INDEX

A	Al-Ma'unah extremists, 149
Abdullah Ahmad Badawi	Anwar Ibrahim
Chinese support for, 47, 90, 94	alternative media and, 153, 158
clarification on Islamic statehood,	beating by police, 12
11	Chinese community and, 148, 156
failure to fight corruption, 94, 135,	equal footing with other PR leaders,
154	62
keris-waving incident and, 93	fallout with Mahathir, xxix, 129,
Mahathir's allegations against, 75	149, 162
Mazu incident and, 120	Lim Guan Eng and, 73
2008 election results and, 14, 57,	New Economic Agenda, xxvii,
70, 102	131–41
version of Islam, 94	non-Malay support for, 77
warning to Chinese community, 158	PAS-DAP relations and, 14
Yong Teck Lee and, 119	return to politics, 74, 76–77, 81
Abdul Rahman, Tunku, 7, 21n5, 50	as symbol of ruling party's injustice,
Abdul Rahman Yakub, 110	14, 75
Abdul Razak, Tun, 21n5, 145	2008 election results and, xxii
Abdul Taib Mahmud, xxv, 111, 112,	Yong Teck Lee and, 119-20
115	Arabic, 36
AEC (television channel), 151	Ashaari Muhammad, 15
Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 15	Asian financial crisis, xxxii, 12, 47,
Aliran, 5, 142n6, 162	59, 129, 179, 190(nn17–18),
Alliance Party. See also BN (Barisan	191n22
Nasional)	Associated Chinese Chamber of
Article 153 and, 7	Commerce, 156, 159
Chinese voters and, 86	ASTRO satellite television, 149, 151
consociational democracy and, 4-5,	Australia, 180, 190n17
62	Azimi Daim, 93
Independence of Malaya Party and,	
18–19	В
May 1969 riots and, 89, 91	Babas, xvii, 9, 11
mother-tongue education and, 173	Bahasa Malaysia

bibles in, xxv, 11, 95, 102	Anwar Ibrahim and, 135–36
Chinese fluency in, 57, 183	business partners, 55
Chinese Muslims and, 36, 42n20	education, 170, 189n8
in education policies, 174, 190n15	household income, 191n20
newspapers in, 146, 148, 149	political fragmentation, 129
non-Muslim religions and, 51	population, 3
as official language, xxxi, 8, 20	Sabah Muslim, 116–17
Bajau, 3	Sino-Kadazans, 116
Barisan Alternatif, 149	use of term, 3, 6
Barnes Report, xxx	Bumiputra Commercial and Industrial
Berita Harian, 145, 146	Community (BCIC), xxvi, 127
Berjaya, 116	Bumiputra policy
BERSIH (Coalition for Clean and Fair	alternatives to, 15–16
Elections)	education and, 8, 168, 179, 189n12
allegations of electoral fraud, 76	equity targets, xxvii, 54, 82, 128–
formation, 74	29, 142n5
multi-ethnic nature of, 103, 154	Malay-Chinese relations and, xviii, 7
online media coverage of, 158, 162	NEP and, xxvi
rally, 92, 130, 154	UMNO's manipulation of, xvii, 7
Bidayuh, 122n3	Bush, George W., 18, 20
BN (Barisan Nasional). See also	,
Gerakan (Parti Gerakan Rakyat	С
Malaysia); MCA (Malaysian	Cambodia, 152
Chinese Association); MIC	Canada, 180, 190n17
(Malaysian Indian Congress);	Cantonese, 114
UMNO (United Malays National	CAT (competency, accountability,
Organization)	transparency), 73
arrogance, 129	Catholics, 61
attempt to muzzle Internet, 79–80	Central Bank of Malaysia, 137
Chinese votes and, xxi, 86, 149	Centre for Public Policy Research, 54
consociational democracy and, 6	Chandra Muzaffar, 11, 19, 150, 158
in East Malaysia, 109, 115, 119,	Chang Teck Peng, 152
122n1, 123n25, 130	Chan Hong Ham, George, xxv, 111,
formation, 5	112, 113–15
media coverage of, 155–56, 158,	Chan Kong Choy, 150
161	Chew Mei Fun, 78, 91
prospects, 82–83	Chin, James, xxiv-xxvi, 109-23
rentier class and, xxvii	China
2008 election results, xv	interest in Chinese language and,
Broga, Selangor, 61	189n12
Brown, David, 2	Malaysian Chinese and, xxxiii, 39,
Buddhism, 3, 61, 159	148
Bumiputra. See also Malay community	manufacturing sector, 54, 55

Muslims in, 27, 31	in Penang, Selangor and Perak,
tertiary institutions in, 191n19	xxviii, 187
China Press, 147, 150, 151	state marginalization of, xxxi–xxxii
Chinese community. See also Chinese-	tertiary institutions, 190n19
medium education; non-Malays	Chin Fah Kui, Peter, 113
attitude to Islam, 32–33, 39,	Chong Kah Kiat, 120–21
41n12	Christian Federation of Malaysia, 61
attitude to NEP, 7, 80, 131	Christians
businesses, xxxiii, 54–55	Chinese, 10, 42n14
civil society groups, 60–61	missionary schools, 188n2
cultural identity, 51	percentage of population, 3, 61
decline in power, xx, 48–49	use of word "Allah", 95, 102, 121
divisions within, 57–58	Chua, David, 90
in East Malaysia, 109–23	Chua Jui Ming, 150
education, xxxi, 53, 166–91	Chua Soi Lek, Dr, 78
household income, 191n20	civil society groups, xx, 60-61, 92,
imagining of Malaysia, xvi, 17	103, 130, 158. See also individual
Mahathir and, 148–50	organizations
media, xxviii–xxx	CMS (Cahaya Mata Sarawak), 112
members of parliament, 64	colonial rule, 4, 166–67
Muslims within, xviii–xix, 26–42	consociational democracy, 5-6, 18,
political dilemmas, 89–96	19
population, xx, xxxiv, 3, 48–49,	Constitution
116–17	amendments to, xix, xx, xxviii, 48
poverty in, 15, 191n20	Article 10, xxviii, 145
relations with Malays, 9, 32	Article 121, 95
religion, 10, 27	Article 153, xvi, xxviii, 6–7, 136
religious discrimination against, xxv,	definition of Malay, xviii, 28
120–21	equality in, xxviii
voting patterns, xxi, 56, 72, 86,	freedom of religion in, 10, 27
96–101, 106, 159	impossibility of Islamic state under,
women in, 169, 171–73	10
Chinese language, 39, 42n15,	Malay rulers in, 48, 57
189(nn10, 12)	parliamentary majorities and, 70
Chinese media, xxviii–xxix, xxxiii, 51,	suspension after 1969 riots, 145
145–52, 155–60	corruption, 1, 61, 77, 94
Chinese-medium education	Corruption Perception Index (CPI), 94
as core community concern, 51,	Council of Churches of Malaysia, 61
	•
52–53 history 173–79	cronyism, 127, 128, 134
history, 173–78	D
non-Chinese students in, 189n11	D
non-Mandarin-speaking headmaster	DAP (Democratic Action Party). See
issue, 148, 160–61	<i>also</i> PR (Pakatan Rakyat)

in Barisan Alternatif, 149 candidates from civil society, 61,	historical results, 63 Emergency, 57
79, 80 Chinese schools issue, 148	English language, 8, 57, 119, 178, 189(nn10, 12, 14), 190n15
Chinese support for, xxi, xxii, xxiii	English schools, 167, 174, 188(nn2, 5)
coverage in media, 156, 157–58	Ezywood Options Sdn. Bhd., 152
Malay support for, 56	, 1
1999 elections, 90	F
PAS and, 14, 91	Far Eastern Economic Review, 149
PBS and, 62	Federal Territory Department of
in Penang, 73, 80, 97	Religious Affairs (JAWI), 94
PKR and, xxvii	Fenn-Wu Report, xxx
representation in state governments,	Fleet Holdings, xxix, 146
xxiv	Fong Poh Kuan, 156
in Sabah, xxvi, 116, 120	Foochow community, 113, 114
in Sarawak, xxv, 109, 110, 111, 112 support for HINDRAF, 93	Furnivall, J.S., 4, 9
2008 election results, xxi–xxii,	G
22n18, 56, 73	Geertz, Clifford, 19
Darul Arqam, 15	George, Cherian, 162
Dayaks, 109, 110, 113, 122(nn1, 3)	Gerakan (Parti Gerakan Rakyat
Devaraj, Jeyakumar, 158	Malaysia). See also BN (Barisan
Dong Jiao Zong, 89, 94, 149	Nasional)
Dusun, 3	in 1959 election, 49
	Chinese education and, 89, 148, 156
E	DAP and, 22n18
education. See also Chinese-medium	divided Chinese support for, xx, 49,
education; higher education	86
English as medium of, 178	loss of Penang, xxii, 78–80
inequities in, 182–86 nation-building and, xxxi, 4, 16,	possible expansion to Sarawak, xxvi, 122
167–68, 176–77	prospects, 59
New Economic Agenda and, xxvii	in Sabah, 116
Education Act, 175, 179, 188n7	support for Suqiu, 149
Election Commission (EC), 76, 156	2008 election results, xxi, 13, 56, 72
elections. See also 2008 election	UMNO and, xxiii, 129, 162
1955, 87	global economic crisis, 75, 83
1959, 49	globalization, xxxiii, 55
1964, 90	Gore, Al, 20
1969, 88, 90	Group of Concerned Citizens (GCC),
1995, 97	158
1999, 47, 60, 97, 144	Guang Ming Ribao, xxx, 148, 155, 156,
2004, 47, 50, 71–72, 74, 97, 154	159

Guthrie (Malaysia), 81	NEP and, 74, 80, 131
Guyana, 88	in New Villages, 191n23
•	population, 3
H	protests, 15, 22n19, 61, 89, 92–93,
Hainan Federation of Sabah and	130
Labuan, 120	voting patterns, xxi, 56, 72
Hakkas, 114	Indonesia
Han Jiang International College, 190n19	democracy and reform in, 19, 129
Hashim Suboh, 93	importation of Malay bibles from,
Hasnoor Sidang Hussein, 93	11
Hassan Ali, 105	Islam in, 38
higher education	migration to Sabah, xxv, 116–17
under colonial rule, 167	race relations in, 16, 60
privatization, xxxii, 53, 148, 168,	Industrial Coordination Act, 127
174, 178–82	Institute of Strategic Analysis and
rates of, 169, 170	Policy (INSAP), 51–52
standards of, 8, 21n11, 134, 137	Integrated Schools, 176–77
HINDRAF (Hindu Rights Action	Internet
Force), 22n19, 61, 89, 92–93,	access rates, 65n5, 153, 162
95, 130, 154	government control of, xxix, 162
Hinduism, 3, 95, 102	mainstream media and, 153–54
Hishamuddin Hussein Onn, 93, 94	opposition politics and, 13, 79, 81
Ho Khai Leong, xxi-xxiii, 70-84	2008 election and, 46
Hokkiens, 114	ISA (Internal Security Act), xxix, 61,
Hong Kong, 152	75, 130, 153, 154, 158
Horowitz, Donald, 19	Islam
Hou Kok Chung, Dr, 188	Badawi's moderate version of, 94
Huaren Holdings, xxix, 146, 150	global radicalization, 38
Hui people, 27, 28	Malay dominance and, 51
Human Rights Watch, 76	official religion, 10, 20, 27, 51, 119
Hussein Onn, 53	in Wang's quadrilateral model,
	xix-xx, 48, 50
I	Islamization policies, xvii, 13, 52, 175
Ibans, 3, 122n3, 189n9	
Independence of Malaya Party (IMP),	J
18, 58	Jacobsen, Michael, 38
Independent Chinese Secondary	Jeffrey Kitingan, 81
Schools (ICSS), 174, 175, 182, 184	Johor, 187–88, 190n19
Indian community. See also non-Malays	Joseph Pairin Kitingan, 62, 81, 118
decline in power, xx, 48	judiciary, 1, 12-13, 46, 75, 137
education, xxviii, 167–68, 170–71,	
179, 182f, 187, 188n7	K
imagining of Malaysia, 17	Kadazans, xxv-xxvi, 3, 116, 189n9

Keadilan. See PKR (Parti Keadilan	Lau Hui Kang, 151
Rakyat)	Law Hieng Dieng, 113, 114
Kedah, xv, xx, 187	Lee, Alex, 58
Kelantan, xv, 10, 13	Lee, H.S., 58
Kemayan Oil Palm, 148	Lee Kam Hing, xix–xxi, 45–67, 149
Kessler, Clive, 50	Leong, Paul, 58
Ketuanan Melayu ideology	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), 62,
Chinese attitudes to, xxi	116, 119, 120
communal polarization and, xvi	Life Publishers, 147
education and, 175	Lijphart, Arend, 5
keris as symbol of, 50	Lim Ah Lek, 150
Malay community and, 131	Lim Fong Seng, 147
May 1969 riots and, xx	Lim Guan Eng, 22n18, 62, 73, 74,
PERKASA and, xxviii	102–3, 138, 157
vs. Ketuanan Rakyat, 133–34	Lim Keng Yaik, 58
Ketuanan Rakyat, xxvii	Lim Kheng Kim, 147
Khairy Jamaluddin, 75, 158	Lim Kit Siang, 45, 73, 90, 156, 157
Khalid Ibrahim, 74, 81	Lim Teck Ghee, 54, 142n5
Khoo Boo Teik, 161	Lingam tape scandal, 46, 92
Khoo Kay Jin, 142n6	Ling Liong Sik, xxix, 150, 151
Khoo Kay Kim, 9	
King, Gary, 97	M
Kin Kwok Daily, 147	Ma, Rosey, xviii–xix, 26–42
Klang Valley, 47, 176	Mahathir Mohamad
Koh Tsu Koon, Dr	attack on Suqiu and Dong Jiao
defeat in own constituency, 72, 80	Zong, 94, 161
graciousness in defeat, 14, 102	attacks on Badawi, 75, 159
media coverage of, 156, 157, 158	Bumiputra agenda, xxvi
perceived weakness, xxii, 103	Chinese community and, 148–50
Koperasi Belia Bersatu (KOSATU),	declaration of Islamic statehood, 11
147	51, 52, 90
KTS Sdn. Bhd., 151	fallout with Anwar, xxix, 129, 149,
Kuala Lumpur, 21n1	162
Kuala Lumpur and Selangor Chinese	ideas on English-language
Assembly Hall (KLSCAH), 149	education, 189n14
Kudat Moral Uplifting Society, 120	large-scale privatization under, 127
Kudat Thean Hou Charitable	Malay rulers and, xx
Foundation (KTHCF), 120	politics of fear, 14
Kwong Wah Jit Poh, 149	resignation from UMNO, 159
_	restrictions on media, xxix, 12,
L	146–47
Labuan, 21n1	Sabah politics and, 117, 123n25
language issues, xxx-xxxi	sacking of lord president and, 12

Vision 2020 blueprint, 89	Malaysia. See also Constitution
voluntary retirement, 112	democracy in, 5-6, 12-13, 14,
Wang's quadrilateral model and, 48	17–18
Malacca, 10	formation, 21n1, 51
Malaya, 21n1	impact of global economic crisis
Malayan Thung Bao, xxix, 146	on, 75
Malayan Union, 57	as plural society, 4
Malay College Kuala Kangsar	population, 3, 117
(MCKK), 188n2	public sector mediocrity, 137–38
Malay community. See also Bumiputra	quadrilateral model of power in,
attitude to Chinese Muslims, xviii,	xix-xx, 47-49
7, 29–30	religion in, 3, 10
criticism of <i>Bumiputra</i> ideology	Malaysia Agreement, 51
within, xxviii	Malaysia-China Chamber of
education, 166-68, 170, 171,	Commerce, 159
188n2	Malaysiakini
growing inequality in, xxvi-xxvii	coverage of politics, xxx, 158, 159,
imagining of Malaysia, xvi, 7–8, 17	160
Islamic revivalism and, 39	establishment, xxix, 152, 162
NEP and, 7, 8, 37, 84, 131, 137	on Jeff Ooi's blog, 80
in New Villages, 191n23	multi-ethnic readership, 13
occupational structure, xxvi	press card, 153
in public higher education, 53	Malaysian Bar Association, 92, 154, 162
relations with Chinese, 9, 32	Malaysian Chinese Association. See
religious identity, xvii, 10, 30, 32	MCA (Malaysian Chinese
voting patterns, xxii–xxiii, xxvii, 19,	Association)
56, 87, 106	Malaysian Chinese Muslim Association
Malay language. See Bahasa Malaysia	(MACMA), 37
Malay Mail, 146	Malaysian Institute of Microelectronic
Malay/Melanau Muslims (MMM),	Systems (MIMOS), 55
110, 113	Malaysian People's Party, 22n18
Malay nationalism. See also Bumiputra	Malaysians for Free and Fair Elections
policy	(MAFREL), 76
Islamization of, 62	Malaysia Plans
keris-waving incident, 45, 50, 93,	Second (1971–75), 6
162	Ninth (2006–10), 176
in nation-building, xv–xvi, 6	Malaysia Today, 153
as secular movement, 50	May 1969 ethnic riots
theory vs. practice, 1–2	background, 89
2008 election and, 56	ban on public rallies after, 12
in Wang's quadrilateral model,	media restrictions and, xxviii-xix,
xix-xx, 48, 55	145
Malay rulers, xix–xx, 48, 57	national identity and, xvi, xx

political invocation of, 90–91	Moorthy, M., 94–95
2008 election and, 87, 102, 103	Motorola issue, 156, 158
Maznah Mohamad, 15–16	Murut, 3
Mazu incident, xxv, 120–21	Musa Aman, 120
MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association). See also BN (Barisan Nasional)	Muslims, xviii–xix, 3, 10, 26–42, 27, 28–30, 41n13. <i>See also</i> Islam
in 1959 election, 49	
Chinese education and, 53, 58, 148,	N
156, 183	Nagata, Judith, 34
distrust of IMP, 19	Najib Tun Razak, 11, 51, 52, 120, 144,
divided Chinese support for, xx, 49,	153, 190
86	Nanyang Press, 147, 150, 152, 160
failure to represent Chinese interests,	Nanyang Press Holdings Berhad, 152
xxii, xxiii, 95	Nanyang Siang Pau, xxix, 145, 146,
identification of Chinese concerns,	147, 149–50, 151, 152
51–52	National Accreditation Board (LAN)
internal problems, 78	Act, 179
media coverage of, 156, 159	National Evangelical Christian
newspaper ownership, xxix, 146,	Fellowship, 61
150, 152, 160	National Higher Education Fund
possible expansion to Sarawak, xxvi,	Corporation Act, 179, 191n22
122	National Justice Party, 22n18
prospects, 58–59	National Operations Council (NOC),
in Sabah, 116	21n5, 145
support for Suqiu, 149	National Union of Journalists Malaysia,
2008 election results, xxi, 13,	154
22n18, 56, 72	National University of Singapore
UMNO and, xxiii, 58, 129, 161,	(NUS), 21n11, 167
162	nation-building
younger voters and, 58	Chinese Muslims and, 40
youth and state branches, 151	communal differences on, xv-xvi
Merdeka Centre, 74	defined, 3
Merdekareview, xxix, xxx, 152, 153,	education and, xxxi, 4, 16, 167-68,
159, 160, 162	176–77, 188n7
MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress),	racial approach to, 18
xxix, 13, 72, 129, 146	success, 5
Ming Pao, 152	NDP (National Development Policy),
Ming Pao Enterprise Corporation	16, 131, 141n1
Limited, 152	NEP (New Economic Policy). See also
Mohamad Khir Toyo, Dr, 187	Bumiputra policy
Mohamad Nizar Jamaluddin, 105	Bumiputra equity targets, xxvii
Mohd. Asri Zainul Abidin, Dr, 39	communal polarization and, xvi, 6,
monopartism, 88	7–8, 74

corruption and, 46 education and, 169, 179 Lim Guan Eng and, 73 non-Malay acceptance of, 15 objectives and implementation, xxvi, 6, 126–29 results, 7, 8, 127–28 New Economic Agenda (NEA), xxii,	Onn bin Ja'afar, Dato', 18 Ooi, Jeff, 79, 80–81, 156, 157 Operation Lallang, 148 Orang Asli, 132, 189n9 Orang Ulu, 122n3 Oriental Daily News, 151 OSA (Official Secrets Act), xxix, 147, 153, 154
New Era College, 188, 190n19 New Straits Times Press (NSTP), 146, 147 New Villages, xxxii, 58, 186, 191 (nn20, 23, 24) New Zealand, 180, 190n17 Ng Yen Yen, 49 non-Malays. See also Chinese community; Indian community acceptance of Constitution, 20 Anwar Ibrahim and, 135 brain drain among, 190n17 business restrictions on, 54 Muslims, 30 national culture debate, 7–8 NEP and, 74, 80 reaction to Islamization, 52 relations with Malays, 9–10 UMNO and, 45, 56, 57 voting patterns, 87, 88 in Wang's quadrilateral model, xix—xx, 47, 48, 50, 55 non-Muslim Bumiputra (NMB), 110, 117, 121 Norila Md Daud, 154 NTV7, 149 NVP (National Vision Policy), 16, 130, 141n1 O Obama, Barack, 18 Ong Ka Chuan, 49, 158	Papua New Guinea, 152 Parti Rakyat Sarawak (PRS), 110 PAS (Parti Islam Se Malaysia). See also PR (Pakatan Rakyat) in Barisan Alternatif, 149 Chinese attitudes to, xxi, xxiii, 52 control by Islamists, xvii, xx criticism of PERKASA, xxviii cross-ethnic voting and, xxii, 56 DAP and, 14 Kelantan and Terengganu and, 13, 22n12 Malay support for, 91, 129 other PR leaders and, 62 PKR and, xxvii support for HINDRAF, 93 2008 election results, 73, 74 UMNO and, xx, 2, 10, 48, 87, 105 Wang's quadrilateral model and, 50 PBB (Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu), 110, 111, 112 PBS (Parti Bersatu Sabah), 62, 81, 115, 116, 118, 119 Pekan Baru Vision School Complex, 176 Pemandangan Sinar, 148 Penang CAT policies, xxvii—xxviii, 73 Chinese-medium college in, 190n19 Chinese voting patterns in, 97–98 cross-ethnic voting, 47
Ong Ka Ting, 78, 94 Ong Tee Keat, 99, 150	ethnic tension in, 102–3 media, xxx

media coverage of politics in, 156,	plural society theory, 4, 19
158	police professionalism, 1, 12, 17, 137
PR government, xxiv, 103, 104,	PR (Pakatan Rakyat). <i>See also</i> DAP
138, 139, 187	(Democratic Action Party); PAS
2008 election results, xv, xxi, xxii,	(Parti Islam Se Malaysia); PKR
22n18, 73	(Parti Keadilan Rakyat)
Penang Chinese Town Hall, 148, 156	BN defections to, 119
Penang Global City Centre (PGCC),	Chinese education and, xxxii
75, 79, 140	Chinese votes and, xxi
Penang Municipal Council, 73	communal power sharing in, 62,
Pensonic, 54	104
People's Front Coalition. See PR	Internet and, xxx
(Pakatan Rakyat)	new state governments, xxiv, xxviii,
Perak	96, 103, 104, 105, 139–40
Chinese split voting in, 99–100	non-Malay support, 57
ethnic tension in, 103	prospects, 60
Malay rulers, xx, 57	2008 election results, 45, 155
PR government, xxiv, xxviii, 96,	Printing Presses and Publications Act
103, 104, 105, 140, 187	(PPPA), xxviii, xxix, 145–46,
2008 election and, xv	147, 154
Peranakan Chinese, xvii, 9, 11	Private Higher Educational Institutions
PERKASA, xxviii	Act, 53, 179
Perlis, 39, 57	Pundut Vision School Complex, 178
Permodalan Nasional Berhad, 81	Putrajaya, 21n1
PERNAS, xxix, 146	•
Petroleum Development Act, 127	Q
Philippines, xxv, 116–17	Quek Leng Chan, 150
PKR (Parti Keadilan Rakyat). See also	
PR (Pakatan Rakyat)	R
in 1999 election, 74	Rabushka, Alvin, 19
candidates from civil society, 61	Raffles College, 188n6
Chinese support for, xxi, xxii, xxiii,	Rahim Noor (Inspector General), 12
150	Raja Petra Kamarudin, 153
criticism of PERKASA, xxviii	Ramasamy, P., 61, 80
formation, 22n18, 149	Ratnam, K.J., 18, 21n7
media coverage of, 157-58	Razak Report, xxx
New Economic Agenda, xxii, 81,	Razaleigh Hamzah, Tengku, 89, 90,
131–41	117, 146
PAS-DAP relations and, 14	Reflections on Malaysian Elites, 47,
in Sabah, xxvi	xxxivn2
in Sarawak, xxv, 110	Reformasi movement
support for HINDRAF, 93	Anwar Ibrahim and, 77, 129
2008 election, xxi–xxii, 56, 73	Chinese voters and, 47, 60

formation of PKR and, 149	Sarawak Progressive Democratic Party
Internet and, 162	(SPDP), 110
multi-ethnic support for, 138	Sathyaseelan, Shamala, 95
objectives, 129, 135	SEAPA (Southeast Asian Press
Reid Commission, xxviii	Alliance), xxix, 152
Rimbunan Hijau, 148	Seberang Prai Municipal Council, 73
,	Securities Commission, 137
S	Sedition Act, 145, 153
Sabah	Sekolah Kebangsaan Jenis Cina
in Article 153, 7	(SJKCs), 52
Chinese newspapers in, 51	Selangor
Chinese politics in, xxiv, xxv–xxvi,	Chinese split voting in, 99, 101
115–21	communal tensions in, 102
ethnic breakdown, 3, 116–17	Malay rulers, xx, 57
ethnic relations, 11	PR government, xxiv, xxviii, 103,
in formation of Malaysia, 21n1	104, 105, 139, 187
as part of non-Malay "leg", 60,	private Chinese college in, 190n19
61–62	2008 election, xv
pribumi, 3	Select Committee on Competency,
relations with central state, 130	Accountability & Transparency
20-point Agreement, 118–19	(SELCAT), xxviii
Sabah Democratic Action Party	Semangat 46, 62
(DAP), 116, 120	Sensitive Act, xxviii, xxix
Sabah Progressive Party, 62	Shah Alam City Council, 95
Salleh Abas, Tun, 12	Shin Min Daily, 145, 146, 147, 150
SAPP (Sabah Progressive Party), 116,	Sidang Injil Borneo (SIB), 121
118–20, 130	Sikhs, 102
Sarawak	Sim Kheng Hui, 114
in Article 153, 7	Sim Tze Tzin, 158
Chinese newspapers in, 51	Sin Chew Daily, xxx, 151, 155, 156,
Chinese politics in, xxiv-xxv,	159
109–15	Sin Chew Jit Poh, 145, 146, 148
election cycles, 122n4	Sin Chew Media Corporation Limited
ethnic breakdown, 3	152
ethnic relations, 11	Singapore, 21n1, 145, 167, 190n17
in formation of Malaysia, 21n1	Singh, Karpal, 90, 156
as part of non-Malay "leg", 60,	Sino-Kadazans, 116
61–62	Sin Pin Jih Pao, 147–48
relations with central state, 130	Soon Choon Teck, Dr, 113–15
20-point Agreement, 118–19	Southern College, 190n19
voting patterns in, 96–97, 110–11	Sreenevasan, Ambiga, 92
Sarawak Democratic Action Party	Star, The, 146
(DAP), 109, 110, 111, 112	Steele, Janet, 162

Straits Chinese, 8	rejection of racial politics in, 18
Straits Times, 145	results, xv
SUARAM, 61, 162	role of media and, 144-62
Sulaiman Abdul Rahman Taib, 111,	seats won, 71
122n11	
Sun, The, 151	U
SUPP (Sarawak United People's Party),	UMNO (United Malays National
xxiv-xxv, xxvi, 62, 96-97, 109,	Organization). See also BN
110–15	(Barisan Nasional)
Suqiu, 61, 90, 149-50, 161	Chinese community and, xxi, xxii,
Syariah Court, 51, 95, 159	121
Syed Husin Ali, 158	democracy and, 5-6
	distrust of IMP, 19
T	dominance of BN, 45-46, 129
Taiwan, 148, 191n19	in East Malaysia, 120, 122,
Taman Aman Vision School Complex,	123n25
176	education policies, 167, 168-69
Tamil language, 189n10	Islamization policy, xvii
Tamil Nesan, 146	leadership struggle, 56
Tan Chee-Beng, xvi-xviii, 1-23, 42n15	Malay nationalist agenda, xvi–xviii,
Tan Kah Kee, 188n3	18, 82–83, 90
Tan Koon Swan, 147	Malay voters and, 19, 87, 129, 187
Tan Siew Sin, 49	media coverage of, 159
Tasik Permai Vision School Complex,	NOC and, 21n5
176	non-Malay parties and, 49, 83, 148,
Teng Hock Nan, 156	162
Teochews, 114	PAS and, xx, 10, 48, 87, 90, 105
Terengganu, xvii, 10, 11, 13, 22n12,	politics of fear, 2, 18, 93, 138
57	rentier class and, xxvii
Thailand, 55	sacking of lord president and, 12
Tiong Hiew King, xxix, 148, 151, 152	split in 1987–88, 89
Toh, Harry, 147	2008 election and, 13
Toh Kin Woon, xxvii	younger generation and, 57–58
Transparency International, 158	UMNO Youth, 45, 50, 93, 146, 153,
Tung Bao, 146, 150	162
Tunku Abdul Rahman College, 53,	United Chinese School Committees
174	Association, 149
TV3, 149	United Chinese School Teachers
20-Point Agreement, xxv, 118–19	Association, 89, 94, 149
2008 election	United Kingdom, 180, 190n17
allegations of fraud in, 76	United States, 180, 190n17
politics of fear and, 2, 20	University and University Colleges
potential consequences, xviii	(Amendment) Act, 179

University of Malaya (UM), 21n11, 188n6 USJ 15 Vision School Complex, 176 Utusan Malaysia, 149 Utusan Melayu, 146

V

Vellu, Samy, 72 Vietnam, 54–55 Vision 2020, 20, 89 Vision Schools, 176, 189n13

W

Walk for Justice, 92 Wan Azizah Wan Ismail, 14, 22n18, 73 Wang Gungwu, xix–xx, xxiv, xxvii, 47–48, 50, 55 Wee Ka Siong, Dr, 188 Welsh, Bridget, 144 Wong, Elizabeth, 61 Wong Chin Huat, xxiii–xxiv, 86–106 Wong Chin Yong, 115 Wong Soon Koh, xxv, 113, 114, 115

Y

Yang di-Pertuan Agong, 6–7, 13 Yazhou Zhoukan, 152 Ye Lin-Sheng, 15 yoga, ban on, 39 Yong Teck Lee, 116, 118–20 Youth for Change (Y4C), 158

ZZahrain Hashim, 104