FOUNDATIONS AND DONATIONS:
POLITICAL FINANCING, CORRUPTION,
AND THE PURSUIT OF POWER

PROF EDMUND TERENCE GOMEZ
LALITHA KUNARATNAM

12th April 2021
Examples of foundations

Government-owned (federal level)

Parked under the Prime Minister’s Department

State owned

Family owned

Political partly linked

Privately linked

ROS

• Registry of Societies of Malaysia
• Ministry of Home Affairs

CCM

• Companies Commission of Malaysia
• Ministry of Domestic Trade and Consumers Affairs
Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin

- Malaysia's 8th Prime Minister
- Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (Bersatu) President
- Member of Parliament for Pagoh, Johor
Foundations controlled by or linked to Muhyiddin

Government linked foundations

- Yayasan Pelaburan Bumiputra *
- Yayasan Amanah Hartanah Bumiputera *
- Yayasan Ekuiti Nasional *
- Yayasan Peneraju Pendidikan Bumiputera *

Privately linked foundations

- TSM Charity Golf Foundation
- Yayasan Nurul Yaqeen

* Muhyiddin was former director or trustee
Known donors to TSM Charity Golf Foundation

- **Genting Malaysia Bhd**: RM1 mil
- **Tropicana Corporation Bhd**: RM1.5 mil in-kind
- **Top Glove Corporation**: RM1 mil in-kind
- **DRB-Hicom Bhd & Yayasan Albukhary**: RM5 mil
- **Hong Leong Foundation**: RM250K

* The pledge for a joint contribution was made during the TSM Charity Golf Challenge 2015

- **Muhyiddin** stated that, as of October 2019, this foundation has accumulated **RM27 million** in donations since its inception in 2003, channelling approximately **RM24 million** to charitable projects.
Was there a political agenda behind the social programmes of TSM Charity Golf Foundation?

Charitable contributions via

- Bersatu Hulu Selangor
- Bersatu Lembah Pantai

Building a RM1 mil dialysis centre

- next to Pagoh UMNO division complex
- Muhyiddin's constituency
Known donors to Yayasan Nurul Yaqeen*

Perodua

Yayasan Aeon Malaysia

RM300K

RM200K

Grant by Women, Family and Community Development Ministry

* The patron of this foundation is Muhyiddin’s wife Noorainee

@ As per The Series 1 of the Auditor-General's Report 2012
DATUK SERI ANWAR IBRAHIM

• Opposition leader
• President of Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR)
• Member of Parliament for Port Dickson, Negeri Sembilan

DATUK SERI WAN AZIZAH WAN ISMAIL

• Former President of PKR
• Member of Parliament for Pandan, Selangor
Known donors to Yayasan Aman

All cash donations made to this foundation are tax exempted
Was there a **political agenda** behind the social programmes of Yayasan Aman?

Charitable contributions

- Pandan
  - Wan Azizah’s constituency
- Port Dickson
  - Anwar’s constituency

400 kotak yang berisi keperluan asas siap untuk proses pengagihan buat golongan asnaf di sekitar Pandan & Port Dickson.

Isi kotak adalah beras, minyak masak, tepung gandum, gula, kicap manis, sos cili, susu, sardin dan ketupat.

Datuk Seri Najib Razak

- Malaysia's 6th Prime Minister
- Member of Parliament for Pekan, Pahang
- Former President of UMNO
Foundations linked to Najib

Government linked foundations
- Yayasan Pelaburan Bumiputra *
- Yayasan Amanah Hartanah Bumiputera *
- Yayasan Ekuiti Nasional *
- Yayasan Peneraju Pendidikan Bumiputera *
- Yayasan 1MDB*

Allegedly linked to the 1MDB scandal

Family linked foundations
- Noah Foundation
- Yayasan Rahah

Allegedly linked to the 1MDB scandal

Privately linked foundation
- Yayasan Rakyat 1Malaysia

Allegedly linked to the 1MDB scandal

*Najib was former director or trustee*
Known donor to Yayasan Rahah, Yayasan 1MDB, and YR1M

* As per 1MDB forfeiture suit

^ As per court testimonies, funders to YR1M were 1MDB, Petronas and Genting Group
Was there a political agenda behind the social programmes of these foundations?

Yayasan Rahah
- Aids victims of disaster esp. in Pekan
- Najib’s constituency

Yayasan 1MDB
- Sponsor PM’s special haj programmes
- Haj candidates allegedly nominated by UMNO chiefs

YR1M
- Heavy charitable contributions during the 13th GE in Penang
- An important election battleground
- Fund various social endeavours in Sarawak
- Ahead of the Sarawak state election

Najib
Datuk Seri Ahmad Zahid Hamidi

- Former Deputy Prime Minister
- Member of Parliament for Bagan Datuk, Perak
- President of UMNO
Foundations linked to Zahid

- Government linked foundations
  - Yayasan Pelaburan Bumiputra *
  - Yayasan Amanah Hartanah Bumiputera *
  - Yayasan Ekuiti Nasional *
  - Yayasan Peneraju Pendidikan Bumiputera *

- UMNO Youth linked foundation
  - Yayasan Gerakbakti Kebangsaan *

- Family linked foundation
  - Yayasan Al-Falah
  - Yayasan Akalbudi

- Privately linked foundations
  - Yayasan Pembangunan Aset Pulau Pinang *
  - Yayasan Percetakan Al-Quran Mushaf Malaysia

* Zahid was former director or trustee
Known donors to Yayasan Akalbudi

Ng Hong Sing

RM6 mil

Chia Bee Enterprise

RM10 mil

Mohd Jimmy Wong

RM9 mil

* As per court testimonies
Yayasan Akalbudi’s funds were allegedly:

- Misappropriated (RM31mil)
  - Zahid’s personal credit cards
  - Insurance and road tax for 20 vehicles belonging to Zahid
  - Others
  - Transferred to Yayasan Al-Falah ^
    - RM9.3 mil

^ This foundation is chaired by Zahid’s younger brother Mohammad Nasaee Ahmad Tarmizi
• As per court testimonies
Datuk Seri Tengku Adnan Tengku Mansor

- Former Minister of the Federal Territories
- Member of Parliament for Putrajaya
- Former secretary-general of UMNO
Foundations linked to Adnan

Government or State linked foundation

Yayasan Wilayah Persekutuan

Former Chairman

Allegedly linked to controversial deals involving DBKL

Privately linked foundation

Yayasan Al-Mansorjah

Chairman
Known joint venture partners of Yayasan Wilayah Persekutuan

Expected to register profits of RM138 million
Known donors to Yayasan Wilayah Persekutuan

- Pertama Makmur SB: RM1.5 mil
- Tekad Warisan SB: RM0.6 mil
- Euro Saga SB: RM1.3 mil
- Yayasan Albukhary: RM5 mil

As per written reply by former Federal Territories Minister Khalid Samad
Was there a political agenda behind the social programmes of this foundation?

Charitable contributions

- Putrajaya
- Kuala Lumpur
- Labuan

Adnan’s constituency
Known donors to Yayasan Al-Mansoriah

Berjaya Corporation Bhd

Buddhist Maha Vihara Tsunami Relief Fund

RM200K

RM300K
Was there a political agenda behind the social programmes of this foundation?

* Places where Adnan's private company, Tadmansori Holdings SB, has business interests
Datin Seri Rosmah Mansor

- Second wife of former Prime Minister Najib Razak
- She did not hold any official position
- Founded Yayasan Permata in 2011
Known donors to Yayasan Permata

* As per 1MDB forfeiture suit

# This foundation was parked under the Prime Minister’s Department during Najib’s administration. It received tremendous allocation, notably RM229.17 million for 2016 until 2018.

^ Funded the construction costs of Phase 3 of PERMATApintar complex
Tan Sri Musa Aman

- Former Sabah Chief Minister
- Former UMNO Liaison Chief
- Former Chairman of Yayasan Sabah (a state-run foundation)
Yayasan Sabah’s funds were allegedly misappropriated

As per the allegations in Yayasan Sabah’s statement of claim dated June 2020. However, Musa reciprocated by sending a letter of demand to Yayasan Sabah and the then Chief Minister and foundation Chairman.
Datuk Seri Abdul Azeez Abdul Rahim

- Member of Parliament for Baling, Kedah
- UMNO Supreme Council member
Foundations linked to Azeez

Government linked foundations
- YaPEIM
- Yayasan Tabung Haji
  - Former Executive Chairman
- Yayasan Pembangunan Rakyat Baling
  - Former Trustee

UMNO linked foundation
- Kelab Putera 1Malaysia
  - Implicated in an investigation of fund mismanagement

Privately linked foundations
- Better Nation Foundation
- Yayasan Gerak Fikir

Allegations of mismanagement of funds
Implicated in an investigation over funds
Implicated in an investigation of fund mismanagement
Known donors to YaPEIM, YTH and KP1M

YaPEIM
- Backed by Government
- Members of Public

YTH
- Social welfare arm of Tabung Haji

KP1M
- ?
Was there a political agenda behind the social programmes of these foundations?

- **YaPEIM**: Some funds were allegedly used for election campaigning
- **KP1M**: Heavy charitable contributions during a massive flood in Penang
- **YTH**: RM22 mil were allegedly disbursed for politically-linked activities

An important election battleground
Datuk Dr Nasharudin Mat Isa

• Former Member of Parliament for Yan, Kedah and Bachok, Kelantan

• Former PAS Deputy President
Foundations linked to Nasharudin

Government linked foundation
- Global Movement of Moderates Foundation (GMMF)

Privately linked foundations
- Yayasan Nassar
- Yayasan Al-Quds Malaysia

Embroiled in CBT case
- Global Movement of Moderates Foundation (GMMF)
- Yayasan Nassar
- Yayasan Al-Quds Malaysia
Funds were allegedly misappropriated:

- **Yayasan Nassar**
  - To pay his and his family's personal expenses
  - RM1.1 mil

- **Global Movement of Moderates Foundation**
  - Channel to his private company Wasatiyah Centre for Peace
  - RM2.6 mil

*As per charge sheet*
NAJIB RAZAK (Former PM)

- Trustee
- Former Minister
- Owns
- Welfare arm

YAYASAN RAHAH

- Aids

Ministry of Finance

1MDB

YAYASAN 1MDB

NOAH FOUNDATION

YR1M

- Donations
- Funds

DONORS SUCH AS GENTING GROUP, PETRONAS

- Donations

- Social welfare programmes, especially in Penang and Sarawak

- Social welfare programmes, including for the Haj pilgrimage

RM839K allegedly misappropriated (as per 1MDB forfeiture suit)

Victims of disaster, especially in Najib’s Pekan constituency
2 bungalows in Country Heights, Kajang

YAYASAN AL-FALAH

Owner

YAYASAN AKALBUDI

Acted on Behalf

MESSRS LEWIS & CO

Acted on Behalf

DONORS SUCH AS CHIA BEE ENTERPRISE, NG HONG SING, MOHD JIMMY WONG

ZAHID HAMIDI (Former Deputy PM)

Handed over 92 cheques (> RM76 million)

Paid including

Zahid’s personal credit cards and insurance and road tax payments for personal vehicles.

Paid for the purchase

Transferred RM9.3 million

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Former Minister

Donations

Note: As per the court testimonies
Social welfare programmes for 640 citizens in the Federal Territories including Tengku Adnan’s key voting bloc in Putrajaya

KUALA LUMPUR CITY HALL (DBKL) oversees

FEDERAL TERRITORIES MINISTRY

YAYASAN WILAYAH PERSEKUTUAN

Developers

YAYASAN AL-MANSORIAH

Donors such as YAYASAN ALBUKHARY, VINCENT TAN’S BERJAYA CORPORATION

ASET KAYAMAS

TADMANSORI HOLDINGS

TENGKU ADNAN MANSOR

Social welfare programmes, including building Islam-centred schools and mosques in Labuan, Aceh, and Cambodia

Funds

Joint Ventures

Oversees

Former Minister

Former Chairman

Donations

Owns

Owns

RM2 million Bribe
Note: As per the allegations in Yayasan Sabah’s statement of claim dated June 2020
Foundations linked to Azeez

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- YaPEIM
  - Former Executive Chairman
  - Allegations of mismanagement of funds
- Yayasan Tabung Haji
  - Former Trustee
  - Implicated in an investigation over funds
- Yayasan Pembangunan Rakyat Baling

UMNO linked foundation
- Kelab Putera 1Malaysia
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Privately linked foundations
- Better Nation Foundation
- Yayasan Gerak Fikir
Foundations linked to Nasharudin

- Government linked foundation
  - Global Movement of Moderates Foundation (GMMF) - Embroiled in CBT case
- Privately linked foundations
  - Yayasan Nassar - Embroiled in CBT case
  - Yayasan Al-Quds Malaysia