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Signifikansi Diplomasi Islam Moderat Era Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Dalam Merespon Problem Keamanan Timur Tengah

Yusnarida Eka Nizmi

Citra dan Kriminalisasi Terhadap Kaum Perempuan di Bosnia, Herzegovina, dan Negara-Negara Tetangga Pada Periode 1992-1995

Debby Rizqie

Efektivitas Mekanisme REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) sebagai Kebijakan yang Dihasilkan oleh Rezim Perubahan Iklim UNFCCC

Adi Mulia Pradana

Melihat Kembali Sekuritisasi Palestina-Israel

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PREFACE

With the biggest gratitude to God the Almighty, Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS) presents the second volume in 2013. Our goal in published this journal is to disseminate the results of the researchers' works with various topics and approaches in order to contribute to the development of International Studies both theoretically and practically.

Six articles are presented in this journal. The first article, written by Anita Afriani Sinulingga and Ranny Emilia, is entitled by Indonesian Migrant Workers in Multi-Track Diplomacy. The purpose of this writing is to operationalize the concept of multi track diplomacy in an attempt to enforce the role of migrant workers as a non-diplomatic group to further strengthen Indonesia's diplomatic posture. As an agent of the third-track diplomacy, this writing will further describe the role of migrant workers as the foundation of diplomatic strength.

The second article, Managing Indonesian Diaspora: A Preliminary Study is written by Agung Setiyo Wibowo. Wibowo tries to initiate a study related to diaspora in Indonesia due to its unlimited potential contribution. The next article entitled by Significance of Moderate Islamic Diplomacy within Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Administration in Responding Middle East Security Problem. The article is the work of Ziyad Falahi which tries to desribe moderate Islam which is merely became a symbol Indonesian Diplomacy instead of a burden of Indonesian Diplomacy itself.

The fourth article, written by Yusnarida Eka Nizmi, is entitled by Image and Criminalization against Women in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Their Neighbor Countries during the 1992-1995 periods. The article mainly discusses about the politicitazion of women's right in the prolonged conflict. The next paper is written by Deby Rizqie which attempts to answer the questions regarding the effectivity of the REDD mechanism. The international regime theory approach is used, which focuses on the theory of regime effectiveness, implementation concept and compliance The last article is entitled by Looking Back Israel-Palestine Securitization. The article is written by Adi Mulia Pradana.

We are very grateful to all the authors who contributed in providing the science and knowledge so that in the end of this journal can be published. Expectations of our papers presented in this paper can enrich and deepen the realm of scientific issues and in particular in the study of international relations.

Finally, we would also like to thank the editorial board who has worked hard in the preparation of this paper so in the end it can go up to journal printed.

Editorial Team

Managing Indonesian Diaspora: A Preliminary Study

Agung Setiyo Wibowo

Peneliti ASEAN Network & PR Indonesian Heritage Society

Abstrak

Penelitian tentang diaspora Indonesia dapat dikatakan masih minim. Tonggak sejarah yang menandai menguatnya kesadaran bangsa dan negara Indonesia dalam memandang diaspora ditunjukkan dengan terselenggaranya Congress of Indonesian Diaspora (CID) pada Juli 2012 di Los Angeles Amerika Serikat. Artikel ini berusaha menelaah lebih mendalam tentang konsep diaspora Indonesia berikut kebijakan pengelolaannya untuk kepentingan ekonomi, politik, sosial dan budaya Indonesia dengan cerminan kebijakan Cina dan India yang telah berhasil melaksanakannya. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa CID adalah pintu gerbang sekaligus momentum yang dapat digunakan untuk memberdayakan masyarakat Indonesia yang berserakan di berbagai belahan dunia.

Kata Kunci: Diaspora, Indonesia, CID, Penelitian Awal

Overview

Diasporas have the unlimited potential to contribute. Most commonly known among these are the remittances they send back to their homeland - more than \$400 billion (of which a predicted \$325 billion went to the Third World countries), more than double the total Official Development Assistance (ODA). Diaspora is also key direct investors in critical and emerging industries, known patrons of new tourism industries, and generous philanthropists. **Preliminary**

guess from the World Bank suggest that annual savings of diaspora from the Third World countries – like Indonesia could be around \$400 billion. In addition, terms like brain gain, brain bank, brain trust, and brain circulation have colored economist's lexicon, highlighting value the of diasporas' transferrable knowledge. networks, skills, that are integral to the development of a modern, knowledgebased economy (IOM, 2012).

There is no fixed data to count the number of Indonesian diasporas and their contributions to date. In fact, diaspora of Indonesia is really huge. The remittance of Indonesian migrant workers – only a part of Indonesian diaspora - reached more **USD** 6,172,776,670 in 2011 than (BNP2TKI). On the other hand, only a few academicians have seriously discussed and researched about the concept of Indonesian their contribution diasporas, homeland, or even the Government of Indonesia's official policy to engage. The first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora (CID) held in 2012 has established the Indonesian Diaspora Network (IDN) and issued the Declaration of Indonesian The congress brought round Diaspora. that Indonesian diasporas could become a hub for ideas, solutions, resources, and networks for shared prosperity and a force for a peace and progress.

This article brought the discourse of diaspora. Particularly, it analyzes the history of Indonesian diasporas progress of the Government of Indonesia's policy to engage. This article is a proceeding of qualitative preliminary research using books, journals, newspapers, and internet as references along with the theory of pluralism. Pluralist see that international relations are not only limited to 'state-to-state' affairs, but it is an interdependence among actors. Pluralism values believe that international relations are not only a matter of power, but also social, economics, and other issues. Hence, the interaction of 'peopleto-people' can balance the dominance of state (Perwita and Yani, 2005:26).

Diaspora: A Colorful Concept

Diaspora has become a warm discourse in the complex relationship among migration, economic development, national identity decades. and for However, there is no single widely accepted concept to define due long debate up to now and in fact the term is used to signify many different phenomena. Many scholars might refer to the Jewish context where the expulsion and persecution driven to the dispersal of Jews away from the homeland bringing with them the fond of hope of returning to the motherland one day. As discourse of diasporas began to grow to include others, they remained oriented, initially, at least to this conceptual homeland - to the Jewish case and the other 'classical diasporas', Armenian and Greek. On the other hand, Palestinian diaspora has been defined as the 'victim diaspora' whereas the term of 'trading diaspora' has been popular to name the Chinese, Indians, Lebanese, Baltic Germans and the Hausa of Nigeria (Brubaker, 2005: 2).

Of the first well-known scholars to conceptualize diaspora is William Safran (1991: 84) who describes it as a number of groups and classifies them according to the following elements: dispersal from a center to two or more peripheral or foreign regions; retention of collective memory, vision or myth; the belief that full acceptance by the host country is not possible, resulting in alienation and insult; regard for the ancestral homeland as the true or ideal home and place of final return; commitment to the maintenance or restoration of safety and prosperity in the homeland; and personal or vicarious relations to the homeland in an ethnocommunal consciousness.

Cohen (1997) added four other elements to the elements proposed by Safran. In Cohen's opinion, a definition of diaspora needs to: 1) be able to include those groups that scatter voluntarily or as a result of fleeing aggression, persecution or extreme hardship; 2) take into account the necessity for a sufficient time period before any community can be described as a diaspora; 3) recognize more positive aspects of diasporic communities; and 4) acknowledge that diasporic communities not only form a collective identity in the place of settlement or with their homeland, but also share a common identity with members of the same ethnic communities in other countries.

Blunt (2003: 282) argued that term of diaspora is inherently geographical, implying a scattering of people over space and transnational connection between people and places. Geography clearly lies at the heart of diaspora both as a concept and as lived experience, encompassing the contested of place, home, culture and identity through migration and resettlement. In line with that, Anderson (1998) defined the emigrant groups as diaspora because of their continued involvement in homeland politics, 'longdistance nationalists'. In the larger extent, the term has touched the labor migrants who maintain emotional and social ties with a homeland. Algerian, Bangladeshi, Filipino, Greek, Haitian, Indian, Italian, Korean, Mexican, Pakistani, Puerto Rican, Polish, Salvadoran, Turkish, Vietnamese and many other migrant populations have been defined as diasporas in this sense (Sheffer, 2003). On the other hand, the context of homeland or country of origin is questionable and somewhat irrelevant because diaspora themselves are strongly affected by their position at the core of contemporary globalization flows.

What is home? On the one hand, 'home' is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of 'origin'. On the other hand, home is also a lived experience of a locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, sombre grey skies in the middle of the day...all this, as mediated by the historically specific of everyday social relations. In other words, the varying experiences of pains and pleasures, the terrors and contentments, or the highs and humdrum of everyday lived culture that marks how, for example, a cold winter night might be differently experienced sitting by crackling fireside in a mansion compared with standing huddled around a makeshift fire on the streets of nineteenth century England. (Brah: 1996, 192)

At least, the term of diaspora refers a distinct identity relating to a community of origin. It is significantly common to use the term to imply to migrants who have left their countries only recently and perhaps temporarily as well as to refer to settled communities. According to the International Organization for Migration (2012: 15), diaspora refers to emigrant and their descendants who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry both on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still maintain affective and material ties to their countries of origin. The common thread among these recent arrivals and members of long-established communities is that they identify with their country of origin or ancestry and are willing to maintain ties to it. These ties are, potentially, beneficial to development.

In spite of conceptual and semantic view, ones can identify three core elements to understand constitutive of diaspora: dispersion of space, orientation to the 'homeland' and boundary-maintenance. Some experts mix these, variously weighted, emphasizes most concepts and discourses of the phenomenon. Understanding of the changing significance based these elements – and of the several ways where they have been construed – provides leverage for a more analytical appraisal of the 'diaspora' diaspora (Brubaker, 2005: 5).

The Indonesian diaspora includes every Indonesian abroad, both those with Indonesian blood and those with Indonesian spirit – whatever the legal occupation, ethnic and tribal status. background, whether indigenous or nonindigenous. Moreover, foreigners who love culture of Indonesia or have kinship with citizen of Indonesia are also considered as part of Indonesian diaspora. In short, whoever has Indonesia in his heart – regardless of skin color, the color of one's passport or visa types – then they part of the diaspora of Indonesia (kabarinews.com, 2012). The paradigm of diaspora was directed to eye at all overseas

Indonesians as assests, with potential, power, as role models. even government of Indonesia respects the diaspora as an important element of the productive and dynamic nation, key to Indonesia's success in the 21th century (Djoened, 2012).

History of Indonesian Diaspora

It's debatable when Indonesians began to migrate across the globe. Some scholars believe that they started to migrate as early as the 15th century like an of Minangkabau to Negeri exodus Sembilan (present-day Malaysia) and members of tribes which had a long tradition as wanderers such as Bugis, Banjarese, and Bajau. Another report said that formation beginning of Indonesian diaspora in South Africa was recorded since the 17th century when a Dutch Trade Company VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) led by Jan Van Riebeeck, landed at the Cape of Good Hope with Malay servants. The independent Muslims

from Ambon, Mardyker arrived on the Cape in 1658 as a security force to protect the VOC's trade interest and the Dutch settlement from disturbance of the native inhabitants (Saidi, 2007). Indonesians are long recognized as great voyagers. Relying on trireme boats, they braved the waves, crossed the oceans and resided in cities extended from Madagascar, New Caledonia, South Africa, the Netherlands, to Suriname. Those were the first wave of Indonesian diasporas (Yudhoyono, 2012).

Thousands of Javanese were enforcedly sent by the Dutch colony to Suriname and New Caledonia to serve on Dutch plantations in the 19th century. Another voluntary migration driven from religious belief such as Muslims began leaving Indonesia for the Saudi Arabia to study and to perform Hajj who often not returns to Indonesia. From 1853 to 1858. only half of those who departed to Mecca returned to the homeland (Jaquet, in van Bruinessen, 1995:49). Van der Plas reported that 10,000 of the 30,000

individuals who had departed Indonesia to perform Hajj did not return (Bruines sen, 1995: 50)

Education migration emerged among Indonesians since the end of 19th century. A few aristocrats Javanese traveled overseas, especially to Netherlands to continue study at higher levels. At the early 20th century, the study opportunity in Europe improved with the implementation of Politik Etis initiated by the Dutch colony in 1901 to repay for the suffering and misery in colonialism of Indonesia. The impact of policy generated nationalism of Indonesia (Kompas, 2008). Labor migration to the Middle East rose significantly since early 1970s with the oil industry booming. In addition, millions Indonesian migrant workers fulfilled workforce in neighboring countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Brunei Darussalam. Shortly, both educational and economic migration continued to date.

According Ario Adityo to (Indosuara, 2012), migration of Indonesians has several periods as following:

- Pre-colonial. Ethnic Mon Khmer (in present-day Cambodia) conquered at the wars against nusantara's ancient emperors till establishment of Hindu, Buddha, and Islam kingdoms. The main features of period included: a) movement of people from one to regions other in nusantara occurred before modern border marked, b) motivation of migration was economy encouraged with political and cultural power, c) war and conquest as key of migration, and migration driven d) society development especially the power organizational (embryo of state) and farming.
- Colonial. This period shown the migration as initiation and interest

- of colonial governments Portuguese, Dutch, Japan, British, and the ally. In this period, the Javanese was main target of the Dutch government's migration policy. In addition, the British colonial government attracted Javanese and Sumatrans to migrate to the Peninsula of Malaya (in present-day Malaysia and Singapore) to fulfill lack of labor.
- Post-independence and the New Order. The main aims of migration in this period were to reduce unemployment and to national foreign exchange. The legalization of migration happened since 1970s during the oil and gas booming in the Middle East. In 1994 government of Indonesia established PT. Bijak to support skilled migrants to Malaysia. From 1969 to 1993, Indonesia succeeded sending 877,310 migrant workers to Saudi Arabia (62.9%), Malaysia

- (19.7%), and Singapore (6%). In fact, majority of migrants were unskilled and uneducated workers.
- Current. After the dramatic 1997 Asian Crisis, government of Indonesia gained benefits from migration policy such as issuing the Indonesian Overseas Worker Placement and Protection Act and establishing the National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (BNP2TKI).

President Soekarno sent thousands students to developed countries since 1956 to follow Japan's success in education-led economic. Then he nationalized foreign companies' asset and pioneered strategic infrastructure projects such as Krakatau Steel, Jatiluhur Dam, IPTN, PAL, INKA with establishing excellent universities as simultaneous movement (inward-outward looking). Unfortunately, the 1965 politics made Soekarno's program failed. Thousands students overseas came into exile. It has been the first and biggest brain drain in the history of modern Indonesia. Another diaspora tragedy occurred when President Soeharto signed agreement with IMF in January 1998. Consequently, it ruined strategic industries and mega projects in the name of saving state's financial and encouraged thousands IPTN's employee to work abroad. In the massive numbers: professionals, scientists, genius students and international Olympiad-winner served for foreign companies and universities (Tono, 2012).

Today, counting Indonesian diasporas can't separate with migrant workers. By 2006, there were 712,160 Indonesian migrants formally deployed to work abroad, over three quarter of whom were female. The International Organization for Migration's reported that the number of Indonesians overseas was at least 4 million when undocumented workers and those who migrated outside of formal deployment included. were

Majority of migrants worked in low skilled or semi-skilled occupations such agriculture, construction and manufacturing with domestic along workers or caregivers for female. Their top destinations are Hong Kong, Kuwait, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. Their remittance reached US \$6.6 billion in 2008 and is projected to steadily increase to date (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011: 37-38). To date, the number of Indonesian diaspora is estimated around 6-8 millions whose five times income per capita compared to Indonesian's average (kabarinews.com, 2012).

Beyond the Congress of Indonesian Diaspora

According to Dino Patti Djalal (2012), the current number of Indonesian diaspora reached around 6-8 millions and possibly more than 10 millions as many as the population of Sweden or Austria. Their median income in the US alone is USD 59,000/year which is USD 10,000 more than the annual income of all Americans. They annually send USD 7 billion back home to Indonesia. In Dino's view, Indonesian diasporas are sources of power included: 1) Brain power, e.g. there are 48% of Indonesian diaspora in the US over 25 years old have Bachelor Degree or higher compared to US average of 27%; 2) Heart power e.g. there are thousands of Indonesian diaspora in Philadelphia, Atlanta and California whose unclear visa yet they still have enough money to send back home USD 200 to their family; 3) Will power e.g. Anneke Monscavoir from France who fought hard almost singlehandedly to reach Dual Citizenship Act to her mixed-race children.

"Currently, in the 21st Century, Indonesian diasporas have become more than just overseas individuals. They have become a big and dynamic community, full of energy potentials. Indonesian and Diasporas are now scattered in many corners of the world. The Indonesian

Diasporas also consist of various professions and activities. From highskilled workers, informal sector workers, politicians, artists. entrepreneurs, educators, innovators, contractors, oil and gas experts, ship crew, athletes, students, religious figures, and many more. Wherever you go, you obey the local custom and law, yet you all have one thing love in common: for Indonesia."(Yudhoyono, 2012)

Above is one of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's quotations in welcoming speech of the first Congress of Indonesian Diaspora held in Los Angeles USA last July 2012. The congress organizing strongly indicated the Indonesia's political will to engage its diaspora. The potential contribution of diaspora to the country of origin is really awesome. According to Agunias and Kathleen (2012: 2), policymakers tended to focus on three to unleash their diaspora:

1. Unquestionably, are the remittances that send back to their homeland estimated at over USD 200 billion in 2011. It is huge and growing yet remarkably stable, remittance flows show some tendency to increase in times of crisis as migrants try to meet their relatives' mounted needs:

- 2. Increasing use of concepts like 'brain gain,' 'brain bank,' 'brain trust' and 'brain circulation' indicated a growing interest in diaspora members' skills experience and how those can be tapped by countries of origin;
- 3. Diaspora members are excellent intermediaries who can ease their countries' connection into the global economy. Characterized as 'cultural interpreters' 'reputational intermediaries', they can be hub for their homeland to potential foreign investors and lobby in their destination countries for more favorable labor and trade flows. They are instrumental in

developing export markets and other trade ties, supply chains and technology transfer mechanism. Furthermore, they can also steer business ventures and investment capital to their countries of origin.

The Government of Indonesia has no clear policy in addressing millions of overseas Indonesians span the globe for decades. The role of potential diaspora has yet to count in shaping the future of Indonesia. In fact. the diaspora engagement is fruitful to show Indonesia world. Unfortunately, mostly impressions of overseas Indonesians are those who have abundance of problems and accidents - inferiority complex and the success of Indonesian diaspora has yet They often to expose. were underestimated, less likely to be taken into account and even have had their nationalism questioned at times. Furthermore, there has not been a common bond to embrace and unite them. The

policy of diaspora is part of a fair and open nationalism of Indonesia.

Understanding the unlimited potentials of its scattered people across different parts of the world was the initial step in a long list that led the Government of Indonesia to organize the Congress of Indonesian Diaspora held in Los Angeles, United States from July 6 to 8, 2012. The congress was a milestone to unleash Indonesian diaspora who were unconnected and unorganized - bridging a opportunity, connectivity, and golden cultural affinity to great Indonesia. Moreover, it tended to reflect a new paradigm of Indonesia's internationalism (Diaspora Indonesia, 2012). It's not a narrow nationalism yet nationalism in the greater framework of internationalism and humanism on the contrary of a fascist type of nationalism (Krishna, 2012).

> For Indonesian diasporas who are currently studying, working and living overseas, I wish you can be your best, and contribute for the

future of our nation. For Indonesian diasporas who have become nationals of other countries, I hope you can maintain the bonds of friendship emotional and connection that can never be lost, whatever your nationality. It is clear that wherever you are, the Indonesian Government remains respectful for you, and treats you as a partner and part of the big family of Indonesian nation. (Yudhoyono, 2012)

The congress attracted sympathies from Indonesian public figures. According to Former President Habibie (2012), the congress brought great potential human resources which become part of nation's intellectual, economic and social strength to the future of Indonesia. The congress offered several advantages: diaspora's expertise, skills and experiences are strongly needed to manage the future of nation; 2) Having settled far from the homeland given diaspora a clear view to analyze issues and challenges of nation. They are free from an unproductive 'thought pollution' and 'shortly political interest'. 3) Having experienced to study and work overseas given them a valuable lesson learned to improve productivity, competitiveness, and autonomy to make Indonesia great.

The congress produced the Declaration of Indonesian Diaspora which consisted of several points such as 1) a belief that the 21st century shall be Indonesia's best century; 2) an eagerness Indonesian promote culture. cooperate with other diaspora communities for the sake of growing together, 3) an awareness to make Indonesia confident, adaptive, open to ideas, meritocratic, and intelligently draw on the strength of natural resources, human capital and cultural heritage; 4) a dream of being a hub – for ideas, solutions, resources, and networks – for shared prosperity, and for a and progress; peace and 5) an understanding that congress was only the

beginning of a new chapter for Indonesia Indonesian diasporas (Diaspora Indonesia, 2012).

Toward Indonesia's Diaspora Policy

The Congress of Indonesian Diaspora was only a starting point to in unleash diaspora the name Indonesia's future. To follow India's and China's success story of diaspora engagement, Indonesia should make a clear blue print. A strategy of government for diaspora engagement needs to include the following elements: identifying goals, mapping diaspora geography and skills, creating relationship of trust between governments of both origin and destination countries and diasporas, and, mainly, mobilizing diasporas to contribute to sustainable development. The 'destination' is arrived at when the diaspora is built as a true partner in the development of its country of origin. The strategy must devote attention to strengthen the capacity of the both government institutions and diaspora communities to work with one another and with other stakeholders (IOM: 2012, 23).

The Indonesia diaspora can bridge to access knowledge, expertise, resources and markets for development in the country. The success of bridging is reflected upon two conditions: their capability to project and develop a intrinsically-motivated coherent progressive identity and capacity of the Government of Indonesia to establish situations, conditions, and institutions for sustainable. symbiotic and mutually rewarding engagement. As Indonesia transformed into a new remarkably global economic player, the time has come for a clear, strong, and sustained engagement between them.

The Congress of Indonesian Diaspora's success was not only recorded into the Declaration of Indonesia - called the Youth Pledge 2.0 - but also successfully strengthened a new identity pride among scattered overseas

Indonesians: effectively change their profile on the world's eye; inspired people of Indonesia; proclaimed diaspora a rich community existence as knowledge, capital, spirit, opportunity and network - and enforced a heart bond among Indonesian diaspora and Indonesia.

To measure the of success Indonesia's diaspora policy could refer to progresses post-Congress of some Indonesian Diaspora as follows (Djalal, 2013):

- 1. Established Indonesian the Diaspora Network (IDN). In the other hand, the idea of 'Indonesian Diaspora Brain Bank', hoped as the hub and database of professional diaspora figures, is now on progress.
- 2. Published a book entitled Life Stories: Resep Sukses dan Etos Hidup Diaspora di Negeri Orang. It has well-spread in all over Indonesia and Indonesian's consulates and embassies.

- 3. Organized Ambassador's Award for Excellence to the brightest Indonesian students in the USA and Indonesian Business Plan Competition (Indopreneur-USA) to find diasporas who have brilliant business idea out and connect them to the 'angel investor' in Indonesia.
- 4. Established the Indonesian Diaspora Business Council (IDBC) which also has signed MOU with Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN), Indonesian Business Association (APINDO) and Indonesian Young Association Entrepreneurs (HIPMI).
- 5. Some Indonesian diaspora representatives proposed to the Constitutional Court special constituency to vote.
- 6. Established Indonesian the Diaspora Foundation (IDF) to drive social and humanity activities. Its outstanding programs

included Computers for Schools, Foster Family One on Program, and Diaspora Diaspora Program.

It is too early to measure the success of Indonesia's diaspora policy because it just started a beginning. In contrast, Indonesia's diaspora policy is too late compared to rising power China and India. When China issued a new nationalism concept called the Open Door Policy by the end of the 19th century, enabled new generation to leave and attracted successful emigrants come back and invested to China (Adhitya, 2012). The bamboo network – as world call Chinese diasporas – have been a key to China's miracle placing world's largest economy second only to United States. The network that mostly located in Southeast Asia – Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand – has effectively worked to attract foreign investment into China. More than 5,000 overseas Chinesemanaged owned companies supported in economic booming, do SO overseas Chinese's remittance from around the world (Ishani, 2009).

The economic rising of India is in line with China's diaspora-driven booming. Millions of Indian diaspora colored in all over the world. The growth of Indian major cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Chennai and Bangalore – India's Silicon Valley in some --also supported extent by Indian Diaspora. Government of India learned much from China's policy in wooing back its diaspora, smartly managed "brain drain" into "brain gain". The government of India's strong will to engage its Diaspora proven in establishing the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) as one-stop address to create a resilient and robust bond (MOIA, 2004).

Conclusion

Even though the concept of diaspora is still debatable, it has colored international discourse of relations. particularly in addressing the integral development of economy to the country of origin – proved by new popular terms like brain gain, brain bank, brain trust and brain circulation. The Government of Indonesia has no clear policy in addressing millions of overseas Indonesians span the globe for decades. The role of potential diaspora has yet to count in shaping the future of nation. However, the Congress of Indonesian Diaspora in 2012 has been a turning point to engage diasporas in unleashing the future of Indonesian social economic development. and

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- N 1. Kai Bird and Martin J. Sherwin, *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 52.
- **B** Bird, Kai, and Martin J. Sherwin. *American Prometheus: The Triumph and Tragedy of J. Robert Oppenheimer*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

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N 21.Ibid., 145.
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N 22.Ball, 204.
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N 23. Ball, Bright Earth, 204.

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