NATIONALISM, RELIGION AND GLOBALIZATION

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Nationalism has again become an issue in various current social science studies. Such is not surprising since after the collapse of communism, the USSR and other East European countries nineteen new different countries have been formed, fourteen of which have been the result of the dissolution of the USSR. All those countries state themselves as nation states. Thus, in reality the concepts of "nation" and "nationalism" are still the determining principle of political organizations. The issue of nationalism has also been important in social science studies because of the emergence of group struggles for independence or ethnic autonomy in a nation state; the latter took place among others in Kosovo and triggered ethnic cleansing in the former parts of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, there has been a strong tendency to see the above issues from a perspective wider than of a nation-state, such as in the framework of international relation theories, the world system theory, as presented by Wallerstein, and in the globalization framework as in Anthony Giddens.

As for the future on nation-states, there are two scenarios. The first views that nation states are in the process of fading out and are becoming less important as a unit of analysis. The second views that nationalism and nation-states remain important because globalization is not a linear but dialectical process and its spread is not even. Globalization, on one hand, brings the end of nation-states and paves the way of the formation of larger association of different states such as European Union, ASEAN and APEC. On the other hand, it has promoted ethnic nationalism which claims independence.

It may seem paradoxical to evoke the demise of the nation at the very moment at which the Soviet Union is breaking up under the pressure of nationalism, when the German nation is recreating itself, and when the United Nations has never before known so many members. More than ever, the idea of the nation is manifesting its revolutionary scope. Is this a return to the essential, or the ultimate throes of a political approach that has fullfilled its historical mission, and is less and less capable of carrying the hopes and responding to the questions of the day? (J-M. Guéhenno, 1995: 1).

In the Indonesian context, the issue of nationalism and nation-state remain important not only because nationalism is part of the Pancasila state ideology but

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also because various recent problems are inseparable from the political implementation of nationalism. Attempts in some regions of Indonesia to leave the Indonesian nation-state such as those in West Papua, Aceh and Riau, are inseparable from the nation-state homogenization tendency, which eliminates the rights for autonomy and being different. Meanwhile, various problems around the economic crisis have shown that Indonesia is not free grom global influences. Various statements rejecting the enforcement of IMF economic policies also show that nationalism is still a strong motivation. Issues related to the above conflicts are also inseparable from global issues, particularly the development of global capitalism.

Nationalism, Nation and National Identity

The terms *nationalism*, *nation and national* identity are mutually related. Nationalism is a more or less coherent ideology and differentiated from the civic and territorial aspects of a state. It is different from national identity, which can be seen in a category wider than nationalism. National identity is a collective and individual reality. It is living imagination of the people. Though the significance of national identity can be different, in general it can be stated that it is "the sharing or commonality of sense of belonging to a specific territory" (Radcliffe 1996: 16). This "sense of belonging" is strengthened by other psychological factors such as the feeling to be members of a political community or the feeling to posses the same institution and rights. National identity is also formed by a continuous inclusive and exclusive process.

German historian F. Meinecke differentiates cultural nationalism from political nationalism. Cultural nationalism is characterized by an ethnic homogenity, where ethnic identity and national identity overlap, such as what is experienced by Greeks, Germans, Russians, and the English. The same can be applied to the Tamils in Srilanka, the Kurds in Iraq and the Chechens in Russia. Guibernau calls those groups "nations without states". (Guibernau, 1996: 100-114).

A. Smith calls these groups "Ethnie"

Ethnie (Ethnic communities) may ... be defined as named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity. (Smith in Guibernau 1997: 27).

Cultural nations are called organic communities in the sense that they are formed by a natural process and a historical force and not so much by a political force. The strength of cultural nationalism is that it is united under a strong feeling of

historical unity and tends to be stable and cohesive. There is also a tendency to be exclusive. Membership in a nation does not originate from political ties, which are voluntarily accepted, but from ethnic identity which is more or less inherited. (A. Heywood 1997: 106).

The view that a nation is a political entity gives emphasis more to membership loyalty and political ties than cultural identity. Therefore, a nation is a social group united together particularly by the same citizenship regardless of cultural, ethnic, religious or other ties. This view is followed by, among others, Eric Hobsbawn (1983). He considers "nations" as "invented traditions". The belief in the historical continuity and ethnic purity is a myth created by nationalism itself. "Nationalism creates nations" and not the other way around (A. Heywood, 1997: 107). In the case of the Indonesian nation, it can be stated that the Indonesian "nation" is more a political community than a homogenous cultural community. The concept of cultural pluralism also accounts for the lesser social cohesion compared with that in countries where the citizens are culturally homogenous.

A nation is formed more on the basis of political rather than ethnic factors although the latter also take parts in it. Nation building is accomplished through political socialization (the awareness of colonialism and the wish for freedom). The politics of nationalism tries to create national integration through the diffusion of identical cultural elements (the same national language, Bahasa Indonesia, and the same national ideology, *Pancasila*). "Primordial loyalty" tying certain ethnic or religious groups is changed to an overarching loyalty, namely loyalty to a bigger entity, "state", "ideology", "constitution", "general welfare", and the likes.

B. Anderson calls "nation" and "a nation's identity" or an identity as a nation an imagined community (B. Anderson 1991). Therefore, "nation" is a mental construct. The majority of a nation does not meet and see each other. People in West Papua have to imagine themselves together with people from Java as a nation. The difficulty in such is observed the unwillingness of East Timorese to "imagine" and place themselves in a new construct, the Indonesia nation. How to be an Indonesian must be learned through education, mass media, and political socialization. Anderson argues that differences among nations are found in the way they imagine themselves as "nations". How is the Indonesian nation imagined? What strategy is

used to construct the feeling and the view to be an Indonesian? First, there must be a national narration as told in the national history, literature, communication media, and folk culture. These all give a series of stories, descriptions, scenarios, historical events, and national symbols which present common experiences, both sufferings and glories, which give meaning to a nation. Second, there must be an emphasis to origin, continuity and tradition. National identity is presented as originating from the past. Third, there must be what is termed as invention of tradition, namely a symbolical or ritual practice to disseminate values and norms of conducts. Such can take place in various commemorations for the Independence Day, the *Pancasila* Sanctity Day, and the likes. Fourth, there must be myths about the origin of the nation in the past (the era of Majapahit, Mataram and even before). This discourse of national integration tries to construct national identity (S. Hall, ed., 1992: 293-295).

In this context, the national history has an important role. Sartono Kartodirdjo mentions five functions. First, to justify the existence of the Indonesian nation-state; second, to legitimize the Indonesian nationhood as a product of a historical development; third, as national consciousness which takes roots in the historical awareness and functions as a source of inspiration for national pride and can strengthen the Indonesian nationalism; fourth, as a historical consciousness which can stabilize the national identity as a symbol of national solidarity; fifth, to form and stabilize the historical perspective which views that being is essentially becoming, and thus one always has to see the dynamic aspect of anything which looks static; or in other words, that any process is related to processual things" (cited in P.J. Suwarno, ed., 1995: 5).

The discourse on nation and nationalism is eventually aimed at creating the identity as a nation. An identity involves continuity in time and differences with others. Continuity is based on an entity historically rooted and aimed at the future. Differentiation is rooted at the consciousness to create a community with the same culture, tied to a concrete territory, and this differentiates it from the others.

Identity has three functions: First, it helps a nation to make decision. In order to fully express its identity, a nation should have the right of self-determination. Therefore, the people's sovereignty is an important aspect in the building of a nation. Second, national identity helps the creation of relationship among fellow members.

Moreover, a nation with a state will be recognized as an agent in the global system. Third, national identity gives strengths and resilience to individuals as long as it reflects identification as an entity, namely a nation, which is bigger and overcomes oneself.

In this context of globalization, national identity must be newly constructed and continuously built.

Nationalism and Nation State

What Ralph Miliband stated thirty years ago, that "more than ever men now live in the shadow of the state, "(cited in J. Schwarzmantel, 1994: 3), is still relevant. Therefore, a normative question of how far should a state function is important. One current type of a state is a "nation-state". The political aspect of nationalism is stressed by Gellner:

Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle. Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violent of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfillment. A nationalist movement is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind (Gellner, 1983 in Guibernau, 1997: 52).

A sovereign state is a political expression of a nation the discourse of "the nation" is an important element in enhancing the legitimacy of modern nation-state.

The rise of the modern nation-state is the product of multidimensional process. Guibernau mentions several elements of this process: the consolidation territorial units through the monopoly of the means of violence; the transformation of frontiers delimiting different states in clearly fixed borders; the emergence of the bourgeoisie as new class receptive to the ideas of the Enlightenment; fundamental change in the relation between rulers and ruled; the spread of the new ideas emphasizing liberty, equality and the principle of sovereignty residing in the nation (Guibernau, 1996: 51-52). In other words, democracy is the main characteristic of a modern nation state. In this relation, a state is a set of institutions which have different functions from the community, or what is recently termed as a "civil society". There are at least four aspects of the relationship between the state and the community:

- A democratic view that the community as a whole (the people) represents and forms the state. The state is the emanation of the people's will.
- The state, a nation-state, functions as a cohesion tool. The state creates and strengthens the social ties and the tie as a nation in various ways.
- The state guarantees the satisfaction of basic needs and perhaps more. (This view is challenged by New Right).
- The state has intervention in economic life to guarantee, for example, the availability of jobs, the monetary stability and the economic growth. (This view is also challenged by New Right). (Cf. J. Scharzmantel 1994: 9-10).

Nationalism can be directed to politics which is against democracy. A democratic state is based on the principles of (1) participation, (2) the leaders' accountability, (3) the social control, (4) the tolerance to pluralism, (5) the equality among the citizens, and (6) the limitation of political scopes. Politics and the scopes of the state's actions must be limited in the sense that they do not interfere too much in the domains of the civil society. This is meant to avoid any politicization of all domains of life in order to prevent the tendency to be totalitarian. Nationalism which views the state and the community identical will turn to what Paul Alter calls "integral nationalism", and is against "risorgimento nationalism", which aims at emancipation (Paul Alter, 1985). For more than thirty years Soeharto's "New Order" tried to implement politics of "integralism" by abolishing the difference between "state" and "society".

Nationalism can also be against democratic ideas if the nation is made identical with a certain ethnic, religious, or linguistic group, whose interests are considered to be above those of the others. Therefore, this politics of nationalism is against the principle of the equality among the citizens. In accordance with its essence, nationalism is based on the equal and universal rights of the citizens. This is different from ethnic nationalism, which is based more on a certain ethnic, religious or linguistic group than on the citizenship rights (Guibernau 1997: 85). Alter states that the history of Cameroon, Nigeria and new countries in the Third World teaches that the nation-building programmes have significantly declined because the ruling elites perform "tribalism" policies mentioned-above, namely trying to support certain

ethnic or religious groups, which they expect will maintain and strengthen their power in return for the privileges given to those groups. (P. Alter 1985: 150).

Nationalism and Religion

The Case of Islam in Indonesia

Discussion about nationalism and Islam emerged when colonialism collapsed and the former colonies became independent. In the beginning, the discussion was coloured by polemics between Islam leaders and political elites to choose between nation-states (which then were newly born) or caliphate (which was fragmented due to the presence of colonial powers in Islam lands and finally was abolished by Kemal Atarturk). The discussion became heated because it involved the issues whether Islam taught theories on states or not, and whether states in the era of Muhammad were parts of the Islam teaching or not. These issues were once raised by 'Ali 'Abd Al-Ráziq in his treatise Al-Islam wa-'usúl al-hukm (Islam and the Principles of Government) which was published in 1925, as a response to Rashid Ridá who advocated restoration of the caliphate. It is in a sense a defence and justification of the Turkish revolution and its separation of religion from politics. "He asks and answers the basic question what is Islam? 'in order to define and decide the place of Islam in our time as a universal religion, a religious call (da'wa), announced by an Arab in Arabic, but addressed to all mankind. Pre-eminence in Islam is due to Piety, not to any race or language, any nation or ethnic group. The religious community (umma) is the creation of Muhammad. The khiláfa or imáma is not demanded in Qur'an and Sunna and is unnecessary; indeed its institution and function are contrary to true Islam." (Rosenthal 1965: 86).

The controversy was some how reflected also in Indonesia in 1945 when the Indonesian leaders had to decide about the foundation of the Indonesian state: whether it should be based on national ideology or on Islam. Some Islamic leaders demanded that the constitution should stipulates. "the obligation for adherents of Islam to carry out Sharía" (Islamic Law). However on 18 August 1945 the nationalists and Islamic leaders agreed on the draft of the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia without the wording specifically related to Islam (Nasution 1992: 10-11).

The final text of the preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is as follows.

Furthermore, to form a Government of Indonesia to protect the whole Indonesian Nation and the entire Indonesian homeland and to advance general welfare, to stimulate the nation, and to participate in the implementation of world order founded on freedom, abiding peace and social justice, the Independence of the Indonesian Nation shall be drawn up in a Constitution, formed in the structure of a Republic of Indonesia with sovereignty vested in the people, based upon: Belief in the One Supreme God, a just and civilised humanity, the unity of Indonesia, and a democracy guided by the inner wisdom of consultation-representation, as well as realising social justice for all Indonesian people.

There have been debates about the term "Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa". There are various translations of it: "The One and Only God", "The Asolute Lordship", "Allembracing God". The preference of "Tuhan" (Lord) instead of "Allah" (God) is also a point of discussion. Some see the first principle is just a political principle which legally recognize religious freedom, while others tend to emphasize that the first principle entails the obligation of each citizen to embrace a religion. In any way, up to the present moment the problem of the relationship between religion and state has not yet been settled down.

From "ideological" perspective we can distinguish three groups of Muslims: the first group consists of those who are inspired by modernist ideas emphasizing the role of Islam as ideology. Islam is regarded as a comprehensive and total way of life providing answers to all questions of life. Islam is the solution to the problems of modernization. They are aware that it is impossible to establish an Islamic state. Any effort to change the state ideology Pancasila will be suppressed by the government. As majority they claim the right to apply **Sharía**, to form **Ukhuwah Islamiyah** (Islamic Community).

The second group may be called "fundamentalist" group. Manning Nash describes some features of fundamentalism in South Asia as follows:

- 1. Fundamentalist groups base their arguments on a literalist reading of scripture.
- 2. An idealized past, a golden age of purity, is reconstructed from this literalist reading of the Qur'an and the Sunna and presented as attainable in the future.
- Though the past serves as a model, what fundamentalism seek is not simply to turn back the clock but to create an ideal society based on Islamic tenets in the context of contemporary reality.
- 4. Fundamentalists organize themselves into a network or cadre movement with a leader and a cell-like structure.
- The group tends to be actively opposed to the modern West, with hedonism and materalism.
- The group combines antimodernism with defence on ethnic identity. It seeks to see rapid change toward greater social and cultural equality for the oppressed ethnic group.
- The continued social existence of the fundamentalist movement depends on a charismatic leader.
- 8. Finally, fundamentalism carries with it an inherent theodicy by which everything that is wrong that produces unjust suffering can be meaningfully explained as having come about because of departure from the true faith." (Nash 1991: 732-733).

Fundamentalist groups in the full sense hardly exist in Indonesia. However, tendencies towards fundamentalism at least in the ways of thinking can be identified.

The second group emphasizes Islam as a moral force. This group is represented by Abdurrahman Wahid who believes that minorities give life to a nation and Muslims have to protect them. Islam should be implemented as social ethics and mores but not as a political force. Muslims have to be able to accept the existence of other cultural strengths.

Abdurrahman argues that if Indonesian Muslims are fully supportive of a secular political system in which all Indonesians are treated equally on the basis of their sameness of citizenship then Indonesian Islam will eventually demonstrate to the world that modernity, open politics, and democracy can flourish wll in a Muslim-majority society (Barton 1996: 256).

The desire to implement the Islamic ideals in politics is still alive in Indonesia and in many other Third World countries. In Indonesia at this time several Islamic Parties are trying to put again the Jakarta Charter in the Constitution.

There are various causes responsible for the resurgence of religio-politics in many Third World countries. First, religion in Third World societies often serves as a vehicle of political opposition. This is due mainly to the failure of state-promoted development plans. It is a reaction to modernization which brings about the wider gap between the rich and the poor, misery and helplessness to a number of the financially poor. Second, the growth of religio-political movements is frequently influenced by external events through globalization of radical ideas, such as Iranian revolution. Third, religio-political movements can be driven by the dissatisfaction with the political status quo. The governments do not allow political opponents the opportunity by way of free and fair election to displace the existing regimes. Fourth, religion can be used to build or maintain ethnic consciousness or cultural nationalism. (Hayness 1993: 145-155).

Very often religio-political movements are accompanied by violence. However, there are also a number of people or groups who respond to such situations more sympathetically. These are those who have commitment in minimizing the practice of violences (particularly those religiously-labeled) and search for the possibility to cooperate with groups possessing potentials to create conflicts. Thus, there appeared movements of inter-religious dialogue and cooperation. These movements had been launched since the 1930's but nowadays they have received a new context. The movements of inter-religious dialogue and cooperation are not only driven by the danger of religious violences but also by the fact that suffering is experienced by groups not only of certain religions but also of other religions. Therefore, the "state victims" are not only Muslims but also those of other religions.

From the movements of inter-religious dialogue and cooperation, a new perspective to view one's own religion and other religions has been found. The regime of Islamic state discourse has been replaced by Islamic humanism. People see no more how to establish an Islamic state but how to see Islam as a principle to uphold justice and democratization process. It means that what matter are how Islam is and how the authenticity of the ideals of nationalism can be reestablished.

Is must be acknowledged that this situation has created paradigmatic changes in viewing religions. Islam theological reasoning has developed and varied. This phenomenon is important to view the future of inter-religion relation and the relation between religion and the state. In my view, this future depends on the success of answering the questions: (1) how far people from various religions are successful in identifying their responsibility to implement religious human messages, and (2) how far religions can distance themselves from the state power in order to remain critical to the state. The two questions should be creative points for religious people in defining themselves and others. Hasan Hanafi, for example, talks on the need of changing theology to anthropology.

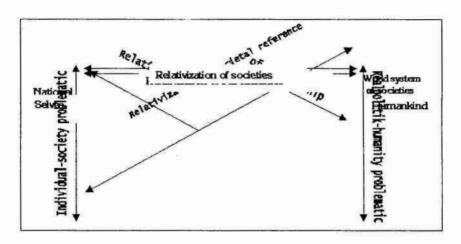
In a wider scale, these movements are important for the development of more plural cultures. With various practices, nationalism has reduced cultural diversity. Such can be observed clearly in Indonesia. The authority's commitment in cultural development has tended to be directed at the creation of single ideology, which functions as a tool to maintain power. Islam cultural expressions tend to be manipulated for the authority's rites in maintaining their hegemony and for making cultural groups more dependent on the authority. Not surprisingly, in the religious communities there is a kind of mentality to measure culture in terms of how their religious symbols are used nationally. More horrifyingly, particular cultural expressions tend to be considered heretics. Such valuation has been practiced by Muslim leaders supported by the national authority, particularly the Council of Islam Religious Leaders. In the era where multi-cultural consciousness is getting stronger, can Islam become a principle of identity for social or cultural groups without denying the rights of other groups to be different?

Globalization and the Future of Nation-States

Globalization can be defined as "A social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding." (Malcolm Waters 1995: 3). Hence, the global culture confronts us with new situations where (1) various nations and cultures

are more open to mutual influence; (2) there is recognition for the social identity and plurality in various groups containing ethnic and religious pluralism; (3) the society with different ideologies and value systems can cooperate and compete without any ideology more dominant than the others; (4) the global culture is integrally specific but remains plural and heterogeneous; and (5) values such as human rights, freedom, democracy are adopted though with different interpretations. Therefore, the global culture as stated by R. Aron is a vision which arises at the cawn of history, and not as said by Fukuyama, at the end of the history.

Globalization has raised new problems for nation-states particularly in the aspects of competence, forms, autonomy and legitimacy. First, due to greater interdependence, one event in a state will influence another state. Therefore, various pressures have been applied by foreign states to a particular state's decision making (for example, in the issues of environment and economy). A state has to make decision based on a regional or international regulation. A military force cannot solve important problems such as economic welfare, environmental and economic problems, and trade. Power in a global system has changed hand from the military to the economic power. Second, decision-making cannot be done without considering various international regulations and organizations. Unknowingly, various aspects in the life of the society have been affected by international regulations. In the international for a various decision are made by the coalition of transgovernmental bureaucrats. Therefore, a nation-state cannot be monolithic anymore. Third, hardly any country can act without external influence or even pressure. The state autonomy must be differentiated from the state sovereignty within a certain territorial boundary. The state autonomy involves the state's ability to make decision on various issues whose scopes go beyond its territorial boundary. The new boundary is the greater interdependence particularly in the economic field. Fourth, there are some indications that globalization does not weaken a nation-state and it even gives more room to strengthen itself. International cooperation enables a state to fight for its national interest, to guarantee its security and to gain more benefits. Of course, such depends on the state's adaptive competence. Fifth, globalization stimulates a search for new identities. (McGree 1992: 86-92). There are processes of relativization involving selves (individuals), nation-states, human kind and the world system of nation-states. The elements of global process is illustrated by Robertson (Friedman 1994: 197) as follows:



The relativization of societies means the awareness of the larger field of interaction among states. Relativization of self-identities is the expansion of individual identity to include all of mankind. The diagram shows that globalization involves two interprenetrating process: the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism. (Friedman 1994: 198).

The global culture presents a paradox. On one hand, it creates cultural homogenity; and on the other hand, it gives room to the emergence of specific local cultures. Here, there can be a tendency for the emergence of primordialism when the loyalty to a group smaller than the national community is treated as identification reference for various religious, ethnic, or linguistic groups. Here, national integration will be an issue. The emergence of primordialism is one among many causes responsible for various ethnic and religious conflicts in Indonesia. The politics of nationalism implemented the Soeharto's regimes has created progressive homogenization in the whole country. The violation of human rights, unequal distribution of wealth in various regions of Indonesia and the dominant roles of the Javanese people in politics and of the Chinese in national economy have intensified the demands from various parts of Indonesia to be independent from the central governent.

Some Issues

1. The formation of a modern state, namely a nation-state, implies the creation of mega-structures, namely national institutions which are above smaller groups or

individuals. A mega-structure for a community formerly united by a narrower unit and managed by local social norms is a reality considered distant and incomprehensible. Therefore, mediation structures are needed to intermediaries between mega-structures and individuals. In the framework of national integration, these mediation structures are very important. They can be socio-political organization which function to socialize the mega-structures, on one hand, and to articulate the society's interests and aspiration, on the other. Furthermore, nationalism requires that the society has more roles in solving national problems and in decision making. The development of civil society is very important. A civil society is a society' scope of life which is different from the political society. Recently there have developed views which include the economic factor as the third distinctive factor. Therefore, there are three parties: civil society, the state, and economic superpower. There must be also the formulation of the role of civil society so that it will not exceed its functions. In general, socially its role is to promote democracy in all aspect. Politically, for the state it should function as a moral power to promote check and balance. Economically, it should empower the people's economy to protect themselves against global economic powers. (Atienza 1994: 4-6).

2. The second problem is how the national ideology as an integration tie can be more credible or reliable. Such will happen if the community feels its actualization in the real life. Therefore, it should not stop short at the understanding since its realization is very important. The distance between the normative measures and the realization must be closer and closer. In other words "The imagined community" should not become "the imaginary community".

The Indonesian society has always been plural: ethnically, culturally, and religiously. Nowadays, this pluralism is based on the spirit of freedom, tolerance and recognition of human rights. The issue for the national integration is how pluralism can be accepted while the consensus for the basic values which constitute unifying elements can be maintained. The acceptance of pluralism without the acceptance of unifying values will result in disintegration.

3. In the process of globalization a generally accepted standard on what aspects are considered proper as a human being is accepted, such as the implementation

- of human rights. On the other hand, there is a tendency to assign different interpretations. In such, there are various conflicts between a state and the international community.
- 4. In the context of globalization a question may be raised whether nation states will survive and will be able to become the political framework in which people can pursue and protect their freedoms? "It is also necessary to rediscover that a human community is not only a political notion but philosophical and religious one. Having lost the comfort of our geographical boundaries, we must in effect rediscover what creates the bonds between humans that constitute community." (Guéhenno 1995: 139). Similar question can be addressed also to religion.

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