

UNGKU AZIZ'S IDEAS ON DEVELOPMENT

MUHAMMAD SYAFIQ BIN BORHANNUDDIN

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To my beloved mother, Saniah Ahmad Zaki, my late father, Allahyarham Borhannuddin Shaari, my sister, Satira Diana, my wife, Asma Wan Mohd Nor and my daughter, Shifa.

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## ABSTRACT

This study attempts to present a systematic account of the ideas on development of Royal Professor Ungku Abdul Aziz bin Ungku Abdul Hamid (1922 – present), a dominant figure in the intellectual and cultural life of Malaysia since the 1950s, which is dispersed over a large number of books, articles, lectures and interviews. Based on thorough review and scrutiny of Ungku Aziz's works, available in English and Malay, the study adopts the inductive, descriptive and analytical method. The main finding indicated is that Ungku Aziz's ideas on development follows from his cooperative economic framework and is as rooted in a decolonizing vision of rural development, higher education and cultural development. Thus it is a creative interpretation of development that factors in the local socio-economic realities and the spiritual and cultural well being - departing from the colonial orientation that have caused disintegration, fragmentation and exploitation of the local community. The study concludes that Ungku Aziz's ideas on development were geared towards meeting the real social, economic and cultural needs of the local community, improving the quality of life and strengthening national unity rather than serving a narrow interpretation of development, and thus commendable from the Islamic point of view, although not directly informed by the Islamic tradition. This study hopes to offer readers lessons and insights as well as a useful mapping of the ideas of a prominent 20<sup>th</sup> century Malay academic and thus make a contribution towards filling in that gap of knowledge especially in the Muslim world and the developing world.

## ABSTRAK

Kajian ini berhasrat untuk mengkaji secara tersusun idea-idea pembangunan Profesor Diraja Ungku Abdul Aziz bin Ungku Abdul Hamid (1922 – kini), seorang tokoh akademik yang berpengaruh di Malaysia sejak 1950an, yang tersebar di dalam sejumlah buku, makalah, syarahan dan wawancara. Berdasarkan penelitian penulisan-penulisan beliau dalam Bahasa Inggeris dan Bahasa Melayu dengan kaedah induktif, deskriptif dan analisis, kajian ini dibahagikan kepada riwayat hidup ringkas dan latar belakang ilmiah beliau, kefahaman beliau terhadap konsep pembangunan dan peng'amal-laksanaan idea-idea beliau pada peringkat institusi dan kebangsaan. Penemuan utama kajian mendapati idea-idea Ungku Aziz adalah berdasarkan kerangka kerjasama (koperasi) dan mengakar kepada suatu wawasan pembangunan dekolonisasi yakni dari sudut pembangunan luar bandar, pendidikan tinggi dan kebudayaan. Oleh itu idea-idea pembangunan beliau boleh disimpulkan sebagai suatu penafsiran pembangunan berdayacipta yang mengambil kira hakikat sosio-ekonomi tempatan, dan juga faktor-faktor kerohanian, kebudayaan dan kemasyarakatan—berbeda dengan fahaman penjajah yang telah mengakibatkan ketidaksamaan dan eksploitasi ke atas masyarakat tempatan. Kajian menyimpulkan bahawa pemikiran Ungku Aziz perihal pembangunan adalah kearah memenuhi keperluan ekonomi, masyarakat dan kebudayaan tempatan, dan bukan untuk memenuhi kehendak dan faham pembangunan sekular yang sempit. Ini adalah usaha yang boleh dipuji dari sudut pandang Islam walaupun idea-idea beliau tidak dibina berdasarkan tradisi keilmuan Islam secara langsung. Kajian ini mengharapkan untuk memberi iktibar kepada pembaca dan juga pemetaan idea seorang tokoh akademik Melayu yang terkenal pada abad ke-20 sekaligus menyumbang ke arah mengisi kekosongan dalam keilmuan semasa khususnya dalam dunia Islam and membangun.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of Study

As a term, ‘development’ first emerged out of the experience of Western civilisation—according to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*<sup>1</sup>, the earliest surviving written record of the term is in 1756, where it is commonly used as an intransitive verb referred to as an “unfolding” in the biological sense. Only in 1902 that it began to be referred as a “state of economic advancement.”<sup>2</sup> However its connotation to economics began to be one of the most highly debated discourses in the world during the second half of the twentieth century or post World War Two, when nations began to reconstruct their countries from the effects of war. Thus the impetus of development thinking in the 20<sup>th</sup> century emerged due to the experiences of two World Wars and the global context of that time.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of Malaya, which later came to be known as Malaysia in 1963, it was a transition period in her history as the nation began to be politically independent

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<sup>1</sup> The basic sources of this online etymological dictionary are Weekley's "An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English," Klein's "A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language," "Oxford English Dictionary" (second edition), "Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology," Holthausen's "Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache," and Kipfer and Chapman's "Dictionary of American Slang."

<sup>2</sup> Online Etymology Dictionary, ‘development (n.)’, <<http://www.etymonline.com>>, last accessed on 25 August 2014

<sup>3</sup> H.W Arndt, *Economic Development: The History of an Idea*, University of Chicago Press, 1987, p.1

from British colonial rule and were feeling the effects of the Japanese invasion in World War Two. One of the earliest and prominent academicians who responded to the development discourse was the first Malay economist, Professor and Vice-Chancellor, Ungku Abdul Aziz bin Ungku Abdul Hamid<sup>4</sup> (born 1922 – present). As an economist in a post World War Two environment, Ungku Aziz has dedicated the greater part of his life to research related to development in the social and economic domains—mainly on the rural economy and causes of poverty, and has contributed significantly towards planning and executing practical measures to alleviate poverty and improve the socio-economic conditions in Malaysia. His pioneering studies on poverty and the local economy were instrumental in spurring the creation of governmental rural development programmes aimed at benefiting the poor and were critical reference points in aiding policy makers in various aspects of rural development in Malaysia. Thus his academic work was initially in the rural economics and rural development area. However by 1981 he began to use the term ‘development’ more specifically when he remarked, “We of the third world countries have to make an extremely conscious effort to realize development because of the existence of poverty in our economic system.”<sup>5</sup>

Although his academic researchers can be classified to some extent in the “development economics” category, much of his concerns, writings and ideas appears to go beyond the discipline of modern economics and reflects a broader conception of development that regards education, religion, culture and language as important considerations for development. He was responsible for the founding and transformation of many institutions that have shaped the social, economic and cultural landscape of Malaysia. Among them being the world’s first notable Muslims pilgrimage institution – *Tabung Haji*,<sup>6</sup> the Malaysian Co-operative Union – *Angkatan Koperasi Kebangsaan Malaysia Berhad* (ANGKASA), the nation’s first language and literary agency – *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* (DBP) and the nation’s first public university – University of Malaya are legacies of his. He was also the first Malaysian to have been appointed by the United Nations to serve in its agencies.

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<sup>4</sup> The most extensive source for Ungku Aziz’s career and works to date is the *Feistchrist* entitled *Renaissance Man* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2010). To be referred to from now on as Ungku Aziz.

<sup>5</sup> Ungku Aziz, “Prospects for Economic Growth in Asia”, *Asia and Australia*, 1961, p. 55-66

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 3.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Although development discourse is a major concern for leaders and nations everywhere, it appears that very often the ideas were formulated within the Western experience and even imposed to others. As mentioned by the likes of H.W Arndt<sup>7</sup>, Gilbert Rist<sup>8</sup> and Ozay Mehmet<sup>9</sup>, ‘development’ is often interpreted based on certain set of assumptions from the Western experience, which may not be necessarily shared, by other cultures and traditions. In John Martinussen’s insightful study, he noted, “Over the last century, Western conceptions of the world and history have been largely characterised by notions of progress, evolution and development. Originally the emphasis was on progress and evolution; however, since the Second World War ‘development’ has become the most widely used term. Regardless of the more specific definition, there is a very widespread tendency to associate something positive, something desirable, with the word ‘development’.”<sup>10</sup> This unquestioning tendency on this powerful notion can result in unwanted consequences. Ungku Aziz himself appears to be conscious that he was working in a time when ideas from the Western world are particularly dominant at the expense of ideas from other parts of the world such as his that prompted him to remark in 1980, “It is high time that Third World economists receive the respect they deserve. It is too easy for social scientists from the affluent countries, who dominate the major academic journals and who appear as stars to the major publishers, to try to disparage the ideas of their Third World counterparts by alleging that they lack a sound theoretical base or mathematical underpinning or

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<sup>7</sup> See H.W Arndt, *Economic Development: The History of an Idea*, University of Chicago Press, 1989. For further discussions on the dominant ideas on development from the West, see; M.P Cowen’s *Doctrines of Development*. Routledge, 1996; Oswaldo Di Rivero’s *The Myth of Development: Non-Viable Economies and the Crisis of Civilization*, second edition, Zed Books, 2010; Gerald M. Meier’s *Pioneers on Development* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984) and *Fifty Thinkers on Development* (Routledge, 2006) edited by David Simon, Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, “Some Basic Issues of Development in Malaysia”, *Malaysian Development Experience: Changes and Challenges* (KL: INTAN, 1994) p. 855-880

<sup>8</sup> Gilbert Rist’s *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (third edition), Zed Books, 2008

<sup>9</sup> Ozay Mehmet, *Westernizing the Third World: The Eurocentricity of Economic Development Theories* (London: Routledge, 1999)

<sup>10</sup> John Martinussen, *Society, State & Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development*, Zed Books, 1997, p. 34

empirical support. Or their existence is simply ignored.”<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, many things have been said about Ungku Aziz’s role in the development of Malaysia but where he stands in the development discourse and whether he has achieved the goals he set for himself remains a question. For these reasons, his life and work demand serious attention and research. This is all the more pressing as little has been written about him to date.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study & Research Questions**

The primary objective of this study is therefore to describe and elucidate the ideas on development as propounded by Ungku Aziz in a coherent manner and comprehensively, using all available sources, in order to analyse its interpretations and significance.

The secondary objectives of this study is to relate Ungku Aziz’s ideas to wider discourses on development during his time and to situate his ideas in history and to assess the implications of his ideas to the social, economic and cultural life of Malaysia. The study will therefore attempt to achieve the following objectives:

1. To elaborate on the meaning of development as understood or interpreted by Ungku Aziz. In connection to this, his major concepts and discussions related to development will be derived.
2. To elucidate the implications of his ideas on development and thus to better situate Ungku Aziz’s position in the development discourse.
3. To evaluate or assess the significance, profundity or true worth of his ideas in the history of Malaysia with the view of drawing lessons and insights for the contemporary world.

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<sup>11</sup> Ungku Aziz, “A guide for the decision makers,” *New Straits Times*, 14 March 1980

It is thus the intention of this research to fill up this gap by attempting to explore the following three questions:

1. How does Ungku Aziz understand or interprets development and how does this conception fit in present-day scholarship?
2. Were any of his ideas on development original in terms of its conception and contribution?
3. What is the impact or implication of the ideas propounded Ungku Aziz?

In addition, I hope to answer the following questions: Did he manage to achieve the goals that he set for himself? What are problems that he attempted to solve? Are they consistent with the views that he expressed on other topics? These and related issues are the basic problems that form the questions leading to the objectives of the present study.

#### **1.4 Methodology & Scope of Study**

To achieve the objectives of the study, the method by which I pursued this subject is twofold. In the first instance, the library research method is applied. Various libraries, especially the Za'ba University of Malaya Library were utilized. Other libraries include the ISTAC, IIUM, INCEIF, Bank Negara Sasana Kijang and the National Archive in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. As for narrative or historical accounts, the researcher has exhausted all newspaper cuttings published on Ungku Aziz since the 1950s available in the Ungku Aziz collection located in the University Malaya library, reviewed all his published and unpublished writings, reviewed the historical background of his time and reviewed the dominant development ideas of his time, for it seeks to trace the genesis and the background of Ungku Aziz's ideas. The researcher had also went to the Vice-

Chancellor's office of University Malaya, the Malaysian Economic Association at University of Malaya, the corporate office of *Tabung Haji* and the New Straits Times' Archives in Kuala Lumpur to obtain relevant materials and information. Each forthcoming discussion, therefore, represents a result of careful analysis of Ungku Aziz's ideas in the areas on development and its related subjects. This would be coupled with an analysis of the available archival data and unpublished materials.

The primary sources include both writings by Ungku Aziz as well as interviews and dialogues, which were conducted with various individuals whom may have been involved with Ungku Aziz at different stages of his career. Among them being with Ungku Aziz himself after his public talk at University of Malaya on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2014, with Ungku Aziz's former deputy Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Datuk Abu Bakar Abd Hamid in his office on 26<sup>th</sup> November 2013, his former colleague Prof. Dr. Azizah Hamzah in her office on October 2013, with Prof. Dr. Murat Cizakca of INCEIF at his office on December 2013 and with the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad at the first Ungku Aziz Lecture Series at University of Malaya on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2014. The following is a chronological list, with brief descriptions, of some of Ungku Aziz's most relevant and important works used in the present study:

1. *An economic study of Malay rubber small-holders*. Singapore. B.A., academic exercise, Raffles College, 1947.
2. *Facts and fallacies about the Malay economy*. Singapore: University of Malaya. 1957.
3. *Some aspects of the Malayan rural economy related to measures for mobilizing rural saving*. Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya. 1958.
4. *Subdivision of estates in Malaya, 1951-1960*: By Ungku Aziz, with the assistance of undergraduates and staff, Dept. of Economics. UM, 1962.
5. *Poverty and Rural Development in Malaysia: Syarahan Perdana*. Completed in 1964, this is Ungku Aziz's most important, and highly influential work in economics.
6. *Poverty, proteins and disguised starvation first draft*. *Kajian Ekonomi Malaysia*, 2 (1) 1965: 7-48.
7. *Agricultural development and economic development in Malaysia*. Paper presented at International Conference on the Structure and Development in Asian Economies, Tokyo, Japan, September 1968.



8. *Footprints on the sands of time: The Malaya poverty concept over 50 years from Za'ba to Aziz and the second Malaysia Plan*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Ekonomi Malaysia. 1974.
9. *Recent thoughts on poverty*. Paper presented at the Second Malaysian Economic Convention, Kuala Lumpur, March 1975.
10. *A guide for the decision makers*, New Straits Times, 14 March 1980
11. *Must patterns of change in developing countries follow the West? What other possible patterns?;* Paper presented at the Association of Commonwealth Universities Congress, Birmingham, 16 August 1983.
12. *Human resources development: the key towards a developed and industrialized society*. National Seminar Towards a Developed and Industrialized Society Understanding the Concept, Implications and Challenges of Vision 2020; Kuala Lumpur: Socio-Economic Research Unit, Prime Minister's Department, 1992.
13. *Some preliminary observations regarding latex and the Malayan small-holder;* Academic exercise (B.A.) - University of Malaya, Singapore, 1951
14. *Harmony between rigorous empiricism and creative insight leads to excellence in research for development;* Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya, 1984; International Symposium, Technology, Culture and Development, (12-14 Dec 1983: Kuala Lumpur).
15. *Modernization and Social Stability in the ASEAN region with Special Reference to Education*, Proceedings and Papers of the International Symposium organized by Takushoku University on August 30<sup>th</sup> – September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1982, Takushoku University, Tokyo, 1983. A paper where Ungku Aziz explains the meaning of modernization from his point of view.

In the second instance, the inductive method is adopted. To pursue this line of investigation, it is imperative to conduct an inquiry into the implicit matters or central characteristics of his thoughts such as his *perspective*, his *conception of development*, his *methods* and *ideas about the nature of development processes*, together with his *hypothesis concerning the causes of underdevelopment and development*. In connection with this, his institutional and national contributions have also been grouped according to the *strategies* that have been derived from his theories or ideas about the nature of development processes. By doing so, it becomes possible to reconstruct the totality of Ungku Aziz's ideas on development and obtain a broader understanding of it. To support this investigation, I have also drawn from a growing body of secondary source

materials such as books, journals, articles, theses, interviews in printed mass media or in internet, and speeches written and delivered about Ungku Aziz, including books, articles, interviews and websites where his views and thoughts are discussed. To add historical depth to the study, the researcher referred to *The Myth of The Lazy Native* by Syed Hussein Alatas, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* by William Roff, *A History of Malaya* (Luzac and Company: London, 1935) by R.O Winstedt, *Postmortem on Malaya* (New York: Macmillan, 1943) by V. Thompson, *British Rule in Eastern Asia: A Study of Contemporary Government and Economic Development in British Malaya and Hong Kong* by L.A Mills, and Rupert Emerson's *Malaysia: A study in direct and indirect rule* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942). For a larger overview on the topic of development, the researcher referred to the following sources: Gilbert Rist's *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (third edition), Zed Books, 2008; M.P Cowen's *Doctrines of Development*. Routledge, 1996; Oswaldo Di Rivero's *The Myth of Development: Non-Viable Economies and the Crisis of Civilization*, second edition, Zed Books, 2010; Gerald M. Meier's *Pioneers on Development* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984) and *Fifty Thinkers on Development* (Routledge, 2006) edited by David Simon.

## 1.5 Literature Review

A review of the existing literature shows several published works on Ungku Aziz. The earliest publication is a biography written in Malay, entitled *Sebutir Permata di Menara* by Aziz Zariza Ahmad published in 1982 (Petaling Jaya: International Book Service). In this 231-pages book, the author provided an account of the life, views and ideas of Ungku Aziz on various topics such on the national economy, education, culture and religion – particularly during his years as Vice Chancellor of University of Malaya up to 1982. In addition, the author included an article written by Ungku Aziz entitled *Zahir dan Batin Ekonomi Melayu* (published in *Utusan Melayu* on 22, 23, 25 and 26 February 1957), wrote an introduction to Ungku Aziz's articles entitled *Pembangunan Ekonomi Nasional* (Development of the National Economy) which gives a conceptual

outline for the development of the national economy in post-colonial Malaysia; *Pelajaran dan Pembangunan* (Education and Development), which explains the purpose and relationship of education and development, and *Kebudayaan Nasional dan Pembangunan* (National Culture and Development), where the author elaborates on Ungku Aziz's understanding of culture and its role in national development. Being the first book on the life and works of Ungku Aziz, Aziz Zariza Ahmad's, however, does not sufficiently attempt to elaborate and evaluate the conceptual and historical impact of the concepts and ideas put forth by Ungku Aziz. Furthermore, the work does not have proper referencing of its sources and does not contain a bibliography.

Then there was the first Festschrift (collection of essays in honour) of Ungku Aziz, which was entitled *Essays in Honour of Ungku A. Aziz – a Festschrift Volume* (Vol. 27 Nos. 1 and 2, June & December 1990) that was published as a special volume by the Malaysian Journal of Economic Studies.<sup>12</sup> This work contains the writings of leading economists and sociologists from Malaysia and abroad, some of which discusses that have been the subject of Ungku Aziz's direct and indirect attention in the area of economics: Jahara Yahaya's "Fisheries Co-Operative Development in Malaysia: Past and Present" and R.J.G Wells' "The Role of Co-Operatives in Alleviating Poverty: A Review" discusses a subject that is of attention to Ungku Aziz and merely lists down Ungku Aziz's articles as their references with no specific discussions on them; David Lim's "Stabex: Stabilising or Aid Instrument", regards Ungku Aziz's thinking on many economic issues has often been "ahead of time" in terms of its relevance to Malaysia and also in terms of "issues of general economic significance"<sup>13</sup>; Jomo Kwame Sundaram's "Economic Ideas in Malaysia Universities" is a general survey of a subject that is of direct connection to Ungku Aziz's concerns but does not go into further detail than giving an account on the place of Ungku Aziz's economic perspectives in Malaysian universities in the historical context. G. Naidu's "Self-sufficiency in Port Services: A Policy in Search of Implementation" only gives a brief reference to Ungku Aziz's academic contribution to the subject that the writer

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<sup>12</sup> The *Persatuan Ekonomi Malaysia* (PEM), or also known as the Malaysian Economic Association (MEA), was founded in 1962 by a group of Malaysian economists including Ungku Aziz, who have since carved for themselves prominent careers in various sectors of the economy. These founders also include Tun Ismail Ali, Raja Tun Mohar, Tan Sri Jamil Rais and Dato' Siew Nim Chee. Source: Malaysian Economic Association, <<http://www.pem.org.my/about1.html>>

<sup>13</sup> David Lim, "Stabex: Stabilising or Aid Instrument", Malaysia Journal of Economic Studies Vol. XXVII nos. 1 and 2 (1990), p. 37.

discussed. H.W. Arndt's "Sorting Out Externalities" is a tribute to Ungku Aziz and is an attempt to re-examine the adequacy of one of the (economist) profession's favorite tools of trade for dealing with the whole range of aspects of human welfare. While P. Arudsothy's "Trends in Asean Industrial Relations Systems" made reference to Ungku Aziz's discussion on government and industrial relations in Malaysia merely to support his discussion.

Other essays in this publication such as Muhammad Ariff's "Malaysian Exports and Trade Barriers", Lin See Yan's "Productivity in the Banking System", Lee Hock Lock's "Mobilisation and Utilisation of Small Savings in Malaysia: Whither the National Savings Bank?", R. Thillainathan's "Malaysian Economy in the 1990s: The Issues, Lessons, Challenges and Outlook", Lim Lin Lean's "The Impact of Islam on Female Status and Fertility in Malaysia" and Lim Chong Yah's "The Schumpeterian Road to Affluence and Communism", seemed to be distant from the subject of Ungku Aziz's concerns and contains no direct references to Ungku Aziz's ideas or research. In sum, neither do these articles in this Festschrift provide any analysis or evaluation of Ungku Aziz's ideas with respect to economics themselves.

In 2010, the University of Malaya published its own festchrift on Ungku Aziz entitled *The Renaissance Man*.<sup>14</sup> It contains ten essays written by his former colleagues, friends and students covering a wider range of discussions related to Ungku Aziz's direct attention and concerns. Abu Bakar Abd Hamid & K.T. Joseph's *Ungku A. Aziz—A Man for All Seasons*,<sup>15</sup> provides an account of his life and a general survey of his contributions to University of Malaya. He remarked that Ungku Aziz's greatest achievement was the idea of *Tabung Haji*, which he suggested as worthy of a Nobel Prize. However, the authors are only describing Ungku Aziz's contributions and restating what is already known at the time without further deliberation on the his ideas on development.

Equally worth mentioning is Azizah Hamzah's *Mind of the Malaysian Scholar*.<sup>16</sup> In this essay, the author attempts to provide the multifaceted nature of

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<sup>14</sup> Abu Bakr Abd Hamid (Ed.), Et. al., *Royal Professor Ungku A. Aziz: The Renaissance Man* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2010)

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.1-23

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 33-48

Ungku Aziz's thinking by providing many insights into the mind of Ungku Aziz based on a series of interviews conducted over a period of about nine months. The author looks into the formative years of Ungku Aziz, the books and the sources that had a great impression on him, as well as as the Islamic and Eastern influences, which had a particular strong influence in his life and outlook.<sup>17</sup> However, she does not go into further detail in terms of how these influences might have shaped the conceptualization of his ideas. The author is also of the opinion that Ungku Aziz should be considered as a "worthy receiver of the Nobel Prize, just as Mohammad Yunus secured it for his Grameen Bank project."<sup>18</sup> How this is the case is not argued. This study will therefore attempt to analyze how these books and sources have shaped his ideas in his development discourses.

Another essay of relevance in this book is by Jamilah Ariffin entitled *Ungku Abdul Aziz and Women's Rights and Social Development*,<sup>19</sup> who provided an overview of Ungku Aziz's commitment in the welfare of women in Malaysia by promoting their income generating activities, their acquisition of self-confidence, leadership skills and social development. The author describes Ungku Aziz as one who has actively tried to ensure the education and inclusion of women in the economic sphere. Although these essays look at a wide range of Ungku Aziz's ideas, gave different perspectives and have contributed important insights that are relevant to this research, it does not provide an extensive, conceptual or thorough historical treatment of Ungku Aziz's ideas, its contributions and impact to the community. Furthermore, as the title suggests (Renaissance Man), the book is meant to portray him as someone who has a multidimensional scholarly interests from the humanist perspective, perhaps to appeal to the larger Malaysian audience.

Apart from the aforementioned works, there has been some attention given to acknowledge Ungku Aziz in his conceptual contribution that led to the establishment of *Tabung Haji*. In September 1973, an article was published in *Malaysian Business* entitled *The Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji leads the Islamic world: caring for the pilgrims has become \$74 million business*, to recognize Ungku Aziz's conceptualisation of Tabung Haji. There were also numerous attention from the

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.113-123

Western world: Robert R. Bianci in his *Guests of God: Pilgrimage and Politics in the Islamic World* (Oxford University Press, 2004) hails *Tabung Haji*. Although the author acknowledges the central role of Ungku Aziz in the establishment of *Tabung Haji*, he does not thoroughly assess its impact to the local community. In the most comprehensive study on Hajj in the Malay world by Mary Byrne McDonnell entitled *The Impact of Hajj on the Malay World*, the author also recognizes the contribution of Ungku Aziz in this area.

The first deliberation on the significance of Ungku Aziz's conceptualisation of *Tabung Haji* in the Muslim world was done by Murat Cizakca, who considers Ungku Aziz's idea as "a process towards the new Islamic economics where the classical economic principles are rediscovered and implemented through institution and adapted to current needs, rather than mimicking the West where very special circumstances had prevailed."<sup>20</sup> Murat Cizakca devoted a chapter on *Tabung Haji* in his *Islamic Capitalism and Finance: Origins, Evolution and the Future* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011). In this chapter, he gives its historical and conceptual background, explanation on its modus operandi as well as analysis on the reasons behind its success. According to Cizakca, "Ungku Aziz was able to transform the process of preparation for the pilgrimage into a powerful financial institution."<sup>21</sup> Because of this, Murat Cizakca regards Ungku Aziz as a pioneer and one of the "great thinker and reformer of Islamic economics of the 20th century."<sup>22</sup> Although Cizakca appears to posit Ungku Aziz as a pioneer and important figure in Islamic economics, there is no further deliberation on this.

From the survey of above literature, although some aspects of Ungku Aziz's ideas related to development have been commented upon by several scholars in various ways and different contexts, their comments have been selective, brief and limited in scope. It is clear that there is still need for a comprehensive study to present and discuss Ungku Aziz's ideas on development coherently, in terms of its justifications, its influence, its impact and its profundity or true worth. Most of the works written on him

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<sup>20</sup> Murat Cizakca, *Islamic Capitalism and Finance: Origins, Evolution and the Future* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2011).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> He mentioned this in my personal correspondence with him via e-mail, May 2013. See his article "Finance and Development in Islam: A Historical Perspective" in Zamir Iqbal, Abbas Mirakhor and Tunc Uyanik (eds.), *Islamic Finance and Economic Development* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2013).

are either personal reminiscence, covers only certain aspects of his ideas or focuses more to commemorate his contributions without systematic analysis—the literatures mentioned above do not sufficiently elucidate on the ideas of Ungku Aziz in a systematic manner, as well as its impact to Malaysians and his nation as a whole, in spite of the recognitions and acknowledgements of the influence of the ideas of Ungku Aziz in the intellectual and cultural life of Malaysia. Furthermore, there is no authoritative study detailing on the impact of his ideas, despite Ungku Aziz's prominence in Malaysia. The researcher made this tentative conclusion based on this researcher's survey of the relevant bibliographies and relevant studies that cited him. In addition, based on my survey in the database of University of Malaya, the recently published *Festschrift* is the only work that studies his ideas despite his twenty-year service and contributions to the university as a Vice-Chancellor.

## **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

As Ungku Aziz does not explicitly and systematically write his ideas on development as a whole and where he stands in the development discourse, the researcher will elicit a framework of analysis from Ungku Aziz himself, that is, the study will adopt an internal theoretical framework. This is done by identifying the development goals or stated objectives as expressed Ungku Aziz and evaluating his ideas based on these goals or objectives in order to know how far has he achieved it or a lack thereof.

## **1.7 Significance of Study**

The study will hopefully fill a gap in our contemporary knowledge on development theories and ideas and its impact to the people, and adds a deeper understanding of the role and contributions of Ungku Aziz in the history of the Malays and Malaysians in general. It should also be useful to economists and researchers of history of development thinking in the Muslim world and development history of Malaysia, especially in understanding how a Malay academician in the 20<sup>th</sup> century dealt with issues such as poverty, education and development in view of securing justice for all in the context of a multi-cultural nation.

The failure of studying ideas, according to Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, “will force the present and future generations to repeat similar, and perhaps to commit even costlier failures”<sup>23</sup>, not to mention causing Muslims to be continuously dependent on uncongenial ideas for their inspiration and programs and to reinvent the wheel.<sup>24</sup> The present undertaking is hoped to contribute to the body of history of development thinking in Muslim world and development studies in general, in particular from the Malay world, which has been largely neglected by modern scholarship, from which policy makers and researchers on the Muslim world can draw lessons and insights.

## 1.8 Organization of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters, which includes the introduction and the conclusion chapters. They are as follows:

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<sup>23</sup> Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, *The Educational Philosophy and Practise of Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas*, p. 29, (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1995).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, futhermore, according to Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, "If Muslims are to halt the current confusion and loss of direction among the various levels of our leadership and general apathy among the masses, and gradually to scale the heights of excellence in the major areas of human life, then we must properly harness our already limited supply of able, courageous and visionary intellectuals and scholars in all fields. The price of recognizing and acknowledging excellence—particularly the intellectual, moral and cultural fields—is certainly not cheap; but the cost of letting the mediocre, the opportunistic, and the political govern our educational and national development—in the sacred name of the people—is shamefully exorbitant and fatal."



*Chapter 2: Brief Biography and Intellectual Background.* This chapter presents a brief biographical sketch as well as the intellectual background of Ungku Aziz that is relevant to his ideas on development—his educational experiences, works and major contributions, as well as his scholarly influence. Through this chapter, Ungku Aziz's life is presented along the development of his thought: I present him not as merely an economist, but as an engaged scholar, rooted in his age, connected to some of its influential men and at the same time to the poor, and using every tool at his disposal to promote development. The method and sources of Ungku Aziz will also be explored—this is important because there was a background and a progression in his ideas as will be discussed in the next chapter.

*Chapter 3: Ungku Aziz's Conception of Development.* This chapter will describe and elucidate the central elements or characteristics that forms Ungku Aziz's conception of development and the ideas that emerges from it. It will include a discussion on Ungku Aziz's analysis of the fundamental problems of the Malays and Malaysia in general. The theoretical dimension such as his key principles, underlying assumptions and theories will also be looked into and evaluated. The way he understood, interpreted and elaborated concepts or terms related to development such as change, progress, poverty, rural development, will be elucidated. Since these concepts or terms are essential to our understanding of his ideas, our analysis of Ungku Aziz's usage of these terms will enable us to discern how he conceived and implemented his ideas. The principles upon which he based his ideas, theories, studies or research and how he derived his theories will also be highlighted in this chapter.

*Chapter 4: Institutional & National Implementation of Ungku Aziz's Ideas.* This chapter explores how Ungku Aziz's ideas based on his conception on development in the previous chapter were implemented. It will demonstrate the applied dimension—his recommendations, strategies and solutions in terms of solving the problems he saw. Its context and historical background, as well as the impact and significance of his ideas on the socio-economic well being of the nation, on nation building, and on government policies in Malaysia will also be looked at.

*Chapter 5: Conclusion.* This chapter will conclude the whole discussion by presenting the key findings and drawing lessons (*i'tibār*) from his experiences. The

findings are presented in accord with the objectives of this study. It is my hope that this thesis will provide a clear understanding of Ungku Aziz's ideas, which can situate Ungku Aziz's ideas in the contemporary world and scholarship and enlighten future research on development.

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The primary sources used to complete this research were based on the published and unpublished works of Ungku Aziz mostly kept at the “Ungku Aziz Collection” in Za’ba Library (PPZ), University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur. Therein contains hundreds of books owned by Ungku Aziz, which was gifted to the University of Malaya. It contains rare books that are difficult to find today and this has given a great benefit to the researcher. This collection also contains his earliest writings including his academic exercises, interviews newspaper cuttings or magazines. These materials are not only useful in terms of obtaining original information about his ideas, but also provides important information about his career, social activities as well as his writings which was published in various newspapers, magazines, academic journals and books throughout his life.

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### **List of Persons Interviewed/Met**

Unless otherwise indicated, all interviews or dialogues were conducted in Malaysia between 2012-2014. The information given is intended solely to identify persons interviewed or met and indicate their relevance to the subject of this study. No attempt has been made to give full biographical details. For those individuals cited in the text, further information will be found in the footnotes.

(Tun Dr.) Mahathir Mohamad. Fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia. Met at University of Malaya during his lecture on Issues on Poverty in Malaysia’s Economic Development



in 2014.

(Royal Professor) Ungku Abdul Aziz. The subject of this study. Met at University of Malaya during his talk in 2014.

(Prof. Dr.) Abu Bakar Abd Hamid. Former deputy Vice-Chancellor of University of Malaya. Interviewed in his office in University of Malaya in 2013.

(Prof. Dr.) Azizah Hamzah. Former colleague of Ungku Aziz. Interviewed in her office in University of Malaya in 2013.

(Prof. Dr.) Murat Çizakça. Historian of Islamic economic history. Interviewed in his office at INCIEF in 2013.