



The **RSIS Working Paper series** presents papers in a preliminary form and serves to stimulate comment and discussion. The views expressed in this publication are entirely those of the author(s), and do not represent the official position of RSIS. If you have any comments, please send them to [rsispublication@ntu.edu.sg](mailto:rsispublication@ntu.edu.sg).

**Unsubscribing**

If you no longer want to receive RSIS Working Papers, please click on "[Unsubscribe](#)" to be removed from the list.

---

**No. 266**

**Malaysia's Past Successes and Uncertain Future:  
Graduating from the Middle or Caught in the Middle?**

**Hooi Hooi Lean and Russell Smyth**

**S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies  
Singapore**

**6 January 2014**

## **About RSIS**

The S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) was established in January 2007 as an autonomous School within the Nanyang Technological University. Known earlier as the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies when it was established in July 1996, RSIS' mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia Pacific. To accomplish this mission, it will:

- Provide a rigorous professional graduate education with a strong practical emphasis,
- Conduct policy-relevant research in defence, national security, international relations, strategic studies and diplomacy,
- Foster a global network of like-minded professional schools.

## **GRADUATE EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

RSIS offers a challenging graduate education in international affairs, taught by an international faculty of leading thinkers and practitioners. The Master of Science (MSc) degree programmes in Strategic Studies, International Relations, Asian Studies, and International Political Economy are distinguished by their focus on the Asia Pacific, the professional practice of international affairs, and the cultivation of academic depth. Thus far, students from more than 50 countries have successfully completed one of these programmes. In 2010, a Double Masters Programme with Warwick University was also launched, with students required to spend the first year at Warwick and the second year at RSIS.

A small but select PhD programme caters to advanced students who are supervised by faculty members with matching interests.

## **RESEARCH**

Research takes place within RSIS' six components: the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS, 1996), the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR, 2004), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS, 2006), the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies (Centre for NTS Studies, 2008); the Temasek Foundation Centre for Trade & Negotiations (TFCTN, 2008); and the Centre for Multilateralism Studies (CMS, 2011). The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region.

The school has four professorships that bring distinguished scholars and practitioners to teach and to conduct research at the school. They are the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies, the Ngee Ann Kongsi Professorship in International Relations, the NTUC Professorship in International Economic Relations, and the Bakrie Professorship in Southeast Asia Policy.

## **INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION**

Collaboration with other professional schools of international affairs to form a global network of excellence is a RSIS priority. RSIS maintains links with other like-minded schools so as to enrich its research and teaching activities as well as adopt the best practices of successful schools.

## ABSTRACT

In the space of just over five decades, Malaysia has transformed from a largely agrarian economy to a manufacturing economy with a sustained high rate of economic growth. While Malaysia's achievement in terms of raising the per capita income of its citizens is pretty much universally acclaimed, recent concerns have been expressed that Malaysia is now in a middle-income trap. Moreover, there are a growing number of commentators who are arguing that Malaysia's New Economic Policy (NEP) needs an overhaul if Malaysia is to progress to become a high-income country. This paper provides an overview of the evolution of the Malaysian economy and critically evaluates recent strategic reform initiatives, encapsulated in the New Economic Model (NEM) and Economic Transformation Programme (ETP) that are designed to assist Malaysia in its aim to become an innovation-intensive, high-income country by 2020.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Hooi Hooi Lean** is an associate professor at the School of Social Sciences (Economics Program), Universiti Sains Malaysia. She has published more than 80 book chapters and journal articles in many reputed international journals such as Applied Economics, Economics Letters, Energy Economics, Journal of Financial Markets, Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, Pacific Basin Finance Journal, Singapore Economic Review and Urban Studies. Dr Lean is listed in the *Who's Who in the World* and Researcher of the Week in GDN East Asia for her excellent contributions. She has been awarded the ASEAN-ROK Academic Exchange Fellowship Program in 2007, the Democratic Pacific Union Visiting Fellowship in 2008 and the International HERMES Fellowship Program in 2009. Dr Lean also won the "Sanggar Sanjung" Excellent Award for Publication since 2009 and "Hadiah Sanjung" Best Award for Publication since 2006. There are 984 citations to her research on Google Scholar.

**Russell Smyth** is Professor and Head of the Department of Economics Monash University, Australia. He has published approximately 300 book chapters and journal articles in the fields of economics, law and political science. His research interests encompass Asian economies, Chinese economic reform and financial economics, among others. From 1998 to 2008, he was Editor of Economic Papers, the policy journal of the Economic Society of Australia and was a member of the Central Council of the Economic Society of Australia. In 2008, he received the Honorary Fellow Award of the Economic Society of Australia. He is currently an Associate Editor of Energy Economics and a member of seven editorial boards. There are 4,285 citations to his research on Google Scholar.

# Malaysia's Past Successes and Uncertain Future: Graduating from the Middle or Caught in the Middle?

## Introduction

Malaysia has long been regarded as an Asian success story in terms of economic growth. Malaysia was recognised as one of the emerging tigers in the East Asian miracle (World Bank, 1993). Since the publication of that volume, Malaysia has continued its strong growth performance through the 1990s and 2000s, despite experiencing three major recessions. Through adopting an export-led industrialisation drive, Malaysia has been able to successfully transform from a largely agriculture to manufacturing-based economy. In contrast to countries such as Fiji, Malaysia has been able to make this transformation, while maintaining political stability and social harmony in a multi-ethnic society. However, in recent times the development literature has asked whether Malaysia is caught in a middle-income trap and pondered what it needs to do to transition to the government's stated goal of being a high-income country by 2020 (Hill *et al.*, 2012; Menon, 2013; Woo, 2011; World Bank, 2011).

Fingers are increasingly being pointed at the New Economic Policy (NEP) as a barrier to Malaysia graduating to a high-income country (Doraisami, 2012; Menon, 2013). Critics of the NEP argue that even if the policy was not a drag on economic growth in the past, it is now creating distortions which, coupled with demographic transformation and out-migration, are making it increasingly difficult for Malaysia to leapfrog into advanced economic sectors (Menon, 2013). The change in policy direction envisaged in recent planning documents and, in particular, the New Economic Model (NEM), Economic Transformation Programme (ETP) and Tenth Malaysia Plan (TMP) (2011-2015) at least implicitly recognise that a change in economic direction is needed. However, the Malaysian government is dependent on powerful vested interests within the Malay community for continued political support. As such it remains to be seen whether there is political will to make genuine reform.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the factors driving Malaysia's economic success over the last five decades and critically evaluate the main economic problems facing Malaysia's policymakers today as they seek to escape the middle-income trap. The remainder of the paper is divided into seven parts. In the next section we provide an overview of the key tenets of the Malaysian economy as it has evolved over time. Section Three examines the drivers of Malaysia's political economy, focusing on the achievements and shortfalls of the NEP. Section Four provides an overview of Malaysia's expenditure on defence. The Malaysian government's blueprint for economic reform, as detailed in the NEM, ETP and TMP, is evaluated in Section Five. Section Six evaluates Malaysia's economic corridors and their potential to contribute to future growth. Malaysia's competitive position in international perspective is considered in Section Seven. A final section concludes.

## The Key Tenets of the Malaysian Economy as it has Evolved

Since achieving independence in 1957, Malaysia has exhibited strong economic growth over five decades. Table 1 shows that real GDP increased 30 times from US\$6.6 billion in 1960 to US\$198 billion in 2012, while real GDP per capita increased eight times over this period. Average per capita economic growth was 4 per cent for the period 1961-2012, broken down into 5.6 per cent in the 1960s, 5.3 per cent in the 1970s, 3.2 per cent in the 1980s, 4.6 per cent in the 1990s and 2.8 per cent between 2001 and 2012. In spite of economic recessions in 1985-1986, 1997-1998, 2001-2002 and 2008-2009, between 1960 and 2012, Malaysia has averaged 7 per cent economic growth (see Figure 1).

Per capita income has almost doubled each decade since 1970 to exceed US\$8,000 in 2012 (World Bank, 2013). From 1970 to 1990, Malaysia's economic growth lagged some of its Asian neighbours, such as Korea, Singapore and Thailand. As such, Malaysia's growth record was described by Hill *et al.* (2012, p. 1689) as "respectable, but not stellar". However, since 1990 its growth has been on a par with Singapore and Thailand. While the Malaysian economy contracted 1.7 per cent in 2009, in 2010 economic growth rebounded to be 7.2 per cent on the back of anti-cyclical policies designed to stimulate domestic demand and rising prices for oil and palm oil, reflecting strong demand for these products in China and India (Doraisami, 2012; Nambiar, 2009; Sivalingam, 2012; World Bank, 2011).

On the back of successive 5-year plans, since the 1950s and 1960s Malaysia has transformed from an agrarian-based to a manufacturing-based economy (Hill *et al.*, 2012; Menon, 2013; World Bank, 2011). The share of agriculture in GDP fell from 30 per cent in 1970 to 8 per cent in 2012. Over the same period, industry as a share of GDP, more than doubled from 27 per cent to 55 per cent. Meanwhile, the service sector, as a share of GDP, has been fairly constant at between 43 per cent and 45 per cent (World Bank, 2013).

In the years between 1957 and 1967, Malaysia pursued import substitution in manufacturing; however, industry policy has been geared towards promoting export-oriented manufacturing since 1968 (Tan, 2013; Webster, 2012). Malaysia's early shift into export promotion resulted in a first mover advantage over other developing countries pursuing import substitution (Tham & Heng, 2011). A key characteristic of the Malaysian economy as it has evolved is that it has been consistently open (Hill *et al.*, 2012). The Malaysian economy has been characterised by low average tariffs, low dispersion of tariffs and limited recourse to non-tariff barriers (Ramasamy & Yeung, 2007). The export sector has benefitted from the effective use of export zones (Hill *et al.*, 2012; Tham & Heng, 2011).

The transformation in the composition of merchandise exports has been more evident in the composition of GDP. As a percentage of total exports, manufacturing increased from 6.6 per cent in 1970 to 70.2 per cent in 2009, while agriculture fell from 63.2 per cent to 13.4 per cent (Hill *et al.*, 2012). These changes are largely attributed to a shift in exports from rubber and tin to electronics.

Malaysia has emerged as an important component of the vertically integrated global production of electronic products and has become a major world player in the trade of electronic components and parts (Athukorala, 2010; Hill *et al.*, 2012).

### **The Drivers of Malaysia's Political Economy**

The drivers of Malaysia's political economy lie in the NEP, which has been described as a vehicle to politicise ethnicity (Pepinsky, 2013). The NEP was implemented in response to the 13 May racial riots in 1969, the basis of which was seen as long-standing economic and social disparities between the indigenous Bumiputeras (primarily the Malays in Peninsula Malaysia) and the Chinese and Indian communities. The overarching aim of the NEP, introduced in 1970, was to reduce poverty and inter-ethnic economic disparities between Malays and non-Malays. This broad objective rested on three inter-related pillars. The first aim was to raise the income level of Malays to match those of non-Malays. The second aim was to increase the share of Malays in the high earning professional and technical occupations. The third aim was to increase the Malay share of corporate ownership to at least 30 per cent. The instrument for the latter is Permodalan Nasional Berhad (PNB), the role of which is to acquire shares in companies with strong growth potential for the purpose of selling them, via Amanah Saham Nasional (ASN) exclusively to Malay individuals. By the 1990s, PNB had emerged as Malaysia's largest holder of corporate equity (Doraisami, 2012).

In line with the NEP, the government has been much more interventionist since 1970. There has been sizeable growth in government expenditure from RM3 billion in 1970 to RM250 billion in 2012 (Figure 2). The sizeable growth in expenditure also generated a budget deficit, especially after the Asian financial crisis when the deficit expanded dramatically.

The NEP, and associated policies, has produced some positive outcomes. A key result is a reduction in the unemployment rate for all ethnicities. The Malay unemployment rate fell from 8.1 per cent in 1970 to 5.3 per cent in 2005, while the Chinese unemployment rate fell from 7 per cent to 2.4 per cent while the Indian unemployment rate fell from 10.5 per cent to 3.1 per cent over the same period (Aslam *et al.*, 2012).

A second major achievement of the NEP has been a considerable reduction in the incidence of poverty. Extreme poverty was reduced from 35 per cent in 1970 to 0.7 per cent in 2008, while rural poverty fell from 69.3 per cent in 1970 to 7.4 per cent in 2008 (Aslam *et al.*, 2012). The reduction in the incidence of poverty corresponds with a fall in inter-ethnic income disparities. The income ratio between Malays and Chinese fell from 1:2.54 in 1970 to 1:1.74 in 2008 (Aslam *et al.*, 2012).

Third, the NEP has been successful in creating a large and relatively cosmopolitan Malay middle class (Pepinsky, 2013; Ramli *et al.*, 2013). While not meeting the target that Malays have 30 per cent of corporate ownership, as of 2008, Malays had 19 per cent of Malaysia's corporate wealth. The NEP

has also spurred a new Malay entrepreneurial class (Pepinsky, 2013), which is a direct consequence of policies designed to increase the Malay share of corporate ownership and increased economic opportunities for Malays. The proportion of Malay retail establishments increased from 13 per cent in 1971 to 34 per cent in 1981 (Jesudason, 1990). There is also a new class of Malay millionaires (Ramli *et al.*, 2013).

In other respects, the NEP has been controversial. Ramli *et al.* (2013, p. 111) suggested that the “strongest argument for [the] NEP is the policy [has] helped to bring about political stability and national unity in the country”. However, the NEP has been subjected to criticisms of racial bias. The fact that the NEP favours the Malay community has contributed to inter-ethnic tension and created resentment in the non-Malay communities (Munusamy, 2012). The NEP has been accused of being a vehicle to further ‘the Malay agenda’ or reduce the wealth of non-Malays (Aslam *et al.*, 2012). Nonetheless, some Chinese businesses have adopted strategies that have allowed them to thrive within a pro-Malay business environment. This includes participating in so-called *Ali Baba* companies, which are joint ventures between Malays and financially well-endowed non-Malays, set up to access contracts to be allocated to Malays under the NEP. While the Malays are not always less well-qualified, it is certainly true that in some cases they are. Hence, while disadvantaged and often unhappy about the NEP, for the most part the Chinese and Indian communities are better off in absolute terms because of the policy. This fact, together with strong overall economic growth, that has raised living standards for all Malaysians has helped to alleviate ethnic tension (Pepinsky, 2013).

There are, however, other criticisms of the NEP. While the NEP has reduced inter-ethnic income disparities, in absolute terms the gap is still large. The mean household income of the Chinese is still much higher than that of Malays (Wan, 2011). Overall income inequality has increased. The income gap ratio increased from 1: 1.59 in 1970 to 1: 2.11 in 2008 (Aslam *et al.*, 2012). Within the Malay community, income disparity has actually widened. The intra-Malay Gini coefficient increased from 0.342 in 1957/1958 to 0.440 in 2009 (Wan, 2011).

A second criticism of the NEP is that widening income inequality within the Malay community seems to reflect the fact that some of the NEP programmes. Some share allocations and government contracts, have been awarded to the Malay commercial and political elite while the poorer Malays have not benefited from these programmes (Hill *et al.*, 2012). For instance, Malay students whose families are in the top 17 per cent of the income distribution receive over 50 per cent of government scholarships (Wan, 2011). The NEP has been criticised for promoting a rent seeking mentality among Malays and facilitating corruption and ‘money politics’. The latter refers to the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) party providing contracts and other favours to the Malay commercial and political elite in return for political support (Ramli *et al.*, 2013). A case could thus be made that cronyism, favouritism and power misuse has flourished under the NEP.

A third criticism of the NEP is that it has impeded domestic investment after the Asian financial crisis. Domestic investment in Malaysia was strong prior to the crisis making up about 40 per cent of GDP. However, domestic investment never recovered from the crisis and by 2005 Malaysia has become a net exporter of capital. Menon (2013) argues that the failure of domestic investment to rebound reflects distortions introduced by the NEP and the overbearing influence of government-linked corporations (GLCs), which have pushed out private investment. In Malaysia, local firms that are most likely to succeed tend to be Chinese owned. Yet these firms not only do not receive any government assistance but are reluctant to expand to avoid Malay employment quotas<sup>1</sup> (Doraisami, 2012).

A fourth criticism of the NEP is that it has impeded the ability of policymakers to respond to financial crises. Some studies have concluded that Malaysia represents a case study in sound macroeconomic management (see e.g. Hill *et al.*, 2012). This conclusion, however, has been rebutted by others who have emphasised the political economy of economic crises (Athukorala, 2012; Doraisami, 2012). Doraisami (2012) espouses this view and argues that in responding to economic recessions in 1985-1986, 1997-1998 and 2008-2009, the government ensured that NEP objectives were paramount and that the vested interests that emerged as a result of the NEP, especially those linked to UMNO, were preserved. In many cases the factors that exacerbated the crises in Malaysia, such as poor corporate governance and weaknesses in the financial sector, can be linked to political economy factors and an unwillingness to address these issues for fear that this would antagonise vested interests.

The brain drain refers to the outward migration of individuals with high human capital. Many non-Malays cite discriminatory policies under the NEP as a push factor in Malaysia's brain drain. The precise size of Malaysia's brain drain is not known. According to the EPU (2011) a conservative estimate is that there are one million Malaysians living abroad. Singapore absorbs 57 per cent of the Malaysian diaspora, with most of the remainder in Australia, Brunei, the United Kingdom and the United States. The Malaysian diaspora is ethnically skewed with ethnic Chinese accounting for 90 per cent of the diaspora in Singapore and ethnic Chinese being overrepresented in other countries as well. About one third of outward migration from Malaysia represents brain drain (EPU, 2011). Malaysia's brain drain is high relative to its narrow skill base. In 2000, 10 per cent of Malaysians with a university degree migrated to an OECD country, which is double the world average. The brain drain is aggravated by the absence of compensating inflows, with most inward immigration into Malaysia being poorly educated and lowly skilled (EPU, 2011).

The effect of brain drain on the Malaysian economy, however, is not necessarily negative. Conceptually, brain drain might erode the skill base in Malaysia, although it is possible that the prospects of emigration to high-income countries might provide incentives for additional human capital formation in Malaysia. The empirical evidence suggests that the skilled labour force in Malaysia has

---

<sup>1</sup> There is no official Bumiputera employment quota as such. Bumiputera positions, however, are reserved in certain industries and big corporations related to the government and GLCs. Moreover, indirectly, private companies may be asked to hire Bumiputeras when seeking to enter into contracts or licensing agreements with the government or GLCs.



not declined because of brain drain, with positive incentive effects offsetting outward migration of skilled labour (EPU, 2011). There is, however, concern that while the proportion of skilled workers in Malaysia has not declined, that brain drain has meant that the skill base has narrowed. While the proportion of skilled workers is the same, specific occupations, such as IT specialists, have been adversely affected (EPU, 2011). This has resulted in a tightening labour market for skilled workers in specific occupations, which has had an adverse effect on firm productivity (World Bank, 2009).

Overall, the jury is still out on whether the NEP has been successful. As Hill *et al.*, (2012) note, arguments can be advanced for and against the NEP being a success. Ultimately, this is largely dependent on the yardstick used to measure success. Key positive aspects of the policy include is the absence of any major ethnic conflict since 1969 and the reduction of income disparities between Chinese and Malays. A more negative assessment of the NEP would cite its failure to reduce overall income inequality and alleviate income disparities within the Malay community, as well as an increase in rent seeking and political cronyism.

### **Defence Expenditure**

Malaysia has taken steps to improve its military forces. In the early 1990s Malaysia undertook a major initiative to expand and modernise its armed forces and in 2000 there was a review of national defence and security policy to ensure it was up to date (see Keling *et al.*, 2011). Compared with most other countries, however, Malaysia's defence budget is relatively low. In the period 1988 to 2011 military expenditure as a percentage of GDP fluctuated between a low of 1.56 per cent (2010) and 3.20 per cent (1991). In 2011, this figure was 1.59 per cent (SIPRI, 2012). In 2011, only a small percentage of military expenditure was devoted to the acquisition of military hardware, which limits the potential for significant investment in the procurement of advanced defence systems (Strategic Defence Intelligence, 2012). In addition, the procurement process for military hardware in Malaysia has been heavily criticised (Strategic Defence Intelligence, 2012). It is argued that the lack of transparency during the contract bidding process results in high levels of corruption throughout the procurement process, with the absence of an external monitoring agency contributing to the lack of transparency (Strategic Defence Intelligence, 2012). Hirnissa (2009) examined the relationship between defence expenditure and economic growth in Malaysia using co-integration and Granger causality tests. He found that military expenditure and economic growth in Malaysia were segmented from 1965 to 2006. This result reflects the small size of Malaysia's defence sector and that military expenditure is a small fraction of GDP.

## **The New Economic Model and the Economic Transformation Program**

In July 2009, Malaysia's Prime Minister, Najib Razak, formed the National Economic Advisory Committee (NEAC) and assigned the committee with the task of designing a new economic model. The NEAC produced two reports outlining a blueprint for a NEM. The first report, released in April 2010, provides an overarching framework for elevating Malaysia from a middle-income country to a high-income country by 2020. It provides a frank assessment of the challenges that the Malaysian economy confronts and proposes eight strategic reform initiatives (SRIs). The second report, released in December 2010, details a series of specific policies to support the SRIs.

The three objectives of the NEM are as follows. One, achieve a US\$15,000 to US\$20,000 per capita target income by 2020 (high income). Two, enable all communities to fully benefit from the wealth of the country (inclusiveness). Three, meet current needs without compromising future generations (sustainability) (NEAC, 2010). The eight SRIs are re-energise the private sector (SRI1), develop a quality workforce and reduce dependence on foreign labour (SRI2), create a competitive domestic economy (SRI3), strengthen the public sector (SRI4), pursue transparent and market friendly affirmative action (SRI5), build the knowledge base and infrastructure in the country (SRI6), enhance the sources of growth (SRI7) and ensure sustainable growth (SRI8) (NEAC, 2010).

The overall objectives of, and policy framework articulated in, the NEM were incorporated into the ETP and TMP. The key elements of the NEM – a move towards a more liberalised economy, reduced government intervention and rethinking of the pro-Malay affirmative action policies in the NEP with a view to reducing policy distortions – have generally been welcomed (see e.g. Menon, 2013; Wan, 2011; Woo, 2011; World Bank, 2011).

One feature of the NEM is that it seems to represent a more pro-market approach. The NEM acknowledges that in many GLCs there is "a history of underperformance, poor corporate governance and a host of other structural breakdowns in the GLC supply chain" (NEAC 2010, p. 19). To overcome deficiencies in GLCs, the ETP estimates that 92 per cent of Malaysia's projected investment requirements will need to come from the private sector. The ETP identifies 12 sectors for encouraging future private sector investment, basically covering all areas of the economy. Such a perspective addresses specifically the criticism that NEP distortions have contributed to private investment failing to rebound following the Asian financial crisis. As noted by Menon (2013) and Wan (2011), the reforms encapsulated in the NEM, ETP and TMP appear, at least on the surface, to represent a departure from the government's previous approach towards development and key economic priorities.

There are, however, reasons to be cautious about the extent to which the ETP and NEM will represent a departure from the past. Most of the 12 sectors in which the NEM states private sector investment is to be encouraged are dominated by GLCs. It remains to be seen how many of the private investment projects slated under the NEM will, in fact, be truly private as opposed to being tied in some way to

GLCs (Menon, 2013). In the short period since the NEM was released, there are signs that the government is backtracking on its commitment to market liberalisation. Critics of the implementation of the NEM, thus far, point to interventions in the labour market and housing market in 2011 (Wan, 2011).

Ong and Teh (2012) criticised the ETP for only benefitting the big corporations and not the majority of Malaysians, who are relative low wage earners. They suggested that the government should focus on improving the productivity of Malaysian workers so that they can enjoy higher wages, rather than create too many unskilled jobs, which perpetuates reliance on foreign labour. The latter explicitly contradicts SRI2 in the NEM. The opposition leader, Anwar Ibrahim (2011) commented that 77 per cent of private investments for Entry Point Projects under the ETP are funded by GLCs or large GLICs. Hence, the nation's wealth is tied to mega expenditures with high propensity to corruption and mismanagement.

The other feature of the NEM is that it aims to roll back the affirmative action policy that was explicit in the NEP. In particular, the NEM and TMP shift the focus of affirmative action to the bottom 40 per cent of the income distribution. The aim of the NEM and TMP is to raise the income level of low-income earners, irrespective of race. This seems to acknowledge that the objective of reducing inter-ethnic income disparities has largely been realised, but at the expense of increasing intra-ethnic income disparities within the Malay community. Moreover, the exacerbation of intra-ethnic income disparities stems directly from NEP distortions.

The problem with the shift in affirmative action outlook in the NEM is that it risks alienating the Malay elites on which UMNO rely for political support. In this respect, the initial boldness of the NEM appears to have been watered down in response to strong opposition from Malay nationalists (Wan, 2011; Woo, 2011; World Bank, 2011). There is evidence that the recommendations in the NEAC report itself were watered down to appease UMNO's Malay supporters (Wan, 2011). The TMP still includes several policies designed to favour Malays, despite the overall thrust of the NEM (Menon, 2013). Several commentators have criticised the Malaysian government for backtracking on the commitment to the NEM and discontinue affirmative action policies in favour of Malays (Menon, 2013; Wan, 2011; Woo, 2011; World Bank, 2011). As Menon (2013, p. 22) puts it: "By failing to address [underlying distortions] directly, one has to assume that they will be grandfathered in to pacify vested interests, some of whom are already revolting, and the root causes of the malaise will remain unchecked. ...Therefore, one is forced to conclude that although appearing detailed and comprehensive, the NEM remains little more than a vision statement that pays lip service to addressing the core underlying problems facing the economy".

The Prime Minister's announcement on 14 September 2013 of the establishment of a Bumiputera Economic Council to empower the Bumiputera economy shows that the UMNO-led government is prepared to sacrifice the interest of the non-Bumiputerans to secure UMNO's Malay interest (Koon,

2013). The Institute of Democracy and Economic Affairs Chief Executive Officer, Wan Saiful Wan Jan has stated: “The new Bumiputera Economic Empowerment Agenda will further make the community dependent on the government and hinder the spirit of the NEM” (Ramani, 2013).

### **Key Economic Corridors and their Potential**

The establishment of five economic corridors under the Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010) by then Prime Minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, was designed to emphasise trans-border development in the country. The five economic corridors were Iskandar Malaysia (IM) in Johor, the Northern Corridor Economic Region (NCER), covering the states of Kedah, Penang, Perlis and Perak’s four northern districts, the East Coast Economic Region (ECER) covering the states of Kelantan, Pahang, Terengganu and Johor’s Mersing district, the Sarawak Corridor for Renewable Energy (SCORE) and the Sabah Development Corridor (SDC). An overview of the five economic corridors is presented in Table 2.

IM, which is in South Johor, covers the entire Districts of Johor Bahru and Kulaijaya and several sub-districts of Pontian. It includes waterfront and residential developments and a new administrative centre for Johor. A feature of IM is that it is designed as a low carbon city. As such, it is the first region in Malaysia that has a climate change blueprint to meet its vision of being “a strong, sustainable metropolis of international standing” by 2025. This is very much consistent with the overarching sustainability objective, as well as SRI8, in the NEM. In addition to corporate income tax exemptions and a relaxation of requirements regarding sourcing foreign workers, the regulations governing IM also provides exemptions on affirmative action requirements in which foreign investors must offer a 30 per cent stake in their investment to ethnic Malays (Hew, 2008; Ho *et al.*, 2013; Rizzo & Glasson, 2012).

The objective of the NCER<sup>2</sup> is to add value to existing sectors, such as agriculture, manufacturing, logistics and tourism. The geographic positioning of the NCER seeks to make it a logistics hub for the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (Hew, 2008). It has a strong social equity dimension given that Northern Malaysia is generally poor and has a disproportionate number of households in poverty. Another feature of the NCER is that it is targeting local investors, rather than foreign investors (Hew, 2008).

With an area measuring more than 66,000 square kilometres, the ECER<sup>3</sup> covers more than half of Peninsular Malaysia and contains 14.5 per cent of the total population of Malaysia. The aim is for the region to be transformed into (i) a major international and local tourism destination; (ii) an exporter of resource based and manufactured products; (iii) a vibrant trading centre; and (iv) an infrastructure and logistics hub. Various projects have been implemented through the five clusters designated for the region, i.e. tourism, oil, gas and petrochemical, manufacturing, agriculture and education. The large

---

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.koridorutara.com.my/>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.ecerdc.com.my/ecerdc/>

land area and low labour cost in the region provides vast potential for real estate development and large scale commercial farming. Diverse tourism resources in ECER can be further developed for a sustainable tourism economy.

SCORE<sup>4</sup> is a major initiative undertaken to develop the Central Region and transform Sarawak into a developed state by 2020. It aims to accelerate the state's economic growth and development, as well as improving the quality of life for the people of Sarawak. The core of the corridor is the State's energy resources. The corridor has 1.2 billion metric tonnes of known oil reserves, over 80 million tonnes of Silica sand and over 22 million tonnes of Kaolin of China clay. Tanjung Manis, Mukah, Samalaju, Baram and Tunoh have been selected as the five New Growth Nodes. The Tanjung Manis Node will be developed into an Industrial Port City and Halal Hub. The Mukah Node will be developed into a Smart City, and will serve as the nerve centre for the corridor. The Samalaju Node will become the new Heavy Industry Centre, whereas Baram and Tunoh will focus on tourism- and resource-based industries. The 2008-2030 development plan for SCORE focuses on developing the energy sector in the corridor by targeting ten high impact priority industries that will complement the development plan and provide downstream opportunities for small and medium enterprises.

SDC<sup>5</sup> was launched on 29 January 2008 to accelerate the growth of Sabah's economy, promoting regional balance and bridging the rural-urban divide while ensuring sustainable management of the state's resources. Under the SDC initiative, sub-regions and growth centres will be planned systematically to ensure optimum resources utilisation. The initial focus of the SDC is on enhancing Sabah's liveability index and making it a business friendly location. Six Strategic Development Areas, namely (i) the Bio-Triangle; (ii) Agro Marine Belt; (iii) Interior Food Valley; (iv) Kinabalu Gold Coast Enclave; (v) Brunei Bay Integrated Development Area; and (vi) Oil and Gas Clusters have been designated for this purpose.

One of the main problems facing the five economic corridors is attracting domestic and foreign investment. The focus of the NCER on local investors is unsurprising, given that the NCER includes the poorer and least developed states with the exception of Penang. Such states are neither unlikely to be attractive to foreign investors, nor are the NCER's social equity objectives. However, lack of foreign investment, good infrastructure or access to high quality higher education makes it difficult for the NCER to succeed (Hew, 2008).

One of the objectives of the IM is to attract investment from Singapore. However, it will be difficult for the IM to attract investment from Singapore, given IM's focus on services. Singapore is looking to relocate its manufacturing to cheaper locales, such as Johor and Indonesia, while retaining a focus on high-tech research and development. This puts IM in direct competition with Singapore in service sectors such as education, finance, healthcare and logistics (Hew, 2008). More generally, IM has had

---

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.sarawakscore.com.my/>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.sedia.com.my/>

trouble attracting private investment, in particular in the fallout from the Global financial crisis in 2008-2009. The Southern Industrial and Logistics Clusters in IM have sold few parcels to private firms (Rizzo & Glasson, 2012).

Another problem is that the corridors face limitations as policy driven orchestrated clusters. The literature on clusters suggests that the diffusion of tacit forms of knowledge occurs through spatial confinement. In particular, diffusion of knowledge occurs through regular, spontaneous and informal interaction through interaction between individuals living, and working, within a cluster (see studies discussed in Richardson *et al.*, 2012). There is often a lack of public services in the corridors and those developments which exist to provide entertainment, housing and shopping are geographically dispersed over a wide area, making it an uninviting residential space (Rizzo & Glasson, 2012). The fact that few people live in these spaces severely impedes the level of informal and casual interaction in economic corridors, such as IM. This is certainly true outside the office hours of 9am-5pm on weekdays when office workers return to their homes outside the corridors (Richardson *et al.*, 2012).<sup>6</sup>

Finally, while it is laudable to design the IM as a sustainable (low carbon) regional development, reducing carbon dioxide emissions will prove challenging in the context of maintaining high economic and population growth in the region (Ho & Fong, 2011). Projections by Ho and Fong (2011) suggest that if the present high growth scenario prevails in the IM, and aggressive energy saving measures are not adopted, that carbon dioxide emissions are likely to more than triple their present level by 2025. To realise the government's objective of making IM a low carbon city will require strong political will to promote policies to conserve energy, promote renewable energy and regeneration (Ho & Fong, 2011).

### **The Competitiveness of the Malaysian Economy**

A concern among policymakers in Malaysia is that the country is becoming less competitive vis-à-vis China and India (Hew, 2008). This relates to the general concern that Malaysia is stuck in the middle between being a labour intensive low-income country and an innovation-intensive, high-income country (Hill *et al.*, 2012; Woo, 2011). A study by McKinsey Consulting concluded that middle-level ASEAN countries, such as Malaysia, have lost their competitive advantage to China (Schwartz & Villinger, 2004). The Third Industrial Malaysian Plan (2006-2020) identifies total factor productivity growth (TFP) as holding the key for continued economic growth in the face of lower wage competition in China and India. However, TFP growth has been found to be relatively low in Malaysia. For example, Mahadevan (2011) found that TFP growth in manufacturing was less than 1.5 per cent over the period 1970 and 2002 and that technical efficiency was actually negative.

---

<sup>6</sup> While not a designated economic corridor as such, the same criticism has been leveled at the multimedia super corridor (MSC). One of the limitations of Cyberjaya, in the MSC is that it is not a residential centre, with most people living in Kuala Lumpur and commuting to work. People do not want to live in Cyberjaya because they claim it lacks character and social amenities (Brooker, 2012; Richardson *et al.*, 2012). As a result, it has been suggested that Cyberjaya is “estranged from its surrounding territory” (Brooker, 2012, p. 50).

The introduction of economic corridors and policies contained in the NEM, ETP and TMP represent responses by the government designed to improve the competitiveness of the Malaysian economy, improve TFP and provide a catalyst for Malaysia to move up the value-added chain in order to escape the middle-income trap. It is useful to get an indication of how Malaysia compares with other Asia Pacific countries in terms of economic competitiveness, in order to ascertain whether the concerns of policymakers are justified.

Table 3 shows the World Competitiveness Scoreboard and Ranking from 2004-2013 from the World Competitiveness Yearbook (WCY). Table 3 suggests that Malaysia is fairly competitive at an international level. The scores are indices from 0 to 100. There are a total of 60 economies covered in 2004 and 2005, 53 economies covered in 2006, 55 economies covered in 2007 and 2008, 57 economies covered in 2009, 58 economies covered in 2010, 59 economies covered in 2011 and 2012 and 60 economies covered in 2013. Malaysia is ranked 16<sup>th</sup> in 2004, 28<sup>th</sup> in 2005, 22<sup>nd</sup> in 2006, 23<sup>rd</sup> in 2007, 19<sup>th</sup> in 2008, 18<sup>th</sup> in 2009, 10<sup>th</sup> in 2010, 16<sup>th</sup> in 2011, 14<sup>th</sup> in 2012, and 15<sup>th</sup> in 2013. This places Malaysia in the top 25 per cent of countries covered in the WCY rankings. In 2013, Malaysia trailed behind Singapore and Hong Kong, as well as the United States, but was ranked ahead of other Asia Pacific countries such as Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Australia, Japan, and Korea. Interestingly, despite the concerns that Malaysia is losing its competitive edge to China and India, Malaysia has been consistently ranked higher than both countries in terms of competitiveness.

Table 4 shows Malaysia's competitiveness ranking based on the WCY, according to different categories. Among countries with population exceeding 20 million, in 2013 Malaysia was ranked 5<sup>th</sup> out of 29 countries, ahead of Australia, 6<sup>th</sup>, United Kingdom, 7<sup>th</sup>, China, 8<sup>th</sup>, Korea, 9<sup>th</sup>, and Japan, 10<sup>th</sup>. Among countries with GDP per capita less than US\$20,000 in 2013, Malaysia was the most competitive of 30 countries ahead of China, Chile and Thailand. Of 13 Asia Pacific countries, Malaysia ranked 4<sup>th</sup> in competitiveness, after Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. Among ASEAN countries, Malaysia is the second most competitive nation, behind Singapore, but ahead of Thailand (3<sup>rd</sup>), Philippines (4<sup>th</sup>) and Indonesia (5<sup>th</sup>).

Table 5 shows the Global Competitiveness Scoreboard and Ranking from 2008-2014 by the Global Competitiveness Report, World Economic Forum. These rankings paint a similar picture to the WCY rankings. The scores are measured on a 1 to 7 scale. There were a total of 134 economies covered in 2008-2009, 133 economies covered in 2009-2010, 139 economies covered in 2010-2011, 142 economies covered in 2011-2012, 144 economies covered in 2012-2013 and 148 economies covered in 2013-2014. Malaysia was ranked 21<sup>st</sup> in 2008-2009, 24<sup>th</sup> in 2009-2010, 26<sup>th</sup> in 2010-2011, 21<sup>st</sup> in 2011-2012, 25<sup>th</sup> in 2012-2013, and 24<sup>th</sup> in 2013-2014. In 2013-2014, Malaysia's ranking placed it in the top 16 per cent of countries in the world, which was ahead of Asian neighbours, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, China, India and Korea, but behind Singapore, the United States, Australia, Japan and Hong Kong.

## Conclusion

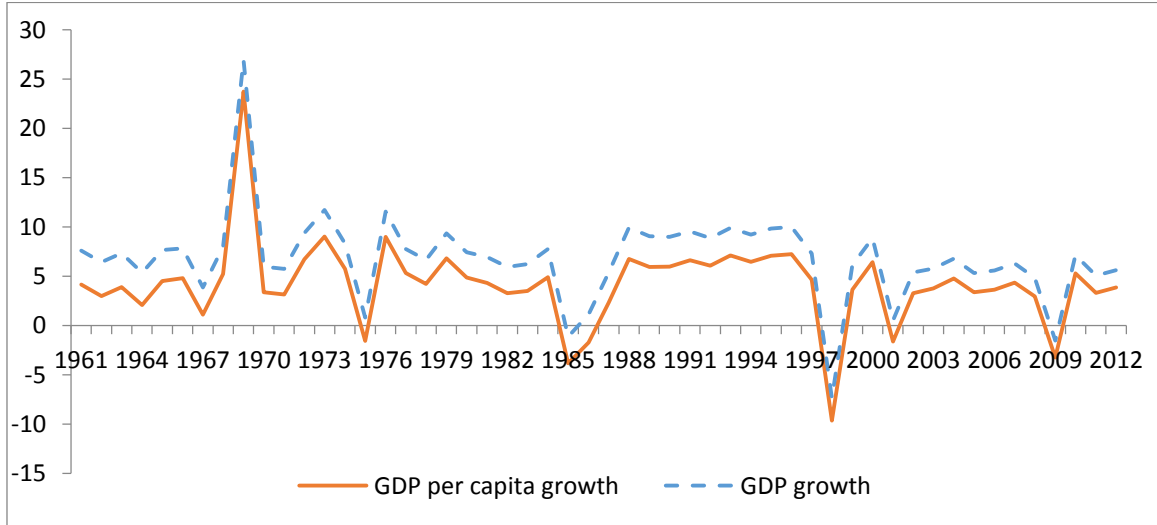
Malaysia has been hailed as a successful model of how export-led industrialisation can ratchet up a low income, predominantly agrarian, economy into middle-income status. The NEP has had its successes. It has ensured political stability and predominantly social harmony in a racially diverse society. The NEP has also reduced inter-ethnic income disparities. However, increasingly the political economy drivers of Malaysian growth have come into question as the development literature ponders whether Malaysia is a nation caught in a middle-income trap. The international competitive indices suggest that Malaysia remains competitive relative to other Asian countries and is in the top 15-25 per cent of countries globally. This fact, though, does little to sooth the critics of Malaysia's recent economic record who argue that it is the NEP which is the real barrier to Malaysia escaping the middle-income trap. This literature points to the decline in private investment since the Asian financial crisis and distortions to the economy caused by a racially based affirmative action policy.

This paper has critically examined Malaysia's economic performance over five decades and recent planning documents which layout a blueprint for economic reform in the future. The picture that emerges is that the jury remains out on whether the NEP has been beneficial for Malaysia. The side of the fence once comes down on depends on which objectives one values most. Perhaps one of the most difficult aspects of evaluating the historical contribution of the NEP is that we do not know the counter-factual. Would, in the absence of the NEP, Malaysia have gone down the same road as countries such as Fiji with deleterious consequences for growth or would growth have been even higher in the absence of economic distortions?

We concur with those who argue that the NEP has had its time. The move in the NEM to focus on the bottom 40 per cent of the income distribution, regardless of race, is a welcome one. The real issue now becomes whether UMNO can successfully implement the NEM, ETP and TMP. While it is still too early to make a definitive call on this, the early signs are worrying. As several commentators have noted, the Malaysian government has already shown signs of backtracking when confronted with the need to appease key Malay nationalists. That the political landscape in terms of much tighter elections, has changed in Malaysia compared with the past puts further pressure on UMNO. But it is important Malaysia gets the NEM/ETP blueprint right. Without it, Malaysia might remain trapped in the middle.

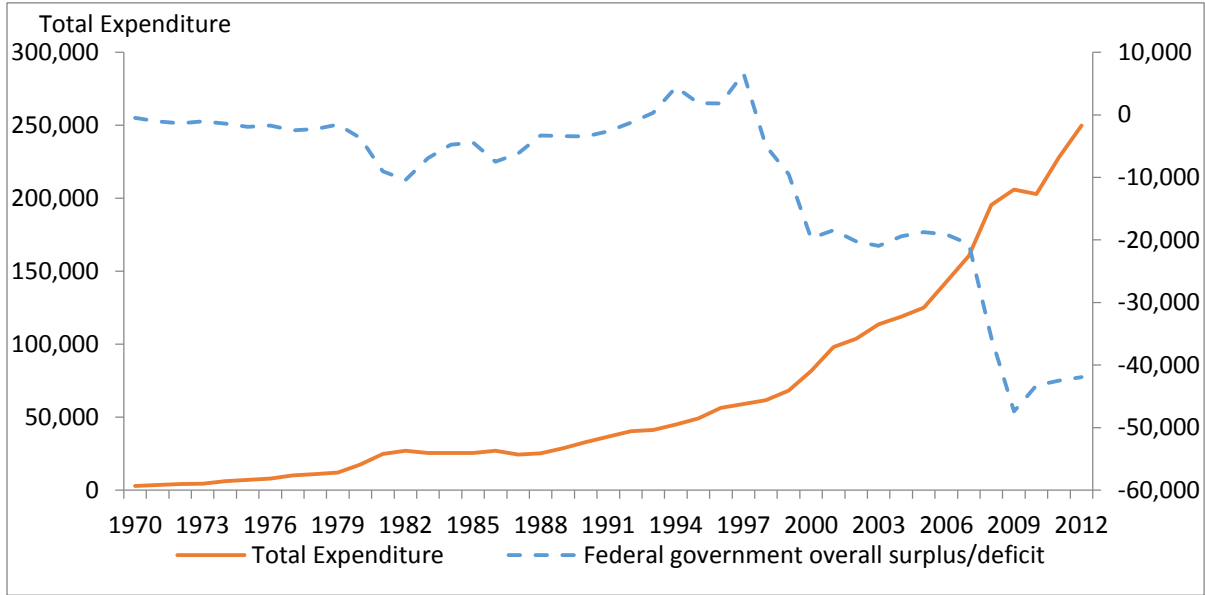


**Figure 1: Malaysia Annual GDP Growth and GDP per Capita Growth (in %)**



Source: World Bank (2013)

**Figure 2: Malaysia Total Expenditure and Budget Surplus/Deficit (RM millions)**



Source: Bank Negara Malaysia, Monthly Bulletin, various issues

**Table 1: Malaysia Gross Domestic Product (GDP constant 2005 US\$ million)**

Year	GDP	GDP per capita	Period	GDP per capita growth (%)
1960	6,654	815	1961-1970	5.6
1965	9,278	970		
1970	15,090	1,383	1971-1980	5.3
1975	21,289	1,729		
1980	32,070	2,318	1981-1990	3.2
1985	41,134	2,609		
1990	57,312	3,147	1991-2000	4.6
1995	90,110	4,348		
2000	113,868	4,862	2001-2012	2.8
2005	143,533	5,554		
2010	178,221	6,303		
2012	197,794	6,765		

Source: World Bank (2013) and authors' own calculation.

**Table 2: Overview of Malaysia's Five Economic Corridors**

Corridor	Iskandar Malaysia	NCER	ECER	SDC	SCORE
Development Period	2006-2025	2007-2025	2007-2020	2008-2025	2008-2030
Vision	A strong and sustainable metropolis of international standing	World-class economic region 2025	A developed region defined by three characteristic – distinctive, dynamic and competitive	Harnessing unity in diversity for wealth creation and social well being	Developed and industrialised state
Area of Coverage	2,216 sq km	17,816 sq km	66,736 sq km	73,997 sq km	70,708 sq km
Focus Sector / Industry	Education Financial Healthcare ICT and Creative Industries Logistic Tourism	Agriculture Human Capital Infrastructure Manufacturing Tourism	Agriculture Education Manufacturing Oil, Gas and Petrochemical Tourism	Agriculture Environment Human Capital Infrastructure Manufacturing Tourism	Aluminium Glass Marine Engineering Metal-based Petroleum-Based Timber-Based Aquaculture Livestock Palm Oil Tourism
Corridor Authority	Iskandar Region Development Authority (IRDA)	Northern Corridor Implementation Authority (NCIA)	East Coast Economic Region Development Council (ECERDC)	Sabah Economic Development and Investment Authority (SEDIA)	Regional Corridor Development Authority (RECODA)
Expected Employment (million)	1.4	3.1	1.9	2.1	3
Expected Investment (RM million)	382	178	112	113	334

Source: BizHive Weekly, The Borneo Post

**Table 3: IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook Rankings by Countries, 2004-2013***Panel A: Scoreboard*

Year	Malaysia	Singapore	Thailand	Indonesia	Philippines	US	Hong Kong	Australia	China	Korea	Japan	India
2004	75.919	89.008	68.235	38.095	49.666	100.000	85.765	86.046	70.725	62.201	71.915	62.971
2005	65.844	89.679	66.012	33.811	51.103	100.000	93.073	81.975	63.219	64.239	68.652	59.053
2006	70.080	90.993	62.598	36.051	49.041	100.000	96.866	82.501	71.554	57.680	74.231	64.416
2007	74.091	99.121	57.758	37.410	47.163	100.000	93.541	82.387	79.484	61.564	72.405	63.380
2008	73.199	99.330	63.096	41.520	50.478	100.000	94.964	83.500	73.758	58.884	70.028	60.625
2009	77.162	95.740	70.762	55.479	54.490	100.000	98.146	88.934	76.595	68.408	78.242	66.454
2010	87.228	100.000	73.233	60.745	56.526	99.091	99.357	92.172	80.182	76.249	72.093	64.567
2011	84.120	98.557	74.886	64.610	63.291	100.000	100.000	89.259	81.100	78.499	75.214	70.649
2012	84.217	95.923	69.001	59.499	59.271	97.755	100.000	83.185	75.769	76.747	71.354	63.596
2013	83.145	89.857	72.966	61.805	63.146	100.000	92.783	80.513	77.040	75.169	74.529	59.888

Panel B: Ranking

Year	Malaysia	Singapore	Thailand	Indonesia	Philippines	US	Hong Kong	Australia	China	Korea	Japan	India	Total
2004	16	2	29	58	52	1	6	4	24	35	23	34	60
2005	28	3	27	59	49	1	3	9	31	29	21	39	60
2006	22	3	29	52	42	1	2	6	18	32	16	27	53
2007	23	2	33	54	45	1	3	12	15	29	24	27	55
2008	19	2	27	51	40	1	3	7	17	31	22	29	55
2009	18	3	26	42	43	1	2	7	20	27	17	30	57
2010	10	1	26	35	39	3	2	5	18	23	27	31	58
2011	16	3	27	37	41	1	1	9	19	22	26	32	59
2012	14	4	30	42	43	2	1	15	23	22	27	35	59
2013	15	5	27	39	38	1	3	16	21	22	24	40	60

Source: IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook

**Table 4: Malaysia's Performance in the World Competitiveness Yearbook Rankings by Categories**

	2013	2012	2011	Top Performer 2013
GDP per Capita Less Than USD 20,000	1	2	2	Malaysia
Population Greater Than 20 Million	5	5	6	USA
Asia Pacific Region	4	4	5	Hong Kong
ASEAN Region	2	2	2	Singapore

**Table 5: Global Competitiveness Index 2008-2009 to 2013-2014***Panel A: Scoreboard*

Year	Malaysia	Singapore	Thailand	Indonesia	Philippines	US	Hong Kong	Australia	China	Korea	Japan	India
2008-2009	5.04	5.53	4.60	4.25	4.09	5.74	5.33	5.20	4.70	5.28	5.38	4.33
2009-2010	4.87	5.55	4.56	4.26	3.90	5.59	5.22	5.15	4.74	5.00	5.37	4.30
2010-2011	4.88	5.48	4.51	4.43	3.96	5.43	5.30	5.11	4.84	4.93	5.37	4.33
2011-2012	5.08	5.63	4.52	4.38	4.08	5.43	5.36	5.11	4.90	5.02	5.40	4.30
2012-2013	5.06	5.67	4.52	4.40	4.23	5.47	5.41	5.12	4.83	5.12	5.40	4.32
2013-2014	5.03	5.61	4.54	4.53	4.29	5.48	5.47	5.09	4.84	5.01	5.40	4.28

*Panel B: Ranking*

Year	Malaysia	Singapore	Thailand	Indonesia	Philippines	US	Hong Kong	Australia	China	Korea	Japan	India	Total
2008-2009	21	5	34	55	71	1	11	18	30	13	9	50	134
2009-2010	24	3	36	54	87	2	11	15	29	19	8	49	133
2010-2011	26	3	38	44	85	4	11	16	27	22	6	51	139
2011-2012	21	2	39	46	75	5	11	20	26	24	9	56	142
2012-2013	25	2	38	50	65	7	9	20	29	19	10	59	144
2013-2014	24	2	37	38	59	5	7	21	29	25	9	60	148

## References

- Aslam, M., Hassan, G. and Tan, Y.S. (2012) "Political Economy of the Budgetary Process in Malaysia" Munich Personal RePEc Archive Paper No. 37873.
- Athukorala, P. (Ed.) (2010) *The Rise of Asia: Trade and Investment in Global Perspective* (London: Routledge).
- Athukorala, P. (2012) "The Malaysian Economy During Three Crises" in H. Hill, T.S. Yean and R.H.M. Zin (Eds.) *Malaysia's Development Challenges: Graduating from the Middle* (London: Routledge), pp. 83-105.
- Brooker, D. (2012) "Build It and They Will Come? A Critical Examination of Utopian Planning Practices and their Socio-spatial Impacts in Malaysia's Intelligent City", *Asian Geographer*, 29(1), 39-56.
- Doraisami, A. (2012) "Economic Crisis and Policy Response in Malaysia: The Role of the New Economic Policy", *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*, 26(2), 41-53.
- Economic Planning Unit (EPU) (2011) *Malaysian Economic Monitor: Brain Drain* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Government).
- Hew, D. (2008) "The Malaysian Economy: Developments and Challenges", *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 207-222.
- Hill, H., Tham, S.Y. and Zin, R.H.M. (2012). "Malaysia: A Success Story Stuck in the Middle?" *The World Economy*, 35, 1687-1711.
- Hirnissa, M.T. (2009). Military Expenditure and Economic Growth in the ASEAN-5 Countries. *Journal of Sustainable Development* 2(2) 192-202.
- Ho, C.S. and Fong, W.K. (2011) "Towards a Sustainable Regional Development in Malaysia: The Case of Iskandar Malaysia" in T.C. Wong and B. Yuen (Eds.) *Eco-city Planning* (Berlin: Springer), pp. 119-219.
- Ho, C.S., Matsuoka, Y., Simson, J. and Gomi, K. (2013) "Low Carbon Urban Development Strategy in Malaysia – The Case of Iskandar Malaysia Development Corridor", *Habitat International*, 37, 43-51.
- Ibrahim, A. (2011) Debunking ETP: Widening Income Gap.  
<http://anwaribrahimblog.com/2011/12/16/debunking-etp-widening-iincome-gap/>

- Jesudasan, J.V. (1990) *Ethnicity and the Economy: The State, Chinese Business and Multinationals in Malaysia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Keling, M.F., Ajis, M.N., Shuib, M.S, Othman, M.F., Som, H.M. (2011). "The Malaysian Government's Efforts in Managing Military and Defence Development", *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(12), 180-192
- Koon, Y.Y. (2013) Bumi Agenda: Step Forward or Backward? Free Malaysia Today, September 24 <http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/opinion/2013/09/24/bumi-agenda-step-forward-or-backward/>
- Mahadevan, R. (2011) "The Malaysian Path to Sustainable Development in the Manufacturing Sector", *ASEAN Economics Bulletin*, 28(3), 360-373.
- Menon, J. (2013) "Growth Without Private Investment: What Happened in Malaysia and How it Can Be Fixed", *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy* (in press).
- Munusamy, V.P. (2012) "Ethnic Relations in Malaysia: The Need for 'Constant Repair' in the Spirit of Muhibbah" in D. Landis and R.D. Albert (Eds) *Handbook of Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives* (Berlin: Springer), pp. 119-136.
- Nambiar, S. (2009) "Malaysia and the Global Crisis: Impact, Response, Rebalancing Strategies", ADBI Working Paper Series No. 148.
- National Economic Advisory Council (NEAC) (2010) *New Economic Model for Malaysia: Part 1* (Kuala Lumpur: NEAC).
- Ong, K.M. and Teh, C.C. (2013) A Critique of the ETP, Research for Social Advancement (REFSA).
- Pepinsky, T.B. (2013) "The New Media and Malaysian Politics in Historical Perspective", *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 35(1), 88-103.
- Ramani, P. (2013) Bumi Agenda against 1Malaysia spirit, September 17, <http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2013/09/17/bumi-agenda-against-1malaysia-spirit/>
- Ramasamy, B. and Yeung, M. (2007) "Malaysia: Trade Policy Review 2006", *The World Economy*, 30, 1193-1208.
- Ramli, S.I., Kamaruzaman, N.Z. and Ramli, I.M. (2013) "Malaysia's New Economic Policy: Issues and Debate", *American Journal of Economics*, 3(2), 108-112.



- Richardson, C., Yamin, M. and Sinkovics, R. (2012) "Policy Driven Clusters, Interfirm Interactions and Firm Internationalisation: Some Insights from Malaysia's Multimedia Super Corridor", *International Business Review*, 21, 794-805.
- Rizzo, A. and Glasson, J. (2012) "Iskandar Malaysia", *Cities*, 29, 417-427.
- Schwartz, A. and Villinger, R. (2008) "Integrating Southeast Asian Economies", *The McKinsey Quarterly*, 1.
- Sivalingam, G. (2012) "Malaysia's Economic Growth Moderates", *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 185-200.
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) (2012) *SIPRI Yearbook 2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Strategic Defence Intelligence (2012) *The Malaysian Defence Industry – Market Opportunities and Entry Strategies, Analyses and Forecasts to 2017* (London: Strategic Defence Intelligence).
- Tan, J. (2013) "Running Out of Steam? Manufacturing in Malaysia", *Cambridge Journal of Economics* (in press).
- Tham, S.Y. and Heng, L.W. (2011) "Industrial Deepening in Malaysia: Policy Lessons for Developing Countries", *Asian Development Review*, 28(2), 88-109.
- Wan, S.W.J. (2011) "Malaysia's New Economic Model: Is the Malaysian Government Serious About Economic Liberalisation?" Friedrich Naumann Stiftung Fur Die Freiheit Background Paper No. 14.
- Webster, T.J. (2012) "Malaysian Economic Development: Leading Industries and Industrial Clusters". Paper Presented at the 74<sup>th</sup> International Atlantic Economic Conference, Montreal, Canada, 4-7 October.
- Woo, W.T. (2011) "Understanding the Middle Income Trap in Economic Development: The Case of Malaysia", The World Economy Asia Lecture at the Globalisation and Economic Policy Conference, University of Nottingham Kuala Lumpur, January 13.
- World Bank (1993) *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy* (Washington DC: World Bank).

World Bank (2009) *Malaysia Productivity and Investment Climate Assessment Update*, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Sector Unit, East Asia and Pacific Region Report No. 49137-MY, Washington DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (2011) *Malaysia Economic Monitor* (Washington DC: World Bank).

World Bank (2013) *World Development Indicators* (Washington DC: World Bank).

### **RSIS Working Paper Series**

1. Vietnam-China Relations Since The End of The Cold War (1998)  
*Ang Cheng Guan*
2. Multilateral Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects and Possibilities (1999)  
*Desmond Ball*
3. Reordering Asia: "Cooperative Security" or Concert of Powers? (1999)  
*Amitav Acharya*
4. The South China Sea Dispute re-visited (1999)  
*Ang Cheng Guan*
5. Continuity and Change In Malaysian Politics: Assessing the Buildup to the 1999-2000 General Elections (1999)  
*Joseph Liow Chin Yong*
6. 'Humanitarian Intervention in Kosovo' as Justified, Executed and Mediated by NATO: Strategic Lessons for Singapore (2000)  
*Kumar Ramakrishna*
7. Taiwan's Future: Mongolia or Tibet? (2001)  
*Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung*
8. Asia-Pacific Diplomacies: Reading Discontinuity in Late-Modern Diplomatic Practice (2001)  
*Tan See Seng*
9. Framing "South Asia": Whose Imagined Region? (2001)  
*Sinderpal Singh*
10. Explaining Indonesia's Relations with Singapore During the New Order Period: The Case of Regime Maintenance and Foreign Policy (2001)  
*Terence Lee Chek Liang*
11. Human Security: Discourse, Statecraft, Emancipation (2001)  
*Tan See Seng*
12. Globalization and its Implications for Southeast Asian Security: A Vietnamese Perspective (2001)  
*Nguyen Phuong Binh*
13. Framework for Autonomy in Southeast Asia's Plural Societies (2001)  
*Miriam Coronel Ferrer*
14. Burma: Protracted Conflict, Governance and Non-Traditional Security Issues (2001)  
*Ananda Rajah*
15. Natural Resources Management and Environmental Security in Southeast Asia: Case Study of Clean Water Supplies in Singapore (2001)  
*Kog Yue Choong*
16. Crisis and Transformation: ASEAN in the New Era (2001)  
*Etel Solingen*
17. Human Security: East Versus West? (2001)  
*Amitav Acharya*
18. Asian Developing Countries and the Next Round of WTO Negotiations (2001)  
*Barry Desker*
19. Multilateralism, Neo-liberalism and Security in Asia: The Role of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum (2001)  
*Ian Taylor*
20. Humanitarian Intervention and Peacekeeping as Issues for Asia-Pacific Security (2001)  
*Derek McDougall*

21. Comprehensive Security: The South Asian Case (2002)  
*S.D. Muni*
22. The Evolution of China's Maritime Combat Doctrines and Models: 1949-2001 (2002)  
*You Ji*
23. The Concept of Security Before and After September 11 (2002)
  - a. The Contested Concept of Security  
*Steve Smith*
  - b. Security and Security Studies After September 11: Some Preliminary Reflections  
*Amitav Acharya*
24. Democratisation In South Korea And Taiwan: The Effect Of Social Division On Inter-Korean and Cross-Strait Relations (2002)  
*Chien-peng (C.P.) Chung*
25. Understanding Financial Globalisation (2002)  
*Andrew Walter*
26. 911, American Praetorian Unilateralism and the Impact on State-Society Relations in Southeast Asia (2002)  
*Kumar Ramakrishna*
27. Great Power Politics in Contemporary East Asia: Negotiating Multipolarity or Hegemony? (2002)  
*Tan See Seng*
28. What Fear Hath Wrought: Missile Hysteria and The Writing of "America" (2002)  
*Tan See Seng*
29. International Responses to Terrorism: The Limits and Possibilities of Legal Control of Terrorism by Regional Arrangement with Particular Reference to ASEAN (2002)  
*Ong Yen Nee*
30. Reconceptualizing the PLA Navy in Post – Mao China: Functions, Warfare, Arms, and Organization (2002)  
*Nan Li*
31. Attempting Developmental Regionalism Through AFTA: The Domestic Politics – Domestic Capital Nexus (2002)  
*Helen E S Nesadurai*
32. 11 September and China: Opportunities, Challenges, and Warfighting (2002)  
*Nan Li*
33. Islam and Society in Southeast Asia after September 11 (2002)  
*Barry Desker*
34. Hegemonic Constraints: The Implications of September 11 For American Power (2002)  
*Evelyn Goh*
35. Not Yet All Aboard...But Already All At Sea Over Container Security Initiative (2002)  
*Irvin Lim*
36. Financial Liberalization and Prudential Regulation in East Asia: Still Perverse? (2002)  
*Andrew Walter*
37. Indonesia and The Washington Consensus (2002)  
*Premjith Sadasivan*
38. The Political Economy of FDI Location: Why Don't Political Checks and Balances and Treaty Constraints Matter? (2002)  
*Andrew Walter*
39. The Securitization of Transnational Crime in ASEAN (2002)  
*Ralf Emmers*
40. Liquidity Support and The Financial Crisis: The Indonesian Experience (2002)  
*J Soedradjad Djiwandono*

41. A UK Perspective on Defence Equipment Acquisition (2003)  
*David Kirkpatrick*
42. Regionalisation of Peace in Asia: Experiences and Prospects of ASEAN, ARF and UN Partnership (2003)  
*Mely C. Anthony*
43. The WTO In 2003: Structural Shifts, State-Of-Play And Prospects For The Doha Round (2003)  
*Razeen Sally*
44. Seeking Security In The Dragon's Shadow: China and Southeast Asia In The Emerging Asian Order (2003)  
*Amitav Acharya*
45. Deconstructing Political Islam In Malaysia: UMNO'S Response To PAS' Religio-Political Dialectic (2003)  
*Joseph Liow*
46. The War On Terror And The Future of Indonesian Democracy (2003)  
*Tatik S. Hafidz*
47. Examining The Role of Foreign Assistance in Security Sector Reforms: The Indonesian Case (2003)  
*Eduardo Lachica*
48. Sovereignty and The Politics of Identity in International Relations (2003)  
*Adrian Kuah*
49. Deconstructing Jihad; Southeast Asia Contexts (2003)  
*Patricia Martinez*
50. The Correlates of Nationalism in Beijing Public Opinion (2003)  
*Alastair Iain Johnston*
51. In Search of Suitable Positions' in the Asia Pacific: Negotiating the US-China Relationship and Regional Security (2003)  
*Evelyn Goh*
52. American Unilateralism, Foreign Economic Policy and the 'Securitisation' of Globalisation (2003)  
*Richard Higgott*
53. Fireball on the Water: Naval Force Protection-Projection, Coast Guarding, Customs Border Security & Multilateral Cooperation in Rolling Back the Global Waves of Terror from the Sea (2003)  
*Irvin Lim*
54. Revisiting Responses To Power Preponderance: Going Beyond The Balancing-Bandwagoning Dichotomy (2003)  
*Chong Ja Ian*
55. Pre-emption and Prevention: An Ethical and Legal Critique of the Bush Doctrine and Anticipatory Use of Force In Defence of the State (2003)  
*Malcolm Brailey*
56. The Indo-Chinese Enlargement of ASEAN: Implications for Regional Economic Integration (2003)  
*Helen E S Nesadurai*
57. The Advent of a New Way of War: Theory and Practice of Effects Based Operation (2003)  
*Joshua Ho*
58. Critical Mass: Weighing in on Force Transformation & Speed Kills Post-Operation Iraqi Freedom (2004)  
*Irvin Lim*
59. Force Modernisation Trends in Southeast Asia (2004)  
*Andrew Tan*
60. Testing Alternative Responses to Power Preponderance: Buffering, Binding, Bonding and Beleaguering in the Real World (2004)  
*Chong Ja Ian*

61. Outlook on the Indonesian Parliamentary Election 2004 (2004)  
*Irman G. Lanti*
62. Globalization and Non-Traditional Security Issues: A Study of Human and Drug Trafficking in East Asia (2004)  
*Ralf Emmers*
63. Outlook for Malaysia's 11<sup>th</sup> General Election (2004)  
*Joseph Liow*
64. Not *Many* Jobs Take a Whole Army: Special Operations Forces and The Revolution in Military Affairs. (2004)  
*Malcolm Brailey*
65. Technological Globalisation and Regional Security in East Asia (2004)  
*J.D. Kenneth Boutin*
66. UAVs/UCAVS – Missions, Challenges, and Strategic Implications for Small and Medium Powers (2004)  
*Manjeet Singh Pardesi*
67. Singapore's Reaction to Rising China: Deep Engagement and Strategic Adjustment (2004)  
*Evelyn Goh*
68. The Shifting Of Maritime Power And The Implications For Maritime Security In East Asia (2004)  
*Joshua Ho*
69. China In The Mekong River Basin: The Regional Security Implications of Resource Development On The Lancang Jiang (2004)  
*Evelyn Goh*
70. Examining the Defence Industrialization-Economic Growth Relationship: The Case of Singapore (2004)  
*Adrian Kuah and Bernard Loo*
71. "Constructing" The Jemaah Islamiyah Terrorist: A Preliminary Inquiry (2004)  
*Kumar Ramakrishna*
72. Malaysia and The United States: Rejecting Dominance, Embracing Engagement (2004)  
*Helen E S Nesadurai*
73. The Indonesian Military as a Professional Organization: Criteria and Ramifications for Reform (2005)  
*John Bradford*
74. Martime Terrorism in Southeast Asia: A Risk Assessment (2005)  
*Catherine Zara Raymond*
75. Southeast Asian Maritime Security In The Age Of Terror: Threats, Opportunity, And Charting The Course Forward (2005)  
*John Bradford*
76. Deducing India's Grand Strategy of Regional Hegemony from Historical and Conceptual Perspectives (2005)  
*Manjeet Singh Pardesi*
77. Towards Better Peace Processes: A Comparative Study of Attempts to Broker Peace with MRLF and GAM (2005)  
*S P Harish*
78. Multilateralism, Sovereignty and Normative Change in World Politics (2005)  
*Amitav Acharya*
79. The State and Religious Institutions in Muslim Societies (2005)  
*Riaz Hassan*
80. On Being Religious: Patterns of Religious Commitment in Muslim Societies (2005)  
*Riaz Hassan*

81. The Security of Regional Sea Lanes (2005)  
*Joshua Ho*
82. Civil-Military Relationship and Reform in the Defence Industry (2005)  
*Arthur S Ding*
83. How Bargaining Alters Outcomes: Bilateral Trade Negotiations and Bargaining Strategies (2005)  
*Deborah Elms*
84. Great Powers and Southeast Asian Regional Security Strategies: Omni-enmeshment, Balancing and Hierarchical Order (2005)  
*Evelyn Goh*
85. Global Jihad, Sectarianism and The Madrassahs in Pakistan (2005)  
*Ali Riaz*
86. Autobiography, Politics and Ideology in Sayyid Qutb's Reading of the Qur'an (2005)  
*Umej Bhatia*
87. Maritime Disputes in the South China Sea: Strategic and Diplomatic Status Quo (2005)  
*Ralf Emmers*
88. China's Political Commissars and Commanders: Trends & Dynamics (2005)  
*Srikanth Kondapalli*
89. Piracy in Southeast Asia New Trends, Issues and Responses (2005)  
*Catherine Zara Raymond*
90. Geopolitics, Grand Strategy and the Bush Doctrine (2005)  
*Simon Dalby*
91. Local Elections and Democracy in Indonesia: The Case of the Riau Archipelago (2005)  
*Nankyung Choi*
92. The Impact of RMA on Conventional Deterrence: A Theoretical Analysis (2005)  
*Manjeet Singh Pardesi*
93. Africa and the Challenge of Globalisation (2005)  
*Jeffrey Herbst*
94. The East Asian Experience: The Poverty of 'Picking Winners' (2005)  
*Barry Desker and Deborah Elms*
95. Bandung And The Political Economy Of North-South Relations: Sowing The Seeds For Revisiting International Society (2005)  
*Helen E S Nesadurai*
96. Re-conceptualising the Military-Industrial Complex: A General Systems Theory Approach (2005)  
*Adrian Kuah*
97. Food Security and the Threat From Within: Rice Policy Reforms in the Philippines (2006)  
*Bruce Tolentino*
98. Non-Traditional Security Issues: Securitisation of Transnational Crime in Asia (2006)  
*James Laki*
99. Securitizing/Desecuritizing the Filipinos' 'Outward Migration Issue'in the Philippines' Relations with Other Asian Governments (2006)  
*José N. Franco, Jr.*
100. Securitization Of Illegal Migration of Bangladeshis To India (2006)  
*Josy Joseph*
101. Environmental Management and Conflict in Southeast Asia – Land Reclamation and its Political Impact (2006)  
*Kog Yue-Choong*

102. Securitizing border-crossing: The case of marginalized stateless minorities in the Thai-Burma Borderlands  
*Mika Toyota* (2006)
103. *The Incidence of Corruption in India: Is the Neglect of Governance Endangering Human Security in South Asia?*  
*Shabnam Mallick and Rajarshi Sen* (2006)
104. The LTTE's Online Network and its Implications for Regional Security  
*Shyam Tekwani* (2006)
105. The Korean War June-October 1950: Inchon and Stalin In The "Trigger Vs Justification" Debate  
*Tan Kwoh Jack* (2006)
106. International Regime Building in Southeast Asia: ASEAN Cooperation against the Illicit Trafficking and Abuse of Drugs  
*Ralf Emmers* (2006)
107. Changing Conflict Identities: The case of the Southern Thailand Discord  
*S P Harish* (2006)
108. Myanmar and the Argument for Engagement: *A Clash of Contending Moralities?*  
*Christopher B Roberts* (2006)
109. TEMPORAL DOMINANCE  
Military Transformation and the Time Dimension of Strategy  
*Edwin Seah* (2006)
110. Globalization and Military-Industrial Transformation in South Asia: An Historical Perspective  
*Emrys Chew* (2006)
111. UNCLOS and its Limitations as the Foundation for a Regional Maritime Security Regime  
*Sam Bateman* (2006)
112. Freedom and Control Networks in Military Environments  
*Paul T Mitchell* (2006)
113. Rewriting Indonesian History The Future in Indonesia's Past  
*Kwa Chong Guan* (2006)
114. Twelver Shi'ite Islam: Conceptual and Practical Aspects  
*Christoph Marcinkowski* (2006)
115. Islam, State and Modernity : Muslim Political Discourse in Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> century India  
*Iqbal Singh Sevea* (2006)
116. '*Voice of the Malayan Revolution*': The Communist Party of Malaya's Struggle for Hearts and Minds in the 'Second Malayan Emergency' (1969-1975)  
*Ong Wei Chong* (2006)
117. "From Counter-Society to Counter-State: Jemaah Islamiyah According to PUPJI"  
*Elena Pavlova* (2006)
118. The Terrorist Threat to Singapore's Land Transportation Infrastructure: A Preliminary Enquiry  
*Adam Dolnik* (2006)
119. The Many Faces of Political Islam  
*Mohammed Ayoob* (2006)
120. Facets of Shi'ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (I): Thailand and Indonesia  
*Christoph Marcinkowski* (2006)
121. Facets of Shi'ite Islam in Contemporary Southeast Asia (II): Malaysia and Singapore  
*Christoph Marcinkowski* (2006)



122. Towards a History of Malaysian Ulama (2007)  
*Mohamed Nawab*
123. Islam and Violence in Malaysia (2007)  
*Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid*
124. Between Greater Iran and Shi'ite Crescent: Some Thoughts on the Nature of Iran's Ambitions in the Middle East (2007)  
*Christoph Marcinkowski*
125. Thinking Ahead: Shi'ite Islam in Iraq and its Seminaries (hawzah 'ilmiyyah) (2007)  
*Christoph Marcinkowski*
126. The China Syndrome: Chinese Military Modernization and the Rearming of Southeast Asia (2007)  
*Richard A. Bitzinger*
127. Contested Capitalism: Financial Politics and Implications for China (2007)  
*Richard Carney*
128. Sentinels of Afghan Democracy: The Afghan National Army (2007)  
*Samuel Chan*
129. The De-escalation of the Spratly Dispute in Sino-Southeast Asian Relations (2007)  
*Ralf Emmers*
130. War, Peace or Neutrality: An Overview of Islamic Polity's Basis of Inter-State Relations (2007)  
*Muhammad Haniff Hassan*
131. Mission Not So Impossible: The AMM and the Transition from Conflict to Peace in Aceh, 2005–2006 (2007)  
*Kirsten E. Schulze*
132. Comprehensive Security and Resilience in Southeast Asia: ASEAN's Approach to Terrorism and Sea Piracy (2007)  
*Ralf Emmers*
133. The Ulama in Pakistani Politics (2007)  
*Mohamed Nawab*
134. China's Proactive Engagement in Asia: Economics, Politics and Interactions (2007)  
*Li Mingjiang*
135. The PLA's Role in China's Regional Security Strategy (2007)  
*Qi Dapeng*
136. War As They Knew It: Revolutionary War and Counterinsurgency in Southeast Asia (2007)  
*Ong Wei Chong*
137. Indonesia's Direct Local Elections: Background and Institutional Framework (2007)  
*Nankyung Choi*
138. Contextualizing Political Islam for Minority Muslims (2007)  
*Muhammad Haniff bin Hassan*
139. Ngruki Revisited: Modernity and Its Discontents at the Pondok Pesantren al-Mukmin of Ngruki, Surakarta (2007)  
*Farish A. Noor*
140. Globalization: Implications of and for the Modern / Post-modern Navies of the Asia Pacific (2007)  
*Geoffrey Till*
141. Comprehensive Maritime Domain Awareness: An Idea Whose Time Has Come? (2007)  
*Irvin Lim Fang Jau*
142. Sulawesi: Aspirations of Local Muslims (2007)  
*Rohaiza Ahmad Asi*

143. Islamic Militancy, Sharia, and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Suharto Indonesia (2007)  
*Noorhaidi Hasan*
144. Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon: The Indian Ocean and The Maritime Balance of Power in Historical Perspective (2007)  
*Emrys Chew*
145. New Security Dimensions in the Asia Pacific (2007)  
*Barry Desker*
146. Japan's Economic Diplomacy towards East Asia: Fragmented Realism and Naïve Liberalism (2007)  
*Hidetaka Yoshimatsu*
147. U.S. Primacy, Eurasia's New Strategic Landscape, and the Emerging Asian Order (2007)  
*Alexander L. Vuving*
148. The Asian Financial Crisis and ASEAN's Concept of Security (2008)  
*Yongwook RYU*
149. Security in the South China Sea: China's Balancing Act and New Regional Dynamics (2008)  
*Li Mingjiang*
150. The Defence Industry in the Post-Transformational World: Implications for the United States and Singapore (2008)  
*Richard A Bitzinger*
151. The Islamic Opposition in Malaysia: New Trajectories and Directions (2008)  
*Mohamed Fauz Abdul Hamid*
152. Thinking the Unthinkable: The Modernization and Reform of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia (2008)  
*Farish A. Noor*
153. Outlook for Malaysia's 12th General Elections (2008)  
*Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, Shahirah Mahmood and Joseph Chinyong Liow*
154. The use of SOLAS Ship Security Alert Systems (2008)  
*Thomas Timlen*
155. Thai-Chinese Relations: Security and Strategic Partnership (2008)  
*Chulacheeb Chinwanno*
156. Sovereignty In ASEAN and The Problem of Maritime Cooperation in the South China Sea (2008)  
*JN Mak*
157. Sino-U.S. Competition in Strategic Arms (2008)  
*Arthur S. Ding*
158. Roots of Radical Sunni Traditionalism (2008)  
*Karim Douglas Crow*
159. Interpreting Islam On Plural Society (2008)  
*Muhammad Haniff Hassan*
160. Towards a Middle Way Islam in Southeast Asia: Contributions of the Gülen Movement (2008)  
*Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman*
161. Spoilers, Partners and Pawns: Military Organizational Behaviour and Civil-Military Relations in Indonesia (2008)  
*Evan A. Laksmana*
162. The Securitization of Human Trafficking in Indonesia (2008)  
*Rizal Sukma*
163. The Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF) of Malaysia: Communitarianism Across Borders? (2008)  
*Farish A. Noor*

164. A Merlion at the Edge of an Afrasian Sea: Singapore's Strategic Involvement in the Indian Ocean (2008)  
*Emrys Chew*
165. Soft Power in Chinese Discourse: Popularity and Prospect (2008)  
*Li Mingjiang*
166. Singapore's Sovereign Wealth Funds: The Political Risk of Overseas Investments (2008)  
*Friedrich Wu*
167. The Internet in Indonesia: Development and Impact of Radical Websites (2008)  
*Jennifer Yang Hui*
168. Beibu Gulf: Emerging Sub-regional Integration between China and ASEAN (2009)  
*Gu Xiaosong and Li Mingjiang*
169. Islamic Law In Contemporary Malaysia: Prospects and Problems (2009)  
*Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid*
170. "Indonesia's Salafist Sufis" (2009)  
*Julia Day Howell*
171. Reviving the Caliphate in the Nusantara: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's Mobilization Strategy and Its Impact in Indonesia (2009)  
*Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman*
172. Islamizing Formal Education: Integrated Islamic School and a New Trend in Formal Education Institution in Indonesia (2009)  
*Noorhaidi Hasan*
173. The Implementation of Vietnam-China Land Border Treaty: Bilateral and Regional Implications (2009)  
*Do Thi Thuy*
174. The Tablighi Jama'at Movement in the Southern Provinces of Thailand Today: Networks and Modalities (2009)  
*Farish A. Noor*
175. The Spread of the Tablighi Jama'at Across Western, Central and Eastern Java and the role of the Indian Muslim Diaspora (2009)  
*Farish A. Noor*
176. Significance of Abu Dujana and Zarkasih's Verdict (2009)  
*Nurfarahisinda Binte Mohamed Ismail, V. Arianti and Jennifer Yang Hui*
177. The Perils of Consensus: How ASEAN's Meta-Regime Undermines Economic and Environmental Cooperation (2009)  
*Vinod K. Aggarwal and Jonathan T. Chow*
178. The Capacities of Coast Guards to deal with Maritime Challenges in Southeast Asia (2009)  
*Prabhakaran Paleri*
179. China and Asian Regionalism: Pragmatism Hinders Leadership (2009)  
*Li Mingjiang*
180. Livelihood Strategies Amongst Indigenous Peoples in the Central Cardamom Protected Forest, Cambodia (2009)  
*Long Sarou*
181. Human Trafficking in Cambodia: Reintegration of the Cambodian illegal migrants from Vietnam and Thailand (2009)  
*Neth Naro*
182. The Philippines as an Archipelagic and Maritime Nation: Interests, Challenges, and Perspectives (2009)  
*Mary Ann Palma*

183. The Changing Power Distribution in the South China Sea: Implications for Conflict Management and Avoidance (2009)  
*Ralf Emmers*
184. Islamist Party, Electoral Politics and Da'wa Mobilization among Youth: The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia (2009)  
*Noorhaidi Hasan*
185. U.S. Foreign Policy and Southeast Asia: From Manifest Destiny to Shared Destiny (2009)  
*Emrys Chew*
186. Different Lenses on the Future: U.S. and Singaporean Approaches to Strategic Planning (2009)  
*Justin Zorn*
187. Converging Peril : Climate Change and Conflict in the Southern Philippines (2009)  
*J. Jackson Ewing*
188. Informal Caucuses within the WTO: Singapore in the "Invisibles Group" (2009)  
*Barry Desker*
189. The ASEAN Regional Forum and Preventive Diplomacy: A Failure in Practice (2009)  
*Ralf Emmers and See Seng Tan*
190. How Geography Makes Democracy Work (2009)  
*Richard W. Carney*
191. The Arrival and Spread of the Tablighi Jama'at In West Papua (Irian Jaya), Indonesia (2010)  
*Farish A. Noor*
192. The Korean Peninsula in China's Grand Strategy: China's Role in dealing with North Korea's Nuclear Quandary (2010)  
*Chung Chong Wook*
193. Asian Regionalism and US Policy: The Case for Creative Adaptation (2010)  
*Donald K. Emmerson*
194. Jemaah Islamiyah: Of Kin and Kind (2010)  
*Sulastrri Osman*
195. The Role of the Five Power Defence Arrangements in the Southeast Asian Security Architecture (2010)  
*Ralf Emmers*
196. The Domestic Political Origins of Global Financial Standards: Agrarian Influence and the Creation of U.S. Securities Regulations (2010)  
*Richard W. Carney*
197. Indian Naval Effectiveness for National Growth (2010)  
*Ashok Sawhney*
198. Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) regime in East Asian waters: Military and intelligence-gathering activities, Marine Scientific Research (MSR) and hydrographic surveys in an EEZ (2010)  
*Yang Fang*
199. Do Stated Goals Matter? Regional Institutions in East Asia and the Dynamic of Unstated Goals (2010)  
*Deepak Nair*
200. China's Soft Power in South Asia (2010)  
*Parama Sinha Palit*
201. Reform of the International Financial Architecture: How can Asia have a greater impact in the G20? (2010)  
*Pradumna B. Rana*
202. "Muscular" versus "Liberal" Secularism and the Religious Fundamentalist Challenge in Singapore (2010)  
*Kumar Ramakrishna*

203. Future of U.S. Power: Is China Going to Eclipse the United States? Two Possible Scenarios to 2040 (2010)  
*Tuomo Kuosa*
204. Swords to Ploughshares: China's Defence-Conversion Policy (2010)  
*Lee Dongmin*
205. Asia Rising and the Maritime Decline of the West: A Review of the Issues (2010)  
*Geoffrey Till*
206. From Empire to the War on Terror: The 1915 Indian Sepoy Mutiny in Singapore as a case study of the impact of profiling of religious and ethnic minorities. (2010)  
*Farish A. Noor*
207. Enabling Security for the 21st Century: Intelligence & Strategic Foresight and Warning (2010)  
*Helene Lavoix*
208. The Asian and Global Financial Crises: Consequences for East Asian Regionalism (2010)  
*Ralf Emmers and John Ravenhill*
209. Japan's New Security Imperative: The Function of Globalization (2010)  
*Bhubhinder Singh and Philip Shetler-Jones*
210. India's Emerging Land Warfare Doctrines and Capabilities (2010)  
*Colonel Harinder Singh*
211. A Response to Fourth Generation Warfare (2010)  
*Amos Khan*
212. Japan-Korea Relations and the Tokdo/Takeshima Dispute: The Interplay of Nationalism and Natural Resources (2010)  
*Ralf Emmers*
213. Mapping the Religious and Secular Parties in South Sulawesi and Tanah Toraja, Sulawesi, Indonesia (2010)  
*Farish A. Noor*
214. The Aceh-based Militant Network: A Trigger for a View into the Insightful Complex of Conceptual and Historical Links (2010)  
*Giora Eliraz*
215. Evolving Global Economic Architecture: Will We have a New Bretton Woods? (2010)  
*Pradumna B. Rana*
216. Transforming the Military: The Energy Imperative (2010)  
*Kelvin Wong*
217. ASEAN Institutionalisation: The Function of Political Values and State Capacity (2010)  
*Christopher Roberts*
218. China's Military Build-up in the Early Twenty-first Century: From Arms Procurement to War-fighting Capability (2010)  
*Yoram Evron*
219. Darul Uloom Deoband: Stemming the Tide of Radical Islam in India (2010)  
*Taberezh Ahmed Neyazi*
220. Recent Developments in the South China Sea: Grounds for Cautious Optimism? (2010)  
*Carlyle A. Thayer*
221. Emerging Powers and Cooperative Security in Asia (2010)  
*Joshy M. Paul*

222. What happened to the smiling face of Indonesian Islam? (2011)  
Muslim intellectualism and the conservative turn in post-Suharto Indonesia  
*Martin Van Bruinessen*
223. Structures for Strategy: Institutional Preconditions for Long-Range Planning in (2011)  
Cross-Country Perspective  
*Justin Zorn*
224. Winds of Change in Sarawak Politics? (2011)  
*Faisal S Hazis*
225. Rising from Within: China's Search for a Multilateral World and Its Implications (2011)  
for Sino-U.S. Relations  
*Li Mingjiang*
226. Rising Power... To Do What? (2011)  
Evaluating China's Power in Southeast Asia  
*Evelyn Goh*
227. Assessing 12-year Military Reform in Indonesia: Major Strategic Gaps for the Next Stage of (2011)  
Reform  
*Leonard C. Sebastian and Iisgindarsah*
228. Monetary Integration in ASEAN+3: A Perception Survey of Opinion Leaders (2011)  
*Pradumna Bickram Rana, Wai-Mun Chia & Yothin Jinjark*
229. Dealing with the "North Korea Dilemma": China's Strategic Choices (2011)  
*You Ji*
230. Street, Shrine, Square and Soccer Pitch: Comparative Protest Spaces in Asia and the Middle (2011)  
East  
*Teresita Cruz-del Rosario and James M. Dorsey*
231. The Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) in the landscape of Indonesian Islamist Politics: Cadre- (2011)  
Training as Mode of Preventive Radicalisation?  
*Farish A Noor*
232. The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) Negotiations: Overview and Prospects (2012)  
*Deborah Elms and C.L. Lim*
233. How Indonesia Sees ASEAN and the World: A cursory Survey of the Social Studies and (2012)  
History textbooks of Indonesia, from Primary to Secondary Level.  
*Farish A. Noor*
234. The Process of ASEAN's Institutional Consolidation in 1968-1976: Theoretical Implications (2012)  
for Changes of Third-World Security Oriented Institution  
*Kei Koga*
235. Getting from Here to There: Stitching Together Goods Agreements in the Trans-Pacific (2012)  
Partnership (TPP) Agreement  
*Deborah Elms*
236. Indonesia's Democratic Politics and Foreign Policy-Making: A Case Study of Iranian Nuclear (2012)  
Issue, 2007-2008  
*Iisgindarsah*
237. Reflections on Defence Security in East Asia (2012)  
*Desmond Ball*
238. The Evolving Multi-layered Global Financial Safety Net: Role of Asia (2012)  
*Pradumna B. Rana*
239. Chinese Debates of South China Sea Policy: Implications for Future Developments (2012)  
*Li Mingjiang*
240. China's Economic Restructuring : Role of Agriculture (2012)  
*Zhang Hongzhou*

241. The Influence of Domestic Politics on Philippine Foreign Policy: The case of Philippines-China relations since 2004 (2012)  
*Aileen S.P. Baviera*
242. The Forum Betawi Rempug (FBR) of Jakarta: An Ethnic-Cultural Solidarity Movement in a Globalising Indonesia (2012)  
*Farish A. Noor*
243. Role of Intelligence in International Crisis Management (2012)  
*Kwa Chong Guan*
244. Malaysia's China Policy in the Post-Mahathir Era: A Neoclassical Realist Explanation (2012)  
*KUIK Cheng-Chwee*
245. Dividing the Korean Peninsula: The Rhetoric of the George W. Bush Administration (2012)  
*Sarah Teo*
246. China's Evolving Fishing Industry: Implications for Regional and Global Maritime Security (2012)  
*Zhang Hongzhou*
247. By Invitation, Mostly: the International Politics of the US Security Presence, China, and the South China Sea (2012)  
*Christopher Freise*
248. Governing for the Future: What Governments can do (2012)  
*Peter Ho*
249. ASEAN's centrality in a rising Asia (2012)  
*Benjamin Ho*
250. Malaysia's U.S. Policy under Najib: Ambivalence no more? (2012)  
*KUIK Cheng-Chwee*
251. Securing the State: National Security in Contemporary Times (2012)  
*Sir David Omand GCB*
252. Bangladesh-India Relations: Sheikh Hasina's India-Positive Policy Approach (2012)  
*Bhumitra Chakma*
253. Strengthening Economic Linkages Between South and East Asia: The Case for a Second Round of "Look East" Policies (2013)  
*Pradumna B Rana and Chia Wai-Mun*
254. The Eurozone Crisis and Its Impact on Asia (2013)  
*Pradumna B Rana and Michael Blomenhofer*
255. Security Identity, Policymaking Regime and Japanese Security Policy Development (2013)  
*Bhubhindar Singh*
256. The Rising Chorus of Chinese Exceptionalism (2013)  
*Benjamin Ho Tze Ern*
257. Iran: How Intelligence and Policy Intersect (2013)  
*Robert Jervis*
258. Enhancing Global and Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Management and Resolution (2013)  
*Ibrahim A. Gambari*
259. A New Containment-Policy – The Curbing of War and Violent Conflict in World Society (2013)  
*Andreas Herberg-Rothe*
260. The Strategy of Coercive Isolation in U.S. Security Policy (2013)  
*Timothy W. Crawford*
261. Beyond its Mineral/Natural Resources: Why Africa Matters to the World (2013)  
*Ibrahim A. Gambari*

262. Wahhabism vs. Wahhabism: Qatar Challenges Saudi Arabia (2013)  
*James M. Dorsey*
263. Regional Cyber Security: Moving Towards a Resilient ASEAN Cyber Security Regime (2013)  
*Caitríona H. Heint*
264. Safety in Numbers: Problems of a Smaller U.S. Nuclear Arsenal in Asia (2013)  
*Christine M. Leah*
265. South Korea's Middle-Power Engagement Initiatives: Perspectives from Southeast Asia (2013)  
*Sarah Teo, Bhuhindar Singh and See Seng Tan*
266. Malaysia's Past Successes and Uncertain Future: Graduating from the Middle or Caught in the Middle? (2014)  
*Hooi Hooi Lean and Russell Smyth*