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Title **:** Textual Analysis on Translation Techniques (Malay-Eng) of Dunia Tanpa Tembok

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TITLE:

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

ON TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES (MALAY-ENG) OF

DUNIA TANPA TEMBOK

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1.0 Introduction

When we were kids our teachers used to ask “What is your favourite hobby?” 90% of the students in class will say their favourite hobby is reading books. It does not matter what type of books that they read as long as they can proudly to say that they are bookworm. Why it is happen that way? The reason is because since we were little kids we had been exposed to the importance of reading books. Everyone believes only by reading a lot of books you will be success in future and it is not wrong because with the knowledge you get from reading the books, it will help you in building up the beliefs, perceptions, attitude and opinion when confronting with the world. Reading a book is never gets tired or bored but, if we fail to understand the context, it could lead to misconception or misunderstanding. That is why translation is crucial in order to help us understand better in interpreting the meanings. Speaking of translation, it is recognized as a means of communication because it is used to learn foreign language. Besides, translation is very important as it develop qualities that are necessary especially for language students to improve their flexibility, accuracy, and clarity in searching for the most suitable words to portray what is meant. Through this assignment, the students could broaden their own thoughts as well as strengthen their translation skills by contributing their ideas.

This paper studies the artwork entitled “Dunia Tanpa Tembok” originally written by one of the most famous writers, Ayman Rashdan Wong with its translated version in English, “World Without Wall”. Briefly, this book talks about the knowledge related to international geopolitics and international relationship that involve society, politics, and economy. The techniques used by the author will be analyzed in depth which including translation procedures such as borrowing, literal translation, calque, equivalence, and transposition in

several selected chapters like Melayu Raya, Perlawanan Orang Gila, Island Chains: Obsesi Geopolitik China., Apa yang Duterte Mahu?, and Minutes to Midnight.

2.0 Synopsis

"Knowledge is power. Language is symbolic. Geography is destiny"

Dunia Tanpa Tembok, or in the English version, World Without Walls, is the first book of the World Without Walls series by Ayman Rashdan Wong. The book tells us about geopolitics and international relation by focusing on the three expressions above. The author describes the three expressions as the factors that can bring differences among humans to reach an agreement and understand one another. The book highlights the knowledge about international geopolitics that one must know as it is the key to the survival of countries and nations. Moreover, the knowledge gained must be based on the principle of Realism, Diplomacy, and Patriotism. It starts with the first chapter about 'The Name of Our Country,' and the last chapter is about 'Malaysia-North Korea Diplomatic Crisis' and those principles was explained in through all the chapters in the book.

3.0 Why it is translated

Dunia Tanpa Tembok (DTT) is first produced in the Malay language. Then, it is translated to the English language, known as World Without Walls (WWW), and recently, it is translated to the Korean language by Dr. Jung Sang Chun, a high official in South Korea. The translation into the English language is typically to enter the international market. Ayman Rashdan Wong has received National Book Award 2019 for Dunia Tanpa Tembok II. Besides, Dunia Tanpa Tembok I has reached the National Library of Singapore as there was a high demand for the book. Furthermore, the DTT series has surpassed the Bestseller Kinokuniya KLCC chart. Wong also mentioned in his Facebook post that the English version is suitable for those who are uncomfortable reading in the Malay language.

4.0 Technique and Procedures of Translation in Dunia tanpa Tembok to World without Walls

4.1 Calque

Calque is one of the direct translation procedures that imitates the structure or manner of the other language. The procedure is similar to borrowing. It also borrows the words from another language but with translation to create a new lexeme in the target language. Usually, calque happens in the target language. But in these books, the calque procedure happens from target language to the source language. Below are the examples for calque:

Example 1 and 2

Source text	Target text
Example 1: Judul tersebut diilhamkan oleh Jam Kiamat (Doomsday Clock) yang dicipta oleh sekumpulan saintis di Universiti Chicago pada tahun 1947, setelah Perang Dingin bermula.	The title was inspired by the Doomsday Clock created by a group of scientists at the University of Chicago in 1947, after the start of the Cold War.
Example 2: Kiamat di sini merujuk kepada *nuclear Armageddon* atau perang nuklear antara US dan Russia, di mana jumlah senjata nuclear yang dimiliki oleh mereka lebih cukup daripada memusnahkan dunia.	Doomsday refers to a nuclear Armageddon or nuclear war between the US and Russia, where a number of nuclear weapons owned by the two states are more than enough to blow the world.

The phrase 'Jam Kiamat' and 'perang nuklear' are translated through the procedure of lexical calque from the target language to the source language. The source language imitates the target language with syntactic respect but with a new mode of expression. For instance, in Example 1, the word 'Doomsday clock' is already original. That is why the procedure is said to be from the target language to the source language. The structure of the source language and the target language is different, in which the target language puts the adjective in front of the noun, while the source language is contrary. Therefore, instead of ‘nuklear perang’ in

Example 2, it becomes ‘perang nuklear’. However, since the source language's whole sentence is already borrowed from the target language, the translation from the source language, which is in the Malay language, to the target language, the English language is more accessible. Calque usually is used in the target language, but in these examples, the calques procedures happen from the target language the source language.

Example 3:

Source text	**Target text**
Semua persoalan ini dapat dirungkai dengan melihat pada sebuah masalah geopolitik China yang bernama “Rantai Pulau” (*Island Chain*)	All of the above can be digested by understanding a geopolitical problem of China known as the Island Chain.

Calque is used when an expression from the source text is transferred literally to the target text. The words “Island Chain” are borrowed from the target language although there is meaning towards the phrase. So, it is unnecessary for the author to insert the words from target text in the source text as there is a specific meaning which define the words which are “Rantai Pulau”. However, since it is related to historical event, the author decided to attach it together to make it clear for the readers. Besides, the reason of using calque technique is because, it respects the syntactic structure of source language.

4.2 Transposition

Translators used a variety of techniques in order to achieve great results. There are a number of methods that can be used to translate the target text sounds better. One of the common techniques used in translation is a transposition. The transposition technique holds a meaning of replacing one's word-class with another without changing the original meaning of the source text. This translation approach introduces a change in grammatical structure. Transposition can be categorized into a few types, one of which is a free transposition, whereby the transposition use is dependent in the particular context. For instance, back-translation.

4.2.1 Sentence Structure Transposition

Example 1:

Source Language	**Target Language**
Sebelum Perjanjian Inggeris - Belanda (Anglo - Dutch Treaty) tahun 1824, tidak wujud "sempadan" Malaysia dan Indonesia.	There was never a Malaysian and Indonesian 'border' before the 1824 Anglo - Dutch Treaty.

This example used Transposition technique by transposing the sentence structure from the source language to target language. If it is translated directly according to the sentence structure of the source language, so the sentence in target language will be start with "Before the 1824…". But to adhere with the target language context and grammatical rules so the sentence is translated by using sentence structure transposition procedures. Even though it has the difference but the meaning of the sentence can still be conveyed.

Example 2:

Source Language	Target Language
Kepulauan Sumatra, Jawa, Kalimantan dan Sulawesi misalnya, disatukan sebagai "Hindia Timur" di bawah penjajah Belanda.	Under the Dutch, the isles of Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi for example, were grouped together as"East India".

For the second example, this sentence uses the same technique of translation which is transposition of sentence structure. As we can see in the source language, the author explains about the Indonesian region which 'Kepulauan Sumatra, Jawa, Kalimantan dan Sulawesi' first then said it is grouped as in Dutch governance like 'di bawah penjajah Belanda' so when it is translated into target language the sentence is transposed where the Indonesian region is explained after the Dutch governance like 'Under the dutch'. This happens because to make the translation is more vary and interesting rather than just follow directly the sentence structure of the source language even though both languages have the same word order and it would not be hard for the readers to understand what is meant by the author.

Example 3:

Source language	TARGET LANGUAGE
US pertama kali menggunakan bom nuklear pada tahun 1945 untuk menamatkan Perang Dunia Kedua (WW2).	The maiden use of the nuclear bomb by the US in 1945 was to end the Second World War.

Since transposition highlights the grammatical changes between the source language and the target language, Example 3 is another example to prove this translation procedure. In the source language, the highlighted phrases are in verb phrase while in the target language,

the part of speech of the phrases is in adjective phrase. The change in the part of speech, from the verb phrase to the adjective phrase shows the process of the transposition procedure.

4.3 Borrowing

Borrowing technique is one of the procedures in direct translation. This technique is chosen when a language takes words from other language directly without translation (Vargas, 2017). Besides, it has two types of Borrowing which are Pure Borrowing and Naturalized Borrowing. For Pure Borrowing it is directly take the words or phrases from the source language without changing their spelling. (Pahamzah, et.al, 2020). Next, Naturalized Borrowing is borrowing a source language words or phrases by adapting it to the syntactic structure of the Target Language. (Pahamzah, et.el, 2020). This type of borrowing is also similar with cultural borrowing. In this book, Dunia tanpa Tembok this technique is not frequently happen when it is translated into target language which the English version, World without Walls instead, the author keep using this technique in the original version where when the book is written in Bahasa Melayu there are some words and special terms on Law, Geopolitics and International Relations is directly borrowed from the target language. Therefore, it leads the book to not have fully written in the author's native language holistically but has a mixed language in the whole book which known as informal language or 'Rojak language'. It can be seen in the examples below:

4.3.1 Pure Borrowing

Example 1:

Source Language	**Target Language**
Selepas penjajah datang, mereka **"re - construct"** balik identiti orang Nusantara mengikut acuan mereka.	After the arrival of the colonialists, they reconstructed the identity of Nusantara people according to their mould.

This sentence used literal translation in translating all words of the source language to the target language. In this example, the problem is not with the target language because it is translated correctly but the problem is with the source language where the author kind of mixed up the source language with one word from target language to interpret his meaning which the word 're-construct' and use SL word to add one the meaning which 'balik' while 're-contruct' means 'baik pulih' or 'baiki semula' in source language. Besides, according to the source language context they do have words to indicate the TL language which it will be 'memperbaiki' but the author did not used it. The reason behind it we think because Malaysian tend to code mixing TL and SL in their conversation and it had known as 'Rojak language' where everyone think it is common. Sometimes, this condition did help the readers to feel more understand with what the author is saying.

4.3.2 Cultural Borrowing

Example 2:

Source text	Target text
Kalau Korea Utara jatuh diserang US, ia akan mengancam keselamatan China yang memerlukan Korea Utara sebagai *buffer state*	If North Korea fell to the US, it would threaten the security of China which needs North Korea as a buffer state.

Based on the example above, the phrase *buffer state* is in italics as they are considered to be foreign which indicate the words are borrowed from the target language. The type of borrowing used by the author here is called as cultural borrowing which the borrowed words are similar to the original words in target language. Cultural borrowing is defined as words that fill gaps in the recipient language's store of words because they stand for objects or concepts new to the language's culture. Although there is an equivalent meaning for the phrase "buffer state" in Malay which is "negara penampan", the author however fully adopts the phrase in source text. Since this book is all about politics, most of the words are jargon that correlate to the law and politics terms. Borrowing is the common technique used by most of the translators depends on the reasons as what Grasilli (2015) claims that firstly there may be no equivalent meaning of the word in the target language and it may also serve to highlight the cultural context of the source text. The author might want to maintain the genre of the book which is geopolitics by adding some of jargon words that related to the field.

Example 3:

Source language	Target language
Russia dan Korea Utara ada seribu alasan untuk melancarkan *first strike* kerana ini adalah soal kelangsungan hidup mereka.	Russia and North Korea have a thousand excuses to launch a first strike because this is a matter of their survival.

Example 3 is another example of cultural borrowing. Even though the author can use the literal translation for the phrase, he uses borrowing instead to show the impact of the word, which the literal translation into the source language might not deliver.

4.4 Equivalence technique

Translation is a process of communicating the meaning of a source language (SL) text to an accurate meaning of the target language text (TL). However, it can never be 100% accurate meaning with the original ones. Translation theorist have compiled various procedures to deal with the different types of text in translations. One of the methods used by translators is equivalence. Discussing the definition of equivalence or also knows as reformulation, it produces an equivalent text in the target language by using different style and structural methods, that can appear at word level and above word level, when translating from SL to TL. Applying an equivalent word define as replacing one words or unit of translation with another meaning that is similar in TL as from SL. According to Baker (1992), translation approach of equivalence should be considered as the first element by the translator when translating words from one language into another. Moreover, equivalent generally refers to the commonly accepted and it is used of idioms, proverbs, idiomatic expression and

lexicalized term of a source language term. When it is hard to express the meaning of the SL to TL, the translators have to translate the meaning in a completely different ways for instance in terms of translating idioms or advertising slogans. Although the process of translating using equivalent procedure is involves a creative way from SL to TL, but it could be quite confusing and it is not easy to find the possible accurate meaning of TL.

4.4.1 Descriptive Equivalence

Example 1:

Source Language	**Target Language**
Kita? Inggeris jahat memang jahat, tapi sekurang - kurangnya mereka bertamandun.	Not so much for us Malaysians. The British were bad, but at least they were civilized.

Next, this sentence used literal translation to translate the whole sentence while for the word ‘kita’ the author used descriptive equivalence procedures when it is translated in target language which to explain who ‘kita’ means in English language context, so it became ‘Not so much for us Malaysians’. If the author use literal translation too for the word ‘kita’ and become ‘we’ the readers might not really understand to whom the author is referring to. If in SL it might be okay for Malaysian readers as they clearly understand the context of their native language.

Example 2:

Source Language	Target Language
Yang ada hanyalah Kepulauan Melayu, Alam Melayu atau Nusantara.	There was only Malay Archipelago, Malay world and Nusantara

This sentence used direct translation procedures for the whole sentence where no words or phrases is being transposed just to suite the target language context. However, there are some words in the sentence which use different translation technique to deliver the meaning of the words. For example, if the literal meaning of the world 'Alam' when translated to target language, English it will be 'nature' but we think the author might sense the word 'nature' is not suitable to use in explaining the context to show about the Malay civilization so he changes from 'nature' to 'world' to translate the phrase of 'Alam Melayu'. Next, the author translates the word 'kepulauan' to a special term in English like 'Archipelago' not 'Island' and the word 'Nusantara' is keep the same in target language because no words in English could define the word and to treasure the special term of Malaya community in Asia. Therefore, these words the authors used Equivalence procedures where he replaced one word or unit of translation with another that is present in the TL that gives as similar a meaning as that of the SL.

4.4.2 Functional equivalence

Example 3:

Source language	Target language
Jarum jam akan bergerak ke kiri dan kanan mengikut rentak perubahan geopolitik dunia.	The clock hand would move from left to right according to the changes in the world's geopolitics.

Example 3 shows that in the target language, the phrase 'clock hand' is equivalence to 'jarum jam'. The word 'jarum' would means 'needle' in the target language if it is translated literally. But it would be unsuitable in the target language if the phrase becomes 'clock needle'. Therefore, functional equivalence is used to show that the words are completely different but deliver the same meaning.

4.5 Literal Translation

Next, is literal translation technique. In this book this technique is mostly used throughout the whole book. We think this translation procedure is widely use because of the same structure of word order of the source language, Bahasa Melayu and the target language, English. As literal translation is a translation that translated a source language text according to their grammatical and idiomatically of the target language, we can easily detect the words and phrases that shows the meaning of the word in source language. In addition, when the literal translation is used in translating the source language to target language it does shows

that the meaning that the author wants to deliver in the source language is much more well interpreted in target language. Below are the examples, that shows how well literal translation

technique is used in translating Malay language to English as usually we might see this technique is used when translating from English to Malay language:

Example 1:

Source Language	**Target Language**
Bagi mereka, merah Sang Saka Merah Putih melambangkan darah yang ditumpah semasa revolusi memggulingkan Belanda. Jangan main - main	To them, the red color Sang Saka Merah Putih flag represents the blood spilled during the revolution to overthrow the Dutch

For the whole sentence, literal translation technique is used to translate from SL to TL. But there are certain word and phrase that used different technique in translation. For example, TL used pure borrowing procedures when it directly borrows the phrase from SL which is 'Sang Saka Merah Putih' where in SL it is recognised as a proper noun and in Target Language there is no other words could interpret and retain the meaning, so the author just directly took the word from SL. In addition, 'Sang Saka Merah Putih' is elaborated more to make the readers understand what it is so he inserts the word 'flag' make another translation technique is used which is Descriptive Equivalence that explain the word 'flag' is associated with the phrase 'Sang Saka Merah Putih'. On top of that, the phrase in SL, 'Jangan main-main' it is not translated to TL. We think this phrase is not important for the author to take it into consideration in translating it.

Example 2:

Source text	Target text
Walaupun Trump berjanji untuk berdamai dengan Russia, tetapi bukan mudah untuk mencapainya.	Although Trump promised to make peace with Russia, it is not easy to achieve.

Referring to the example chosen as above, see how the sentence was translated word for word without changing the word structure. The technique used was literal translation whereas the author translated the sentence literally from the source text to the target text.

Example 3:

Source language	Target language
Kiamat di sini merujuk kepada *nuclear Armageddon* atau perang nuklear antara US dan Russia, di mana jumlah senjata nuclear yang dimiliki oleh mereka lebih cukup daripada memusnahkan dunia.	Doomsday refers to a nuclear Armageddon or nuclear war between the US and Russia, where a number of nuclear weapons owned by the two states are more than enough to blow the world.

The example above shows that the whole sentence is translated literally from the source language to the target language. The structure and the meaning in both languages are the same except from some specific phrases such as ‘nuclear Armegeddon’ and ‘nuclear war’.

4.6 Modulation

Modulation is a translation procedure that change the semantic view from one language to another language but still deliver the same meaning of the message.

Example 1:

Source Language	Target Language
Disebabkan tiada identiti bersama, percuabaan penyatuan Alam Melayu menjadi "Indonesia Raya" dan "Melayu Raya" gagal.	Due to the lack of common identity, the attempt to unite the Malay world to become "Greater Indonesia" and "Greater Malay" failed.

In this example, the phrases of 'Indonesia Raya' and 'Melayu Raya' is translated through Modulation technique. In SL the common meaning of the word 'Raya' is associate with occasion or festival celebrated by certain ethnic or religion. But aside this meaning the other literal meaning also convey the meaning of something big like a world, so that is the reason the author translated the word 'Raya' to 'Greater' in TL rather than become 'Eid Indonesia' or 'Eid Malaysia' because it is not related to the context

Example 2 and 3:

Source language	Target language
Example 2: Disebabkan China dan US saling dengki, tindakan Duterte dilihat akan menamatkan dasar "pro-US, anti-China" yang diamalkan oleh Benigno Aquino III.	Due to cold relations between US and China, Duterte's tirade and action are seen to put an end to the 'pro-US, anti-China" policy's as practiced by Benigno Aquino III.
Example 3: Mereka gila atau sebenarnya buat-buat gila?	Are they really mad, or they pretend to be mad?

Example 2 and 3 show the process of modulation that happens in the highlighted phrases. The semantics in Example 2 is different as the literal translation for the word 'dengki' is envy in the English language. Besides, it is kind of a negative word in the Malay language. When the modulation procedure is applied to the phrase, the author uses phrases 'cold relations', which is less negative than the word envy. The same goes for Example 3. Usually, when the word 'gila' is used, people will translate it as 'crazy' in the English

language. The word ‘crazy’ is often taken as a negative word and potentially offensive. Therefore, when the author uses the word ‘mad’ in the target language to describe that out of one’s mind, it becomes less negative.

5.0 Review of Dunia Tanpa Tembok and World Without Walls

Every book has its specialty in its content. Mostly the authors will deliver their thoughts, opinion, and true events just to give some inspiration and life lessons to their readers. Not to deny that books are the literary works that help humans in shaping their perception and thoughts about the world. As for the book ‘Dunia Tanpa Tembok’, the title itself did show a subjective meaning on the content of the book that the author would love to share. This book is categorized as a geopolitics genre where a lot of international issues regarding wars, politics, economy, and social is been discussed in this book.

When we read this book in the source language which Malay language, the author did use a mixed and urban style of language. The author explained the reason why he chose this style instead use the correct way of writing in the Malay Language because he wants his readers to read it with calm and happiness. As this book explained a lot of political issues around the world so it might be hard for certain readers to comprehend the jargon of the area and the explanation too. Through this way, the readers will feel more connected to the writer.

Even though the author has a good intention to his beloved readers especially the ones that are not from the international relation background, but the way of his writing can still be critic. From our analysis, we could say the translated version which the English version, ‘World without Walls’ is much better to understand rather than we read in the Malay version. For example, ‘Apa yang Hindia (India) pun tak tau, buta geografi punya Belanda’ in the original version, Ayman the Author is trying to express his dissatisfaction to the Dutch as

someone ignorant about the geography of the Indonesian region but when we read the sentence in the Malay language we need to read it multiple times to get what he wants to interpret rather than when we read in an English version ‘ There was not anything “Indian” about these isles.’ it is much easier and understandable only then we got what he meant in the original version. We think if there is no translated version of his book we might take some time to understand his explanation. However, we respect Ayman’s principle when he wrote the book as his main purpose is just to make the readers feel comfortable with this type of book genre.

On top of that, we acknowledge that the purpose of this assignment is to analyze what techniques and procedures being used to translate the source language to the target language. Unfortunately, through our analysis, we found that the source language is the one that uses a lot of translation technique rather than when it is translated to the target language. If we could say the translated version has less work in when they did the translation. The reason is in the original version, the author mostly borrows many words from the target language. If we could say almost every chapter, he inserts terms from the target language. One of the reasons we found is because of the genre of the book itself. It is a geopolitics book which of course needs to insert the term or jargon from politics, economy, and laws world right? Therefore, we found that there are certain terms in the target language that did not have in the source language, so that is the reason why the author just directly borrows the terms and insert them in his explanation in the original book. For example, terms like ‘first-tier power’ and ‘nuclear deterrence are related to political jargon and these terms did not have in the source language so he needs to directly borrow it.

Yet, some terms have been borrowed directly from the target language but the terms did have their own words in the source language. We think the author should not take this as the easy way for him to explain the content because it would be much better if he could use the correct term in the source language. Moreover, even though he borrows words from the target language he still translates the word again in the source language which we find would it be much easier if he just directly used the word from the source language. It is because it would not disturb the readers' views. For example, the words like ‘kepentingan negara (national interest)’, keseimbangan kuasa (balance of power)’ and “re - construct” balik. These words are not jargon for Malaysian readers especially when they read the original text. The readers can understand it easily, so the author does not need to explain the Malay term which the source language into English, the target language. This just makes the book look like a low-quality book not on the content but based on the writing because of a lot of mixed languages or ‘Rojak language’ between the source language and target language which can be avoided.

In conclusion, overall, this book is great as the content provided did give new knowledge to us where we get to know more about the issues around the world especially in terms of politics, economy, social and law. Not to forget about the history too. Besides, this book cannot be denied from getting the National Book Award Author in 2019. This is what that lead the author to create the translated version in the English language to gather more readers and read about his thought about the world. In addition, the translated version did manage to deliver the message in the original version without any misleading instead much easier for the readers to understand with the usage of simple words, explanation more on special terms, and straightforward type of sentence. We feel so grateful for the translated version. Lastly, we could say that the translated version is much better than the original version.

6.0 Conclusion

By and large, translation is very important for our everyday use to help us far from miscommunication or misconception when dealing with a foreign language. The translation is required for the global dissemination of new information, knowledge, and ideas. It is essential to develop communication across different cultures. Translation has the power to alter history in the process of spreading new information. Besides, translating works has never been easy as it requires a lot of effort in order to avoid mistranslation that could lead to misunderstanding. However, with the proper techniques are given are able to help the translators to translate it right. As mentioned above, some of the methods we can use to ensure the texts we translate the example from the source language to target language are close to accurate even though it is not entirely equivalent to the original meaning, but the message still can be understood.

When doing translation, some elements or issues need to be considered, which would fall under culture, structure, and the terms to ensure that the meaning of the text being translated is not far from its original content. If not, the translators would encounter many problems when translating, one of which the intended meaning would not be able to convey to the readers. Thus, the method of translating from source text to the targeted text should be considered by choosing the nearest words that would be possible accurate to the targeted language to ensure the messages remain the same as the original ones.

All things that have been considered, the translators of the book deserve appreciation for the translated work even though certain parts of the content might differ a bit from the original ones. The translator did a good job considering that translation works are not easy as we thought. The translation of the book enables readers from different languages to gain information and messages about the politics that happen across the globe. The readers from

the targeted language will be able to receive the same content as what the author portrays in the original text. This proves that translation would enlighten everyone from different cultures who speak other languages and get the same information as the source text illustrated.

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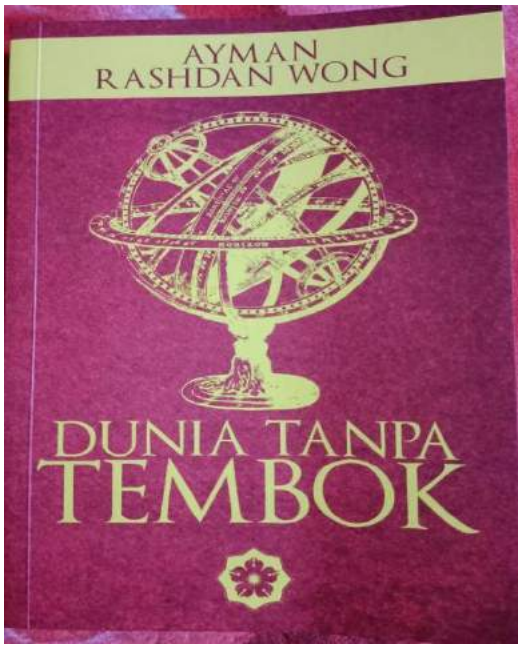
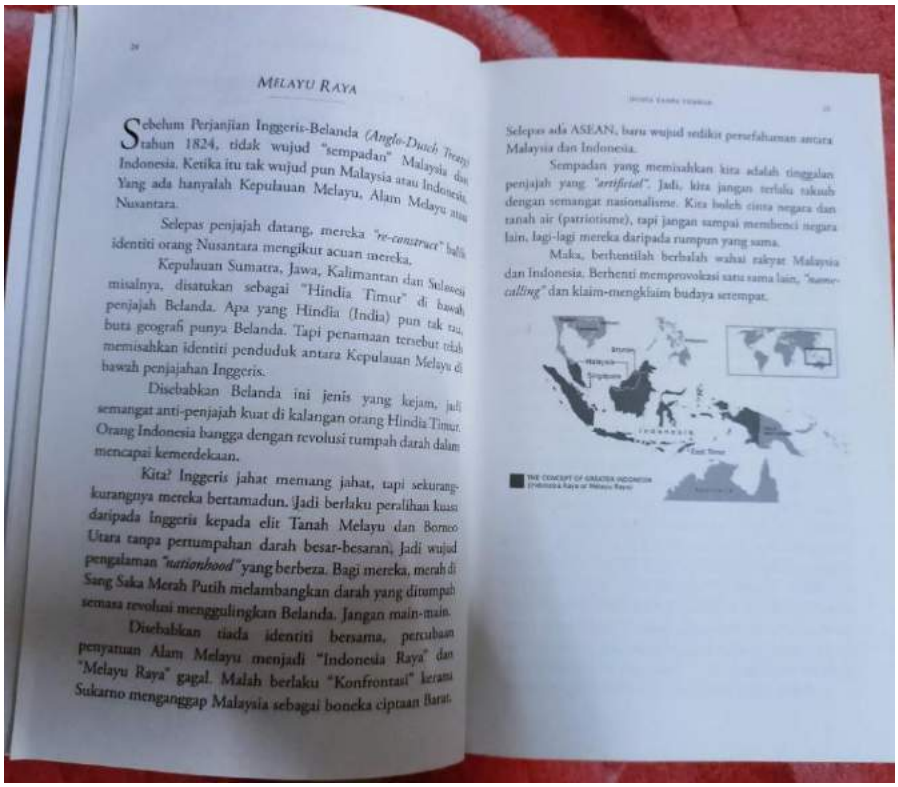
8.0 Appendix

Original Version - Dunia Tanpa Tembok



Bab Melayu Raya



MELAYU RAYA

Sebelum Perjanjian Inggeris-Belanda (*Anglo-Dutch Treaty*) tahun 1824, tidak wujud "sempadan" Malaysia dan Indonesia. Ketika itu tak wujud pun Malaysia atau Indonesia. Yang ada hanyalah Kepulauan Melayu, Alam Melayu atau Nusantara.

Selepas penjajah datang, mereka *"re-construct"* balik identiti orang Nusantara mengikut acuan mereka.

Kepulauan Sumatra, Jawa, Kalimantan dan Sulawesi misalnya, disatukan sebagai "Hindia Timur" di bawah penjajah Belanda. Apa yang Hindia (India) pun tak tau, buta geografi punya Belanda. Tapi penamaan tersebut telah memisahkan identiti penduduk antara Kepulauan Melayu di bawah penjajahan Inggeris.

Disebabkan Belanda ini jenis yang kejam, jadi semangat anti-penjajah kuat di kalangan orang Hindia Timur. Orang Indonesia bangga dengan revolusi tumpah darah dalam mencapai kemerdekaan.

Kita? Inggeris jahat memang jahat, tapi sekurang-kurangnya mereka bertamadun. Jadi berlaku peralihan kuasa daripada Inggeris kepada elit Tanah Melayu dan Borneo Utara tanpa pertumpahan darah besar-besaran. Jadi wujud pengalaman *"nationhood"* yang berbeza. Bagi mereka, merah di Sang Saka Merah Putih melambangkan darah yang ditumpah semasa revolusi menggulingkan Belanda. Jangan main-main.

Disebabkan tiada identiti bersama, percubaan penyatuan Alam Melayu menjadi "Indonesia Raya" dan "Melayu Raya" gagal. Malah berlaku "Konfrontasi" kerana Sukarno menganggap Malaysia sebagai boneka ciptaan Barat.

Selepas ada ASEAN, baru wujud sedikit persefahaman antara Malaysia dan Indonesia.

Sempadan yang memisahkan kita adalah tinggalan penjajah yang *"artificial"*. Jadi, kita jangan terlalu taksub dengan semangat nasionalisme. Kita boleh cinta negara dan tanah air (patriotisme), tapi jangan sampai membenci negara lain, lagi-lagi mereka daripada rumpun yang sama.

Maka, berhentilah berbalah wahai rakyat Malaysia dan Indonesia. Berhenti memprovokasi satu sama lain, *"name-calling"* dan klaim-mengklaim budaya serempat.

Bab Minutes to Midnight

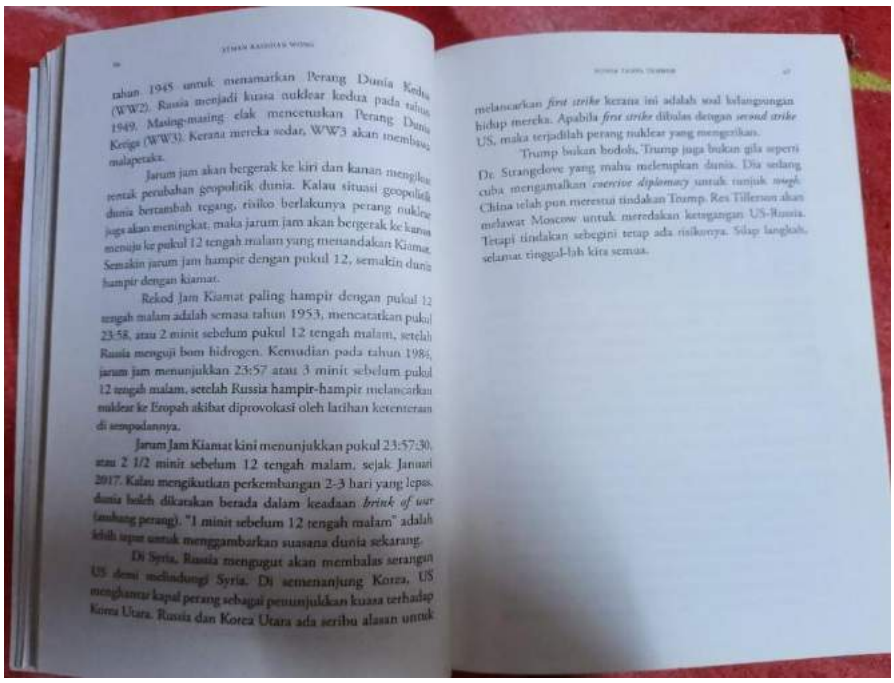
MINUTES TO MIDNIGHT

Dunia kita pada saat ini paling menghampiri "kiamat" sejak tahun 1953.

Peminat Linkin Park pasti ingat album mereka yang berjudul *Minutes to Midnight*. Judul tersebut diilhamkan oleh Jam Kiamat *(Doomsday Clock)* yang dicipta oleh sekumpulan saintis di Universiti Chicago pada tahun 1947, setelah Perang Dingin bermula.

Jam Kiamat diciptakan untuk menunjuk betapa dekatnya kita dengan kiamat. Kiamat di sini merujuk kepada *nuclear Armageddon* atau perang nuklear antara US dan Russia, di mana jumlah senjata nuklear yang dimiliki oleh mereka lebih cukup daripada memusnahkan dunia.

US pertama kali menggunakan bom nuklear pada



tahun 1945 untuk menamatkan Perang Dunia Kedua (WW2). Russia menjadi kuasa nuklear kedua pada tahun 1949. Masing-masing elak mencetuskan Perang Dunia Ketiga (WW3). Kerana mereka sedar, WW3 akan membawa malapetaka.

Jarum jam akan bergerak ke kiri dan kanan mengikut rentak perubahan geopolitik dunia. Kalau situasi geopolitik dunia bertambah tegang, risiko berlakunya perang nuklear juga akan meningkat, maka jarum jam akan bergerak ke kanan menuju ke pukul 12 tengah malam yang menandakan Kiamat. Semakin jarum jam hampir dengan pukul 12, semakin dunia hampir dengan kiamat.

Rekod Jam Kiamat paling hampir dengan pukul 12 tengah malam adalah semasa tahun 1953, mencatatkan pukul 23:58, atau 2 minit sebelum pukul 12 tengah malam, setelah Russia menguji bom hidrogen. Kemudian pada tahun 1984, jarum jam menunjukkan 23:57 atau 3 minit sebelum pukul 12 tengah malam, setelah Russia hampir-hampir melancarkan nuklear ke Eropah akibat diprovokasi oleh latihan ketenteraan di sempadannya.

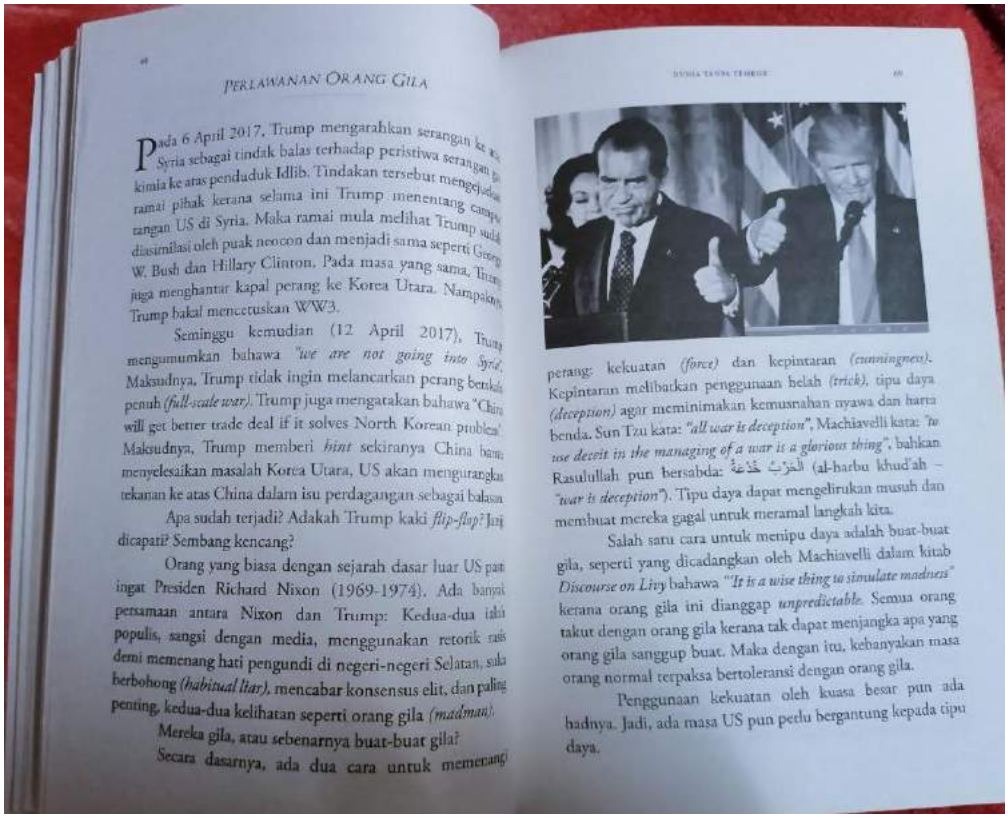
Jarum Jam Kiamat kini menunjukkan pukul 23:57:30, atau 2 1/2 minit sebelum 12 tengah malam, sejak Januari 2017. Kalau mengikutkan perkembangan 2-3 hari yang lepas, dunia boleh dikatakan berada dalam keadaan *brink of war* (ambang perang). "1 minit sebelum 12 tengah malam" adalah lebih tepat untuk menggambarkan suasana dunia sekarang.

Di Syria, Russia mengugut akan membalas serangan US demi melindungi Syria. Di semenanjung Korea, US menghantar kapal perang sebagai penunjukkan kuasa terhadap Korea Utara. Russia dan Korea Utara ada seribu alasan untuk

melancarkan *first strike* kerana ini adalah soal kelangsungan hidup mereka. Apabila *first strike* dibalas dengan *second strike* US, maka terjadilah perang nuklear yang mengerikan.

Trump bukan bodoh, Trump juga bukan gila seperti Dr. Strangelove yang mahu melenyapkan dunia. Dia sedang cuba menggunakan *coercive diplomacy* untuk tunjuk *muscle*. China telah pun merestui tindakan Trump. Rex Tillerson akan melawat Moscow untuk meredakan ketegangan US-Russia. Tetapi tindakan sebegini tetap ada risikonya. Sikap langkah, selamat tinggal-lah kita semua.

Bab Perlawanan Orang Gila



PERLAWANAN ORANG GILA

Pada 6 April 2017, Trump mengarahkan serangan ke ... Syria sebagai tindak balas terhadap peristiwa serangan ... kimia ke atas penduduk Idlib. Tindakan tersebut mengejutkan ramai pihak kerana selama ini Trump menentang campur tangan US di Syria. Maka ramai mula melihat Trump sudah diasimilasi oleh puak neocon dan menjadi sama seperti George W. Bush dan Hillary Clinton. Pada masa yang sama, Trump juga menghantar kapal perang ke Korea Utara. Nampaknya Trump bakal mencetuskan WW3.

Seminggu kemudian (12 April 2017), Trump mengumumkan bahawa *"we are not going into Syria"*. Maksudnya, Trump tidak ingin melancarkan perang berskala penuh *(full-scale war)*. Trump juga mengatakan bahawa "China will get better trade deal if it solves North Korean problem". Maksudnya, Trump memberi *hint* sekiranya China bantu menyelesaikan masalah Korea Utara, US akan mengurangkan tekanan ke atas China dalam isu perdagangan sebagai balasan.

Apa sudah terjadi? Adakah Trump kaki *flip-flop*? Janji dicapati? Sembang kencang?

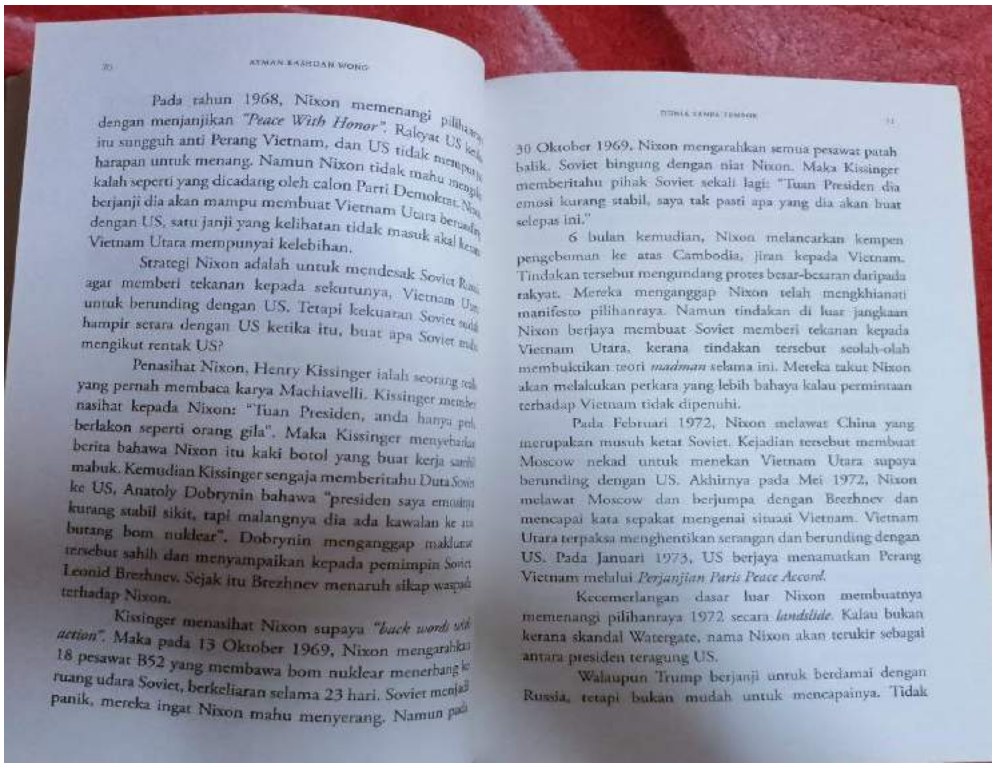
Orang yang biasa dengan sejarah dasar luar US pasti ingat Presiden Richard Nixon (1969-1974). Ada banyak persamaan antara Nixon dan Trump: Kedua-dua ialah populis, sangsi dengan media, menggunakan retorik rasis demi memenang hati pengundi di negeri-negeri Selatan, suka berbohong *(habitual liar)*, mencabar konsensus elit, dan paling penting, kedua-dua kelihatan seperti orang gila *(madman)*.

Mereka gila, atau sebenarnya buat-buat gila?

Secara dasarnya, ada dua cara untuk memenang perang: kekuatan *(force)* dan kepintaran *(cunningness)*. Kepintaran melibatkan penggunaan helah *(trick)*, tipu daya *(deception)* agar meminimakan kemusnahan nyawa dan harta benda. Sun Tzu kata: *"all war is deception"*, Machiavelli kata: *"to use deceit in the managing of a war is a glorious thing"*, bahkan Rasulullah pun bersabda: الْحَرْبُ خُدْعَةٌ (al-harbu khud'ah – *"war is deception"*). Tipu daya dapat mengelirukan musuh dan membuat mereka gagal untuk meramal langkah kita.

Salah satu cara untuk menipu daya adalah buat-buat gila, seperti yang dicadangkan oleh Machiavelli dalam kitab *Discourse on Livy* bahawa *"It is a wise thing to simulate madness"* kerana orang gila ini dianggap *unpredictable*. Semua orang takut dengan orang gila kerana tak dapat menjangka apa yang orang gila sanggup buat. Maka dengan itu, kebanyakan masa orang normal terpaksa bertoleransi dengan orang gila.

Penggunaan kekuatan oleh kuasa besar pun ada badnya. Jadi, ada masa US pun perlu bergantung kepada tipu daya.



AYMAN RASHDAN WONG

Pada tahun 1968, Nixon memenangi pilihanraya dengan menjanjikan *"Peace With Honor"*. Rakyat US ketika itu sungguh anti Perang Vietnam, dan US tidak mempunyai harapan untuk menang. Namun Nixon tidak mahu mengalah seperti yang dicadang oleh calon Parti Demokrat. Nixon berjanji dia akan mampu membuat Vietnam Utara berunding dengan US, satu janji yang kelihatan tidak masuk akal kerana Vietnam Utara mempunyai kelebihan.

Strategi Nixon adalah untuk mendesak Soviet Russia agar memberi tekanan kepada sekutunya, Vietnam Utara untuk berunding dengan US. Tetapi kekuatan Soviet sudah hampir serara dengan US ketika itu, buat apa Soviet mahu mengikut rentak US?

Penasihat Nixon, Henry Kissinger ialah seorang yang yang pernah membaca karya Machiavelli. Kissinger memberi nasihat kepada Nixon: "Tuan Presiden, anda hanya perlu berlakon seperti orang gila". Maka Kissinger menyebarkan berita bahawa Nixon itu kaki botol yang buat kerja sambil mabuk. Kemudian Kissinger sengaja memberitahu Duta Soviet ke US, Anatoly Dobrynin bahawa "presiden saya emosinya kurang stabil sikit, tapi malangnya dia ada kawalan ke atas burung bom nuklear". Dobrynin menganggap maklumat tersebut sahih dan menyampaikan kepada pemimpin Soviet Leonid Brezhnev. Sejak itu Brezhnev menaruh sikap waspada terhadap Nixon.

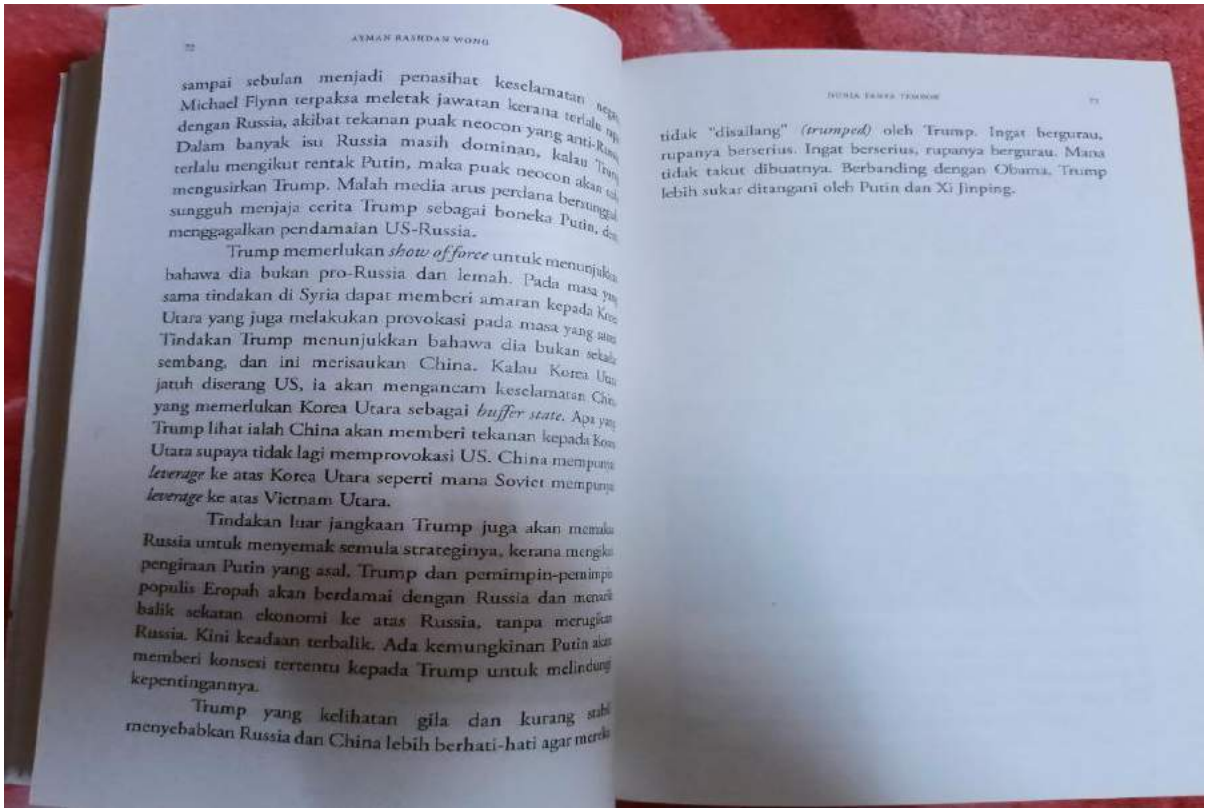
Kissinger menasihat Nixon supaya *"back words with action"*. Maka pada 13 Oktober 1969, Nixon mengarahkan 18 pesawat B52 yang membawa bom nuklear menerbang ke ruang udara Soviet, berkeliaran selama 23 hari. Soviet menjadi panik, mereka ingat Nixon mahu menyerang. Namun pada 30 Oktober 1969, Nixon mengarahkan semua pesawat patah balik. Soviet bingung dengan niat Nixon. Maka Kissinger memberitahu pihak Soviet sekali lagi: "Tuan Presiden dia emosi kurang stabil, saya tak pasti apa yang dia akan buat selepas ini."

6 bulan kemudian, Nixon melancarkan kempen pengeboman ke atas Cambodia, jiran kepada Vietnam. Tindakan tersebut mengundang protes besar-besaran daripada rakyat. Mereka menganggap Nixon telah mengkhianati manifesto pilihanraya. Namun tindakan di luar jangkaan Nixon berjaya membuat Soviet memberi tekanan kepada Vietnam Utara, kerana tindakan tersebut seolah-olah membuktikan teori *madman* selama ini. Mereka takut Nixon akan melakukan perkara yang lebih bahaya kalau permintaan terhadap Vietnam tidak dipenuhi.

Pada Februari 1972, Nixon melawat China yang merupakan musuh ketat Soviet. Kejadian tersebut membuat Moscow nekad untuk menekan Vietnam Utara supaya berunding dengan US. Akhirnya pada Mei 1972, Nixon melawat Moscow dan berjumpa dengan Brezhnev dan mencapai kata sepakat mengenai situasi Vietnam. Vietnam Utara terpaksa menghentikan serangan dan berunding dengan US. Pada Januari 1973, US berjaya menamatkan Perang Vietnam melalui *Perjanjian Paris Peace Accord*.

Kecemerlangan dasar luar Nixon membuatnya memenangi pilihanraya 1972 secara *landslide*. Kalau bukan kerana skandal Watergate, nama Nixon akan terukir sebagai antara presiden teragung US.

Walaupun Trump berjanji untuk berdamai dengan Russia, tetapi bukan mudah untuk mencapainya. Tidak



sampai sebulan menjadi penasihat keselamatan nega
Michael Flynn terpaksa meletak jawatan kerana terlalu rap
dengan Russia, akibat tekanan puak neocon yang anti-Russ
Dalam banyak isu Russia masih dominan, kalau Trum
terlalu mengikut rentak Putin, maka puak neocon akan cu
mengusirkan Trump. Malah media arus perdana bertunggul
sungguh menjaja cerita Trump sebagai boneka Putin, dan
menggagalkan pendamaian US-Russia.

Trump memerlukan *show of force* untuk menunjukkan
bahawa dia bukan pro-Russia dan lemah. Pada masa yan
sama tindakan di Syria dapat memberi amaran kepada Kore
Utara yang juga melakukan provokasi pada masa yang sama
Tindakan Trump menunjukkan bahawa dia bukan sekadar
sembang, dan ini merisaukan China. Kalau Korea Utara
jatuh diserang US, ia akan mengancam keselamatan Chin
yang memerlukan Korea Utara sebagai *buffer state*. Apa yang
Trump lihat ialah China akan memberi tekanan kepada Kore
Utara supaya tidak lagi memprovokasi US. China mempuny
leverage ke atas Korea Utara seperti mana Soviet mempuny
leverage ke atas Vietnam Utara.

Tindakan luar jangkaan Trump juga akan memaks
Russia untuk menyemak semula strateginya, kerana mengik
pengiraan Putin yang asal. Trump dan pemimpin-pemimpin
populis Eropah akan berdamai dengan Russia dan menarik
balik sekatan ekonomi ke atas Russia, tanpa merugikan
Russia. Kini keadaan terbalik. Ada kemungkinan Putin akan
memberi konsesi tertentu kepada Trump untuk melindungi
kepentingannya.

Trump yang kelihatan gila dan kurang stabi
menyebabkan Russia dan China lebih berhati-hati agar mereka

tidak "disailang" *(trumped)* oleh Trump. Ingat bergurau,
rupanya berserius. Ingat berserius, rupanya bergurau. Mana
tidak takut dibuatnya. Berbanding dengan Obama, Trump
lebih sukar ditangani oleh Putin dan Xi Jinping.

Bab Island Chain: Geopolitik China

ISLAND CHAIN: OBSESI GEOPOLITIK CHINA

Mengapa China makin aktif melabur di negara kita? Mengapa China ingin membina jaringan landasan keretapi dan pelabuhan di negara-negara seperti Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar dan termasuk Malaysia? Adakah ia berkaitan dengan tuntutan China terhadap Laut China Selatan (LCS)? Bolehkan ia dikaitkan dengan "klaim kedaulatan" China atas Taiwan? Adakah China ingin membina empayar?

Semua persoalan ini dapat dirungkai dengan melihat pada sebuah masalah geopolitik China yang bernama "Rantai Pulau" *(Island Chain)*.*

Jika lihat pada peta, pulau-pulau di sebelah timur China – dari Jepun, Okinawa, Taiwan hingga ke Filipina – membentuk seutas "rantai" yang seolah-olah membelenggu pergerakan China di laut. Semasa zaman Perang Dingin (1948-1991), potensi strategik pulau-pulau ini telah dikenalpasti oleh John Foster Dulles, Menteri Luar *(Secretary of State)* US pada 1950-an. Dulles telah memperkenalkan Strategi Rantai Pulau *(Island Chain Strategy)* untuk menjayakan strategi raya pembendungan *(containment)* yang bertujuan mengekang kemaraan kuasa China dan Soviet Russia.

Di bawah Strategi Rantai Pulau, pulau-pulau dari Jepun hingga ke Filipina dinamakan sebagai "Rantai Pulau Pertama" *(First Island Chain)* manakala pulau-pulau yang terdiri daripada Guam dan Northern Mariana dikenali sebagai "Rantai Pulau Kedua" *(Second Island Chain)*. US telah menubuhkan hubungan pakatan ketenteraan dengan Jepun, Korea Selatan, Taiwan dan Filipina untuk menjadikan mereka sebagai *unsinkable aircraft carriers* iaitu tapak pelancaran

serangan terhadap China. Cuma, kesignifikan Strategik Rantai Pulau telah berkurang semenjak 1970-an dengan penjalinan hubungan diplomatik di antara US dan China.

Meskipun Perang Dingin tamat pada 1990-an, US tidak memberhentikan Strategi Rantai Pulau ini. China memahami apa isi hati US. Dengan kehadiran US di Rantai Pulau Pertama, jalan perdagangan laut utama China (yang mengangkut 90% dari sumber ekonomi China) terdedah kepada kuasa tentera laut US. US boleh menyekat aliran sumber ekonomi China pada bila-bila masa dan ia akan melemahkan China secara strategik. Dan untuk masa kini kuasa tentera laut China masih tidak dapat menandingi

tentera laut US.

Itu sebabnya China memandang serius terhadap LCS kerana China khuatiri sekiranya kawasan perairan tersebut dikuasai oleh US dan sekutunya, ia akan mengancam keselamatan China secara terus. Begitu juga dengan Taiwan. China berharap, dengan menyatukan Taiwan dengan Tanah Besar China, ia dapat memecahkan Strategi Rantai Pulau US. Jadi, tuntutan China ke atas LCS dan Taiwan bukan saja dibuat atas nasionalisme atau imperialisme, tetapi atas pertimbangan geopolitik dan keselamatan. Kalau mahu China mengurangkan keagresifannya dalam isu LCS, maka perlu membuat China rasa selamat.

Dasar *Pivot to Asia* yang diumumkan oleh Obama dan Clinton pada tahun 2011 telah menimbulkan rasa tidak selamat China. Pivot melibatkan pengukuhan hubungan ketenteraan dan ekonomi US dan sekutu-sekutunya di Asia, termasuk Jepun, Korea Selatan, Filipina, Singapura, Taiwan (secara tidak rasmi), dan menarik rakan strategik baru, misalnya Indonesia dan Malaysia. Tetapi kedua-dua negara ini agak samar-samar dalam menyahut Pivot. Walaupun kehadiran US dapat mengimbangi kuasa China, namun kecondongan ke arah US akan menimbulkan reaksi balas daripada China.

Untuk membebaskan dirinya daripada dibelenggu Rantai Pulau ini, China telah memperkenalkan dasar *One Belt One Road* (OBOR) pada tahun 2013 sebagai jawapan balas kepada Pivot. Juga dikenali sebagai Laluan Sutera Baru, ia terdiri daripada Laluan Sutera Darat *(Silk Road Economic Belt)* dan Laluan Sutera Laut *(Maritime Silk Road)*. Di darat, China telah dan sedang membina saluran-saluran paip minyak di Pakistan, Myanmar, Kazakhstan dan sebagainya untuk

mengelak jalan laut di Asia Tenggara. Pada masa yang sama, China juga membina dan memiliki pelabuhan-pelabuhan strategik di negara-negara seperti Pakistan (Gwadar) dan Sri Lanka (Hambantota) sebagai pusat logistik.

Malaysia telah dikenalpasti sebagai satu hab Laluan Sutera yang membolehkan China mengelak kawasan LCS. Pengangkutan kargo China yang tiba di pelabuhan Semenanjung Malaysia boleh disambung melalui jaringan kereta api di darat dan diangkut ke China melalui jaringan kereta api di Thailand dan Laos. China memerlukan Malaysia untuk melengkapi strateginya, dan ia telah membawa kepada pelaburan dalam projek-projek seperti Melaka Gateway dan ECRL.

Sama ada ia menjadi ancaman atau tidak kepada Malaysia bergantung kepada perspektif. Ada yang risau China akan menggunakan pemilikan ke atas pelabuhan-pelabuhan strategik untuk mengancam Malaysia. Namun sekiranya China telah pun mencapai matlamat keselamatannya melalui kerjasama yang disifatkan *"win-win"*, buat apa China nak mengancam lagi? Malah kerjasama sebegini dapat meredakan ketegangan di LCS kerana dengan adanya laluan alternatif kepadanya.

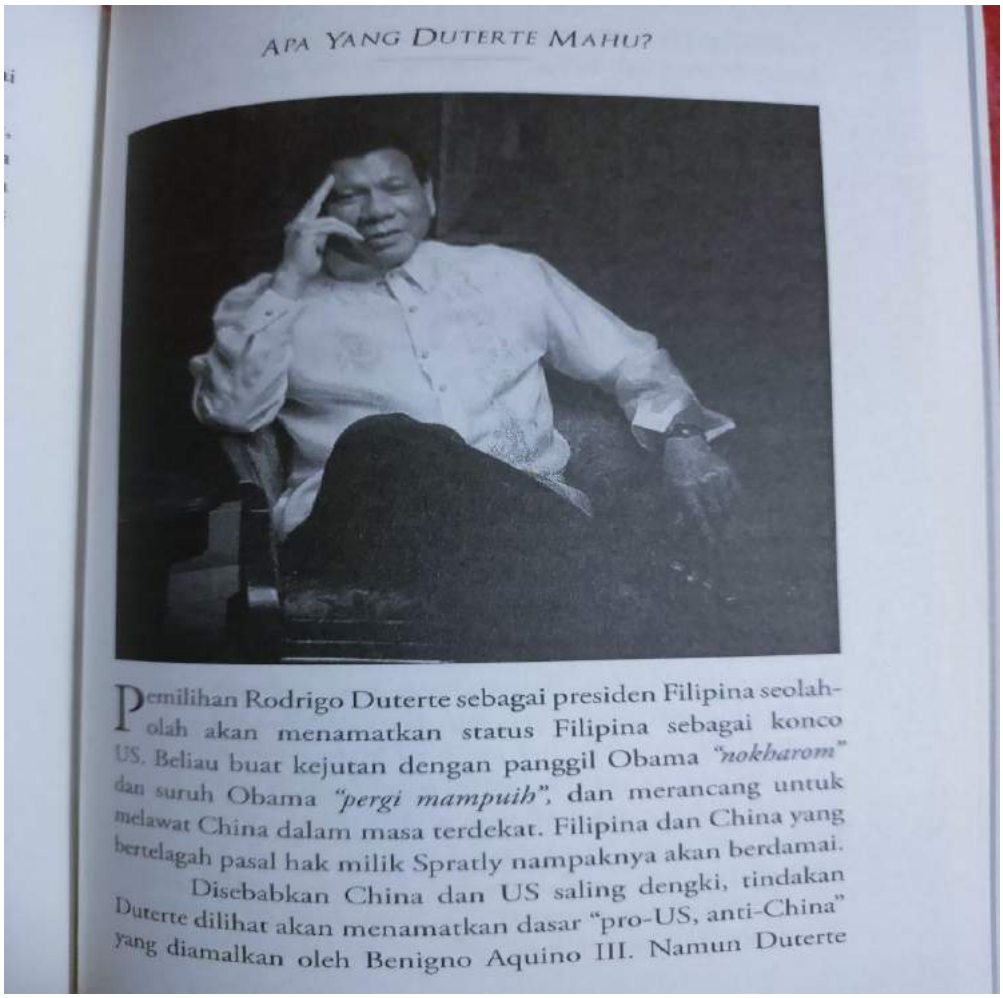
Sementara kita melihat ia sebagai ancaman, negara-negara jiran kita tengah meneguk peluang. Singapura, Indonesia dan Thailand hanya akan tersenyum lebar jika kita menolak pelaburan-pelaburan yang berkaitan dengan Laluan Sutera. Siapa yang bakal menerima kesan sekiranya potensi Melaka sebagai pusat pelabuhan serantau dimanfaatkan sepenuhnya, kalau bukan Singapura?

Jokowi yang bercita-cita menjadikan Indonesia

sebagai "Poros Maritim Dunia" juga menantikan peluang untuk membangunkan Selat Lombok dan Selat Sunda sebagai laluan perdagangan utama serantau, namun ia kurang menarik minat China kerana faktor jarak. Pada masa yang sama, Thailand menawarkan alternatif kepada Melaka iaitu Segenting Kra. Cuma ia juga tidak begitu menarik perhatian China, kerana dari segi nilai logistik dan strategik ia tidak banyak berbeza pun dengan Melaka. Mereka akan dapat peluang yang diidamkan, sekiranya Malaysia tidak relevan dalam geostrategi China.

Mengakui China sebagai sebuah negara hegemon tidak bermakna kita akan sentiasa dibuli. Menerima pelaburan China juga tidak bermaksud menolak pelaburan dari negara lain. Malah untuk tahun 2015, FDI Jepun ke Malaysia adalah dua kali ganda FDI China ke Malaysia, maka tidak timbul soal kebergantungan ekonomi kepada China. Malaysia selamat selagi kita mengamalkan strategi *"diversification"* atau *"hedging"* yang menjalin hubungan dengan semua kuasa besar sebagai pengimbang kepada kuasa China, tidak kira US, Jepun, India atau Russia.

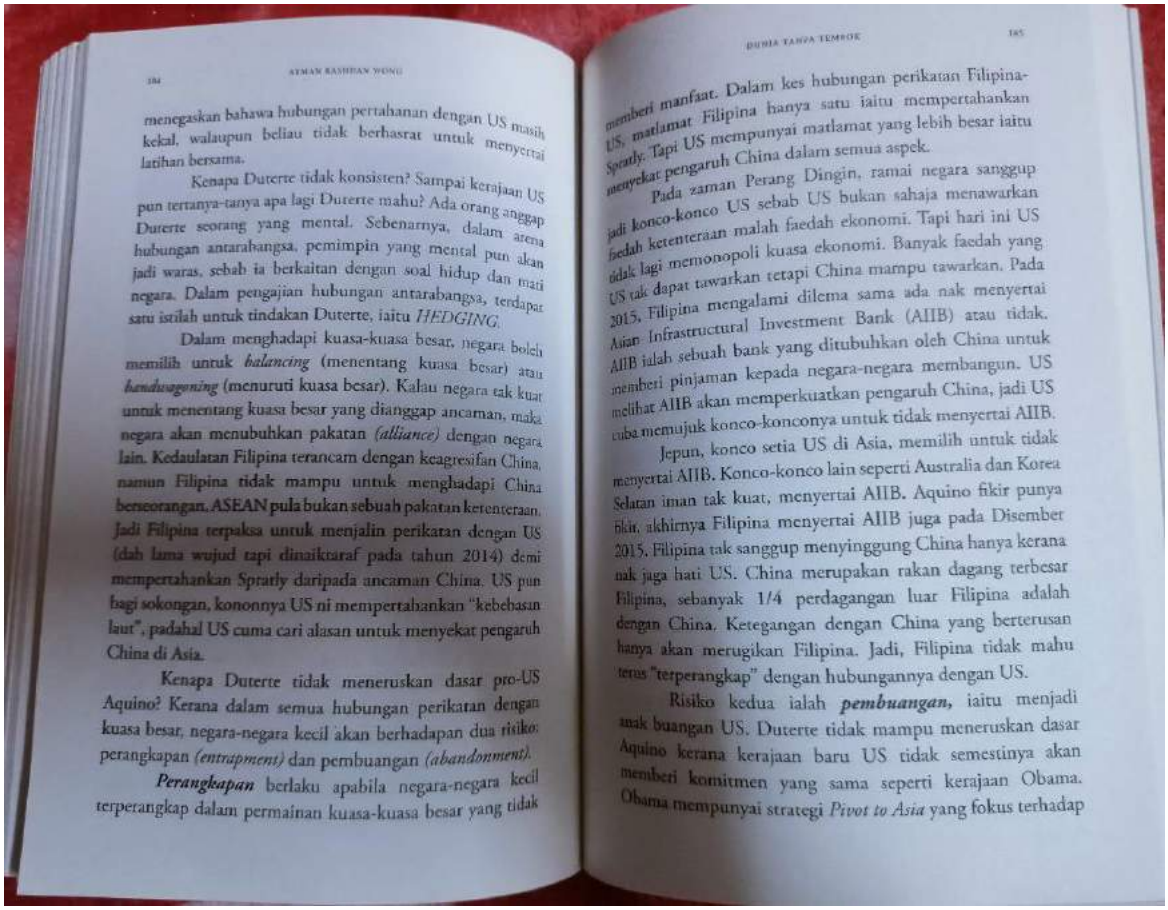
Bab Apa yang Duterte Mahu?



APA YANG DUTERTE MAHU?

Pemilihan Rodrigo Duterte sebagai presiden Filipina seolah-olah akan menamatkan status Filipina sebagai konco US. Beliau buat kejutan dengan panggil Obama *"nokharom"* dan suruh Obama *"pergi mampuih"*, dan merancang untuk melawat China dalam masa terdekat. Filipina dan China yang bertelagah pasal hak milik Spratly nampaknya akan berdamai.

Disebabkan China dan US saling dengki, tindakan Duterte dilihat akan menamatkan dasar "pro-US, anti-China" yang diamalkan oleh Benigno Aquino III. Namun Duterte



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menegaskan bahawa hubungan pertahanan dengan US masih kekal, walaupun beliau tidak berhasrat untuk menyertai latihan bersama.

Kenapa Duterte tidak konsisten? Sampai kerajaan US pun tertanya-tanya apa lagi Duterte mahu? Ada orang anggap Duterte seorang yang mental. Sebenarnya, dalam arena hubungan antarabangsa, pemimpin yang mental pun akan jadi waras, sebab ia berkaitan dengan soal hidup dan mati negara. Dalam pengajian hubungan antarabangsa, terdapat satu istilah untuk tindakan Duterte, iaitu *HEDGING*.

Dalam menghadapi kuasa-kuasa besar, negara boleh memilih untuk ***balancing*** (menentang kuasa besar) atau ***bandwagoning*** (menuruti kuasa besar). Kalau negara tak kuat untuk menentang kuasa besar yang dianggap ancaman, maka negara akan menubuhkan pakatan *(alliance)* dengan negara lain. Kedaulatan Filipina terancam dengan keagresifan China, namun Filipina tidak mampu untuk menghadapi China berseorangan. ASEAN pula bukan sebuah pakatan ketenteraan. Jadi Filipina terpaksa untuk menjalin perikatan dengan US (dah lama wujud tapi dinaiktaraf pada tahun 2014) demi mempertahankan Spratly daripada ancaman China. US pun bagi sokongan, kononnya US ni mempertahankan "kebebasan laut", padahal US cuma cari alasan untuk menyekat pengaruh China di Asia.

Kenapa Duterte tidak meneruskan dasar pro-US Aquino? Kerana dalam semua hubungan perikatan dengan kuasa besar, negara-negara kecil akan berhadapan dua risiko: perangkapan *(entrapment)* dan pembuangan *(abandonment)*.

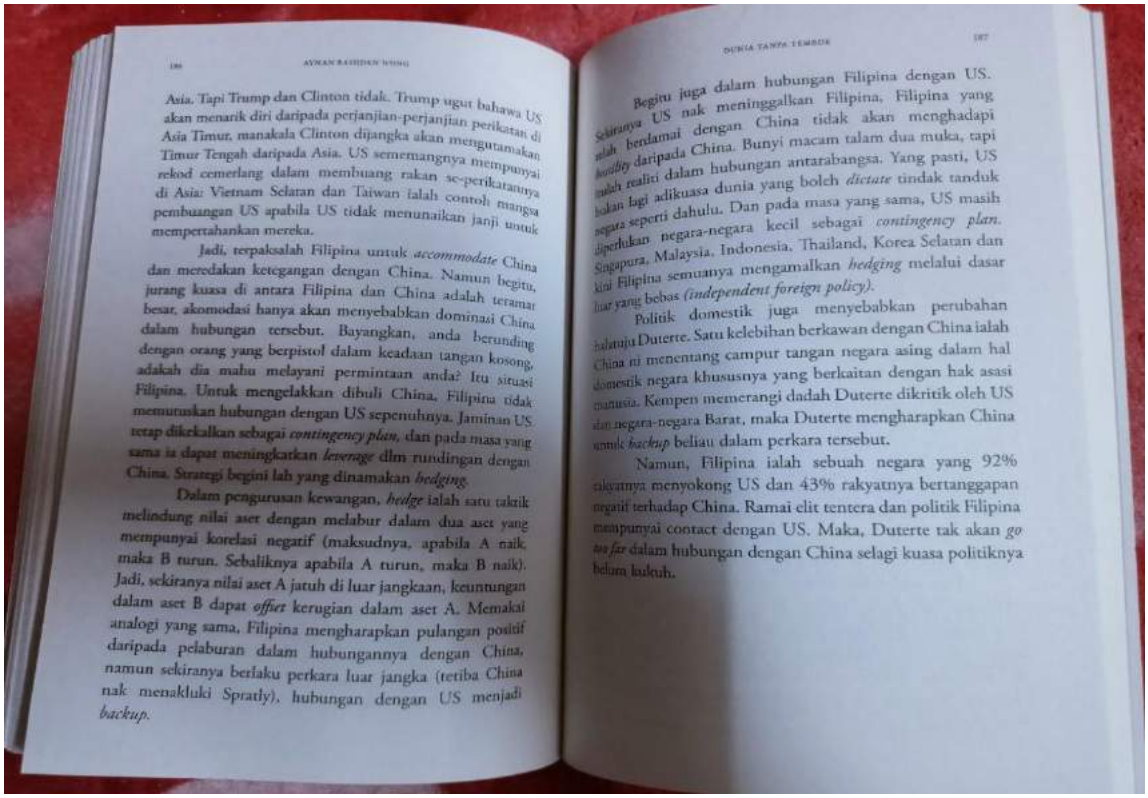
Perangkapan berlaku apabila negara-negara kecil terperangkap dalam permainan kuasa-kuasa besar yang tidak

memberi manfaat. Dalam kes hubungan perikatan Filipina-US, matlamat Filipina hanya satu iaitu mempertahankan Spratly. Tapi US mempunyai matlamat yang lebih besar iaitu menyekat pengaruh China dalam semua aspek.

Pada zaman Perang Dingin, ramai negara sanggup jadi konco-konco US sebab US bukan sahaja menawarkan faedah ketenteraan malah faedah ekonomi. Tapi hari ini US tidak lagi memonopoli kuasa ekonomi. Banyak faedah yang US tak dapat tawarkan tetapi China mampu tawarkan. Pada 2015, Filipina mengalami dilema sama ada nak menyertai Asian Infrastructural Investment Bank (AIIB) atau tidak. AIIB ialah sebuah bank yang ditubuhkan oleh China untuk memberi pinjaman kepada negara-negara membangun. US melihat AIIB akan memperkuatkan pengaruh China, jadi US cuba memujuk konco-konconya untuk tidak menyertai AIIB.

Jepun, konco setia US di Asia, memilih untuk tidak menyertai AIIB. Konco-konco lain seperti Australia dan Korea Selatan iman tak kuat, menyertai AIIB. Aquino fikir punya fikir, akhirnya Filipina menyertai AIIB juga pada Disember 2015. Filipina tak sanggup menyinggung China hanya kerana nak jaga hati US. China merupakan rakan dagang terbesar Filipina, sebanyak 1/4 perdagangan luar Filipina adalah dengan China. Ketegangan dengan China yang berterusan hanya akan merugikan Filipina. Jadi, Filipina tidak mahu terus "terperangkap" dengan hubungannya dengan US.

Risiko kedua ialah ***pembuangan,*** iaitu menjadi anak buangan US. Duterte tidak mampu meneruskan dasar Aquino kerana kerajaan baru US tidak semestinya akan memberi komitmen yang sama seperti kerajaan Obama. Obama mempunyai strategi *Pivot to Asia* yang fokus terhadap



Asia. Tapi Trump dan Clinton tidak. Trump ugut bahawa US akan menarik diri daripada perjanjian-perjanjian perikatan di Asia Timur, manakala Clinton dijangka akan mengutamakan Timur Tengah daripada Asia. US sememangnya mempunyai rekod cemerlang dalam membuang rakan sc-perikatannya di Asia: Vietnam Selatan dan Taiwan ialah contoh mangsa pembuangan US apabila US tidak menunaikan janji untuk mempertahankan mereka.

Jadi, terpaksalah Filipina untuk *accommodate* China dan meredakan ketegangan dengan China. Namun begitu, jurang kuasa di antara Filipina dan China adalah teramat besar, akomodasi hanya akan menyebabkan dominasi China dalam hubungan tersebut. Bayangkan, anda berunding dengan orang yang berpistol dalam keadaan tangan kosong, adakah dia mahu melayani permintaan anda? Itu situasi Filipina. Untuk mengelakkan dibuli China, Filipina tidak memutuskan hubungan dengan US sepenuhnya. Jaminan US tetap dikekalkan sebagai *contingency plan*, dan pada masa yang sama ia dapat meningkatkan *leverage* dlm rundingan dengan China. Strategi begini lah yang dinamakan *hedging*.

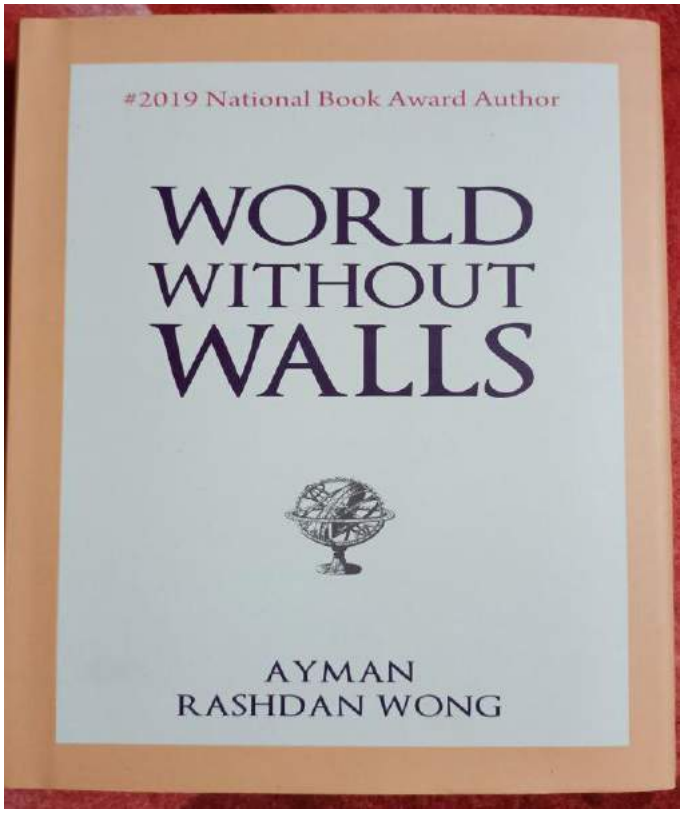
Dalam pengurusan kewangan, *hedge* ialah satu taktik melindung nilai aset dengan melabur dalam dua aset yang mempunyai korelasi negatif (maksudnya, apabila A naik, maka B turun. Sebaliknya apabila A turun, maka B naik). Jadi, sekiranya nilai aset A jatuh di luar jangkaan, keuntungan dalam aset B dapat *offset* kerugian dalam aset A. Memakai analogi yang sama, Filipina mengharapkan pulangan positif daripada pelaburan dalam hubungannya dengan China, namun sekiranya berlaku perkara luar jangka (tetiba China nak menakluki Spratly), hubungan dengan US menjadi *backup*.

Begitu juga dalam hubungan Filipina dengan US. Sekiranya US nak meninggalkan Filipina, Filipina yang telah berdamai dengan China tidak akan menghadapi *hostility* daripada China. Bunyi macam talam dua muka, tapi itulah realiti dalam hubungan antarabangsa. Yang pasti, US bukan lagi adikuasa dunia yang boleh *dictate* tindak tanduk negara seperti dahulu. Dan pada masa yang sama, US masih diperlukan negara-negara kecil sebagai *contingency plan*. Singapura, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Korea Selatan dan kini Filipina semuanya mengamalkan *hedging* melalui dasar luar yang bebas *(independent foreign policy)*.

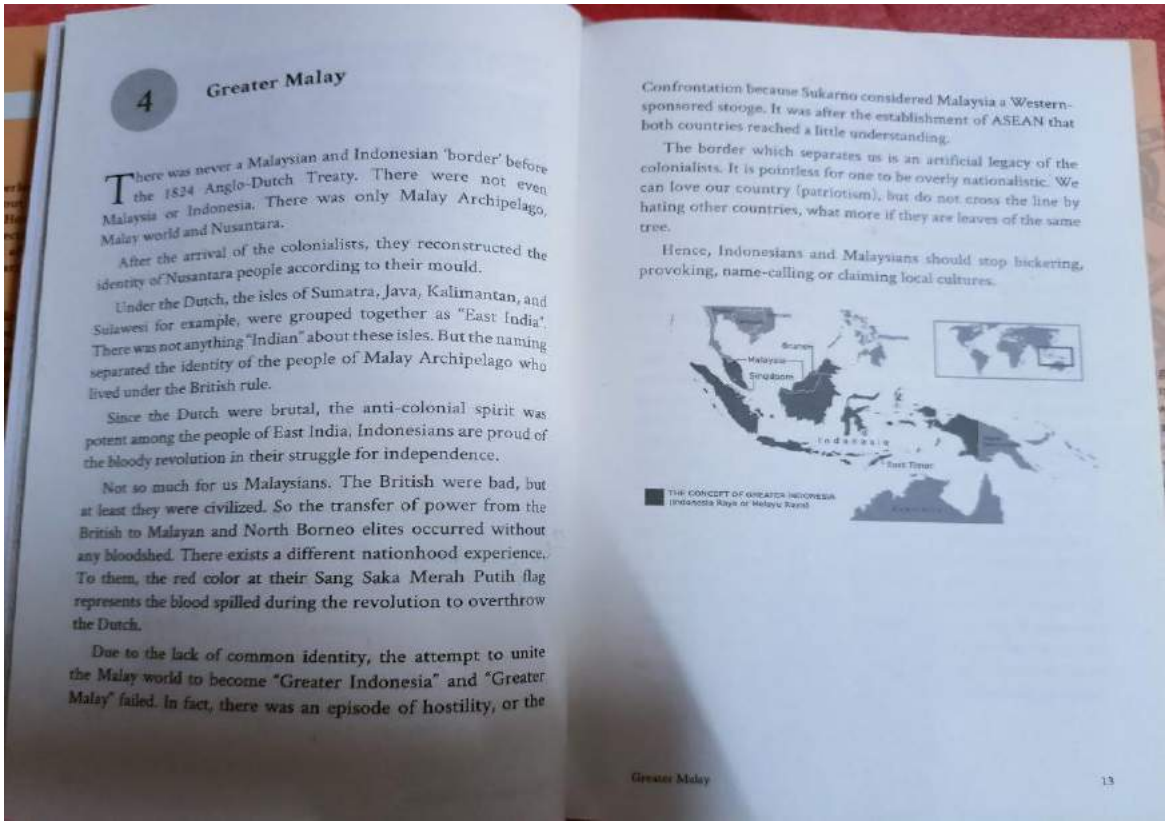
Politik domestik juga menyebabkan perubahan halatuju Duterte. Satu kelebihan berkawan dengan China ialah China tri menentang campur tangan negara asing dalam hal domestik negara khususnya yang berkaitan dengan hak asasi manusia. Kempen memerangi dadah Duterte dikritik oleh US dan negara-negara Barat, maka Duterte mengharapkan China untuk *backup* beliau dalam perkara tersebut.

Namun, Filipina ialah sebuah negara yang 92% rakyatnya menyokong US dan 43% rakyatnya bertanggapan negatif terhadap China. Ramai elit tentera dan politik Filipina mempunyai contact dengan US. Maka, Duterte tak akan *go too far* dalam hubungan dengan China selagi kuasa politiknya belum kukuh.

Translated Version (English Version) - World Without Walls



Chapter Greater Malay



4 Greater Malay

There was never a Malaysian and Indonesian 'border' before the 1824 Anglo-Dutch Treaty. There were not even Malaysia or Indonesia. There was only Malay Archipelago, Malay world and Nusantara.

After the arrival of the colonialists, they reconstructed the identity of Nusantara people according to their mould.

Under the Dutch, the isles of Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi for example, were grouped together as "East India". There was not anything "Indian" about these isles. But the naming separated the identity of the people of Malay Archipelago who lived under the British rule.

Since the Dutch were brutal, the anti-colonial spirit was potent among the people of East India. Indonesians are proud of the bloody revolution in their struggle for independence.

Not so much for us Malaysians. The British were bad, but at least they were civilized. So the transfer of power from the British to Malayan and North Borneo elites occurred without any bloodshed. There exists a different nationhood experience. To them, the red color at their Sang Saka Merah Putih flag represents the blood spilled during the revolution to overthrow the Dutch.

Due to the lack of common identity, the attempt to unite the Malay world to become "Greater Indonesia" and "Greater Malay" failed. In fact, there was an episode of hostility, or the Confrontation because Sukarno considered Malaysia a Western-sponsored stooge. It was after the establishment of ASEAN that both countries reached a little understanding.

The border which separates us is an artificial legacy of the colonialists. It is pointless for one to be overly nationalistic. We can love our country (patriotism), but do not cross the line by hating other countries, what more if they are leaves of the same tree.

Hence, Indonesians and Malaysians should stop bickering, provoking, name-calling or claiming local cultures.

THE CONCEPT OF GREATER INDONESIA (Indonesia Raya or Melayu Raya)

Greater Malay 13

Chapter Minutes to Midnight

14 Minutes to Midnight

Our world at this moment is the closest in approaching the doomsday since 1953.

Fans of Linkin Park must have remembered their album entitled Minutes to Midnight. The title was inspired by the Doomsday Clock created by a group of scientists at the University of Chicago in 1947, after the start of the Cold War.

The Doomsday Clock was created to show how close we are to the doomsday. Doomsday refers to a nuclear Armageddon or nuclear war between the US and Russia, where a number of nuclear weapons owned by the two states are more than enough to blow the world.

The maiden use of the nuclear bomb by the US in 1945 was to end the Second World War. Russia became the second nuclear power in 1949. Even so, both the US and Russia avoid causing the Third World War as they realize that it would bring great disaster.

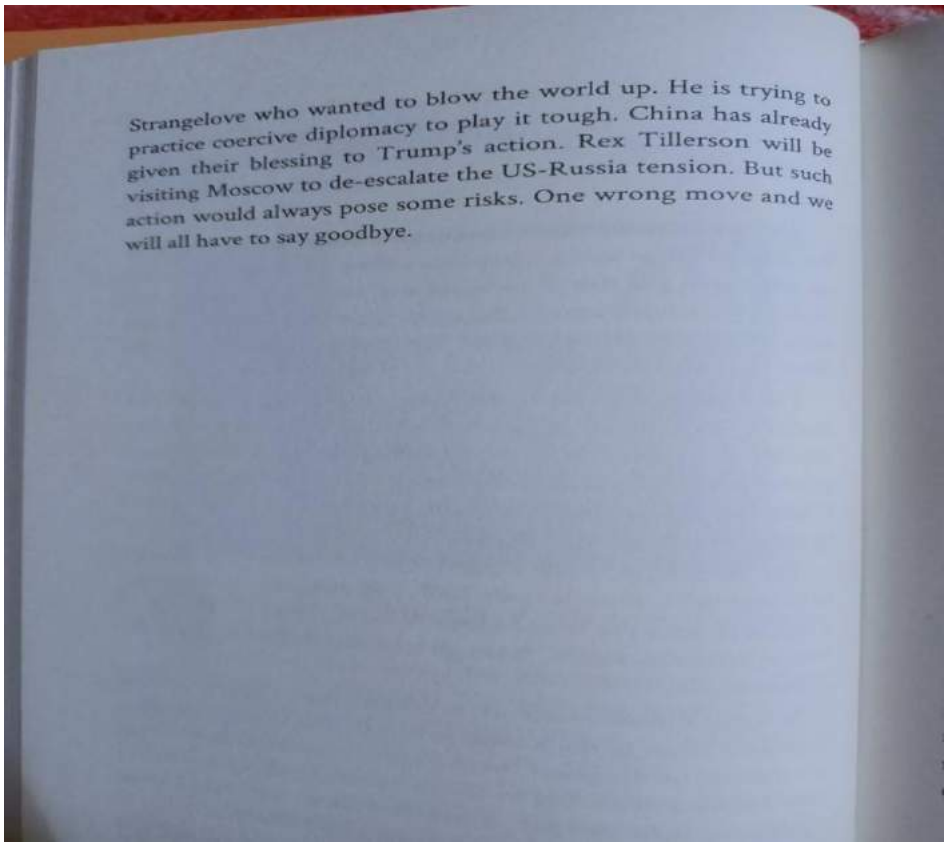
The clock hand would move from left to right according to the changes in the world's geopolitics. If the geopolitical situation became tense, the risk of a nuclear war would also increase, the clock hand would move to the right, closer to 12 midnight that signs the doomsday. The closer the clock is to number 12, the closer we are to doomsday.

The closest the Doomsday Clock to 12 midnight was in 1953, clocking at 23:58 or two minutes before 12 midnight, after Russia tested their hydrogen bomb. Next in 1984, the clock hand pointed to 23:57 or three minutes before 12 midnight, when Russia almost launched missiles to Europe after it was provoked by military exercise at its border.

The Doomsday Clock is pointed at 23:57:30, or 2 ½ minutes to 12 midnight, since January 2007. Following the development a few days ago, the world seems to be at the brink of war. "1 minute before midnight" is a more appropriate description of the current world.

In Syria, Russia threatened to counter the US attack in order to protect Syria. In the Korean peninsula, the US sent warships as a show of force against North Korea. Russia and North Korea have a thousand excuses to launch a first strike because this is a matter of their survival. A terrible nuclear war would break when the first strike is responded with a US second strike.

Trump is not foolish. Trump is also not insane like Dr.



Strangelove who wanted to blow the world up. He is trying to practice coercive diplomacy to play it tough. China has already given their blessing to Trump's action. Rex Tillerson will be visiting Moscow to de-escalate the US-Russia tension. But such action would always pose some risks. One wrong move and we will all have to say goodbye.

Chapter Contest of Madmen

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15 Contest of the Madmen

On April 6, 2017, Trump ordered a strike on Syria as a response to the gas attack on the residents of Idlib. The action caught many by surprise because he opposed any kind of US intervention in Syria. Many perceived that Trump has been assimilated by the neocons and become the same with George W. Bush and Hillary Clinton. At the same time, Trump also sent warships to North Korea. Looks like he was going to trigger World War 3.

A week later (12 April 2017), Trump announced that "we are not going into Syria." Meaning that he had no intention to launch a full-scale war. Trump also said that "China will get a better trade deal if it solves the North Korean problem". He hinted that if China lends a hand to solve the North Korean problem, the US would reduce pressure on China in the issue of trade as a reward.

What had happened? Is Trump a flip-flop?

Those who are familiar with US foreign policy would still remember Richard Nixon (1969—1974). There are many similarities between Nixon and Trump; both are populists, skeptical of the media, used racial rhetoric to win votes in the southern states, habitual liars, challenging the consensus of the elites and most importantly, look like a madman.

Are they really mad, or they pretend to be mad?

Basically, there are two ways of winning a war; force and cunningness. Cunningness involves the use of trick, deception

to minimize loss of lives and properties. Sun Tzu said, "All war is deception"; Machiavelli said, "To use deceit in the managing of war is a glorious thing"; even the prophet Muhammad said, (al-harbu khu•'ah) —"war is deception". Tricks can be used to hoodwink the enemy and foil their attempt to guess our moves.

One of the ways of deception is pretending to be mad, as suggested by Machiavelli in his book *Discourses on Livy*, "It is a wise thing to simulate madness" because mad people are considered unpredictable.

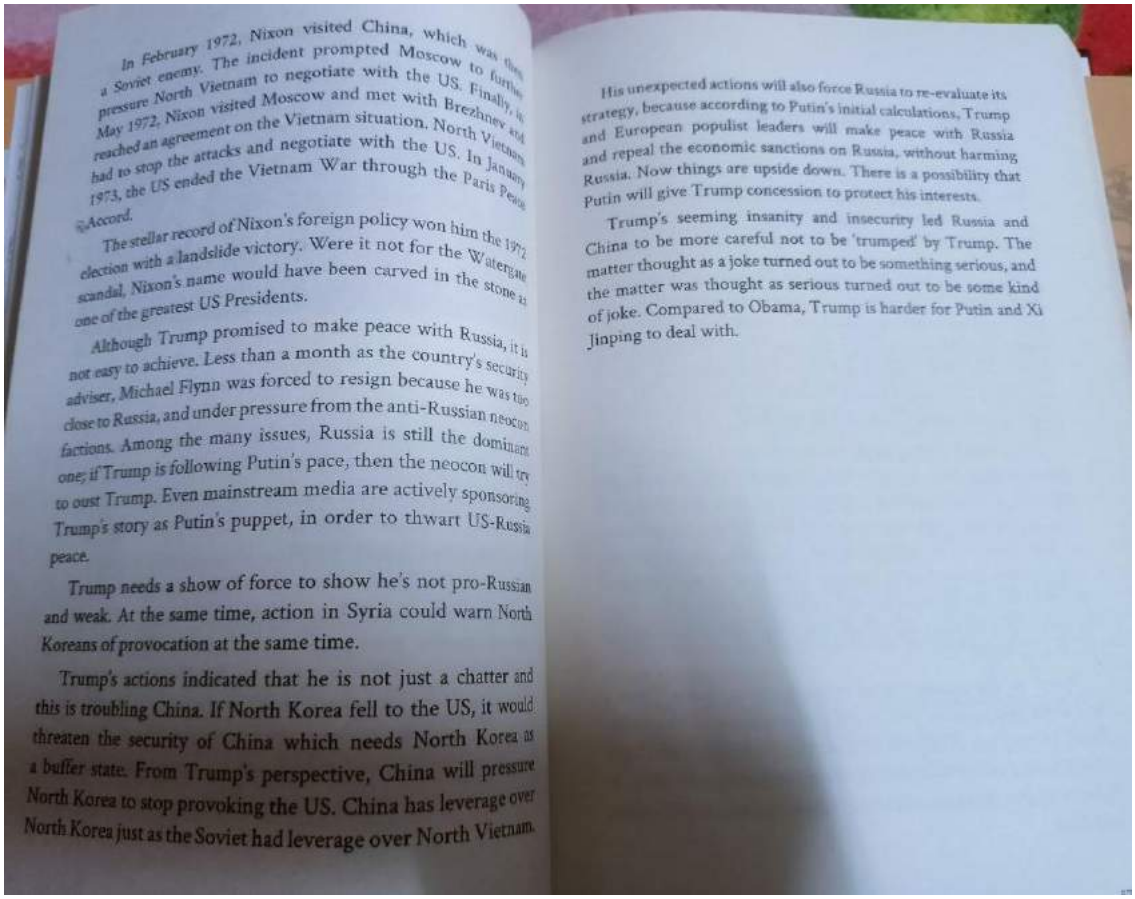
Even the use of force by superpower has its limit. There are times when the US has to resort to tricks.

In 1968, Nixon won the election by promising "Peace with Honor". The American people were very unfavorable in the Vietnam War, and victory was not in sight for the US. However, Nixon did not want to admit defeat as suggested by the Democrat candidate. Nixon vowed that he would bring North Vietnam to the negotiation table, an unrealistic promise because the latter had many advantages.

Nixon advisor, Henry Kissinger was a realist well-versed in the works of Machiavelli. Kissinger gave Nixon a piece of advice, "Mr. President, you only need to act mad." So Kissinger spread the news that Nixon is a drunkard that does his work while he is drunk. Then Kissinger purposely told Soviet Ambassador to the US, Anatoly Dobrynin that "My president is emotionally unstable, but unfortunately he has the control of the nuclear button." Dobrynin thought the information was legitimate and delivered it to the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev. Since then Brezhnev was very cautious toward Nixon.

Kissinger advised Nixon to "back words with action". Hence, on October 13, 1969, Nixon ordered 18 B52 aircraft carrying nuclear bombs to fly in Soviet airspace, roaming around for 23 days. Soviet panicked at the thought of an attack by Nixon. However, on October 30, 1969, Nixon ordered all aircraft to return. The Soviets were thrown into confusion trying to understand Nixon's intention, Hence Kissinger told the Soviets once again, "The emotion of Mr. President is less stable, I am not sure what he is going to do next."

Six months later, Nixon launched a massive bombing campaign onto Cambodia, neighbor of Vietnam. The action sparked massive protests from the people. They considered him betraying his election manifesto. But the unexpected event resulted in Soviet pressure on North Vietnam, because the action seemed to prove the madman theory all these while. They feared that Nixon would have done far more dangerous things if his demand toward Vietnam was unfulfilled.



In February 1972, Nixon visited China, which was then a Soviet enemy. The incident prompted Moscow to further pressure North Vietnam to negotiate with the US. Finally, in May 1972, Nixon visited Moscow and met with Brezhnev and reached an agreement on the Vietnam situation. North Vietnam had to stop the attacks and negotiate with the US. In January 1973, the US ended the Vietnam War through the Paris Peace Accord.

The stellar record of Nixon's foreign policy won him the 1972 election with a landslide victory. Were it not for the Watergate scandal, Nixon's name would have been carved in the stone as one of the greatest US Presidents.

Although Trump promised to make peace with Russia, it is not easy to achieve. Less than a month as the country's security adviser, Michael Flynn was forced to resign because he was too close to Russia, and under pressure from the anti-Russian neocon factions. Among the many issues, Russia is still the dominant one; if Trump is following Putin's pace, then the neocon will try to oust Trump. Even mainstream media are actively sponsoring Trump's story as Putin's puppet, in order to thwart US-Russia peace.

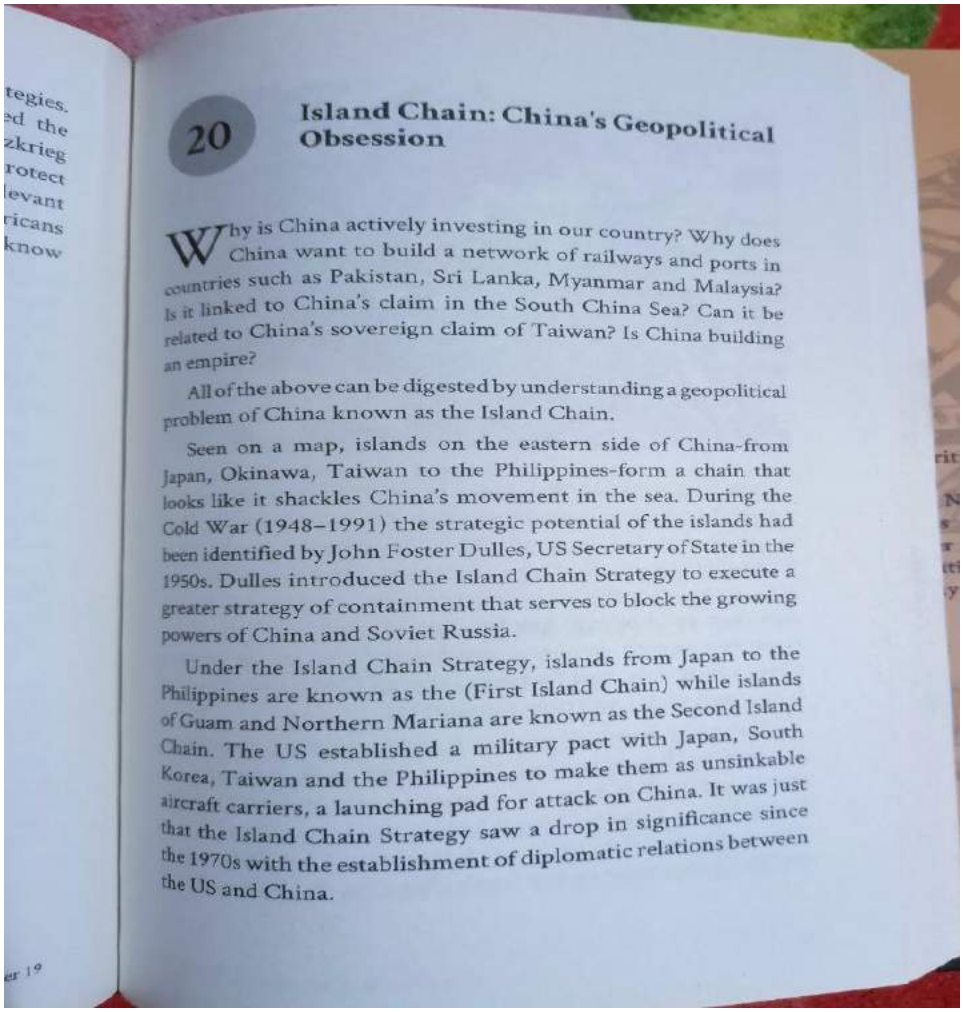
Trump needs a show of force to show he's not pro-Russian and weak. At the same time, action in Syria could warn North Koreans of provocation at the same time.

Trump's actions indicated that he is not just a chatter and this is troubling China. If North Korea fell to the US, it would threaten the security of China which needs North Korea as a buffer state. From Trump's perspective, China will pressure North Korea to stop provoking the US. China has leverage over North Korea just as the Soviet had leverage over North Vietnam.

His unexpected actions will also force Russia to re-evaluate its strategy, because according to Putin's initial calculations, Trump and European populist leaders will make peace with Russia and repeal the economic sanctions on Russia, without harming Russia. Now things are upside down. There is a possibility that Putin will give Trump concession to protect his interests.

Trump's seeming insanity and insecurity led Russia and China to be more careful not to be 'trumped' by Trump. The matter thought as a joke turned out to be something serious, and the matter was thought as serious turned out to be some kind of joke. Compared to Obama, Trump is harder for Putin and Xi Jinping to deal with.

Chapter Island Chain: China's Geopolitical Obsession



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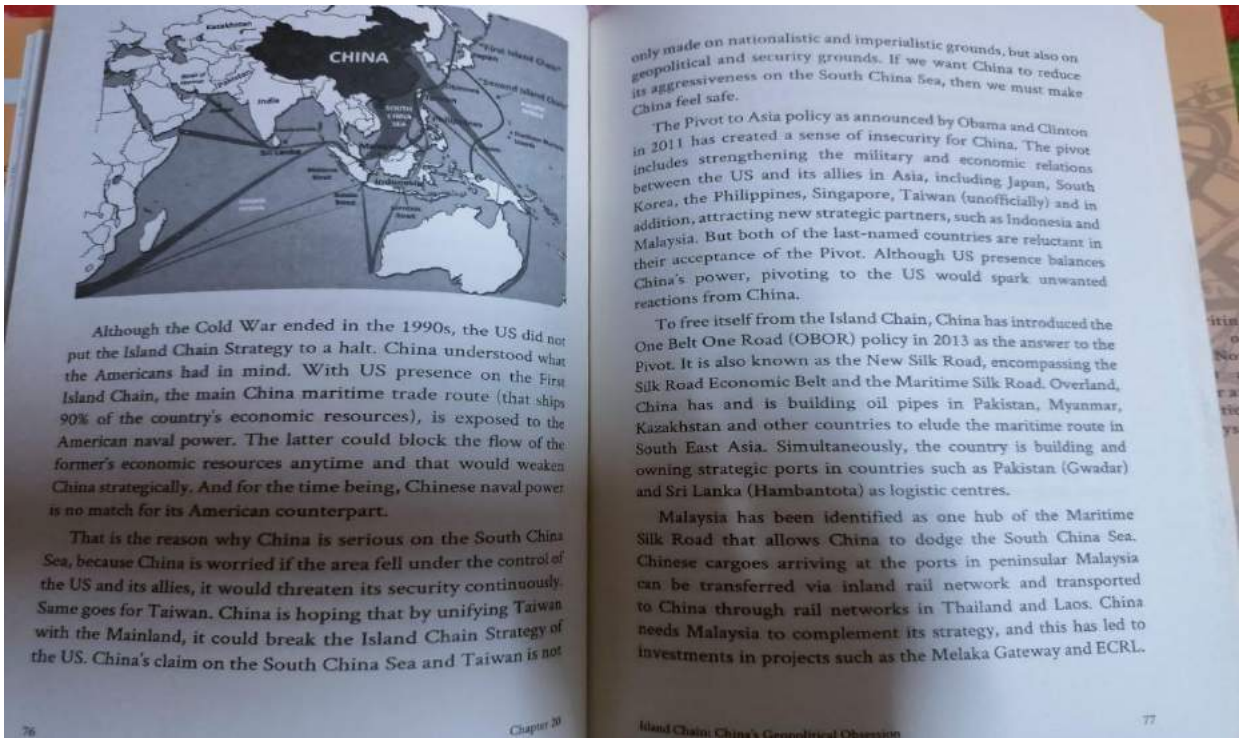
20 Island Chain: China's Geopolitical Obsession

Why is China actively investing in our country? Why does China want to build a network of railways and ports in countries such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Malaysia? Is it linked to China's claim in the South China Sea? Can it be related to China's sovereign claim of Taiwan? Is China building an empire?

All of the above can be digested by understanding a geopolitical problem of China known as the Island Chain.

Seen on a map, islands on the eastern side of China-from Japan, Okinawa, Taiwan to the Philippines-form a chain that looks like it shackles China's movement in the sea. During the Cold War (1948–1991) the strategic potential of the islands had been identified by John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State in the 1950s. Dulles introduced the Island Chain Strategy to execute a greater strategy of containment that serves to block the growing powers of China and Soviet Russia.

Under the Island Chain Strategy, islands from Japan to the Philippines are known as the (First Island Chain) while islands of Guam and Northern Mariana are known as the Second Island Chain. The US established a military pact with Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines to make them as unsinkable aircraft carriers, a launching pad for attack on China. It was just that the Island Chain Strategy saw a drop in significance since the 1970s with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the US and China.



Although the Cold War ended in the 1990s, the US did not put the Island Chain Strategy to a halt. China understood what the Americans had in mind. With US presence on the First Island Chain, the main China maritime trade route (that ships 90% of the country's economic resources), is exposed to the American naval power. The latter could block the flow of the former's economic resources anytime and that would weaken China strategically. And for the time being, Chinese naval power is no match for its American counterpart.

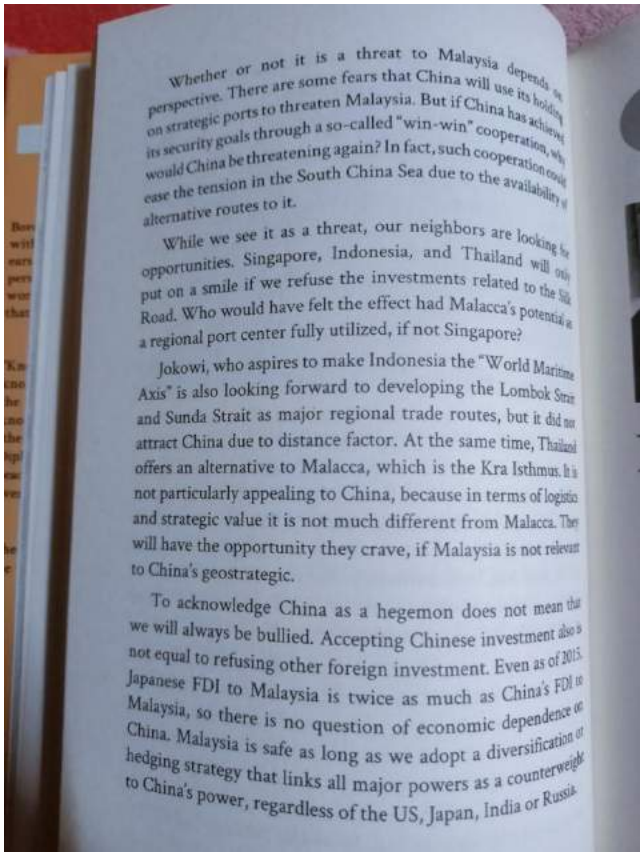
That is the reason why China is serious on the South China Sea, because China is worried if the area fell under the control of the US and its allies, it would threaten its security continuously. Same goes for Taiwan. China is hoping that by unifying Taiwan with the Mainland, it could break the Island Chain Strategy of the US. China's claim on the South China Sea and Taiwan is not

only made on nationalistic and imperialistic grounds, but also on geopolitical and security grounds. If we want China to reduce its aggressiveness on the South China Sea, then we must make China feel safe.

The Pivot to Asia policy as announced by Obama and Clinton in 2011 has created a sense of insecurity for China. The pivot includes strengthening the military and economic relations between the US and its allies in Asia, including Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan (unofficially) and in addition, attracting new strategic partners, such as Indonesia and Malaysia. But both of the last-named countries are reluctant in their acceptance of the Pivot. Although US presence balances China's power, pivoting to the US would spark unwanted reactions from China.

To free itself from the Island Chain, China has introduced the One Belt One Road (OBOR) policy in 2013 as the answer to the Pivot. It is also known as the New Silk Road, encompassing the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Maritime Silk Road. Overland, China has and is building oil pipes in Pakistan, Myanmar, Kazakhstan and other countries to elude the maritime route in South East Asia. Simultaneously, the country is building and owning strategic ports in countries such as Pakistan (Gwadar) and Sri Lanka (Hambantota) as logistic centres.

Malaysia has been identified as one hub of the Maritime Silk Road that allows China to dodge the South China Sea. Chinese cargoes arriving at the ports in peninsular Malaysia can be transferred via inland rail network and transported to China through rail networks in Thailand and Laos. China needs Malaysia to complement its strategy, and this has led to investments in projects such as the Melaka Gateway and ECRL.



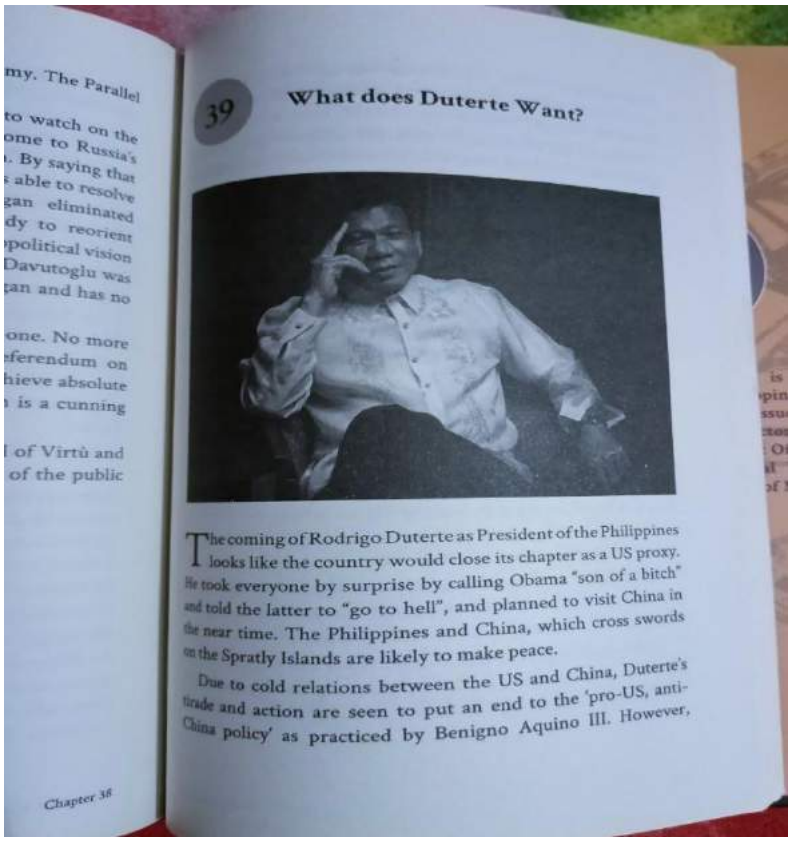
Whether or not it is a threat to Malaysia depends on perspective. There are some fears that China will use its holding on strategic ports to threaten Malaysia. But if China has achieved its security goals through a so-called "win-win" cooperation, why would China be threatening again? In fact, such cooperation could ease the tension in the South China Sea due to the availability of alternative routes to it.

While we see it as a threat, our neighbors are looking for opportunities. Singapore, Indonesia, and Thailand will only put on a smile if we refuse the investments related to the Silk Road. Who would have felt the effect had Malacca's potential as a regional port center fully utilized, if not Singapore?

Jokowi, who aspires to make Indonesia the "World Maritime Axis" is also looking forward to developing the Lombok Strait and Sunda Strait as major regional trade routes, but it did not attract China due to distance factor. At the same time, Thailand offers an alternative to Malacca, which is the Kra Isthmus. It is not particularly appealing to China, because in terms of logistics and strategic value it is not much different from Malacca. They will have the opportunity they crave, if Malaysia is not relevant to China's geostrategic.

To acknowledge China as a hegemon does not mean that we will always be bullied. Accepting Chinese investment also is not equal to refusing other foreign investment. Even as of 2015, Japanese FDI to Malaysia is twice as much as China's FDI to Malaysia, so there is no question of economic dependence on China. Malaysia is safe as long as we adopt a diversification or hedging strategy that links all major powers as a counterweight to China's power, regardless of the US, Japan, India or Russia.

Chapter What does Duterte Want?



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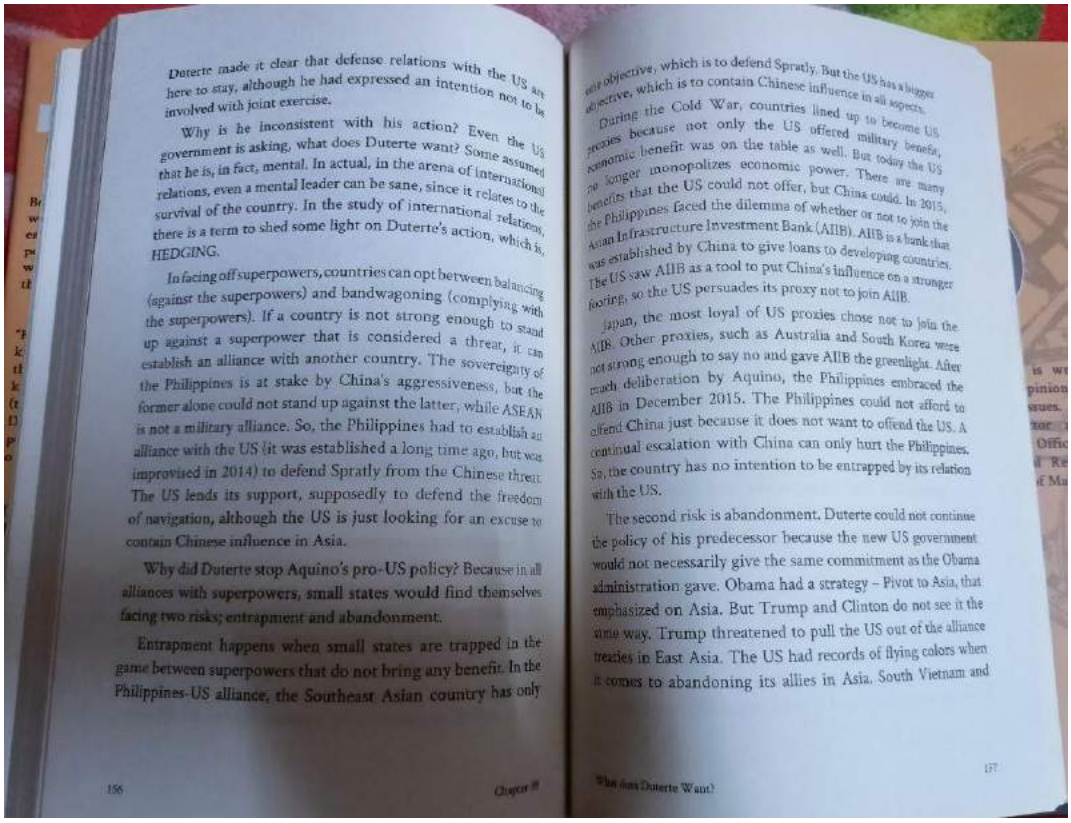
Chapter 38

39 What does Duterte Want?

The coming of Rodrigo Duterte as President of the Philippines looks like the country would close its chapter as a US proxy. He took everyone by surprise by calling Obama "son of a bitch" and told the latter to "go to hell", and planned to visit China in the near time. The Philippines and China, which cross swords on the Spratly Islands are likely to make peace.

Due to cold relations between the US and China, Duterte's tirade and action are seen to put an end to the 'pro-US, anti-China policy' as practiced by Benigno Aquino III. However,



Duterte made it clear that defense relations with the US are here to stay, although he had expressed an intention not to be involved with joint exercise.

Why is he inconsistent with his action? Even the US government is asking, what does Duterte want? Some assumed that he is, in fact, mental. In actual, in the arena of international relations, even a mental leader can be sane, since it relates to the survival of the country. In the study of international relations, there is a term to shed some light on Duterte's action, which is, *HEDGING*.

In facing off superpowers, countries can opt between balancing (against the superpowers) and bandwagoning (complying with the superpowers). If a country is not strong enough to stand up against a superpower that is considered a threat, it can establish an alliance with another country. The sovereignty of the Philippines is at stake by China's aggressiveness, but the former alone could not stand up against the latter, while ASEAN is not a military alliance. So, the Philippines had to establish an alliance with the US (it was established a long time ago, but was improvised in 2014) to defend Spratly from the Chinese threat. The US lends its support, supposedly to defend the freedom of navigation, although the US is just looking for an excuse to contain Chinese influence in Asia.

Why did Duterte stop Aquino's pro-US policy? Because in all alliances with superpowers, small states would find themselves facing two risks; entrapment and abandonment.

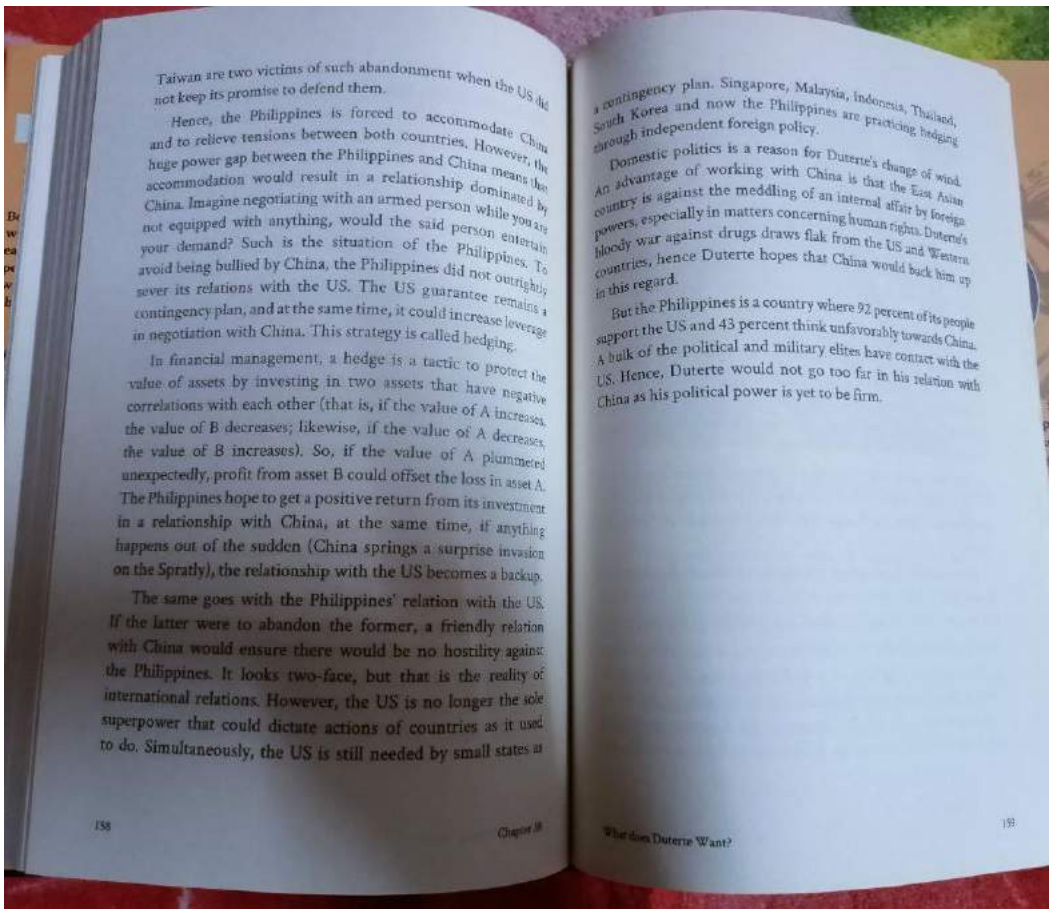
Entrapment happens when small states are trapped in the game between superpowers that do not bring any benefit. In the Philippines-US alliance, the Southeast Asian country has only

real objective, which is to defend Spratly. But the US has a bigger objective, which is to contain Chinese influence in all aspects.

During the Cold War, countries lined up to become US proxies because not only the US offered military benefit, economic benefit was on the table as well. But today the US no longer monopolizes economic power. There are many benefits that the US could not offer, but China could. In 2015, the Philippines faced the dilemma of whether or not to join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). AIIB is a bank that was established by China to give loans to developing countries. The US saw AIIB as a tool to put China's influence on a stronger footing, so the US persuades its proxy not to join AIIB.

Japan, the most loyal of US proxies chose not to join the AIIB. Other proxies, such as Australia and South Korea were not strong enough to say no and gave AIIB the greenlight. After much deliberation by Aquino, the Philippines embraced the AIIB in December 2015. The Philippines could not afford to offend China just because it does not want to offend the US. A continual escalation with China can only hurt the Philippines. So, the country has no intention to be entrapped by its relation with the US.

The second risk is abandonment. Duterte could not continue the policy of his predecessor because the new US government would not necessarily give the same commitment as the Obama administration gave. Obama had a strategy – Pivot to Asia, that emphasized on Asia. But Trump and Clinton do not see it the same way. Trump threatened to pull the US out of the alliance treaties in East Asia. The US had records of flying colors when it comes to abandoning its allies in Asia. South Vietnam and



Taiwan are two victims of such abandonment when the US did not keep its promise to defend them.

Hence, the Philippines is forced to accommodate China and to relieve tensions between both countries. However, the huge power gap between the Philippines and China means that accommodation would result in a relationship dominated by China. Imagine negotiating with an armed person while you are not equipped with anything, would the said person entertain your demand? Such is the situation of the Philippines. To avoid being bullied by China, the Philippines did not outrightly sever its relations with the US. The US guarantee remains a contingency plan, and at the same time, it could increase leverage in negotiation with China. This strategy is called hedging.

In financial management, a hedge is a tactic to protect the value of assets by investing in two assets that have negative correlations with each other (that is, if the value of A increases, the value of B decreases; likewise, if the value of A decreases, the value of B increases). So, if the value of A plummeted unexpectedly, profit from asset B could offset the loss in asset A. The Philippines hope to get a positive return from its investment in a relationship with China, at the same time, if anything happens out of the sudden (China springs a surprise invasion on the Spratly), the relationship with the US becomes a backup.

The same goes with the Philippines' relation with the US. If the latter were to abandon the former, a friendly relation with China would ensure there would be no hostility against the Philippines. It looks two-face, but that is the reality of international relations. However, the US is no longer the sole superpower that could dictate actions of countries as it used to do. Simultaneously, the US is still needed by small states as

a contingency plan. Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea and now the Philippines are practicing hedging through independent foreign policy.

Domestic politics is a reason for Duterte's change of wind. An advantage of working with China is that the East Asian country is against the meddling of an internal affair by foreign powers, especially in matters concerning human rights. Duterte's bloody war against drugs draws flak from the US and Western countries, hence Duterte hopes that China would back him up in this regard.

But the Philippines is a country where 92 percent of its people support the US and 43 percent think unfavorably towards China. A bulk of the political and military elites have contact with the US. Hence, Duterte would not go too far in his relation with China as his political power is yet to be firm.