

Andalas Journal of International Studies



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Preface

The editorial boards of the Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS) would like to deliver our praises and gratitude to god the almighty since the first volume of our journal eventually resulted in the first publication. This was our very long and hard struggle to eventually accomplish the publication of our first journal comprising a number of academic writings in order to disseminate the result of the researches with various topics in the field of international relations. The long process ranging from the call for papers to the editing process, from the reviewing to the articulation and now reaching the readers gave such a satisfaction to the editorial team.

The AJIS Vol. 1 No. 1 was the beginning of our contribution in disseminating the knowledge and the discussion of international relations in the form of scientific periodical publishing. As the starter, this edition could be far from such a qualified journal. However, we are seeking to approach and produce the high quality journal in order to give more benefits to both theoretical development and its application to the society, which is resembling our institutional goal, "...for a better future..."

There are six articles presented in this first edition. The first article, written by Ranny Emilia, provides an analysis of potential young leaders, especially Asian youth, in creating a peaceful world without nuclear weapons. With reference to the concept of securitization, the next article, by Apriwan analyzes how environmental issue becomes a threat for the states in Southeast Asia. Assuming that environmental issue has become one of security agenda, this article attempts to draw a map and provide an analysis of how such securitization becomes an inevitable option in the region. Then, Poppy Irawan wrote an article entitled The alternative through the returning of gold monetary system based on the idea of gold dinar exchange economy of global political economy and its impact to the developing states.

The fourth article, written by Malse Yulivestra, analyzes the growing influence of developed countries to developing countries through international treaties, and other international organizations in the era of globalization with reference to neo-liberalism approach. These interventions provide great influence on local policy in the state. Haiyyu Darman Moenir, subsequently writes an article with the title "ASEAN Connectivity: As a shifting paradigm in the process of ASEAN Integration" and the last but not least, an article written by Rika Isnarti, attempts to describe how a network of the Indian diaspora in the USA, is able to change the brain drain, a phenomenon faced by Indian and also other developing countries, into brain circulation.

Finally, all constructive criticism and suggestion are really welcome and highly appreciated so that we can do significant improvement for the upcoming edition. Thanks for the insightful thought and the generosity to care to share the knowledge.

A World without Nuclear Power

Ranny Emilia

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Abstract

Many people believe a distinct feature of markets is the self-assurance. International system, if not the major, particularly accept this pattern. Communication action obviously plays important role in shaping this pattern. For political leaders who primarily concern with economic growth, the operations in market are used as information to the expanding capital and secure civil industry across national boundaries. Nuclear materials and nuclear weapons are also used to the protection as well as to ensure economies continue growing. The Asian youth leaders can set their own agendas to create substantial change in this area. The process is currently moving. Religious nationalism of the youth is part of this process. However a meaningful change can lose itself unless a significant numbers of the youth give priority to human and humanity objectives. With human intelligence as the major tool the youth can make a difference to the world. To ensure this the primary units should have capabilities to instinctively understand greatest resources for human wisdom based on multiculturalism and inclusiveness. It can begin from creating security culture among the youth based on its potential historically and locally then share the values to communities in their environment.

Key words: *international system, communication action, security issues, human intelligence.*

1. Introduction

Cold War over market has been the greatest source of capital and knowledge on global basis. International market becomes more powerful where millions of people and money widespread including attempts in conjunction with informational, reputational, and results of identifiable markets¹. Many people believe a distinct feature of markets is the self-

assurance. Those who live with market cannot be persuaded even by an attempt to reveal their theories. If experts state on market and compare to the state it is mostly characterized as a free area and out of government control that individuals have caught completely by market system can only rely on very clear and direct signals was occurring. An expert said:

"The past two decades I have seen the most rapid and sweeping institutional transformation in human

¹This paper has been presented on Symposium of Asian Peace Network, Nagasaki, Japan, November 19-24, 2010

history. It is a conscious and intentional transformation in search of a new world economic order in which business has no nationality and knows no borders. It is driven by global dreams of vast corporate empires, compliant governments, a globalize consumer monoculture, and a universal ideological commitment to corporate libertarianism." ²

Communication actions clearly play an important role in shaping these patterns. Following the case of great failures such as a large scale of environmental destruction, financial crisis and terrorism and with the emergence of global resistance to its major institutions apart of it success in making history any real indication and general proves about the social life mostly inaccurate. Market seems unlikely can avoid a sudden attack whether or not they hold rational theories in the cognitive infiltration of extreme groups. In the current situation international organization, technology,

money and ideology to be the main instruments that support its survival.

This article attempts to discuss how to develop meaningful and comprehensive efforts to free the world from demands in nuclear weapons. The basic argument is that science and social development also the policy makers need to go beyond terms used in market. They need to be aware on the risk of overwhelming capitalization market with nuclear technology and warfare knowledge. In so far the youth got involve as an integrated unit of national system. What they demanding from the youth their effectiveness in the economic units and remain to be seen as a group content with knowledge. It was clear, however, the youth could not take on a direct influence with the state so controllable with decisions of market institutions.

2. The Reinforcement for Intelligence Failures

Habermas (1971) contribution for this analysis is especially on the concept of *human interests* and *communication action*. He recalls Weber concept on rational-aimed community practices that caused mutual objectives of oppression on the basis of inter-subjectivity. Among the list there are three types of interests in human mind; *technical*, *practical* and *emancipatory*. The very nature of technical

²Chris H. Lewis, Ph.D. Sewall Academic Program. University of Colorado at Boulder Created 20 Jan. 1997; Last Modified: 29 September, 2008 URL: <http://www.colorado.edu/AmStudies/ecology/north.htm>

is instrumental with demands of identifiable results and productions. They further emerge the need to be practical in societies. The advocates of technical production hope to some parallelism between nature and societies. Habermas wonder whether technical science can solve conflicts between them. Thus he further proposes another type of science "practical" covering the needs of societies to communicate with each other and their practices.

The reasons for failure in practice also raise another type of interests "emancipatory". Social order naturally inclines to the distribution of power, but at the same time individuals also have interest of liberating themselves from domination. Power lead to the distortion of communication, but by being aware of dominant ideologies a group can empower themselves to change the ideas through communication action. The primary goal of Emancipatory science is to serve the need for change and to gain equilibrium in power so order can be maintained. The limit of emancipation knowledge can drive any group to weaken position of others which caused many conflicts. Habermas proposes the recovery public areas must make up of epistemic community, and does join in the conversations and debates, deliberate of issues to balance power and strengthen the weaker. Through epistemic

(intelligence) community individuals and groups can have valuable ideas for resolving conflicts and create consensus on collective good.

My interests in Habermas theory is by no mean without critics. The three types of interests are thought to accept universal values and rational decisions in favour. There is also asymmetric deed (between cognitive content and concrete actions) to the measure that public sphere not speak by itself. Communication action play important role here. As that of public it is also area of intricate dialogues and sometime involved lies and secrecies, guiles and manipulation of data. It can also suffer a sudden attack where some can be withdrawal from communication action. Suspect ideas that Harbermas dreamt an exclusive motion of epistemic community to set constructive ideas at the first and only claims actions that rationally acceptable and applicable all.

Public sphere can only be valuable when all have reached its own ideals; where statement and expression does not monopolize or is merely a clarity of something and real indication for actions. Demands on multiculturalism and inclusiveness in communication action these are more profoundly around the weaker with its counter measures on security responsibility. In the current debate it has special attention and a great

urgency around religious fundamentalism and religious nationalism. In fact the relation between religion and politics is truly global.³ An expert says that:

George W Bush not less fundamentalism than his enemies such Ahmadinejad (Iran) and Osama bin Laden (Afghanistan). This is not because he is an extreme follower of religion nor because of religion that embraced him consisting theological teaching that harmful for world peace. It is because becoming an extreme nationalism and fundamentalism utilize to achieve secular goals such as liberalization of economies that benefitted him and satisfy dominant social class contributing him more in political supports.⁴

If we dive into the function of religion to politics consider the following information suggested what should be taken to value Islam?

³A comprehensive analysis on relations between religion and politics can be seen in Bryan S Turner, *Secularization*, Four Volume Set, Cuny USA, Sage Publication, 2010.

⁴Eric Hiarie, Formasi Negara Neoliberal dan Kebangkitan Komunalisme. [www/mandatory4_eric.htm](http://www.mandatory4_eric.htm). see also Richard N. Hass "War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars. *The Iraq War in Perspective*. His opinion about United States war policies has been retrieved electronically in http://www.cfr.org/publication/19292/May_4_2009

Afghanistan is the world's largest opium production. Just last year Afghanistan produced 4,000 tons of opium and it is the supplier of more than 75% of drugs in the world. Approximately 12,600 acres of marijuana field had been destroyed by the *Taliban* and replace it into wheat and onions fields. According to the UN team, Taliban the only group that actively combat the distribution of drug and narcotics trade in Afghanistan. Taliban leader says "We will continue to fight against drug trafficking whether or not we are fought internationally... marijuana is prohibited in this country forever. The leader also said Taliban banned opium because it contradicts with Islam and destroy the young generation."⁵

Taliban may have seen such contrast actions from what have being labelled to Islam can be strategic for winning war as well as for peace purposes. Such actions in fact gain positive responses from the international system, from the United Nations, a superstructure of states, which has been distinguished this

⁵Transl by <http://www.erasuslim.com/berita/dunia/pbb-hanya-taliban-yang-memerangi-narkoba-di-afghanistan.htm>

group extreme fundamentalism should be abolished in particular for the world peace. While concerns in human and humanity can be accommodated for and by any individuals or groups, some groups in fact not able to fully express its will of wisdom. It is because of domination in communication action.

I quote Allah Messages to Prophet of Muhammad about how people should organize the state, through verses in Al Quran saying as Al-Balad (the City State) as the following:

(A)nd we have shown two-ways; one to misdeed and one to happiness. Did you know the most difficult road? (It is) freeing slaves from bondage; feeding the hunger in time of hunger; the orphan of own kin group; the poor in serious suffering; (A)nd they were among those who believe and be told to give serene advise and compassionate one to another.⁶

Assuming Taliban as an extreme religious fundamentalism or religious nationalism group we should also agree to the positive and suit to a better world when the belief was cited from the true believers of Islam. The construct ideas can also mean that this group could contribute to

peace and prosperity when they got the messages of Allah properly. In fact Taliban did try to make such credible attempts to defend their country and the youth.

So, the idea of human intelligence can be meant something to our purpose in relation to peace, security and non militaristic measures. The advantage is in making international relations not merely content capabilities in exchange and trade, but also hard steps in the producing and transforming human technical and practical need for survival. The most important thing is to create individuals could perform actions perfectness in relations to others across boundaries for a better future and the environment. The function of human intelligence is to have locked intentions and plans purely on the basis of identifiable results (technical interests) and actual profit (the practical interests). Emancipation is the result of the inclusiveness in communication actions but again making the human mind rational and be symmetric in practices is not the best answer. So many failures come from this intellectual stance.

3. The State-Centric Risks

Realism tends to believe that various policy dilemma such as the question whether it is better for governments to abolish or continue to

⁶Translate by me-Al Quran, Al Balad: 12-17

develop nuclear weapons is effects of human nature. Realism put simply reciprocity as consequences of anarchy as the beginning to construct security dilemma and perhaps it is just making some theories about the state as it is. Keohane argues that praise for reciprocity by political leaders, echoed by scholars to practice it and teaches this principle to people and governments in order to foster cooperation to be the most effective strategy for maintaining cooperation among egoists.⁷ The state concerns on securitization to control factors can affect national interests and sovereignty. The notion that the international system is anarchy and only if the same situation has threat national security hence the state can focus on security functions.

However the state can persuade citizens to accept offensive policies in favor on reasons of internal and external conflicts, and where humanities objectives are ignored. The same circumstance will automatically occur in countries when certain security issue have made sense of the civil society. With reference to the territorial conflicts between states, such as that of between Indonesia and Malaysia on Ambalat, it becomes relevant for decision makers to strengthening the states' military

power. Difficulties have been common among the realist to compelling facts about power mere interests of states. Economy contributes more in such conflicts. The felt of citizens, passed experiences, and prestige of nation are involving too. Such demands with the state responsibility to secure the people prosperity and security can explode conflicts to war at anytime.

It was also clear that a series of war led by the United States to weaker countries are not merely about power. It is to defend its own belief and ideology. This action seems insignificant with religion teaching was holding by the practitioners deeply influence by Christianity concept of love and peace. There is serious doubt that state actors can represent the perfectness model since human and humanity objectives is put outside in solving policy dilemma.⁸ A liberal defender Ronnie Lipshutz argues:

Liberalism will survive this crisis, as it has many others, but it will have changed. The felt need to ensure the security of the economy, and the threats posed to the social order by individuals with potentially threatening capabilities, will require more and more surveillance

⁷ Robert O' Keohane, Reciprocity in International Relations, in Stephen Chan and Cerwyn Moore, *Theories of International Relations*, Vol II, Sage Publications, 2006: 228

⁸Markus Fischer The Liberal Peace: Ethical, Historical, and Philosophical Aspects BCSIA Discussion Paper 2000-07, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 2000.

of our everyday lives and more and more of our participation in those processes of 'keeping an eye out' for anonymous parcels, suspicious behaviours, provocative speech and dangerous thoughts. We will all be enlisted in the army of observation, free to choose but self-regulating in our choices. Everyone will watch everyone, and the new age of opt to liberalism will have dawned.⁹

In the state-centric approach security also means abilities to protect themselves. As long as the environment does not directly threaten their freedom external security operations will not be major concerns of the citizens. It becomes evident for example to Japan who had experience time of so much lost as the result of nuclear weapons. However how Japan specified its strategic culture remains uncertain. Japan's policy of maintaining good relations to the neighbour and not possessing offensive weapons as well as supporting disarmament policies may help to assure its security. Still conditions in the international system

with less military and much more economic cooperation and of course reciprocity principle that determined Japan committed to this strategy.¹⁰

Thus it is impossible to offer some judgments on the states' behaviours even when economic cooperation formed of a greater emphasis. In the current situation at least the world has two converging trends which are a constant element in ideology; secular and religious political stratum, each abided by countries that have had nuclear weapons. The membership in this grouping is valued from its reflections seem to be driving the international system. In the secular approach demands in the market is the first with subtle defiance in the light of policies priorities. Russia for example in 2007 agreed to help Myanmar in building nuclear reactors. Myanmar's ambition of building power with nuclear weapons is also materialized through cooperation with North Korea.¹¹ China sees in different respects as a country confronting liberal internationalism as a challenge to especially US domination in the current market. Ideologically all these countries suggest similar measures about the rival in history and international conflicts. Their presence in the international system was then

⁹Ronnie D. Lipschutz What Comes after Liberalism? More Liberalism! *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol.38 (3), 2010: 545. See also Cynthia Weber After Liberalism *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol.38 (.3): 2010: 553–560

¹⁰ See Yukiya Amano, A Japanese View on Nuclear Disarmament. *The Nonproliferation Review*, Spring, 2002

¹¹ William Boot (2007), Nuclear Centre to Cost \$540 million, but Who Pays? In <http://www.irrawaddy.org>

perceived as opposing liberal democracy, yet not impossible to make up the different principles in the willing to expand its influence and to gain profit from markets.

The secular strand has been elaborated with what is called as post-secular intellectual stance, driven by US, Japan and Europe Union. Evidences began to accumulate respect to multiculturalism for maintaining relations and their presence outer boundaries. The United States was expected to lead substantial change in the world by credible attempts called “seeking the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons.” This normative power is considered important to US economic development, for expanding its market and participation of US firms in which they have competitive advantage, including nuclear reactors.¹² Japan, on the other hand, is a regional decisive model toward the establishment of ‘Asian way’ based on respect to wisdom locally for similar purpose, which could give much contribution in the human and humanity aspects. There are also attempts in European Community to build their common security culture with more civil society involvement in formulating

strategic policies. (Ortoleva 2009; Manners 2002, Possum 2001).

Iran, Pakistan and India have been much background to arrive in religious grouping in collaboration with strong nationalism to affect international system. These countries have also taken strategic steps in strengthening bilateral ties among themselves and for variety of political grouping. Indonesia finally choose to resides this group while continue inhibit good relations with the other. Indonesian President, Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono, stressed all nuclear issues regarding to Iran must be resolved through dialogue and not by violence or the imposition of sanctions.¹³ The vice president Budiono also argued that before arriving at a concrete agreement on the Global Initiative to *World without Nuclear* countries must first take some practical steps; cooperation in nuclear oversight can only be advanced with respect to national sovereignty.¹⁴ Marty Natalegawa, Indonesian Ministry for Foreign Relations said the right of all nations to use nuclear technology to peaceful purposes. In November 2006, Indonesia and Australia also signed bilateral Framework for Security Co-operation. This agreement

¹²<http://indiatoday.intoday.in/site/Story/94363/India/access> 6 Oct 2010 at 12.30 p.m. See U.S Department of State in <http://state.gov/pa/prs/ps/2009/Sept/129541.htm>

¹³<http://www.suaramedia.com/berita-nasional/29787-qindonesia-iran-setujui-pelucutan-senjata-nuklirq.html>

¹⁴<http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/amerika/2010/04/13/brk.20100413-240145.id.html> Selasa, 13 April 2010 | 21:29 WIB

includes a commitment from both nations to help each other in developing nuclear power for peaceful purposes.¹⁵ Elisabeth Porter from Southern Cross University, Australia in her working paper said:

I show that what currently is being protected is a construction of a way of life that is not as inclusive as it claims to be. In reality, Arab-Australians and Muslims are implicated in the public imagination as threatening Australia's secure way of life. I explore some of the contradictions between the Australian government's public statements on diversity and tolerance and those actions that contradict these statements, particularly policies on asylum-seekers and border protection.¹⁶

One can argue despite the countries were rooted in very different pattern societies and the policies have quite distinct in term of priorities but economies they have shared important common features.¹⁷ Even a strong government, such

China and Russia has been forced to adapt with this trend. However simply reveals liberalist or realist measures for convergence could be endangered for peace itself.¹⁸ Clearly a state will never voluntarily submit its power under the control of global confidence. Similarly societies at the end will look at ideas and norms most relevance and closeness to them. Under such circumstances and when a crucial problem faced historically the state will quickly turn the process into different logic. With the above contextual soon we will realize that the analysis of nuclear proliferation is truly complex and indistinguishable. There are a number of powerful states with diverse political stances that involved in hosting and facilitating the growth. This also meant a variety of attempts for enriching the advantage. If nuclear knowhow equipment and material spread around the world, so will nuclear commerce, training, and cooperation to the development technology. The strengthening protection against nuclear disarmament grows just as prospects of nuclear market are rising. The

¹⁵<http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/inf47.htm>.
www.un.org/esa/agenda21/natlinfo/countr/indonesia/sanitationIndonesia04f.pdf.
<http://www.radwaste.org/research.htm> access 6 Oct 2010 at 12.30 p.m.

¹⁶Elisabeth Porter, Security and Inclusiveness: Protecting Australia's Way of Life. Conflict and Development: Issue Three, July (2003): 1

¹⁷ See Goran Therbon, *From Marxism to Post Marxism*, London, New York: Verso, 2008: 178-181; See also Grace O'Sullivan, *Replace Capitalism with Something Nice: The (continued)*

Influence of Marx in the Twenty-First Century, Limerick Student Journal of Sociology. Vol. 2(2), April 2010

¹⁸ John Keane (ed). *The power of the powerless: citizens against the state in Central-Eastern Europe*. London: Hutchinson. 1985. See also James V. Fenelon and Thomas D. Hall. "Revitalization and Indigenous Resistance to Globalization and Neoliberalism". *American Behavioral Scientist*; Vol. 51 Number 12 August 2008: 1867-1901.

objectives the non-proliferation and the secure expansion of nuclear industry are shared by leaders of states that have nuclear weapons. Not all leaders agree that a world without nuclear weapons is desirable.¹⁹

The risk to continuing the exploitation of the state for normative purpose reinforces attention to general attitude and motivated behaviour of human societies. The state, however, constitute million of human minds with the souls and blood. This was best served by creating a new locus of attention leading to awareness on human function and responsibilities in security. As Quiggin notes:

The balance of power is moving away from state supported forces and toward groups or individuals that can target complex systems which are hard to defend. The capability of states no longer matches all of the threats faced by the state.²⁰

Cooperation between the state, international market and science is not the best answer for international dilemma. It has created a rapid grow in human

intelligence at the same time have also attacked human capabilities to instinctively understand the invisible in their concrete actions.

4. Let's Change the Locus

A community can be brutal only if they had experience such structure and most likely were not anticipated. Quiggin²¹ offers a concept of strategic intelligence assessment to indicate typical of threats actors and to anticipate it sudden attack. He believes there are various kinds of signals sent by the actor before the action was actually performed. The problem is that decision makers often ignore or underestimate these signs. To make the anticipation the state actors must have theoretical knowledge explaining the limitation of each type and the potential to create serious threats to the environment as the following:

a. High Technology Brutes

The threats mostly come from the state actor, the personnel have instinctive understand that there have been threats in terms of state to state relations. The interests of this actor are a continuing plan and necessary information including data sources that can justify the use

¹⁹ See, George Perkovich. *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: Why the United States Should Lead*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2008.

²⁰ Quiggin: 31

²¹ Thomas Quiggin, *Seeing the Invisible, National Security Intelligence in an Uncertain Age*. Singapore, World Scientific, 2007: Chapter 3

of national budget to build military forces. The source of power is taxation and conscription or highly paid volunteer army. They depend on technology for their effective communication and intelligence.

b. High Technology Brains (technology and knowledge based)

These are actors associated with high end hackers who hack for monetary profit. They operate to anyone who needed their knowledge while ignore the risks of the future. They can work for friendly or unfriendly nations, to bettering or worsening a situation; individual or groups. They also practice information warfare, have knowledge as their source of power, and rely on cyber stealth and database targeting for their effect.

c. Low Technology Brute

The examples of this type of actors are drug cartels and traditional old stile organized crime such Sicilian and Albanian gangs. These groups practice criminality and conflicts at a low level. Their source of power is the ruthlessness and their ability to create ambiguity and unanticipated scenarios. They have wealth and a steady capital of

expandable individuals to use at the front lines in their operations. This group can also be funded by foreign aid and used by state agencies to get information and to operations at a low level or to cover brute actions.

d. Low Technology Brains (ideological and cultural based)

This group is the largest and most significant problem to national security intelligence agencies for predictable actions. They are reliant on popular appeal to the masses and are relatively impervious to attack from higher technology forces, especially if the attacking forces do not maintain the ideological and moral high ground. They can only be defeated by a comprehensive ideological, moral, and cultural campaign that wins supports away from the grass roots. This group may also seek to win power by dominating moral arena and when they have a powerful persuasive force at the conflicts arena while moving forward spectacular ideas and actions against more powerful opponents.

Quiggin argues that each type of the four actors possesses different set of skill and capabilities. Each category also requires a different sort of responses. But there is something that can link them one to another; the interests in power and profit. This is a critical issue to human intelligence approach. The advanced technology of communications helps various individuals and groups to build a complex link, express ideas, do exchanges, provide mutual aid without a contract action. The sovereign states in so far is important mainly because of its ability to make people to comply the rules. But the states have also involved in this link for its own purposes. The use of *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic front of defence) to maintain order by Indonesian state department of security is an example how the state and threat actors has been interlock series. The similar form is also available between the state and market, market and threat actors, and any unit around this link.

Thus the handicap to people and governments to deal with threats actors is not because of the law intelligence nor culture, but the fast increase in quantities of power and monetary advantage seekers. While there is no control there the will of wisdoms are cut off or have been captured in the mindset of amalgam structure on the primary rational technical and practical

interests. In current situation to the rest they all ready to add the bouncing link. The fear situation seems unconfined. There was view that “world explosive” is only about time, for the world basic infrastructure is vulnerable.²² Internet and publications are increasingly becoming information to knowhow and produce various types of explosives; one among others what called as do it yourself (DIY). The Al Qaeda manuals contained this direction such as using chemical and biological substances and it can be easily accessed to all consumers through internet.

5. The strategic role of the Youth: Indonesian case

The political character and culture of the Indonesian youth are not different from the youth in general; ranging from radicalism, nationalist, socialist, liberalist to progressive one. However ritually the Indonesian youth are prefer to ideas of pluralism. The traditional considerations are reflected in the national constitution. Since pluralism is considerably important for Indonesia the youth has made the values equivalent to their identity which they call, in the indigenous term as *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, which meant different but unity. The other important

²²<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/about/pubs/Inventory07/Indonesia.pdf> access 6 Oct 2010, time 12.30.

character of the Indonesian youth is they have influenced and often made religious spirit as the source of inspirations to begin a movement. There are a series of young organizations in Indonesia using Islam as its identity. One of the most enduring features of the Indonesian Islamic youth they respect pluralism and democracy. It is primarily referred to the traditional views and practices of Islam under the Prophet leadership.

Nadhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah two larger Moslem organizations can be employed in order to evaluate the structure of Indonesian youth. They descend of the youth groups were founded in colonial period. These groups appeared varies somewhat provide different perspectives on nationality and certain Islamic rules. But there is a general aspect of its influence to national politics. Both are nationalists in the paradigm. In these associations millions Indonesian people participated in various activities; economic, humanitarian, cultural and for political purposes. Therefore any political leaders governed Indonesia should consider the public reactions when the leaders do not enact the inputs. Regardless the reaction of the United States as the strongest power in world politics, Indonesian government still refuse to formally acknowledge the existence of Israel. This policy is basically beyond

rational calculations. For most Moslem groups Israel is regarded the enemy of Islam. For the strong faith in Islam this character is almost absolute and it is still valid.

Historically the Indonesia youth were deliberately invited to participate in politics to free their people from colonialism, for the establishment of nation state and in promoting substantive changes.²³ In the colonial era historians got specific terms to classify the most active groups in reform movement what is called the *Kaum Muda* (the youth) *Intellectual* and *Kaum Muda Ulama* (missionaries). In history the youth have also made themselves to function as representative of diverse ethnic groups in area of nationalist movement and ensuring that the combine ethnics and religion that makeup of the Indonesia country. They are known as *Yong* (young) *Java*, *young Sumatera*, *Yong Celebes*, *Yong Pasundan*, *Yong Ambon*, and etc. These groups declared what is called “*Sumpah Pemuda*”

²³ See, George McT. Kahin. *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 1952. Taufik Abdullah. “Schools and Politics. The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatera (1927-1933)” *PhD Dissertation*. Cornell University. 1970; See also H.M Federspiel. “Perstauan Islam. Islamic reform in Twentieth Century Indonesia”. *Monograph Series*. Ithaca. Cornell University. 1970; Elizabeth E. Graves. “The Ever Victorious Buffalo, How the Minangkabau of Indonesia Solve the Colonial Question”. *PhD. Thesis*. Wisconsin University. 1971. Elizabeth E. Graves. *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century*. Ithaca: NY. Cornell University. 1981.

(the youth pledge) in 1928 marked the beginning of the revival of nationalist spirit among the Indonesian youth.

The Indonesian youth have also expanded their experience in a series of radical movements under the term of *Angkatan* (force) 28', *Angkatan* 45', *Angkatan* 66', *Angkatan* 78', and *Angkatan* 98. These grouping take the form of various organizations and associations, with different ideology, religion, and social background that bound together in a growing spirit showing a keen of interests in fundamental change. The youth take special role as moral forces to begin develop new spirit in power holders to give priorities to justice and substantive democracy. All those experiences can be answered for the Indonesian youth leadership and much of them value religious nationalism and pluralism to be the Indonesian youth identity. Many of them, men and women, got high capabilities in peaceful process and diplomacy through this process, some was classified as prominent Indonesian national leaders such as Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Sutan Syahrir, Natsir, Agus Salim and Tan Malaka, Rasuna Said, Rohana, and Rahma El Yunusiah.²⁴

²⁴Ranny Emilia, *Studi Konflik dan Peramaian, Memperbaiki Dunia Melalui Tangan-Tangan Perempuan*. Padang: Visigraf. 2008, Chapter 2.

How the young evolve within the framework of current international system and market is one of the important political issues in Indonesia. Facts about globalization in turn bring the Indonesia youth to the reverse process. The function of the youth especially among the Moslem groups is more reflecting the willingness to break the influence of the globalization. In addition, among the intellectuals there is also increasing trend where members reflect similar actions. When the youth is grouping they become domestic force that ready to challenge global structure marked an important conflicts between the Indonesian youth and what have been commonly accepted in international system. The Indonesian youth are most active responding to domination issues and refused ideas of one community globally. They help each other in facing security threat attacking Indonesian sovereign state. In other word the Indonesian youth remains in favor to traditional principles and identity of the state had been acknowledged in international law. In case of participation in influencing foreign policy the youth were in fact have long hold this privilege.

Radicalism is important character of Indonesia youth. However, religious spirit, pluralism, and nationalism exploited by the leaders and the combined values frequently used to reduce desires to war

and committing violence. Various groups in Indonesia activate the values to produce massive public opponents when the Indonesian people have required that action. When peace has been needed again the combined values were used for resolution of conflicts. The fact that each contains more than one paradigm and method besides its general way, thus each also contain positive and negative effects for power. For instance, when Indonesian government faced pressures from Malaysia in the case of the Ambalat conflicts, the youth all of sudden react to demand government gets into war with Malaysia. Significant numbers of Indonesia youth have voluntary linked their activities and efforts with radical structure. Reactive and spontaneous are of the most danger attitudes when they present in public. Some also got involve in terrorism as their preferred actions. However there are also many the youth leaders moderated this attitude by the call of Indonesian youth traditional spirits.

The massive protective culture around the youth is considered national weakness in respect to create international link. With these character connections in Indonesian youth also limited to similar identity groups. In recent years the Indonesian youth have found themselves combating the negative implications of globalization. It has made them harder to

determine which the best to secure their life and the future. Today the youth participation in terrorism is no longer a discourse. It has been the case and mostly inflicted aged 18-35 years. The case of Dani Dwi Permana (18 years) who had been recruited for suicide bombing at the JW Marriott Hotel in 2009 is one example that the youth is somewhat vulnerable and easily violated in areas that arise from the very dangerous groups such as terrorist. While the hope for better future is put on the youth, there is no major attempt from the state to improve the youth human intelligence. The youth have been somewhat weakened as the result of their advance in technical and practical science as the greatest source for human development. Their complete intelligence is thwarted by so much involving in the ensuring economies and power.

The stimulus reinforced the youth to get involved in brute action obviously does not come from Islam teaching which was claimed as *jihad* by certain Islamic movement. There are primary factors that would have been a proof to be influenced the youth social behaviour. It can be ranked from a confused society to injustice, oppression and contrasts between the rich and the poor. For the rest international actors ready to form shared valued on violence and warfare. Einstein, Russell and friends in 1940s has claimed

that more than 80% of academic publications have been impetus of killing and giving stimulus to war. On one hand this knowledge can increase human capabilities to solve their problems in relations to war. On the other hand it brings stimulus to practice the kind of intelligence to begin with experience in warfare.

In the current market a game called *Cross Fire Indonesia* has been one the most favourite game among the Indonesian youth, including the university students. It is easy to download from internet where people all over the world can practices strategic actions and making alliance, use high tech weapons to develop cooperation and to abolish enemy, including to get along attitudes and unified culture needed during the war. The future predictions based on this logic is to reinforce the youth with psychological effects to instinctively understand strategic behaviour and required culture to get into war.

Today a series of attempt had been established by the Indonesian youth, such as the OISAA group (*Overseas Indonesian Students Association Alliance*) to renew the Indonesian youth spirit. This process may be useful to begin with the establishment criteria of the youth strategic role in current international system. Such occasion that are planned to be conducted regularly can be area in exercising the

youth leadership in human intelligence. In the OISAA contexts the organizer declare the youth spirit of future Indonesia will be an influential country may well lead the world in battling climate change, religious/ethnic intolerance, and other world problems is currently facing. They also quoted an expert statement, James Gillford, “*we've tried to get the people in power to care. Now it's time to get the people who care in power. Let's utilise our experience and the network we've created in this forum for the betterment of our country. Let's walk the talk – Prove that this 2010 event is not only talking.*” The weakness of this group it remains estimates the state than themselves as more in matters of security issues.

6. Conclusion

Some people may say the world without nuclear is a utopian; as they said to people dedicated their life for absolute justice it has not been and will not be realized in the real world; it maybe, but not impossible things. As calling for justice had opened the mind of so many people about harms inflicted of global capitalism, the call to a world without nuclear weapons can and will last eagerness to live with them. A dramatic change will emerge when more and more political leaders opposed to reside.

Clearly the road is rough and the challenge is many. The world not only encounters well organized and long established structures which had influenced and penetrated all kind of social life. Most importantly is the madness of human interests. The youth actually can take on strategic roles in security issues to counterbalance demands in this market with limited assistance from the distant structure. A series of strategic link can be developed around the youth in the scale of states and global networking to function as moral forces on the base of multiculturalism and inclusiveness.

The optimistic lays in solidarity of the youth is stable. Beside its considerable amount in size, the power of the youth lies in organization. They exist in various organizations and associations. They are a single group who has rights to any political grouping and to mirror the character of the system. Any system must support the youth or otherwise will be abolished.

Human intelligence will include capabilities in facing the age of information and overwhelming threats from nature to culture, causes of human problems and crisis that resulted by human problems. The youth will need high tech and science to effectively encounter the threats actors, to reconstruct and redefine demands in market and to protect and promote peaceful, proud and locally way

of life and the future human civilization. However, spiritual intelligence that centred in religion, and moral intelligence that centred in local culture, play important role as the foundation of concrete actions. It cannot be put aside from any attempt and at any circumstances

7. Recommendation

The youth are capital for building synergies between diverse communities and between nations and sources of knowledge across national boundaries. It may be more influential if more and more the youth involving in normative attempts then integrating themselves as power and money seekers. International and regional connections will help to restore and revitalize the youth associations and organization with variation of implication; social, economic, political and security culture.

In Indonesia the youth has been acknowledged as the causes of Indonesian victory against colonialism, the makers of independent state and the most important element for substantial change. The spirit has been enriching with regular leverage to the centre power domestically and to the international system. The domestic youth revival will soon get international attention and corporations may be the first will make credible try at managing them to seek profit.

It can be argued the youth also function as driving factors on demands in market. Therefore, the youth human intelligence is critical to substantial change. A closer look to the youth greatest potential historically and locally is considered important to establish the youth strategic role to achieve a world without nuclear. The Asian Youth Symposium should enable to meet this objective, to collect the youth passed experience and wisdom, spiritual basis and culture had been possible creating perfect actions among the youth in different contexts and trying to translate into real and concrete actions, such as to education and cultural programs, to renew the atmosphere whereby inclusiveness is considered seriously.

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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 20. Philip Ball, *Bright Earth: Art and the Invention of Color* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 140.

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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