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## Adapt or Divest? The New Economic Policy and Foreign Businesses in Malaysia (1970-2000)

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the NEP.

As for the other foreign firms, they were nonetheless prepared to share assets,

expertise and human resources with Malaysian enterprises through joint ventures. Such a varied response demonstrated the agility of foreign businesses in responding to state policies.

## Acknowledgements

The authors wish to acknowledge the generous funding received from the University of Malaya and the hospitality provided by the Louisiana State University where earlier drafts of the paper were written. Many thanks go to John V. Lombardi, Geoffrey Jones, Nick White, Greg Sibley, Jason Loh Seong Wei and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable suggestions and comments.

## Notes

Davenpo

Gomez, Chinese Business; Gomez and Jomo, Malaysia's Political Economy.

Low Kam Yoke in her thesis differentiated between the two stages of acquisitions: the Malaysianisation stage involving the transfer of control and the relocation of

headqua mitisation stage w ip and 94-95. corporat 'Bumitis are given nay take the preferen form of vel. Mala ation of at the capit decision Jones, M es'; **Jesudaso** l: White. Business Saga;

Yacob, 'The New Economic Policy; see also the epilogue in Yacob, The United States and the Malaysian Economy.

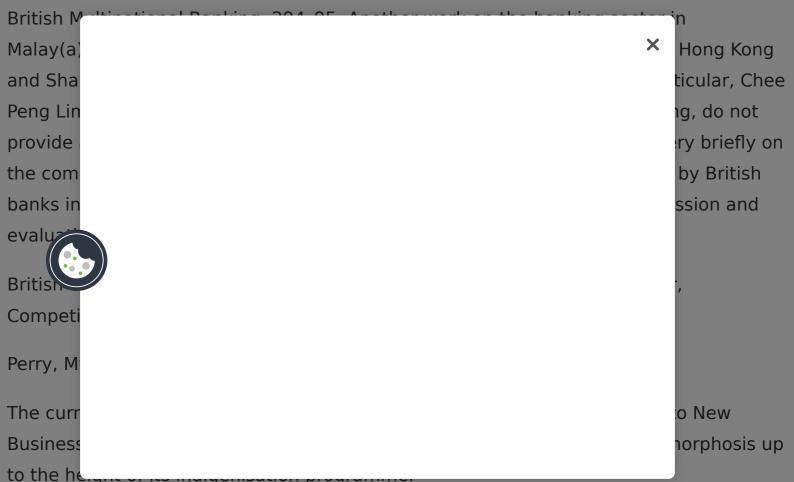
Dunning and Lundan, 'Institutions and the OLI Paradigm'; Jones, Multinationals and Global Capitalism; Dunning, 'The New Geography'; Stopford and Turner, Britain and the Multinationals.

The 'old' firms refer to foreign businesses which had been established in the Malay Peninsula (many of them headquartered in Singapore) since the nineteenth century.

This study has benefited from various business articles published in the now defunct Far Eastern Economic Review (hereafter FEER), The Financial Times, The Straits Times, The New Straits Times and The Wall Street Journal.

The series of articles by Japanese scholars in The Developing Economies, for example, focuses on the historical background, objectives and policy issues, and a number of case studies of British businesses. Horii, 'Disintegration of the Colonial Economic Legacies', 281–313; see also Chan, The New Economic Policy.

The Malaysian government began to shift public accounts into local banks in the 1960s when previously it had been the monopoly of British banks. In addition, from 1965 foreign banks were restricted from setting up further branches in Malaysia. Jones,



Hart, 'The New Economic Policy and Redistribution', 47.

The convening of the First and subsequently Second Bumiputera Economic Congress, in 1965 and 1968 respectively, enabled the nationalists to draw upon and demonstrate political support from the Malay business community itself for urgent government action. Many of the policies of the NEP, a pivotal epoch in Malaysian economic history and marking a drastic shift in direction towards state-sponsored capitalism, were actually inspired by and derived from the proposals and resolutions of the Bumiputera Economic Congresses. Baharuddin, From British to Bumiputera Rule, 190.

See Puthucheary, Ownership and Control; Drabble, An Economic History of Malaysia.

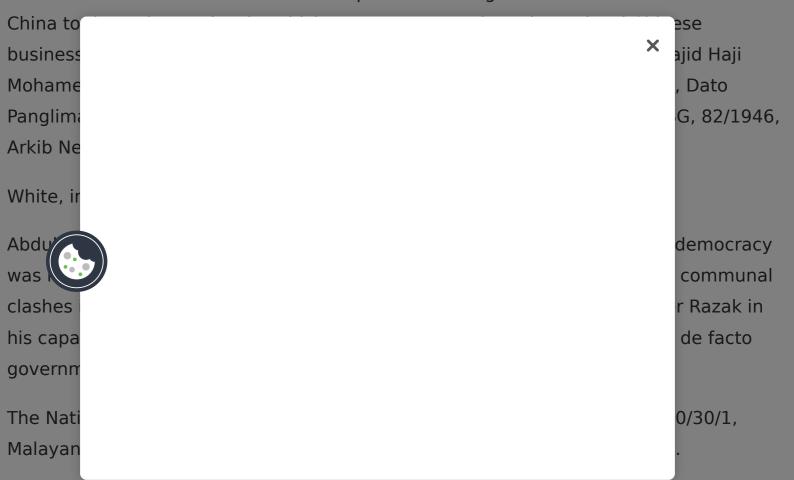
Jomo, A Question of Class and Growth and Structural Change; Lim Mah Hui, Ownership and Control; Hua Wu Yin, 'Class and Communalism in Malaysia'.

White, British Business, Chapter 2.

White, 'Beginnings of Crony Capitalism', 409; British Business, 65.

Yacob and White, "Unfinished Business", 919-60; Gomez, Chinese Business, 157-59.

In fact, after the Second World War, UMNO grassroots members had voiced their concerns about the influx of Chinese capital amounting to USD50 million from mainland



Ibid.

London Metropolitan Archives [hereafter LMA], CLC/B/112/MS37394/003, Address delivered to the Malaysia and Singapore Commercial Association by Tan Sri Sir Claude Fenner, RGA representative in Kuala Lumpur, London, 2 June 1977.

LMA, CLC/B/112/MS37394/003, papers collected in 1989 by Guy Nickalls for Great Enterprise: A History of Harrisons and Crosfield Ltd, including some original documents, c. 1948–80, copies of press cuttings and notes from company employees.

TNA, FCO 15/2075, note prepared by Henry Barlow and given to Mr Squire in a meeting on 2 June 1975.

Pernas was formed in 1969 through the Companies Act (1965), with a paid-up capital amounting to RM11.25 million, comprising the contribution of the Ministry of Finance (MoF), Bank Negara Malaysia and Bank Bumiputera Malaysia Berhad (BBMB). See, US National Archives & Records Administration (hereafter NARA), American Embassy, Kuala Lumpur to Secretary of State, Washington DC, 'GOM unveils plans to buy control of London Tin', April 1976 in electronic telegrams, 1 Jan.1976–31 Dec. 1976, RG 39, Central Foreign Policy Files, State Department Cables.

The objectives of Pernas were to invest in sectors which were capable of generating lucrative ich it is the X appointed main sh in all lev Khadijah Ibid., 13 Heng Pe Society, 209; Gill, Hugh Pe TNA, FC ritish High Commis Martin,

'Malaysia's Mahathir: The Man and His New Election Mandate', 4 Jan. 1982, iv. CIA, Washington, DC; Wain, Malaysian Maverick.

Alain Cass, 'Britain Tries to Clear the Air: Carrington in Malaysia', Financial Times, 8 Feb. 1982, 15.

'The British came back but not as the Malays had cast them. They came back not as protectors of the Malaysia they used to be, but showed instead every intention to wrest everything away from the Malays.' Mohamad, The Malay Dilemma, 30.

'Malaysia's Mahathir',, 4 Jan. 1982, 5-6. CIA, Washington, DC.

For an impact of the raid on the Indian plantation worker, see Sivachandralingam Sundara Raja, 'The London Dawn Raid', 74–93.

Cass, 'Britain Tries to Clear the Air', Financial Times, 8 Feb. 1982, 15...

For a detailed explanation of the issues involved in the tense relations between Malaysia and Britain, see Yacob and White, "Unfinished Business", 17–22.

Kershaw, 'Anglo-Malaysian Relations', 640–41; Chew Huat Hock, 'Changing Direction', 351–53; Khoo Boo Teik, Paradoxes of Mahathirism, 54–57.



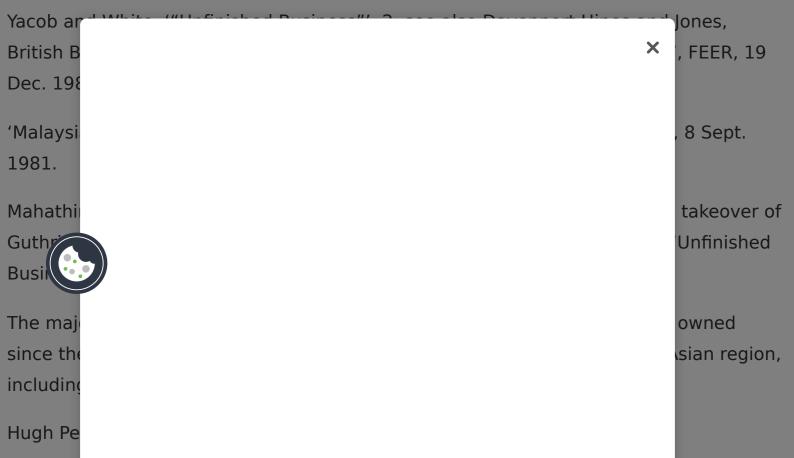
The company, newly named Zemex in 1985, relinquished all its interests in Malaysia in 1993. Pacific Tin Annual Report 1976-93.

White, 'Beginnings of Crony Capitalism', 389-417.

For a detailed view on the Sime Darby board struggle, see Drabble and Drake, 'British Agency Houses', 324–45.

'Battle for Sime Darby', FEER, 3 December 1976, p. 38. The US viewed the Sime-Pernas struggle as a battle between plantation interests and 'old' British firms and the Malaysian government which did not involve other sectors and as such had no impact on future foreign investments in Malaysia. NARA, American Embassy, Kuala Lumpur to Secretary of State, Washington DC, 'Battle for Sime Darby', Nov. 1976 in electronic telegrams, 1 Jan. 1976–31 Dec. 1976, RG 39, Central Foreign Policy Files, State Department Cables.

This was the view of the American Ambassador in Kuala Lumpur pertaining to US investments in Malaysia. NARA, American Embassy, Kuala Lumpur to Secretary of State, Washington DC, 'Fight between GOM and Sime Darby', Dec. 1976 in electronic telegrams, 1 Jan. 1976–31, Dec. 1976, RG 39, Central Foreign Policy Files, State Department Cables.



Ray Maughan, 'End of an Era in Malaysia: Harrisons & Crosfield Loses 'Jewel in its Crown'', Financial Times, 3 June 1982.

This firm then invested in the logging or timber sector and, in 1920, a joint venture was formed with the British North Borneo Company in Sabah. This firm was also one of the British companies to be involved in manufacturing related to rubber investment in the production of latex. Subsequently, Linatex, the latex product, was introduced by the firm. See Jones and Wale, 'Merchants as Business Groups', 375.

'Estate Sectors Makes News with Mergers', New Straits Times, 31 Dec. 1982.

LMA, CLC/B/112/MS37394/003.

Ibid.

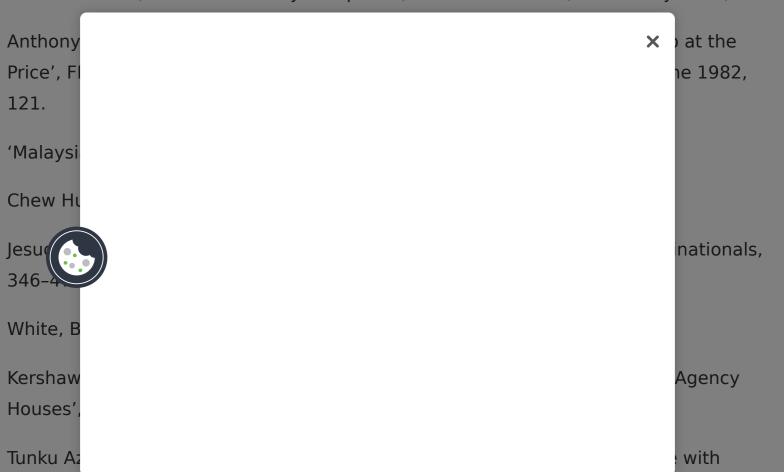
Jeffrey Segal, 'Sunset on British Estates', FEER, 11 June 1982, 120-22.

Rogayah Haji Mat Zin, 'Malaysians Reverse Investments', 491-92.

Jeffrey Segal, 'Home to Hard Times', FEER, 1 Oct. 1982, 92–33.

Jones and Wale, 'Diversification Strategies', 96-97.

Gerald Colverd, 'Harrisons' "Easy Compass", Investor's Review, 12-25 May 1978, 10.



Guthrie. Tunku Aziz, of the Kedah royalty, was considered as 'one of them' and always

received the best of treatment from Guthrie's management. Due to his upper-class upbringing and his British education as well as his acceptance of British culture, he was looked upon as somewhat of an Anglophile. Interview with Tunku Abdul Aziz Ibrahim, 16 Aug. 2008.

White, British Business, 16–18, 216–17.

Shell demonstrated remarkable flexibility in their strategic directions when faced with ultra-nationalistic policies in the Middle East and the Venezuelan oil sector. See, Sluyterman, Keeping Competitive in Turbulent Markets.

TNA, DO 189/588, File No. AED 110/30/1, Malaysia: employment of expatriates in business (1964–1966).

Jones, Renewing Unilever, 155.

Ibid., 167-69.

**Associat** 

Wong Sulong, 'Companies and Markets: International Companies and Finance—United Plantations Lays a Path', Financial Times, 13 May 1982, 26.

The late Basir Ismail also held the posts of chairman of Petronas, National Padi and Rice Authority, London Rubber Growers Association, Malaysian Rubber Growers Association,

on. Obituary:



'String of Success, Now Another "First", The Straits Times, 7 Sept. 1972, 18.

Behn Meyer Memorandum, 1976; Behn Meyer Group in Singapore & Malaysia since 1840, Company Brochure, 1995.

The support of the Tunku for the multinationals indirectly led to the downfall of the minister for agriculture and cooperatives, Abdul Aziz Ishak, who wanted small cooperatives to manage the urea fertiliser project. Had this project been given the approval of the Cabinet and financially backed by the government, it would have been inimical to the interests of ICI. See White, British Business, Chapter 2.

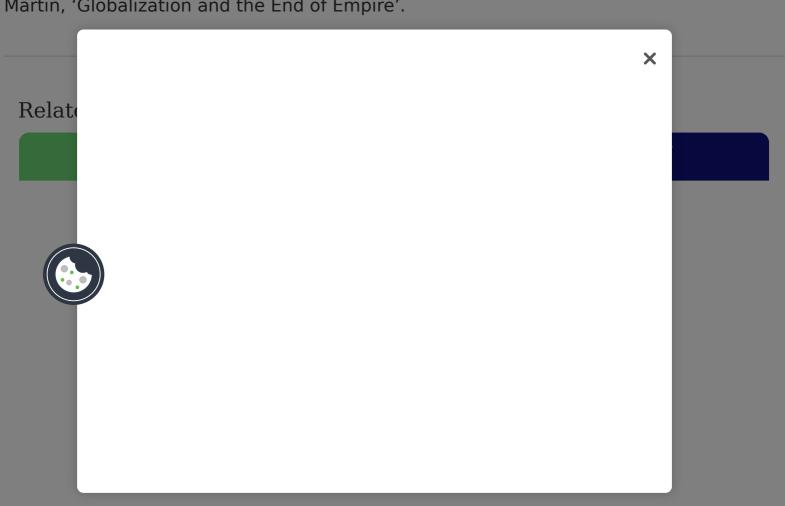
To learn more about the strategies of this German family firm in Malaysia, see, Yacob, 'Trans-Generational Renewal'.

Behn Meyer Holding AG Company Announcement, Hamburg, June 2000. Courtesy of Juergen Friele.

White, British Business, 176-77.

For the history of Wearne Brothers, see Fyfe, Wheels in Malaya; for the cooperation between Wearne and Ford Malaya, see Yacob, 'Keeping the Wheels Moving'.

Martin, 'Globalization and the End of Empire'.



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