

A N N U A L
R E P O R T
2015





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Cover Image

Tunku Abdul Rahman's Cabinet at its first meeting on 10 September 1957.

“In my time we had a Cabinet of 13 Ministers. Even then they didn't have enough work. What they do now with 45. I don't know.”

- Tunku Abdul Rahman commenting on the size of the government in the 80s which included deputies and parliamentary secretaries in an interview with the New Straits Times, 8 February 1983.

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Pemasyhuran Kemerdekaan

Negara ini “akan kekal menjadi sebuah Negara demokrasi yang merdeka lagi berdaulat serta berasaskan kebebasan dan keadilan dan sentiasa mempertahankan serta memelihara keamanan dan kemesraan umatnya dan mengekalkan keamanan di antara segala bangsa di dunia ini.”

Proclamation of Independence

This nation “shall be for ever a sovereign democratic and independent State founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations.”

Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj

31 August 1957



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What Thought Leaders and Opinion Makers Say about IDEAS

“IDEAS has been remarkably consistent in taking well informed positions on domestic and regional issues which upholds individual liberty, government accountability and economic vibrancy over the past year.”
– **Dr Ong Kian Ming**, *Member of Parliament*

“IDEAS has a knack of asking challenging questions, uncovering opaque information and presenting clear solutions. A great teacher to the uninitiated.” – **Dzameer Dzulkifli**, *Teach For Malaysia*

“I hope that IDEAS is really an independent institute and not a tool of any outside influences.” – **Ibrahim Ali**, *Pertubuhan Pribumi Perkasa*

“IDEAS has shown clarity and depth in the issues they focus on. From one think tank to another, I congratulate IDEAS on another successful year.” – **Zairil Khir Johari**, *Penang Institute*

“One of IDEAS’ key strengths is its ability to forge strong and trustworthy relationships with its stakeholders through constructive engagement, articulating with clarity complex and difficult issues ... and most importantly providing solutions.” – **Senator Paul Low Seng Kuan**, *Minister in the Prime Minister’s Department*

“The people of Malaysia and its regional neighbours can be thankful for the tireless efforts of IDEAS staff to promote the cause of human liberty and dignity.” – **Professor Cris Lingle**, *Universidad Francisco Marroquín*

“While civil society space continues to be threatened and shrink in Malaysia, IDEAS has shown a meteoric rise both in presence and substance, and has become a leading example, that has attracted advocates from across the divide in championing a better Malaysia. It is an honour for C4 to work with IDEAS on a myriad of programmes and issues.”
– **Cynthia Gabriel**, *Centre to Combat Corruption and Cronyism (C4)*

“IDEAS, run by a few committed, dedicated and highly disciplined people of integrity has without fear or favour been highlighting and bringing to the fore many current topical and contemporary issues in governance; corruption; accessible, equitable and quality education, affecting Malaysians from all walks of life.”
– **Dato’ Satinah Syed Saleh**, *Khazanah Nasional*



Message from Founding President

Tunku Zain Al-'Abidin Tuanku Muhriz

It is depressing to have to begin this annual message on an even more negative tone than last year, when I described 2014 as being “not the best year for our country”.

In the previous edition of this report I lamented that “it seems that the principles that underpinned Merdeka are being forgotten, even systematically destroyed, by Malaysians themselves. It is sad to see that on occasion, national institutions have failed to resist this phenomenon. There is no greater act of treachery than to abandon the constitutional foundations of our nation, the consequences of which may be irreparable.”

In 2015, we have seen further attacks on key national institutions. The dismissals and appointments of officeholders have been accompanied by questions of constitutionality and controversy; the terms of reference of several bodies have been curtailed or ignored (the new officeholders exhibiting particular derelictions of duty); the powers of others have been magnified; and new legislation has been pushed through our Parliament that further threaten the separation of powers that our founding fathers worked so hard to write into our Constitution.

Those who criticise these trends risk being harassed or even arrested: the more specific the accusations against individuals, companies and actions, the more severe the punishment. This naturally has the effect of silencing those who might otherwise be more vocal. It is also entirely understandable that for millions of Malaysians, the everyday pursuits of getting by in life and feeding a family take priority over questions of constitutional law and political propriety.

That is why at IDEAS we try to demonstrate how the strength of our national principles affects the

lives of citizens. In every area of public policy it is possible to identify where failures of governance have led to inferior services and increased costs for the *rakyat*. As a small think tank we cannot comment on everything (as media enquiries would want us to). It is in the areas of education and governance where we have invested our focus, collaborating with relevant stakeholders. We carry out research, share evidence from other experiences, disseminate our findings in the media and host public events to debate with others. More generally, my colleagues and I have continued engaging with young Malaysians to equip them with a democratic narrative of our country that many of them have deliberately not been exposed to.

But our most active participation with children is via our two learning centres: the IDEAS Autism Centre and IDEAS Academy. By showing that NGOs and the private sector can work together to provide high quality education for the most disadvantaged in society (and certainly the demand from parents suggests we are doing something right), we hope that others, in particular the Ministry of Education, might find in our efforts some features that might be replicable elsewhere.

Our engagement with civil society in the region is also continuing via Southeast Asia Network for Development (SEANET), for despite the self-celebration on the declaration of the ASEAN Community, much more needs to be done on defining this entity and giving it substance beyond the dictates of political and diplomatic elites.

As usual I would like to thank the team at IDEAS for working so hard in 2015, and I hope in 2016 we will make a meaningful contribution in the democratic space that is available to us.



Message from Founding Chief Executive

Wan Saiful Wan Jan

I join Tunku 'Abidin in expressing disappointment about Malaysia's fate in 2015. The country is moving on a wrong trajectory. Politicians in power are pulling the country towards an illiberal direction.

Key institutions are being wrecked. Their independence destroyed. Those with differing views are sacked because loyalty is considered more important than aptitude. Religion and ethnicity are used as tools for control. Our international standing has been severely damaged. Domestic reform promises are fast being forgotten. If things do not change, I fear that the future looks bleak.

However, the picture is different if we focus not just on those in power but widen our scope to look at society as a whole. The year 2015 also saw the civil society space blossoming to fight back against the rising illiberalism.

Various groups have mushroomed to voluntarily help the needy. The culture of helping and giving is spreading in our society, especially among the younger generation. From feeding the homeless to offering free tuition classes and raising money to help those left out by the system, to the brave and bold challenges against draconian actions and unfair policies, the *rakyat* are fighting back against illiberal ideas. Some of those in power may have lost the plot. Yet it is heartwarming to see society reclaiming the right to shape the plot once again.

At IDEAS we share the vision of Almarhum Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia's first Prime Minister, to see this nation forever be a nation of "liberty and justice". With that vision in mind, I am pleased and humbled to report that we too have tried our best to contribute as much as we

can to stop the slide. We did not expect the slide to be this fast, but we tried as much as we could.

Our focus in 2015 was on **national unity, political economy and governance, and school reform**. And through our Southeast Asia Network for Development (SEANET) project, we have started to bring the voice of liberty and justice to the wider ASEAN region too. As you can see in this report, the team has been working tirelessly to make markets work for everyone in those areas.

In addition to the policy research and advocacy, we continued with our **proof of concept** projects. Our **IDEAS Autism Centre** now has a waiting list, with our teachers and therapists committed to creating a pathway for children with autism to enter the mainstream school system. And our **IDEAS Academy** now delivers the Cambridge curriculum that could lead to IGCSE qualification to 100 students from urban poor families, including from the stateless and refugee communities. This is evidence that the market can indeed deliver quality services for the needy.

In 2014 I expressed concerns that we risk becoming an event organiser instead of a serious policy research house. I am particularly pleased that we have reduced the number of events that we held from 70 in 2014 to 53 in 2015, and we have increased the number of publications from 31 in 2014 to 48 in 2015.

It is relatively easier to raise money for events because funders can see tangible evidence from participant attendance and immediate press coverage generated by an event. And indeed events will continue to be an important part of our work. However, the intangible impacts of

policy papers make it challenging to raise money to fund research. But it is important to plant the right ideas into society if we want our society to mature healthily. To paraphrase the French writer and poet Victor Hugo, “Nothing is as powerful as an idea whose time has come.”

These events and papers have helped us double our PR Value from RM25.2 million in 2014 to RM53.34 million in 2015, which is what it would have cost us if we had to pay for the total coverage received. Our team has increased in size too. In 2014 we had 17 staff but now we have grown to 23.

I am of course most grateful to our donors and funders. Perhaps reflecting the slippage of governance in the country, we saw our income increase by RM1.8 million in 2014 to nearly RM3 million in 2015. This may sound ironic but I am proud that we managed to raise 70% of our income from international sources. Any fundraiser would know that raising foreign money for an honest purpose from an honest donor requires a bureaucratic process that puts in place strong planning, monitoring and governance processes. I hope that our funders and Malaysians generally see the value that we generate through our work.

Proclamation of Independence

The official proclamation read by Tunku Abdul Rahman at the Merdeka Stadium, Kuala Lumpur on 31 August 1957 which led to the creation of a new and sovereign State



Corporate Profile



PROCLAMATION
INDEPENDENCE

In the name of **God**, the **Compassionate**, the
raise be to **God**, the **Lord** of the **Universe** and
sings and peace of **God** be upon **His** **Messiah**
WHEREAS the time has now arrived when the people of the
Malaya will assume the status of a free independent and
nations of the **world**
WHEREAS by an agreement
1957, between **Her** **Majesty**

About IDEAS

The Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs, more commonly known as IDEAS, is a not-for-profit cross-partisan think tank. As a foundation (*yayasan*), we are registered in Malaysia as a company limited by guarantee with registration number 940689-W.

IDEAS was officially launched on 8 February 2010 by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, former Finance Minister of Malaysia at the Memorial Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur. The event was graced by three generations of Tunku Abdul Rahman's family.

We exist to promote four principles:

Rule of Law

Limited Government

Free Market

Individual Liberty and Responsibility

All our activities are geared towards encouraging people to subscribe to the principles and showing how these principles can be applied to public policy.

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15 April 2011

Auditor:

Roger Yue, Tan & Associates
Wisma Goshen (Ground & 1st Floor)
No 60 & 62, Jalan SS 22/21
Damansara Jaya
47400 Petaling Jaya
Selangor

Vision & Mission

IDEAS shares the vision of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the first Prime Minister who stated in the 1957 Proclamation of Independence:

“This nation shall be for ever a sovereign democratic and independent State founded upon the principles of liberty and justice and ever seeking the welfare and happiness of its people and the maintenance of a just peace among all nations.”

The mission of IDEAS is

to improve the level of understanding and acceptance of public policy based on the principles of rule of law, limited government, free markets and individual liberty

In order to fulfill this mission, IDEAS on a cross-partisan basis:

- commissions research to develop market-based solutions to public policy challenges
- publishes relevant materials such as books, policy briefings, articles and press statements
- organises educational programmes on the creative power of free societies and the institutions which underpin them
- holds frank discussions with policymakers, academics, members of civil society, the business community and other professionals
- enables and facilitates networking between like-minded individuals
- provides a platform for people of all ethnic and religious backgrounds to advance the ideals of liberty and justice espoused in the Proclamation of Independence and the Federal Constitution

Wau Bebas



IDEAS' logo is a *wau bulan* that flies freely in the sky - which we call "*Wau Bebas*" or the Kite of Freedom. The traditional *Wau Bebas* motif symbolises IDEAS' belief that the principles of Rule of Law (*Kedaulatan Undang-Undang*), Limited Government (*Kerajaan Terhad*), Free Markets (*Pasaran Bebas*) and Free Individuals (*Individu Merdeka*) are deeply rooted in our nation's traditions and heritage.

Our task is to rediscover these truly Malaysian values and to represent them to contemporary Malaysian society, so that our heritage will help us prosper in a globalised world. A *wau* is only complete and functional when it is rooted to the ground via a string, depicting our call for abidance to the rule of law within a small, limited state.

Tunku Abdul Rahman's Desk

The work of building a nation never ends:
Tunku Abdul Rahman's working desk
and official files

A photograph of a desk with a lamp and papers. The background is a warm, orange-toned wall. In the foreground, there is a desk with a lamp and several papers. One paper is tied with a red string. The text is overlaid on the top right of the image.

“If we pull together and work together with the maximum of goodwill and harmony, there is no limit to what our people can achieve in the years to come.”

— Tunku Abdul Rahman at the opening of Tunku Abdul Rahman Park, 20 April 1958

Council Members

Council Members



**YTM Tunku Dato' Seri Ahmad Nerang ibni Almarhum
Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj**
Special Advisor



Tun Mohamed Dzaiddin Haji Abdullah
Chairman
Consultant, Skrine; Former Chief Justice of Malaysia;
Chairman of Tun Suffian Foundation



Tan Sri Tony Fernandes
Group Chief Executive Officer and Executive Director of AirAsia
Berhad; Founder of Tune Group Sdn Bhd



Tan Sri Dato' Dr Mohd Munir Abdul Majid
Chairman of Bank Muamalat Malaysia Berhad; Chairman of ASEAN
Business Advisory Council; Trustee of PINTAR Foundation and
Malaysia-Europe Forum



Tan Sri Dr Rebecca Sta Maria

Secretary General of the Ministry of International Trade & Industry



Dato' Sri Nazir Razak

Chairman / Board Member of CIMB Group;

Board Member of Khazanah Nasional Berhad, Malaysia



Datuk Seri Azman Ujang

Former General Manager, Malaysian National News Agency (BERNAMA); Board Member of Berjaya Media Berhad



Dato' Anthony Cooper

Former Senior Partner, Price Waterhouse Malaysia;

Governor of Tinggi Foundation and A&A Charitable Trust,

Chairman of The British Malaysian Society



Dr Anis Yusal Yusoff
President of The Malaysian Institute of Integrity



Dr Ong Kian Ming
Member of Parliament Democratic Action Party (DAP), Serdang;
Selangor DAP State Committee Member



Datuk Dr Mujahid Yusof Rawa
Member of Parliament Parti Amanah Negara (Amanah), Parit Buntar;
Amanah Central Committee Member



Dato' Saifuddin Abdullah
Former Deputy Minister of Higher Education



Khalid Jaafar
Executive Director of Institute for Policy Research;
Selangor Parti Keadilan Rakyat Director of Strategy



Board *of* Directors

**“We are all Malaysians.
This is the bond that
unites us. Let us always
remember that unity is our
fundamental strength as a
people and as a nation.”**

- Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj

Board of Directors

Tunku Zain Al-'Abidin
Tuanku Muhriz



Tunku 'Abidin is a trustee of Yayasan Chow Kit, Yayasan Munarah, the Jeffrey Cheah Foundation and the Genovasi Foundation; an independent non-executive director of two public listed companies; an advisor or patron to numerous educational and cultural organisations and a committee member of several societies.

He was educated at the Kuala Lumpur Alice Smith School, Marlborough College and the London School of Economics and Political Science, where he obtained his MSc in Comparative Politics in 2004. He then worked in the UK Houses of Parliament before moving to Washington DC to join the World Bank as a Public Sector Consultant. Upon returning to Malaysia in 2008, Tunku 'Abidin worked at the United Nations Development Programme and the KRA Group before becoming a Research Fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore.

In 2006 he co-founded the Malaysia Think Tank which evolved into the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs (IDEAS) in 2010. Since 2008 he has been a columnist in several newspapers: firstly Abiding Times in the Sun, then Roaming Beyond the Fence in the Star and Sin Chew, and now Conservatively Speaking Freely in the Malay Mail, Borneo Post and Oriental Daily. From these articles three books have been compiled, the latest being nominated for the Popular Readers' Choice Awards. Tunku 'Abidin also authored a coffee table book for the Installation of the Eleventh Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negeri Sembilan and led a major project to revitalise the State Anthem.

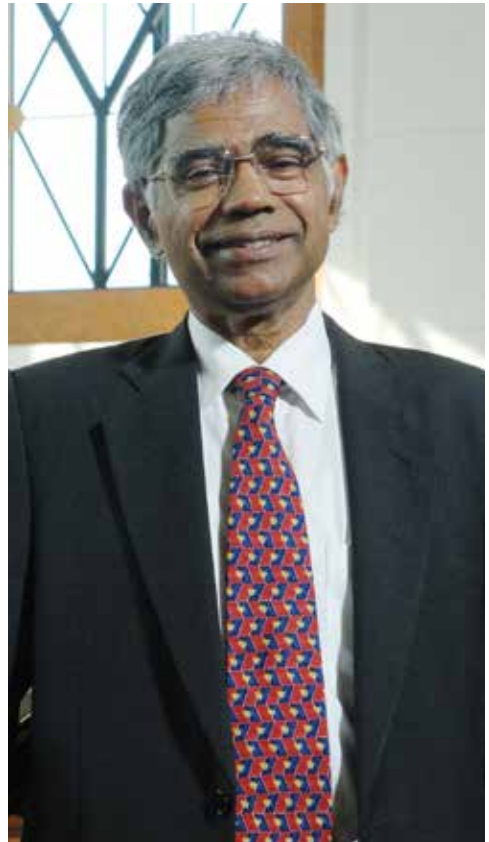
An Eisenhower Fellow, he has been selected for various leadership programmes by the governments of Australia, France and the European Union. He has been recognised with the Rotary Young Integrity Award in 2013 and the Top 10 Most Impactful Young Leaders Award in 2015, among others.

Board *of* Directors

Dato' Dr R Thillainathan

Dato' Thillainathan sits on the Board of Directors of University Malaya, Citibank Malaysia Berhad, Genting Berhad and Allianz Malaysia Berhad. He was previously, among others, a board member of the Kuala Lumpur Stock Exchange (now known as Bursa Malaysia), Petronas Dagangan Berhad and Genting Berhad. He was also the Chief Operating Officer of Genting Berhad from November 2002 to September 2006. He has served on the National Economic Panel, the Anti-Recession Task Force, the Task Force on Capital Market Development, the Investment Panel of Employees Provident Fund and was a member of the National Economic Consultative Council's Working Group.

Dato' Dr. Thillainathan is also a former President of the Malaysian Economic Association and was a member of the Tax Review Panel of the Ministry of Finance.



Board of Directors

Christopher Leong



Christopher Leong is an advocate and solicitor of the High Court of Malaya of more than 25 years standing, and is the Managing Partner of Chooi & Company. Christopher has extensive experience in the fields of corporate and commercial litigation, shareholders' disputes, banking litigation and insolvency. Additionally, he practices in the area of constitutional and administrative law.

In the field of dispute resolution, Christopher has been named as a Leading Individual/Lawyer in Malaysia by Asia Pacific Legal 500 since 2004, Chambers Asia since 2009, by The Asialaw Leading Lawyer since 2008, and is a Recommended Individual in the 2015 edition of Asialaw Profiles. He is also named in the 2014 edition of Benchmark Asia Pacific as a Local Disputes Star, and is listed as one of the World's Leading Litigation and Product Liability Lawyers in the Expert Guides, 2012 edition.

Christopher is the 30th President, and the immediate past President, of the Malaysian Bar and the immediate past Chairman of the Bar Council of Malaysia. He is also the Vice President of LAWASIA, the Law Association for Asia and the Pacific, and a member of the editorial advisory board of All Malaysia Commercial Reports published by Sweet & Maxwell Asia.

Christopher graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree, majoring in economics and philosophy in 1984 from Monash University, Australia, and completed reading law at the University of Nottingham in 1988. He was called to the Bar of England and Wales in 1989 and was admitted as an advocate and solicitor of the High Court of Malaya in 1990.

Board of Directors

Wan Mohd Firdaus
Wan Mohd Fuaad

Wan Firdaus is currently Vice President at JP Morgan-Chase Bank Malaysia. He was educated at SRK Sultan Ibrahim Satu Pasir Mas, SRK Sri Subang Jaya and Sekolah Menengah Agama Persekutuan Kajang. He then went to read law at the University of Nottingham and BPP University Law School.

Previously, he was Special Officer to the Chief Minister of Johor handling the corporate portfolio that includes Iskandar Regional Development Authority and Johor Corporation. He is also founder of the Young Corporate Malaysians and established the annual Young Corporate Malaysians Summit.

He was a national delegate for the University of Nottingham to the National Union of Students (NUS), national executive member of Federation of Islamic Students Societies (FOSIS), Chairman of Kesatuan Penuntut Undang-Undang Malaysia UK & Eire (KPUM) and former Chairman of UK & Eire Council for Malaysia Students (UKEC) from October 2005 to 2007. While he was a chairman of the UKEC, he established the first Malaysian Student Leaders Summit (MSLS) that has become a major national event.



Board of Directors

Wan Saiful Wan Jan



Wan Saiful Wan Jan is Chief Executive of the Institute for Democracy and Economic Affairs. He is also Director of the Southeast Asia Network for Development (www.seanetwork.asia) and Chairman of the Istanbul Network for Liberty (www.istanbulnetwork.org). Additionally, he is a member of the Advisory Board at Laureate International Malaysia; member of the Advisory Board of the University of Nottingham's School of Politics, History and International Relations; a Governor at Rafflesia Education Group; and Chairman of IDEAS Academy, a not for profit learning centre for stateless and refugee children in Kuala Lumpur. In August 2015, he was appointed as a member of the National Consultative Committee on Political Financing, following the Prime Minister's announcement to set up the group.

He lived in the United Kingdom between August 1993 and October 2009. There he served several organisations, including the think tank Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit, the British Conservative Party's Research Department, and Social Enterprise London. He is now a columnist for two national newspapers: The Star and Sin Chew Daily. He also writes for several other national and regional press. His opinions have been quoted by various media, including the BBC, Reuters, Asian Wall Street Journal, International Herald Tribune, Al-Jazeera, Bloomberg and The Economist.

The Team

IDEAS & SEANET Fellows



Dr Razeen Sally
IDEAS Chair in Political
Economy & Governance



Dr Carmelo Ferlito
IDEAS Senior Fellow



Dr Maszlee Malik
IDEAS Senior Fellow



Philip Stevens
SEANET Fellow



Bienvenido "Nonoy" Oplas, Jr.
SEANET Fellow

The Team



Back row (left to right)

Mohd Safrizal Sudin

Driver

Shaza Onn

Senior Researcher, Political Economy and Governance

Sheefa Ahmad

Senior Executive, Operations

Azrul Khalib

Manager, External Relations

Ahmad Bashier Afifi

Executive, Operations

Yohannan Nair

Executive, Outreach & SEANET

Taufiq Abdul

Executive, Special Projects

Amir Ridzuan Jamaluddin

Senior Executive, Outreach & SEANET

Front row (left to right)

Sri Murniati

Manager, Political Economy and Governance

Wan Saiful Wan Jan

Chief Executive Officer

Tricia Yeoh

Chief Operating Officer

Tamanna Patel

Senior Researcher, Education

Fareeza Ibrahim

Manager, Outreach & SEANET



Mazrina Arifin

Finance Director

The Team



(left to right)

Julitan Selamat *General Worker, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Nur Suhara Suhadi *Teacher, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Wan Fara Adila Wan Ahmad Kaspi *Occupational Therapist, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Dayana Hamdan *Teacher, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Mazlianah Mahmud *Teacher, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Sharifah Salleh *Principal, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Nur Munirah Ramli *Vice Principal, IDEAS Autism Centre*

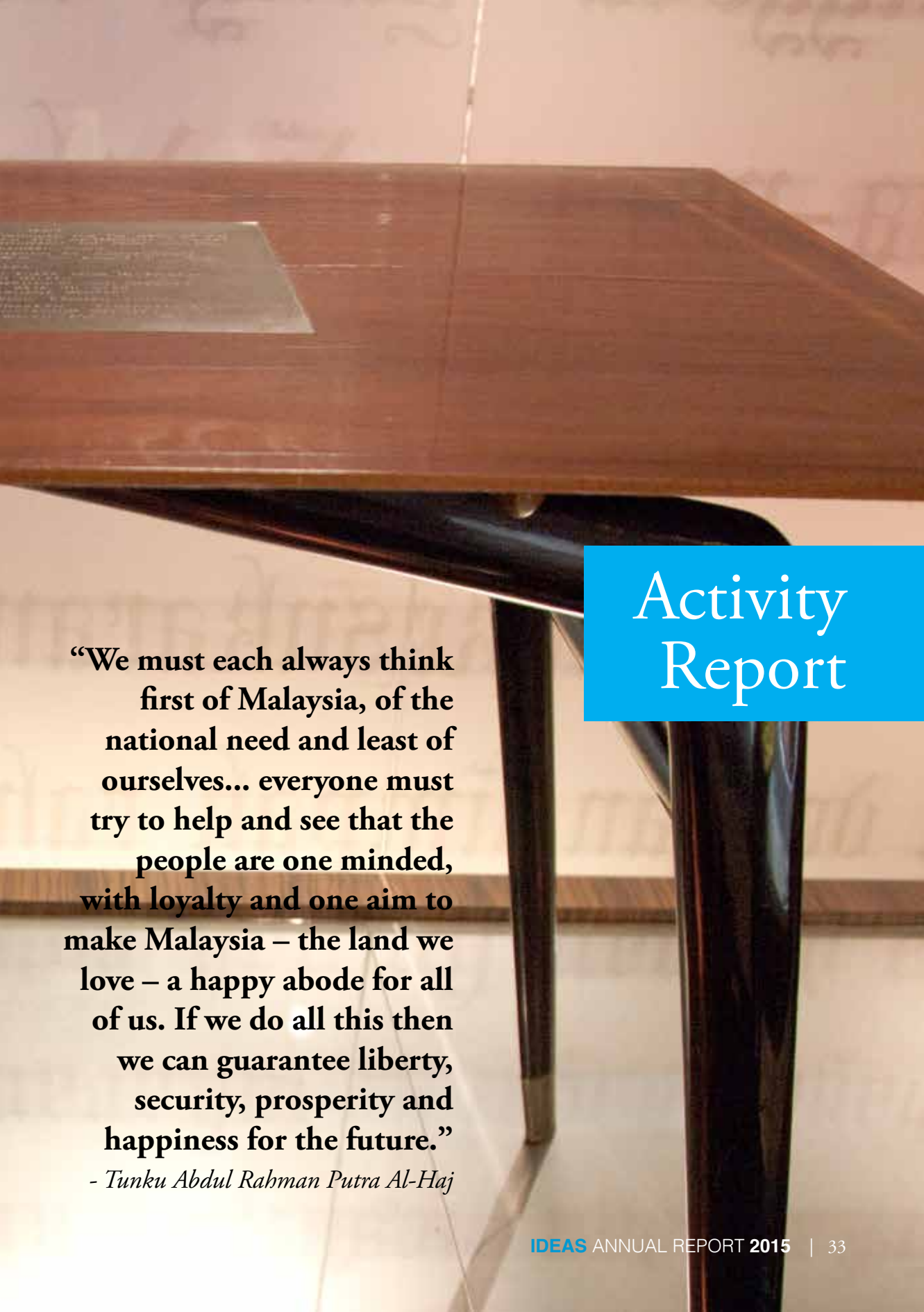
Fadhilah Mohamad Yusof *Teacher, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Norsida Razali *Teacher, IDEAS Autism Centre*

Robi Ishak *Teacher, IDEAS Autism Centre*

The Declaration Desk

The desk used by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman during the Declaration of Independence on 31 August 1957



Activity Report

“We must each always think first of Malaysia, of the national need and least of ourselves... everyone must try to help and see that the people are one minded, with loyalty and one aim to make Malaysia – the land we love – a happy abode for all of us. If we do all this then we can guarantee liberty, security, prosperity and happiness for the future.”

- Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj

IDEAS

5th Anniversary

We started 2015 with the celebration of our 5th anniversary on 7 February 2015. The celebration was held at the Tunku Abdul Rahman Memorial in conjunction with the birthday of Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, Malaysia's first Prime Minister.

Almost 250 invited guests attended the event, including Tunku Besar Seri Menanti Tunku Ali Redhaudin ibni Tuanku Muhriz and the children of Almarhum Tunku Abdul Rahman, YTM Tunku Dato' Paduka Khadijah and YTM Tunku Dato' Seri Ahmad Nerang.

We were privileged this year to feature YM Datin Sharifah Menyalara who delivered a touching and heartwarming speech in memory of her grandfather, Almarhum Tunku Abdul Rahman. The keynote speech titled 'Malaysia : Economic Freedom and Globalisation' was delivered

by IDEAS Chair of Political Economy and Governance, Dr Razeen Sally.

The panel discussion moderated by our CEO Wan Saiful Wan Jan featured MP for Pulai, Datuk Nur Jazlan Muhammad, National University of Malaysia's (UKM) Associate Professor Dr Sufian Jusoh and G25 spokesperson Datuk Noor Farida Ariffin. The theme was "Where is the leadership?" and the panel discussed the need for Malaysia to embrace liberal values, in both the political and economic spheres.

This year's anniversary event also saw the announcement of 21 National Unity Youth Fellows who were selected to participate in a rigorous nine month training programme to champion moderation and national unity as envisioned by the *Rukun Negara*.



National Unity Youth Fellows posing with IDEAS President Tunku Zain Al-'Abidin Tuanku Muhriz, 7 February 2015



Panel Session with Dr Razeen Sally, Datuk Nur Jazlan Mohamed, MP for Pulau; Dr. Sufian Jusoh, Associate Professor, UKM and Datuk Noor Farida Ariffin, G25, 7 February 2015

Guests at IDEAS' 5th Anniversary Celebration



Tunku Dato' Paduka Khadijah and Tunku Dato' Seri Ahmad Nerang commemorating Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra's birthday accompanied by Tunku Ali Redhauddin Tuanku Muhriz, Tunku Zain Al-'Abidin Tuanku Muhriz and Tun Mohamed Dzaiddin Haji Abdullah, 7 February 2015



IDEAS

National Unity Youth Fellowship

In recent years, there has been a rise of illiberal divisive voices within Malaysia. To counter this, we introduced the National Unity Youth Fellowship (NUYF) to remind Malaysians that national unity has always been a cornerstone of Malaysia's foundation.

Through a competitive selection process, we selected 21 outstanding youth leaders to participate in the inaugural NUYF. Over the course of eight months, the Youth Fellows attended workshops and community engagement activities in Perlis, Kedah, Penang, Sarawak, Sabah, Kelantan, Selangor, Terengganu, Negeri Sembilan and Melaka.

Throughout the programme, participants had the opportunity to meet and discuss with political leaders, non-governmental organisations and local communities on issues related to national unity.

The highlight of the programme was a conference organised by the Youth Fellows entitled "Nation-Building, Unity and the Malaysian Dream : Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow". The event was officiated by YBM Tan Sri Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, former Malaysian Minister of Finance.

The NUYF was organised in collaboration with the Department of National Unity and Integration, the Malaysian Institute of Integrity, the Negaraku People's Movement and the Merdeka Centre for Opinion Research.



Workshop for National Unity Youth Fellows, 15 August 2015



YBM Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah giving the keynote speech at the conference organised by the Youth Fellows entitled "Nation Building, Unity and the Malaysian Dream : Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", 16 September 2015



Launch of the National Unity Youth Fellows' Declaration by YBM Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, 16 September 2015



Youth Fellows posing with IDEAS' Chief Operating Officer, Tricia Yeoh and Dato' Saifuddin Abdullah after the graduation ceremony, 16 September 2015

IDEAS Autism Centre

The IDEAS Autism Centre provides early intervention, care and education for autistic children aged 3-9 from low income households. The IAC was started in October 2012 and is located in Rawang, Selangor. We now cater for 31 students.

The IAC's early intervention programme has been successful in enabling our students to get into the mainstream school system. Ten of our students have been accepted into mainstream schools and we expect more to do so in 2016.

This year the IAC made media appearances in The Star, IKIM FM and Capital FM to educate the public on autism and the challenges faced by parents and caretakers of children with autism. The education unit within IDEAS also wrote two papers that focuses on life with autism and progress after early intervention.



Students from the IAC undergoing hydrotherapy, 20 May 2015

We received support from Sime Darby Foundation, Hong Leong Foundation, Yayasan Siti Sapura and the A&A Charitable Trust.

Our main priority is to build a fund to continue IAC's sustainability in the longer term, as well as to develop enterprising ways to generate revenue.

For more information, please visit <http://www.autism.ideas.org.my/>



IAC Sports Day, 23 May 2015

IDEAS Academy

IDEAS Academy is another proof of concept project to show that it is possible to provide high quality education to the underprivileged at a lower cost. It is a secondary learning centre offering the Cambridge curriculum that could lead to the IGCSE qualification. It is located in Pudu, Kuala Lumpur; and we have 100 students from the urban poor families, including from the shelters and refugee communities. We run this project with the Netherland's Young Refugee Cause Foundation through IDEAS Academy Sdn Bhd, a company that is equally owned by both organisations.

In June 2015, the Academy moved to a new premise which will be able to fit up to 300 students. Students only pay a nominal fee, while the bulk of the cost is paid for by grants from generous donors.

For more information, visit
<http://www.ideasacademy.org.my/>



Snapshot of the activities at IDEAS Academy

Students of the IDEAS Academy



Championing The Ideas of Liberty and Justice

We continued advocating for the ideas of liberty and justice by organising various events and discussions. In total, we held 53 events in 2015.

On 19 September 2015 we hosted “The Liberalism Conference : Trends, Challenges and Future Prospects”. Speakers included Kasit Piromya, Former Thai Foreign Minister; Ustaz Abdullah Zaik, President of Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (ISMA); Dr Patricia Martinez, Christian Federation of Malaysia (CMM); and Dato’ Charon Wardini Mokhzani, Executive Director of Khazanah Research Institute (KRI). Discussions centred on framing the discourse of liberalism in Southeast Asia with specific mentions on the relationship between liberalism,

religion and nationalism. The conference was attended by over 100 participants from diverse backgrounds. This was a unique venture as it brought together those who have opinions on liberalism including organisations such as the Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (ISMA) and Pertubuhan Pribumi Perkasa (PERKASA).

On 4 July 2015, we hosted Dr Juli Minoves, President of Liberal International at a forum entitled “Is Malaysia ready for a liberal political party?” The forum saw an attendance of over 70 individuals who were there to understand if ideological parties would ever be able to compete with current political parties in Malaysia.



Panel session discussing liberalism and faith at the IDEAS Liberalism Conference, 19 September 2015



Public Forum “Is Malaysia ready for a liberal political party?” Wan Saiful Wan Jan, Moritz Kleine-Brockhoff (Friedrich Naumann Foundation), Juli Minoves (President, Liberal International), Tunku Zain Al-‘Abidin Tuanku Muhriz, Dr Dzulkefli Ahmad (former CEO of PAS Research Centre) and Khalid Jaafar (Executive Director of Institut Kajian Dasar), 4 July 2015

We also hosted Mmusi Maimane, Federal Leader of the Democratic Alliance of South Africa at a forum titled “Liberalism as a force against racism: The South African experience.” The well attended event saw a packed hall and a rousing discussion on race relations in both South Africa and Malaysia as well as whether liberalism can improve it.

Due to popular demand, we continued organising in-depth classes based on the philosophy of classical liberalism in Malaysia through the IDEAS Masterclass Series. Three masterclasses were organised: (1) Introduction to Classical Liberalism, (2) Liberalism and Education (3) Liberalism and Economic Development. In total, we had 84 students participating in the classes with lecturers from International Islamic University of Malaysia, University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus and the India Institute, New Delhi.



Dr Carmelo Ferlito, IDEAS Senior Fellow, at IDEAS Liberalism Masterclass discussing the Austrian School of Economics, 20 August 2015



Mmusi Maimane, Federal Leader of the Democratic Alliance of South Africa and Dr Lee Hwok Aun of University Malaya at a forum titled “Liberalism as a force against racism : The South African experience”, 3 December 2015

Promoting Free Market Ideas in ASEAN

We were also active in promoting free market ideas in the ASEAN region through our platform, the Southeast Asia Network for Development (SEANET). SEANET's principles in promoting property rights, ensuring inclusive development and growth and encouraging free trade were highlighted through events and policy papers released this year.

On 6 May 2015, we hosted United States (US) Trade Representative Ambassador Michael Froman in a public discussion titled "A special discussion on the Trans-Pacific Partnership". The event was well attended and had heavy media presence due to the trade pact being in the final stages of negotiations.

With Malaysia's chairmanship of ASEAN this year, we hosted a workshop at the ASEAN People's Forum on 23 April 2015 titled "Will greater economic liberalisation actually help the poor in ASEAN?" Speakers at this session included Professor Cris Lingle of Universidad Francisco Marroquin, Datuk Ravindran Palaniappan from the Malaysian Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and Nonoy Oplas, SEANET Fellow.

A number of events and meetings were also convened in Singapore and Thailand throughout this period.



Special discussion on the TPP with Wan Saiful Wan Jan, US Trade Representative Ambassador Michael Froman, Tan Sri Munir Majid (Chairman, Bank Muamalat) and Nurbisham Hussein (General Manager, Economics and Capital Markets at the Employees Provident Fund), 6 May 2015

A public forum titled “Intellectual Property and Growth: What must Singapore do to be the global hub of Asia?” was well attended by representatives from industry and academia. Meetings were also convened with Singaporean public officials of the Ministry of Health, Health Promotion Board and the Intellectual Property Office.

SEANET also hosted our first Visiting Fellow Professor Sinclair Richardson of the Royal Melbourne Institute for Technology (RMIT) to

conduct work on IP protection.

SEANET and the Property Rights Alliance (PRA) collaborated to host the global launch of the 2015 International Property Rights Index (IPRI) on 16 November 2015. Similar launch events were organised in Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Singapore for this purpose. The launch in Kuala Lumpur featured a forum on “The TPPA, economic growth and protection of intellectual property rights.”



Workshop on economic liberalisation at the ASEAN People's Forum with Professor Cris Lingle of Universidad Francisco Marroquin, Datuk Ravindran Palaniappan of Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI) and Nonoy Oplas, SEANET Fellow, 23 April 2015



Seminar on Intellectual Property Property Rights in Singapore featuring Lorenzo Montanari (Executive Director of Property Rights Alliance), Professor Sary Levy-Carciente (Professor of Economics at Universidad Central de Venezuela and Author of the 2015 IPRI), Chew Phye Keat (President of ASEAN IP Association) and Soh Kar Liang (Member of Legislative & Regulation Committee, International Trademark Association (INTA) on 19 November 2015

Advocating School Choice for Everyone

The majority of Malaysians are confined to the government school system, where there is very limited choice in the type of schools children can be sent to. School choice is limited to students whose families are privileged enough to afford private education. We strongly advocate for the idea that choice should be available to everyone regardless of social status.

This year, the Education unit began its Education Public Event Series on Choice and Autonomy with the event 'Should the government take over your role as parents?' on 12 February 2015. It was a robust discussion about the role of school vouchers and how they could benefit poor households. This event received a lot of media coverage and many follow-up enquiries suggesting good public support for the idea.



Public forum "Should education be free?" 9 May 2015

As part of the Education Series, IDEAS hosted 'A peek into private schools in Malaysia', which shared findings of private schools case studies, a culmination of the year's yet to be published work on private sector educational offerings. This event also had good media coverage and a high level of public interest. IDEAS concluded with advocating better education for the year with 'Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) in the Malaysian Education Sector'. It was a seminar aimed at being a platform for the open exchange of experiences from participants of PPPs in education. It addressed questions on how PPPs in education can be further promoted and improved. Following this, the government promised to hold a discussion on a Framework for PPPs in education by the third quarter of 2016.

IDEAS was one of three organisations invited to a closed door meeting in June to discuss the general state of education in Malaysia with Dato Seri Idris Jusoh, then Minister for Education 2. It is a good sign that IDEAS' voice is being heard at the highest level.



Forum discussing the role of Public Private Partnerships in Education, 5 November 2015



Participants at the forum "A peek into private schools in Malaysia", 24 October 2015



Wan Saiful Wan Jan presenting at a public forum "Should the government choose what is best for your child?" 12 February 2015

Campaigning for Transparency and Open Government

Our focus in this area for 2015 was to influence public opinion on the benefits of a rules-based trading system, improving transparency in public-private partnerships and political financing, boosting the independence of the Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC), improving transparency and accountability in the budget cycle and raising awareness on the Open Government Partnership as one of the main international platforms for transparency.

IDEAS continued to benefit from the guidance of our Chair of Political Economy and Governance, Dr. Razeen Sally, a prominent expert on international trade policy who is also Director and Co-Founder of the European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE) and Associate Professor at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy.

As part of our efforts to strengthen the effectiveness of the MACC, we worked in collaboration with Transparency International Malaysia, Centre to Combat Corruption and Cronyism (C4) and the Citizens' Network for a Better Malaysia (CNBM) to develop proposals for the structural reform of the anti-corruption body.

We conducted events to raise awareness on our proposal to reform the MACC together with other civil society partners. These events are intended to gain input and support from key stakeholders and the public in general on the intended reforms.

We played a key role in the formation of the GIAT (Governance, Integrity, Accountability and Transparency) coalition, which among others, promotes the Open Government Partnership.



*Public forum on
“Can MACC be
independent?”
with IDEAS COO
Tricia Yeoh and
Board Member
Christopher Leong,
4 March 2015*

Through its first event, GIAT created a discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of the current open data initiatives by the Malaysian government. Of particular emphasis was the need to highlight and recognise the benefits of open data for the purposes of improving good governance, strengthening civic engagement and encouraging economic growth.

September saw the unveiling of the results from the 2015 Open Budget Survey by IDEAS. The Open Budget survey is part of the Open Budget Initiative, a global initiative to promote public access to budget information and the adoption of accountable budget systems. The survey which was administered by IDEAS this year, is designed as a tool to analyse the level of budget information that governments provide its citizens, the level of participation given to citizens in the national budget process as well as the level of independence and the capacity of oversight bodies.



Victoria Treadell, British High Commissioner to Malaysia giving the opening speech at the Open Government Partnership Seminar, 18 August 2015



Launch of the Open Budget Survey, 10 September 2015

Seminar on "The TPP: Will the US Bully Us?" featuring the Mexican Ambassador of Malaysia as well as respected economists from Vietnam and Indonesia





IDEAS *in* Numbers

IDEAS in Numbers

IDEAS Events and Outreach Activities

	2014	2015
Student Outreach	19	11
Seminars & Workshops	47	38
Events held overseas	4	4
TOTAL	70	53

IDEAS Publications

	2014	2015
Book	1	0
Policy Papers	10	10
Press Statements	20	38
TOTAL	31	48

IDEAS Media Appearances

	2014	2015
Opinion Articles	110	111
Print Media Coverage	546	747
TV and Radio Appearances	19	76

Total PR Value

RM 25.2 Million

(USD 8.4 million)

*average exchange rate in 2014

RM 53.34 Million

(USD 12.4 million)

*average exchange rate in 2015

Newspaper Clips

需考量土著政策敏感度
TPPA作業詳情欠透明難瞭解

同时美国方面亦指出,了解在协议谈判过程中,我国还需考量到土著政策上的敏感度。

美国贸易代表大使麦克弗罗曼指出：“各国对透明度的衡量有别，但以美国标准衡量，(中国)透明度不足。”

For the low-temperature solution of superconducting but not normal metallic compounds.

不过，大马在GDP的考量因素，还冠以土著政策。麦可佛罗登指出，明白大马在

我国需要重新思考,如何解决此政策上的社会融合、贫穷及不平等问题。



An institution of patriotic abundance

[illegible]

針對TPPA的協商，煙草不被列為協商項目一事，表明美

罗曼诺夫认为中国应该建立一个量身定制的版权制度，且是根据企业的发展阶段来推进其影响力。2008年，他受邀参加北京奥运会开幕式。

對劉 (吉隆坡訊) 首相署
政、地產及交通部長劉

基尼马兹亦说,需确保中小型企业获
资源、科技以及融资设备,并建设健全

长拿督) 以空城计

[illegible]

47th ASEAN Economic Ministers' Meeting and Related Meetings
22 - 26 August 2015 | Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

AEC jurucakap bersama rundingan - IDEAS



yang harus dilakukan pemerintah adalah meningkatkan kualitas sumber daya manusia, terutama tenaga kerja yang akan memasuki pasar tenaga kerja. Untuk itu, pemerintah harus meningkatkan kualitas pendidikan, terutama pendidikan dasar dan menengah. Selain itu, pemerintah juga harus meningkatkan keterampilan tenaga kerja melalui pelatihan dan pendidikan vokasi. Dengan demikian, diharapkan tenaga kerja yang akan memasuki pasar tenaga kerja akan memiliki kualitas yang lebih baik dan dapat bersaing di pasar tenaga kerja internasional.

The forgotten school

After three-and-a-half decades of being a leading edge in the world of film, television, theater, and the Internet, the company that has shaped the lives of millions of people is now looking for a new direction. It's a new chapter in the story of a company that has been a part of our lives for so long.

Public duty and private interests

[illegible][illegible]

officers' conduct and the integrity of the police force. There is also a code of ethics for all police officers which states that all police officers in the Prince Edward Constabulary must be "above reproach" in their official duties and that they must not be involved in any financial or other interests that might conflict with their official duties. The code also states that police officers must not be involved in any political activities and must not be involved in any activities that might bring the police into disrepute.

DECLARING ASSETS PUBLICLY
Following the two scandals, the government enacted a public-ownership law that requires every senior public official to declare his or her assets publicly. Some might argue that this is excessive. But you might also think it's little more than a common-sense measure to ensure that public servants are not using their positions for personal gain. In fact, it is a measure that has been adopted by many other countries, including the United States, where the

IMPACT OF INTEREST
 While introducing a set of the best practices, world bank and other officials declare very confident, however they are not. The representative of Economic Commission for Western Europe (ECWE) is confident of general success. "Confidence in the public and private institutions is critical to what the public officials can capacity to execute which could be the solution to the problem of the officials or private sector," says ECWE representative. "It is not enough to have a set of the best practices, it is important to have a set of the best practices which could be the solution to the problem of the officials or private sector."

offer government agencies to provide office space, but will not allow their private employees to work there. In using the "other" workforce on any given project, the



Financial Report

FINANCIAL REPORT

Fundraising for an independent think tank is certainly not easy. In particular, it has been challenging to search for funds to pay for core costs like salaries and office overheads because most funders only fund direct project costs.

We are really grateful for the support we have received from generous local and international donors. Some have supported us since our early days, and without them we would not be able to produce any of our achievements. We have managed to increase the number of our local

funders. We hope this reflects the trust that funders have in the quality of work and the impact that we can produce.

Of course we are not complacent. In order to do more work, and to do it better, we must continue to attract more grants and donations. We particularly look forward to working more closely with local funders, as we believe that there are many Malaysians who believe in the need to revive the values of liberty and justice.

Some of our Top 2015 Funders:

1.	British High Commission	RM 509,986
2.	Yayasan Sime Darby	RM 457,481
3.	A&A Charitable Trust	RM 398,833
4.	International Republican Institute	RM 316,071
5.	Atlas Economic Research Foundation	RM 255,628
6.	Yayasan Siti Sapura Husin	RM 200,000
7.	Friedrich Naumann Foundation	RM 151,517

Income & Expenditure

INCOME BY SOURCE (RM)	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015**
Malaysian Sources	196,249	731,147	626,552	831,236	897,463
International Sources	169,404	514,178	1,111,808	1,028,260	2,060,078
TOTAL**	365,653	1,245,325	1,738,360	1,859,496	2,957,541

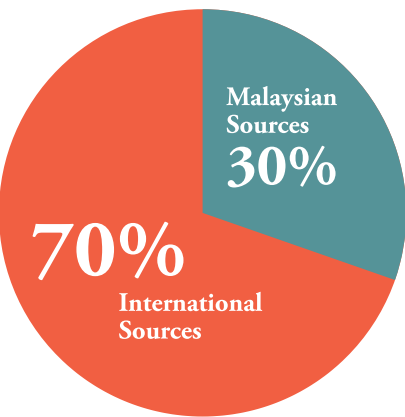
EXPENDITURE (RM)	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015**
Salaries & Staff Costs	230,507	374,610	405,427	249,564	579,023
Premises & Overheads	43,077	46,495	45,441	63,484	168,286
Operations	59,451	67,880	276,454	422,368	256,663
Direct Project Cost - Education	52,575	240,096	103,830	104,486	115,187
Direct Project Cost - Governance	15,935	102,711	55,815	157,842	259,154
Direct Project Cost - Events & Outreach	122,979	216,886	84,572	257,225	177,686
Direct Project Cost - SEANET	-	-	-	-	344,188
Direct Project Cost - IDEAS Autism Centre	-	178,563	362,017	516,028	768,691
Direct Project Cost - IDEAS Academy	-	-	-	26,817	33,097
Direct Project Cost - National Unity	-	-	-	-	210,335
One-off Projects	-	-	406,772	49,130	29,513
TOTAL**	524,524	1,227,241	1,740,328	1,846,944	2,941,823

TOTAL (RM)	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015**
Total Income**	365,653	1,245,325	1,738,360	1,859,496	2,957,541
Total Expenditure**	524,524	1,227,241	1,740,328	1,846,944	2,941,823
Surplus/(Deficit)	(158,871)	18,084	(1,968)	12,552	15,718

* Totals may vary due to rounding of figures

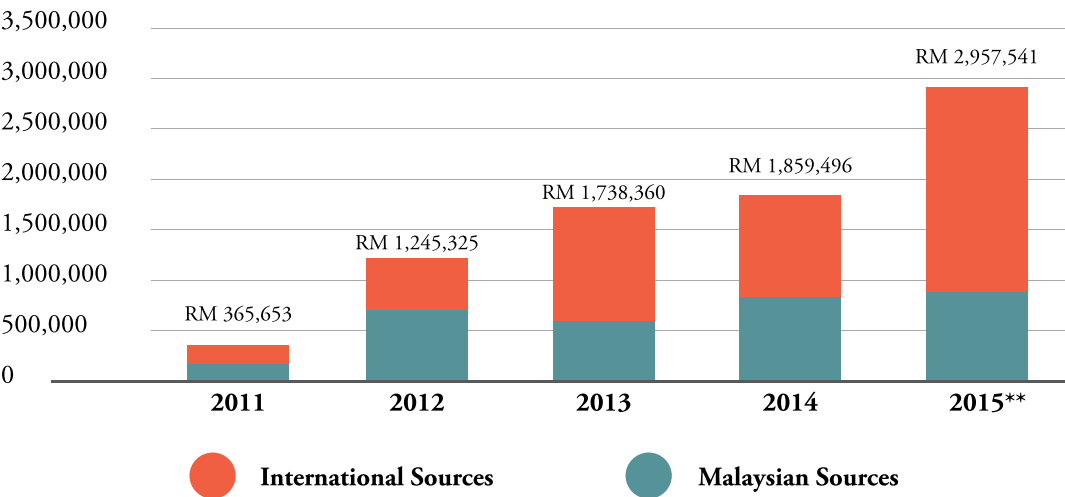
* Figures for 2015 are not yet audited at the time of printing

Income

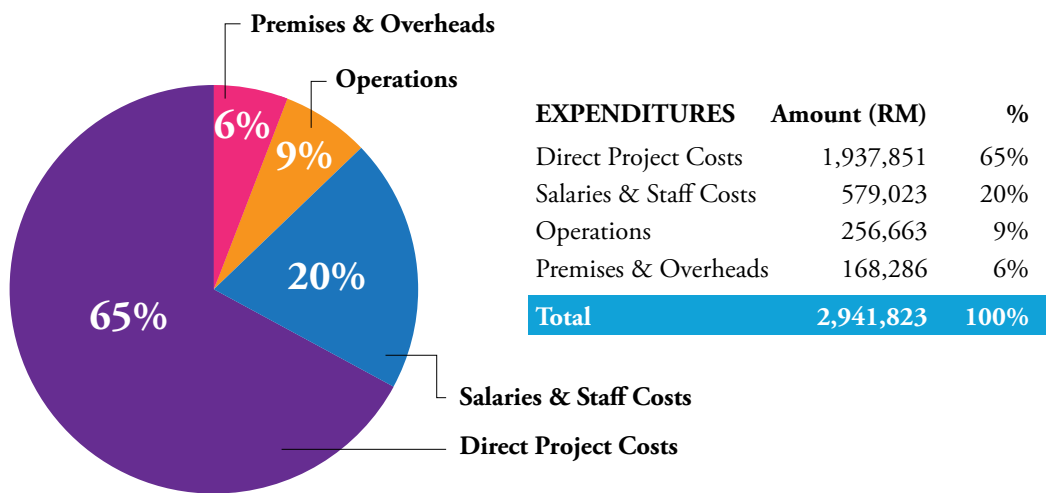


SOURCES	Amount (RM)	%
International Sources	2,060,078	70%
Malaysian Sources	897,463	30%
Total	2,957,541	100%

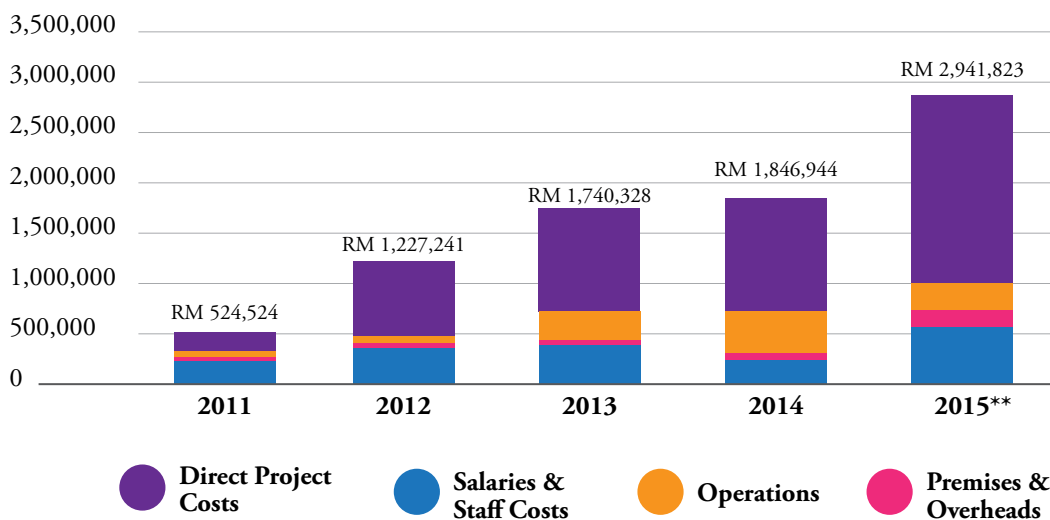
Total Income Distribution 2011-2015



Expenditure



Total Expenditure 2011-2015



HEALTHY
WITH
Magnolia
MILK
PASTEURISED
FOR YOUR
PROTECTION

AVERAGE DAILY CERTIFIED SALE EXCEEDS 80,000

The Straits Times

Malaya's
National
Newspaper

Est'd 1845

SINGAPORE, SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1957

15 CENTS

MERDEKA!

E TENGKU'S
OMENT
TRIUMPH...

32 Abdul Rahman acknowledges
cheers of the crowd at the Alliance
at the Padang in Kuala Lumpur as
clock strikes midnight to begin a
a for Malaya as an independent

- Straits Times picture.

*At the stroke of midnight
great roar tells the world
We are now a nation*

Moving
Forward



IDEAS ANNUAL REPORT 2015 | 59

Union Jack lowered as



Moving Forward

The depressing political climate of 2015 makes our work even more important as we step into 2016 and closer to the next round of General Elections. We have achieved a lot in 2015. Moving forward we must do more.

The governance challenges faced by the country are too many to list here. Of course we cannot work on all areas, as our resources are limited. We will continue working in the fields of **governance, economic liberalisation and education reform**.

In particular we hope to focus on the following issues. First is to strengthen the **fight against corruption**. We will continue to advocate for the Malaysian Anti Corruption Commission to be reformed and upgraded. We will also examine the potential reforms of the Attorney General's Chambers to ensure there is no conflict of interest when making decisions to prosecute. And through our Chief Executive Wan Saiful Wan Jan appointment into the National Consultative Committee on Political Funding we will help shape policies around political financing too.

Second is on **economic liberalisation**. Those in power may have forgotten the New Economic Model (NEM) that was launched in 2010 but it does have many good ideas. We would like to see the economy becoming more rules-based, less discriminatory, and better integrated into the global value chain. This requires not just the right policies but also a major reshaping of public opinion, especially after decades of statist propaganda.

National unity is another issue that we will work on. It is not easy to identify a policy that would "unite" Malaysians. Some attempts in the past have resulted in more division instead. A question that we need to answer is what is the liberal approach to fostering harmony in a diverse society?

We will continue with our venture into the ASEAN region through our SEANET initiative. Especially now that the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) has been launched, there is a need to **inject market-based ideas into ASEAN** to ensure inclusive growth in a market-friendly environment.

We have started the process of improving our **internal governance** by appointing new independent non-executive directors to our Board. There are more steps that we will take in 2016 to improve the way we run IDEAS in order to guarantee maximum value from donors' money and at the same time maintain public trust in our work and our brand.

Finally, we are also looking at better mechanisms to ensure **continuous professional development of our staff**. We are lucky to have a young, passionate and highly educated team. They are hungry to make a difference to the country and they work tirelessly to realise our vision. We will develop ways to reward high performers and to provide upskilling opportunities for the whole team.

Donate

If you like the work that we do, please support us financially. We cannot survive without your financial assistance.

To donate from Malaysia, you can transfer to:
CIMB account number **800 136 7104**
Swift Code: **CIBBMYKL**
or send a cheque payable to “**IDEAS Berhad**”

If you would like to donate via paypal you can send payment to ***ceo@ideas.org.my***
Our merchant account ID is
YGG9RKVPWBUV4

If you are in the United Kingdom, IDEAS is registered with the Charities Aid Foundation (www.cafonline.org) and you can make your donation to us through CAF if you have a CAF account. If you are a UK taxpayer, CAF can claim the tax through Gift Aid, thereby increasing the amount that reaches us from your donation. Please contact us via email at ***ceo@ideas.org.my*** if you would like to donate via CAF.

If you are in the United States of America, we have a partnership with the Atlas Economic Research Foundation. Atlas is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organisation that is consistently given a four-star rating by Charity Navigator and is recognised as a Guidestar Exchange Valued Partner for its financial transparency. Please contact us via email at ***ceo@ideas.org.my*** if you would like to donate via Atlas.



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