

Malaysia and The ASEAN Dilemma in Facing the Asymmetrical Threats in South China Sea

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Abstract— This study of Malaysia and ASEAN's dilemma in dealing with asymmetrical threats in the South China Sea. Because the synergy between Malaysia and ASEAN has a vital meaning, which in this case is owned by the relevant country. The issue raised is the form of asymmetric threats in the South China Sea that are implemented and make an analysis of the effectiveness of such developments. In this study, we used analysis descriptive analysis. This analysis is used to explore and recognize more deeply the form of asymmetric threats in the South China Sea using synergy, national security, and early detection methods. The results of the descriptive-analytical analysis show that there is the development of economic, military, political, infrastructure, human resources, socialization, and cooperation with other stakeholders.

Keywords— Synergy, Intelligence, Tracking.

I. INTRODUCTION

The geographical location of The State of Malaysia is located from two parts of the mainland, namely: West Malaysia commonly known as Peninsula Malaysia which is located at the position of 01.0-06.9 LU and 99.6-104.8 BT, and East Malaysia which includes Sabah and Sarawak which is located at the location of 00.8-08.2 LU and 109.2-119.4 BT. (Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Kota Kinabalu Sabah, nd..) Malaysia has an area of about 329,847 km² and is included in the country that has the 66th largest landmass in the world. (Surya, 2021) Malaysia is also one of the Southeast Asian countries that have a border with Indonesia.

With these geographical conditions coupled with 40% of the main contributors to oil palm plantations and 30% of the proceeds from Malaysian national oil palm oil, Malaysia has an oil palm plantation area of about 1.5 million hectares. (Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Kota Kinabalu Sabah, nd..) In addition, the gift of potential natural wealth such as palm oil, chocolate, liquefied natural gas / LNG, oil, rubber, Balak wood, and abundant plywood makes Malaysia State, the center of attention of foreign investors and various foreign companies and stores various other potentials that can be developed.

In addition to being the center of attention of foreign investors, the geographical condition of the Country of Malaysia bordering various countries is also often a trigger for territorial conflicts that must be resolved either through diplomatic channels or through the International Criminal Court. Some of the border disputes that Malaysia has experienced include the Malaysia-Singapore border dispute in 1979 related to

the Pedra Branca area, where the case was resolved in the International Criminal Court in 2008 with the division of the territory in two for the disputed country. (Armandhanu, 2015).

The next dispute case is still by Armandhanu (2015) namely the Malaysia-Thailand border dispute in the 1990s related to the Bukit Jeli area near the Kolok river and the waters near the Gulf of Thailand. The dispute was later resolved by the signing of a memorandum of understanding to create a joint development area and ended without armed tension. The border dispute between Malaysia and Brunei became the next case of the dispute where the dispute stems from claims over the Limbang area which is also recognized by Brunei. The dispute ended in 2009 marked by the cancellation of all claims by Brunei and the admission that it was within Sarawak, Malaysia.

The next dispute involving Malaysia is the Malaysia-Indonesia tensions. This border dispute includes Tanjung Datu, Camar Wulan, Ambalat and Sipadan and Ligitan. Some of these cases were eventually won by Malaysia (Tanjung Dato, Sipadan, and Ligitan regions) and some were won by Indonesia (Camar Wulan and Ambalat). Furthermore, the territorial conflict that until now continues to occur is a dispute over the seizure of Kep. Spratly in the South China Sea. The dispute is contested by Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, China, and Vietnam. Malaysia claims dozens of small islands in the Spratlys located 200 nautical miles from its country's Exclusive Economic Zone. (Armandhanu, 2015).

The South China Sea is part of the Pacific Ocean, covering parts of Singapore and the Strait of Malacca to the Taiwan Strait with an area of about 3.5 million km². The South China Sea is the second largest territorial

water after the five oceans. The South China Sea has natural wealth that contains petroleum and natural gas and in addition, its role is very important as a route of world oil distribution, trade, and international shipping.

Countries and territories bordering the China Sea of the Republic of China (Taiwan), The Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, and Vietnam. Geographically the South China Sea stretches from the southwest to the Northeast, whose Southern boundary is 3° South Latitude between South Sumatra and Kalimantan (Karimata Strait), and its northern boundary is the Taiwan Strait from the northern tip of Taiwan to the Fujian coast in mainland China. The South China Sea is located to the south of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan; to the west of the Philippines; Sabah Sea & Sarawak (Malaysia), and Brunei; in the north of Indonesia; to the Northeast of Peninsular Malaya (Malaysia) and Singapore; And to the east of Vietnam.

The root cause of the South China Sea conflict began with the colonization of Indochina and the Pacific by two dominant countries in the 17th century: France and Japan. At that time, the Nguyen dynasty (China) had signed an agreement with France in which the French state was made a representative state of the Nguyen dynasty in terms of sovereignty in the international world. This means that the Nguyen dynasty was required to apply the western system of the French system in its international association. In connection with the South China Sea, at that time France had occupied the Spratly Islands. But on the other hand, Japan is famous as a 3-A, namely Japan the leader of Asia, Japan the protector of Asia, and Japan the light of Asia. The "sun of Southeast Asia" in its mission to occupy southeast Asian countries, one of which was Vietnam during World War II, has also successfully occupied several islands on the islands of Spratly and Paracel. (Jaya, n.d.,)

From the dynamics above, it can be seen that the problem with the emergence of conflict in the South China Sea is because the colonial rule at that time could not determine the limits on the jurisdiction of a country in the islands. The lack of technology is an obstacle for both countries to measure and determine national borders in the Area. It is seen that both Japan and China have no meaningful interest in the islands so the two countries do not pay attention and consider these islands have no meaningful value eventually abandoned. The Japanese Peace Treaty of 1951 is the only formal treaty that addresses the territorial boundaries of a country within the water zone. But in this agreement, territorial boundaries regarding the islands are never mentioned. Similarly, the San Francisco conference also never

issued a decision or a clear statement on territorial boundaries to the two largest islands in the South China Sea, Spratly and Paracel. (Jaya, n.d.,)

Economy:

In terms of economies across national borders, the China Sea is located on the Japanese side and is located at the crossroads between Europe, West Asia, India so that the South China Sea has the advantage of being a shipping lane connecting Europe, East Asia, the Middle East, and also the Indian Ocean With the flanking of the South China Sea by several countries making this waters very busy waters for supertanker ship activities from various countries. (Jaya, n.d.,)

The course of transportation:

Increasing the energy needs of each country, then the increase in distribution by sea will increase. With these conditions, of course, the intensity of activities in these waters is also increasing. So that this line is certainly very busy water and has a strategic position as a transit place. (Jaya, n.d.,)

Resource of Energy:

The South China Sea area in addition to being a transit route for trade in the world is also an area that has abundant natural resources. In addition to being a source of underwater life, these waters are also estimated to have very abundant natural resources including oil and gas (hydrocarbons). It is estimated that the oil reserves stored in these waters are 213 Millar barrels and have the most hydrocarbon content, which is about 20 cubic miles. The disputed countries desperately need oil for the survival of the industry as well as the viability of their national economy. (Jaya, n.d.,)

China memiliki 8 sengketa

- a. Area of the nine-dash line claimed by the Republic of China.
- b. Maritime boundaries along the Vietnamese coast between China, Taiwan, and Vietnam.
- c. Maritime boundary north of Kalimantan between China, Malaysia, Brunei, Philippines, and Taiwan.
- d. Islands, reefs, banks, and shoals in the South China Sea, including the Paracel Islands, Pratas Island and Vereker Bank, Macclesfield Bank, Scarborough Shoal, and Spratly islands between China, Taiwan, and Vietnam, and parts of the territory also contested by Malaysia and the Philippines.
- e. The maritime boundary in the waters north of the Natuna Islands between China, Indonesia, and Taiwan
- f. Maritime boundaries off the coasts of Palawan and Luzon between china, the Philippines, and Taiwan.

- g. Maritime boundaries, land territories, and Sabah islands, including Ambalat, between Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.
- h. Maritime boundaries and islands in the Luzon Strait between China, the Philippines, and Taiwan.

China's movement:

1. Send military forces to the LCS region

In the past three years, members of China's Marine Corps have increased significantly from 10,000 to between 28,000 and 35,000. Beijing plans to recruit 100,000 members to its Marine Corps. (Syahranto, 2020)

Currently the Chinese Marine Corps has seven brigades and is present wherever the Chinese Navy operates. Each brigade is heavily armed, including a minimum of two infantry battalions, one armored regiment, one howitzer battalion, one missile battalion, and a special forces amphibious reconnaissance battalion.

China's Marine Corps also has fairly reliable and intelligent armored amphibious vehicles, one of which is the ZBD-05. The vehicle is undoubtedly on the water and is more fully armed than the West has, such as the self-propelled howitzer, plz-07. (Syahranto, 2020)

In 2019 the US Defence Intelligence Agency 2019 called China's Marine Corps a "full amphibious force capable of conducting amphibious assault operations using combined weapons tactics and various approaches". The U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency views China's Marine Corps as "the most adept amphibious force of all claimants in the South China Sea".

- 1. Establish military outposts on artificial islands.**
Because it has 2 functions, namely strengthening China's sovereignty claims and becoming China's presence in the military and civilian spheres.
- 2. China makes Spradly Island and Paracel Islands as Chinese military bases.**
- 3. Allow fishermen or civilian vessels to pass through the LCS area**

AREAS IN THE ANNEXATION

Actor-actors violated:

- a. Vietnam: Spratley and Paracel
- b. Taiwan: Pratas Islands or Dongha Islands
- c. Philippines: Scarborough Island (Not an island but a coral cluster in the Philippines)
- d. Brunei: Louisa Reef Islands
- e. Malaysia: Spratly Islands
- f. Indonesia: Natuna Islands

Resolution:

Summit Sangri-La Dialogue: 2002, 2011, 2019

The issue of the South China Sea is often a major concern and topic in the Shangri-La forum of dialogue organized by IISS in the Asia Pacific region. IISS wants to emphasize returning to countries to provide the right and appropriate attitude to ensure joint security and policymakers on defense and security. The Shangri-La Dialogue (SLD) sendiri adalah suatu bentuk Diplomasi pertahanan yang diselenggarakan oleh pihak *non-state actor*. SLD dilaksanakan setiap tahun di Singapura yang diselenggarakan oleh International Institute for Strategic Studies sejak tahun 2002. Forum ini dihadiri oleh pejabat-pejabat penting pertahanan-keamanan negara-negara Asia-Pasifik. (Simatupang, n.d.,)

In 2011 amid "tensions" over the South China Sea issue between the U.S. and China, the SLD provided an opportunity between the U.S. Defense Secretary and the Chinese Defense Minister for private dialogue. And most recently in 2013, the SLD opened a discussion room amid "tensions" over military modernization in Southeast Asia that was allegedly an "arms race".

In 2012 the Indonesian Minister of Defense participated as one of the speakers on the second day, with the theme "Protecting Maritime Freedoms". In his speech, the Minister of Defense said, as the world's largest maritime nation and archipelago, Indonesia is fully aware of the great meaning of maritime safety and freedom of navigation, which is at the core of maritime freedom, for the common good. On the other hand, maritime freedom is also an inherent principle that must ensure the security and stability of the country, especially the coastal. (DMC, 2021).

In the context of protecting maritime freedoms, the Defense Minister also touched little on the conflict in the South China Sea. According to the Defense Minister, the importance of regional peace and stability, and freedom of navigation in the South China Sea is based on recognized principles of international law including UNCLOS 1982. Disputes in the South China Sea are so complex that overlapping territorial and jurisdictions will take a long time.

In 2019, the iteration of the Shangri-la dialogue (SLD) was dominated more by the subject of increasing U.S.-China competition, which is a source of deep regional anxiety in the Asia-Pacific. for the last few months. Although the 2019 SLD highlights some of the dynamics in U.S.-China relations, it's not surprising that the SLD doesn't provide much assurance about the future trajectory of the relationship and only reinforces the impression that the rivalry between the two powers

will most likely persist afterward. (Parameswaran, 2019)

Of the problems and cases that occur in Malaysia and ASEAN, this certainly requires the role and synergy of the entire ASEAN related to the dilemma in dealing with the threat of asymmetric warfare in the South China Sea conflict to seek early prevention of such attacks. The concept of synergy is taken from the group syntality theory put forward by Cattell (in Shaw and Costanzo 1970). Part of the theory explains the dynamics of syntality that explains the behavior of groups formed from the interactions of their members.

This concept of synergy was further adapted by experts such as Ansoff (1968) in the scope of business policy and defined as an effect that can produce an outcome obtained from a combination of various organizational resources, whose value is greater than the sum of the values of each part. Kanter (1989) adapted this concept of synergy in the sphere between divisions within an organization and strategic alliances with other organizations. Synergy is the interaction of a business that generates greater profits and goes beyond what each unit can do if it does it individually. Covey (1989) uses the term synergistic in a communication relationship formed from the integration between a high-level spirit of cooperation and a high-level relationship of mutual trust. This understanding of synergy can be equated as the development of creativity that is built together from mutual trust and a very high spirit of cooperation, so that both parties will be able to express openly each other's ideas and opinions, without feeling threatened and worried about the possibility of conflict that occurs. According to Covey, synergistic communication is built from a form of courage and decisiveness, with a high concentration as well. The more relevant and significant the issues that are the focus in the cooperation relationship, the synergy it generates will be more meaningful for the benefit of the organization.

Hampden-Turner (1990) states that synergy activities are a process that involves various activities, which go together thus creating something new. Synergy is the result of a dialogical relationship between different sources of knowledge, and is a process that accumulates a wide variety of knowledge.

Hartanto (1996) states that synergy is a new idea, formed from various ideas proposed by many parties to produce a new idea, based on a new mindset or concept. In every working group in an organization, the quality of synergy that is an effective synergy is essentially the result of a process of fusion of ways of overcoming problems

II. METHODS

In this study, the research team conducted a study using a qualitative approach to examine how Malaysia and ASEAN's dilemma in dealing with the threat of asymmetric warfare in the South China Sea. The data collection techniques used to support this research are interviews, be it primary data search interviews or secondary data.

Primary Data

According to Amiruddin (in Finda, 2017) primary data is data obtained directly from the first source related to the problem to be discussed. Data sources are obtained from the field directly by interview. The interview technique conducted here is to conduct a live interview with speaker Dr. Norhazlina Fairuz Musa Kutty (Asymmetric Warfare study program, Faculty of Defense Strategy) during a seminar on Foreign Work Lectures held by the Faculty of Defense Strategy Asymmetric Warfare Study Program.

Secondary Data

Secondary data according to Marzuki (in Finda, 2017) is data obtained from books as complementary data to primary data sources. Secondary data sources of this research are data obtained by conducting literature studies such as scientific books, research results, and so on. Secondary data includes documents, books, research results in the form of reports, and so on. The books that are secondary sources of data are books, journals, and writings about threats, border dilemmas, and territorial conflicts.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

China makes a unilateral claim to the "Nine Dash Line" which does not respect law enforcement, according to Malaysia's view of the strategy played by the Chinese state can have an impact on Malaysia and ASEAN members.

But China has always used soft power to influence Malaysia and ASEAN members. China also strengthens with full force the military sector, politics, which has a strong in the large economic sector in southeast Asia. China has become a friend to Malaysia and ASEAN members. So China always avoids and does not clarify which parts are included in its claims, considering that China has cooperation that can provide income.

Malaysia has a good relationship with the Prime Minister of Malaysia with the Prime Minister of China has a good relationship. In the sector of the Chinese economy, the sector became the largest giant in the economic sector. China is making efforts to improve its security sector at the border. Malaysia and China have

good cooperation in the field of technology to be able to synergize with each other. (KUTTY, 2021)

Thailand created the Kra canal that connects the Andaman Sea with the LCS. The canal is partly financed by China, as China will shorten the distance without the need to cross the Strait of Malacca so that the income of Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia will fall.

Malaysia and ASEAN members have had a major impact on security and the economy in the South China Sea conflict. To be able to offset China's military strength by developing and enlarging from the economic sector. Economic factors can provide improvement in the military sector.

During this pandemic, the terrorist threat is also increasing in some countries. Malaysia has always increased its strictness in accepting foreign workers who want to work in Malaysia and I have also rarely seen the issue of terrorists again in Malaysia. The threat of terrorism must also not be forgotten.

Australia and Singapore are also assisting in military cooperation, on the Spratly border and the economy of Malaysia when looking at the problems of the South China Sea. ASEAN is also ready to deal with the threat posed by China as we conduct military cooperation and training to be able to provide security.

Malaysia has always tried to be ready in the face of the threat posed by China. Malaysia is also not only focused on its military to be able to develop and strengthen its country but further widen and improve in the development of facilities and infrastructure, economy, etc.

Malaysia is also trying to create human resources that are ready and have capabilities in various fields. In the cyber world, Malaysia is trying to be able to realize a cybersecurity system when viewed from the problem of the South China Sea conflict that could be a major cyber threat and this is a concern for the Malaysian state.

When the Philippines wins this measurement of the area is not an obstacle for China, if we see the position of China has been defeated. China has always not provided a certainty answer and does not acknowledge the results of the decisions that have been explained at the International Law session and also China considers that its country has not committed any violations or mistakes. The country is always looking for opportunities to gain great interest to be able to exert

great influence on Malaysia and other ASEAN members.

What we know about the project made by the Chinese state regarding the Belt and Road Initiative has given enormous influence and dependence to Malaysia, ASEAN Members, and other countries. When President Xi Jinping was elected, he announced new trade and development for his country.

At the BRI itself initially gave an overview of the existence of cooperation, many of the countries welcomed the presence of BRI and there are not a few from the country considering that this is an effort by the Chinese state to be able to widen its football in strengthening its hegemony. Here is not absolutely just the economy but the existence of China's tactics in giving influence and dependence to other countries.

Here China also promotes international cooperation that can create a strong network and facilitate in promoting a balanced international system of government. This is where Malaysia sees China trying to strengthen its existence on the international scene. There are 70 countries in Europe and Africa.

China created KRA because of internal factors that encourage policies that support the construction of the Kra Canal which can have a negative impact and harm china's own economy. There is an impact that can result in China's trade activities being disrupted. (Kartini, 2015) China and Thailand built kra to maintain the security of trade routes for China in the Strait of Malacca.

This Kra Canal cannot be traversed by large truck ships. China is the main user of the Strait of Malacca to be able to channel its commodities to the rest of the world. When we see China has oil reserves coming from South Africa, that makes China look for a way out not to rely on this canal. (KUTTY, 2021)

Actually, Thailand provides an alternative like everything that can happen in the Strait of Malacca. Is there something going on in the Strait of Malacca, so kra works? Actually, in China, there is an impact of 6 micropower KRA. There are several countries that are trapped from 6 micropower. You can imagine how much of a security impact the KRA concept has. They are looking for the impact of human security and economic governance of about 6 micros. We're not just focused on Spratly island. Hydroelectric power is actually a problem in Southeast Asia. And this has impacted Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, and others who need help. We should see about 6 countries have a problem

with the claims from China. Thailand through KRA. I want ASEAN to be strong and united in the face of this issue.

Malaysia sees challenges and is not just focused on the military. But we can see Malaysian exports such as gas, oil, and others. So this can make Malaysia better, it can make construction or infrastructure, for control, etc and this is very important. Malaysia has always focused on energy. Malaysia is making some policies that may be important for small islands. Malaysia will not have bad relations with other countries and always stay in touch. Policies have been made to secure resources on the island of Spratly.

IV. CONCLUSION

In essence, the purpose of ASEAN's establishment is to create a safe, peaceful, stable, and prosperous Southeast Asia region. Peace and stability of the ASEAN region is carried out through dialogue and cooperation in various fields, one of which is defense and security. Malaysia as one of the founders of ASEAN can act as a key actor in the continuity of ASEAN cooperation.

The cooperation is scheduled to include resolving South China Sea disputes involving ASEAN member states and China. The China Sea dispute is a common issue that must be resolved through bilateral and regional dialogue and using international law. China's emergence as a strong economy and military is a common threat to ASEAN, so it must be faced with the right strategy so as not to become a dilemma, especially in resolving disputes in the South China Sea. The arrival of a major power from the United States and its allies as a balance of power for China in the South China Sea must be addressed appropriately, in order to benefit from these conditions.

China's strategy of various efforts to exert influence and dependence to be able to expand its economic and military influence which then grows into a superpower that can be an opponent for the United States.

V. SUGGESTION

ASEAN countries already have several instruments of regional security cooperation. But after more than 40 years of ASEAN's founding, the cooperation needs to be refreshed and improved to match the development of the times and potential threats faced. Malaysia can play an active role in discussing accelerating the resolution of border disputes to be resolved immediately so that the potential for conflict between ASEAN countries can be reduced. This will be very useful in building cooperation in other fields after security issues can be guaranteed together.

Collective efforts to continue to be made by all ASEAN member states to maintain in order to the Southeast Asian region and The surroundings are always inside. Peaceful, stable, and safe. Maintaining peace and security stability is a priority that must continue to be pursued, because it is a prerequisite for the continuation of development for shared prosperity and prosperity in the ASEAN region.

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