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# Globalization & National Autonomy



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# Globalization & National Autonomy

## **The Experience of Malaysia**



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Malaysia

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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7MP	Seventh Malaysia Plan
9MP	Ninth Malaysia Plan
ABIM	Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement)
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFC	Asian Financial Crisis
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIM	Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia
AL ARQAM	Darul Arqam
AMCJA	All Malaya Council of Joint Action
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BCIC	Bumiputera Commercial and Industrial Community
BN	Barisan Nasional
BOT	Build-Operate-Transfer
CAHP	Coalition Against Healthcare Privatization
CBUs	Completely Built-Up Units
CKD	Completely Knocked Down
DID	Drainage and Irrigation Division
DNU	Department of National Unity
EPF	Employees Provident Fund
EPU	Economic Planning Unit
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FELCRA	Federal Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority
FELDA	Federal Land Development Authority
FIDA	Federal Industrial Development Authority
FMM	Federation of Malaysian Manufacturers

viii ABBREVIATIONS

FTAA	Free Trade Area of the America
FYPs	Five-year Plans
G20	20 Developing Countries
GAPENA	Gabungan Persatuan Penulis Nasional Malaysia
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLCs	Government-Linked Companies
GMP	Guaranteed Minimum Price
GNP	Gross National Product
GSN	Globalization Studies Network
HICOM	Heavy Industries Corporation of Malaysia
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IADPs	Integrated Agricultural Development Programmes
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICA	Industrial Coordination Act
ICU	Implementation and Coordination Unit
IIR	Interethnic Incomes Ratio
IKMAS	Institute of Malaysian and International Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRA	Industrial Relations Act
JAKIM	Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia (Department of Islamic Advancement of Malaysia)
JIM	Jemah Islah Malaysia (Malaysia Council/Congregation for Islamic Reformation)
JSEPA	Japan-Singapore Economic Partnership Agreement
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
LEP	Look East Policy
MARA	Majlis Amanah Rakyat (People's Trust Council)
MARDI	Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute
MAS	Malaysia Airlines Bhd
MCA	Malaysian Chinese Association
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
MIC	Malaysian Indian Congress
MISC	Malaysian International Shipping Corporation
MITI	Ministry of International Trade Industry
MJEPA	Malaysia Japan Economic Partnership Agreement
MPF	Malaysian Professional Forum



MPF	Muslim Professional Forum
MPVs	Multipurpose Vehicles
MUET	Malaysian University English Test
NCP	National Culture Policy
NDP	National Development Policy
NDPC	National Development Planning Committee
NEAC	National Economic Action Council
NEP	New Economic Policy
NFPEs	Non-Financial Public Enterprises
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NOC	National Operations Council
NST	New Straits Times
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPPs	Outline Perspective Plans
PAS	Party Islam SeMalaysia (Islamic Party of Malaysia)
PERKIM	Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia (Muslim Missionary and Converts Beneficent Society)
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PKMM	Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (Malay Nationalist Party)
PKIPIM	Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar-Pelajar Islam Malaysia (National Muslim Students Association of Malaysia)
PNB	Permodalan Nasional Berhad (National Equity Corporation)
PREM	Poverty Reduction, Economic Management
PUTERA	Pusat Tenaga Rakyat (Centre for People's Forces)
PWD	Public Works Department
RISDA	Rubber Industry Smallholder Development Authority
SCOA	Syariah Criminal Ordinances and Acts
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organization
SET	Scientific, Engineering and Technical
SOEs	State-Owned Enterprises
SOCISO	Social Security Organization
SPKR	Skim Pembangunan Kesejahteraan Rakyat (Scheme for the Development of the People's Well-being)
SPM	Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia (Malaysian Certificate of Education)
SRG	Social Research Group

x ABBREVIATIONS

STAM	Sijil Tinggi Agama Malaysia (Malaysian Higher Certificate of Religious Education)
STPM	Sijil Tinggi Pelajaran Malaysia (Malaysian Higher Certificate of Education)
TINA	There Is No Alternative
TNB	Tenaga Nasional Berhad (Malaysia's National Electricity Utility Company)
TRIMs	Trade-Related Investment Measures
TRIPs	Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights
TWN	Third World Network
UKM	Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
UMNO	United Malays National Organization
UNITAR	Universiti Tun Abdul Razak
UPM	Universiti Putra Malaysia
UTM	Universiti Teknologi Malaysia
UUK	Universiti Utara Malaysia
VAT	Value Added Tax
WTO	World Trade Organization

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# PREFACE

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The idea for this book was initially conceived by IKMAS not long after the successful convening of the Third International Globalization Studies Network (GSN) Conference held at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia in August 2006. IKMAS hosted this conference as a member of GSN, which is a worldwide consortium of centres of globalization studies. Fellows at IKMAS brainstormed the idea with a view to start a new research project to be conducted under the auspices of the incoming holder of the Pok Rafeah Distinguished Chair in International Studies, Professor Joan Nelson, from the American University, Washington, D.C. and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars of the Smithsonian Institute.

IKMAS' first project on globalization had been conducted under the auspices of the first Pok Rafeah Chair, Professor J.H. Mittelman, who was at IKMAS in 1997 and 1999. That project resulted in an important publication by Routledge, London in 2001 under the title, *Capturing Globalization*, edited by J.H. Mittelman and Norani Othman. In that book, besides analysing a number of empirical cases, we explored the various theoretical perspectives on globalization and drew two important conclusions: first, developing countries like Malaysia need to adopt what is known as the 'transformationalist approach' in order to capture globalization, and second, we have to contribute to the debate on globalization to reflect the experiences of the South so that the globalization discourse can be made more global.

Thus, when Professor Nelson arrived at IKMAS in early October 2006 to occupy the Pok Rafeah Chair for a period of nine months, we soon held a series of brainstorming sessions with her. While taking note of IKMAS' first collegial project on globalization, started almost ten years earlier, and agreeing that any new project must build on this

achievement, we concluded that we had to move beyond the debate of the 1990s which tended to emphasize the retreat of the state, and incorporate insights from the literature that had emerged since we entered the twenty-first century. We took the position that the issue of globalization and national autonomy, particularly state autonomy, had to be re-visited, and that Malaysia presented an interesting and important case study for that purpose.

We were extremely fortunate because Joan and her accompanying husband, Professor Jacob Meerman, a retired economist at the World Bank, were in full agreement with the idea. We benefited tremendously from Joan's vast knowledge of the literature on social policies and globalization, particularly her reservoir of knowledge on, and experience in coordinating research in Latin America and Eastern Europe. Moreover, Jacob, who had studied and written a significant book on public expenditure in Malaysia (published by Oxford University Press for the World Bank in 1979) and with his valuable experience at the World Bank, was able to provide valuable insights on where Malaysia stood some decades ago when she embarked on industrialization and the mission of attracting foreign direct investment in comparison with other developing countries. Their views, and particularly the new literature on globalization that Joan drew attention to and her insights on it, synergized very well with IKMAS' scholarly expertise on various dimensions of the Malaysian economy, society and culture. All these served as a powerful intellectual ballast to turn us into a close-knit research team to work together passionately on the new project which has now come to see the light of day on globalization and national autonomy.

All the chapters in this book evolved from of a set of draft research papers presented and deliberated at a series of workshops organized by IKMAS from October 2006 until May 2007 before Joan and Jacob completed their sojourn at IKMAS. These chapters were thoroughly discussed and revised based on inputs given by all IKMAS' fellows and other experts who were invited to participate. Subsequently, six of the draft chapters written by IKMAS' fellows were also read at the Fifth International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS5) held in Kuala Lumpur on 2–5 August 2007, and received favourable and constructive feedback.

This book would not have been possible without the support and assistance of a number of institutions and individuals. IKMAS and UKM afforded us time and material support for the research and workshops to be carried, while the publication in the form of this book is partially

funded by a grant from the Research University Operations Fund awarded to Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia by the Ministry of Higher Education. We would like to express our gratitude and thanks for the support from the University and the Ministry. We also would like to thank our research assistants and the administrative and general staff at IKMAS who provided us with data and other technical support, and to scholars who participated in our workshop series and gave valuable comments and criticisms on earlier drafts.

From IKMAS' point of view, this project would not have got off the ground and taken the shape it has without the staunch commitment, intellectual guidance and collegiality provided by both Joan and Jacob. Their warmth and sense of humour, particularly Jacob's, are infectious. It is always a pleasure and privilege to work with them, something we look forward to again in the future.

Finally, we hope this book will be a small contribution to the ongoing debate on state autonomy and globalization. We also hope that it will be of use to researchers, students, policy-makers and the general public interested in how Malaysia had taken advantage of its autonomy and capacity to navigate its course of development during the fifty years since Independence in 1957 (and particularly from the 1970s to the present) and the constraints — internal and external — that it has had to manage in order to move forward.

All the chapters in this book were completed well before the twelfth general elections held on 8 March 2008. Along with most observers and analysts of Malaysian affairs, we did not anticipate the substantial political shifts signaled and launched by the elections. It is much too early to predict the changes that will follow on these elections. We hope that they will address some of the tensions identified in our discussion, and heighten Malaysia's capacity to maintain substantial autonomy while capturing many of the benefits of on-going globalization trends.

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*April 2008*





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