in UMNO is obtained from two, namely organizations and individuals within the party itself. In terms of organization, the unrest was caused by differences in the beliefs of organizations that joined UMNO such as the case of the withdrawal of PKMM. A similar factor occurred when the leadership of the UMNO religious bureau came out to form PAS in 1951. Meanwhile, differences of opinion and principles among UMNO leaders were also a source of unrest. This can be seen in the case of Dato 'Onn Jaafar, the dismissal of Dato' Panglima Bukit Gantang, Aziz Ishak, Dr. Mahathir, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah and Anwar Ibrahim. These leaders were forced to leave the party either voluntarily or fired simply because of differences in beliefs and principles with the party leadership. Apart from that, moral problems such as the case of Dato 'Harun Idris and Dato' Mokhtar Hashim also caused them to be expelled from UMNO.

Although both of them have many supporters in their capacity as leaders in the party and government, UMNO remains abiding by the rule of law. This means that UMNO as the largest Malay social movement cannot compromise in terms of violations of the law among its members. In short, UMNO's internal turmoil occurred because there were differences that naturally existed as early as the formation of the party in 1946. Over time these differences became even greater when there were certain leaders who put personal interests above everything else. Thus, various forms of misconduct are committed by UMNO leaders. However, things like this have matured UMNO and colored the



## history of the party's development in Malay politics in Malaysia.

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