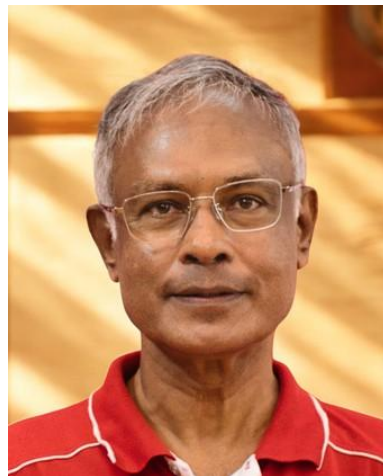




**APPGM-SDG**



SOCIETY FOR PROMOTION OF  
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS  
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# POLITICAL AND THOUGHT LEADERS IN THE MALAYSIAN INDIAN COMMUNITY

Denison Jayasooria & Darshini Rawichandran

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**All-Party Parliamentary Group Malaysia on  
Sustainable Development Goals**

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# Introduction

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“Political and Thought leaders in Malaysian Indian Community” is a study project being undertaken among one of the ethnic communities in Malaysia.

We recognise that Malaysia is a multi-ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic society with Malays, Chinese, Indians, the natives of Sabah and Sarawak, and the indigenous people of the peninsular called the Orang Asli. In the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), namely the Agenda 2030, which has the theme of “leaving no one behind”, this study is one among many policy studies being undertaken.

Here the focus is on one ethnic community, on how this community as Malaysian citizens, exercises their political rights and responsibilities under the Federal Constitution. At the same time, they have the freedom to articulate their community concerns in line with the socio - economic development agenda of the nation. There is a specific concern for the low-income bottom, 40% (B40), living in urban poor neighbourhoods, using a multidimensional poverty instrument to measure deprivation.

This document is a working document, a starting point for the analysis of both political and intellectual activism. It sets the research agenda and preliminary thoughts for a comprehensive analysis by the time of the research conference in November 2026.

I take this opportunity to thank the APPGM SDG secretariat team for their support. A special word of thanks to Ms. Darshini Rawichandran & Dr. Thanaraj Murudi, Mr. Yoogeswaran Kanis, Mr James Raj for their assistance in the preparation of this document. Appreciation is also due to Ms. Hirzawati Atikah Mohd Tahir for the cover design and artwork.

We hope that the launch on March 8, 2026, will recruit many researchers and thought leaders to undertake a critical review of the Malaysian situation and present their findings, analysis, and recommendations at the research conference.

8 March 2026

# Study Focus

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The focus of this study is on two groups of people.

## **THE FIRST GROUP IS POLITICAL ACTIVIST.**

By this, it is narrowed to elected Members of parliament (MP) who through the general elections became members of the ruling government or became opposition members in Parliament. Here the focus is what they said and did while in public office. We like to explore documentary evidence like parliamentary Hansard reports, parliamentary questions and speeches in parliament and outside on community concerns. We examine the leadership they provided for the community in the context of national development and integration.

We have narrowed the elected members to a specific time period between the 10<sup>th</sup> General Elections (GE) and the 15<sup>th</sup> GE. During this period 38 MPs of Indian origin were elected to the lower house as MPs

## **THE SECOND GROUP IS THOUGHT LEADERS.**

By this we mean community leaders or individuals who articulated community concerns and had them published in a books or reports. We have narrowed the literature search and review only to materials published only in English and the national language. These publications are by academics, social activists and journalist. They may be regarded as public intellectuals. Some may have links with political parties or individuals in government.

We have identified 71 publications (books and reports) between the years 1960 and 2025. These can be reviewed for thematic concerns and reform agendas. We did not review social media or print media for articles or academic journals. It is, however difficult to assess the impact of readership and the wider community. We can, however, note their impact of development policy and the delivery of services to the community.

The points highlighted in this study is just a preliminary discussion and we hope that many will come forward and write paper on political leadership and representation as well as on the findings of thoughts leaders and public intellectuals.

We have narrowed the time frame of both the studies to the period between 1999 and 2025, which corresponds to GE 10 and GE15. All articles and reviews will therefore need to focus on the 38 MPs and their respective parties in relation to political leadership.

The primary will be the November 2026, Policial Leadership Research Conference

# Chapter 1

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## **Political Leaders: Their Role in Advocating Social Change and the Delivery of Services Members of Parliament from the Malaysian Indian Community**

We undertook a documentary analysis of elected officials to the lower house in Parliament between GE 10 and GE 15. Over six general elections as indicated in Table 1, we identified 38 Malaysian Indians elected to parliamentary through the electoral process. They had 72 opportunities to hold office as an MP. Among them, we recognise those who made a significant impact on the Malaysian Indian community through their roles as elected Members of Parliament. Of the 38, one served five terms, others served four times, some three or two times and others for a single time.

Table 1 gives a brief analysis of Indian MPs elected by race-based parties such as the MIC or multiracial parties like DAP and PKR. There is also a breakdown of numbers across the various general election. It is evident that the Malaysian Indian community shifted from race-based to multi racial political parties, with the shift becoming clear from GE 12 onwards. GE 15 saw an overall drop of Indian representation in parliament from 14 to 10 MPs.

Table 1 also indicates that the position as a Cabinet Minister was limited to only one individual from GE 10 to GE 12. Following the change of government in 2018, there was a record of number of Ministers in the 2018 PH government which lasted for two years. Subsequently, representation returned to one cabinet position; however, in 2025, this increased to two Cabinet Ministers under Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim in the Unity Government.

In terms of portfolios, MITRA was transferred from the Prime Minister's Department to the Ministry of Human Resources in 2025, similar to earlier arrangements when the SITF (Special Implementation Task Force) operated under a Cabinet Committee on Indian Concerns.

Appendix 1 provides further details on the MPs. We note that of the 38 MPs, only two are women. Currently, there are no Indian women Members of Parliament. Opportunities in political office appear to be dominated by men in leadership positions

Table 1. Indian MPs context of PM and nature of political representation (Race-based party to multi-racial party)

<b>GE</b>	<b>PM &amp; PARTY</b>	<b>MPs FROM INDIAN BASED ETHNIC PARTY</b>	<b>MPs FROM MULTI RACIAL PARTIES WITH INDIAN MPs</b>	<b>TOTAL MPs</b>	<b>INDIAN MPs IN CABINET AS FULL MINISTER</b>
<b>GE 10</b> 29 Nov 1999	Dr MM & BN	8	1	9	1
<b>GE 11</b> 21 March 2004	Abdullah & BN	8	4	12	1
<b>GE 12</b> 8 March 2008	Abdullah & then Najib BN	3	11	14	1
<b>GE 13</b> 5 May 2013	Najib & BN	4	9	13	2
<b>GE 14</b> 9 May 2018	Dr MM & PH 10 May 2008-24 Feb 2020	1	13	14	4
	TS Myddin & PN (1 March 2020-16 August 2021)	(1)	(13)	(14)	1
	Ismail Sabri & BN/PAS 21 Aug 2021-24 Nov 2022	(1)	(13)	(114)	1

<b>GE</b>	<b>PM &amp; PARTY</b>	<b>MPs FROM INDIAN BASED ETHNIC PARTY</b>	<b>MPs FROM MULTI RACIAL PARTIES WITH INDIAN MPs</b>	<b>TOTAL MPs</b>	<b>INDIAN MPs IN CABINET AS FULL MINISTER</b>
<b>GE 15</b> 19 Nov 2022	Anwar & Unity Govt 24 Nov 2022 –	1	9	10	2
		25 (35%)	47 (65%)	72	

### **LEADERSHIP CHALLENGES AND LESSONS FOR CHANGE**

Political leaders are no saints, but in holding public office there is an expectation of personal morality, public accountability, and effective representation of the community in parliament and government.

MIC elected representatives have had a longer experience in government as compared to elected leaders from the DAP and PKR. The latter have more experience in raising community concerns both in the media and in parliament.

MIC leadership was responsible for the establishment of special dedicated government agencies to address community concerns. This system is being continued by the current MPs in government and cabinet. The approach of the unity government is one that seeks to ensure inclusivity. YB Ramanan is currently taking the leadership of MITRA, however, MITRA's directions and role remain unclear.

It is interesting to note that among the 38 MPs, while there were accusations of corruption and even anti-corruption investigations involving the staff of some MPs, none of the MPs have been charged. This is commendable in contrast to other MPs from various parties in Malaysia.

The iconic personalities of Tun S. Samy Vellu stands out for his long-term service as President of his party and as a most senior member of the cabinet. He is noted for his strong control over his party and his services to the community.

Dato Seri Utama Karpal Singh stands tall for his integrity and his extensive legal experience in the courts. He was also a strong advocate for justice and fairness in parliament.

A more detailed study of the leadership needed for the community and of who might assume such roles, could be a paper for the November 2026 conference.

## Chapter 2

### Thought Leaders, their Conceptualisation of Community Problems and their Recommendations for Change

#### THE PERSONALITIES AND THEIR WRITINGS

We identified a total of 71 publications, mostly books. These are divided into four phases as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2 books by phases between 1960 to 2025 covering a 65-year period. The primary focus, however, is between 1999 and 2025 covering the past 26 years. While it is impressive to review 71 books in the English language, over a 65-year period this represents very limited evidence based, academic works on the Malaysian Indian Community.

Most of the writers here are individuals of Indian origin with few publications from other ethnic backgrounds. An exception is Dr Teo Sue Ann's PhD these on Hindu temples, which has relevance to current political challenges. Socio - economic research on the Indian community appears to be driven more by ethnic advocacy rather than by mainstream academic social science research.

Table 2. Publications by time periods

<b>PHASE 1</b>	<b>PHASE 2</b>	<b>PHASE 3</b>	<b>PHASE 4</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Post Merdeka & the NEP Years	Post NEP years and calls for reform & good governance	Post Hindraf & Reform period	Post GE14 & Contemporary period	
1960s to 1998	1999– 2008	2009 to 2018	2019 – 2025	<b>65 years</b>
9 publications	13 publications	24 publications	25 publications	<b>71 publications</b>

#### THEMATIC CONCERNS AND SOLUTIONS

The thematic works on Indians in the first phase focused on the plantation communities as reflected in the two seminal works of Prof KS Sandhu (1960) and Prof Arasatnam's (1970) writings on Indians in Malaysia and Singapore.

We are gathering all the publications (Books and reports) on politics, economy, including self-employment (informal sector) and formal employment; as well as social development

concerns such as addressing poverty, inequality, social protection, crime and violence alongside education, housing, neighbourhood development and religious concerns

The books can be divided by thematic categories such as historical works, biographies, and novels. By far, the largest category focuses on the socio-economic & development concerns such as education, oppression, disadvantage situation. There are also a few books on Indians and Tamils in the Southeast region.

One of the objectives of this study is to review and analyse the context of these writings and their correlations with the national development agenda, political reform, and the demand for greater democratic space to challenge and question-authorities on issues of good governance and accountability

The rise of new social movements like Bersih and Hindraf and their impact on the development agenda, as well as on the expansion of democratic space, is also examined

## Chapter 3

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### **The Study on Political Leadership and Thought Leaders in the Malaysian Indian Community**

#### **RESEARCHING POLITICAL LEADERSHIP**

Study One focuses on Political Leadership and Representation in Parliament Malaysia (between GE10 and GE 15).

The objectives are as follows :-

- i. To review leadership practices among MPs from an ethnic community and examine how they foster inclusive public policies and programs over a 25-year period
- ii. To review the dual roles of advocacy and governance when serving as members of the government and to assess how effectively these roles were performed between GE 10 and GE 15.

This 25-year journey covers the period during which several Malaysian Indians were elected to Parliament beginning with the 10<sup>th</sup> General Elections held on 29 November 1999 and concluding with the 15<sup>th</sup> General Elections held on 19 November 2022. This period provides a strong basis to evaluate leadership and community advancement within the context of national politics.

The focus of this review is on what the MPs said in the parliament and where they held the government what they did directly or through government agencies, or civil society and political parties. There must be documentary evidence for this, including Parliamentary Hansard records and official reports. , the emphasis is on actions and statements addressing the concern of those left behind the is on what was said and done in addressing the concerns of those left behind in society.

We also like to study the political trends and voting patters and representation taking into account gender, class and sub-ethnic diversity within the Malaysian Indian community.

A major concern is whether constitutional rights (political, economic, social and religious) are better protected through ethnic or race based political parties or through multi-ethnic parties representing all the communities of Malaysia.

Table 2 indicates a shift from race-based representation under the MIC and BN in GE10 and GE11 towards multi-racial parties such as DAP and PKR from GE13 to GE15. This raises questions about how to understand this aspiration, particularly in the context of growing discontent over unresolved temple-related and other community issues.

Key lessons can be drawn from political participation and access to economic, social, and religious rights between GE10 and GE15. Central to this study are the leadership qualities of leaders from different political parties, especially their roles within government or as members of the opposition.

### **RESEARCHING THOUGHT LEADERS**

Study Two is a review of publications – “An Anthology of Malaysian Indian Political and Socio-Economic Development Concerns”.

The objectives are as follows:-

- To review the thoughts of public intellectuals and academics who have influence public opinion.
- To analyse whether these public thoughts translated into political consciousness and influenced grassroots voters
- To determine whether democratic spaces exist for the community to articulate concerns and whether such articulation has an impact on effective delivery and good governance.

Research paper should focus on the 71 books and materials. For example:- One could review a book or books based on the thematic areas such as education or poverty or crime, gender or any key theme. Reviewing a small number of related books within a theme is encouraged.

### **DURATION OF BOTH STUDIES**

Two studies will be undertaken between March 8, 2026 and Nov 8, 2026 a period of eight months. During this period, we welcome abstracts and paper submission for analysis.

In addressing the issues and concerns raised, contributors may review all Where possible, contributors are encouraged to consult additional sources such as academic journals, vernacular print media, and to undertake comparative analyses of coverage in vernacular and non-vernacular media, mainstream media, and social media. The materials or adopt a thematic approach within the same time period.

## WORK PLAN & SCHEDULE

TOPIC/ TIME PERIOD	DETAILS
Preparation work undertaken in 2025	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identification and basic info on MPs</li> <li>• Identification of books and reports. Providing a brief review</li> </ul>
Review of the work done (Jan-Feb 2026)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Review the notes and papers compiled</li> <li>• Preparation of a keynote address and framework paper by 8 March 2026</li> </ul>
<p>Launch of the MPI Study undertaken by Dr Thana and team</p> <p>Launch of the two new studies on Political &amp; Thought Leaders</p> <p>Date: 8 March 2026 Time: 2.30 to 6.00 pm Venue: Ruang SDG, Avenue 8, PJ</p>	<p><b>LAUNCH OF THE MULTI-DIMENSIONAL POVERTY STUDY AMONG THE INDIAN POOR IN KLANG-KAPAR &amp; IPOH-TAMBUN REPORT</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presentation of the findings by Dr Thana</li> <li>• Panel Discussion moderated by Panir</li> <li>• Group Discussion</li> <li>• Concluding thoughts: Dr Thana</li> </ul> <p><b>LAUNCH OF THE TWO STUDIES</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keynote: Datuk Denison a review of the two themes and present an update of the findings</li> <li>• Panel Moderator: Mr James Raj</li> <li>• Panel speakers &amp; Group Discussion</li> <li>• Concluding thoughts: Datuk Denison</li> </ul>
Call for Abstracts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Submission period March 9, 2026 to April 30, 2026</li> <li>• Paper for two studies. The first on the 38 elected leaders, what they spoke and how they acted. Their leadership model and the challenges faced by MPs and citizens within a parliamentary democracy</li> <li>• The second is based on the 71 books and reports based on thematic concerns and community needs. Do an analysis on what are the community concerns researched and published. What are areas not researched.</li> </ul>
Review of abstracts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abstract submission (300 words) between March 9 and April 30, 2026</li> <li>• Abstracts are an expression of interest and they will be reviewed and confirmed if accepted.</li> </ul>

<b>TOPIC/ TIME PERIOD</b>	<b>DETAILS</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Review period and acceptance notice by May 31, 2026</li> </ul>
<p><b>Webinars</b> by paper writers sharing their views in a build up to the Nov conference</p>	<p>Hosting of five webinars on thematic concerns based on paper writers' abstracts, this could be hybrid (online and in person at the Ruang SDG</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Webinar 1- 19 July 2026, (Sun) 3pm to 6pm</li> <li>• Webinar 2- 16 August 2026 (Sun), 3pm to 6pm</li> <li>• Webinar 3- 20 Sept 2026 (Sun) 3pm to 6pm</li> <li>• Webinar 4- 11 Oct 2026 (Sun), 3-6pm</li> <li>• Webinar 5- 15 Nov 2026 (Sun), 3-6pm</li> </ul>
<p><b>Final paper submission</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paper submission by Nov 21, 2026</li> <li>• 30 papers will be short listed for presentation</li> <li>• The paper length is between 3,000 to 5,000 words. Use of footnotes and reference is a must</li> <li>• Those selected for publication will receive a cash of RM500.00</li> </ul>
<p>Research conference on Political leadership, community concerns &amp; SDGs</p> <p>28 &amp; 29 November 2026 In Ipoh</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Research conference on 28 and 29 November 2026 in Ipoh</li> <li>• The program and details will be released by early July, 2026</li> <li>• No registration charges. Morning and afternoon tea by the organisers</li> <li>• All paper writers and participants will cover their own travel, meals and accommodation</li> </ul>
<p>Launch of Research Books</p> <p>2027 agenda</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preparation of at least one or two books</li> <li>• The book project launch on March 8, 2027 in Ipoh <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Book 1: MPs and political leadership</li> <li>✓ Book 2: Thought leaders and community concerns</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

## GUIDELINES FOR PAPER WRITERS

Key dates / Targets for submission

TOPIC	DETAILS	SUBMISSION DATE
Early submission	Abstract	Between 9 March – 30 April 2026
Abstract acceptance notice	Review panel will make recommendations, and notice will be sent to the paper writers	31 May 2026
Webinar	Shortlisted writers will be invited to present their papers. At this stage only slides required	Between July to Nov 2026
Submission of written paper	First draft of paper- only presenters with papers will present at the Nov 2026 Research conference	21 November 2026
Submission of final paper	Second edition after feedback	15 Jan 2027
Book project to editor	Denison Jayasoria, Dr Thanaraj and Ms Darshini Rawichandran) (as editors)	16 Jan 2027
Review	Core team (James, Panir & Dr Velan to review the new proposed book	16 Jan – 10 Feb 2027
Published Book	Seek a publisher	Launch on 8 March 2027

## GUIDELINES FOR OUR REFLECTION AND CRITICAL THINKING

### *Some guiding thoughts*

There are two sets of major themes. The first is Political leaders who are MPs in the Malaysian parliament. The second are Thought leaders who have written books.

On **Political leaders** what can you write on them. Some topic suggestions. Focus on the 38 MPs identified and their political parties.

- You could do a biography with all information on the MPs, his/her role in society, what they championed in parliament and the community-nation on community socio-economic concerns.
- You could do on a single MP or compare a few by their party and their achievements

- You can write on the leadership principles and models at an individual level or across political parties or different backgrounds
- You can write on the challenges the MP faces in his party or across political parties or in executing their role in parliament
- You can write on the MPs who serve in the opposition on the issues they championed and how they performed when taking on new government post or are part of the government party- were they able to address the issues they championed now that they are in government
- Review the Indian voters – the shift from race-based party to multi racial parties. Over the years is there any real change in the quality of life of the voters. Via multi racial parties are they effectively championing Indian community concerns.
- You can review the performance of people in government holding Minister or deputy minister post.
- You come MPs in their role in parliament and their roles in the community
- You can write on the place of women in politics and why out of the 38 MPs only 2 are women and currently there are no Indian women in the Malaysian parliament. Are women not interested or Indian men not giving them an opportunity?
- How do we encourage younger people to become advice in politics. Who among the current MPs are below 50 years of age
- Are Indian MPs able to integrate community concerns with national and global concerns. Are they playing a significant role in parliament and the cabinet or in special appointments?

On **Thought leaders** what can you write on them. Some topic suggestions. Focus on the authors and books identified.

- You can write a review on one of the books with a review on the author too.
- You could do a comparison of a few authors and their writing if similar or are different
- You take thematic concerns such as constitutional rights, on education, on experiences of discrimination, social economic development, women empowerment and role
- You can review MITRA and the special intervention schemes of the Federal government. Why is this Federal government agency being transference between PM department, office and Ministries. Which is the best option and role for MITRA
- You can review the Malaysian Indian blueprint. Why was this a high point in the Najib administration but downplayed in the Anwar Administration.
- You can review the impact of Hindraf its impact in protect and its role in government or as a reform movement as former members were in Cabinet and in parliament. Were they able to champion their cause and also establish programs

to reverse the Indian challenges. Review Hindraf demands and the different publications on this theme.

**Specific details on submissions**

<p><b>Early submission</b></p> <p>(Between 9 March and 30 April 2026)</p>	<p>Title of paper (review the proposed title in program and finalise it)</p> <p>Your name and designation</p> <p>An abstract within 300 words</p> <p>Key words on your subject (List 3 to 5 key words)</p> <p>A copy of your latest photo for program book</p>
<p><b>Submission of written paper</b></p> <p>(By 21 Nov 2026)</p>	<p>The written paper must be between 3,000 to 5,000 words.</p> <p>You must add footnotes if you are quoting any references or reports. You could also add some bibliography.</p> <p>A simple referencing. If you make a quote or make reference to any idea from an author please do a foot note.</p> <p>For footnote go into word program reference and click the number for footnotes.</p> <p>Then add Name of author, year of publication, title of book, publisher and place of publishing and finally the page number of the quote.</p> <p>For bibliography list - Name of author, year of publication, title of book, publisher and place of publishing</p>
<p><b>Revision and 2<sup>nd</sup> version for publication</b></p> <p><b>By 15 Jan 2027</b></p>	<p>After the abstract and acceptance and slide presentation. The first draft paper is presented at the conference in Nov 2026.</p> <p>With comments from participants and editors, a second and final paper is presented to the editors.</p>

## Appendix 1

### Elected Indian MPs From GE10 to GE15

Table 3. Summary drawn from a document on MPs

<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>GE10 (1999)</b>	<b>GE11 (2004)</b>	<b>GE 12 (2008)</b>	<b>GE 13 (2013)</b>	<b>GE 14 (2018)</b>	<b>GE 15 (2022)</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
1	Samy Vellu (MIC)	MP	MP					MP since 1974 (Sg Siput). Former Minister
2	Subramaniam Sinniah (MIC)	MP						MP since 1974. In 1999 at Segamat. Former Deputy M
3	G Palanivel (MIC)	MP	MP	-	MP			MP since 1990 at Hulu Selangor & Cameron. Former Minister
4	S. Subramaniam (MIC)		MP	MP	MP			Former Minister (Human Resources, Health)
5	KS Nijhar (MIC)	MP	MP					
6	Komala Devi (MIC)	MP	MP					Parliamentary Secretary
7	SA Anpalagan (MIC)	MP						He died in 2020 and there was a by-election
8	S Sothinathan (MIC)	MP	MP					Won in by-election and served as Deputy Minister
9	SK Devamany (MIC)	MP	MP					Deputy Minister (EPU)
10	S Vigneswaran (MIC)		MP					Parliamentary Sec, Speaker Senate (2016-2020)

<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>GE10 (1999)</b>	<b>GE11 (2004)</b>	<b>GE 12 (2008)</b>	<b>GE 13 (2013)</b>	<b>GE 14 (2018)</b>	<b>GE 15 (2022)</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
11	M Saravanan (MIC)			MP	MP	MP	MP	Deputy Minister (BN) & Minister (Human Resources) -PN Cabinet
12	P Kamalanathan (MIC)			MP	MP			Won MP in by-election in 2010 Deputy Minister
13	Karpal Singh (DAP)	MP	MP	MP	MP			MP since 1978. In Jelutong & Bk Gelugor. Died in accident April 17, 2014
14	P Ramasamy (DAP)			MP				Held state assembly seat and served as Deputy CM Penang- 3 terms (2008-2022)
15	M Manogaran (DAP)			MP				
16	Gobind Singh (DAP)			MP	MP	MP	MP	Minister in Unity Govt
17	Ram Karpal (DAP)				MP	MP	MP	Won by-election and was Deputy Minister
18	M Kulasegaran (DAP)		MP	MP	MP	MP	MP	Minister (PH cabinet) & Deputy Minister (Unity Cabinet)
19	John Fernandez (DAP)			MP				
20	Charles Santiago (DAP)			MP	MP	MP		
21	Kasthuri Patto (DAP)				MP	MP		
22	V. Sivakumar (DAP)				MP	MP	MP	Former Perak Speaker & Minister-Unity short term (Human Resources)
23	R Rayer (DAP)					MP	MP	

<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>GE10 (1999)</b>	<b>GE11 (2004)</b>	<b>GE 12 (2008)</b>	<b>GE 13 (2013)</b>	<b>GE 14 (2018)</b>	<b>GE 15 (2022)</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
24	V Ganabatirau (DAP)						MP	Previously in Selangor state assembly & Exco. Former Hindraf leader
25	N Gobalakrishnan (PKR)		MP					
26	Michael Jeyakumar (PKR)			MP	MP			
27	N Surendran (PKR)			MP				
28	S.Manivasagam (PKR)			MP				
29	M Karuppaiya (PKR)					MP		
30	Sivarasa Rasiah (PKR)			MP	MP	MP		Deputy Minister (PH cabinet)
31	S Kesavan (PKR)					MP	MP	
32	P Prabakaran (PKR)					MP	MP	MITRA Chair
33	Xavier Jayakumar (PKR)					MP		2008 & 2013 in Selangor state assembly and exco Minister (2018). VP of PKR 31 March 2021 he left PKR as independent MP
34	G. Manivannan (PKR)				MP			
35	R Ramanan (PKR)						MP	Deputy Minister & Minister (2025)- Unity Govt (Former MIC)
36	R Yuneswaran (PKR)						MP	Deputy Minister (2025) Unity Govt
37	M. Kayveas (PPP)		MP					Deputy Minister

<b>NO</b>	<b>NAME</b>	<b>GE10 (1999)</b>	<b>GE11 (2004)</b>	<b>GE 12 (2008)</b>	<b>GE 13 (2013)</b>	<b>GE 14 (2018)</b>	<b>GE 15 (2022)</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
38	Edmund Santhara (Bersatu)					MP		Deputy Minister in PN. Former PKR

*PREPARED BY YOOGESWARAN KANI*

## Appendix 2

### Books & Reports on Malaysian Indians

NO	PHASE AND TIMEFRAME	THOUGHT LEADER & PUBLICATION
1	Phase 1 Post-Merdeka and New Economic Policy (NEP) Era 1960 to 1998 9 Publications	Mahajani, U. (1960). <i>The role of Indian minorities in Burma and Malaya</i> . Bombay, India: Vora & Co. Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
2		Sandhu, K. S. (1969). <i>Indians in Malaya: Some aspects of their immigration and settlement (1786-1957)</i> . Cambridge University Press.
3		Arasaratnam, S. (1970). <i>Indians in Malaysia and Singapore</i> . Oxford University Press for the Institute of Race Relations.
4		Jain, R. K. (1970). <i>South Indians on the plantation frontier in Malaya</i> . Yale University Press.
5		Ampalavanar, R. (1981). <i>The Indian minority and political change in Malaya, 1945-1957</i> . Oxford University Press
6		Institut Analisa Sosial (INSAN). (1989). <i>Sucked oranges: The Indian poor in Malaysia</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Institut Analisa Sosial.
7		Ramasamy, P. (1994). <i>Plantation labour, unions, capital, and the state in Peninsular Malaysia</i> . Oxford University Press.
8		Ramanathan, K. (1995). <i>Hindu religion in an Islamic state: The case of Malaysia</i> (Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam).
9		David, V. (1989). <i>Freedom that never came</i> . Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Stephen Chin.
10	Phase 2 Post Nep Years & Calls for Reform & Good Governance 1999 to 2008 13 Publications	Yayasan Strategik Sosial. (1999). <i>Kajian pekerja ladang ke arah baru</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Strategik Sosial.
11		Majlis Bertindak Kebangsaan Bagi Sekolah-Sekolah Tamil. (2001). <i>Pelan induk sekolah-sekolah Tamil abad ke-21</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Institut Kemajuan Pendidikan Maju (MIED) & Yayasan Strategik Sosial.

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12		Nadarajah, M. (2004). <i>Another Malaysia is possible and other essays</i> . Kuala Lumpur: National Office for Human Development.
13		Dhoraisingam, S. S. (2006). <i>Peranakan Indians of Singapore and Melaka</i> . Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
14		Gopinath, A. (2007). <i>Footprints on the sands of time: Rasammah Bhupalan - A life of purpose</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Arkib Negara Malaysia.
15		Willford, A. C. (2007). <i>Cage of freedom: Tamil identity and the ethnic fetish in Malaysia</i> . Singapore: NUS Press.
16		Pillai, S. (2007). <i>Colonial Visions, Postcolonial Revisions: Images of the Indian Diaspora in Malaysia</i> . Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
17		Hindraf (Hindu Rights Action Force). <i>50th Year Merdeka Demands by the Malaysian Indian Community (18-Point Memorandum)</i> . Presented to Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, Putrajaya, 12 August 2007.
18		Tate, M. D. (2008). <i>The Malaysian Indians: History, Problems and Future</i> . Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre (SIRD). ISBN: 9789833782543.
19		Appudurai, J., & Dass, G. A. D. (2008). <i>Malaysian Indians: Looking forward</i> . Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
20		Kesavapany, K., Mani, A., & Ramasamy, P. (Eds.). (2008). <i>Rising India and Indian communities in East Asia</i> . Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
21		Jayasooria, D. (2008). <i>Social Development and Indians in Malaysia: An Agenda for Social Inclusion</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Strategik Sosial.
22		Sandhu, K. S., & Mani, A. (Eds.). (1993). <i>Indian communities in Southeast Asia</i> . Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
23	Phase 3 Post Hindraf and Reform Period 2009-2018 24 Publications	Devadas, V. (2009). Makkal Sakti: The Hindraf effect, race and postcolonial democracy in Malaysia. In D. P. S. Goh, M. Gabrielpillai, P. Holden, & G. C. Khoo (Eds.), <i>Race and multiculturalism in Malaysia and Singapore</i> (pp. 70–88). Routledge.

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24		Manickam, J. R. (2010). <i>The Malaysian Indian dilemma: The struggles and agony of the Indian community in Malaysia</i> . Nationwide Human Development and Research Centre.
25		Narayanan, B. (2010). <i>A life. A legend. A legacy: Dato' Seri S. Samy Vellu</i> . Kuala Lumpur: BN Communications Sdn Bhd.
26		Jain, R. K. (2009). <i>Indian transmigrants: Malaysian and comparative essays</i> . Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
27		Jayasooria, D. (2011). <i>National development plans &amp; Indians in Malaysia: A need for comprehensive policies &amp; effective delivery</i> . Kuala Lumpur: IJ Resources.
28		Nadarajan, V. (2011). <i>Bujang Valley: The wonder that was ancient Kedah</i> . Sungai Petani, Kedah
29		Rajendran, N., Maniam, M., Periasamy, S., Rao, R., Devarajoo, K., & Velu, J. (2012). <i>Exploring remove classes in Malaysia: A study to evaluate their effectiveness</i> . Educational, Welfare & Research Foundation Malaysia (EWRf).
30		Nagarajan, S., & Arumugam, K. (2012). <i>Violence against an ethnic minority in Malaysia: Kampung Medan, 2001</i> . Petaling Jaya: SUARAM.
31		Anthony, D. (2012). <i>Love &amp; struggle beyond the rubber estates: A historical novel</i> . Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Gerakbudaya Enterprise.
32		Donoghue, T. (2014). <i>Karpal Singh: Tiger of Jelutong</i> . Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Editions
33		Kananatu, T. (2014). <i>The mobilization of Indians in Malaysia: The role of the law in ethno-cultural minority mobilization</i> (Doctoral dissertation, Monash University Malaysia).
34		Jayasooria, D., & Jayasooria, R. C. (2015). <i>Faith in society: My life journey &amp; thoughts</i> . Kuala Lumpur: J.J. Resources.
35		Belle, C. V. (2015). <i>Tragic orphans: Indians in Malaysia</i> . Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

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36		Jayasooria, D. (Ed.). (2013). <i>Malaysian issues &amp; concerns: Some policy responses</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Centre for Public Policy Studies (CPPS).
37		In D. Jayasooria & K. S. Nathan (Eds.), <i>Contemporary Malaysian Indians: History, issues, challenges and prospects</i> . Bangi, Malaysia: Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
38		Manickam, J. R. (2016). <i>The Malaysian Indian forgotten history of the colonial era: Sweat, blood and tears</i> . Klang, Selangor: Nationwide Human Development and Research Centre.
39		Kaur, A. (2017). <i>Hindraf and the Malaysian Indian community</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Silverfish Books.
40		Special Implementation Task Force (SITF). (2017). <i>Malaysian Indian Blueprint: Strategic framework for the socioeconomic development of the Indian community</i> . Putrajaya: Prime Minister's Department, Malaysia.
41		Arumugam, N., Subramaniam, S., Vasudevan, V., Naylor, G., & Adiyodi, C. (2018). <i>A study on low performing Indian students in secondary schools</i> . Educational, Welfare & Research Foundation Malaysia
42		Teo, S. A. (2018). <i>Demolition and relocation of Hindu temples in Malaysia: Pragmatic responses of Indian Hindu communities in Penang</i> (Doctoral thesis). Victoria University of Wellington.
43		Kaur, A. (2018). <i>The Hindu Rights Action Force and the Malaysian Indian minority after the 2018 general election in Malaysia</i> (RSIS Working Paper No. 319). S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University.
44		Jayasooria, D. (Ed.). (2013). <i>Proham &amp; human rights concerns in Malaysia</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Promosi Hak Asasi Manusia (PROHAM) / JJ Resources.
45		Sikri, V. (2013). <i>India and Malaysia: Intertwined strands</i> . Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS Publishing).
46		Sundara Raja, S. (2013). <i>Malaysian Indian Congress's (MIC) economic seminars and its relevance to the problems of the Indian community today</i> . <i>Man in India</i> , 93(2–3), 369–390

<b>NO</b>	<b>PHASE AND TIMEFRAME</b>	<b>THOUGHT LEADER &amp; PUBLICATION</b>
47	Phase 4 Post Ge14 & Contemporary Period	Jayasooria, D., & Khoo, Y. H. (Eds.). (2019). <i>Social movements in Malaysia: A vehicle for citizens' action: A review 10 years on (2007-2017)</i> . Bangi: Institute of Ethnic Studies (KITA), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
48	2019-2025 25 Publications	Teo, S. A. (2021). <i>Marginalized minorities in Malaysia? A case study of a demolished estate Hindu temple in Penang</i> . <i>Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies</i> , 14(1), 81–98.
49		Malhi, R. S. (2021). <i>Sikhs in Malaysia: A comprehensive history</i> . Kuala Lumpur: TQM Consultants.
50		Suparmaniam, S. (2021). <i>Between the cracks</i> . Ukiyoto Publishing
51		Nagappan, R., & Mukherjee, H. (Eds.). (2023). <i>Malaysian Indians and education: Reimagined development opportunities</i> . Routledge
52		Kananatu, T. (2020). <i>Minorities, rights and the law in Malaysia</i> . London & New York: Routledge.
53		Mohanlall, P. (2022). <i>Some things should never change: The authorised biography of S. Suppiah</i> . Kuala Lumpur: SDDD Resources Sdn. Bhd.
54		Anathurai, K. M. (2023). <i>Tirai besi: Pilihan atau takdir?</i> Dimension Publication Sdn. Bhd.
55		Kunjuraman, V. (Ed.). (2023). <i>Malaysian Indian community's socioeconomic development: Issues and challenges</i> . Penerbit Universiti Malaya.
56		Ramanan, M. (2023). <i>Malaysian Telugus: Untold stories of Andhra pioneers</i> . Areca Books.
57		Periasamy, M. (2023). <i>Perjuangan politik komuniti India dan kepimpinan Malaysian Indian Congress, 1946-2020</i> . Kuala Lumpur
58		Jayasooria, D. (2024). <i>MITRA: Past and present (2008-2024), and future possibilities</i> . Persatuan Promosi Matlamat Pembangunan Lestari.

NO	PHASE AND TIMEFRAME	THOUGHT LEADER & PUBLICATION
59		Suparmaniam, S. (2024). <i>The story of Bentong Kali: Notorious Malaysian criminal</i> . Firdaus Press Publications.
60		Baskaran, N. G. (2024). <i>Legacy of time: A tale of three generations</i> . Firdaus Press Sdn. Bhd.
61		Krishnamoorthy, M. (2025). <i>Ananda Krishnan: Inspiring billionaire - succeed the Ananda way</i> . Firdaus Press Publications.
62		Malhi, R. S. (2025). <i>Forgotten Malaysian history: Restoring voices, reclaiming truths</i> . Malaysia: Author.
63		Lakshman, N. (2022). <i>The Tamils: A portrait of a community</i> . New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.
64		Sinha, V. (2023). <i>Temple Tracks: Labour, piety and railway construction in Asia</i> . New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books
65		Kathirasen, A. (2025). <i>Vaithi: A life of service</i> . Kuala Lumpur: Jejak Advisory Services.
66		Raghavan, R. (2025). <i>The legacy of PPN students' hostel</i> . Subang Jaya, Selangor: Firdaus Press.
67		Devaraj, J. (2025). <i>Notes on the way forward: A socialist perspective</i> . Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
68		Devaraj, J. (2021). <i>Building back better: The way forward for Malaysia</i> . Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
69		Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO) Malaysia. (2025). <i>Journal of People of Indian Origin (PIO) Studies: Connections, socio-culture and traditions of the people of Indian origin (2nd ed.)</i> . Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: GOPIO Malaysia.
70		Raman, S. R. (2025). <i>Education of ethnic minorities: The case of Indians in Malaysia (2nd ed.)</i> . Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.

<b>NO</b>	<b>PHASE AND TIMEFRAME</b>	<b>THOUGHT LEADER &amp; PUBLICATION</b>
71		Stenson, M. (2019). <i>Class, race &amp; colonialism in Peninsular Malaysia: A political history of Malaysian Indians</i> . Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.

*Compiled by Darshini Rawichandran from An Anthology of Social Thought on the Malaysian Indian Community (1960–2025).*

This document, entitled “Political and Thought Leaders in the Malaysian Indian Community,” provides the background details for two research projects to be undertaken on the Malaysian Indian community.

The first focuses on 38 Members of Parliament (MPs) elected between the tenth and fifteenth general elections. Here, we want to analyse what they said and did not say in Parliament regarding Malaysian Indian development concerns. We would also like to review the contributions of, and challenges faced by, those who served in government.

The second is a compilation of all major books and reports on the Malaysian Indian community available in the English language between 1960 and 2025. To date, 71 publications have been identified.

These two summaries provide the background information for research and policy writers to undertake their analysis and reflections on the MPs and the published books.

There is, therefore, a call for papers for writers who will undertake research in time for the Research Conference (Nov 28-29 2026) on Malaysian Indians’ political and thought leaders.

These projects are being undertaken to consolidate the thesis that evidence-based policy formulation is more long-lasting and sustainable compared to emotive-political outbursts. The ultimate objective is that no individual or community should be left behind.

This research project is undertaken by members of the APPGM-SDG Secretariat, led by Prof. Datuk Dr. Denison Jayasooria and supported by Ms. Darshini Rawichandran and Dr. Thanaraj Murudi.



## Persatuan Promosi Matlamat Pembangunan Lestari

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