

CONSTRUCTING THE POLITICAL SUBJECTS: AN
ANALYSIS OF ONN JAAFAR'S *BANGSA* AND
KEBANGSAAN (1946-1948)

BY

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ABSTRACT

The notion of *Bangsa Melayu* and *Kebangsaan* is known with its social and historical by-product. The Malayan Union crisis that occurred from 1946 to 1948 was an important event in Malaya as it commemorates the inception of the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) as the centre of Malay Nationalism. Not only that, the establishment of UMNO can also be seen as the emergence of *Bangsa Melayu* which is a crucial political signifier that shapes a new form of social relations for the Malays to fix their in-group solidarity and further strengthen their communal identity. From narrowly identified through their individual *negeri* (regional), the Malays shifted towards a new ideal of *Bangsa Melayu* as a potent political signifier, and this belief propagated to all the Malays populating the peninsula of Malaya. During this turbulent period, the aristocratic-led UMNO gained their political legitimacy to ascend to power by winning the support of the Malays and represent them in the nation-state foundation. Mutual agreement was reached through the new Anglo-Malay cooperation. As a result, Persekutuan Tanah Melayu (PTM) was established and the ruling elite in UMNO was included, which finally revoked the initial declaration of the Malayan Union. It was through Onn Jaafar, an aristocrat and the founding father of UMNO, with his concerted efforts to amalgamate the state associations that were formerly known for their narrowly identified *kenegerian* was able to gather the divided Malays into a unitary expression of *Bangsa Melayu* and *Kebangsaan* through the establishment of UMNO as their primary vehicle. This study examines Onn Jaafar's significance as a native agent and his potential agency in performing his discursive articulations to represent the discourse of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan* publicly through his writings and speeches from 1946 to 1948. The agency of Onn was firstly preconditioned through the politics of *Kerajaan* that was so instrumental in the Malay political culture and its relation to the establishment of the colonial Good Government in Malaya. Finally, he rose towards political fame to unite the Malays during the period of dislocation due to the aftermath of the Japanese occupation. Utilizing the framework of discourse analysis, this study identifies how the role of Onn Jaafar was so instrumental to mobilize that identity into a political reaction that amalgamated all state associations to achieve a unitary force of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan*.

خلاصة البحث

تُعرف فكرة اللغة الملايوية والسياسة الوطنية بمنتجها الثانوي الاجتماعي والتاريخي. كانت أزمة اتحاد الملايو التي حدثت من عام 1946 إلى عام 1948 حدثاً مهماً في ملايا حيث احتفلت بذكرى إنشاء المنظمة الوطنية الماليزية المتحدة (UMNO) بوصفها مركزاً لقومية الملايو. ليس ذلك فحسب، بل يمكن أيضاً اعتبار إنشاء حزب UMNO على أنه ظهور قومية الملايو كمؤشر سياسي حاسم لتشكيل شكل جديد من العلاقات الاجتماعية للملايو لإصلاح تضامهم الجماعي، وتعزيز هويتهم المجتمعية بشكل أكبر. من الذين تم تحديدهم بشكل ضيق على أنهم متعصبون لولاياتهم (إقليميون)، تحول الملايو نحو نموذج جديد لقومية الملايو كمؤشر سياسي قوي، وانتشر هذا الاعتقاد في جميع شعوب الملايو الذين يسكنون شبه جزيرة مالايا. خلال هذه الفترة المضطربة، اكتسبت UMNO بقيادة الأرسنقراطية شرعيتها السياسية لتولي السلطة من خلال الفوز بدعم الملايو وتمثيل الطموح الوطني في تأسيس الدولة القومية. تم التوصل إلى اتفاق متبادل من خلال التعاون الأنجلو ملايا الجديد. نتيجة لذلك، تم تأسيس فيدرالية لجزيرة الملايو وتم ضم النخبة الحاكمة في UMNO، والتي ألغت أخيراً الإعلان الأولي عن اتحاد الملايو. كان ذلك من خلال القائد داتوء عون جعفر، الأرسنقراطي والأب المؤسس لـ UMNO، بجهوده المتضافرة لدمج جمعيات الدولة التي كانت معروفة سابقاً بالكينيجيريين الضيقين، تمكنت من جمع الماليزيين المنقسمين إلى تعبير موحد عن شعوب الملايو وسياسة الدولة الوطنية من خلال إنشاء UMNO كوسيلة أساسية لهم. تبحث هذه الدراسة في أهمية داتوء عون جعفر كعامل محلي ووكيلته المحتملة في أداء تعبيره الخطابي لتمثيل خطاب الشعوب والوطنية علناً من خلال كتاباته وخطبه من عام 1946 إلى عام 1948. كانت العملية مشروطة أولاً من خلال سياسة الحكومة التي كانت كان لها دور فعال في الثقافة السياسية الملاوية وعلاقتها بتأسيس الحكومة الاستعمارية الصائبة في ملايا. صعد داتوء عون أخيراً نحو الشهرة السياسية لتوحيد الملايو خلال فترة التفكك بسبب تداعيات الاحتلال الياباني. باستخدام إطار تحليل الخطاب، تحدد هذه

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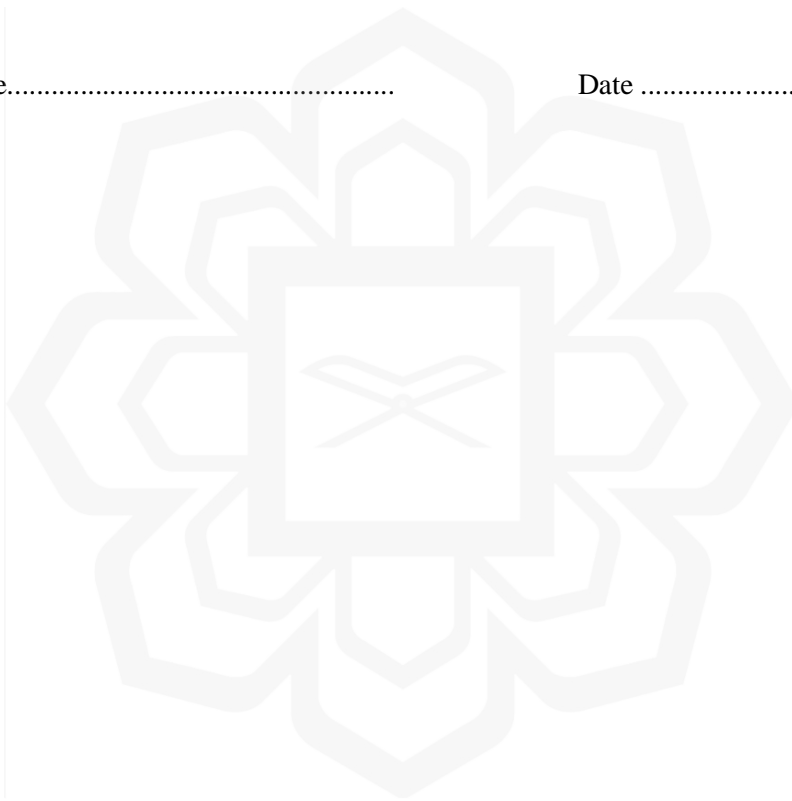
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMCJA	: All-Malaya Council of Joint Action
AMCJA-PUTERA	: Joint coalition of All-Malaya Council Joint Action and Pusat Tenaga Ra'yat
API	: Angkatan Pemuda Insaf (Generation Aware Youth)
AWAS	: Angkatan Wanita Sedar (Conscious Women's Front)
BATAS	: Barisan Tani Se-Malaya (Malayan Peasant's Front)
BMA	: British Military Administration
BN	: Barisan Nasional (National Front)
DKA	: Darah Keturunan Arab (Arab Blood Descent')
DKK	: Darah Keturunan Keling (Indian Blood Descent')
FMS	: Federated Malay States
HM	: Hizbul Muslimin (Muslim People's Party of Malaya)
KMM	: Kesatuan Melayu Muda (Young Malays Union)
KMS	: Kesatuan Melayu Singapura (Singapore Malay Union)
KRIS	: Kesatuan Rakyat Indonesia Semenanjung (Union of Indonesian and Peninsular Malay Peoples)
MCA	: Malayan Chinese Association
MCKK	: Malay College Kuala Kangsar
MN	: Muafakat Nasional (National Consensus)
PAS	: Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (Malaysian Islamic Party)
PASPAM	: Persaudaraan Sahabat Pena Malaya (The Brotherhood of Friends of the Pen)
PH	: Pakatan Harapan (Coalition of Hope)
PKM	: Parti Komunis Malaya (Malay Communist Party)
PKMM	: Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya (Malay Nationalist Party)
PMJ	: Persatuan Melayu Johor (Johore State Association)
PMS	: Persatuan Melayu Selangor (Selangor State Association)
PN	: Perikatan Nasional (National Coalition)
PPBM	: Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (Malaysian United Indigenous Party)
PUTERA	: Pusat Tenaga Ra'yat (Centre of People's Strength)
PTM	: Persekutuan Tanah Melayu (Federation of Malaya)
SS	: Strait Settlements
SITC	: Sultan Idris Training College
UMNO	: United Malay National Organization
UMS	: Unfederated Malay States

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Malaysia is a country in Southeast Asia. It was formerly known as *Persekutuan Tanah Melayu* (PTM; Federation of Malaya) in 1948 and officially gained independence in 1957 from the British. It originally consisted of eleven states in the peninsular. However, with Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore later joining the federation in 1963, Malaysia was finally established as a post-colonial nation-state that gained its sovereignty from its colonial master. The political system is based on the structure of federalism and constitutional monarch that has presently established thirteen states with its federal territories (excluding Singapore which had separated from Malaysia since 1965 due to political issues). The current population in the peninsular comprises of the Malay community, which is claimed as the natives or the *Bumiputera* (literally Son of the Soil), and the other two ethnic communities, which are the Chinese and Indian that are comparatively similar in numbers living together in the peninsular of Malaysia. This is the long-lasting evidence of the colonial legacy left behind by the colonial policy to reinforce the Chinese and Indian laborers in Malaya.

When it comes to national politics, a single grand coalition called the practice of consociationalism is usually taken into practice in envisioning the consensus of ethnic communities in Malaysia for power-sharing and in portraying their national unity from the diverse ethnicities in Malaysia (see more in Yusoff, 1992). However, despite the interethnic cooperation in winning majority support from the diverse ethnicities – especially in the peninsular, it is worth noting that the political discourse is always strongly embedded towards the Malays and their communal identity. Given

that the Malays are culturally known for their Islamic and traditional customs that are both intertwined and embedded into a single form of *ethnie* in recognizing their particular *Kemelayuan* (or “Malayness”) into a racial category (or *Bangsa*), that identity is also firmly established legally within the constitutional framework and fixed their ideational social relations to their ruling court institutions or their monarchies, known as the *Raja-Raja Melayu* (Malay Kings or Sultans; Shamsul, 2001a). It means that the historically, culturally, and institutionally defined Malay identity integrated into it a form of authority-defined social reality (Shamsul, 2001a, 2001b).

This study henceforth is committed to examining the initial formation of the Malay’s foundational identity of race or *Bangsa* into a nationalist discourse to construct a new form of social relations. It also seeks to explore how the natives had resulted to establish the unitary Malay conservative political party known as the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) by constantly reshaping and fixing their identity into the nation-state foundation. By situating the analysis in the colonial Malaya context (i.e., British-Malaya), specifically during the event of the Malayan Union (1946-1948), the study identifies this critical event as the juncture for the Malays to make sense of the idea of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan* as a meaningful political discourse to reproduce their myth of identity, in which the terms were conceptualised and embedded to stimulate their communal expression into a political one.

This study emphasises the established ruling class in UMNO in homogenising the foundational logic of “Malayness” as a racial community as a form of social relations that latter justified the state relation through their instrumental political culture of the *Kerajaan*. The so-called *Kerajaan* in modern Malaysia entails the concept of modern government. However, according to Milner (2016) the *Kerajaan*

historically and primordially defined and conceptualised a primordial form of social relations with the Raja, and it was grounded for spiritual motivation rather than purposely for administrative matters. It was through British colonisation and its governance policies; the meaning and its concept constantly evolved into functional matters. On the other hand, the invention of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan* was conditioned to redefine the constitutive social relations that latter legitimise the Malay ruling elite position into the government matter through the primordial culture of *Kerajaan*.

Therefore, in order to understand the formation of the Malay ruling elite in legitimising their position through *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan*, this study examines the discourse through Onn Jaafar, one of the most important Malay aristocrats during the crisis of the Malayan Union and known as the founding father of UMNO. During the crisis of Malayan Union, Onn was the main proponent that overwhelmingly defined and constrained the Malay identity through the discourse. What is more significant, this period where the discourse was very powerful to signify their constitutive social relations in between the Malays and the “Others”, by which the latter was perpetually signified as their permanent threat to the former’s existence. It should be noted this study will only cover the peninsula or the West of Malaysia during the British-Malaya period. Sabah and Sarawak will not be covered due to the differences in political circumstances of history, politics, and social formations.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Reminiscing the historical event of the 14th General Election in 2018, Malaysians would never forget how they have demonstrated the verdict of the people as the credo of democracy. Despite being coloured with political dramas, a peaceful revolution had finally been made which marked the end of the predominant UMNO-led *Barisan Nasional* (BN; the National Front) over the 60 years of Malaysia (Heydarian, 2018).

However, less than a month after the *Malaysia Baru* (New Malaysia), the ascendance of *Pakatan Harapan* (PH; the Coalition of Hope) to the federal government was overwhelmed with numerous political issues that were mostly about the Malay identity. The trend of the Malay right-wing populism is strongly manoeuvred through the newly conservative alliance established as the *Muafakat Nasional* (MN; National Consensus).

MN is spearheaded by the two biggest Malay communal-based parties, which are UMNO and together with their former ardent enemy known as *Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* (PAS; Malaysian Islamic Party). These two Malay communal-based parties appeared to be gaining their momentum in the political arena, especially, in appealing to the Malays through the integrated discourse of Malay and Islam (i.e., Malay-Islam; Waikar, 2019). As a result, another new coalition called *Perikatan Nasional* (PN; National Alliance) established which consisted of the former allied in PH known as *Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia* (PPBM; Malaysian United Indigenous Party). PPBM that was formerly in PH supposedly to gain and replace the Malay supports from UMNO, however had to overturn the table due to the continuous power struggles. Consequently, tearing down the majority rules of PH in the parliament.

There is no doubt that the increasing trend of Malay-identity politics in recent political developments have sparked continuous political upheaval (see for instance Waikar, 2018; Saat, 2019). The former government of PH had continuously embroiled into trouble and had lose their political ground through its interethnic and multicultural *Reformasi* over the strength of the political discourse of Malay-Islam. Many unpopular decisions from the former government that appeared unfavourable for the Malay status quo needed to be withdrawn (See for example the issue of ICERD in Waikar, 2018). All these identity-related issues in the peninsular, however, dwelled

in the central issue of the so-called Malay privileges or some would opine as the *Ketuanan Melayu* (Malay Supremacy) (Welsh, 2020). The Malays, especially the conservatives, moralise this as the primacy of their politics to legitimise their supremacy as the Son of the Soil (or *Bumiputera*) by means to secure their existence and identity from the other ethnic communities in Malaysia (Welsh, 2020). Therefore, it is the government's role to perpetually sustain their peace and security.

This study believes that the initial formation of Malay identity politics and their political discourse can be uncovered through the legacy of the feudal political culture or shall be defined as *Kerajaan*, and its incorporation of the former elements to form its symbiotic relations with the colonial modern governance in embedding it into foundational social relations. It means that socially and historically, the by-product of the Malay identity is the net result of the institutionalised former cultural elements that strengthen and fixed their foundational identity politics (or political) in the modern governance, by which the colonial knowledge production fundamentally interplayed into their social relations that logically embedded in the nation-state foundation (Shamsul, 1995).

Historically, the foundation of the modern state and its bureaucratic governance that emerged in Malaya was in a form of international relations through the Anglo-Malay treaties since 1874 (Amoroso, 2014). It was represented through the Malay rulers and the British under the label of *Naungan* (Protectorate; See more in Emerson, 1979; Andaya & Andaya, 1982). With the development of the colonial protectorate system and its incorporation with the Malay monarchies, this led to the formation of a new form of modern identity and political legitimacy. By which the concept of *Bangsa* as one politically imagined community subsequently evolved, strengthened, and prioritised their primacy of politics (Noh, 2014). By balancing the

ambiguous line of preservation and progression (i.e., tradition and civilization), that concept of “Malayness” formalised as the state’s ideological functionaries to constantly sustain their rigid and protective social (see for instance Koon, 1996; Shamsul, 2001a; Muzaffar, 1979).

The legacy of this social and historical by-product into an authoritatively defined social identity, however, is highly impactful to the contemporary Malaysian, even after the country gained independence from its colonial master in 1957. It remains feasible to this day to construe the discourse into a political phenomenon. UMNO is the renowned founder of Malay conservatism known as the spearhead to the discourse of *Bangsa Melayu* that claimed to fight for their progression. Their discursive representation has ambiguously stretched into the position between conservation and progression. Many writings would refer to this ambiguity as the strategy from the ruling elite to camouflage their position, and consequently, retain their status quo by negotiating its feudal culture and values that was reinvented and reinforced through the modern state. (See for instance Amoroso, 2014; Kahn & Wah, 1992; Muzaffar, 1979).

Many visionary programs have been implemented by the federal government as a proposal to forge the plural identities to envision a congruent and unitary national identity with the federal state, such as the *Bangsa Malaysia* which was idealised by the fourth prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad (see the discussion for instance in Shamsul, 1995; Kahn, 2006). However, the irony of it is, ethnicity as the primary source of social relations remained powerful in rendering the Malays to place their allegiance to their represented “Protector” (Muzaffar, 1979). Even after the downfall of BN in the historic 14th General Election, the ethnic relations in Malaysia are undeniably fragmented and unstable. Ethnic politics in Malaysia, even after the

downfall of the UMNO-led coalition, BN, continues being prevalent in stimulating the Malay politics (Zainul, 2019). Consequently, the composition of ethnic communities in Malaysia is segregated and their politics is mostly based on their communal identities. This undermines the possible vision of multicultural and interethnic national unity.

Realising the unresolved matters of the divisive ethnic identity politics in Malaysia, especially in the Malay community that continually destabilise the ethnic relations in Malaysia, this study commits to revisit the discourse and the discursive formation of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan* through UMNO during colonial Malaya, specifically through Onn Jaafar as the potent native agent in constructing their Self-Ideal of *Bangsa Melayu* as the ethnically racialised identity and its antagonistic relation towards the other ethnic communities. By revisiting the British Malaya history, the study examines how the discourse of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan* possibly emerged into the political scene and how Onn Jaafar was able to possibly exploit the logic of the politics during the Malayan Union event. By examining the event and other related agencies involved in inventing and contesting the discourse, the study hopes to unearth the discursive social relations through Onn Jaafar that enabled that antagonistic relation with the other ethnic communities and how the Malay politics and their social relations defined.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.3.1 Research Questions

This research aims to answer the following questions:

1. How did the discourse of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan* emerge?
2. How did Onn Jaafar visualise his representation through his discourse of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan*?

1.3.2 Research Objectives

1. To discuss the conditions relating to the emergence of the discourse of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan*.
2. To examine Onn Jaafar's representation through his discourse of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan*.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

This research will assist any interested person in the historical study of the formation of identity politics in the Malaysian political history. It can also contribute towards the understanding of Malaysia's governance and its embedded political culture. By providing discourse analysis on the topic, this study seeks to overcome the academic gap highlighted by a renowned scholar in Malay and Malaysian studies, Anthony Milner. Through Omar's (2015) *Bangsa Melayu*, in the forward chapter, Milner argues that the history of ideas in Malaysian studies has been neglected so far, in comparison to European studies. The widespread history of ideas is wagging its strength in the academic field (Omar, 2015). A rigorous study of ideas with a coherent interpretation is vital as it gives a new horizon of interpretation where revisionist discourse with a new form of possible political project can be engaged contextually into the social and political field.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Nation and nationalism according to the constructivist definition is an invented political phenomenon to redefine their sense of belongingness (see for instance, Chatterjee, 1993; Anderson, 2016; Hobsbawm, 1992; Gellner, 1997). It is different

from the primordial-biological definition by which cultural or biological traits are given as the foundational elements in privileging one particular community in developing their so-called natural sense of belonging. The constructivists, however, considered that the sense of community – self-claimed as the source of nationhood – is reinvented to capture the sense of allegiance in response to the modern turn.

Hence, this literature review seeks to: (a) understand the creation of modern identity, and its dynamic force to provide the foundation of national identity and its politics of nationalism; (b) examine the case studies of Malay politics and how the identity evolved towards their national identity by giving our foremost attention to the Malay feudal political culture; and lastly, (c) illustrate the probability to examine the gap left behind in the study of Malay identity politics, especially through the political discourse of *Bangsa* and *Kebangsaan*.

1.5.1 Modern Identity and The Politics of Nationalism

The nation as a new form of identity to idealise the sense of belonging was in response to the intellectual and cultural change in Europe. It was bolstered with various social, political, and economic changes. There is no definitive answer for what was the vital force that shifted the modern formations and their identity. According to Stuart Hall (1992) “It is a combination of factors that the beginning of an explanation...can be found” (p. 1). Politically, however, we can identify the birth of “nation” as the epitome to resonate a new political concept of “the people” erupting following the political events of the English Revolution (1640-1688) and the French Revolution (1789; Hall & Gibben, 1992). It was during this period that the struggle over power and solidarity against the feudal and absolutist monarch flourished (Hall & Gibben, 1992).

The subsequent of the political climate led to the Europeans adopting a new form of collective identity called as a nation that: “abolishes the heterogeneity of hierarchical belonging” (Taylor, 1998, p.197). Modernity and its consequences with the national identity “has involved, among other things, a revolution in our social imaginary, the relegation of these forms of mediacy to the margins, and the diffusions of images of direct access” (Taylor, 1998, p.197). According to Llobera (1999), we can find several distinctive theories of nationalism ranging from primordial and socio-biological theories, instrumentalist theories, modernization theories, politico-ideological theories, and evolutionary theories. However, this literature review will only examine modernisation theories which will be discussed.

To begin with, modernisation theories attempt to not only expose the idea of nation and nationalism as a distinctively modern or novel political concept in human history. The heart of the analysis mostly tends to uncover why that concept emerged and how it can be so powerful to reinforce the people to not only accept the identity for granted, but to defend it to the death. As Smith (1996) asserts: “why millions of people may be prepared to die for a cultural artifact.” (p. 447). Smith has linked the existence of the primordial identities or what he called the pre-existing “*ethnie*” attributing the basis of one national identity. Cultural and historical traits, like the ancestors, shared memories, and cultural traits, are deemed as the fundamental elements to link that *ethnie* in developing their national identity. Through that given form of *ethnie*, one community could claim their territories, identify their identical population into uniformity, and reinforcing their national sentiments.

Anderson in his writing, the *Imagined Communities*, gave his attention to the social communication process. He called nations as “imagined” because “The members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow – members,

meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 2016, p.15). According to Anderson (2016), the idea of a nation is nurtured through print capitalism. Through the invention of print-capitalism, it is possible for the people to communicate with their uniform symbols and vernacular language. Consequently, imagining that sense of identity and solidarity that stretched into one particular population with a broader and bordered sense of identity, by which defined as a national community. It marks the people themselves as the sovereignty as its formation is horizontal and has direct access in mediating the population and pretend to live equally despite the inequality they are having under the banner (Taylor, 1998)

A critique by a Marxist-Constructivist, Hobsbawm (2017), examines the formation of national identity by identifying its relation with the development of capitalism. According to Hobsbawm (2017), national identity is merely the ideological cement to link of one specific population into the driven capitalist force. By reforming the former polyethnic relations into singularity, it cuts the cleavage of differences. It can be called as the key at the superstructure to impose the invented tradition from the past like symbols and rituals in adjusting the superstructure to regulate the nation-state foundation (Ranger & Hobsbawm, 2017). Therefore, nations and nationalism is merely the process of formalisation and ritualisation of the past into the present in supplementing the capitalist-economic relation and constitute the social relation correspondingly.

Hobsbawm’s constructivist view is partly parallel with Gellner's (1997). Nonetheless, what differentiated him from Hobsbawm is his non-Marxian approach. In his writing, *Nations and Nationalism*, Gellner (1997) argues the invention national identities are inevitable due to the economic shift from agrarian to industrial society.

That one society must be unified as a congruent political unit in capturing their allegiance to the state. Homogeneity, henceforth, is essential in capturing their form of specific life through their culture, vernacular language, as well as its specific domain in territorialising their geographical territory. As the culture of industrialism emerged, a standardised form of communication and a literate workforce are needed to ensure their national identity can be a congruent political unit. Therefore, a high culture is imperative to sustain the governance of the modern state (Taylor, 1998).

Modernisation has vigorously transpired to the entire world and remade the international political order. However, how did modernisation emerge and shifted towards the “non-European”? It was the new age of expansionism of Europe dating back to the late 19th century which known as the age of imperialism and colonialism was the period of biggest impetus for the shifting period to the international political order. This was where the link of transnational politics emerged and the “Other” made into visibility by interconnecting their representation with the West (Hall & Gibben, 1992). According to Saha (2016), the second expansionism of European countries was initially driven by the increasing force of industrialization from the West. As mentioned by Lenin (in Fieldhouse, 1971), “imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism” where it “...emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental attributes of capitalism in general.” (p. 108).

However, what is important for this global transformation – that centred on the European countries (i.e., Eurocentrism) – was that it had not only transformed the “Rest” or the “Other” which is mapped geographically outside of Europe, but it also marked the construction of a unified and unequal power relations. In other words, a symbiotic and interdependence form of power relations corresponded between the West and the East, that is, not only through its sense of geographical. On top of that, it