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# DOMINATION<sup>AND</sup> CONTESTATION

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# DOMINATION <sup>AND</sup> CONTESTATION

*Muslim Bumiputera Politics in Sarawak*

FAISAL S. HAZIS



INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

*Singapore*

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# PREFACE

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This book is a revised and updated version of my PhD thesis submitted to Universiti Sains Malaysia in 2008. It analyses the political domination of the Muslim *bumiputera* in Sarawak, focusing on the period between 1970 and 2006. The book also draws attention to the most recent development in Sarawak politics particularly the historic 2008 elections which are highlighted in the Postscript.

The idea behind this study was sparked by the need to fill the knowledge vacuum on Muslim *bumiputera* politics that had been left unattended for so long. Since most of the literature on Muslim *bumiputera* politics covered the colonial and post-Independence period, this study analyses political change among the community beyond the corresponding period. At the same time, this study aims to contribute to the ongoing debate on state power in Malaysia especially its capabilities to dominate society. While much of the existing literature tends to focus on the overwhelming power of the state, this study argues that the state has to occasionally accommodate various social forces which subsequently lead to changes in society and the state itself. This strategy would safeguard the state's position in society but paradoxically weaken its authority.

Since the literature on Muslim *bumiputera* politics in Sarawak is relatively sparse, this study had to rely heavily on documentary evidence such as government gazettes, local newspapers and government documents as a major source of information. In analysing the Muslim *bumiputera's* voting trend, this study utilized the electoral data published by the Election Commission of Malaysia. This was complemented by referring to secondary sources, books and journals, on Sarawak politics and on Muslim *bumiputera* politics specifically.

In the course of completing this book, several individuals and institutions had guided, supported and inspired me. My greatest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Dr Francis Loh Kok Wah, for setting ambitious goals and constantly pushing me to achieve them. I am also grateful to Professor Dr Johan Saravanamuttu for his kind advice during the early stage of my study. In Sarawak, I must thank my colleagues at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak for their support and encouragement. The staff at the Sarawak Museum Library were helpful with archival documents. I am

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*Faisal S. Hazis*  
*Faculty of Social Sciences*  
*Universiti Malaysia Sarawak*

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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ABIM	Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia
AFO	Area Farmers' Organization
APU	Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah
ASPA	Ancient Sarawak Politico-Cultural Area
AZAM	Angkatan Zaman Mansang
BARJASA	Parti Barisan Anak Jati Sarawak
BERJASA	Barisan Jamaah Islamiah SeMalaysia
BDA	Bintulu Development Authority
BERASA	Parti Bersatu Rakyat Jelata Sarawak
<i>bilek</i>	household
BINA	Angkatan Nahdatul Islam Bersatu
BMA	British Military Administration
BN	Barisan Nasional
<i>bomohism</i>	shamanism
BPA	Brunei Politico-Cultural Area
BRIMAS	Borneo Research Institute
Bumiputera	Parti Bumiputera Sarawak
<i>ceramah</i>	public speech
CHMS	Chung Hua Middle School
CMSB	Cahaya Mata Sarawak Berhad
CWC	Central Working Committee
DAP	Democratic Action Party
EC	Election Commission
EPU	Economic Planning Unit
FELDA	Federal Land Development Authority
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
Gerakan	Parti Gerakan Malaysia
HIKMAH	Harakah Islamiah
IADP	Integrated Agriculture Development Program
IGC	Inter-Governmental Committee
IIUM	International Islamic University of Malaysia
IKIM	Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia
IPF	Indian Progressive Front
ISA	Internal Security Act

ISTAC	International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization
JAIS	Jabatan Agama Islam Sarawak
<i>jajahan</i>	district
JAKIM	Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia
JKKK	Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Kampung
JPUNS	Jawatankuasa Penaja UMNO Negeri Sarawak
Keadilan	Parti Keadilan Malaysia
KEMAS	Jabatan Kemajuan Masyarakat
LCDA	Land Consolidation Development Authority
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
MARA	Majlis Amanah Rakyat
MAS	Malaysian Airline System
MCA	Malaysian Chinese Association
MENGOS	Malaysia Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations
MIC	Malaysian Indian Congress
MIDA	Malaysian Industrial Development Authority
MISC	Malaysian International Shipping Corporation
MNU	Malay National Union
MP	Member of Parliament
MRCS	Malaysia Red Crescent Society
MRP	Minor Rural Project
MSE	Malaysia Shipyard and Engineering Berhad
NAFAS	National Farmers Organization
<i>naik pangkat</i>	promotion
NEAC	National Economic Advisory Council
NDP	New Development Policy
NEGARA	Parti Negara Rakyat Sarawak
<i>negeri</i>	state
NEP	New Economic Policy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NVP	National Vision Policy
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PAJAR	Parti Anak Jati Sarawak
PANAS	Parti Negara Sarawak
PARAKU	Pasokan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara
PAS	Parti Islam SeMalaysia
PBB	Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu
PBDS	Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak
PBS	Parti Bersatu Sabah

PELITA	Lembaga Pembangunan dan Lindungan Tanah
<i>perentab</i>	government
PERKATA	Persatuan Kanak-Kanak Terencat Akal
PERKIM	Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia
PERMAS	Parti Persatuan Rakyat Malaysia Sarawak
PERNAS	Perbadanan Nasional Berhad
PESAKA	Parti Pesaka Anak Sarawak
PETRONAS	Petroleum Nasional Berhad
PIMU	Project Implementation Monitoring Unit
PKR	Parti Keadilan Rakyat
PNRS	Parti Negara Rakyat Sarawak
POD	Politics of Development
PPP	People's Progressive Party
PRB	Parti Rakyat Brunei
PRS	Parti Rakyat Sarawak
PRM	Parti Rakyat Malaysia
RASCOM	Rejang Area Security Command
RELA	Ikatan Relawan Malaysia
<i>reformasi</i>	reform
RES	Rural Electricity Scheme
RHB	Rashid Hussein Bank
RISDA	Rubber Industry Smallholders Development Authority
RISEAP	Regional Islamic Organization of South East Asia and Pacific
RM	Ringgit Malaysia
RPR	Rancangan Perumahan Rakyat
RTM	Radio Televisyen Malaysia
RGC	Rural Growth Centre
SALCRA	Sarawak Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority
SAPO	Sarawak People's Party
SBN	Sarawak Barisan Nasional
SCA	Sarawak Chinese Association
SDA	Sarawak Dayak Association
SDI	Sarawak Development Institute
SEDC	State Economic Development Corporation
<i>semangat</i>	spirit of life
SNAP	Sarawak National Party
SPA	Sabah-Sulu Politico-Cultural Area
SPDP	Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party
SPrU	Special Project Unit

SPU	State Planning Unit
STAR	State Reform Party
STU	Sarawak Teachers Union
SUCA	Sarawak United Chinese Association
SUPP	Sarawak United People's Party
<i>surau</i>	house of prayer
TGM	Triennial General Meeting
TM	Telekom Malaysia
<i>tuan</i>	master
TNB	Tenaga Nasional Berhad
UDA	Urban Development Authority
UMAT	Parti Umat Sarawak
UMNO	United Malays National Organization
UPM	Universiti Putra Malaysia
USNA	United Sarawak Natives Association
WARISAN	Parti Warisan Pribumi Sarawak
<i>wazir</i>	minister