La Ode, Madjid, & Ridwan/ Ethnicity Political Power in East Asia/ 213-228

Jurnal Pertahanan

Media Informasi tentang Kajian dan Strategi Pertahanan yang Mengedepankan Identity, Nasionalism & Integrity

Vol. 2 | No. 3

ISSN: 2087-9415

Ethnicity Political Power in East Asia

M. Dahrin La Ode^{*} Adnan Madjid^{**} Ridwan^{***}

- *Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia
- **Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia
- ***Universitas Pertahanan Indonesia

Article Info

Keywords:

Politics of ethnicity; East Asia; Japan; South Korea; China, US.

Abstract

The purpose of this study to analyze the strategy of the political power of ethnicity, political objectives ethnicity, and the US response to the political power of ethnicity East Asia (Japan, South Korea and China). This type of qualitative research, data collection techniques interviews, and literature, and data using analytical techniques and models Miles Hubberman. The findings of this study the map of the political power of ethnicity in East Asia they are all on the Natives. Japan's defense system was originally "Self Defense" to "Collective Self Defence", South Korea's defense system shifts from "Defense Ambrella" into the system "Extended Nuclear Deterrence"; China shifted from "Continental Defense" to "Offensive Defense". Political objectives etnisistas East Asia (Japan, South Korea and China) to realize "Bonum Publicum". US response to the political power of ethnicity in East Asia are routed through the strength of the economic, political, military and East Asia (Japan, South Korea and China), using a system of "persuading, the protection system and pressing system. However, in the light of "persuasion", "protection" and "pressure" varies between countries. Map of the political power of ethnicity in East Asia "base on power" Yamato indigenous groups, Hangukin, and Chung Hua.

Corresponding Author: dahrin.mlaode@idu.ac.id

Tujuan penelitian ini untuk menganalisis strategi kekuatan politik etnisitas, tujuan politik etnisitas, dan respons Amerika Serikat terhadap kekuatan politik etnisitas Asia Timur (Jepang, Korea Selatan dan Cina).

Jenis penelitian ini kualitatif, teknik pengumpulan data wawancara dan studi pustaka, dan teknik analitis data menggunakan model Miles dan Hubberman. Temuantemuan penelitian ini yakni peta kekuatan politik etnisitas di Asia Timur semuanya berada pada Pribumi. Sistem pertahanan Jepang semula "Self Defence" ke "Collective Self Defence", pertahanan Korea Selatan bergeser dari system "Defence Ambrella" ke sistem "Extended Nuclear Detterence": Cina bergeser dari "Continental Defence" ke "Offensive Defence". Tujuan politik etnisistas Asia Timur (Jepang, Korea Selatan dan Cina) untuk mewujudkan "Bonum Publicum". Respons Amerika Serikat terhadap kekuatan politik etnisitas di Asia Timur yang disalurkan melalui kekuatan ekonomi, politik, dan militer Asia Timur (Jepang, Korea Selatan dan Cina), menggunakan sistem "membujuk, sistem perlindungan dan sistem menekan. Namun demikian dalam bobot "bujukan", "perlindungan", "tekanan" berbeda-beda antara negara. Peta kekuatan politik etnisitas di Asia Timur "base on power" kelompok pribumi Yamato, Hangukin, dan Chung Hua.

Jurnal Pertahanan Volume 2 Nomor 3 September-December 2016 ISSN 2087-9415 pp. 213-228 ©2016 JP. All rights reserved.

Introduction

The political power ethnicity in East Asian shown by an indicator such: political power, economic power, and military power by the three countries (Japan, South Korea, and China). Post-cold war in 1991 until now, the three countries had reached the world's top economic power. While the political and military power, are encouraged to ensure the security and peace in the Asia Pacific, to equal or exceed the political and military

power the West (especially the United States).

In Japan, the military construction achievements shown with: First, military branches in 2011 is the Japanese Ministry of Defense (MOD): Ground Self-Defense Force (Rikujou Jieitai, GSDF), Maritime Self-Defense Force (Kaijou Jieitai, MSDF), Air Self -Defense Force (Koukuu Jieitai, ASDF). Second, military service age and obligation in 2012 was 18 years of age for voluntary

military service; no conscription; mandatory retirement at age 53 for senior enlisted personnel and at 62 years for senior service officers. Third, the military expenditures in 2010 GDP 0.99%, in 2011 GDP 1:01%, and 0.97% of 2013 GDP.

In South Korea, the military construction achievements shown with: First, military branches: the year 2011 is the Army, Navy (includes Marine Corps), Air Force. Second, the 2012 military service age obligation is 20-30 years of age for compulsory military service, with middle school education required; Conscript Service Obligation minimum 21 months (Army, Marines), 23 months (Navy), 24 months (Air Force); 18-26 years of age for voluntary military service; women, in service since 1950, admitted to 7 service branches, Including infantry, but excluded from artillery, armor, anti-water, and Chaplaincy corps; HIV-positive individuals are exempt from military service. Third, military expenditures between the years 2010-2013, ie the year 2010 GDP 2, 8%, in 2011 GDP 2.77%, and in 2012 GDP of 2.8%.

China. military In the achievements construction shown with: First, military branches in 2012 is the People's Liberation Army (PLA): Ground Forces, Navy (PLAN; includes marines and naval aviation), Air Force (Zhongguo Renmin Jiefangjun Kongjun, PLAAF; includes Airborne Forces), and Second Artillery Corps (strategic missile People's Armed Police force); (Renmin Wuzhuang Jingcha Budui, PAP); PLA Reserve Force. Second, military service age and obligation in 2012 is 18-24 years of age for selective compulsory military service, with a two-year service obligation; minimum age for voluntary service (all officers are volunteers); 18-19 years of age for women high school graduates who meet requirements for specific military jobs; Allows a recent decision military women in combat roles; the first class of women Warship commanders was in. Third, military expenditures in 2010 GDP 1.99%, in 2011 GDP 2%, and 1.99% of 2012 GDP.

However, the political power of ethnicity three countries with indicators such as the political power, economic power, and military power theoretically could not keep the United States both political and military power.

This is indicated by the level of influence United States to third countries. In fact, on planned China military invasion in the South China Sea area, shown by 9 Dash Line is the Chinese strategy. Based on this, the research questions are. First, how the strategy of Japan, South Korea, and China to build the political power of ethnicity in East Asia? Second, what is purpose of development of political forces ethnicity Japan, South Korea, and China in East Asia? Third, How the United States response to the political power of ethnicity Japan, South Korea, and China in East Asia?

Power Politics Ethnicity

Lock explained that ethnic political forces of each country coming from a common heritage and culture marked their differences with the other ethnic groups (Eriksen, 2001). Reynal-Querol (2005) says that the Ethnicity is at the center of politics in divided societies is the sociopolitical reality of the three countries

(Jepan, South Korea and China), it means the establishment of the political power of ethnicity as the basis of the power factor in politics. Handelman (2015) refer to ethnic groups are communities organized in a country which has a common point of view, connect to each other, influence each other is integrated in the political and economic power.

In general, people have a single ethnic permanent and stable despite the changes (in time) because of the exogenous factors influence (Harrill, 2014). While Smith (1998), Banks (1996), and Barth (1969) understand that the ethnic group is formed from an ancestor, it interprets that an ethnic group (or ethnicity) is a group of people whose members identify with each other, through a common heritage, consisting of a common language, a common culture (often including a shared religion) and a tradition of common ancestry (corresponding a history to endogamy).

Members of an ethnic group are conscious of belonging to an ethnic group; moreover, ethnic identity is further marked by the recognition from others of a group's distinctiveness".

Processes that result in the emergence of such identification are called ethnogenetic. To understand political power right, and derive it from its original, we must consider, what state all state men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

In Japan, the political power of ethnicity currently on *Yamato* not on Ainu and Ryukyu. In South Korea, the political power ethnicity on *Hangukin* that monogen, except in 2015 received immigrants about the 20,000 from China. It is argued that ethnic South Korea will dealing with ethnic immigrant groups. Differences in ethnicity between the political power South Korea and China is a pluralism of ethnic groups and the contrast between ethnic groups against other groups in Chinese society.

Eriksen (2012) said that ethnic identity is further marked by the recognition from others of a group's distinctiveness and the recognition of common cultural, linguistic, religious, behavioral, as indicators of contrast to other groups. Understanding ethnic have meaning or position because of heredity, culture, religion, language, etc. Ethnic mean a bound in a class of tribe or a nation considered to be related biologically. Also, used to mark an ethnic group or tribe or nation is part of the whole of humanity the world. Thus, everyone affected ethnic groups and political ethnicity.

Andrain (1971), defines power as the use of several resources to obtain compliance of the other party, the effectiveness of power on the resources available. He also noted, there are five types of resources of power, namely physical (weapons), economic (wealth, income, control of goods and services), normative (moral truth, religious tradition, legitimacy, and authority), personal (charisma, charm, friendship, affection, and popularity), and expert (information, knowledge, intelligence, and technical expertise). Political power does not

depend on the choice of the resource, but the method of the effective use of resources to obtain compliance.

Research Methods

The research is a qualitative research, with the background and the individual approach holistically. Consideration of the study, dealing with the fact plural, present in person the nature of the relationship between researcher and respondent, and adjust to patterns of values encountered. Where the data collection techniques used interviews, and literature, and data using the analytical techniques and models Miles Hubberman.

Result and Discussion

Japan: Strategy for Political, Economic, and Military

In 1991-2016, the political strategy of Japanese ethnicity focus on the economic aspects of the industry include the lower, middle industry, until the high-tech industry. This gives the effect of foreign exchange reserves in 2015 the world's second-ranked (USD 1.19 trillion), this is equivalent to 10.22% of the total global foreign exchange reserves. Furthermore, the political strategy of ethnicity refers to

two objects the political spectrum that is internal and external. The spectrum to strengthen nationalism, as the country's tenacious, resilient, and dynamic world. Mains constellation is *Nihonjin* (nipponjin), *Yamato*, Ainu, Ryukyu, nivkh, ulta, nivkh, Amami, okinawa, miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni. While overseas Japanese called *Nikkeijin*.

Japanese defense system has been changed to allow the military to operate abroad. This, denounced by China for fear of the South China Sea conflict escalation. Japanese military adhere to the pacifism principle and limited to national defense. However, such regulations annulled the Japanese pacifist constitution and open up military involvement in the South China Sea conflict.

The Chinese government criticism, based on the fact the country's defense system changes the original Japanese "self-defense" to "collective self-defense". This means that the Japanese defense system supported by four power sources. First, nationalism as "Japanese people"; second, tough and resilient

civilization with the motto colonizing or colonized; third, military power; and fourth, to form a defensive alliance "collective self-defense" if attacked another country.

Since 1945, the armed forces Japan has only passive and on a peace mission. However, the conflict with China. then Japan strengthen themselves buying dozen reconnaissance aircraft and six stealth fighters f-35 from the United States. In addition, the year 2013 has izumo aircraft carrier, and the navy as the most sophisticated and well-trained in Asia. Currently, Japan became the strongest military (seventh) world with defense spending amounted to USD 48 billion.

South Korea: Strategy for Political, Economic, and Military

In the perspective of Handelman (2015) mention the type of ethnicity, ethnic networks, ethnic association, ethnic community. Type of ethnicity meant South Korea society are the kinds of ethnic groups that are restricted by ethnic groups among the countries in East Asia, for example, immigrants from japan, china and

taiwan.

Ethnic network aimed at interethnic relations with ethnic groups of fellow citizens and enabled the interrelation between South Korea ethnic groups with ethnic groups East Asian countries. Ethnic association South Korea dynamic discipline and a blessing for South Korea, by creating organizational strength of capital around the world, following the experience of Japan and China that have already used the power of ethnic association that.

Now, South Korea positioned as the intermediate state of the world, measured by the strength of economic development, political, and military. Although, success cannot be separated from security protections the United States, especially from the threat of North Korea, and China as a competitor, as well as Japan as a "competitor limited".

It is, the two countries the United States protector of all forms of threats against another invasion. Ethnic South Korea homogeneous community in contrast to China and Japan, it makes more tied fellow South

Koreans, so the intention to achieve common goals for the promotion of South Korea at the world competition (competing political, economic, and military) to occupy a position intermediate state world.

Reuters (2016)that the economy is expected to grow 0.7% in the second quarter (January-March) grew by 0.5%. The second-quarter growth data, if the weak market is not surprising, because the Governor of the Bank of South Korea Lee Ju-yeol and Finance Minister Yoo Il-ho have expressed concern over the weakening of private consumption over the weakening economy. But, in 2015 the foreign exchange reserves ranked seventh world, amounting to usd 362.37 billion, equivalent to 3.11% of total world reserves.

South Korea's trade volume with China (over 30%). Approximately twice exceeds trade with the USA, as usual, the United States is a traditional trading partners and South Korea security alliance. Thus, the United States is related to the number one position. Meanwhile, in 1992, China and South Korea agreed

to establish diplomatic relations. Prior to 1991, recognizes Taiwan. So, republic China-Taiwan is china. In 1992, South Korea to change direction, and recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Finally, China is an important market, but on the other hand, the special relationship between China and North Korea, clearly, does not want to see their nuclear activities, do not want to push too far. Because the Chinese concern over the instability in the border region and the collapse of North Korea. It means unification with South Korea. South Korea has a strong relationship with the United States.

They do not want to see the condition of the South Korean peninsula in accordance with the wishes the United States. So, this time, there was a dilemma between South Korea and Japan, because they have very good relations. That, based on South Korea like Japan and their culture (Japanese) very fond of South Korean dramas.

China: Strategy for Political, Economic, and Military

In the era of the cold war,

internal China's political strategy system is pure communist and military power, followed by the political power, and economic power. However, after the cold war around 1991-2016, the external political strategy structure from pure communist to "new left" communist. application, prior economic strength, followed by military force, then the political power.

Thus, that era of the cold war the Chinese strategy is adhered to continental defense system. That is, an element of endurance (weerbarheit), concentrated to prevent threats from other countries. While in the post-cold war era, it changes into the blue ocean defense system, an element weerbarheit concentrated China blue ocean strategy with two main objectives: first, to destroy all threats in the blue ocean for not reaching mainland China; second, expansionist country missions to achieve the title of "China Empire". Nine dash line or ten dash line, according to the findings of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) that the investment made in China and around the world en masse

is the beginning of the mission China empire.

China will impose on all countries that are not obey to them from destinations world empire destination continental empire- and the purpose greater local influence to achieve. The method used to achieve the goal is military imperialism economic imperialism-and cultural imperialism. The third method, it was shown clearly on the map Nine Dash Line forced China to Taiwan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and Indonesia also related claims in the Natuna Sea.

It was encouraged by the political power of ethnicity in order to dominate other ethnic groups, the size of the countries in East Asia, the South China Sea, and ASEAN, as well as Asia Pacific. Chinese method is a political-communism imperialism proved in various countries across Asia and Africa, among others, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, North Korea, Iraq, Egypt, Tibet, Myanmar, etc. While subtle China imperialism is the culture method.

In the economic aspect, the third quarter of 2016 reached 6.7%. Meanwhile, foreign exchange reserves of the world's ranks (USD 3.84 trillion), equivalent to 32.98% of total world reserves. Although many experts question the accuracy of such economic growth. However, before the economic data released by the government, expert economists forecast growth of 6.6%. The number is smaller than last year's 6.9%, but

still the government's target range.

Late in 2013, economic activity in the form of investment abroad. Foreign investment is the highest South Africa amounted to +/- USD 26 billion, second in the United States of +/- USD 22 billion, Australia's third of +/- USD 17.5 billion, and the smallest is an investment in Germany amounted to +/- USD 4,5 billion. See on the figure 1.

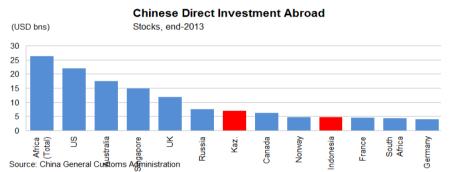


Figure 1. Chinese Direct Investment Abroad (Source: China General Custom Administration)

Investments abroad have started extensively since 1990-2015, and amounted to USD 140 billion (see figure 2). Overseas investment aims to gain economic and diplomatic interests to achieve the mission of

Chinese Empire. The mission, at the start of East Asia, ASEAN and Africa, by implementing the Global Capitalism Frieden promoting territorial strength and power.

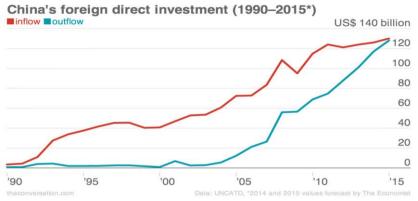


Figure 2. China's Foreign Direct Investment (Source: theconversation.com)

In the ten largest military power in the world, China ranked second with USD 129 billion defense spending after the United States. This indicates, that they actively increase the defense budget. The project now, Chinese military is the rejuvenation of the Russian aircraft carrier (Liaoning) and the development of stealth fighter (Shenyang J-31) resembles the F35 Lightning II the US military. In general, China has more than 9,000 tanks, 3,000 combat aircraft and helicopters and 70 warships and 72 submarines.

Comparison of the increase in defense spending in 2013-2014 Asian countries, China ranked first in the country's defense spending increase. Then followed each country India by 14.2%, Japan 5.7%, other 5.3%, South Korea 4.2%, Afghanistan 3.2%, New Zealand 2.2%, and Singapore amounted to 1.7%. Can be seen in figure 3 below.

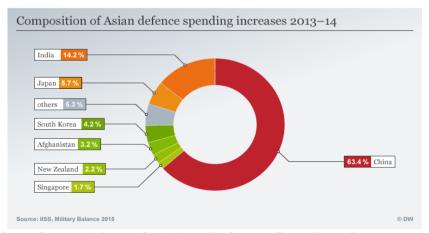


Figure 3. Composition of Asian Defence Spending Increases (Sumber: http://www.dw.com/id/)

United States Response Against Political Strength Ethnicity Japan, South Korea, and China

International politics United States to use force to "persuade" and "pressed" like "defense strategy" and "offensive strategy". United States command and control of the international system by using the three forces of the toughness of military, political, and economic.

In 2015, United States is the country's number one military power in the world. The indication is the United States spends USD 581 billion (US defense budget). By donating 39 percent of the total budget of all countries of the world for the military. The US has about 1.3 million personnel, more than 30,000 armored vehicles, 13,000 aircraft and combat helicopters, 10 aircraft carriers, 72 submarines and dozens of other warships.

With military toughness, being able to control global security, particularly in East Asia and the South China Sea. Like, Coast Guard Chinese warships firing on ships of the Navy, the United States responded by

sending two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers (USS John C. Stennis (CVN 74) and USS Ronald Reagan (CVN 76)) to patrol the South China Sea. Two aircraft carrier is sent together with a moment of Indonesian warship fired on a Chinese fishing vessel (suspected illegal fishing in the waters of Natuna, Indonesia).

In the economic aspect, by 1.2% in the second quarter 2016. This figure is lower than market expectations. Gross domestic product (GDP) of 1.2% after an increase of 0.8% in the first quarter, second quarter growth below market expectations of more than 2.0%. Oil American Stock **Prices** Down, Markets closed mixed. Companies cut back on their investments and reduce inventory during uncertainty, while consumer spending remained strong. Due to that, contributing more than two-thirds of the "output" of the economy, grew at a rate of 4.2% (the fastest growth since the end of 2014).

US response to the political power of ethnicity Japan, according to data from the power structure of political history in particular aspects of

military, political, and economic. They've faced since World War II, the US won. Now, the US responded to allow Japan to amend the country's defense system of self-defense to collective self-defense.

The background of the US response, dynamics escalating threat security region of East Asia, Asia Pacific, and ASEAN triggered conflict sovereignty of the South China Sea. This, because China does not abide by the decision of the International Arbitration Court in The Hague, the Netherlands on 12 July 2016. In addition, North Korea tested a Taepodong, and provide incentives to fluctuate escalation of security threats in East Asia, Asia Pacific, South China Sea, and ASEAN.

US response to South Korea, distributed through the economic, the political, and military aspects. The response given by defense ambrella technically called extended nuclear deterrence. Ambrella defense policy, is likely to be obtained from the US, Japan, as well as NATO. It is important for the US to provide protection to South Korea, due to

security threats from North Korea to South Korea in 24 hours. Where, north Korea's attack in four minutes, Taepodong may shatters Seoul. If that happens, then China was behind the attacks of North Korea to South Korea. This is the importance of the US to South Korea.

US response to China. distributed through four aspects, namely the strength of the economic aspect, the military aspects, political aspects, and aspects of the UN veto rights. Political history, noting that the US is still more powerful, tough, experienced in using the power of the fourth aspect. Now, the strength of the Chinese economy surpasses the US and have equal rights of veto in the UN.

However, military and political power of ethnicity US exceeds China. The political power of ethnicity USA beat China on the level of competition of international political forces. Moreover, the US more actively and effectively carry out "open war" and in the form of underground movement. While China, has a limited ability underground

movement. However, it can reach a global neighborhood as "open war" and "underground movement" US.

Conclusion and Recommendation

From the above discussion, the political power of East Asian ethnicity comprises three political civilization constellation namely old ethnicity ethnic groups Japan, South Korea, and China. Meanwhile, the development strategy of the political power of the third ethnicity ethnicity political constellation, namely base on power. Japan Nihonjin (Nipponjin) Yamato ethnicity as the central power point. Meanwhile, overseas Japanese (Nikkeijin). South Korea with Hangukin (native) or Hanin (overseas South Korea). Chinese ethnic majority and minority.

The distribution of strategy ethnicity political forces all three countries, through the achievement of economic, political, and military have different structures. Japan put the strategy of economic resilience, toughness / advantages of internal and external political, and military (collective self-defense). South Korea put the strategy of economic capacity,

the ability of internal and external politics, and the military (Extended Nuclear Deterrence). China's number one priority to the economic resilience of the World, World number two military power (expansionist)

However, the internal politics of China is not as tough as Japan, because ethnic Chinese dynasty vied with each other based on "ethnic groups has not been completed". Unlike Japan, Yamato ethnic groups supported by the other ethnic groups (Ainu and Ryukyu). The development objective of ethnicity political forces all three countries, first, Japan would like to make as the nation's most through robust, proven usability results thought, the results of the taste, and the work for the bonum publicum. South Korea Second, making Hangukin and Hanin to fulfill internal bonum publicum Hangukin. In provide addition, South Korea incentives happiness through the power of democracy (a system of economic, political, and military), particularly East Asia, Asia Pacific, and ASEAN.

Third, China surpassed the

Asian nation and the West, with the new system is left to be achieved through economic and military world number one number two, as well as a formidable global politics for the sake of indigenous and mankind. Meanwhile, the US response to the political power of ethnicity, using a system of "persuading", "protection system" and the system "pressing". However, the weights are different between countries, though in East Asia.

Reference

- Andrain, C. F. (1971). Children and civic awareness: A study in political education. Merrill Publishing Company.
- Anna Rechey-Allen, Juru Bicara Luar Negeri AS Untuk urusan Asia Timur dan Pasifik, sepertijuga dikutip oleh ABC, hari Rabu, tanggal 22 Juni 2016
- Banks, Marcus. (1996). *Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions*. London: Routledge.
- Barth, Fredrik. (1969). Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2012). Ethnicity. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*.
- Guba, Egon G. & Yvonna S. Lincoln. (1981). *Effective Evaluation*. San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass

Publishers.

- Handelman, Sapir. (2016).

 Peacemaking contractualism: a peacemaking approach to cope with difficult situations of intractable conflict. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 28:1, pp. 123-144.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (2000).

 Benturan Antara Peradaban
 dan Masa Depan Politik Dunia.
 Yogyakarta: Qalam.
- J. Albert Harrill, (2014). Ethnic Fluidity in Ephesians. *Cambridge University Press, New Test. Stud.* Vol. 60, pp. 379–402.
- K.J. Holsti. (2004). *Politik Internasional: Kerangka Analisa*. Jakarta: Pedoman Ilmu
 Jaya.
- Kamasa, Frassminggi. (2016). Perang Korsel: Tragedi Terbelahnya Simenanjung Korsel Dalam Perang Yang Belum Selesai. Yogyakarta: Narasi.
- Lofland, John & Lyn H. Lofland. (1984). Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis. Belmont, Ca.: Wads Worth Publishing Company.
- Miles, B. Mathew. (1986). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*. Beverly Hills:
 Sage Publication.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. (2001). *Politik Antar Bangsa*. Jakarta: Yayasan
 Obor Indonesia. pp. 94-96
- People's Daily. (2016). Media Resmi Partai Komunis yang Berkuasa di Cina, cited by Reuters, hari

- Rabu, tanggal 22 Juni 2016.
- Reynal-Querol, M. (2005). Does democracy preempt civil wars?. European Journal of Political Economy, 21(2), 445-465.
- Smith, D. (1998). Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism. London: Routledge.
- T.H. Eriksen. (2001). Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Anthropology. London.
- The discussions result. (2015).

 Between researchers with Letkol
 Chen about China's position on
 Map Nine Dash Line, in
 Bandung, West Jawa.
- The interviews results with Councellor (Political). (2016).
 Japanese Embassy in Jakarta on Thursday, October 13, 2016.
- The interviews results with Park Jaekyung Minister-Counselor, Political Section. (2016). South Korea Embassy. Date October 6, 2016, in Jakarta
- Wells W, Frederick. (2016) *A History* of China. Translated by M. Ahmad Asnawi. Yogyakarta: Indoliterasi.
- William Ebenstein. (1951). *Great Political Thinkers, Plato to The Present*. New York: Holt. Rinehart and Winston.