Index

A
Abdul Aziz, 138
Abdul Ghani Othman, 293–94
Abdul Hadi Awang, 260
Abdullah Ahmad Badawi
  anti-corruption measures, 19, 52, 320
  "Islam Hadhari", 257, 264, 292
  New Economic Policy, 72, 73
  plan to increase salaries, 236
  succeeding Mahathir, 19, 265
Abdul Latiff Abu Bakar, 287
Abdul Rahman, Tunku, 34, 35, 36
Abdul Rahman Embong, 22, 283, 303
Abdul Razak, 35, 40, 43, 277
Abdul Samad Hadi, 292
ABIM (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia), 250, 251–52
affirmative action policies
  capital participation requirements, 88, 101, 167
costs, 325
culture of patronage surrounding, 19–20, 51–53, 69, 88, 91
educational incentives, 17, 78, 133, 204
employment creation, 16, 60, 79, 132
land reservations, 13
language policies, 13, 14, 196, 200–203
Look East Policy, 60, 64, 65, 68, 74
Malay political elite and, 15, 37
monetary value of, 104
popular pressure for, 102
public health sector, 223
public sector contracts, 79, 89
social effects, 80, 205–206
university admissions quotas, 17, 78, 201, 204, 205
See also bumiputera
  entrepreneurial class;
  bumiputera equity shares
Afghanistan, 248
Africa, 5, 241
Agreement on Trade-Related
  Intellectual Property Rights
  (TRIPs), 172, 183, 236, 318
Agreement on Trade-Related
  Investment Measures (TRIMs), 171, 183, 307
agriculture
devlopment, 96
foreign ownership, 34
Malay concentration in, 79
share of employment, 16, 19
state-owned enterprises in, 48
subsidies and smallholder support, 78–79, 118, 137, 139
Alliance Party, 280
al-Mawdudi, Abu al-A’la, 258
INDEX

Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia (AIM), 142
American Chambers of Commerce, 72
Amir Muhammad, 297
Amsden, A., 27, 170
Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement, 36
annual growth rate, 77, 79, 118, 142
anti-corruption measures
adopted by Badawi, 19, 52, 320
domestic pressures for, 52–53
recent efforts, 94, 106
Anwar Ibrahim
leadership of ABIM, 251
and Parti Keadilan Rakyat, 252
trial and sentencing, 19
UMNO, 252, 254
Appelbaum, R.P., 27
Applied Nutrition Programme, 141
Arabic language, 253
Argentina, 178
Armstrong, Karen, 248
Asas Kebudayaan Kebangsaan, 278
ASEAN, see Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
ASEAN + 3, 9
ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), 48, 178
Asia-Europe Meeting, 10
Asian Development Bank, 148, 231, 310
Asian financial crisis
bumiputra business, 60, 69–70, 93
causes, 70–71
foreign investment, 86
foreign workers, 151
globalization, 70, 74
impact on urban households, 123
Indonesia and Thailand, 19, 71
Japan, 69
Malaysia, 19, 20, 51, 60, 69–71, 146, 315
Malaysia Incorporated, 60
monetary policy, 5, 310
review of policies following, 173, 175
“Asian Tigers”
Look East Policy, 67, 68
ranking by World Bank, 69
role of state in, 27, 29–30, 32
sustained growth of, 2
Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), 10
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
Free Trade Area, 48, 178
Malaysia’s role in, 9
multinational companies in, 159
trade agreements, 178–79
A.T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Globalization Index, 9
Australia, 36, 46, 181, 198
automotive sector, 171–72, 180, 181, 183
B
Bagchi, Amiya Kumar, 29–30
Bahrain, 179
balance of payments, 163, 170, 183, 310
Bangsa Malaysia, 276, 283, 284, 289, 292, 294, 312
bangsawan, 283
Bank Bumiputra, 49, 84, 93
Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad, 253–54, 310
Bank Negara, 39
Barisan Nasional (BN)
dependency on patronage, 85, 87
dominance of politics, 18–19, 29
Mahathir’s convention speech, 259
multi-ethnic alliance, as, 37
Muslim constituents, 252
UMNO’s dominance within, 15
Bhalla, S., 126, 133
bilateral trade agreements
additional regulations, 236
Australia and New Zealand, 181
Japan, 178–81, 184
Malaysia, 179–81, 183–84, 323
result of multilateral stalemate, 316
Singapore, 178–79
United States, 178, 181–82, 318
Bolivia, 178
Bosnia, 248
Brazil, 176, 178
Bretton Woods institutions, see
International Monetary Fund (IMF); World Bank
Britain
corporatization of universities, 198
defence agreements with
Malaysia, 36
East of Suez policy, 36
Mahathir’s criticism of, 66–67
Malaysian students in, 46, 67, 246, 251
Muslim minority, 241
non-reciprocation of goodwill, 66–67
Thatcher, under, 61
British colonial government
Communist insurgency, 11, 12, 303
education policies, 192, 199–200, 207
independence, 264
influence on ethnic distribution, 100, 117–18
influence on political elite, 11, 192
legacy, 14, 81, 235, 261, 286
marginalization of Malay culture, 274, 275, 279, 287, 312
national planning, 41
political parties, 13, 303
British Commonwealth, 67
bumiputra entrepreneurial class
Asian financial crisis and, 60, 69–70, 93
characteristics, 89–91
costs of creating, 91–93, 107
creation under Look East Policy, 60, 64, 65–66, 68, 74
creation under New Economic Policy, 47, 70, 87, 166
derminating role in economy, 89–91
foreign direct investment, 70, 72
globalization, 275
new Malay identity, 283–84, 290
patronage, 69, 88, 89
state intervention in formation, 79–80, 88, 89
bumiputera equity shares
apparent lack of progress, 101, 112
foreign investment, 72, 167, 181, 306
political symbol, 20
target, 14, 17
bumiputeras
comparative wealth, 17, 99, 101–106
“definitive” people, 280
formation of majority, 13, 25, 102
migration to urban areas, 102
poverty incidence, 118, 123
public sector, 95, 97–98
shortfall of skill and capital, 65
shortfall of trained public servants, 147
traditional economic role, 99, 100, 118
unemployment among, 206
see also affirmative action policies; Malays
Bumiputra Malaysia Finance, 47, 49, 93
Bursa Malaysia, 88, 89–90, 96, 304
C
Cabinet Committee on Urban Poverty, 119
Cairns group, 177
Cambodia, 226
capital
Chinese, 33, 38, 63, 93
foreign, 33, 50, 71, 96
globalization, 3, 8, 71, 117, 284, 316
government controls, 5, 7, 51, 147, 310, 322
capitalism
bumiputera entrepreneurs, 284
developmentalism, 29, 64
global culture, 290
Malaysia’s adherence to, 81–82
Castells, M., 27, 31
Chile, 178
China
ASEAN + 3, 9
eyear resistance to foreign investment, 83
G20 countries, 176
providing competition, 17, 20, 72, 73, 316
recent rise, 4
Chinese business community, 39, 89, 284
Chinese Malaysians
close ties with Malay elite, 284
community schools, 199, 201, 202
control of capital, 33, 38, 63
emigration, 93
healthcare professionals, 223
relative wealth, 12, 118
resentment of bumiputera policies, 80
status in Constitution, 13
see also non-bumiputeras
Christianity, 5, 267
civil service
efficiency, 43
Malaysianization of, 36, 43, 45
Malays in, 37
see also public sector
civil society
dissatisfaction with WTO, 175, 176, 182
globalization, 6, 317
healthcare privatization, against, 232–33
international, 3, 4
Islamic resurgence, 256, 261, 263
pressures, 52, 318, 321, 324
see also non-governmental organizations
Coalition Against Healthcare Privatization (CAHP), 232
Cold War, 46
command economy, 63, 70, 72, 74
Communism, 4, 63
Communist insurgency, 11, 12, 44
see also Emergency
Communist Party of Malaya, 42, 45
Constitution
democracy and monarchy, 12
ethnic power-sharing, 13, 36–37
expressing Malaysian plurality, 261
Islamization of, 254
secular nature, 249, 260–61, 263–64
status of Chinese and Indians, 13
corruption, 51, 52, 53, 94, 320
“crony capitalism”, 69, 89
Crouch, Harold, 80, 94
currency, see Ringgit

D
dakwah movements, 250, 251–52, 262
Darul Arqam, 250
“Dawn Raid”, 67
defence agreements, 36
defence and security expenditures, 42, 83
Department of National Unity (DNU), 39–40, 41, 276, 312
Department of Social Welfare, 143
Department of Trade and Industry, 88
developmentalism in Malaysia, 27–55
Asian financial crisis, 69, 74
characteristics, 37–53, 315–16
Malaysia Incorporated, 60
neo-liberalism in conflict, 70–72
New Economic Policy, 28, 39–41, 45–48
origins, 32–37
pro-Malay policies within, 33
see also state intervention
“developmentalist state” model
East Asia, 27, 30, 32
key features, 30, 31–32
neo-liberalism, 59, 61–62, 74
role of national elite, 31
transitioning between state and market, 46–47
Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 288
Deyo, F.C., 27
Doha Declaration, 236
Doha Development Agenda, 176
Doha International Airport, 314
Doha WTO Ministerial Conference, 173, 176, 177–78, 182, 183
Dong Jiao Zong, 199
Draft Development Plan (1950–55), 44
Drainage and Irrigation Division, 148
E
East Asian Summit, 10
Eastern Europe, 4
Economic Planning Unit (EPU)
elite administration of, 43
“growth first” policies, 39–40
National Health Security Fund, 231
origins and evolution, 44
Privatization Master Plan, 225
role in policy-making, 21
economic policies
constraints on, 8
developmentalist, 61, 313
evolution of, 15–16
growth, 82, 304
laissez-faire, 10, 13
market-orientated, 302–303
neo-liberal nature of, 10
social priorities, 12, 304, 313, 324–25
see also developmentalism in Malaysia; neo-liberalism;
New Economic Policy (NEP)
education
broad-based vs. vocational, 198–99
creation of Malay professional class, 204–205
economic growth, 307
formation of national system, 200
globalization, 210–12
globalization impacts, 210–12, 307–308
national unity, 307
provision of public, 13, 78, 82, 192
public expenditure, 194, 210
quantity vs. quality, 198
role in New Economic Policy, 132
rural areas, 194–95, 202, 203
social segregation, 205–206, 209
standards of achievement, 79, 80
women’s welfare, 132
see also education policies;
higher education; Islamic education; private educational institutions
Education Acts, 200, 208, 210
Education Ordinance 1957, 208
education policies, 189–212
Barnes and Fenn-Wu commissions, 200
conflicting objectives, 190, 198–99
goals, 189–90
inter-ethnic gaps, 189–90, 202, 210, 212
Islamic education, 189–90, 199
national unity, 190, 199, 200, 202, 210, 212
Egypt, 5, 246–47, 256
Eighth Malaysia Plan, 119, 126, 141, 151
electrical and electronics sector, 159, 164, 165
elite ruling classes
education, 192
English-educated bureaucrats, 43
inter-ethnic alliances within, 284
Malay, 33, 37, 43
market-friendly disposition, 303
preference for English, 291
UMNO leadership, 21, 35
Emergency (1948–60), 36, 42, 46, 303
Employees’ Provident Fund (EPF), 224, 233
English language
arts, 282, 296–97
competence, 205, 318, 319
globalization and spread, 275
globalized workforce, 211–12
International Islamic University, 253
international negotiations and, 320
medium of instruction, 200, 206–207
prevalence in public life, 291
private schools, 197
rejection under National Culture Policy, 279
Vision 2020 speech in, 283
environment, 1, 4, 175
ethnic diversity and economic growth, 100–101
ethnicity
economic function, 14, 38, 95, 97–101, 202
nationalism, 296, 313
poverty incidence, 118, 123
religious affiliation, 12
Europe, 245, 246
European Union, 177
exchange rate policy, 323
exchange rates, 82
see also Ringgit
export-oriented growth
external factors, 164, 167, 315
policy autonomy, 106, 313, 314
rationale, 309
social gains resulting from, 132, 302
state role, 22, 77, 86
export sector
foreign control, 76
growth, engine of, 10, 79
healthcare, 221–22, 229, 308
higher education, 193–94, 197, 313
manufactures, 71, 79, 86, 163–64
petroleum and hydrocarbons, 84
primary goods, 303
strategic focus, 86, 96, 182
see also natural resource exports
F
Faaland, Just, 38, 39, 132
Farish A. Noor, 256
Fatimah M. Arshad, 138
Federal Industrial Development Authority (FIDA), 39
Federal Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority (FELCRA), 137
Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA)
agricultural development, 96
poverty reduction, 137, 140
resettlement of Malays, 33, 34, 38, 139–41
success, 47
Federation of Malaysian Manufacturers, 177, 182
Fernando, Lloyd, 274, 277, 278
film-making, 297
Finance Ministry, 42
financial liberalization, 70–71
Fine, Ben, 31
Firdaus Abdullah, 286, 293
First Industrial Master Plan (1986–95), 167
First Malaya Plan (1956–60), 44
First Malaysia Plan (1966–70), 44, 49
fiscal balance, 82
Fitzgerald, R., 27
Five-Power Defence Pact, 36
foreign direct investment (FDI)
Asian financial crisis and, 86
educated workforce and, 82
efforts to encourage, 15, 73, 77, 79, 82, 164
growth, engine of, 16, 62–63, 71, 83, 86, 235
Japan, from, 164
labour organization, 149–50
liberalization, 164
poverty reduction, 131
state intervention, 62, 70, 71, 72, 304
technological development, 83
foreign exchange reserves, 316
foreign policy, 36
foreign workers
influx, 103
medical care, 234
poverty, 151
reverse migration, 146, 151
slowing technological development, 150, 311
Fourth Malaysia Plan (1981–85), 49, 231
France, 241
Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), 178
Free Trade Zone Act, 164
free trade zones, 15, 86, 159, 165

G
G20 countries, 176, 177, 185
Gabungan Persatuan Penulis
Nasional Malaysia (GAPENA), 281, 293
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
establishment, 161
Kennedy Round, 161
Malaysia, 306
Tokyo Round (1973–79), 4, 161
Uruguay Round (1986–93), 4, 159–60, 168–73
General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), 170, 171
Generalized System of Preferences, 167, 315
Gerekan, 197
Germany, 241
Ghazali Shafie, 35–36, 40, 41, 285
Gini coefficient, 20, 105, 138
globalization
Asian financial crisis, 70, 74, 173, 175
cultural dimensions, 242–43, 301–102
dilemma for Muslim countries, 249, 312
education and, 210–12, 307–308
effects on autonomy, 76, 106–107, 147, 152, 313–16, 321–25
enabling government, 2, 81, 236, 302, 313, 323
equated with Westernization, 116, 243, 313
ethnic boundaries, 284
future prospects, 316
healthcare, 234–36, 308
key aspects of, 3–6, 301–302
“loss of autonomy” hypothesis, 1–2, 116
Malay nationalism, 284, 287, 290, 292, 293–94, 296–97
poverty reduction, 117, 119, 126, 133, 309–11
social disadvantages, 77–78, 116
spread of ideologies, 59, 302, 304
trade policies, 306–307
transnational threats posed by, 2, 73
unification vs. fragmentation, 243–44
Gomez, Edmund Terence, 88, 89, 91
gross domestic product (GDP)
Asian financial crisis, 69, 93, 146
exports and imports, 9, 159
fiscal deficit, 166
healthcare spending, 226, 237
manufacturing sector, 163
Ninth Malaysia Plan investments, 52
oil price shocks, 144
petroleum sector, 84, 314
public sector, 104
recessions, 145, 147
gross national product (GNP)
education spending, 193
foreign debt, 71
goal of Vision 2020, 17
healthcare spending, 227, 234
per capita increases, 16
Gurney, Sir Henry, 44
Guthrie Company, 67

H
Hamzah bin Abu Samah, 278
Harper, Tim, 280, 283
Harvard Institute for International Development, 14
Harvard University Development Advisory Service, 38, 46
Havana Charter, 161
healthcare
achievements, 218–19
economic growth, 226, 234, 308
emerging challenges, 220
export, 221–22, 229, 308
globalization, 234–36
private provision, 221, 223–24, 225, 308
public vs. private, 221–24, 229
rural areas, 13, 220, 231
traditional and alternative, 221, 230
see also private healthcare; public health sector
healthcare policies, 225–36
National Health Security Fund proposal, 231–32
neo-liberal influences, 233, 235
privatization and corporatization, 225, 228–31
reflected in spending, 226–28
regulation of private providers, 229
secrecy surrounding, 232, 234
traditional attitudes, 225
health insurance, 224, 229, 232
heavy industry sector
failure of, 84, 166, 315
Look East Policy and, 304, 313
state sponsorship of, 16, 322
see also HICOM (Heavy Industries Corporation of Malaysia)
Hefner, Robert, 284
Held, D.A., 160
Henderson, J., 27
HICOM (Heavy Industries Corporation of Malaysia)
financial losses, 91, 92, 166
Mahathir’s role, 47, 66, 86, 166, 304
privatization, 50
protection, 166, 167
trouble-shooting by non-
bumiputeras, 92
higher education
corporatization of universities, 198, 211
export, 193–94, 197, 308, 313
foreign accreditation, 205
growth of, 16, 19, 43, 46, 192
serving national needs, 43
subsidies and quotas for bumiputeras, 78, 204
unemployment among graduates, 206, 318
see also overseas students; private educational institutions
HIV-AIDS, 151, 220, 236
Hobson, J.M., 27, 29
Hong Kong, 63, 69, 93, 173, 178, 294
Hood Salleh, 292
Hoselitz, Bert, 46
housing, 89, 96, 139, 141–43, 151
hudud laws, 260, 263, 268
human rights, 4
Hurst, Jeff, 72

I
IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), 44, 148
immigration
agriculture, 140
illegal, 145, 150, 151, 310
impact on society, 151
labour shortages, 150
urban poverty, 151
wage pressure, 82, 150, 310
see also foreign workers
Implementation and Coordination Unit (ICU), 43
income inequality
intra-ethnic, 20, 105, 107
recommendations for addressing, 152–53
rural-urban, 34, 118
see also Gini coefficient; inter-ethnic income inequality
India
constitution, 260
G20 countries, 176
Islamic resurgence, 246, 247
Malaysian companies, 314
national planning, 43
providing competition, 20, 72, 73, 316
recent rise, 4
Indian Malaysians
education, 200–201, 202
poverty incidence, 125
resentment of pro-bumiputra policies, 80
socio-economic status, 12
status in Constitution, 13
see also non-bumiputeras
indigenous peoples, 4, 21, 25, 77, 102, 118, 282
Indonesia
Asian financial crisis, 19, 71
Confrontation, 44
corporatization of universities, 198
Islamic resurgence, 244, 246, 247–48
Malaysian companies, 314
nationalization policies, 61
Malay world, part of, 286
provide competition, 316
return of immigrants to, 146
student training, 46
tariff averages, 169
violence in Maluku, 248
Industrial and Technological Bank, 197
Industrial Coordination Act (ICA), 50
industrialization
dualistic structure, 165
Malay entrepreneurs, 275
master plans, 167, 304
reducing dependence on resource exports, 165
rural areas, 137
social effects, 132, 133–34, 152, 220
see also export-oriented growth; heavy industry sector; import substitution
Industrial Relations Act 1967, 149, 310
Industrial Revolution, 29
infant mortality, 219
infrastructure development, 79, 82, 96, 118
Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), 68
Integrated Agricultural Development Programmes (IADP), 134–35
“Integrated Schools” initiative, 202
intellectual property rights, 160, 168, 172
inter-ethnic income inequality education, 189
fixation on, 95
measures, 77, 97, 102–106
national objectives, 87, 101, 319
reasons for apparent gap, 102–105, 107
inter-ethnic incomes ratio (IIR) calculation, 102
misleading indicator, 102–105
ways to redefine, 104, 106, 109–110
Internal Security Act, 42, 257
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), 44, 148
international civil society, 3, 4
see also non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
International Islamic University, 18, 209, 253, 311
International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditions for making loans, 5
departures from advice, 147, 148, 152, 310
efforts to reform, 316
“growth first” ideology, 39
International Trade Organization, 161
tolerance of dissent, 257
intra-ethnic income inequality, 20, 105, 107
Investment Incentives Act (1968), 15, 164
Investments Promotion Act (1986), 50
Iran, 248, 262
Iranian revolution, 250
Iraq, 248
Ishak Shari, 126, 291
Iskandar Development Region (IDR), 52
Islam concept of ummah, 248
concepts of state and ruler, 258–60
division among Malays, 250
historical spread, 243
National Culture Policy, 278
national identity, 278, 289
national religion, as, 13, 249, 261
shari’a law, 18, 242, 254–55, 262, 311
Sunni vs. Shia, 248
West, in the, 241–42, 245
Islam Hadhari, 257, 264, 292
Islamic banking, 18, 253–54, 262, 310, 311
Islamic Councils, 143, 253
Islamic Development Bank, 148
Islamic education criticisms of, 209–210
demand for, 207–208, 308
Malay tradition, 189, 207–208
national education system, 210, 308, 311
national interests, 209–210, 212
Islamic Representative Council (IRC), 251
Islamic resurgence, 17, 241–65
anti-state movements within, 244
apostasy laws, 256
archaic character of, 258, 260
aspect of globalization, 241–43, 264, 314
cultural revivalism, 243
democracy, 256–57, 263
drive for Islamic statehood, 258–59
education policy, 190, 208, 308
embrace by northern states, 18, 311
future of, 317, 321
hudud laws, 260, 263, 268
Malay identity, 15, 17–18, 319
militant aspects, 246–48, 265, 317
national autonomy, 244, 311, 314
origins, 5, 242–49
post-colonial emergence, 243, 244
proselytizing nature, 262
response to mainstream globalization, 242–44, 245
university students, 247, 250
women, 256, 263
Islamic Salafism, 245, 246
Islamic Teachers’ College, 209
Islamic University College of Malaysia, 209
Islamization policies, 242, 251–65, 311–12, 319
Ismail Hussein, 281, 282, 286, 290, 293
Israel, 248

J

Jabatan Kemajuan Islam (JAKIM), 261
Japan
ASEAN + 3, 9
bilateral trade agreements, 178–81, 184
foreign direct investment, 83
impact of Asian financial crisis, 69
investment in Malaysia, 164–65, 314–15
Meiji period, 65, 67, 68–69
state role in economy, 27, 30
Japanese model of economic development
international vogue, 59, 64
key features, 63–64
Malaysians’ resistance to, 66, 69
public-private nature, 65
role of heavy industry, 65
Japanese Occupation, 12, 199
Japan Incorporated
model for Malaysia Incorporated, as, 59, 64, 74
public-private collaboration, 30, 68–69
Japan-Singapore Economic Partnership Agreement (JSEPA), 179
Jawi script, 209
JIM (Jemaah Islah Malaysia), 250–51
Jit, Krishen, 277
Johnson, Chalmers, 27, 29, 30, 31, 61, 65
Johor, 52, 73, 293
Jomo, K.S., 89, 138, 149
Joy, Lina, 267
judiciary, 42
K
Karol Consulting, 232
Kedah, 123, 140, 143, 250
Kelantan
control by PAS, 18, 19, 250, 259, 263
Islamic resurgence, 256
poverty incidence, 123, 140, 143
Kharas, Homi, 126, 133
Khazanah Nasional Berhad, 51, 70
Khoo Gaik Cheng, 297
Khoo Kay Kim, 277
Klang Valley, 220, 250
Knowledge Economy, 17, 192
Koizumi, Junichiro, 179
Korea, see South Korea
Korean War, 32
Kuala Lumpur, 73, 142, 220, 259
Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange, 88, 89–90, 96, 304
Kumpulan Penelitian Sosial (SRG), 288–90, 292, 293, 295

L
labor organization, 149–50
labour rights, 1, 4
laissez-faire policies
Mahathir’s indirect criticism of, 66
post-Independence, 13, 33, 61, 81, 118
promotion by Thatcher-Reagan school, 61–62
Tunku Abdul Rahman, under, 34, 35, 36
unsuitability in Malaysian context, 63
land reform
Korea, 32
Malaysia, 33, 34
Taiwan, 32
language policies, 5–6, 8–10, 13, 17
education system, 200–203, 205–207, 211–12
globalization, 212
national identity, 280
national unity, 190
see also individual languages
Latin America, 5
Lee, James, 297
Lee Poh Ping, 22, 303
legal system, 254, 255
see also shari’a law
legislature, 21
Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji, 253
Libya, 247
life expectancy, 80, 219
Like Minded Group, 175
Lim Teck Ghee, 90
London Stock Exchange, 67
Look East Policy (LEP), 59–74
adoption of, 16
Asian financial crisis, 69
Industrialization, part of, 47
New Economic Policy, 59, 73, 304
private investment, under, 50
rationales, 59–61
show of national autonomy, 74
student training in Japan, 68
varying interpretations, 67
“loss of autonomy” hypothesis, 1–2, 116
Low-Cost Housing Fund, 142

M
Mahani, Z.A., 180
Mahathir Mohamad
control of UMNO, 19
criticism of British and the West, 64, 66–67
declaration of Islamic statehood, 18, 258, 259–60
economic positioning, 47, 48, 59, 62–64, 303–304
education policies, 206–207, 211
globalization, 116
healthcare, 228
hopes for bumiputera business class, 91, 166, 283–84
Islamization policies, 242, 252, 253–54, 262, 311
Malay Dilemma, 280, 285
Malay nationalism, 281, 286, 287, 288
racial equality, 99
retirement, 19, 94, 264
Singapore, 64, 179
Vision 2020, 17, 51, 52, 87, 264–65, 281
visit to Japan, 179
Malay Cultural Congress, 281
Malay Dilemma, 280, 285
Malay land reservations, 13
Malay language
arts, 282, 283, 296
International Islamic University, 253
medium of instruction, 14, 196, 200–203, 205, 288, 307, 318
medium of national literature, 278–79, 281
national identity, 275, 281, 286
national language, 13, 210, 286
perceived corruption of, 293, 312
perceived marginalization of, 274, 290–91, 294, 312
presence of loanwords, 292
Malay middle class
attitudes to Malay culture, 274
creation, 16, 35, 133, 180, 251
education, 204–205, 212
employment preferences, 97
global consumer culture, 284
Islamic resurgence, 208, 251, 255, 264
preference for English, 291
Malay nationalism
Dr Mahathir, 281, 286, 287, 288
following 1969 race riots, 274
globalization, 284, 287, 290, 292, 293–94, 296–97
indigenous culture, 280, 281
Malay Dilemma, 280
racially polarizing effects, 289–90
Malay Nationalist Party (PKMM), 13
Malays
ethnic and religious identity, 12, 245, 249, 292
Islamic resurgence, 18, 250
pressure for affirmative action, 102
resettlement through FELDA, 33, 38
socio-economic status, 12, 102
special status in Constitution, 13
urbanization, 99, 102
see also affirmative action policies; bumiputeras; Malay middle class
Malaysia
bilateral trade agreements, 179–82, 184, 316
defence agreements, 36
economic profile, 9, 86–87, 95–97
expansion of federation, 44
historical development, 117–19
international role, 9–10, 175–77
political system, 10, 12
Malaysia Airlines Bhd (MAS), 50, 51
Malaysia Incorporated
Asian financial crisis, 60, 69, 74
Japanese model for, 47, 59, 68
market-friendly state intervention, 60, 64, 74
private investment under, 50
Malaysia Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (MJEPA), 179–81
Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute (MARDI), 148
Malaysian Business Council, 283
Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), 10, 13, 197, 200
Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), 10, 13, 197
Malaysian International Shipping Corporation (MISC), 50
Malaysian Medical Association, 223, 226, 231, 232
Malaysian Trade Union Congress, 150
Malaysian University English Test (MUET), 205, 206
Malaysia-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, 181
Malay World Meeting, 285–86, 312
Mandal, Sumit K., 24, 312
Mandarin language, 199, 200, 201, 202
manufacturing sector, 132–34, 163, 165, 167
see also export-oriented growth; state-owned enterprises
MARA Institute of Technology, 204
Marshall Plan, 43
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 46
medical tourism, 221–22, 229, 234
Meerman, Jacob, 22, 306
Mehmet, Ozay, 38
Melaka, 12, 285, 286, 312
Merican, Malek, 94
micro-credit loans, 142
Middle East, 5, 241, 256
Millennium Development Goals, 151
Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, 148
Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, 278, 312
Ministry of Education, 83, 207
Ministry of Health, 223, 224, 225, 229, 231
Ministry of Information, 261
Ministry of International Trade and Industry of Japan (MITI), 30, 65, 68
Ministry of International Trade and Industry of Malaysia (MITI), 68, 173, 175
Ministry of National Unity and Social Development, 143
Ministry of Public Enterprises, 92
Mohd. Affandi Hassan, 278–80
monarchy, 12, 37
Morocco, 249
Muhammad Ikmal, 284, 296
Multimedia Super Corridor, 73
Multimedia University, 197
Musa, M. Bakri, 205
Muslim Brotherhood, 246–47
Muslim Professional Forum (MPF), 251
Muslims, see Islam
Mustapa Mohamed, 116
Myanmar, 227

N
Nair, Sheila, 293, 296
Najib Tun Razak, 72
Nash, Manning, 46
National Accreditation Bill, 197
national autonomy
Asian financial crisis, 60, 70, 74
concept, 30–31, 325–28
constraints on, 6–9
developmentalism, 31, 315
globalization in Malaysia, 313–16
Look East Policy as example of, 74, 304
neo-liberalism, 72–73
poverty reduction, 147–49, 152
religious and cultural issues, 245, 255
trade liberalization, 159–84
National Consultative Council, 40
National Council on Higher Education Act 1996, 196
National Culture Congress, 277, 281
National Culture Policy (NCP) alternatives to, 289–90
anti-colonial rationale, 286–87
exclusionary, essentialist nature, 279–80, 282, 295
formulation, 273
Mohd. Affandi, 278, 279
national identity, 274, 312
protests by Indian and Chinese groups, 285, 286
reaction to cultural globalization, 275
response to 1969 race riots, 274
views of non-bumiputeras, 275, 282, 295
national development plans
Draft Development Plan (1950–55), 44
First Malaya Plan (1956–60), 44
First Malaysia Plan (1966–70), 44, 49
Second Malaya Plan (1961–65), 44, 163
Second Malaysia Plan (1971–75), 40, 44, 49, 148
Third Malaysia Plan (1976–80), 49, 148
Fourth Malaysia Plan (1981–85), 49, 231
Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991–95), 142
Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996–2000), 126, 142, 228, 231
Eighth Malaysia Plan (2001–05), 119, 126, 151
Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006–10), 19, 44, 52, 72, 103, 126, 212, 310
poverty eradication, 126, 141
National Economic Action Council (NEAC), 147
National Education Policy, 253
National Front, see Barisan Nasional (BN)
National Health Security Fund, 226, 231
national identity
arts and culture, 274, 313
inclusionary visions of, 288–90
lack of open discussion, 295
Malay culture as basis for, 275, 313
rojak or mixed nature of, 291
unresolved conundrum of, 276, 294, 319
National Integrity Plan, 52, 292, 320
nationalism
development-based, 30, 31, 35, 41
inclusionary, 288, 289, 290, 296
see also Bangsa Malaysia; Malay nationalism
National Operations Council (NOC), 35, 37, 40, 41
National Paddy Board, 138
National Planning Board, 45
nation-building, 31, 35, 290–92, 295
natural resource exports
decreasing reliance, 118, 165
fall in prices, 8, 49, 144, 166, 315
role in economy, 13, 34, 85, 303
Nelson, Joan M., 23, 308, 318
neo-liberalism
alternatives to, 63, 73–74
international policy theme, 4–5, 59–63, 304
interpretations of, 5
Malaysia’s adherence to, 10, 47
state intervention within, 73, 74, 304
worldwide triumph of, 70–73
see also Thatcher-Reagan school
New Economic Policy (NEP)
achievements of, 16–17, 79–80, 94
capital participation requirements, 88
content, 78–79
foreign direct investment, 62–63, 72
foundational ideas, 38–39, 303, 305–306
government’s adherence, 71–72
Malay culture, 291
Ninth Malaysia Plan, 72
relaxation of rules, 50, 73, 82
Rukunegara, 41
social goals, 11, 14, 28, 61, 78, 118
stakes involved, 108
state intervention, part of, 28, 45–48, 60–61, 71–72
New Zealand, 36, 46, 181
Nilam Puri Islamic Higher Education Foundation, 209
Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006–10) capital investment, 52 comment on ethnic relations, 20 education targets, 19, 202, 212 emphasis on redistribution, 72 health sector projections, 222 poverty reduction, 20, 152, 310 non-bumiputeras capital participation requirements and, 79, 88 de facto admissions quotas for, 83, 195–96, 201, 211 emigration, 93 National Culture Policy, 280 poverty incidence, 123 resentment of discrimination, 80 sub-contracting for bumiputeras, 89, 91 traditional economic roles, 100 viewed as immigrants, 275, 282, 287, 291, 295, 312 non-financial public enterprises (NFPEs), 144 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) Muslim, 255, 264 poverty reduction efforts, 142 strong credibility of, 175 views on trade, 173–74, 176, 182 Norani Othman, 23, 311

O oil and gas sector fall in prices, 49 good management, 71 recent finds, 317 revenues, 42, 49, 84, 314 see also Petronas (Perbadanan Petroliam Nasional) oil palm, 78, 139, 146 see also palm oil Onn bin Jaafar, 293 Operasi Isi Penuh, 144 Orang Asli, 219 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 9 Organization of Islamic countries, 10 overseas students brain-drain, risk of, 196 Britain, 46, 67, 246, 251 Chinese and non-Malay, 201, 204 conduit of Islamic resurgence, 17, 246–47, 251 depreciating Ringgit, 196 national planning, 46, 68

privatization process, 51
threat to nation, 53, 94, 107, 316
Penang, 12, 182
People’s Action Party (PAP), 29
Pepinsky, Thomas, 71
Perak, 256
per capita income, 19
PERKIM, 253
Perlis, 123, 140
Permodalan Nasional Berhad (PNB),
47, 67, 70
Pernas and subsidiaries, 88–89
Perodua, 180
Perwaja, 47, 92
petroleum sector, see oil and gas sector
Petronas (Perbadanan Petroliam
Nasional)
bailouts for Bank Bumiputra, 84, 92
 bumiputera management, 91
establishment, 42
privatization, 50
sponsorship of universities, 197
success, 47, 49
Petronas Dagangan (Commerce) Bhd, 50
Philippines, 145, 169, 226, 286
Phillips, William T., 45
PKPIM (Persatuan Kebangsaan
Pelajar-pelajar Islam
Malaysia), 250
Plaza Accord of 1985, 167, 315, 328
Police Act 1967, 257
political parties, 10, 12–13
political system, 10, 12
population
ethnic makeup, 12, 25, 102
increase, 228, 235
infant mortality, 219
life expectancy, 80, 219
totals, 9, 150, 163
urban-rural distribution, 12, 16, 19, 77, 79, 109
poverty incidence
class nature of, 126
ethnic patterns, 118–19
immigration, 151
measurements, 122
rural vs. urban, 119–22, 134, 144, 145, 151
state, by, 123
poverty line income (PLI), 122, 153
poverty reduction efforts
basic amenities, provision of, 141–42
constraints on, 147–48
foreign loans, 148–49
globalization, 116–54
Malay community, 80
national planning, 126
New Economic Policy, 14, 16, 28, 119
regional planning, 134–35
role of education, 132
role of NGOs, 142
rural areas, 94, 134–41, 309
unintended consequences, 134, 138
zakat, 143
Prime Minister’s Department
decision-making structure, 21
determining salaries, 223
economic planning, 38, 39, 45, 46
English-educated elite, 43
globalization study team, 173
HICOM (Heavy Industries
Corporation of Malaysia), 66
Printing Presses and Publications
Act 1984, 257
private educational institutions
curricular requirements, 197
government response, 196–97
liberalization, 171
non-bumiputeras, 83, 195–96, 201, 211
rapid growth, 195
private healthcare
demand for, 220, 222, 235
doctors, flow of 223
foreign ownership of, 235
growth, 221
patronage, 233
regulation, 229
state policies, 225, 228–30
Private Higher Educational Institutions Act 1996, 171, 196
Private Hospitals Act 1971, 229
private sector
Chinese dominance, 40
economic role, 50, 76, 95, 96, 118
employment, 97, 107, 205, 224
government, 10, 32, 35, 88, 225, 235
growth, engine of, 16, 145
reform pressure from, 52
trade talks, 177
see also private educational institutions; private healthcare
Privatization Master Plan 1991, 225
Promotion of Investments Act 1986, 145, 167
Proton Holdings, 47–48, 92, 180
public debt, 49, 92, 144
public expenditure
cut backs, 145
education, 194, 210
growth of, 49, 144
health, 226–28, 235
state-owned enterprises, 49
Public Health Declaration, 172
public health sector
citizens’ reliance, 222
fiscal burden, 218, 225, 226–28, 235, 308–309
partial privatization, 223–24, 230–31
services, 219, 220–21, 231, 234
staffing issues, 222–23, 235
public-private collaboration, 30, 45, 50, 64, 65
public sector
bumiputera employment, 97–99, 104, 107, 147
contracts for bumiputeras, 79, 89
downsizing, 145
economic role, 76, 95, 235
inefficiencies, 147–48, 319, 320
non-bumiputera sub-contractors, 89, 91
owning market-driven firms, 61, 96
share of employment, 104, 144, 319
trends in capacity, 320
wage levels, 104, 235, 320
see also civil service; corruption
Public Services Department, 223, 231
Public Works Department (PWD), 148
PUTERA-AMCJA coalition, 13, 25
Puthucheary, James, 38
race riots of 1969
causes, 14, 34, 118, 134
responses to, 14–15, 34–37, 164, 274, 288
Rafidah Aziz, 179
Ragayah Haji Mat Zin, 22, 126, 305, 309–311
Rasiah, Rajah, 149
Razak Committee, 200
Reagan, Ronald, 61
Reformasi protests, 318
Revolving Fund for Low-Cost Housing, 142
rice cultivation, 79, 118, 137–39
Ringgit
appreciation, 166, 316
depreciation, 145, 146, 196
devaluation, 93
pegged to U.S. dollar, 147, 166, 310
undervaluation, 323
Robertson, A.F., 41
Rostow, Walt, 46
Rowland, Kathy, 282
Rubber Industry Smallholder Development Authority (RISDA), 139
rubber sector
control and ownership, 33, 34
falling prices, 8, 49, 163
poverty among smallholders, 139
protection, 163
reliance on exports, 13, 34, 85, 118
taxes, 146
workers, 12, 20, 200
Rukunegara (national ideology)
expression of inclusionary nationalism, 41, 51, 274, 287, 289
formulation, 276–77
and national identity, 276, 292, 312
rural development, 118
S
Sabah
education in, 194
entrance into federation, 13
healthcare provisions, 220
poverty incidence, 20, 123, 144, 145
Sadat, Anwar, 247
Saniman, Rais, 39
Sarajevo, 248
Sarawak
discovery of oil, 15
education, 194
entrance into federation, 13
healthcare provisions, 220
poverty incidence, 123, 144, 145
Saudi Arabia, 246, 247
science and technology, 17, 41, 46, 192, 212
Second Industrial Master Plan, 304
Second Malaya Plan (1961–65), 44, 163
Second Malaysia Plan (1971–75), 40, 44, 49, 148
Sedition Act 1948, 257
Selangor, 140, 143
Seventh Malaysia Plan (1996–2000), 126, 142, 228, 231
Sewell, J., 175
shari’a law, 18, 242, 254–55, 262, 311
Shia Islam, 248
Shireen Mardziah Hashim, 126
Sierra Leone, 141
Sime Bank, 93
Sinclair, Emily, 116
Singapore
bilateral trade agreements, 178–79
corporatization of universities, 198
efficiency, 64, 319
emigration of labour, 150
expulsion from federation, 13
healthcare expenditures, 226, 228
issues, 173, 176–77, 183
“Learn from Japan” campaign, 64
Malay world, part of, 286
state vs. government, 29
top ranking by World Bank, 69
WTO Ministerial Conference, 173, 177
Sity Daud, 28
Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991–95), 142
Skim Pembangunan Kesejahteraan Rakyat (SPKR), 141
social policies and globalization, 1, 27, 76, 116, 301
Social Security Organization (SOCSO), 224
Societies Act 1966, 257
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 36
Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR), 178
South Korea
ASEAN + 3, 9
economical model, 16, 33, 66, 67, 68, 165
foreign direct investment, 83
land reform, 32
Soviet Union, 4, 77
Special Scheme for Low and Medium Cost Houses, 142
SPM (Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia), 194
Sports Toto (M) Bhd, 50
squatter settlements, 142, 219
SRG (Kumpulan Penelitian Sosial), 288–90, 292, 293, 295
Sri Lanka, 286
state, 28–29, 35
state intervention
attacked by neo-liberals, 61–62
Asian financial crisis, effect of, 60
foreign aid, 149
foreign investment, 70, 71, 72
inter-ethnic income inequality, 76
Japanese model, 63–64
key to developmentalism, 30
muting globalization’s effects, 73
New Economic Policy, 45, 86
policy-making, 37–38
response to 1969 race riots, 35
see also developmentalism in Malaysia
state of emergency in 1969, 35
state-owned enterprises (SOE)
downsizing, 48–49
employment for Malays, 60
expansion, 48–49, 61
fiscal deficits, 166
inefficiency, 60, 65
losses incurred, 92
privatization, 50, 65–66, 86
Statistics Department, 39
steel sector
within HICOM, 47, 66, 86, 166
import substitution, 16
protection, 167, 169, 180, 183
Sudan, 248
Sunni Islam, 248
Sutherland, P., 175
Sweden, 323
Syariah Criminal Ordinances and Acts (SCOA), 254
Syria, 256
T
Taiwan, 16, 32, 67, 68, 83
Talib Report, 200, 208
Tamil language, 200, 202
Tamils, 12, 20, 200–201, 275
Tan Chui Mui, 297
Tan Sooi Beng, 283
taxation
alternative proposals, 233
business, 82
efficiency of collection, 42
petroleum revenues, 84
rubber and oil palm, 146
social security, 82
technological expertise
education and, 192, 196
goal of increasing, 20
intellectual property rights, 172–73
shortfall in, 9, 17, 43, 150–51
training at foreign universities, 46
Telecoms, 91, 197
Tenaga Nasional Berhad (TNB), 51, 91, 197
Terengganu
control by PAS, 18, 250
healthcare provisions, 220
Islamic resurgence, 256
poverty incidence, 123, 140
terrorism, 242
Thailand
Asian financial crisis, 19, 71
bilateral trade agreements, 179
bureaucratic efficiency, 319
corporatization of universities, 198
healthcare expenditures, 226
Malay world, part of, 286
tariff averages, 169
Tham Siew Yean, 23, 306, 316, 318
Thatcher, Margaret, 61, 67
Thatcher-Reagan school
attack on state intervention, 59, 61–62
Mahathir’s response to, 62–63, 65–66, 73–74
see also neo-liberalism
Third Malaysia Plan (1976–80), 49, 148
Third World Network, 173
Thong Yaw Hong, 45
tin sector
control and ownership, 33, 34
deposits, 117
fall in prices, 8, 49, 166, 315
reliance on exports, 13, 34, 85, 118
Todd, Patricia, 149
Tokyo Round of GATT talks, 161–62
tourism sector, 9
trade liberalization
and automotive sector, 171–72
domestic consensus-building, 182
domestic regulations, effect on, 160, 161–62, 175–76
future of, 178
Malaysia’s early start, 159
national autonomy, 159–84
negotiating capacity, 171, 175
NGOs, 173–74
“paradigm shift”, 175, 177
trade policies, 159–84
export promotion, 164–65, 167–68
globalization impact, 306–307
move to bilateral agreements, 178–84
tariff protections, 163, 169–70
Uruguay Round onwards, 168–78
before WTO establishment, 163–68
traditional and complementary medicine, 221, 230
Transparency International, 2, 52, 53, 320
Treasury, 39
tuberculosis, 220
Tunisia, 249
Turkey, 260
tutor, 195
TV3, 51
U
ummah, 246, 248
UMNO, see United Malays National Organization (UMNO)
UMNO Youth, 293
unemployment
age distribution, 34, 164
among graduates, 206
Asian financial crisis, 146
decrease between 1986 and 1990, 145
ethnic distribution, 34
industrial development, 163–64
insurance, 225
Union of National Writers’
Associations of Malaysia
(GAPENA), 281, 293
unions, 82, 107, 149, 310
UNITAR, 197
United Kingdom, see Britain
United Malays National Organization (UMNO)
Barisan Nasional, dominance of, 15
decision-making structure, 21
developmentalism, 35
education and, 197, 200
factional conflict within, 19
formation, 13
hostility to laissez faire policies, 63
influence of ABIM, 252
Islamic resurgence, 18, 251, 252, 262–64
PAS, 255, 260, 263
patronage, 80, 87, 91, 93, 316
post-Independence role, 10
United Nations, 3, 5, 10, 52
United Nations Development Programme, 232
United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 15, 164
United Nations Opex Scheme, 45
United States bilateral trade agreements, 178, 181–82, 236, 318
corporatization of universities, 198
defence agreements with Malaysia, 36
Korean and Vietnam Wars, 32
Malaysian students, 46, 246
Muslim minority, 241–42
occupational clustering by ethnicity, 100
Reagan, under, 61
role in Southeast Asia, 36
support of Israel, 248
trade negotiations, 176
war in Iraq, 248
war on terror, 248
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), 28, 206, 209, 281, 288, 292
University Act, 253
University of Chicago, 46
University of Malaya ethnic composition of student body, 204, 206
Faculty of Malay Studies, 281
Islamic studies, 209
language policies, 203, 206
National Culture Policy, 277
sole university prior to 1969, 192
UPM (Universiti Putra Malaysia), 206
urban middle class, 220, 222, 235, 291
see also Malay middle class
Uruguay, 178
Uruguay Round of GATT talks developing countries, 169, 176
domestic policy space, 169–73, 180–81
non-tariff barriers, 160
USM (Science University of Malaysia), 206
UTM (Universiti Teknologi Malaysia), 206
UUM (Universiti Utara Malaysia), 206
Vietnam, 20, 226, 314, 316, 319
Vietnam War, 32
Vision 2020 Bangsa Malaysia, 283
critical response, 290–91, 293
Dr Mahathir, 17, 51, 52, 87, 264–65
national identity, 276
“Vision Schools” programme, 202
Vogel, Ezra, 65
wages educated labour, 82, 133–34, 167
globalization, effect of, 106–107, 310
immigration, 82, 310
reflection of social value, 99
rise in, 150
tariff protections, 163
Wan Zahidi bin Wan Teh, 261
“Washington Consensus,” 70, 77
Webb, Michael, 116
Weiner, D., 175
Weiss, L., 27, 29
INDEX

Wheelwright, E.L., 38
women
   education, 132
   Islamic resurgence, 256, 263
workforce
   education and training, 82,
      132–34, 143, 190, 192–93
   ethnic distributions and affinities, 97–100
   immigration, 150–51
   women, 86, 132
World Bank
   aid and advice to Malaysia, 13, 15, 148, 163, 310
   competitiveness indicators, 53
   conditions for making loans, 5
   equity and growth, emphasis on, 73
   export promotion, 164
   focus on good governance, 4, 52
   “growth first” ideology, 39
   IBRD as forerunner of, 44
   ranking of Malaysia, 69
World Competitiveness Index, 320
World Health Organization (WHO), 234
World Trade Organization (WTO)
   anti-corruption stance, 52
   broadening negotiations, 4, 160, 168
developing countries’
   dissatisfaction, 175, 176
   establishment, 159–60, 168–69
   single undertaking approach, 168, 183
   tariffs, restraints on, 306
WTO Ministerial Conferences
   Cancun, 173, 176, 177
   Doha, 173, 176, 177–78, 182, 183
   Geneva, 173, 177
   Hong Kong, 173, 178
   Seattle, 173, 175, 176
   Singapore, 173, 177

Y
Yayasan Basmi Kemiskinan, 143
“Yellow Book”, see Draft Development Plan (1950–55)
Yu Keping, 116

Z
Zainal Aznam Yusof, 126
Zainal Kling, 287, 293
za'kat, 143, 154, 262
Zawawi Ibrahim, 281–82, 294
Zoellick, Robert, 178
Zulkifly Osman, 149