

# *Ad Baculum, Islamic State and Malaysian Chinese Politics: A Rhetorical Study of Selected Political Advertisements in the Local Chinese Media during the 11<sup>th</sup> Malaysian General Election Campaign*

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## **Abstract**

This study analyzes the rhetorical strategy of using the emotion of fear as a political tool in the 11<sup>th</sup> Malaysia General Election campaign. The three-prong objectives of this study are to analyze the main themes and issues used to address this tactic of fear, the general perceptions that non-Moslems in Malaysia have of the concept of Islamic state as a symbol of fear and rhetorical strategies used to provoke this fear. The scope of the study is confined to the conventional communication model of "Source-Message-Channel-Receiver". The "sources" are political advertisements, the "messages" are Islamic state theme and related issues, the "channels" are symbols or rhetorical strategies and the "receivers" are the voters, with special reference to Malaysian Chinese voters. The findings concluded that the National Front party (*Barisan National*, BN) used the fear factor effectively in its campaign. This situation is further enhanced by the strong control of BN over the Malaysian media in addition to the character of Chinese voters who generally prefer not to leave their current comfort zone and are afraid of an Islamic state.

**Keywords:** *Ad baculum*, Islamic State, Malaysian Chinese, Politic, Malaysian General Election, Political advertisement, Rhetoric and Malaysia

## **1. Introduction**

Bentham was perhaps the first to relate fallacies to politics as can be seen in *The Book of Fallacies; from unfinished papers of Jeremy Bentham* (By a friend. London: J. and H. L. Hunt, 1824). The *Bentham's Handbook of Political Fallacies* was later revised, edited and a Preface by Harold A. Larrabee was added before it was published in 1952 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press). However, the concept of fallacies discussed in that particular text is not exactly the same as the concept of what informal logicians means. In the context of informal logic, Ralph H. Johnson was the first proponent who discussed the relationship between informal logic and politics. In his paper presented at the Conference on Logic and Politics in Amsterdam, February 19-22, 1990, Johnson discusses the role of informal logic in the analysis of political discourse and some dangers we encounter in applying this logic to politics and its possible remedies. Among the popular fallacies commonly used in politic is *ad baculum*, the fallacy of appeal to fear. Fear is a classic political weapon, used throughout the ages. Its mechanism is simple, making the people afraid and telling them that you are the one who can save them.

This paper will try to analyze one of the political discourses, that is political advertisements and how these advertisements were used as a rhetorical strategy for causing fear. Thus, a few objectives below will be analyzed:

- 1) What are the kinds of main themes and issues used to address this tactic of fear?
- 2) What are the kinds of fear or general perceptions that the non-Moslems in Malaysia have of the concept of Islamic state as a symbol of fear?
- 3) What are the kinds of rhetorical strategies used to provoke this fear?

Meanwhile, the scope of this study focuses on the three above-mentioned objectives and uses the conventional communication model of "Source-Message-Channel-Receiver". The source of study is the main political parties' political advertisements in the local Malaysian main Chinese media. In this case, the four main political parties in Malaysia are the National Front (*Barisan Nasional*, BN), Democratic Action Party (DAP), Islamic Party of Malaysia (*Parti Islam Semalaysia*, PAS) and Justice Party (*Parti Keadilan*, PK). BN, the ruling party before the 11<sup>th</sup> General Election is itself a coalition of a few individual parties, lead by United Malays National Organization (UMNO) while Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) and Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia Party (PGRM) are the main Chinese community political parties in the BN coalition. Meanwhile, the main local Malaysian Chinese media where data was collected are *Nanyang Siang Pau* 南洋商報, *Sin Chew Jit Poh* or *Sin Chew Daily* 星洲日報, *Oriental Daily News* 東方日報 and *China Press* 中國報. The time frame being covered was from 13<sup>th</sup> March 2004, the day of nomination to 20<sup>th</sup> March 2004, one day before the polling day when political campaigning is allowed. The "messages" used in the communication model is the theme and issues. In this case, the idea of Islamic state plays the role as the main theme and its presume implication to the Malaysian Chinese communities is incorporated into various election campaign issues. Those issues are either directly or indirectly linked to the idea of Islamic state and were presented to the Malaysian Chinese voters through various categories of fear-instilling rhetoric also known as *ad baculum*. Meanwhile, the "channels" are symbols or rhetorical strategies and the "receivers" are the voters, with special reference to Malaysian Chinese voters. Thus, the rhetoric strategies play the role of linking issues to the voters, channeling fear from the issues to them within the same theme that is instilling fear amongst the Malaysian Chinese voters toward the idea of Islamic state.

## 2. Definition of Terms

### 2.1 Rhetoric

Rhetoric, said to have originated from the Greek language πότωπ, *rhētōr*, which means "orator" is one of the early three liberal arts study better known as *trivium*. Today's definition of rhetoric has become much more complex due to its more than 2,500 years of history and evolution. Its definition has expanded from Greek classic formal oratory to include all types of literature or non-literature, oral or written discourse and even visual. Thus, rhetoric includes non-discursive or nonverbal symbols as well as discursive or verbal ones. Speeches, essays, conversations, poetries, novels, stories, comic books, television programs, films, art, architecture, plays, music, dances, advertisements, furniture, automobiles, and dresses are all forms of rhetoric (Foss, 2004: 5). Aristotle in his *Treatise on Rhetoric* (translated by Theodore Buckley, 1995: 11 & 24), defined rhetoric as a faculty that considers all possible means of persuasion on every subject. Rhetoric could be performed through three kinds of orations: the deliberative, the judicial and the demonstrative. Deliberation rhetoric includes exhortation, dissuasion, advice and harangue. Judicial rhetoric is about accusation and defense, while demonstrative rhetoric is partly about praise or blame.

In science, the truth is of utmost important but in rhetoric the focus is on human and the changes in their environment. Thus, rhetoricians are more interested in how human interprets the truth according to their cultural context, rather than according to the truth itself. Since the human beliefs and culture change according to time and situation, the "truth" in rhetorical argumentation can be considered as temporary reality as they can change. In this context, Foss (2004: 6) explained that "*Reality is not fixed but changes according to the symbols we use to talk about it.*" Rhetoric is merely a way to handle and adapt to the reality of change in human's every day life. In so doing, rhetoric plays two main roles: interpretation and expression. This paper will study the expression aspect on how human use language to create change in their lives. In this case, it is how political parties used language (text or other visual forms) to change the voting preference. Voters' preference represents their acceptance to the party's action (particularly referred to political campaign). Meanwhile, voters' acceptance depends on them being persuaded as to the rightness of the action and persuasion depends on effective rhetoric (McClurg, 1992).

Even though there is nothing improper or indecorous about using rhetoric in a debate, rhetoric is often characterized pejoratively. A Malaysian political example is the following extract from then Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad (in *Utusan Malaysia*, 1999) regarding the opposition:

*Kita perlu menentukan parti-parti pembangkang yang penuh retorik tetapi kosong pada isinya, yang bergantung semata-mata kepada penanaman perasaan kebencian kepada parti kita dan pemimpinnya untuk mendapat sokongan rakyat, tidak berjaya mencapai hasrat mereka.*

(We should ensure the oppositions, which are only good at using empty rhetoric, depend on hatred towards our party and leaders to get the peoples' support, fail to achieve their motives).

Rhetoric is simply a label for the discourse of practical argumentation. To accuse an opponent in an argument of engaging rhetoric is to accuse the opponent of nothing more than trying to persuade the audience that the person's position is the better one. This does not mean that all rhetoric is above reproach, for there are good rhetoric and bad rhetoric. Good rhetoric is grounded in logic and sound reasoning. Bad rhetoric is grounded in fallacy. A fallacy is a type

of incorrect argument. A fallacious argument is one that appears to be correct but proves to be logically invalid upon scrutiny (McBurg 1992, op. cit.) These include the *ad baculum* fallacy that is going to be the main focus of study in this paper. *Ad baculum* is a fallacy that appeals to fear.

## 2.2 Ad Baculum and Fear

The fallacy that appeals to fear is an argument that uses threat of harm to advance one's conclusion. This fallacy according to Engel (1986: 220) is also known as "swinging the big stick", as the Latin word for stick or staff is *baculum*, and this argument is known in Latin as *argumentum ad baculum*. Epstein (2002) explains that "an argument is an appeal to fear or scare tactics if it uses or can be repaired only by putting in a premise that says, roughly: You should believe or do \_\_\_\_\_ if you are afraid of \_\_\_\_\_. The appeal to force seems at first to be so obvious a fallacy as it is the use or threat of "strong-arm methods" (Copi & Cohen 1990: 105) to coerce opponents. Thus, literally *ad baculum* also known as "appeal to staff or gun". In a democratic country, any voters are supposed to have the right to make their own choice. Alas, *ad baculum* type of appeal is violating a democratic system because the listeners are not making their own choice or decision freely but like being pointed a gun to their heads to make a choice or decision to the aggressor's will. However, it is certainly idiotic for any politician to threaten voters so obviously. So, there are occasions when arguments *ad baculum* are employed with considerable subtlety as are normally used in the political advertisements that we are going to analyze. However, prior understanding of the fear element and knowing the skill of rhetoric is essential.

Quoted from Aristotle's *Treatise on Rhetoric* (translated by Buckley, 1995: 121 – 127), fear can be defined as a sort of pain or agitation, arising out of an idea that is evil, capable either of destroying or giving pain. However, people only fear those whose effect is either a considerable degree of pain or destruction and these (pain or destruction) are not far removed, but give one the idea of being close at hand, so as to be on the eve of happening. Generally human are emotional beings, thus are subjected to fear. No matter how the rational mind tells us that there is nothing to fear about, the feeling of fear still exists naturally especially if the event of fear seems close by. For example, in the wake of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorists' attack, if you are on an airplane and you see a group of Arab-looking men, would you not be nervous? After getting off the plane hours later, would you not be even a little more willing to support racial profiling in screening passengers for security threat? That is what Luis (2004) claimed as the fundamental for President George Bush administration blatantly using fear as a political weapon against Senator John Kerry in the United States Presidential Election (Year 2004). In an everyday context, one might come across a cosmetic sales person saying that without a particular cream or cosmetic, your face will look pale and awful. An insurance agent might warn you that if you do not have an insurance protection, your family will have to endure all sorts of difficulties in the event you suffer serious injuries or sudden death.

These are types of soft threat but they contain seeds of *ad baculum* fallacy. Politicians did not point a real gun or stick at you but you are forced to feel it is better or safer to follow their 'advice'. The arguer demands acceptance of his proposition not because it is true or proven but because there are consequences for rejecting it. Another example is El Salvador guerrilla's slogan: "Vote in the morning; die in the afternoon" (Harris, 2000). The Nazis had also used the tactic of *ad baculum*. According to Grunberger (1971), the Nazis used to send the following notice to German readers who let their subscriptions lapse: "Our paper certainly deserves the support of every German. We shall continue to forward copies of it to you, and hope that you will not want to expose yourself to unfortunate consequences in the case of cancellation." Another example of using *ad baculum* tactic was during the United States of America 1964 election race between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater. Despite the fact that during Johnson's congressional career, he supported legislation that contributed to a significant buildup of nuclear weapons, his one simple television advertisement masterfully eliminated Goldwater's claim to the White House. The advertisement tied Goldwater with nuclear holocaust. In the advertisement, an adorable, innocent child sits in a field picking petals off a flower, counting each petal in the process. Interspersed with her counting, images appear of a nuclear missile about to be launched accompanied by the ominous countdown of a mission control facility appeared. As both child and missile reach zero, a mushroom cloud appears with text urging Americans to prevent World War III by re-electing Johnson. The spot terrified most Americans, playing into their fears that nuclear war was imminent. It secured Johnson's re-election (Vincent, 2002: 32 – 33). *Ad baculum* style of campaigning was the trick and its mechanism of success is simple as mentioned earlier: make the people afraid and tell them you are the one who can save them. Dhammananda (2003: 9, 10 & 11) explained that fear is an intense emotional reaction characterized by attempts to flee from the situation, imprison and ensnare the mind and flourishes in the fog of ignorance. Therefore, presenting issues of fear to voters and presenting self as the sole savior at the same time might just easily make the voter flee from the fear elements without rightful rationalization and then, leave them no choice but to pledge their vote to the only "savior" party available. Otherwise, there will be unfavorable or negative consequences.

Closely linked to *ad baculum* strategy is 'transference', which is also known as fallacy of association. It is used to associate the argument with something attractive or unattractive depending of the purpose. For example, politicians published pictures of themselves officiating the opening of new factories, new highway or new community center,

shaking hands with plain folks, planting trees or taking photographs with respected world leaders. On the other hand, politicians often associate their opponents' names with pictures of villains and its symbol, terrorist activities, nuclear mushroom clouds and other elements of fear or political group associated with the elements of fear. Thus, by using transference, one could bring the effect of *ad baculum* to any other party through associating it with the original feared party.

### 2.3 Islamic State

The concept of Islamic state seems to be rather vague, as it was not properly defined in *Koran*. As such, the vagueness of the term had invited various interpretations. In the Malaysian political context, the interpretation has indeed attracted the interests of two main political parties of the Moslems, namely United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and Party Islam Sembalaysia (PAS). According to the Islamic Development Department of Malaysia (*Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia* or Jakim), the term "Islamic state" is indeed not stated at all in the Koran or al-Sunnah (Jakim, 2004). The same conclusion is also mentioned by Asghar (n.d.). Thus, the definition of "Islamic state" depends on each individual, researcher or *ulama* (Moslem scholars recognized of having specialized knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology). Some examples are presented below.

According to Jakim (2004), an Islamic state can be defined as follows:

- 1) A country that is controlled and ruled by Islamic followers and Islamic people enjoy peace and comfort in it;
- 2) A country in the ruling power of Islam people, its strength and defense are controlled by Islamic people and thus, a must to be defended by each individual Moslem;
- 3) A country that bows to the power of Islam and the head person in command is an Islamic people;
- 4) A peaceful and free country where the Islamic insignia is established within it;
- 5) Moslems' motherland is to be known as 'Islamic state'.

Asghar (n.d.) mentioned that Koran did not give much importance to the form of state but greatly emphasizes the nature of society based on values. Thus, he thinks an Islamic state should have following characteristics:

- 1) It should be absolutely non-discriminatory on the basis of race, colour, language and nationality;
- 2) It should guarantee gender equality;
- 3) It should guarantee equal rights to all religious groups and accept pluralities of religion as legitimate;
- 4) It should be democratic in nature whose basic premise will be human dignity.

Only those states which fulfill these criteria can be construed to be Islamic in nature. Thus, an Islamic state is the very epitome of modern democratic pluralistic state (*ibid*).

Meanwhile, following Mawdudi's (a prominent Pakistani scholar) interpretation, Samuel Shahid (n.d) stated that an Islamic state is essentially an ideological state and is thus radically different from a national state. Mawdudi (1982, in Shahid n.d) summarizes the basic differences between Islamic and secular states as per *Hanifites*, one of the Islamic schools of jurisprudence:

- 1) An Islamic state is ideological. People who reside in it are divided into Moslems, who believe in its ideology and non-Moslems who do not;
- 2) Responsibility for policy and administration of such states should rest primarily with those who believe in the Islamic ideology. Non-Moslems, therefore, cannot be asked to undertake or be entrusted with the responsibility of policymaking;
- 3) An Islamic state is bound to distinguish between Moslems and non-Moslems. However, the Islamic law *Shari'a* guarantees to non-Moslem certain specifically stated rights beyond which they are not permitted to meddle in the affair of the state because they do not subscribe to its ideology. Once the non-Moslems embrace the Islamic faith, they become equal participants in all matters concerning the states and the government.

According to Asghar (n.d), as far as the Koran is concerned, there is, at best a concept of a society rather than a state. He noted that the pre-Islamic Arab society had not known any state structure. It was a predominantly tribal society which did not know any distinction between a state and a civil society. There was no written law, much less a constitution. The only law prevalent was that of *qisas* i.e. retaliation and the Islamic movement in Mecca inherited this situation. Madina, the city the Prophet moved to was also basically a tribal city governed by tribal law. The Prophet took a revolutionary step in dissolving tribal bonds and laying more emphasis on ideological boundaries on one hand and territorial boundaries on the other. However, the Prophet's aim was not to build a political community but to build a religious community instead. Thus, Asghar (*ibid*) stated that the political theory of Islam had to undergo frequent changes to accommodate the empirical reality. It is, therefore, not possible to talk of an "Islamic State" with a sense of finality. He also noted that today, there are several Muslim countries with varied forms of state ranging from

monarchical to dictatorial or semi-dictatorial to democratic. All these states, however, consider themselves as “Islamic State”.

Overall, there is no fixed universal definition for “Islamic state”, not even in the Koran. Thus, the concept of Islamic state depends on how the political parties wish to present it and how the voters as recipients perceive it.

### **3. Research Background**

#### *3.1 Background of Malaysian Chinese Politics*

Of the 25.58 million total Malaysian citizens in year 2004, the Chinese comprise of 26.0%, Bumiputera (Note 1) 65.1%, Indians 7.7% (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2004 & 2006), thus, making Chinese minorities compared to Bumiputera, which mainly comprises of Malays. However, the Chinese are the biggest minority ethnic group. Malaysian Chinese are predominantly non-Moslems in nature and they are basically convenient of their current religious belief. The Malaysian Chinese are generally perceived as a dynamic community and did relatively well in economics affairs compared to the other races. On the other hand, general perception views Islam as a Malay affair and the Malays and Moslems are generally perceived as backward in all aspects. However, there is also general perception viewing the Chinese as “outsiders” whose residential status in Malaysia since the country’s independence is a “courtesy” of the Malay. Furthermore, communities outside Malaysia generally view the Chinese as “Malaysian Chinese” but within Malaysia, they are recognized as “Chinese, then Malaysian.” These views form the fundaments of the political background in Malaysia where political parties are constructed along ethnic groups. Normally, political parties should be based on ideology but Malaysian political parties based on racial. For example, DAP is not generally perceived through its ideology despite its strong social democrat approach due to the general sentiments of the electorates and their low level of political consciousness. Instead, DAP is perceived by the society as a “Chinese party with few other professional Indians” due to its leadership and members structure which is dominated by ethnic Chinese. Similarly, in spite of its multi-racial political philosophy, PGRM is also perceived as a “Chinese party” even though there were previously and currently few outstanding non-Chinese members in the party. PAS is basically an Islamic party while UMNO is a Malay-bumiputra party. MCA is a Chinese party and MIC is an Indian party.

UMNO and MCA form the PERIKATAN (Alliance) for the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council’s election in 1952 and won convincingly (Barisan Nasional, 2004). MIC joined the Alliance in 1954 (Malaysian Indian Congress, 2004). The Alliance won 51 out of 52 seats in the first General Election in July 1955. This coalition of various parties was later institutionalized as Barisan Nasional (BN) and was formally registered on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1974. Besides UMNO, MCA and MIC, Barisan Nasional is made up of six other parties including PAS (which was later expelled from BN) and PGRM (Barisan Nasional 2004, op. cit). However, since then, the fact that this three main political parties plus PGRM and other coalition parties still remained as individual parties further prove racial politics exit in Malaysia. As they have been cooperating and in coalition for so long, should they not merge themselves into one single multiracial party with its own political ideology rather than a group of individual racially-identified parties in a coalition?

Malaysian politics is dominated by the Malay group. Political power is concentrated in UMNO party and its leaders. MCA, PGRM and MIC are merely supporting their Malay counterparts. Malays hold top and important posts in the Cabinet including the post of Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and other important ministerial positions in Finance, Defense, Education, Foreign Relationship and Trade. The Chinese do not hold top or important positions in almost all government agencies and important organizations, which include the police force, army, Central Bank, Securities Commission, Election Commission, and judicial positions. Under the New Economic Policy (NEP), the Bumiputera group is also entitled to at least 30% quota of participation in equity ownership plus other special treatments allocated to them. Challenging, questioning or even discussing that issue openly is subject to the Internal Security Act (ISA), which allows immediate detention without trial. Thus, the ISA is an element of fear used to control the multi-ethnic communities in Malaysia and could be subjected to misuse politically. Furthermore, given economics liberalization and peaceful daily living, the Chinese are in a “comfort zone”, not wanting to risk their comfort zone life by demanding for changes especially in the political aspect. Thus, the Chinese political thinking is more toward convenience and they are averse to changes.

In this case, changing to Islamic state ideology is something deemed too drastic and unacceptable to the Chinese group. This may due to the perception following many events which happened such as the aggression on ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, the Malaysia 13<sup>th</sup> May 1969 tragedy and the looming terrorist activities that were linked to Islamic fanatic groups. Set against such a scenario and events, issues of setting up Islamic state were played up to the benefit of the related parties by striking fear into the Chinese group. Issues that are either directly or indirectly linked to the concept of Islamic state were presented to the Malaysian Chinese voters through various categories of fear instilling rhetoric also known as *ad baculum*.

#### *3.2 Media and Politics in Malaysia*

As additional information, the major media organizations in Malaysia are Media Prima Limited, New Straits Times Press (M) Limited (NSTP) and Star Publications (M) Limited for the English media, Sin Chew Media Corporation

Limited and Nanyang Press Holding Limited for the Chinese media while Utusan Melayu (M) Limited for the Malay language media. Media Prima Limited owns 43.5% of NSTP and wholly owns TV3 channel, a major television channel. NSTP owns 100% of Berita Harian Private Limited, the publisher of a major Malay language newspaper (JF Apex Securities, 2004). The Barisan Nasional coalition parties' investment arm, the BN ruling government, its agencies, government related organizations or funds hold substantial equity in these major media organizations. Among the government related organizations or funds are the Ministry of Finance, Employees Provident Fund (EPF), Lembaga Tabung Haji, Khazanah Nasional and Valuecap Private Limited while Huaren Holdings Private Limited is the investment arm of MCA. Huaren Holdings, with 42% shareholding is the biggest shareholder of Nanyang Press. Huaren Holdings is also the biggest shareholder of Star Publications. Other major shareholders of Star Publications include EPF, Valuecap Private Limited. Sin Chew Daily is commonly perceived as pro-government. Realmild (M) Private Limited, EPF and Malaysian Resources Corporation Limited (MRCB) are the three biggest shareholders of Media Prima. MRCB is a government related company through EPF shareholding while Realmild (M) Private Limited is MRCB's biggest shareholder. Utusan Melayu has the Ministry of Finance, EPF and Lembaga Tabung Haji as its major shareholders. In NSTP, besides Media Prima's shareholding, EPF and Khazanah Nasional Limited is the second and fourth largest major shareholder respectively. Above all, the government regulates the media industry in Malaysia by imposing operation-licensing requirements, various acts that govern printing and mass media.

#### **4. Ad baculum Rhetoric and Tactic of Fear**

##### *4.1 Main Theme and Issues Used to Address This Tactic of Fear*

The main theme for political advertisements in the local Chinese media during the 11<sup>th</sup> Malaysian General Election campaign used to address the *ad baculum* tactic of fear was the idea of establishing Islamic state in Malaysia. Different political parties used different set of issues to address the main theme in their respective campaign. Figure 1 in Appendix-I shows the Barisan Nasional's campaigns. Barisan Nasional instilled fear that allowed the opposition (especially PAS) to win will brings changes which are presented as a treat or risk too high for the voters to take. The "changes" are particularly referred to the setting up of Islamic state that is what PAS is campaigning for while the Islamic state idea is packaged to look as a symbol of fear especially to the Chinese community. The cost of change for the voters will be the "comfort zone" they are currently enjoying during the era of the ruling of the Barisan Nasional. Briefly, the comfort zones elements compared to the threats are as below:

###### 1) "Peace" versus "Chaos": (Issue 1)

Related issues include moderate government based on a mix of secular and Islamic concept versus an Islam fanatic opposition. This particularly refers to PAS and its determination to establish an Islamic state. Leaders of Barisan Nasional are portrayed as loving, family oriented persons while having harmonious living among multi ethnics. The opposition party, especially PAS is shown as related to terrorism and not friendly to non-Islam.

###### 2) "Freedom" versus "Restrictions": (Issue 2)

Related issues include freedom to practice religion, celebrate festivals, permission to sell-buy selected non-*halal* products (in particular alcohol and pork), permission for various entertainment businesses including betting, concerts, discos and karaoke lounges and freedom plus equal rights for women groups. These are contradictory to the practice of pure Islamic law, which prohibits most of the mentioned items while maintains inferior status of women compared to that of men.

###### 3) "Development" versus "Backwardness": (Issue 3)

Related issues include presenting the good track record of economic and social developments compared to both the poor development of PAS ruling state (Kelantan and Terengganu) and the inexperience of the opposition parties to develop the nation. Further strengthening this aspect is the portraying of Abdullah Badawi, the top leader of Barisan Nasional as the Chinese legendary character, Justice Pau who is famous for his justice and anti-corruption stand.

###### 4) "BN" versus "PAS-DAP-PK": (Issue 4)

There is also an issue of transference in which DAP and PK are said to be associated with PAS, including helping PAS to minimize BN political strength to the benefit of PAS. DAP, PAS and PK formed the *Barisan Alternatif* (Alternative Front) to ensure a one-to-one fight with BN during the previous 10<sup>th</sup> General Election. That has become an issue of transference. Thus, fear issues associated to PAS were "associated" with DAP and PK also.

Overall, Barisan Nasional seeks stronger mandate from voters to allow them to strengthen the current peaceful and stable environment. Stability is believed to enhance economic development that benefits the whole nation and its people. In contrast, PAS is campaigning to seek support to establish an Islamic state similar to the state of Kelantan, which is under the PAS ruling prior to the election (Note 2). To counter the fear strategy of BN, PAS promotes that Islamic laws and other matters under an Islamic state structure will be fair to everybody while stressing that non-Islamic practice is not *halal*. *Halal* is the Islamic term for "permissible", thus, it used to describe anything that is permissible under Islamic

law, in contrast to *haram*, that which is forbidden. However, in a narrower context, the term is used to describe Moslem dietary laws, especially where meat and poultry are concerned (refer Wikipedia, 2004). So, religious related elements like sin for not following Islamic practices, types of rules or mandatory procedures do to enable believer to go to heaven and types of religious violations that send believer to hell were used as a fear striking campaigning weapon towards Moslem voters. Meanwhile, DAP issues were against PAS' intention to establish an Islamic state and Mahathir Mohammad's announcement on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2002 that Malaysia is an Islamic state. Mahathir was then the Prime Minister of Malaysia and BN Malaysia Chairman. Besides that, DAP's campaign instilled fear that allowed BN to win many Parliamentary seats could bring unhealthy concentration of power in the hands of BN. Thus, they appealed for support to counter BN dominance and increase their voice against the establishment of an Islamic state as declared by BN government and PAS. Other issues involved in their campaigning included the development of Chinese medium school and corruption of the BN government. Keadilan Party (PK) seems to be the only main political party with no clear stand on the Islamic state theme. Its main issue was to bring reformation to the government to ensure justice for all. However, PK cooperated with PAS in terms of distribution of election areas to contest so as to avoid head on battle for candidates from both parties. The issue of fear was the claimed unjust sacking, accusations leveled against and treatment of the former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Anwar Ibrahim due to the corrupt and over-powerful BN ruling. However, the oppositions' advertisements in major newspapers are very limited, just about one or two types only. This might be due to lack of funds and the control of major newspapers in Malaysia by the BN government. Advertisements by BN make up almost all of the political advertisements in the Chinese media during the 11<sup>th</sup> Malaysian general election campaign.

All the above-mentioned issues are played and built mainly on the background of Malaysian Chinese politics. The background gave opportunity to political parties to shape various kinds of fear and the general perception that the non-Moslems in Malaysia have of the concept of Islamic state as a symbol of fear. Thus, an analysis of the concept of Islamic state and the background of Malaysian Chinese politics is given below.

#### *4.2 Kinds of Fear about the Concept of Islamic State*

The kinds of fear or general perceptions that the non-Moslems in Malaysia have of the concept of Islamic state as a symbol of fear can be categorized according to issues as below. This refers to the Chinese fear of PAS setting up an Islamic state for Malaysia.

- 1) "Peace" verses "Chaos"
  - a. Terrorism activities could emerge in Malaysia or the new government could support global terrorism activities prompting hostility from other countries;
  - b. Aggression towards non-Moslem ethnics similar to the situation in Indonesia might happen;
  - c. Forcing non-Moslems to adopt Islamic elements.
- 2) "Freedom" verses "Restrictions"
  - a. Restriction to practice religion;
  - b. Restriction to celebrate festivals;
  - c. Banning pigs rearing;
  - d. Banning selling-buying of non-*halal* (Note 3) products (in particular alcohol and pork);
  - e. Banning betting and gambling activities;
  - f. Restrictions to stage concerts and the establishment of discos and karaoke lounge;
  - g. Inferior treatment of women.
- 3) "Development" verses "Backwardness"
  - a. Economics mismanagement causing various social hardship;
  - b. International boycott or avoidance in terms of foreign direct investment and international trade that might affect the economics negatively;

#### **5. Results: Some Strategies of Fear as Seen from the Local Media**

This study recognizes that the election campaign advertisement portrayed the "us versus them" ideology. "Us" are portrayed as 'good/saint', 'patriotism' and 'supporter' in issues versus the 'bad/evil', 'propaganda' and 'protester' of "them". Rhetoric of fear or *ad baculum* tactics was used to bring out that contrast. Emotional words presented together with visual effects were the most commonly employed tactics. Visual effects used include pictures and caricatures. Other *ad baculum* tactics included rhetoric of number, packaging of images and rhetoric of colours. However, not all were advertised in the local major Chinese newspaper. For example, the play on numbers such as "911" to represent the

terrorist attack that led to the collapse of the twin World Trade Centre towers in America on September 11, 2001 and the number “929” played by DAP to represent the announcement of Malaysia as an Islamic state by Mahathir Mohamad (then, Prime Minister of Malaysia) on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2002 was not advertised in the newspapers but in other channels of campaign. As green was the colour used to represent PAS and Islam, changing DAP’s symbol from a red rocket to a green one was an effort to link the DAP with PAS and Islam. Despite some types of rhetoric not present within the scope of channels of this paper, combining any of two or more type of rhetoric tactics often found. Combining two issues in one advertisement and presenting it with two rhetoric tactics was very commonly practiced. Findings below were presented according to issues.

### 5.1 “Peace” verses “Chaos”

In Advertisement 1 (refer Table 1 in Appendix II), the word “Peace” << 和平 >> is displayed as implicating “vote for peace”. Present also is a BN’s logo, urging to vote for BN. The presence of the word and the logo bring out the image of “good/saint” to BN. This is further reinforced by visual effect through a picture of a baby at the mother tender hand just below the word “Peace”. Advertisement 2 is of same style of Advertisement 1 but the “good/saint” image it tried to bring out is “Unity” << 團結 >>. A picture of three friends of different races created the visual effect of unity between various races. In both advertisements, a slogan stating “Past. Now. Future” << 過去. 現在. 將來 >> was found just below both words mentioned. This is seen as a “reminder” to the voters that BN has brings peace and unity in the past and present and only BN is capable to continue bringing it in the future.

The two advertisements’ effects as in Advertisement 1 (Peace) and Advertisement 2 (Unity) were further strengthening strongly by advertisements as in Advertisement 3 and 4. Advertisement 3 showing two contrasting picture on peace issue. On the left side was a scary war wrecked scenario contrast to the picture of Malaysia’s famous Twin Tower in a calm environment on the right. Below the war wrecked picture was stated “act of terrorism and fanaticism rampant” << 恐怖主义和极端主义橫行 >> while below the Twin Tower picture, wrote, “Enjoy peace and stability” << 享有和平与稳定 >>. The word “or” << 或 >> is used to contrast the two pictures. A slogan “Please vote BN to strengthen the Chinese’s strength in Government” << 请投国阵一票加强华族在朝力量 >> is stated. Thus, this advertisement is portraying “bad/evil” image to fanatic group at the same time contrasting BN as the “saint savior” to the Chinese over terrorist and fanaticism threats. Below the ‘vote for BN’ logo stated the phrase “to ensure your future” << 保障您的将来 >>, thus, further emphasizing BN’s image as a “saint savior”. Advertisement 4 showed four kids from different races hugging each other. At the top of the advertisement, a statement “47 years of peace, unity and assurance of safety” << 47 年的和平, 團結, 與安全保障 >> is clearly stated. Below the picture are two options to “vote”, one being stated “lost it” << 失去它 >> while another, stated “keep/preserve it” << 保存它 >>. The later option box is crossed as a sign of vote for keeping it. Crossing the box implied an *ad baculum* advised for the voters to follow if they do not want to loss the peace, unity and assurance of safety. It is just like the earlier example of the Nazi sending notice to “advise” German readers not to let their subscription lapse. It simply implied that voting for the other reason (“lost it”) would bring unfortunate consequences.

Peace issues often linked with development. Peace and stability are taken as a prerequisite for economics development. Advertisement 5 shows a picture of a city featuring the Twin Tower, a mosque and the KL Tower with many high raise building representing development status. The advertisement entitled “47 years of stability and progress” << 47 年的穩定與進步 >>. Same style and strategy as in Advertisement 4, below the picture are two options to “vote”, one being stated “damage it” << 摧殘它 >> while another, stated “protect it/strengthen it” << 鞏固它 >>. The later option box is crossed as a sign of vote for protecting the 47 years of stability and progress. Same style and strategy also presented in another BN’s advertisement as in Advertisement 6. It showed a Malaysia flag in the center of the advertisement. Its headline stated “The total resources of our country” << 我們國家共有的資產 >> and the two options to vote are “ruin it” << 糟蹋它 >> and “protect it” << 保護它 >>. The later option box is crossed. In this advertisement, the contrast of patriotism verses protester is used. It implied that patriotic voters would vote to protect the country resources while those who vote otherwise are deeming protesters. Crossing the box implied an *ad baculum* advised for the voters to follow. Below the Malaysia flag picture write:

*None of the other fronts are capable in protecting our Malaysian most valuable materials. The harmony shares among the different races and religions. The peace. The stability. The progress. This is because the other fronts are not well comprehend in giving the require guidance and leadership.*

This writing gives an image that BN is the sole savior and therefore, should certainly deserve the support of every Malaysian voter. Other economic or development issues will be discussed in the later parts.

Advertisements that are more directly contrast against PAS are seen in Advertisement 7 & 8. Advertisement 7 shows many demonstrators with one of them clearly showing off a picture of Osama bin Laden who was accused as the mastermind of ‘September 911’ terrorist attack in the United States of America. The description below the picture portrayed the demonstrator as PAS supporters, which stated, “PAS make used DAP to segregate the Chinese votes” << 回教党利用行动党分散华裔选票 >>. This advertisement link PAS with chaotic and fanatic behavior thus, playing

into the voters' fear that if PAS win, chaos is imminent. The headline for this advertisement is, "Use your voting right wisely. Do not let others to determine your future" << 善用手中选票：别让他人决定您的将来 >> while the 'vote for BN' logo with the phrase "to ensure your future" (just like in Advertisement 3) was positioned at the bottom to emphasize the need for BN to prevent chaotic events happening. Contrasting picture rhetoric incorporated transference issue was also used in advertisement as in Advertisement 8, showing side by side a picture of the Nik Aziz Nik Mat of PAS and Lim Kit Siang of DAP dining together in a ceremony in contrast with a picture of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (Prime Minister of Malaysia, UMNO president and BN Malaysia Chairman) shaking hand with the President of the Peoples' Republic of China, Hu Jintao. Below the former picture stated "The extreme thinking leaders" << 领袖思想各走极端 >> while below the later picture, stated "The open-minded and progressive leaders" << 领袖思想开明进步 >>. That style of presentation is the same style as in Advertisement 3 and is a common style used for striking fear comparison or contrast. In those two advertisements, the PAS and DAP are portrayed as "bad/devil" by closely linking PAS with terrorism and Islam fanaticism while DAP is linked as PAS' associate. Terrorism and Islam fanaticism images scared away the support of voters for PAS and DAP. Other transference issues will be discussed in the later parts.

### 5.2 "Freedom" verses "Restrictions"

There are 11 revealing visual rhetoric advertisements found published in the major Chinese newspapers on freedom verses restriction issue. Advertisement 9 to 16 showed eight of those advertisements, presented in the same style to highlight several of restrictions if the oppositions formed the government. Each of the advertisements has four characteristics: the word "Ban?" strip across the center of the picture shown in the advertisements, a header phrase at center top, description below the picture and a 'vote for BN' logo at the bottom. The word "Ban" << 禁止 >> is relatively big in size while below the 'vote for BN' logo is a slogan stating, "to ensure your future." Advertisement 9 shows picture of a female artist singing with the header phrase stated, "Concert" << 演唱会 >>. The singer did not dress scantily. The description below the picture states, "Once the oppositions become the government, concert would be prohibited" << 一旦反对党阵线执政，演唱会将被禁止>>. It scares voters to vote for BN to ensure that in future, concert will still be allowed. It is a sister version of El Salvador guerrilla's slogan stating, "Vote in the morning; die in the afternoon" mentioned as example earlier. Thus, that BN slogan's role would be like "Vote for opposition today; freedom lost tomorrow". Other examples with the same strategy are as below.

Advertisement 10 shows two pairs of guys and girls dancing with the header phrase stated, "Dancing" << 跳舞 >>. All the guys and girls in the picture looked properly and neatly dressed with formal attires. The description below states, "Once the oppositions become the government, the dancing among opposite sexes would not be allowed" << 一旦反对党阵线执政，男女共舞将不被允许 >>. Advertisement 11 shows five guys and two girls wearing a full set of swimming attires, including swimming trunk (men), swimming suit (lady) with head cap and goggles. All of them look muscular, well built sportsmen (sportswomen) like body, standing seem like paying attention to an ongoing instruction. The ladies wear full swimsuit, not bikini type. The header of this advertisement stated, "Swimming costume" << 泳装 >> while the description below, said, "Once the oppositions become the government, the females would not be allowed to wear swimming costume" << 一旦反对党阵线执政，女性将不被允许穿泳装 >>. Advertisement 12 shows a group of three men and two ladies gathering at a coffee shop with the header stated, "Social activity" << 社交活动 >>. All of them dress properly. The description below states, "Once the oppositions become the government, the social activities among opposite sexes would not be allowed" << 一旦反对党阵线执政，男女社交活动将不被允许 >>.

The first four Advertisements in this issue category, from Advertisement 9 to 12, reveal one similarity besides the style of presentation. That similarity is that the peoples in each picture are dress properly and in good conduct in general social perspective. These included full set of non-bikini type of swimming attires in Advertisement 11 and the men and ladies seem to dance "politely" not crazily or nastily in Advertisement 10. Those conditions and activities (concert, dancing, swimming in swimsuit and gathering among friends) are acceptable norms in general social term. However, those examples are not acceptable by fanatic Islamic ideology and culture. Thus, the advertisements clearly also wanted to highlight that banning the mentioned social activities is unacceptable. That also implicated the aggressiveness of oppositions in forcing their will of implementing Islamic rules against the societal norms. Since those activities are acceptable norms and part and parcel of current social living, banning them will force the society to change most of their current lifestyle, which deem as nightmare to them, especially the Chinese society, which their religion belief is not Islam. Furthermore, to enhance the fear effect on the Chinese community, all the peoples in Advertisements 10 and 12 clearly look like Chinese, indirectly highlighting that Islamic state or PAS is against the Chinese as it is the Chinese culture or normal acceptance of living that different the most with Islam ideology. All the restrictions strike fear to the Chinese voters.

The same implication applied to the situation portrayed in Advertisement 13 to 16. Furthermore, the Chinese community is clearly the focus in Advertisement 13, 14 and 15. Advertisement 13 shows two looked like Chinese ladies dress neatly in a short sleeve *cheong sam* (Chinese traditional ladies attire) with the header phrase stated, "Short sleeved

garment” << 短袖服饰 >>. The description below states, “Once the oppositions become the government, the females would not be allowed to wear short sleeve garment” << 一旦反对党阵线执政，女性将不被允许穿短袖服饰 >>. The question is why used *cheong sam* only as example of short sleeve? Why not casual short sleeve T-shirt, which is more commonly seen? Advertisement 14 shows a mature and formally dress looked like working Chinese female. The header stated, “Female employment” << 女性就业 >>. The description below writes, “Once the oppositions become the government, the female would not be allowed to involve in any employment” << 一旦反对党阵线执政，女性将不被允许就业 >>. Advertisement 15 has a picture of a Chinese opera with “Cultural performance” << 文化表演 >> phrase as header phrase. Below the picture said: “Once the oppositions become the government, the traditional cultural performance would not be allowed” << 一旦反对党阵线执政，传统文化表演将不被允许 >>. A picture of a funfair was showed in Advertisement 16, with the word “Funfair” << 游乐场 >> stated above. Below, it described, “Once the oppositions become the government, the funfair would be prohibited” << 一旦反对党阵线执政，游乐场将被禁止 >>.

Meanwhile, Advertisement 17 has the same style of contrasting picture as in Advertisement 3 and 8. All the three Advertisements also used the same slogan as headline, which stated, “Your choice will determine your future. Which future do you choose?” << 您的抉择决定您的将来。您选择一个怎样的将来？>>. Advertisement 17 contrast a picture of a Chinese New Year banner being forcefully taken down by the officials of Kota Bharu Municipal Council with the picture of dragon dance performance stating “the MCA of Selangor was participating in the Chinese New Year celebration” << 雪州马华举行新年团拜 >>. Beneath each picture respectively wrote, “Culture was discriminated” << 文化被歧视 >> for the former picture and “Freedom of cultural practice” << 享有文化自由 >> for the later. Just like the Advertisement 3, below both pictures and their descriptions, a slogan “Please vote BN to strengthen the Chinese’s strength in the Government” are stated. At the bottom of the advertisement the ‘vote for BN’ logo also stated the phrase “to ensure your future” (as in Advertisement 3 and 8). Played on the issues of religion freedom, Advertisement 18 contrasted two statues of Buddha, one being destroyed and the other are in well condition and receiving prayer from a devotee. The picture of the destroyed statue was tag with “Afghanistan – the statue of Buddha was destroyed by Talibans” << 阿富汗：佛像被塔利班炸毁 >>. While the other picture was tag with “Malaysia – BN promises the freedom of religion practice” << 马来西亚：国阵保障宗教自由 >>. Below the pictures also stated, “religion freedom was violated” << 宗教自由被侵犯 >> for the former picture verses “freedom of religion practice” << 享有宗教自由 >> below the later picture. Issue of restriction of women right was portrayed in Advertisement 19, which contrast a picture of a group of working women and men against a newspaper cutout. The newspaper cutout is about unequal treatment of female in the state of Terengganu (under PAS state government ruling) and below it stated, “Women were discriminated” << 女性被歧视 >>. Below the picture wrote, “equal right to female” << 女性享有平等权益 >>.

Directly against PAS, BN’s advertisement as in Advertisement 20 urged voters not to vote for PAS with the headline stating “The fact has proved that PAS did not respect the Chinese cultural tradition” << 事实证明：回教党不尊重华人文化传统 >>. The example given is PAS rejected to approve the permission of a Chinese New Year Gathering. Reasons given are clashed with prayer time, involved Muslim celebrities and school cannot be used as an entertainment park. Meanwhile, PAS counters the BN campaigns by simply stating, “We are in one family because we are a family” << 我们是一家人，因为我们都是一家人 >> as headline in its advertisement as in Advertisement 21. DAP advertisement as in Advertisement 22 urged the voters not to allowed BN to do whatever they want even though they support the BN. Implicating the danger of almost monopoly of BN in seats in the Parliament, the advertisement stated, “The Parliament needs the voice of the oppositions” << 國會需要反對黨的聲音 >>. Besides urging voters to support the candidates of DAP, the advertisement also highlighted DAP’s stand in Islamic state issues by stating, “we do not want Islamic state” << 我們不要回教國 >>.

### 5.3 “Development” verse “Backwardness”

In issues about economic development and society living standard, BN used informative rhetoric and *ad baculum* rhetoric in such a way to support each other. These, as in Advertisement 5 and 6, included urging voters to protect Malaysia stability, development and resources, not to damage or ruin them. Those were supported by various advertisements asking voters to remember Malaysia’s achievement in 47 years of BN ruling, good relationship with China, development of Chinese education including establishment of University Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR) as MCA’s effort and Abdullah Ahmad Badawi as the best leader to fight corruption in Malaysia. Examples included 4 continuous pages of advertisement of Malaysia achievement milestone year by year as in Advertisement 23, three advertisements portraying Abdullah Ahmad Badawi as the modern Justice Pau (Advertisement 24) and successful effort of MCA to improve Chinese community (Advertisement 25). Advertisement 26 urged that mother tongue education should not become political issues talk but must be solved properly soonest possible.

### 5.4 Transference

Transference issues seem to target DAP by BN. In the BN advertisements, DAP was associated with PAS in order to ‘transfer’ the fear of Islamic state establishment to the DAP. In this case, DAP was portrayed as supporting PAS’ vision to set up an Islamic state and helping them to win the election by weakening BN political forces. Thus, following slogan

is used so frequently in many of the BN advertisement: "If you vote for DAP, you will weaken the force of BN in opposing the PAS. Giving support to DAP means giving support to PAS." That slogan even appeared as a stand-alone plain advertisement like in Advertisement 33. Thus, the advertisement campaign focused on transference issue is like killing 2 birds with one stone – against two parties in one advertisement.

Example of transference issues is as in Advertisement 27, using rhetoric of caricatures and advertisements. Indeed, that type of rhetoric is the most common type in the issue of transference. Advertisement 27 showed a caricature of a DAP member drove by Abdul Hadi Awang (the president of PAS) caricature in a rocket (Note 4) while saying "Control the 'Rocket' feeling is good" << 操控火箭的感觉真棒! >>. Beside the caricature is a newspaper cutting with a headline stated that according to Abdul Hadi Awang, PAS and DAP had worked out together "to ensure a one-to-one fight against National Front (BN)" << 確保一對一迎戰國陣 >> while below was a very big size word saying "Everyone also know" << 明眼人都知道！ >>. Advertisement 28 portrayed DAP as merely acting only in the case of asking its party members to resign from being PAS lead Terengganu state Municipal Council officials to prove no relationship between both parties. Caricatures are also used in that Advertisement. Advertisement in Advertisement 29 entitled "Can DAP be trusted?" << 行动党可信赖吗？ >> Showed two caricatures of Karpal Singh (Note 5) of DAP in Year 1990 and 1999. In the earlier year, Karpal was quoted as saying "If Malaysia was to become an Islamic state, step over my death body first" but for the later year, he was quoted saying "Sorry, I said wrongly." A picture of Lim Kit Siang (Note 6) of DAP, at PAS' 50th years anniversary on 27 February 2001 is the main highlight of advertisement in Advertisement 30. It carried a headline saying, "Truth always wins over sophistic argument" << 事实胜于雄辩 >> with description questioning that if DAP break up relationship with PAS, why top DAP leader to attend PAS function? Caricature of Karpal Singh giving a speech while Abdul Hadi Awang, the president of PAS at behind the screen as in Advertisement 31 carried a headline stating, "He is actually taking care of whose benefit?" << 他到底在维护谁的利益？ >>. In the caricature, Karpal at the main stage was quoted saying, "Support me! I will carry your voice and fight for justice in the Parliament" << 支持我吧！我会在国会为你们仗义执言 >> while Hadi at the back stage was smiling and quoted saying, "Yes! Support him! Help me to weaken BN and increase PAS power" << 好！支持他吧！帮我削弱国阵，使回教党更壮大！ >>. The same issues of highlighting DAP of helping PAS is also the main issue as in Advertisement 32. With a headline saying, "PAS thanks DAP" << 回教党感谢行动党 >>, the description is highlighting that DAP helped PAS to win the state of Terengganu and Kelantan during the General Election in 1999. Trying to instill fear, the advertisement also stated that in the coming election, DAP is actually continuing to help PAS to win in the state of Kedah, Perlis, Pahang and Selangor. Caricature of Lim Kit Siang portrayed as saying, "Support me! I will protect your right" << 支持我吧！我将全力维护你们的权益 >> in a stage while Hadi seem backing Lim and urging, "Support him is equal to support me" << 支持他就等于支持我！ >>.

## 6. Conclusion

The data collected seem to give us an idea that "might is right" as the appeal to fear was used up to the maximum by the members of the ruling party Barisan Nasional (National Front), especially Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA) through its controlled media. The opposition parties cannot match Barisan Nasional in term of campaign fund and most important, access to media. This is clear as during the 11<sup>th</sup> Malaysian General Election, Barisan Nasional contested in every Parliament and State seat but the opposition only contest in very few selected seats for both Parliament and State level. As a result, the Barisan Nasional coalition won 199 Parliament seats and 453 State seats. There are total of 219 Parliament seats and 505 State seats for contest in the mentioned elections. Thus, Barisan Nasional won 90.87% of Parliament seats and 89.70% of State seats, DAP won 12 (5.48%) Parliament seats and 15 (2.97%) State seats, PAS won 6 (2.74%) Parliament seats and 36 (7.13%) State seats and PK won one (0.46%) Parliament seat and 0 (0%) State seat. Independent candidates won one (0.46%) Parliament seat and one (0.20%) State seat. (See <http://www.pmo.gov.my/website/webdb.nsf/?Opendatabase> and <http://www.parlimen.gov.my/eng-dR-statistik.htm>).

Barisan Nasional formed the ruling government at national level and for all state except Kelantan state where PAS won marginally. Barisan Nasional continues their 47 years grip on the Malaysian politic since independent, leaving the voters a "convenient" attitude toward political preference. Not only voters, especially the Chinese preferred to maintain the current "comfort zone", both the voters and the oppositions already have pictured in a landslide victory for the Barisan Nasional, thus challenging the Barisan Nasional is merely for the sake of opposing only. That is the psychology reason on why the oppositions are never viewed as a capable ruling party not only by the voters but also by themselves. These reasons hand Barisan Nasional an almost sure win while this situation results in strengthening the Barisan Nasional control on media access and the psychology reason mentioned. That is a two ways causal relationship cycle that will continue to strengthen each other over time in Barisan Nasional favor. So, in conclusion, as a hyperbole, Barisan Nasional is expected to maintain their dominance in politic arena until the end of the world if that cycle didn't break off. It might take a paradigm shift to break it and would be a mammoth task for anyone. However that it should start off with educating the voters to assess political issues rationally, not based on emotion especially fear.

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#### Notes

Note 1. "Bumiputera" in Malaysia context means "the son of the soil". In the Department of Statistic Malaysia's 'Population and Housing Census Year 2000' report, "Bumiputera" consists of Malays and other natives in Peninsular Malaysia, the Sabah state and the Sarawak state. Chinese, Indians, citizens of other foreign country origin (i.e. Indonesian, Thai, and Korean) and non-citizens are considered non-bumiputera.

Note 2. Malaysia consists of 13 states (*negeri*) and one federal territory (*wilayah persekutuan*). Kelantan is one of the states. In the context of Malaysian politics, the party that wins the majority number of seats in the State Assembly Hall forms the state government in that particular state. Usually (with the exception Sabah and Sarawak state) and in the 11th General Election, elections at the national level (Parliament seats) and the state level are held concurrently.

Note 3. The word *halal* in a narrower context used to describe Moslem dietary laws, especially where meat and poultry are concerned. Thus, *halal* mean permissible to eat under Islamic law (see Wikipedia, 2004).

Note 4. DAP uses a red rocket as its party symbol.

Note 5. Karpal Singh is DAP Deputy Chairman prior to the 11th Malaysia General Election.

Note 6. Lim Kit Siang is DAP Chairman prior to the 11th Malaysia General Election.

#### Appendix I. Main Issues of Analysis

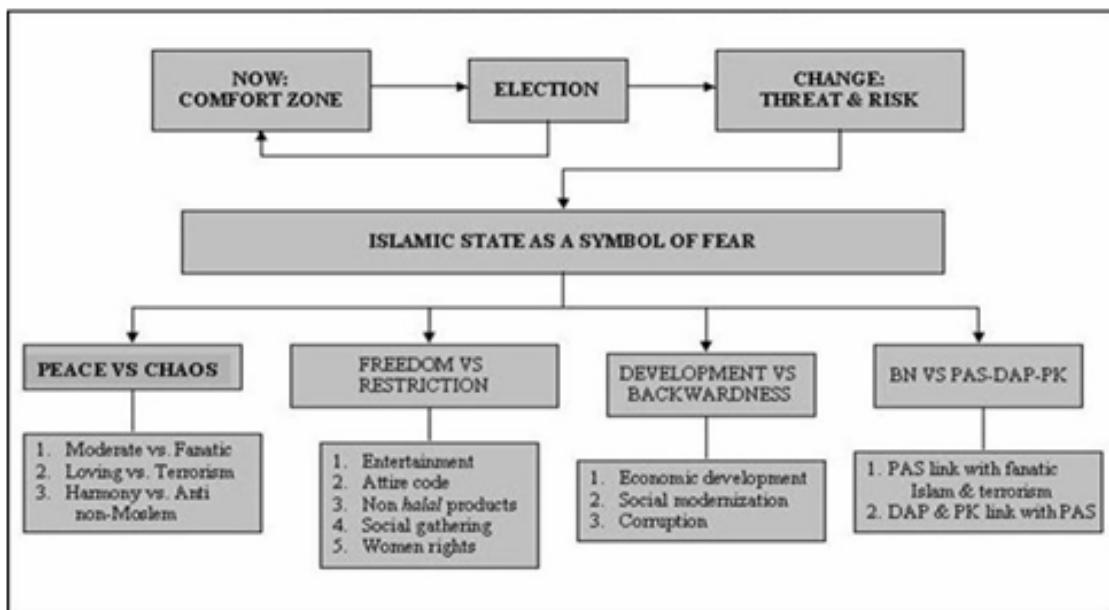


Figure 1. 11<sup>th</sup> Malaysia General Election Issues Play within the Main Theme of Islamic State

**Appendix II. Sample of Advertisements Analyzed**

Table 1. Advertisements Summary

Advertisement	Description	Issue
1	Emotive words: Peace. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 14 March 2004, page 10.	1
2	Emotive words: Unity. Source: <i>Nanyang Siang Pau</i> , 15 March 2004, page A18.	1
3	Contrasting picture: War wrecked scenario vs. peaceful Twin Tower. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 19 March 2004, page 25.	1
4	Contrasting choice: Keep peace and harmony living or lost it. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 19 March 2004, page 5.	1
5	Contrasting choice: Protect stability and development or damage it. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> (Supplement Section), 18 March 2004, page 4.	1,3
6	Contrasting choice: Ruin or protect Malaysia's resources. Source: <i>Oriental Daily News</i> , 20 March 2004, page C6.	1,3
7	PAS demonstrators with photo of Osama bin Laden. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 20 March 2004, page 21.	1
8	Contrasting picture: Extreme thinking vs. open-minded. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 20 March 2004, page 22.	1
9	Ban: Concert. Source: <i>China Press</i> , 16 March 2004, page A21.	2
10	Ban: Dancing. Source: <i>China Press</i> , 16 March 2004, page A20.	2
11	Ban: Swimming costume. Source: <i>China Press</i> , 16 March 2004, page B5.	2
12	Ban: Social activity. Source: <i>China Press</i> , 16 March 2004, page B7.	2
13	Ban: Short sleeved garment. Source: <i>China Press</i> , 16 March 2004, page B6.	2
14	Ban: Female employment. Source: <i>Guang Ming Daily</i> , 16 March 2004, page A4.	2
15	Ban: Cultural performances (picture of Chinese opera). Source: <i>Guang Ming Daily</i> , 16 March 2004, page T2.	2
16	Ban: Fun fair. Source: <i>Guang Ming daily</i> , 16 March 2004, page A6.	2
17	Contrasting picture: Cultural restriction. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 19 March 2004, page 28.	2
18	Contrasting picture: Religion freedom. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 19 March 2004, page 27.	2
19	Contrasting picture: Women rights issues Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 19 March 2004, page 26.	2
20	Three main reasons not to vote for PAS Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 14 March 2004, page 21.	2

21	PAS advertisement Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 19 March 2004, page 8.	2
22	DAP advertisement Source: <i>Oriental Daily News</i> , 19 March 2004, page C3.	2
23	Malaysia's achievement milestone (4 pages) Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 18 March 2004, page 5 – 8.	3
24	Abdullah Badawi as Justice Pau (3 advertisements) & good relationship with China (1 advertisement). Source: <i>Guang Ming Daily</i> , 16 March 2004, page A5; <i>China Press</i> , 17 March 2004, page A17; <i>Oriental Daily News</i> , 17 March 2004, page A3; <i>Oriental Daily News</i> , 18 March 2004, page A3.	3
25	Successful effort of MCA to improve Chinese community. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 17 March 2004, page 24 & 25; <i>Nanyang Siang Pau</i> , 17 March 2004, page A18; <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 18 March 2004, page 23, 24, 25 & 27; <i>Oriental Daily News</i> , 18 March 2004, page A5.	3
26	Mother tongue education. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 19 March 2004, page 5.	3
27	Caricatures: Control the “Rocket” feeling is good. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 14 March 2004, page 23.	4
28	Caricatures: DAP members to resign from being Terengganu Municipal Council officials. Source: <i>Sin Chew Daily</i> , 14 March 2004, page 25.	4
29	Caricatures: Can DAP be trusted? Source: <i>Nanyang Siang Pau</i> , 15 March 2004, page A12.	4
30	Picture: DAP attended PAS function. Source: <i>Nanyang Siang Pau</i> , 15 March 2004, page A11.	4
31	Caricatures: DAP take care of who's benefit? Source: <i>China Press</i> , 15 March 2004, page C17	4
32	Caricatures: PAS thanks DAP help in 1999 election. Source: <i>Nanyang Siang Pau</i> , 15 March 2004, page A16.	4
33	Plain advertisement: If you vote for DAP, you will weaken the force of BN in opposing the PAS. Giving support to DAP mean giving support to PAS. Source: <i>China Press</i> , 16 March 2004, page B5.	4