

## **CHAPTER II**

### **THE PROBLEM OF CLEAN GOVERNMENT IN MALAYSIA**

In Chapter II, the writer will describe the problem of clean government in Malaysia especially in the era of Prime Minister Najib. During first and second periods as Prime Minister in Malaysia, Najib got many critics from Malaysian society such as his work in the field of clean, free and fair government. Malaysian society also feels mad towards the suspect by Wall Street Journal of the corruption done by their Prime Minister, Najib Razak. Beside, the issues on the clean government are free and fair on the general elections system. Malaysian society feels that the latest two general elections in Malaysia are not fair because of the fraud occurred in general election and the result of the election.

#### **A. Corruption**

In December 2014, Najib Razak as the Prime Minister shouted to Malaysian citizen to fight against the corruption. He said that according to the World Rank Corruption index he mentioned that Malaysia is the 50th rank of 175 countries of world corruption. In Southeast Asia, Malaysia is in the second place after Singapore. Malaysian government commits to established the Anti Corruption Commission along with Police department called Malaysia Anti Corruption Commission (MACC) to avoid the occurred of corruption in Malaysia.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Mohammad, Ardyana., (2014), "*PM Najib Razak dituding PM Paling Korup*", Retrieved on January 23, 2018 from <https://www.merdeka.com/dunia/pm-najib-razak-dituding-pemimpin-malaysia-paling-korup.html>

**Figure 2.1 Malaysian Corruption Index**

From the data above, the corruption index in Malaysia was decrease since 2009. From 2011 – 2012 the increasing of corruption in Malaysia was very high. Then since 2011 until 2017, on 2014 was the highest number of corruption in Malaysia. Then in 2015, Malaysian citizen was surprised by the suspect of corruption by Prime Minister Najib Razak. He was reported by wall street journal as the actor of corruption around \$700 Million has transferred on his personal bank account.<sup>33</sup> The US Justice Department mentioned "Malaysian official one" has confirmed of receiving fund of \$ 681 million.<sup>34</sup> The fund that has been sent to his personal account reported was channelled from One Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) to the Najib Razak and colleague's interest.

<sup>33</sup> Webb, Jonathan. (2017) "*Malaysia Reopens 1MDB Case: A Return To Asia's Biggest Corruption Scandal*", retrieved on January 23 2018 from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jwebb/2017/10/31/malaysia-reopens-1mdb-case-a-return-to-asias-biggest-corruption-scandal/#2edc5b5b6a61>

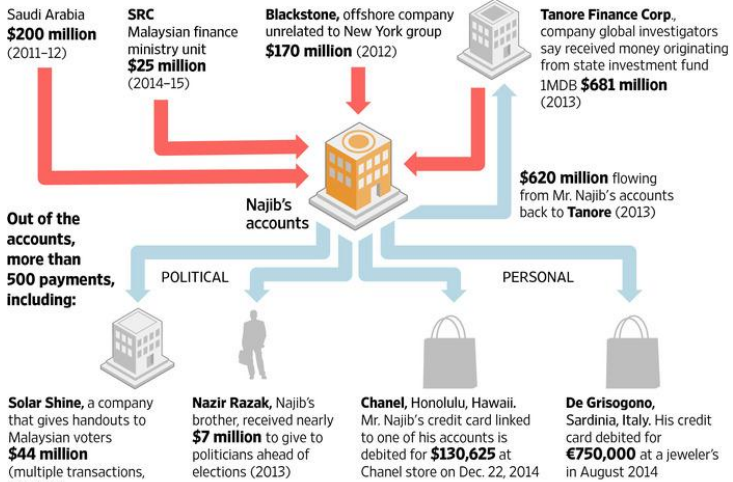
<sup>34</sup> Vaswani, Kharisma,. (2016) "*Identitas Pejabat Nomor 1 Malaysia Dalam Skandal 1MDB Terungkap*", Retrieved on January 23, 2018 from [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/09/160831\\_dunia\\_malaysia\\_blog\\_karishma](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/09/160831_dunia_malaysia_blog_karishma)

**Figure 2.2 The Flow of Funds 1MDB Scandal**

### Web of Money

Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak received over \$1 billion into his personal accounts and used part of the proceeds for political and personal spending, according to a Malaysian government probe. Mr. Najib has denied wrongdoing and said he has never taken funds for personal gain.

**Into the accounts, amounting to just over \$1 billion:**



Source: Malaysian government investigation

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Source: 1MDB Scandal Wall Street Journal

1MDB or 1Malaysia Development Berhad is a Malaysian investment institute initiated by the Terengganu Investment Authority established in 2008 to develop Terengganu oil sector's revenue. Then Prime Minister Najib takes a control of 1MDB since 2009 made it as a company owned by the Ministry of Finance of Malaysia.<sup>35</sup> Now, 1MDB became Malaysian government-owned company focusing on strategic development projects of energy, real estate, and

<sup>35</sup>Bristow, Michael.,(2016), “Skandal 1MDB Soroti Pendanaan Politik Di Malaysia”, Retrieved on January 23, 2018 from [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/03/160329\\_dunia\\_malaysia\\_dana\\_politik](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2016/03/160329_dunia_malaysia_dana_politik)

agribusiness for development of Malaysia. Automatically this company is under control of Prime Minister Najib Razak.

The case of corruption by Najib Razak is known as 1MDB Scandal. Prime Minister Najib Razak denied that he was doing corruption. He said that the fund that has been transferred on his personal account is donation fund from Middle East countries. He said that he already giving back the donation to Middle East countries (even he didn't mention name) amount \$ 620 Million.<sup>36</sup>

1MDB scandal became threaten of Najib Razak as Prime Minister in Malaysia. But now this case has disappeared as if there is no scandal or something odd occurring. Prime Minister Najib Razak managed to take various ways to secure his position. He was doing the reshuffle of his cabinet and he dismissed his rival Muhyiddin Yassin who was a Vice Prime Minister of Najib's. Muhyiddin Yassin had criticized Najib for the 1MDB scandal, and was replaced by Minister of Home Affairs Zahid Hamidi. He did not only dismiss Muhyiddin, he also replaced Attorney General Abdul Gani Patail (due to a health reason, according to him) to Mohamed Apandi Ali. After that in January 2016, Malaysian Attorney General Mohamed Apandi Ali confirmed that Razak is not offended of the donation funds into his personal account. He said the funds had nothing anything related to Najib Razak's capacity as prime minister. This was the reason why Najib replaced Abdul Gani Patail because Apandi Ali is the one who was able to clean up the corruption case that happened to Najib and declared Najib not a suspect of corruption.<sup>37</sup>

On the other hand, related to the issue of 1MDB scandal corruption by Prime Minister Najib Razak, the issue of corruption was also popular in among the Ministry of Malaysia. In March 2016, *Kementerian Belia dan Sukan* (KBS) or Ministry of Youth and Sports exposed of the case of

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<sup>36</sup> Indra, Putu. A. N., (2016), "Pertaruhan Nasib Najib Razak dalam 1MDB", Retrieved on January 23, 2018 from <https://tirto.id/pertaruhan-nasib-najib-razak-dalam-1mdb-bwiN>

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*

corruption. Nine staff members of Ministry of Youth and Sports suspected as which is believed to have masterminded a RM 20 million fundraising syndicate.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, in the mission of raising the country of free from corruption, SPRM has released list of 10 ministries in Malaysia suspect of corruption. In addition to the corruption in the Government, SPRM will also announce the corruption at the level of the position and agency. But till now, SPRM cannot define the criteria parameter against the corruption. However, SPRM has done the assessment and legal.<sup>39</sup>

## B. Equality of Sabah and Sarawak

**Figure 2.3 Map of Malaysia**



Source: Malaysia Map

Malaysia is a state divided by two big islands is Peninsula and Borneo. In the western area (*Malaysia Barat*), we can see Peninsular Malaysia which consists of Perlis,

<sup>38</sup> Kasnoon, Khairunnisa., (2016), "Isu seleweng RM100 juta: Pegawai KBS terlibat dikeluarkan dari kementerian" retrieved on February 13<sup>th</sup> 2018 from <http://www.astroawani.com/berita-malaysia/isu-seleweng-rm100-juta-pegawai-kbs-terlibat-dikeluarkan-dari-kementerian-99506?amp=1>

<sup>39</sup> Sulaiman, Noor. A., (2017), "SPRM keluar 'top 10' kementerian paling banyak aduan rasuah" retrieved on February 13<sup>th</sup> 2018 from <https://www.bharian.com.my/berita/nasional/2017/10/336013/sprm-keluar-top-10-kementerian-paling-banyak-aduan-rasuah>

Kedah, Penang, Perak, Kelantan, Terengganu, Pahang, Selangor, federal territories of Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya, Negeri Sembilan, Melaka and Johor. As we know that Centre of government and economy are in Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya. The eastern area (*Malaysia Timur*) is located in Borneo Island next to Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam. Eastern Malaysia consists of Sabah and Sarawak. In September 1963, Sabah and Sarawak joined with Malaysia from British North Borneo Crown. Until now, Sabah and Sarawak are the parts of Malaysia. Territorially, Sabah and Sarawak are far from Federal territories. All of the government affairs are centred in Federal territories. Because the government is centred in Western Malaysia, the facilities provided by the government are not spread evenly.

This causes anxiety for the people of Sabah and Sarawak. As a State in the form of a Kingdom monarchy of the Federation of Malaysia, Malaysian government does not appreciate the states that have no king or sultan which did not get the right to be *Yang Dipertuan Agong* as the Head of State Malaysia. Basically, Sabah and Sarawak don't have a king or sultan in their area. Politically, *Yang Dipertuan Agong* is occupied by the Sultan or King in the 9 States of Peninsular Malaysia each 5 years.<sup>40</sup> The inequality that happened in Malaysia makes upset by Sabah and Sarawak's citizen. Economically, World Bank mentioned that the poorest and second poorest states in Malaysia are Sabah and Sarawak. Whereas the economic income to Malaysia from Sabah and Sarawak, they contribute the income from the natural resource sectors such energy, gas, petroleum and oil. In addition, Sabah and Sarawak contribute the income from the mine and agriculture.<sup>41</sup> If we see logically, Sabah and Sarawak are

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<sup>40</sup> Karundeng, Ninoy N., (2015). "*Solusi Sabah: Referendum dan Sipadan-Ligitan Dikembalikan ke Indonesia*", retrieved on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018, from [https://www.kompasiana.com/ninoy/solusi-sabah-referendum-dan-sipadan-ligitan-dikembalikan-ke-indonesia\\_5520024ea33311c043b65a86](https://www.kompasiana.com/ninoy/solusi-sabah-referendum-dan-sipadan-ligitan-dikembalikan-ke-indonesia_5520024ea33311c043b65a86)

<sup>41</sup> Abdullah, Ahmad T., (2014), "*Bola sepak, Politik dan Masa Depan Sabah & Sarawak (Bahagian 2)*", retrieved on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 2018, from

supposed to be prosperous area in Malaysia. In fact, Sabah and Sarawak are listed as the poorest states in Malaysia.

Nowadays, Malaysian government is gradually distributing the needs of East Malaysia such as Sabah and Sarawak. Government tried to get the sympathy from the society living there. The Malaysian government dominated by the *Barisan Nasional* has been trying to get sympathy because it has political interests. In their political interests, *Barisan Nasional* seeks to win votes in general election.

### C. Financial Crisis and GST

In 2008, the world economy is faced the collapse of global economic stability, as the financial crisis widespread to various countries. The global financial crisis has appeared since August 2007 until now, at the time one of France's biggest banks (BNP Paribas) announced the freezing of several securities which is linked to risky housing loans high US (subprime mortgage). This freezing then began to trigger fluctuation of financial markets and eventually frightened around the world. At the end of 2008, the intensity of the crisis getting bigger along with bankruptcy of the largest US investment bank (Lehman Brothers), followed by increasing severe financial difficulties in a number of scaled large financial institutions in the US, Europe, and Japan.<sup>42</sup> The global financial crisis gave an impact to Malaysia as well. Financial crisis that occurred in Malaysia caused MYR (Malaysian Ringgit) to drop. Until August 2015, the Malaysian Ringgit exchange rate has been in the position of 4.2318 MYR per US Dollar which dropped 31 percent in a year. The ringgit exchange rate was decrease same with the level of 17 years ago, and became the worst performing

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<https://www.roketkini.com/2014/06/24/bola-sepak-politik-dan-masa-depan-sabah-sarawak-bahagian-2/>

<sup>42</sup> Bank Indonesia. (2009) "*Outlook Ekonomi Indonesia: Krisis Finansial Global dan Dampaknya terhadap Perekonomian Indonesia*", p.41 retrieved on February 12<sup>th</sup> 2018, from <http://www.bi.go.id/id/publikasi/kebijakan-moneter/outlook-ekonomi/Documents/4fd34648c8724da7b93e4f8021850012Bab3KrisisEkonomiGlobalDanDampaknyaterhadapPerekon.pdf>

currency in Asia.<sup>43</sup> It was an economic crisis that happened in Malaysia, Indonesia and Southeast Asia in 1997. The economic crisis in 2015 occurred because of China's economy was still weak and demand for imported products continued to decline. This condition directly hit the Malaysian economy, especially their Chinese exports.<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, the political situation was influenced the crisis economic in Malaysia. The tense of civil society movement along with *Bersih 2.0* demanded for the step down of Prime Minister Najib. In this case, *Barisan Nasional* strategic communications director, Datuk Abdul Rahman Dahlan suggested *Bersih 2.0* to postpone the rally. Malaysian citizen believed that Najib took the crisis economy in Malaysia. They want Najib to step down his position of Prime Minister and demand of replacement of Finance Ministry to be more competent.

Prime Minister of Malaysia Najib Razak also rushed to form special economic task. The task of the team is to prepare a crisis-preventing strategy. They will make short and medium term strategies to strengthen the country's economy crisis. With this team, the Malaysian Government will be more responsive and assertive in the face of economic uncertainty. The team is expected to restore public confidence down by alleged corruption in 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB).<sup>45</sup> To sustain government revenues, they are implementing additional rates for Goods and Services Tax (GST) 6%. The implemented of 6% GST started on April 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 in Malaysia.

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<sup>43</sup> Triatmojo, Yuwono. (2015), "*Ringgit Anjlok 31 Persen, Ekonomi Malaysia Semakin Genting*" retrieved on February, 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018 from <http://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2015/08/28/140116026/Ringgit.Anjlok.31.Persen.Ekonomi.Malaysia.Semakin.Genting>

<sup>44</sup> Putra, Idris R. (2016). "*Pelemahan ekonomi China hantam Malaysia*", retrieved on February 2<sup>nd</sup> 2018 from <https://www.merdeka.com/uang/pelemahan-ekonomi-china-hantam-malaysia.html>

<sup>45</sup> Abdullah, Ahmad T. Loc. Cit,



#### **D. The Problems of General Elections**

General election is an activity of country's government to choose the country's representatives and the head of the country. Malaysia, as the constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy of federal and state level also runs the general election. As the colony by British, Malaysia follows the British parliamentary general election system. The electorate in each constituency vote for their Member of Parliament to sit in the Lower House of Parliament (the *Dewan Rakyat*).<sup>46</sup>

As of 2008, there are 222 parliamentary and 576 state legislative seats. According to the Federal Constitution, the Election Commission is responsible for reviewing the boundaries of all constituencies, at intervals of not less than eight years<sup>47</sup>. Malaysia is lead by the Prime Minister indirectly chosen by Malaysian society. However, the general election is held to elect representatives to Federal Parliament and State Assemblies. For the party which has the major seat on the parliament, the candidate of the party has the biggest chance to be the Prime Minister. Compared to Indonesia general election, Indonesian citizens can choose the representative and President directly. Each general election is always held more than one round election. The first election is to choose the representative from the parties listed. According to General Election Act 2008, only a party which wins 20% votes in representative or wins of 25% popular votes can propose their candidates as the president. The next round is the election to choose President from party's candidate. On the other hand, Malaysia's voters cannot vote the candidate of president directly. They should vote the parliament from any parties. Each party can propose the candidate as the Prime Minister. Then the parliament (on behalf Malaysian citizen) will decide who will be the next Prime Minister. At this point if there is

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<sup>46</sup> Neoh, Joshua "How Malaysia's Electoral System Works" (2013), Retrieved on January 20 2018 from <http://www.newmandala.org/how-malaysias-electoral-system-works/>

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*

the party with the big number of parliamentary seats, the party has the big chance to win their candidate and be the Prime Minister. This system is implemented by the Election Commission in every election.

Malaysia had held elections before achieving independence and separation in both 1959 and 1964. Their first election was held after dissolution of the federation was in 1969. Since then, Malaysia has held elections every four to five years.<sup>48</sup> Until now, Malaysia had held general elections in 13 times with the United Malaysia Nation Organization (UMNO) win. UMNO is the biggest political party in Malaysia dominated in every general election and always won their candidates as the Malaysian Prime Minister. From this matter, we can know that the domination from an ethnic can empower a country like Malaysia. According to Bambang Cipto, ethnicity in Malaysian politic is strengthened the argument about the importance of domestic factor in making the national security concept. The domination of *Melayu* ethnic in Malaysian politic reflects the existence of interplay between the concept of ethnic security and the concept of national security. Even the secure and insecure position of UMNO is similar with what *Melayu* ethnic feels. Malaysia seems to have done to strengthen the national security, at least in the domestic. So, throughout 1970s, Malaysian government did many efforts to strength the *Melayu* ethnic affairs.<sup>49</sup> In this case, we can conclude that the system of government in Malaysia is not fair or we can say there is no transparency between all of the races which exist in Malaysia.

Those things are the same with the problem that has occurred several times in Malaysia during the general election. Basically, the election practice is run with the system plurality-the majority of the First Past the Post (FPTP) with

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<sup>48</sup> Agendaasia.org. *A Brief History of Elections in Malaysia*, Retrieved on December 28, 2017

<http://www2.agendaasia.org/index.php/articles/news/216-a-brief-history-of-elections-in-malaysia>

<sup>49</sup> Cipto, Bambang. (2007). *Hubungan Internasional di Asia Tenggara*, Pustaka Pelajar, Yogyakarta, p.122

the system model of election and nomination Single-Member-Districts (SMD).<sup>50</sup> In the latest two general elections in Malaysia, the elections were not running in the right track. The anomalies also occurred at when the results of the general elections. In 13<sup>th</sup> general election in 2013, the result of the election that had been held was manipulated and won by the *Barisan Nasional*, whereas at that time, *Barisan Nasional* had begun to lose their sympathizers and the result of election won by the opposition party and almost compete *Barisan Nasional* votes.

*Barisan Nasional* as the dominant alliance in Malaysia consists of some parties. The biggest one is UMNO which has lost its votes in 13<sup>th</sup> general election. There are some causes that make UMNO lose their votes on the general elections. On some elections before, UMNO can gain votes at least more than 60% seat on the parliament. But now, Malaysian citizens realized that the performance of Malaysian government (which is dominated by UMNO) was not satisfying and did not fulfil the society rights. In the parliament, the performances by the opposition party (*Pakatan Rakyat*) has been satisfying Malaysian citizens especially on several states: Kedah, Kelantan, Penang and Selangor since 2008.<sup>51</sup> In addition, the numbers of youth voters who joined the election for the first time were increasing up around 2.6 Million people. If we combine with the voters under 40 years old, the numbers are around 50% of total Malaysian citizen voters.<sup>52</sup> This makes the tendency of voters through social media can reduce the dominance of *Barisan Nasional* sympathizers in conveying information and influencing the choice when general election. Moreover, result of 13<sup>th</sup> general election shown that *Barisan Nasional* had reduced the numbers of seat in the parliament.

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<sup>50</sup> Fauzi, Mohammad. (2015) "*Demokrasi di Malaysia: Studi Perbandingan Periode Pemerintahan Tiga Perdana Menteri Malaysia*". Jurnal Hubungan Internasional Vol 4, No 1 p.62



<sup>51</sup> BBC Indonesia (2013), *Menakar Kekuatan Barisan Nasional dan Pakatan Rakyat*, Retrieved on January, 18 2018 from

[http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2013/05/130430\\_malaysia\\_peta\\_kekuatan](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2013/05/130430_malaysia_peta_kekuatan)

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*

*Barisan Nasional* got 133 seats or 60 per cent. Compared with the results of 12<sup>th</sup> general election, *Barisan Nasional* won 140 seats. This shows that after 2008, *Barisan Nasional* failed to get the majority of 2/3 seats in the parliament with the total 222 seats.<sup>53</sup>

**Table 2.1 General Election 13 Result**

Barisan Nasional	Pakatan Rakyat
	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 133 seats</li> <li>• 48,7%</li> <li>• 5.220 Million voters</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 89 seats</li> <li>• 51,3%</li> <li>• 5.489 Million voters</li> </ul>
<b>Total: 222 Seats of Parliament</b>	

Even UMNO lost their sympathizers before the 13<sup>th</sup> general election, Malaysian government have done many ways to secure its position to win the 13<sup>th</sup> general election. Additionally, Malaysian citizens felt that the latest two general elections were unfair because the election committee were under Najib's command. In the fact, all of departments, or institutions under government should obey the rules. The rules have aims of government interest to secure their position. The effort of *Barisan Nasional* to secure their position in governmental is inappropriately done by the representative on the parliament. Moreover, a very risky time to defend the

<sup>53</sup> Besar, Junaidi A. (2017) "Trend Pengundian Dalam Pilihan Raya Umum Malaysia Ke-13". Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Vol. 12, No. 2 p. 127

position in the parliament was at the time of the general election. The cabinet in parliament which is dominated by UMNO was doing several frauds in the general elections.

Several frauds had been noticed by Malaysian citizen and they were mad at it. Basically, general elections can be the indicator of democracy of a country. Democracy has existed since the time of Ancient Greece. The President of the United States 16<sup>th</sup>, Abraham Lincoln says that democracy is the Government of the people, by the people and for the people.<sup>54</sup> The election gives the right to vote for the people to determine the party or the leader will hold power.<sup>55</sup> In the fact, in Malaysia is the Malaysian society cannot deliver their rights or opinions because of the limited authority by the executive and legislative levels. In this case, Malaysian society demands for the reform of the electoral system that had been run into the new electoral system. They felt that the electoral system was unfair and not transparent as what it was supposed. Huffington Post reported that Malaysia electoral system was coloured by several frauds, such as indelible ink, foreign voters (ghost voters) and media freedom.<sup>56</sup>

### **1. Indelible Ink**

As the mark of voters who had chosen in the general election, the voters dip their finger into the ink. In Indonesian general election, election commission always campaign and socialize about the electoral regulation to the society in every election such as legislative election, presidential election or major election. Those campaigns are about number of parties, candidates of representative, and also the way to choose. The voters come to the election postal, they should

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<sup>54</sup> Sarbiani, "Demokratisasi Dan Kebebasan Memilih Warga Negara Dalam Pemilihan Umum". Jurnal Inovatif, Volume VIII Nomor I (2015), p.105

<sup>55</sup> Muis, Mujibu A., Hussin, Zaliha Hj., & Bakar, Badrul A. M. (2010) "Perubahan Generasi dan Perkembangan Demokrasi di Malaysia Pasca Pilihan Raya Umum ke-12". In: Proceedings Seminar on Nasional Resilience (SNAR 2010) "Political Managements and Policies in Malaysia", p.411

<sup>56</sup> Irahim, Azeem "Election Fraud in Malaysia", Retrieved on January 20 2018, from [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/azeem-ibrahim/malaysia-election-fraud\\_b\\_3211954.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/azeem-ibrahim/malaysia-election-fraud_b_3211954.html)

register their attendance to the committee and wait until the committee to call the name of the voters. After they are called, the voters receive 4 ballots that consist of candidates from regency host of representative, candidates from province host of representative, host of representative in the parliament, and regional representative council. They should perforate the ballots in the election rooms. After they choose 4 ballots, the voters should put the papers into the ballot box. Voters should dye their finger into a cup of blue ink as the mark that the voter had chosen at the general election.

Actually Malaysia had implemented the indelible ink as the mark of the voters who already choose. In the General Election 12<sup>th</sup>, Election Commission or in *Bahasa Melayu* called *Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya* (SPR) had introduced transparent ballot boxes and indelible ink to avoid the multiple voting. In fact, indelible ink has been used since the 12<sup>th</sup> general election. However, it was revoked on March 4<sup>th</sup> 2008 or four days before the election was held. The Election Commission's decision to cancel the use of indelible ink helped give credence to perceptions of electoral manipulation by the government.<sup>57</sup> This sudden decision by SPR was delivered by the head of SPR Abdul Rasyid Abdul Rahman in Putrajaya. The reason of SPR cancelled the using of indelible ink was demanded from the Malaysian citizens and for the safety reason. Moreover, since February 9<sup>th</sup> 2008, 48,000 bottles of indelible ink had been used in Malaysia.<sup>58</sup> The Opposition party had speculated that the action done by SPR was fraud by SPR cooperates with *Barisan Nasional*. As we know that SPR is a part of government, and government dominate by *Barisan Nasional*. Non-Governmental

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<sup>57</sup> Mokhtar, Tunku M. (2008) "*The Twelfth General Elections in Malaysia*" Intellectual Discourse, Vol 16, No 1, p.92

<sup>58</sup> Merdeka.com (2008), "*Malaysia Batal Gunakan Tinta Pada Pemilu*". Retrieved on January, 22 2018 from <https://www.merdeka.com/politik/malaysia-batal-gunakan-tinta-pada-pemilu-7lj93zy.html>

Organization in Malaysia called *Bersih 2.0* also always campaigns the use of indelible ink to prevent the ghost voters but SPR and government deny it.<sup>59</sup>

On the 13<sup>th</sup> general election, *Pakatan Rakyat* has suspected that *Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya* Malaysia cooperated with *Barisan Nasional* which relates to the quality of the ink that is easily removed. Independent election supervisors witnessed this case and have reported by independent Malaysian news portal namely Malaysiakini. In regarding to the temporary ink case, the possibility of double election most likely occurred by the armies or policies that already did the early election on April 30<sup>th</sup> 2013 that held closed. Before the general election is schedule on May 5<sup>th</sup> 2013.<sup>60</sup>

## 2. Ghost Voters

In the 13<sup>th</sup> general elections, Huffington post reported that Malaysian government has chartered several flights to bring thousands people from Borneo to Peninsular Malaysia to join the general election.<sup>61</sup> They had given Malaysian Identity Card so they can register as the voters although they are not Malaysian. They are actually foreign labours that work in Malaysia such as from Indonesia, Philippines, Bangladesh and other countries. But the large number of foreign voters who joined election are from Bangladesh. Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim as the candidate from *Pakatan Rakyat* said that the foreigners from Indonesia, Philippines and Bangladesh come to vote *Barisan Nasional*.<sup>62</sup> Besides, according to malaysiakini.com, *Suruhanjaya Pilihan Raya* also did the fault regarding to the electoral roll.

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<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>60</sup> Ibrahim, Azeem “*Election Fraud in Malaysia*” Retrieved on January 23<sup>rd</sup> 2018, from [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/azeem-ibrahim/malaysia-election-fraud\\_b\\_3211954.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/azeem-ibrahim/malaysia-election-fraud_b_3211954.html)

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>62</sup> Wake up Malaya, “‘*Blackout*’ & 40,000 *Pengundi Bangladesh, Wahai Rakyat Malaysia, Masih Ingatkah?*”, (2017), Retrieved on January 23, 2018 from <https://www.wakeupmalaya.com/2017/08/blackout-40000-pengundi-bangladesh-wahai-rakyat-malaysia-masih-ingatkah/>

Several databases from SPR are messed. For the example, the inconsistent of database from SPR shows that the age and the gender of voters are invalid.<sup>63</sup>

This is the reason why *Pakatan Rakyat* suspected *Barisan Nasional* did the fraud along with the government during the general elections. Other fact shows that the result of 13<sup>th</sup> general election was won by *Pakatan Rakyat* got 51% against *Barisan Nasional*. *Barisan Nasional* got 49%. In fact, with the manipulation by the government and SPR, *Barisan Nasional* won 133 seats of parliament compare to *Pakatan Rakyat* got 89 seats with the number of total 222 seats.<sup>64</sup> These things show that *Barisan Nasional* was doing fraud, not transparent and un-free as they run the government and election along with the SPR.

### 3. Mass Media

In Malaysia, the phenomenon of social media is different from other countries. *Barisan Nasional* as the dominant alliance. Which belongs to the government also takes over through media in Malaysia. For the example, *Barisan Nasional* controls the broadcasting media such as RTM 1(Radio and Television of Malaysia), RTM 2, TV3, NTV7, 8TV and TV9. Those media are under the Ministry of Communication and Multimedia. RTM has been used by the ruling BN to spread the coalition's messages and propagandas. In October 2006, a business deal between the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA, one of *Barisan Nasional* component party) and media tycoon Tiong Hiew King solidified the monopolisation of the Chinese press, with all top four Chinese dailies which now concentrate in the hands of a firm politico-business alliance. In 2007, Media Prima *Berhad*, which enjoys close links with

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<sup>63</sup> Malaysiakini.com, “10 Major Problems In EC's Electoral Roll” (2012), retrieved on January 23 2018 from <https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/194373>

<sup>64</sup> Palatino, Mong “Malaysia's Election Tsunami” (2013), Retrieved on January 23 2018 from <https://thediplomat.com/2013/05/malysias-election-tsunami/>



UMNO, has acquired all the private television stations including TV3, NTV7, 8TV and TV9. It also has a 43% equity interest in The New Straits Times Press (Malaysia) *Berhad* (NSTP), one of Malaysia's largest publishing groups that publish leading newspaper titles such as the New Straits Times, *Berita Harian* and *Harian Metro*.<sup>65</sup> From this data we can conclude that the domination of *Barisan Nasional* is very influential Malaysia including mass media. So the mass media is dominated by *Barisan Nasional*, although opposition party or *non-Barisan Nasional* party has no access to campaign through mass media.

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<sup>65</sup> Sani, Mohd A. M. "The Social Media Election In Malaysia: The 13<sup>th</sup> General Election In 2013", *Kajian Malaysia*, Vol. 32, Supp. 2, 2014, 123–147, Universiti Utara Malaysia, p.128, Retrieved on January 23, 2018 from [http://web.usm.my/km/32\(Supp.2\)2014/KM%2032%20Supp.%202\\_2014-Art.%205%20\(123-147\).pdf](http://web.usm.my/km/32(Supp.2)2014/KM%2032%20Supp.%202_2014-Art.%205%20(123-147).pdf)

