

ABSTRACT

This research aimed to explore the national security strategy used by Tun Abdul Razak, the Second Prime Minister of Malaysia by applying the concept of grand strategy and theory of strategic culture. Scholarly discourses in international relations had highlighted more on the conceptualisation of security from the Western's perspective using the realism theory. The discussions emphasised more on the material sources and power capabilities in managing the national security and handling threats. Thus, the analysis was bias towards Third World, which obviously lack in resources with a limited power capability. Therefore, a suitable concept and theory like grand strategy and strategic culture are appropriate in analysing on how Malaysia under the leadership of Tun Abdul Razak managed to administer national security from internal and external threats. Despite his prominent contributions in Malaysian history, there is a gap in literature discussing the conceptualisation of security during his premiership using the concept of grand strategy and theory of strategic culture. Therefore, three specific research objectives were formulated, first, to categorise a combination of aspects of state's resources and capabilities used by Tun Abdul Razak in crafting the grand strategy (1970-1976). Second, to identify the sources of strategic culture that influence Tun Abdul Razak in crafting the grand strategy and third, to construct a framework of Tun Abdul Razak's grand strategy (1970-1976). In order to obtain accurate historical facts, qualitative methodology using the phenomenological approach was used in gathering the primary research data from the first person point of view. The research sampling – key informants were identified based on the purposeful sampling, in which their lived experience working during Tun Abdul Razak's premiership is relevant to the study. Their lived experience were analysed together with the primary archives documents to enhance the research findings. Overall, the research findings had successfully provided answers for the formulated research objectives. There are seven themes emerged in Tun Abdul Razak's grand strategy. These include the aspects of economic, political, societal and cultural values, diplomacy, legislative and enforcements, military: security council and area and civil service. Meanwhile, five themes emerged signified the sources of strategic culture in the design of Tun Abdul Razak's grand strategy that includes patterns of economy and society: imbalance economy and pluralistic society, political culture: United Malays Organisation Organisation and Barisan Nasional, elites: idiosyncrasy of Tun Abdul Razak, historical experiences: communists's aggressions and racial riot and geographical circumstances: small states with a limited resources. Finally for the third objective, the research constructed a Framework of Tun Abdul Razak's Grand Strategy (1970-1976) based on the lived experience of research sampling by applying the concept of grand strategy and theory of strategic culture. Although the outcomes captured from the lived experience of key informants that was performed with some limitations and constraints, they lend some novel foundations to comprehend the grand strategy utilised in managing national security from Malaysian's perspective through its past leader, the late Tun Abdul Razak.

ABSTRAK

Matlamat kajian ini adalah untuk mengetengahkan strategi keselamatan negara yang digunakan oleh Tun Abdul Razak, Perdana Menteri Malaysia yang kedua dengan mengadaptasi konsep *grand strategy* dan teori *strategic culture*. Sorotan literatur dalam bidang hubungan antarabangsa banyak mengetengahkan konsep keselamatan negara berdasarkan perspektif barat yang lebih cenderung menggunakan teori realis. Ini menyebabkan perbincangan literatur mengenai keselamatan negara dan cara bagaimana sesebuah negara menangani ancaman lebih cenderung menumpukan kepada sumber material dan penggunaan kuasa. Namun, secara rasional perbincangan menggunakan perspektif tersebut adalah kurang tepat untuk menganalisa negara Dunia Ketiga kerana kekangan dari sudut sumber material dan kuasa yang terhad. Oleh itu, konsep dan teori seperti *grand strategy* dan *strategic culture* adalah bertepatan untuk menganalisa bagaimana Malaysia di bawah pemerintahan Perdana Menteri kedua, Tun Abdul Razak menangani keselamatan negara dari ancaman dalaman dan luaran. Walaupun peranan dan sumbangan Tun Abdul Razak sangat signifikan di dalam sejarah Malaysia, sorotan literatur mendapati kajian sejarah terdahulu tidak mengetengahkan analisa menggunakan konsep *grand strategy* dan teori *strategic culture*. Oleh kerana terdapat jurang di dalam sorotan literatur, kajian ini mengambil inisiatif dengan merangka tiga spesifik objektif kajian iaitu pertama, untuk mengkategorikan kombinasi aspek yang digunakan oleh Tun Abdul Razak dalam merangka strategi keselamatan negara dengan mengadaptasikan konsep *grand strategy*, kedua, mengenalpasti sumber yang mempengaruhi Tun Abdul Razak dalam merangka strategi untuk menjaga keselamatan negara dengan menggunakan teori *strategic culture* dan ketiga, merangka model pembentukan kerangka *grand strategy* bagi Tun Abdul Razak. Bagi mendapatkan fakta sejarah yang tepat, kajian menggunakan metodologi kualitatif dengan kaedah fenomenologi. Sampel kajian –informan dipilih berdasarkan persampelan bertujuan, di mana pengalaman setiap informan sangat relevan dengan objektif kajian. Kaedah triangulasi dengan menganalisa dokumen sejarah juga digunakan bagi meningkatkan kesahan dan kebolehpercayaan dapatan. Secara keseluruhan, dapatan kajian memberi jawapan yang jelas untuk setiap objektif kajian. Untuk objektif pertama, terdapat tujuh tema yang terhasil iaitu *grand strategy* yang digunakan adalah kombinasi dari aspek ekonomi, politik, nilai kebudayaan dan kemasyarakatan, diplomasi, perundangan dan pelaksanaan, ketenteraan: penubuhan kawasan dan majlis keselamatan dan perkhidmatan awam. Untuk objektif kajian kedua, lima sumber yang dikenalpasti mempengaruhi Tun Abdul Razak dalam merangka strategi keselamatan dari perspektif informan iaitu corak ekonomi dan masyarakat: ketidakseimbangan ekonomi di dalam masyarakat majmuk, budaya politik: United Malays National Organisation dan Barisan Nasional, elit: keperibadian Tun Abdul Razak, sejarah pengalaman negara: kekejaman komunis dan rusuhan kaum dan keadaan geografi: negara kecil dengan sumber yang terhad. Keseluruhannya untuk objektif kajian ketiga, analisa dapatan kajian dari pengalaman informan terhasil kerangka keselamatan *grand strategy* Tun Abdul Razak dengan mengadaptasi konsep *grand strategy* dan teori *strategic culture*. Walaupun dapatan kajian adalah berdasarkan analisa pengalaman informan yang dihasilkan dengan beberapa kekangan dan limitasi, namun begitu, ianya memberi asas yang baru dalam memahami strategi keselamatan dan tingkahlaku negara Malaysia dalam menangani isu keselamatan negara melalui pemimpin terdahulunya, Tun Abdul Razak.

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Many Voices, One History

The darkest night with a hundred of shining stars,
Brighten up a thousand of human eyes,
Lighten up a million of blinded hearts,
Cheer up a billion of empty souls and minds.
Why cant our voices be like a hundred of shining stars?
The voice that erase all doubts,
The voice that promote love over hatred,
And the voice that seek peace over fear,
Together, let cherish one history under the light of these shining stars!

**Amelia
November 2017**

APPROVAL

I certify that an Examination Committee has met on **23 August 2017** to conduct the final examination of **Amelia Yuliana Abd Wahab** on her degree thesis entitled **‘Historical Analysis of Tun Abdul Razak’s Grand Strategy (1970-1976): A Phenomenological Approach’**. The committee recommends that the student be awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Strategic & International Relations).

Members of the Examination Committee were as follows.

Ruhas Binti Harun

Professor
Faculty of Defence Studies & Management
Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia
(Chairperson)

Abdul Latif Bin Harun

Senior Fellow Colonel
Faculty of Defence Studies & Management
Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Abdul Muati’ @ Zamri Bin Ahmad, PhD

Professor
Faculty of Modern Languages & Communication
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(External Examiner)

Mohammad Agus Bin Yusuff, PhD

Associate Professor Dato’
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
(External Examiner)

APPROVAL

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Strategic & International Relations). The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows.

Wan Hashim Bin Wan Teh, PhD

Emeritus Professor Dato'

Faculty of Defence & Management Studies

Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia (UPNM)

Main Supervisor

Abdul Rahman Bin Abdul Razak Shaik, PhD

Associate Professor Dato'

Faculty of Defence & Management Studies

Universiti Pertahanan Nasional Malaysia (UPNM)

Co-Supervisor

UNIVERSITI PERTAHANAN NASIONAL MALAYSIA

DECLARATION OF THESIS

Author's full name : Amelia Yuliana Abd Wahab
Date of birth : 12 December 1981
Title : Historical Analysis of Tun Abdul Razak's Grand Strategy:
A Phenomenological Approach
Academic session : 12/2013-11/2017

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| AMDA | Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement |
| ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| BN | Barisan National |
| CAF | Chief of Armed Forces |
| CEO | Chief Executive Officer |
| CPM | Communist Party of Malaya |
| DAP | Democratic Action Party |
| EPU | Economic Planning Unit |
| ESSCOM | Eastern Sabah Security Command |
| FAMA | Federal Agricultural Marketing Authority |
| FELCRA | Federal Land Consolidation and Rehabilitation Authority |
| FELDA | Federal Land Development Authority |
| FPDA | Five Power Defence Arrangements |
| GE | General Election |
| GERAKAN | Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia |
| HANRUH | Pertahanan Menyeluruh |
| IGP | Inspector- General of Police |
| IMP | Independence of Malaya Party |
| INTAN | National Institute of Public Administration |
| ISA | Internal Security Act |
| ITM/UiTM | Institut Teknologi MARA/Universiti Teknologi MARA |
| KESBAN | Rancangan Keselamatan dan Pembangunan |
| LIC | Low- Intensity Conflict |
| CCP | Chinese Communist Party |
| MAGERAN | Majlis Gerakan Negara |
| MAMPU | Malaysian Administrative Modernisation and Management Planning Unit |
| MARA | Majlis Amanah Rakyat |
| MARDEC | Malaysian Rubber Development Corporation |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|---|
| MARDI | Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute |
| MCA | Malaysian Chinese Association |
| MCKK | Malay College Kuala Kangsar |
| MIC | Malaysian Indian Congress |
| MIDF | Malaysian Industrial Development Finance |
| MIEL | Malaysian Industrial Estates Limited |
| MISC | Malaysia International Shipping Corporation |
| MPAJA | Malayan Peoples' Anti- Japanese Army |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organisation |
| NCC | National Consultative Council |
| NCP | National Cultural Policy |
| NDUM | National Defence University of Malaysia |
| NEP | National Economic Policy |
| NOC | National Operations Council |
| NSC | National Security Council |
| OKIS | Orang Kaya Indera Shahbandar |
| PAP | People's Action Party |
| PAS | Parti Islam se-Malaysia |
| PETRONAS | Petroleum National Berhad |
| PFF | Police Field Forces |
| PPB | Parti Pesaka Bumiputera Bersatu |
| PPP | People's Progressive Party |
| PRC | People's Republic of China |
| PSRM | Parti Sosialis Rakyat Malaysia |
| RASCOM | Rajang Area Security Command |
| RED | Rural Economic Development |
| RIDA | Rural Industrial Development Authority |
| RMAF | Royal Malaysian Armed Forces |
| SCO | Sarawak Communist Organisation |
| SEDCs | State Economic Development Corporation |
| SUPP | Sarawak United Peoples' Party |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| UKM | Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia |
| UMCLS | University Malaya Chinese Language Society |
| UMNO | United Malays National Organisation |
| U.S. | United States |
| USM | University Science Malaysia |
| USNO | United Sabah National Organisation |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| VC | Vice Chancellor |
| VMR | Voice of Malayan Revolution |
| YDPA | Yang di-Pertuan Agong |
| ZOPFAN | Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality |

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Background of the Study

Malaysia consists of a pluralistic society that lives together in one shared territory and maintains the pattern for the past six decades since independence. Each ethnic group embraces their respective way of life in terms of religion, cultural, language, custom and belief. These colourful shades of differences reflect the unique pattern of Malaysian society. In the midst of creating the ideal pluralistic society with a peaceful and harmonious environment, Malaysia has to undergo vast experiences in the past, be it positive or negative. The past experience before independence: such as Japanese invasion in Malaya during the Second World War and First Malayan Emergency for twelve years (1948-1960) to counter with communism. Finally, the state obtained its independence on 31 August 1957 and to maintain survival during post-independence period is more challenging. Malaysia had to deal with internal political issues that led to separation of Singapore from Malaysia in 1965, the confrontation with Indonesia and the Philippines on their disagreement on the formation of Malaysia, racial riot 13 May 1969, communists' continuous illegal activities and economic problems (poverty, unemployment and economic imbalance) in a pluralistic society.

‘Although rapid strides were made in development, the country continued to face the problem of poverty, unemployment and economic imbalance, particularly among racial groups’ (Second Malaysia Plan, 1970).

These historical experiences yield a priceless lesson to learn for the younger generation as a future guidance. Instead of assimilation, Malaysia practises the acculturation concept that permits the co-existence of separate ethnic groups living together in a single polity (Wan Asna, 1999). However, the diversity and differences in a pluralistic society contributes to more challenging security environment for the state in managing its national security. Although, not all states succeed in maintaining their existence, Kamarulnizam Abdullah (2012) highlighted that Malaysia's successful stories was doubted by the West at the beginning as they predicted Malaysia will be a failed state after independence just like Myanmar and Sri Lanka, which both gained independence much earlier than Malaysia. This is due to being unable to develop well and failed in safeguarding their internal security because of the ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, despite many obstacles, Malaysia represents one of the most successful states in maintaining and managing their sovereignty since 1957. Since 1970, Malaysia has been successful in avoiding any communal violence from reoccurring after the nightmare of racial riot May 1969 and managed to maintain some form of internal stability (Wan Asna, 1999).

Appreciating on how Malaysia as a small state during the post-independence could maintained its survival as a sovereign state, despite historically, had to deal with many challenging situations and threats, the study intend to revisit and explore the historical facts by focusing on the premiership of the Second Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak. The application of grand strategy and strategic culture in the research findings aim to enhance the understanding on how the state under the leadership of Tun Abdul Razak managed national security and threats. Grand strategy is a combination of state's resources and capabilities in the aspects of military,

diplomatic, political, economic, and cultural that are deployed in the service of national security (Bajpai, Basit & Krishnappa, 2014). Further elaboration of the concept placed in Chapter Two- *Conceptualisation of Security: Grand Strategy and Strategic Culture*.

The discussions on how the state manages their national security by using the concept of grand strategy would not be complete without understanding why the state through its decision-maker, in this context, the Prime Minister manages national security differently from others in response to possible threats. Hence, the theory of strategic culture would be useful in explaining the sources that may determine and influence in the strategic actions of the state. The application of theory in the research findings is importance as each state has their interpretation on the conceptualisation of security as explained by Arnold Wolfers (1952; 2011), national security as an ambiguous symbol and state describes security based on their rationality. As pointed by Beeson (2014), the conceptualisation of security in Asia is not similar to the way the security is understood in a predominant Western model. Further discussion on security as placed in Chapter Two- *Conceptualisation of Security: Grand Strategy and Strategic Culture*.

Literature in international relations tends to evaluate state behaviour in managing national security through the dominant theory of realism. Realists' discussions put forward the priority of material sources and usage of hard power used by the state in countering with threats (Daddow, 2013; Mearsheimer, 2014; Harrison & Callan, 2013; Kamarunizam Abdullah, 2012; Gandhi, 2010; Machiavelli, 2010; Dunne & Schmidt, 2008; Azar & Moon, 1984; Waltz, 2005; Morgenthau, 1972).

However, in contrast with a conventional pattern of larger power in managing the national security, past researcher highlighted that Malaysian Government adopted more encompassing approach that defines national security as a capacity to protect society from physical and socio-economic dangers and able to promote a form of national ideology as a common basis in maintaining peace and harmony (Zakaria Yadi, 2004).

In the context of this study that focuses on Tun Abdul Razak's premiership, internal threats to national security include communism- communists' continuous illegal activities during post—independence after the end of First Malayan Emergency, communal problem after the racial riot 13 May 1969 and economic problems (poverty, unemployment and economic imbalance) within the pluralistic society. These are the most obvious internal security threats despite external threat – impact of Cold War in Southeast Asia .

Since, the state has to manage national security from several serious threats, the discussion have to use a suitable concept and theory. The concept of grand strategy could provide a better explanation on 'how' Malaysia manages its national security in dealing with threats using a combination of state's resources and capabilities. Moreover, instead of relying on realism perspective, theory of strategic culture could explain on 'why' the state patterned their grand strategy differently from others. Several discussions in literature has already proposed the need to understand why the state behave in their distinctive characteristic in managing the national security and threats to be beyond the realism perspective (Beeson, 2014; Daddow; 2013; Kamarulnizam Abdullah, 2012; Taylor, 2012; Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2008; Barnett, 2008; Sondhaus, 2006; Desch, 1998; Legro & Moravcsik, 1998; Evans &

Newnham, 1998; Wendt, 1992; Ayoob, 1991; Zakaria, 1992; Buzan, 1991). Therefore, theory of strategic culture that has been discussed in Chapter Two- *Conceptualisation of Security: Grand Strategy and Strategic Culture* highlighted the importance of ideational sources especially in assessing Third World response in pertaining with security matters (Gray, 2016; Lantis & Howlett, 2010; Barnett, 2008; Karacasulu & Uzgözen, 2007; Avruch, 2006; Lantis, 2005; Johnston, 1998; Synder, 1977).

1.0.1 Why Study the State through Tun Abdul Razak by using the Concept of Grand Strategy and Theory of Strategic Culture?

Past studies has been conducted to evaluate on how state manage their national security and threat using the concept of grand strategy through the political decision-makers (Peterson, 2015; Birkenthal, 2013; Chih- tung Chung, 2012; Coady, 2008). Apart from that, according to Lantis & Howlett (2010), Lantis (2005), Berger (1993) and Synder (1977) stated that most scholars in international relations agreed influence of elites determine the decision making pertaining with the state's security matters. As a high level of decision-makers for the state, elites may represents the primary keeper of the strategic culture or spreaders in shaping the common historical narrative. It implies that power elites are capable in formulating a unique strategic culture through influence in public opinion and shaping the national strategic actions and thinking. Past record retrieved from various states indicates that the elites are instruments in defining direction of the state's behaviour, in the sense that they chose when and where to stake claims of strategic culture traditions and make a decision on the appropriate timing for the state to consciously move beyond previous boundaries of acceptability in response to security matters (Berger, 1993).

How influential Prime Minister (PM) in making a strategic decision in regards of security matter for the state in the system of Parliamentary Democracy with Constitutional Monarch in Malaysia? PM is the Head of Executive or Government and Head of Cabinet. As the highest policymaking body in the Federation, the Cabinet comprises of members who are appointed to full ministerial status appointed by Yang di-Pertuan Agong (YDPA) with the recommendations of the Prime Minister. As a Head of Cabinet, PM control the agenda of the Cabinet's meeting that revolve around anything of national significance, whether that dealing with politics, economic and society (Jayum Yawan, 2006). PM also part of legislative (Lower House- Dewan Rakyat), represent as a leader of controlling party or controlling coalition of political parties that won the majority votes in General Election. Under the Constitution, the PM's role includes advising the YDPA on a several matters in exercising his function as the Head of State to be in line with Parliamentary Democracy formed of government.

Hence, in recognising the important role of PM as a higher policy maker of the state, the study intends to explore the Second PM of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak managed the national security from threats by adapting the concept of grand strategy in the discussion of the research findings. Apart from that, the discussion applied the theory of strategic culture to identify the possible sources that influence the state's distinctive behaviour in response to threats through its leader- PM.

1.1 Problem Statement

The study focus to revisit the historical facts on how the Second Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak managed the national security and able to secure the survival of Malaysia as a sovereign state from the internal threats – communal problem, communism and economic problems (poverty, unemployment, imbalance economic) as well as impact of Cold War in the region. The discussion focuses on how Tun Abdul Razak gather the state's resources and capabilities to craft the grand strategy in countering the threats to national security. In reviewing the discourse in literature, scholars highlighted that 'security' might be interpreted differently by each state, as mentioned by Arnold Wolfers (1952) national security is ambiguous. What is the 'ideal' meaning of security tends to make this term highly contested which at the end, defeat the purpose to achieve common understanding and agreement on security matters (Buzan, 1991; Wolfers, 1952). Thus, it is vital to explore the conceptualisation of 'security' from Malaysia's perspective as Third World in managing the national security. Further elaboration on security placed in Chapter Two- *Conceptualisation of Security: Grand Strategy and Strategic Culture*.

The problem statement is categorised into two, in the discourse on a concept and theory in international relations as placed in Chapter Two- *Conceptualisation of Security: Grand Strategy and Strategic Culture* and discourse on Tun Abdul Razak's literature in Chapter Four- *Historical Review of Tun Abdul Razak*. Throughout the review, most literature analysed state's characteristic and behaviour in response to security matters from the Western's perspective, hence, neglecting the Third World's perspective (Gandhi, 2010; Kamarulnizam Abdullah, 2012; Ganesan, 2005; Ayoob,

1991; Azar & Moon, 1984). Another problem emphasised by Fareed Zakaria (1992) that the younger historians and theorists have increasingly written on the influential of social, economic and ideological in high politics, unfortunately they are not placed their particular explanations within the context of international relations theory.

The discussions in international relations focuses more towards the material, state-centric and the supremacy of hard approaches as being popularised by realism lexicon and thus, neglecting the cultural and ideational sources to understand state's behaviour in managing their national security from threats (Kamarulnizam Abdullah, 2012; Dunne & Schmidt, 2008, Ganesan, 2005, Zakaria, 1992). Ayoob (1991) make a good argument that literature for Third World are mostly from the Western's perspective and as a consequence, the discussion are bias that creates unbalanced judgement in the state's behaviour in response to security matters. Therefore, the study put an effort to use the appropriate concept and theory that appreciate the element of cultural in assessing the state's behaviour in managing the national security. Rationally, one needs to step outside their own cultural environment in order to fully understand other's behaviour especially on regard with security issues as each of state had their distinctive conceptualisation of security. The inclusion of material and ideational sources should be used in the analysis on the research findings in order to grasp an accurate knowledge and understanding on 'how' and 'why' each state response differently in managing threats to national security.

Another problem, there exists a dearth in literature focusing on Tun Abdul Razak and Malaysia that dwell and explore the concept of grand strategy and theory strategic culture and this raises a critical gap in assessing the state, especially from the