

## INDEX

---

### A

- Aaron Ago Dagang, 226nn6, 7
- Abang Abu Bakar Abang Mustapha  
 cabinet posts, 119, 147  
 development projects, 145, 147  
 PBB and, 99, 126, 134, 149n7,  
 160–61  
 Sarawak UMNO and, 160, 165  
 WARISAN and, 158, 160
- Abang Adi, 205n21
- Abang Ahmad Urai, 129, 135, 149n7
- Abang Bueng Abang Amin, 265n11
- Abang Draup Abang Zain, Dr, 135,  
 240, 241, 265n13
- Abang Haji Ali, 149n7
- Abang Haji Narawi Haji Mohd, 122
- Abang Haji Openg Abang Sapiee, Tun,  
 69n18, 76
- Abang Haji Osman Datuk Amar Haji  
 Marzuki, 135
- Abang Han Abang Ahmad, 75
- Abang Ikhwan Zaini, 79
- Abang Johari Tun Abang Haji Openg  
 cabinet posts, 132, 137, 145, 153,  
 191, 192, 205(nn18, 19)  
 in PBB leadership contest, 160–61  
 political rise, 119, 129, 148n4  
 as potential successor to Taib,  
 207–208, 209  
 vice-presidency of PBB, 134
- Abang Kirprawi Haji Mohd Fauzi,  
 Haji, 122
- Abang Kuley, 205n21
- Abang Mustapha, Datu Bandar, 75,  
 165
- Abang Yusof Abang Abdul Razak, 240
- Abang Yusuf Puteh, 35, 85, 102, 106,  
 139, 155
- Abdul Aziz Shamsuddin, 246
- Abdul Gapur, Datu Patinggi, 265n15
- Abdul Kadir Hassan, Ustaz, 75, 79
- Abdul Kadir Merican, 265n11
- Abdul Mumin, Sultan, 28
- Abdul Rahman Al-Haj, Tunku  
 appointments in Sarawak  
 government, 69n18, 76  
 formation of Malaysia and, 12, 33,  
 75  
 1970 elections and, 111n8  
 Ningkan's ouster and, 109n1  
 retirement from PERKIM, 204n14  
 UMNO presidential contest,  
 149n11
- Abdul Rahman Embong, 40, 41, 62,  
 69n20, 161
- Abdul Rahman Hamzah, 149n7, 156
- Abdul Rahman Junaidi, Dr, 240
- Abdul Rahman Yakub  
 appointment as chief minister, 7,  
 34, 72, 78, 81, 82, 206, 270  
 background, 78–79  
 BN3 portrayal of, 138–39  
 communists and, 94  
 development projects, 245  
 electoral defeat, 116, 139  
 founding of BARJASA and PANAS,  
 75, 79, 268  
 Malay agenda, 85–86  
 opposition to, 90–91, 107  
 relations with central state, 83,  
 84–85, 92–93, 95, 113, 118,  
 167

- relationship with Taib, 13, 124–25, 271  
 relationship with Tunku, 76, 80  
 retirement, 100, 106, 114, 206, 220  
 Sarawak DAP and, 91  
 as strongman-politician, 82, 96–106, 141, 270
- Abdul Razak, Tun, 85, 92, 107, 206
- Abdul Taib Mahmud, Pehin Sri  
 1983 and 1987 elections, 128, 139  
 accommodative measures, 156–57, 170  
 accumulation of wealth, 119–20  
*bomohism* charge, 129–30  
 Bumiputera party and, 79, 80  
 continental shelf issue, 92  
 control of Sarawak politics, 163–64, 166–67, 171, 201–202  
 expansion of civil service, 196–201  
 founding of BARJASA and, 75, 268  
 Keadilan and, 163  
 Malay agenda, 167–68  
 Ming Court Affair, 13, 56  
 path to chief ministership, 34, 113, 114  
 PBB and, 98, 100  
 personal background, 114–16  
 political rise, 80, 116–19  
 presidency of PERKIM, 204n14  
 Rahman Yakub and, 108, 124–25, 271  
 relations with central state, 35, 130, 157, 167, 202, 207, 210, 219  
 repressive measures, 154–56, 170  
 retirement, 160, 207–209, 224  
*see also* development politics
- Abdul Wahab Aziz, 139
- Abdullah Badawi, Tun, 202, 208, 210, 211, 215, 278, 280
- Abdullah Mohamed Nor, 149n7
- ABIM (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia), 163, 204n16
- Abit Angkin, Penghulu, 257
- Abok, Penghulu, 81
- Abu Samah Mohamad, 258
- accommodation, 18, 65, 108, 267, 269
- Adai, B.R., 102
- Adenan Satem  
 in 2006 election, 238  
 cabinet posts, 137, 153, 191, 205(nn18, 19), 225n3, 246  
 in continental shelf issue, 92  
 in PBB leadership, 132, 134, 135, 149n7, 160–61  
 political rise, 225n3  
 as potential successor to Taib, 207–209, 280  
 in Taib's political strategy, 168
- Aeria, Andrew, 10, 11, 12, 14, 120, 203n7
- Affendy Michael, 178
- agricultural sector, 182, 185
- Ahmad Lukman Aba, 240
- Ahmad Som, 265n7
- Ahmad Zaidi Adure, Tun, 130
- Aisah Zainab Mahmud, 114
- Ajibah Abol, 239
- Alfred Jabu, 99, 100, 125, 132, 153, 204n17, 205(nn18, 19), 208
- Ali, Datu Patinggi, 27
- Ali Mahmud, 209
- Ali Rustam, 281
- Alli Kawi, 91, 106, 122
- Ambrose Blikau, 135, 137, 149n7
- Ambrose Gramong, 122
- Andrew Jipam Nayok, 264n6
- Angkalom Latib, Penghulu, 257
- Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM), 163, 204n16
- Angkatan Nahdatul Islam Bersatu (BINA), 86, 204n16
- Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah (APU), 157
- Angkatan Zaman Mansang (AZAM), 151n13

- Annuar Razak, Haji, 135  
 Anwar Ibrahim, 14, 162, 163, 168,  
     218, 222, 249, 281  
 Arab Sharifs, 61, 110n2  
 Arin, Penghulu, 257  
 Awang Alak Betatar, 25  
 Awang Asmadi Awang Ahmad,  
     265n10  
 Awang Hipni, 117  
 Awang Tengah Ali Hasan, 161, 168,  
     196, 279  
 Aziz Hussein, 151n13, 168
- B**
- Baharuddin Mokhsen, 240  
 Bahasa Malaysia, 68n17, 84, 167  
 Bahteri, Sultan, 25  
 Baidi Saini, 261  
 Baitul-Mal, 190  
 Baitul-Mal and Wakaf Board, 191  
 Bajau, 187  
 Bako
  - demographics, 229, 232
  - development politics and, 242
  - employment structure, 233, 243,  
     264n2
  - income levels, 236
  - pemancha*, 256
  - satisfaction with government, 252
- Balan Lejau, Penghulu, 257  
 Balia Munir, Haji, 132  
 Bampfylde, C.A., 3–4, 66n3  
 Bank Utama, 225n1  
 Banyang, Pengarah, 257  
 Baring-Gould, S., 3–4  
 Barisan Alternatif, 162  
 Barisan Jamaah Islamiah Se Malaysia  
     (BERJASA), 157  
 Barisan Nasional (BN)
  - challenges from other parties,  
     157–58, 275–82
  - component parties, 88–89
  - demands on chief minister, 83, 167,  
     270
  - in elections, 2, 3, 127, 162
  - history in Sarawak, 1
  - political dominance, 152, 167
  - Sarawak's importance to, 281
  - vote-buying, 14, 173
  - see also* SBN (Sarawak Barisan  
     Nasional)
- BARJASA (Parti Barisan Anak Jati  
     Sarawak), 6, 56, 72, 75–76, 77,  
     115, 154, 268  
 Baru Bian, 176  
 Bayang, Pengarah, 99  
 Benedict Bujang, 135  
 Ben Jemel, 265n11  
 BERJASA (Barisan Jamaah Islamiah Se  
     Malaysia), 157  
 Berma, Madeline, 185, 235  
 BERSATU, 128, 239, 265n12  
 Beting Maru battle, 28, 67n9  
 Bidayuh National Association, 58  
 Bidayuhs
  - development projects aimed at, 143
  - household income, 185, 187
  - non-Muslim *bumiputera*, 20n4
  - parliamentary and *negeri* seats, 19n3
  - PBB and, 96
  - in Samarahan division, 198
  - in southwest Sarawak, 232
  - term for headman, 259
- Billy Abit Joo, 226n6  
 BINA (Angkatan Nahdatul Islam  
     Bersatu), 86, 204n16  
 Bintulu incident, 124–25  
 Bisamah, 99  
 Bisaya, 259  
 blogs, political, 222  
 BN, *see* Barisan Nasional (BN)  
 BN Plus, 122–23, 126, 127, 128  
 BN3, 138–39, 158, 159  
 Bolhassan Kambar, 202n3  
 Bong Kee Chok, 94

- Borneo Post*, 221  
 Borneo Research Institute (BRIMAS), 227n10  
 Breerton, William, 28, 67n10  
*Bringing the State Back In*, 16  
 British Military Administration (BMA), 32–33  
 British North Borneo Company, 30, 31  
 Brooke, Brooke, 66n7  
 Brooke, Charles, 28, 29, 31, 66n7, 67(nn11, 12), 230  
 Brooke, James, 26, 27, 28, 29, 66n4, 110n5, 231, 265n15  
 Brooke, Vyner, 15, 32, 33, 68n13  
 Brooke rulers  
   cession of Sarawak to British, 5, 15, 33  
   Constitution under, 32  
   efforts against “piracy”, 67n8  
   post of Mufti, 191  
   relations with Malays, 5, 6, 8–9, 61, 231  
   reliance on community chiefs, 262, 265n15  
   Sarawak historiography and, 3–4, 66n3  
 Brunei, 33  
 Brunei Sultanate, 22, 25, 29, 61, 66n6, 67n8, 73–74, 110n2  
 Buddhism, 20n4  
 Bujang, Tuanku Haji, 79  
 Bujang Amin, Tua Kampung, 257  
 Bujang Jalli Man, 256  
 Bujang Mohamed Nor, Tan Sri, 85  
 Bujang Sapawi, 156  
 Bujang Sum Drahim Haji, Penghulu, 256  
 Bujang Ulis, 133, 134, 149n7  
 Bukit Begunan 1996 election, 14, 178  
 Bumiputera (party)  
   decline of MNU and, 56  
   formation, 6, 79–80, 115  
   merger with PESAKA, 9, 89, 92, 98  
   in Sarawak Alliance, 81, 111n9  
   in southwest Sarawak, 237–38, 239, 256  
   Sulaiman Daud and, 148n3  
   *see also* PBB (Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu)  
*bumiputeras*, 19n4, 52–53, 68n17, 92, 96, 185–86, 188  
   *see also* Muslim bumiputera  
 Buntal, 232, 236, 242, 252, 256, 259
- C**  
 Celestine Ujang, Datuk, 100, 143, 146, 153, 205n19  
*Center and Periphery*, 17  
 central state *see* Malaysia  
 Chalecki, Laila, 115, 120, 149n5  
 Chan, Anisa Abdullah, 115  
 Chan, George, Dr, 115, 129, 132, 153, 205(nn18, 19), 208, 216–17, 227n8  
 Chan Seng Kai, 176  
 Chan Siaw Hee, 107  
 Chazan, Naomi, 55  
 Chen Yiew Zean, 265n10  
 Chia Chin Shin, 129  
 Chin Fah Kui, Peter, 217  
 Chin, J., 8, 10, 12, 14, 163  
 Chinese community  
   associations, 59  
   during colonial period, 40  
   conversions to Islam, 86  
   exclusion from *bumiputera* status, 19n4  
   formation of Malaysia and, 34  
   during Japanese occupation, 5  
   Land Bill and, 117  
   Malay and Muslim *bumiputera* attitudes to, 75, 196  
   in Malaysian economy, 53, 185  
   in new divisions, 198, 199

- parliamentary and *negeri* seats,  
19n3, 152  
as perceived by *bumiputera*, 218  
perception of Taib, 116  
political history, 10  
poverty rates, 187  
Rahman Yakub and, 90, 136  
in southwest Sarawak, 230–31, 232,  
264n2  
Taib and, 227n8  
term for headman, 259  
traditional divisions, 165  
*Chinese Politics in Sarawak*, 10  
Chong Chien Jen, 215, 276  
Chong Hon Nyan, 124  
Chong Kim Mook, 237–38, 264n6  
Chong Kiun Kong, 129, 132, 146,  
147, 153  
Chong Siew Siang, 111n12  
Christianity, 3, 20n4  
Chua, Ernest, 227n9  
Clement Eddy, 227n9  
CMS Group, 115, 119–20, 149n5,  
209  
Cobbold Commission, 34  
*Communal Associations of the  
Indigenous Communities of  
Sarawak*, 15  
communists, 94  
Cooke, Fadzillah Majid, 102  
Cramb, R.A., 183  
Crookshank, Arthur, 28  
Crouch, Harold, 36, 69n20, 268–69
- D**  
Dagok Randan, 149n7  
Daniel Ngieng, 216  
Daniel Tajem  
cabinet posts, 132, 205n17  
formation of PBDS, 122  
leadership of SNAP, 95, 121, 270  
in Ming Court Affair, 135, 136,  
153  
in 1983 election crisis, 149n9  
in PBDS leadership crisis, 213, 214,  
215  
timber concessions, 102  
DAP (Democratic Action Party), 157  
*see also* Sarawak Democratic Action  
Party (DAP)  
Darul Arqam, 204n16  
Datu system, 25–26, 65n2, 74, 110n2  
Daud Abdul Rahman, 191  
Dayak Co-operative Society, 58  
Dayaks  
associations, 58–59  
attitude to cession, 33  
BRIMAS and, 227n10  
DAP and, 152  
development politics and, 188–89  
fragmentation of political elites, 217  
during Japanese occupation, 32  
leaders' show of unity, 98–99  
in Ming Court Affair, 13, 136  
Muslim converts, 189  
PANAS and, 75  
patron-client relations, 61, 78  
PBB and, 98, 100, 123  
PBDS and, 122, 139, 159, 183  
PESAKA and, 76  
relations with Brookes, 4  
SNAP and, 76, 123  
SUPP and, 123  
weakening of influence, 9–10, 123,  
170–71, 219  
*see also* Ibans  
Demak Jaya Industrial Park, 230,  
233–35, 243, 263  
Demak Laut, 237, 240–41, 264n5,  
265n14  
Democratic Action Party (DAP), 157  
*see also* Sarawak Democratic Action  
Party (DAP)  
development politics  
in BN's strategy, 140, 165  
elections and, 142–47, 171–89

- Islamization policies and, 192–95  
 in Rahman's attack on Taib, 130  
 in southwest Sarawak, 242–51  
 Taib and, 140–41, 150n13, 271–72
- Dewaniaga Sarawak, 226n5
- Dixon, G., 183
- Dominic Andrew Daguk, 134
- Donald Lawan, 178
- Douglas Sulang Candal, 135, 149n7
- Douglas Unggah, 279
- Dowding, Keith, 200
- Dunstan Endawie, 95, 107, 121, 270
- E**
- East India Company, 66n4
- Economic Planning Unit (EPU),  
 150n13
- Eden Abdullah, 239, 265n12
- Edmund Langgu, 121, 122
- education, 3, 6, 69n17, 74, 84, 167,  
 194
- Edward Jeli, 121, 129, 132, 135, 136,  
 150n12, 202n3
- Edwin Tangkun, Datuk, 121, 122,  
 149n9
- Effendi Norwawi, 151n13, 160, 161,  
 168, 207, 208, 225(nn1, 2),  
 279
- elections  
 1963, 76, 116  
 1970, 1, 81, 89, 90, 111n8,  
 237–38, 239, 256  
 1974, 1, 84, 88–90, 239  
 1978, 90, 91, 107  
 1979, 89, 127, 239  
 1982, 121–22, 134, 168, 169  
 1983, 126–29, 173  
 1986, 133–34, 169, 173  
 1987 *see* 1987 elections  
 1990, 157–58, 169  
 1991, 159, 169, 177, 203n13, 238,  
 272  
 1995, 169, 249  
 1996, 14, 159–60, 169, 178,  
 203n9, 238, 240  
 1999, 162, 168, 169, 177,  
 203(nn6, 8), 208, 215, 249  
 2001, 165, 166, 169, 238, 239–40,  
 249  
 2004, 168, 169, 194, 211, 215,  
 278, 281  
 2006, 70n21, 209, 216, 217, 238,  
 239, 243–44, 276  
 2008, 275–82  
 politics of development and,  
 171–75
- English language, 69n17, 84
- Entulu, 226n6
- environmental issues, 46, 221
- Ersat, Pengiran, 29
- Evans, Peter, 16
- F**
- Fadillah Yusuf, 279
- Fajar Sarawak*, 74
- Farquhar, Captain, 28
- Fatwa Council, 191
- Fauzi Ramli, Penghulu, 256
- Federation of Kuching, 59
- Firth, Raymond, 233
- Formation and Marginalization of a  
 Borderland Malay Community*, 8
- Fox, Charles, 28
- Fredahanon alias Faridah Hanon  
 Mahmud, 114
- G**
- Gabriel Adit, 216, 226n7
- Gagasan Rakyat, 157–58
- Gau Jau, Penghulu, 257
- Geman Itam, 202n3, 226n5
- Gerakan (Parti Gerakan Malaysia), 88
- Gerusin Lemat, 85
- Ghafar Baba, 137
- Government and Society in Malaysia*,  
 268–69

Gramong Juna, 122, 129, 132, 135,  
202n3

Guyang, Penghulu, 257

## H

Hafsah Harun, 119, 132, 135, 154,  
204n17, 239, 265n12

Hamdan bin Sirat, 85

Hamidah binti Yakub, Hajjah, 114

Hammergren, L.A., 72

Hanifa Hajar Taib, 115, 149n5

Harakah Islamiah (HIKMAH), 86

Harrison, T., 231, 264n2

Hashim, Pengiran Raja Muda, 26,  
66n3

Hashim, Sultan of Brunei, 30

Hassan Mawi, 265n7

headmen institution, 201, 254–62,  
263

HIKMAH (Harakah Islamiah), 86  
*History of Sarawak*, 3

Hollis Tini, 132, 135

Husaini Hamdan, 240, 249

Husaini Jol, 156

Hussein Onn, Tun, 90, 107, 149n11,  
206, 207

Hussin Mutalib, 189

## I

*Iban Politics and Economic  
Development*, 9–10

Ibans

associations, 58–59

chief ministers, 7

conversions to Islam, 86

development projects targeted at,  
143

during Japanese occupation, 5

in new divisions, 198, 199

non-Muslim *bumiputera*  
classification, 20n4

parliamentary and *negeri* seats, 19n3

PBB and, 96

political history, 9

poverty rates, 187

relations with Brookes, 4, 31–32  
in southwest Sarawak, 232

state economic policies and, 185

term for headman, 259

traditional divisions, 165

*see also* Dayaks

Ibrahim Mahmud, 114

Idris Bohari, 240

Ikhwan Zaini, 148n3

Indian community, 5, 19n4, 40, 53

Indian Progressive Front (IPF), 214

Indonesia, 230

Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia  
(IKIM), 204n15

Internal Security Act (ISA), 35, 48,  
94, 156, 270

International Institute of Islamic  
Thought and Civilization  
(ISTAC), 204n15

International Islamic University of  
Malaysia (IIUM), 204n15

Ishikawa, N., 8–9, 236

Islam

in constitutional definition of  
“Malay”, 85

in national identity, 48

PBB and, 176

during Rahman Yakub’s tenure, 86,  
87, 191

in Sarawak, 20n4, 68n17

during Taib’s tenure, 168, 189–96  
as unifying factor, 189, 194–96,  
251–54, 263

Islamic Affairs and Malay Cultural  
Board, 191

Islamic Council, 191

Ismail Ali, 250

## J

Jacob, Gertrude, 3

Jacob Dungau Sagan, 226n5

- JAIS (Jabatan Agama Islam Sarawak), 191, 192, 243, 253
- JAKIM (Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia), 243–44
- James Jemut Masing, Dr, 205n19, 213–14, 215, 217–18, 227(nn7, 9)
- James Jimbun, 135
- Jamil Abdullah, 102
- Jamilah Hamidah Taib, 115, 149n5
- Jangu Bayang, 135, 149n7
- Japan Times*, 226n4
- Japanese Occupation, 32–33, 68n15, 114
- Jatti Mereiks, 20n4, 58, 96, 189, 254
- Jawah Gerang, 226(nn6, 7)
- Jawan, J., 8, 9–10, 12, 13, 186
- Jawan Empaling, 107
- Jaya, Haji A.S., 132
- Jehim Milos, 265n7
- Jimmy Donald, 226n6
- Jinggot Atan, Penghulu, 257
- Jinggut, Pengarah, 99
- Johnson, Stuart, 66n7
- Johor Sultans, 25
- Jonathan Narwin, 121
- Jonathan Saban, 264n6
- Joseph Balan Seling, Datuk, 122, 205n17
- Joseph Salang, Dr, 226(nn6, 7)
- Joseph Samuel, 121
- JPUNS (Jawantankuasa Penaja UMNO Negeri Sarawak), 210
- Jublie Jelani, Haji, Ketua Kaum, 259, 261
- Judson Sakai Tagal, Dr, 176, 213, 226n5
- Jugah, Temenggung, 69n18, 76, 81, 98, 99, 100
- Jugah Bareng, Temenggung, 257
- Junaidi Putih, 265n13
- K**
- Kadazans, 187
- Kadri Tan Sri Mohamad, 156
- Kanowit tribe, 28
- Kayveas, M., 281
- Keadilan (Parti Keadilan Rakyat)
  - in elections, 165, 238, 240, 241, 249, 265n10, 272, 276
  - ethnic voting patterns and, 277
  - formation, 162
  - inability to break PBB's dominance, 164, 166, 196, 253–54
  - MNU and, 56–58
  - Sarawak members, 163
  - voter anger and, 250
- Kedah, 275
- Kedayans, 20n4, 58, 96, 189, 254
- Kelantan, 275
- KEMAS kindergartens, 243
- Ken Sanji, 32
- Kenneth Kanyan, 134, 149n7
- Keppel, Henry (Captain), 27
- Kessler, C., 62
- ketua kaum*, 259, 261
- Khadijah Tun Abdul Rahman, 102
- Khaidar Haji Ahmad Zaidel, 135, 139
- Kuching, 230, 243
- Kuleh, Penghulu, 257
- Kumpulan Maju, 136–38, 139, 140, 150n12, 157
- L**
- Lana, Datu Bandar, 27
- land titles, 177, 240
- Larry Dominic Linang, 238
- Law Hieng Ding, 216
- Lee, Alan, 28, 67n9
- Leigh, M., 6–7, 12, 13, 136
- Leo Michael Toyad, Dr, 133, 134, 149n7
- Leo Moggie, 95, 121, 122, 135, 149n6, 213–14, 270
- Leonard Linggi Jugah, Datuk, 89, 100, 135
- Lim Hong Hai, 12
- Loh, Francis, 162

Loh Kok Wah, 41  
lotteries ban, 192

## M

Mahathir Mohamad, Tun Dr

blogging, 222  
call for 1999 election, 162  
chairmanship of PERKIM, 204n14  
Islamization policies, 189, 204n15  
relationship with Taib, 118, 126,  
171, 207  
retirement, 202, 207  
Sarawak UMNO issue, 126, 158  
SNAP contest against BN and, 127  
stance towards Sarawak politics, 12,  
129  
support for BN Plus, 123  
SUPP plot against Rahman and,  
107  
UMNO leadership contest, 136,  
148, 149n11

Mahkota, Pengiran, 26, 66, 74

Mahli Sadam, Penghulu, 256

Mahmud Abu Bekir Taib, 115, 149n5

Mahmud bin Haji Abang Yahya, 114

Majapahit Empire, 23

Majlis Amanah Rakyat (MARA), 50

Majlis Islam, 86–88

Majlis Islam (Incorporation)

Ordinance 1954, 190–91

Malay aristocrats

during colonial rule, 4–5  
decline in power, 74, 268  
patron-client relations, 61  
in pre-colonial society, 40, 110n2  
*vs.* Muslim *bumiputera* intelligentsia,  
5–6, 75–76, 268

Malay language, 68n17, 84, 167

*Malay-Muslim Political Participation in  
Sarawak and Sabah, 1841–1851*,  
4

Malay National Union (MNU), 15,  
56–58, 154, 196

*Malay Politics in Sarawak*, 5–6

Malays

associations, 56  
attitude to cession, 33, 56  
belief in *semangat*, 73, 110n3  
coastal, 228–66  
in concept of Malaysia, 68n16  
constitutional definition, 85  
development politics and, 41, 188  
headman institution, 201, 259  
Japanese occupation and, 5, 32  
in new divisions, 198, 199  
occupations, 231–36, 264n2  
parliamentary and *negeri* seats, 19n3  
patron-client relations, 61  
Peninsular, 162  
perceived marginalization, 163, 165  
political parties and, 75, 96, 100,  
163  
poverty rates, 187  
Rahman Yakub and, 90, 91  
relations with Brookes, 4, 8–9, 61,  
231  
relations with Melanaus, 14, 210,  
254  
in southwest Sarawak, 229–30, 232  
state economic policies and, 53, 185  
support for BN, 14, 177  
Taib and, 166  
traditional divisions, 164–65  
*see also* Malay aristocrats; Muslim  
*bumiputera*

Malaysia

*bumiputera* classification, 19n4  
Confrontation period, 230  
Constitution, 47–48, 69n17, 71  
crime, 48  
economy, 38–40, 43–46, 49–54  
employment rates, 45  
formation, 6, 22, 33–34, 68n16  
Internet usage, 222  
middle class, 62–64, 69n20  
natural resource extraction, 42–46  
“new politics”, 161–63, 203n6,  
275–82

- post of Mufti, 192  
 poverty rates, 186–87  
 race riots of 1969, 36, 37, 48, 80, 206  
 racial politics, 7, 41, 278, 280  
 Sarawak economy and, 11–12  
 strength of regime, 36–54, 108, 267–69  
*Malaysia, New States in a New Nation*, 8  
*Malysiakini*, 210, 221, 275  
 Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), 88  
 Malaysian Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (MENGOS), 227n10  
 Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), 88  
 Malaysian International Shipping Corporation (MISC), 50  
 Malaysianization, 84  
 Malaysian Shipyard and Engineering Berhad (MSE), 50  
*Malaysian Today*, 221  
 Malaysia Plans  
   First (1966–70), 43, 183  
   Second (1971–75), 50, 51  
   Third (1976–80), 93, 183  
   Eighth (2001–05), 51–52, 186  
 Manau, Penghulu, 256  
 MAS (Malaysian Airline System), 50  
*Masa Jepun*, 5  
 Masam, Penghulu, 257  
 Mason, R., 12, 13, 186  
 Mat Jai, 259  
 Matu Puso, Penghulu, 257  
 Matusin, Pengiran, 29  
 Mayo, Sir Herbert, 115  
 MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association), 88  
 Megat Junid Megat Ayub, 156  
 Melaka, 19n4  
*Melanau-Malay Schism Erupts Again, The*, 14  
 Melanaus, 185, 187, 199, 201, 232, 254, 259  
   *see also* Muslim Melanaus  
 Merpati, Datu, 205n21  
 Mersal, Datu Temenggong, 27  
 Mersat, N.I., 10, 11, 12, 13, 14  
 MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress), 88  
 Michael Ben, 128, 132, 135, 202n3  
 Migdal, Joel S., 15, 16, 17, 55, 62–65  
 Mikai Mandau, 202n3  
 Milne, R.S., 6, 8, 116  
*Minaret*, 204n14  
 Ming Court Affair, 12, 13, 56, 135–37, 156, 225n3  
 mining sector, 43–44, 180–82  
 Minor Rural Projects (MRPs) Fund, 105, 173–75  
 Mistui O.S.K. Kinkai, 226n4  
 MNU (Malay National Union), 15, 56–58, 154, 196  
*Modernization in East Malaysia*, 7  
 modernization theory, 6, 7–8, 17, 18  
 Mohamad Ali Mahmud, 114  
 Mohamad Arip Mahmud, 114  
 Mohamad Bakri bin Jol, 158  
 Mohamad Hasbie Sulaiman, 15  
 Mohamad Pani, 259  
 Mohamad Tufail Mahmud, 114  
 Mohamed Hilary Tawan, 149n7  
 Mohamed Tawan Abdullah, 202n3  
 Mohammed Diah bin Haji Nordin, 85  
 Mohammed Salleh Askor, 85  
 Mohammed Tawan Abdullah, 139  
 Mohd Adib Adam, 131  
 Mohd Amin bin Haji Satem, 85  
 Mohd Fauzi Bolhassan, 239  
 Mohd Ghazali Kipli, 139  
 Mohd Hanis bin Mahlie, 85  
 Mohd Kamal Hussain, 102  
 Mohd Shamsudin Mokhtar, 238, 264n6  
 money politics, 8, 11, 14

*Money Politics and Dayak Nationalism*, 13

Mong Dagang, 178, 203(n9, 10)

Morrison, Alastair, 183

Mosque Board, 191

Muara Tebas  
 archaeological excavations, 229  
 employment structure, 233, 235, 242–43  
 income levels, 236  
*pemancha*, 256  
 population by ethnicity, 230, 232  
 satisfaction with government, 252

Muhammad Shah, Sultan, 25

Murray, Sean, 115

Murut, 187

Musa Giri, 135

Musa Hitam, Tun, 126, 133

Muslim *bumiputera*  
 BARJASA and, 75–76, 272  
 central state policies and, 7  
 educational advancement, 74  
 intelligentsia, 5–6, 75–76, 80, 82, 108, 268  
 Islam as unifying factor, 189, 194–96, 251–54, 263  
 in Ming Court Affair, 13  
 parliamentary and *negeri* seats, 19  
 PBB and, 92, 98, 162, 166, 169, 180  
 political influence, 10, 82  
 public sector employment, 200  
 in Sarawak, 20n4  
 schism, 6, 75–76, 90–91, 116  
 studies of, 4–6  
 support for BN, 1, 113, 175, 241  
 support for PANAS, 272  
 traditional divisions, 164–65

Muslim Melanau  
 associations, 58  
 Chief Ministers, 11, 34, 72  
 classification as *bumiputera*, 20n4, 85, 96

intelligentsia, 5, 219

Sarawak UMNO proposal and, 220

schism with Malays, 14, 165

waning of Dayak influence and, 9–10  
*see also* Muslim *bumiputera*

Mustapha, Tun, 86

Mutang Tagal, 135, 149n7

**N**

Nagata, J., 204n16

*nakhodas*, 61, 67n8, 231

Nanyozai Freight Agreement (NFA), 226n5

National Cultural Policy, 48–49

National Operations Council, 206

National Vision Policy (NVP), 186–87

Nawi Jamain, Haji, Penghulu, 256

NEGARA, 56, 106, 159, 162

*Negarakertagama*, 23

Nelson Balan Rining, 176

Nelson Kundai Ngareng, 99

neo-modernization theory, 6

New Development Policy (NDP), 52–54, 185, 186, 187

New Economic Policy (NEP), 41, 52–54, 185, 187

Ngang Bundan, Pengarah, 257

NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 55–59

Nidzam Sulaiman, 10, 12

1987 elections  
 community chiefs and, 155, 261–62  
 cost per constituency, 177  
 PBDS in, 203n13, 272  
 politics of development and, 137–41, 143–47, 171  
 studies of, 13

non-Muslim *bumiputera*, 20n4, 196, 197, 272

Noor Tahir Haji, 132, 135, 138, 148, 204n17, 238, 265n9

Norah Tun Abdul Rahman, 277

Norita Azmi, 240  
 Norlia Tun Abdul Rahman, 102  
 North Borneo, 33  
 NYK-Hinode, 226n5

## O

“Old Sarawak,” 23–26, 73–74, 110n2, 228  
 Omar Ali Saifuddin, Sultan, 25, 26, 66n6  
 Ongkili, J.P., 6, 7–8  
 Onn Mahmud, 114  
 Ooi Keat Gin, 5  
 Operation API, 156  
 Orang Ulu, 19n3, 58, 96, 143, 176, 259  
 Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), 204n14  
 Oyong Lawai Jau, Temenggung, 99

## P

PAJAR (Parti Anak Jati Sarawak), 90–91, 106, 122, 128, 149n4, 162, 166, 183  
*Pakatan dalam Politik Sarawak*, 12  
 PANAS (Parti Negara Sarawak), 6, 75, 76, 77, 117, 154  
 Pantai Damai, 237, 239–40, 241, 263, 264n5, 265n14  
 PARAKU (Pasokan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara), 94  
 Parti Anak Jati Sarawak (PAJAR), 90–91, 106, 122, 128, 149n4, 162, 166, 183  
 Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak *see* PBDS  
*Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak and the Sarawak State Elections of 1987 and 1991*, 13  
 Parti Barisan Anak Jati Sarawak (BARJASA), 6, 56, 72, 75–76, 77, 115, 154, 268  
 Parti Gerakan Malaysia (Gerakan), 88  
 Parti Islam Se Malaysia *see* PAS

Parti Keadilan Rakyat *see* Keadilan  
 Parti Negara Rakyat Sarawak (PNRS, or NEGARA), 56, 106, 159, 162  
 Parti Negara Sarawak (PANAS), 6, 75, 76, 77, 117, 154  
 Parti Persatuan Rakyat Malaysia Sarawak *see* PERMAS  
 Parti Pesaka Anak Sarawak *see* PESAKA  
 Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu *see* PBB  
 Parti Rakyat Brunei (PRB), 12  
 Parti Rakyat Malaysia (PRM), 157  
 Parti Rakyat Sarawak (PRS), 214, 215, 216, 217, 223, 227n7, 276  
 Parti Umat Sarawak (UMAT), 106  
 Parti Warisan Pribumi Sarawak (WARISAN), 158, 160  
 Party Hopping Bill, 156  
 PAS (Parti Islam Se Malaysia)  
   in APU, 157  
   in BN, 88  
   in elections, 162, 165, 276  
   failure to break PBB’s dominance, 164  
   formation and principles, 163, 166, 253  
   in Sarawak religious context, 196  
 Pasir Pandak, 232, 236, 242, 252, 256  
 Pasokan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara (PARAKU), 94  
 Patau Rubis, Dr, 137, 153  
 Patch Merbai, 25  
 Patrick Uren, 122, 149n9  
 patron-client relationships, 59–62, 73, 101–106  
 PBB (Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu)  
   1998 leadership crisis, 160–61  
   attempt to topple Taib, 13  
   in BN3, 158  
   cabinet posts, 197, 198  
   Dayak support, 95, 123

- decline of MNU and, 56  
 Deputy Chief Minister post, 153  
 formation, 89  
 Keadilan and, 163, 254  
 Muslim *bumiputera* support, 180, 196  
 Muslim Melanau support, 164  
 1970s elections, 91  
 1980s elections, 138, 139  
 1990s elections, 162  
 2000s elections, 166, 169, 215, 216, 276  
 proposed Sarawak UMNO and, 165, 220, 273  
 proxy war between Rahman and Taib, 125–35  
 Rahman and, 95, 96–101, 107, 271  
 in Sarawak Alliance, 88  
 in southwest Sarawak, 239, 277–78  
 Taib and, 170  
 version of Islam espoused, 253  
 PBDS (Parti Bansa Dayak Sarawak)  
 in BN Plus, 123, 126–27, 183, 202n4  
 cabinet post, 197–98  
 Dayak community and, 122, 139, 159, 183, 203n13  
 in elections, 133, 137–38, 162, 165, 203n13, 272  
 formation, 13, 122  
 Iban support, 164  
 institutional weakness, 223  
 leadership crisis, 213, 226n7  
 in Ming Court Affair, 136  
 post-1987 fortunes, 157, 159  
 in Rahman-Taib feud, 130  
 third Deputy Chief Minister post, 153  
*vs.* SNAP, 127, 128  
*pemancha*, 255–56, 257, 258  
 Penang, 275  
 Penans, 221  
 Pengabang Impak, Penghulu, 257  
*penghulu*, 255–56, 257, 258, 261  
*pengiran*, 26, 61, 110n2  
 People's Progressive Party (PPP), 88, 281  
*perabangan*, 110n2  
 Perak, 275  
*perentah*, 196–201  
*Perjuangan Anti-Cession Sarawak*, 15  
 PERKIM (Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia), 86, 204n14  
 PERMAS (Parti Persatuan Rakyat Malaysia Sarawak)  
 community chiefs and, 261–62  
 in elections, 138, 139, 157, 158, 159, 238, 265n9  
 inability to break BN dominance, 196  
 Keadilan and, 163  
 MNU and, 154  
 political stance, 166  
 Rahman Yakub and, 137, 155  
 PERNAS (Perbadanan Nasional Berhad), 50  
 Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia (PERKIM), 86, 204n14  
*Perubahan Politik Masyarakat Dayak*, 13  
 PESAKA (Parti Pesaka Anak Sarawak)  
 merger with Bumiputera, 9, 89, 92  
 Rahman Yakub and, 101  
 representation in government, 77  
 in Sarawak Alliance, 76–78, 81, 111n9  
 in Sarawak Native Alliance, 117  
 in southwest Sarawak, 237–38, 256  
 support from non-Muslim  
*bumiputera*, 272  
 Tawi Sli and, 71, 76  
*see also* PBB (Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu)  
 Peter Ato, 227n9  
 Peter Minos, 149n9  
 Peter Nansien, 226n5

- Peter Nyarok, 226n5  
 Peter Tinggom, 212, 226n5  
 petroleum and gas reserves, 43–44, 92, 167, 169–70, 182  
 Petroleum Development Act, 93, 169–70  
 PETRONAS (Petroleum Nasional Berhad), 12, 43, 93, 94  
 Philippines, 60  
*Pilihanraya Kecil Kawasan N22 Bukit Begunan*, 14  
 PKR *see* Keadilan (Parti Keadilan Rakyat)  
 Poh, Penghulu, 257  
*Politics, Business, the State and Development in Sarawak*, 11  
*Politics and Business in Sarawak*, 11  
*Politics in Sarawak 1970–1976*, 9  
*Politics of Belonging, The*, 8  
*Politics of Development and the 1996 Sarawak State Elections*, 14  
*Politics of Federalism, The*, 8  
*Power and Prowess*, 4  
 PPP (Parti Progressif Penduduk), 88, 281  
 PRB (Parti Rakyat Brunei), 12  
 Presses Act, 48  
 Pringle, R., 4  
 PRM (Parti Rakyat Malaysia), 157  
 PRS (Parti Rakyat Sarawak), 214, 215, 216, 217, 223, 227n7, 276  
 Pulau Salak, 232, 233, 236, 242, 247–51, 252, 256
- R**  
 Rabbiah Yassin, 102  
 Radin Tungang, Tuai Rumah, 178  
 Rahun Dabak, Pengarah, 257  
*Rajahs and Rebels*, 4  
 Rakawi Prapanca, 23  
 Rakawi Yusuf, 74  
 Ramlee, P., 116  
 Ramsay Noel Jitam, 137, 153, 238, 265(nn7, 9)  
 Ranum Mina, 265n10  
 Rashidi Junai, 256  
 Ratnam, K.J., 6, 8, 116  
 Razaleigh Hamzah, Tengku, 92, 107, 148, 149n11, 157  
 Razali Sebli, Haji, Penghulu, 256  
 Reece, B., 5  
*reformasi* movement, 41, 162, 168, 222  
 Regent Star, 226n4  
 Regional Islamic Organizations of South East Asia and Pacific (RISEAP), 204n14  
 religion, 3, 20n4  
*Rising Moon, The*, 6–7  
*Rising Sun over Borneo*, 5  
 Robert Jacob Ridu, 129, 132, 135, 149n7  
 Roff, M., 6, 8  
 Rohani Karim, 249, 279  
 Ross-Larson, B., 6, 8  
 Roziah alias Raziah Mahmud, 114  
 Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, 16  
 Rufus Nanang, 149n9
- S**  
 Saadi Olia, 128, 132–33  
 Sabah, 35, 86, 137, 182, 186, 204n14, 281  
*Sabah and Sarawak in the Malaysian Economy*, 11  
 Sabihah Osman, 4  
 Safri Awang Zaidell, 85, 154  
 Saidan Sahini, 241  
 Sails Osman, Penghulu, 256  
 SAKTO Corporation, 120  
 Salahuddin, Tun, 108  
 Salleh Jafaruddin, 99, 101, 126, 130–31, 132–33, 133–34  
 Samarahan Divisions Chinese Association, 59  
 Samarahan Teachers' Training College, 198  
 Sambas, Sultan of, 66n3  
 Sam-sams, 19n4

- Sanib Said, 5–6, 65n1, 79–80
- Santubong, 229, 232, 236, 242, 249, 252, 256, 265n14
- SAPP (Sabah Progressive Party), 281
- Saravanamuttu, Johan, 62, 69n20, 162
- Sarawak
- administration, 25–26, 31–33, 67n11, 95–96, 196–201, 255
  - central cabinet, 280
  - civil service, 196–201, 223, 254–62
  - Constitution, 32, 197
  - employment patterns, 184
  - GDP, 180, 235
  - mean household income, 185–86, 235
  - middle class, 220–21
  - poverty rates, 187, 235, 264n2
  - territorial boundaries, 23, 24, 26–33
  - weakening of, 273–74
- Sarawak Alliance
- BARJASA and, 116
  - central state and, 84
  - 1970 election, 80–81, 82, 111n9
  - Ningkan's ouster and, 109n1
  - PESAKA and, 76–78, 96
  - SNAP and, 72, 76–78
  - in southwest Sarawak, 237
  - transformation into BN, 88–89
- Sarawak Barisan Nasional *see* SBN
- Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA), 76, 77, 81, 88, 89, 111n9, 117, 272
- Sarawak Dayak Association (SDA), 58
- Sarawak Dayak National Union, 58
- Sarawak Democratic Action Party (DAP)
- Chinese support for, 271, 272
  - in elections, 121–22, 133, 152, 165, 216, 265n10, 276–77
  - formation, 91, 107, 111n12, 136
  - Keadilan and, 163
  - resilience, 162
  - SUPP and, 95, 271
- Sarawak Development Institute (SDI), 151n13
- Sarawak Elections of 1987, The*, 13
- Sarawak Islamic Council, 75
- Sarawak Keadilan, 163
- Sarawak Museum, 229
- Sarawak National Party *see* SNAP
- Sarawak Native Alliance, 117
- Sarawak People's Party (SAPO), 91, 106
- Sarawak Printing Press, 74
- Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party (SPDP), 212, 215, 216, 226n7, 276, 277
- Sarawak Tribune*, 102
- Sarawak Turf Club, 192
- Sarawak UMNO, 79, 126, 158, 165–66, 210–11, 220, 273
- Sarawak United People's Party *see* SUPP
- SBN (Sarawak Barisan Nasional)
- development projects, 105, 140–41, 142, 143–47, 175, 188
  - fragmentation, 211–19
  - in Ming Court Affair, 135
  - 1970s elections, 89, 91
  - 1980s elections, 133, 168, 169, 170, 202
  - 1990s elections, 162, 169, 170
  - 2001, 2004 and 2008 elections, 168, 169, 170, 211, 276
  - PBB in, 96–101
  - PBDS and, 159, 202n4
  - plan to topple Rahman, 107
  - political dominance during 1990s, 159–60
  - PRS and, 214
  - SNAP and, 90, 121–22, 123
  - in southwest Sarawak, 239, 277
  - SPDP and, 212
  - Taib and, 170
  - in uncle-nephew crisis, 126–27
  - see also* Barisan Nasional (BN)
- SCA (Sarawak Chinese Association), 76, 77, 81, 88, 89, 111n9, 117, 272

- Scott, James, 60  
 SDA (Sarawak Dayak Association), 58  
 Searle, P., 8, 9  
 Sebi Masran, Haji, Penghulu, 256  
 SEDC (State Economic Development Corporation), 50, 151n13, 225n1, 242  
 SeDidik Kindergartens, 243  
 Sedition Act, 48  
*See Hua Daily News*, 221  
 Sejingkat  
   demographics, 230, 232  
   development politics and, 242–43, 250  
   employment structure, 233–35, 243, 264n3  
   income levels, 236  
   old name for Demak Laut, 237  
   *pemancha*, 256  
   satisfaction with government, 252  
 Sekolah Datuk Abdul Rahman, 84  
 Selangor, 275  
 Semangat 46, 157  
 Semariang, 265n14  
 Sematan, 243  
 Sempadi, 232, 236, 242, 250, 252, 256  
 Senawi Sulaiman, 156  
 Shahnaz Abdul Majid, 115  
 Shamsudin Mokhtar, 265n7  
 Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, 161  
*shariah* laws, 190  
 Sharifah Mordiah Tuanku Fauzi, 135, 153, 239, 240, 249  
 Shell Oil Company, 114  
 Shils, Edward, 17  
 Sibar Semada, Pengarah, 257  
 Sibu Laut, 232, 236, 250, 252, 256, 261  
 Sidi Munan, 214, 217  
*Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei*, 23  
 Sim Kheng Hui, Tan Sri Datuk Amar, 144, 146  
 Sim Kheng Hung, Tan Sri Datuk Amar, 132, 145, 146, 153, 204n17  
 Sim Kwang Yang, 176  
 Simon Dembab Maja, 81, 99, 149n7  
 Singapore, 33–34, 66n5, 71  
 Skocpol, Theda, 16  
 SNAP (Sarawak National Party)  
   alliance with SUPP, 72, 81  
   in BN3, 158  
   cabinet posts, 197, 198  
   disagreement over logo, 149n8  
   formation of PBB and, 98  
   institutional weakness, 223  
   leadership crises, 120–24, 149n6, 150n12, 212, 218  
   in Ming Court Affair, 135  
   in *negeri* decision-making process, 117  
   1970s elections, 89, 96, 127  
   1980s elections, 128, 133, 138, 139  
   1990s elections, 162  
   2001 and 2008 elections, 165, 276  
   non-Muslim *bumiputera* support for, 9, 164, 272  
   Rahman Yakub and, 90, 94–95, 101, 107, 270  
   representation in government, 77  
   in Sarawak Alliance, 76  
   in southwest Sarawak, 237–38  
 Sng Chee Beng, 227n9  
 Sng Chee Hua, 217–18  
 Sng, Larry, 218, 227(nn7, 9)  
 Sobey Daud, 238  
 social forces  
   defined, 17–18, 54–55  
   middle class, 62–64, 220–21  
   in Sarawak, 14–15, 54–64, 219–20, 268, 273  
   strongmen, 17–18, 72–73, 108  
   *vs.* civil society, 55  
 Song Swee Guan, 144

- Soon Choon Teck, Dr, 217
- Soon, Polycarp, 102
- Soon, Thomas, 102
- Sora Rusah, 202n3
- South Australia Islamic Association, 203n14
- Sparrow, Jack, 203n10
- SPDP (Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party), 212, 215, 216, 226n7, 276, 277
- Stanley Ajang Batok, 216, 226n7
- state, the
- definitions, 16
  - measures of strength, 37, 42, 49
  - social control, 21n6, 47
  - social forces and, 18, 20n5, 42, 54, 64, 267, 269
- State Development Office, 150n13
- State Economic Development Corporation (SEDC), 50, 151n13, 225n1, 242
- “state-in-society” theory, 10, 15, 16–19, 20n5, 54, 64
- State Planning Unit (SPU), 150n13
- State Reform Party (STAR), 162, 165
- Steele, Henry, 28
- Stephen Kalong Ningkan
- appointment as Chief Minister, 69n18, 124
  - central state’s role in ouster, 8, 71, 109n1, 141
  - criticism of language policy, 84
  - in Dayak unity meeting, 99
  - failure to dominate cabinet, 76, 78, 110n7
  - Land Bill issue, 117
  - stance of regionalism, 7, 34, 83, 269
  - Taib and, 268
- Stephen Wan Ulok, 134, 149n7
- St. John, Spenser, 3, 66n3
- strongmen
- accommodation of, 18, 223
  - challenges to, 219–24
  - Malay, 4, 61
  - modus operandi*, 102, 166, 242
  - as social force, 17–18, 72–73, 108, 220
- Suaidi, Tua Kampung, 256
- Suhaili Mumin, 240
- Sulaiman Aban, 265n10
- Sulaiman Abdul Rahman Taib, 115, 149n5, 209, 210, 277, 278
- Sulaiman Daud, Datuk Dr
- background, 148n3
  - central state’s preference for, 118
  - development projects, 147, 245, 246
  - in PBB leadership contest, 126, 134, 149n7, 160
- Sulaiman Palestin, 149n11
- SUPP (Sarawak United People’s Party)
- alliance with SNAP, 72
  - in BN3, 158
  - BN Plus and, 123–24, 238, 276
  - cabinet posts, 197, 198
  - in elections, 70n21, 81, 133, 159, 162, 165, 215, 216
  - ethnic base, 163, 164, 272
  - finance portfolio, 227n8
  - history, 10
  - institutional resilience, 223
  - leadership crisis, 216–17, 218
  - Malay attitude to, 75
  - in Ming Court Affair, 135
  - Rahman Yakub and, 90, 94–95, 107, 111n10, 238, 270–71
  - representation in government, 77
  - in Sarawak Alliance, 88–89
  - in southwest Sarawak, 237–38, 256, 265(nn9–11)
  - Taib and, 170
- Suud bin Udin, Tua Kampung, 237, 256
- Suut Haji Tahir, 79
- syariah courts, 86–87
- Syed Ahmad Alwee Alsree, 115, 149n5

Syed Kechik, 8  
 Syed Rosley Syed Abu Bakar, 35  
 Sylvester Entri, 226n5

**T**

Taha Ariffin, 154  
 Tajang Laing, 101  
 Tan Chee Beng, 15  
 Tanah Hitam, 232, 236, 243, 252, 256  
 Tanjung Datu, 229, 237–38, 239, 241, 263, 264n5, 265n8  
 Tawi Sli  
   failure to dominate politics, 76–78, 80, 110n7, 269  
   as non-Muslim *bumiputera* leader, 71, 82  
   as *penghulu*, 256, 257  
   removal of Ningkan and, 110n7  
   Taib and, 80, 117  
   tenure as chief minister, 34, 110n7  
 Telaga Air, 230, 232, 236, 252, 256  
 Telok Melano  
   community chiefs, 256, 259  
   demographics, 230, 232  
   employment structure, 233, 236, 243  
   infrastructure deprivation, 229, 250  
   satisfaction with government, 252  
 Teluk Serabang, 230, 232, 233, 236, 243, 250, 252, 256  
*temenggong*, 255, 258  
 Teng, David, 153  
 Teo Chung Chai, 265n10  
 Thomas Kana, 89  
 Thomas Tommy, 227n9  
 Tiki Lafe, Dr, 213  
 timber sector, 44, 46, 101–2, 119, 156, 180–82, 202 (nn1, 2), 203n12  
 Ting Kiong Sing, 212  
 Tiong Thai King, 217  
 Trusan Jaya, 232, 236, 243, 252, 256

**U**

Ujok Andeng, Penghulu, 257  
 UMAT (Parti Umat Sarawak), 106  
 Umpau Empam, Penghulu, 257  
 United Malays National Organization (UMNO)  
   in alliance with MCA and MIC, 88  
   contest for presidency, 136, 148, 149n11  
   development of NEP, 185  
   influence on Rahman, 97  
   newspaper, 210  
   PBB and, 98  
   political dominance, 48, 280  
   proposal for Sarawak party, 79, 126, 158, 165–66, 210–11, 220, 273  
 United Sarawak Natives Association (USNA), 133  
 Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, 198  
 Universiti Pertanian Malaysia, 131  
 Universiti Teknologi Mara, 198  
 Urban Development Authority (UDA), 50  
 Usop Wahab, 128  
 Usup, Pengiran, 66n3  
*Utusan Malaysia*, 210, 222  
*Utusan Sarawak*, 221

**W**

Wahab Dollah, 128, 139  
 Walker, J.H., 4  
 Wan Abdul Wahab Wan Senusi, 128, 135, 137, 149n10, 153  
 Wan Ahmad Habib Salleh, 135  
 Wan Ahmadul Badwi, 148n4  
 Wan Ali, Dr, 56  
 Wan Fauzi Tuanku Ayubi, 156  
 Wan Habib bin Syed Mahmud, 85, 101–102, 126, 131, 132–33, 149n7  
 Wan Hamid Edruce, Haji, 135

- Wan Madzihi Othman Datuk Marzuki, 149n7
- Wan Madzihi Wan Mahdzar, 102, 131, 133, 134, 139
- Wan Yusof, 56, 154
- Wan Yusuf Tun Haji Bujang, Datuk, 126, 131, 134, 139, 149n7, 156
- WARISAN (Parti Warisan Pribumi Sarawak), 158, 160
- Weber, Max, 20n5
- Wee Chong Hui, 10, 11–12
- Wee Kok Tiong, 215
- Wilfred Nissom, 227n9
- William Mawan Ikom, 212, 213, 226n5
- Winston Tujang Pata, 265n7
- Wong, James  
in 1987 election, 139  
cabinet posts, 137, 153, 205(nn18, 19)  
detention under ISA, 94, 270  
1983 election controversy, 127–28, 149n9  
presidency of SNAP, 121, 122, 149n6, 150n12, 212–13
- Wong, Richard, 212
- Wong Soon Kai, Datuk Dr, 107, 132, 145, 204n17, 205n18
- Wong Soon Koh, 205n19, 217
- Y**
- Yahya Setia Raja, Pehin Datu, 114
- Yamada, Setsuo, 32
- Yong, Stephen, Datuk Amar, 89, 107, 112n12, 143, 146
- Yusof, C.M., 149n11
- Yusuf Abdullah, 149n7
- Z**
- Zai, Haji, 259
- Zainab Mahmud, 225n3
- Zainuddin Hasan, 149n7
- Zainuddin Satem, 101, 135
- Zakat and Fitrah Fund, 190
- Zaleha Mahmud, 114